

**WOMEN AND DECISION-MAKING IN SUSTAINABLE LAND USE AND
NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN RURAL KWAZULU-NATAL:
CASE STUDIES OF EKUTHULENI AND PLATT ESTATE**

Dissertation

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BY:

**SERAPHINA BANJANI MAYEZA
REGISTRATION NUMBER: 9804219**

SUPERVISOR: PROF. U. BOB

**Discipline of Geography
School of Environmental Sciences
University of KwaZulu-Natal (Westville Campus)
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DECLARATION

The research herein was undertaken in the Department of Geography, University of KwaZulu-Natal (Westville Campus) under the supervision of Prof. Urmilla Bob.

The studies represent an original undertaking by the author. Where use has been made of the work of others, it has been duly acknowledged in the text. This dissertation has not been submitted in any form for a degree to any university.

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Seraphina Banjani Mayeza

University of KwaZulu-Natal (Westville Campus)

January, 2006

ABSTRACT

Many rural communities suffer from the poor management of natural resources they depend on. Natural resources such as land, water and forests are the source of their daily needs. It is well known that the sustainable use of natural resources is important, however, in the process of natural resource management some people are excluded from the decision-making process, especially rural women. This study examines the efficiency and equity consequences of natural resources and land management institutional practices in land reform projects in rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) in relation to gender issues. Case studies of two land reform projects in KZN, Platt Estate (restitution) and Ekuthuleni (redistribution) are used. Both quantitative (questionnaire surveys) and qualitative (focus group discussions, venn diagrams, mental mapping and ranking exercises) methods were used. The study examines the main links between women's needs and concerns as well as their participation in decision-making over land use and management of resources. Another noteworthy aspect that is examined is the way in which changing and differentiated patterns of control, access and use of land resources at household and community levels affect the ways in which resources are exploited and managed, especially in relation to women. Generally, the research findings illustrate that sustainable land use and natural resource management at the community and household levels in rural areas cannot be neglected or ignored in areas where high levels of poverty persist and where the re-invention and re-assertion of tradition is prevalent, especially traditional governance structures and patriarchy. In all two communities, structures pertaining to land management exist but the functionality, sustainability and viability of these structures and their ability to address development and environmental needs that impact on the social, economic, political and environmental quality of life are major concerns. Furthermore, women's participation in these structures is limited and several problems are experienced.

DEDICATION

- To all those who sacrificed their lives and joy to contribute to restoration of human dignity in this continent.
- To all those Africans who suffered under dehumanising and repressive laws, have put their elbows to the grinding stone and worked even harder for the glory of the continent and her people not to be buried forever.
- To Almighty God Who is always with us at all times of difficulties and joy.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
1 CHAPTER ONE	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Aim	4
1.3 Objectives	4
1.4 Chapter Sequence	4
1.5 Conclusion	5
2. CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	6
2.1 Introduction	6
2.2 Definition of concepts	6
2.2.1 The meaning of rural	6
2.2.2 What is a community?	6
2.2.3 Defining different types of natural resources	7
2.2.3.1 Renewable resources	8
2.2.3.2 Non-renewable resources	8
2.2.4 Defining other important concepts	9
2.3 The environmental issues in South Africa	10
2.3.1 Conflict over natural resources	12
2.3.2 Economic development versus conservation	17
2.3.3 Politics and the environment	18
2.3.3.1 Changing perceptions of resource availability	19
2.4 The nature of rural development	21
2.4.1 Policy contexts	23
2.4.1.1 The Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (1996)	23
2.4.1.2 Rural Development Strategy (1995)	23
2.4.1.3 Rural Development Framework (1997)	25
2.4.2 Water and rural livelihood	25

2.4.3 Food security in rural Africa	27
2.4.3.1 Hunger and poverty	28
2.4.4 Rural women and development	29
2.4.4.1 Women and fuelwood	31
2.5 Sustainable development	33
2.5.1 South Africa's environmental policy	36
2.5.2 Environmental security	38
2.5.3 Natural resource and land management issues	39
2.5.4 Women and sustainable rural livelihoods	40
2.6 Women and decision-making capacity	47
2.6.1 Culture and customs	48
2.6.2 Inequality in the sharing of power and decision-making	49
2.7 Redistribution of resources	52
2.8 Land reform	54
2.8.1 Redistribution	58
2.8.2 Land restitution	59
2.8.3 Land tenure reform	60
2.8.4 Land redistribution and conservation	61
2.9 Gender and land reform	62
2.9.1 Opportunities and obstacles to women's land access in South Africa	63
2.9.2 Institutional factors and women's access to land	64
2.9.3 Gender critique of land reform policies	65
2.10 Conclusion	72
CHAPTER THREE: CASE STUDY AND METHODOLOGY	73
3.1 Introduction	73
3.2 Back ground to case studies	73
3.2.1 Location of Platt Estate	75
3.2.1.1 Legal status	75
3.2.1.2 Development issues	75
3.2.1.3 Development proposal	76

3.2.1.4 Vegetation	77
3.2.1.5 Soils	77
3.2.1.6 Rainfall and water	78
3.2.1.7 Infrastructure	78
3.2.2. Location of Ekuthuleni	78
3.2.2.1 Legal status	79
3.2.2.2 Development proposal	79
3.2.2.3 Thukela Biosphere	79
3.2.2.4 Location next to Colenso/ Nkanyezi	80
3.2.2.5 Vegetation	80
3.2.2.6 Soils	80
3.2.2.7 Infrastructure	81
3.3 Methodology	81
3.3.1 Quantitative and qualitative research	81
3.3.2 Participatory research	83
3.3.3 Participatory action research as a tool for sustainable social development	85
3.3.4 Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)	86
3.3.5 Sampling	87
3.3.5.1 Random sampling	87
3.3.6 Questionnaire survey	87
3.3.7 Interviews and observations	88
3.3.8 Mental mapping	89
3.3.9 Venn diagram	90
3.3.10 Problem ranking exercises	90
3.3.11 Fieldwork	90
3.3.12 Introductory meetings	91
3.4 Conclusion	92

top 4 data a

6/25-25

17-26
22-32
20-20

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS	93
4.1 Introduction	93
4.2 Survey data analysis	93
4.2.1 Socio-economic profile of respondents	93
4.2.2 Profile of communities under study	97
4.2.3 Managing natural resources in the community	108
4.2.4 Knowledge of and level of participation in community-based organisations dealing with land issues in the community	123
4.2.5 General	134
4.3 Problems, needs and development priorities in Ekuthuleni	138
4.4 Venn diagrams: existing community structures	143
4.5 Mental mapping	147
4.6 Conclusion	150
 CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION	 151
5.1 Introduction	151
5.2 Summary of key findings	153
5.2.1 The socio-economic conditions of the study areas	153
5.2.2 Current land use	153
5.2.3 Opportunities and constraints faced by rural women relating to natural resource management	154
5.2.4 The management of resources	155
5.2.5 Women and decision-making in land use	155
5.2.6 The evaluation of the sustainability of current policies relating to natural resource and management	156
5.3 Recommendations	156
5.3.1 Need for an overall rural development strategy	157
5.3.2 Policy changes	157
5.3.3 Increase representation and participation	158
5.3.4 Training and capacity building	158
5.3.5 Provision for other land use options	159

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
Table 4.1	Marital status of respondents	93
Table 4.2	Age of respondents	94
Table 4.3	Educational level of respondents	94
Table 4.4	Sources of income of households: Multiple responses	95
Table 4.5	Number of years respondent has been in the area	96
Table 4.6	Services available for the household: Multiple responses	97
Table 4.7	Services most preferred: Multiple responses	98
Table 4.8	Types of toilets in the households of respondents	99
Table 4.9	The main type of water supply used by respondents in their household	100
Table 4.10	Members of household who collect water	100
Table 4.11	The managers of water use including storage in households of respondents	101
Table 4.12	Water problems experienced by respondents	101
Table 4.13	Primary sources of fuel for cooking: Multiple responses	102
Table 4.14	Primary sources of fuel for lighting: Multiple responses	103
Table 4.15	Primary sources of fuel for heating: Multiple responses	103
Table 4.16	Reasons for preferring electricity as a source of fuel	104
Table 4.17	Members of household responsible for collecting fuelwood	104
Table 4.18	Difficulties in collecting fuelwood	105
Table 4.19.	Types of materials used to build houses: Multiple responses	107
Table 4.20.	Difficulties in collecting / purchasing thatching grass	107
Table 4.21	Person/s and/ or structure/s responsible for managing natural resources in the community	108
Table 4.22	Rating of working relationship between people responsible for managing land resources in the community	108
Table 4.23	Rating of the relationship between people responsible for managing land resources and community member	110

Table 4.24	Description of the situation where members of the community were involved in disagreement related to land and natural resource issues	111
Table 4.25	Responsibility for access to the forest	112
Table 4.26	Ownership of land within the households	113
Table 4.27	Communal use of the forest: Multiple responses	113
Table 4.28	Rating of the adequacy of access household have to wild foods	114
Table 4.29	Rating of the adequacy of access household have to medicinal plant	115
Table 4.30	Rating of the adequacy of land for grazing	115
Table 4.31	Ownership of livestock	116
Table 4.32	Who decides on marketing livestock	116
Table 4.33	Members of the household who perform the following in Ekuthuleni	117
Table 4.34	Members of the household who perform the following in Platt Estate	119
Table 4.35	Members of the household who make decisions on the following in Ekuthuleni	121
Table 4.36	Members of the household who makes decisions on the following in Platt Estate	122
Table 4.37	Ways in which respondents heard about the organisation/ structure	123
Table 4.38	Household members participation: Multiple responses	124
Table 4.39	Specific processes/ aspects members of the households participate/ participated: Multiple responses	125
Table 4.40	Members of the household who participated in the processes/ aspects	126
Table 4.41	Ways in which members of household participated: Multiple responses	126
Table 4.42	Responses on whether respondents or any member of the household who participated felt that their input were considered	127
Table 4.43	Obstacles/ constraints to participating in community-based	

	organisations dealing with land use issues: Multiple responses	129
Table 4.44	Participation of women in the following processes: Multiple responses	129
Table 4.45	Roles women play or played in community-based organisations Dealing with land use issues	130
Table 4.46	Obstacles/ constraints to women’s participation in community-based organisation	132
Table 4.47	Effort undertaken to enhance women’s participation	133
Table 4.48	Advantages of having community-based organisations managing land resources in the community	134
Table 4.49	Disadvantages of having community-based organisations managing land resources in the community	135
Table 4.50	Problems experienced by households: Multiple responses	137
Table 4.51	Ranking matrix of Ekuthuleni	139
Table 4.52	Ranking matrix of Platt Estate	141

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 4.1 The Venn diagram of Ekuthuleni	143
Figure 4.2 The Venn diagram of Platt Estate	144

LIST OF MAPS

Map 3.1 Map of KwaZulu-Natal showing study areas	74
Map 4. 1 Mental mapping of Ekuthuleni	147
Map 4.2 Mental mapping of Platt Estate	149

APPENDIX

Appendix A: Questionnaire: Women and decision-making in sustainable land use and natural resource management in rural KwaZulu-Natal	174
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ABBREVIATIONS

AFRA	Association for Rural Advancement
ANC	African National Congress
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CODESA	Congress for a Democratic South Africa
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Union
CPA	Communal Property Association
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
ESTA	Extension of Security of Tenure Act
LRAD	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
NEMA	National Environmental Management Act
NLC	National Land Committee
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PALM	Participatory Learning Method
RDF	Rural Development Framework
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SLAG	Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Rural women are connected to the environment and interact with it on a day to day basis. They play a crucial role in supplying their families with some of the basic needs extracted from the environment (Meer, 1997). These include providing the family with water from the river, collecting wood for fuel, collecting wild plants to be used for food as well as medicinal purposes, and utilising natural resources for other basic needs. It is also widely accepted that in rural South Africa more than half of rural households are headed by women and together with children, women make up the poorest of the poor (Malhoutra, 1992). There is also a pervasiveness of patriarchal values rooted in traditional and cultural practices resulting in an undervaluing of women's work and experiences as well as a neglect of women's needs (Agarwal, 1997). Women have limited access and control of vital resources, especially natural resources. Additionally, women are generally marginalised in decision-making processes at various levels.

Women are generally disadvantaged, compared with men of the same race and class, in access to land, employment, labour and training (Agarwal, 1994; May, 1995; Small and Kompe, 1991; Walker, 1997). In addition to disadvantages in access to these resources, women are also disadvantaged in the control they are able to exercise over them (Meer, 1997). Compared with men, women have less authority and less involvement in decision-making in the home, the community and the nation (Cross and Friedman, 1997; May, 1995; Small and Kompe 1991). Meer (1997) states that women and men also have different priorities in the development process, for example, in relation to land use. Because men's priorities are advantaged, all too often women's needs are not met. Meer (1997) also points out that an awareness of the difficulties women experience in relation to land has led most commonly to the following suggestions:

- That women must participate in decision-making structures from local to national level (as evidenced in the negotiation process in South Africa, and particularly within the African National Congress' (ANC) quota system for parliament);
- That women's demands must be taken up so that their priorities get addressed in community and national decision-making forums (Small and Kompe, 1991); and

- That women must be organised and empowered at community level (Small and Kompe, 1991; Momsen, 1999).

While these are clearly important guidelines for policy-makers, they will not constitute an adequate response to women's present situation unless they are part of a more coherent vision of gender equity, based on an understanding of the complexity of gender relations (Meer, 1997).

Friedman (1994) points out that women's experiences have generally been hidden and are in danger of remaining shrouded unless a gender perspective is adopted. This is so since women have less status, power, authority and access to resources than men of their race and class in the home, in the economy and in relation to the State (Meer, 1997). Both women's and men's claims to resources, power and authority have been shaped largely through intersections between race, class and gender (Sacks, 1988). These interconnections are located and deployed within specific historical and cultural contexts. Class, race and gender oppression are best understood as part of a unitary system (as opposed to analyses which view capitalism and patriarchy as separate systems) (Meer, 1997). Sacks (1988: 74) offers a useful perspective within which "the centrality of class should be maintained in a context where class is modified very significantly so that it becomes both a gendered and a racially specific concept, one that has no race or gender-neutral essence."

According to Meer (1997), gender blind conceptualisations of the household and the community tend to shroud women's experiences. Academics and activists often approach households and communities as if they were homogeneous entities, and this has served to mask differentiation based on income and gender. As a result, men's experiences are often taken as the experiences of the entire community or household. Policy guidelines emerging from this view have often resulted in local elites (advantaged by income and status) and men (advantaged by virtue of systems of gender inequality) reaping the benefits of the policy outcomes even where the poor and women have been the targets of policy (Carney, 1988). These assumptions of homogeneity arise, in part, from the need of policy-makers to simplify reality (Guyer, 1981). However, this often leads to legalistic,

technicist or economic solutions (Meer, 1997). As Bernstein (1997) points out, better strategies for land reform will emerge when the diversity among and within communities and households is noted. According to Murphy (1990), such diversity should include differentiation along the lines of gender and class. When considering the beneficiaries of land reform we need to note the diversity of people involved in relation to matters such as residence, access to land, types of access, class position and historical experience (Meer, 1997).

According to Mongella (2000), different transitional processes to democracy which the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries experienced created avenues of political participation for the majority of the population. Simultaneous changes in the social and economic spheres were made. To date, however, such changes have had little impact on the elimination of gender gaps that exist between social, political and economic positions of women and men in Southern Africa. The majority of women do not enjoy the freedom of thought and action which is conducive to personal growth, because traditionally they are perceived as subordinate to men. While women are the daily managers and users of natural resources, largely for the benefit of others, women are not involved in the major decisions that affect these resources and the environment (Mongella, 2000). Furthermore, rural women play a crucial role in subsistence farming for the survival of their families (Francis, 1997).

In the rural areas, a strong relationship exists between land ownership and decision-making powers. Since land is traditionally granted to the male head of the household, it automatically means that males are generally involved in the local community decision-making body (Murphy, 1990). Greenberg (2003) also argues that even the current land reform policy doesn't address unequal power relations between men and women in rural areas. Although women in rural areas are in constant contact with the environment, and therefore, have valuable knowledge that can complement that of professional planners, their role is often ignored. This study is particularly concerned with the gender gaps that the rural areas are still confronted with as a result of unequal power relationships and participation in decision-making over land use.

1.2 Aim

This study is aimed at examining the gender gaps that the rural areas are still confronted with as a result of unequal power relationships and participation in decision-making over land use.

1.3 Objectives

- To examine the socio-economic conditions faced by rural women in Ekuthuleni and Platt Estates.
- To investigate current land use and natural resource management systems.
- To identify the opportunities and constraints faced by rural women relating to their management and sustainable use of natural resources.
- To ascertain the extent to which rural women participate in decision-making pertaining to land use.
- To evaluate the sustainability of current policies relating to natural resource use and management in rural areas from a gender perspective.
- To forward possible recommendations based on research findings.

1.4 Chapter sequence

In chapter two, applicable literature, legislation and policies governing rural development, land reform and decision-making in land use and natural resource management are critically evaluated. Chapter three attempts to provide a brief overview of the case studies of Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate. The historical backgrounds of the two communities and the methods used to collect data are presented. In chapter four the data collected from both communities is analysed and in chapter five recommendations based on research findings are forwarded.

1.5 Conclusion

Women's participation in decision-making in formal institutions and committees is generally very low despite the fact that these structures make decisions which impact on the agricultural activities and well-being of women. Women should be represented in all institutions to reflect their dominance in the agricultural sector and ensure that their interests are met (Women and Structural Adjustment, 1995). It is necessary to explore ways in order to give all individuals (women included) using land improved security of tenure. This implies access to and control of all community resources in order to promote responsibility, good management and accountability of land resources. Decision-making powers and benefits should be accrued to the individual land resource users and their communities (Women and Structural Adjustment, 1995).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, literature related to the study is discussed and reviewed. Legislation and policies governing rural development, land reform, land use and natural resources management are critically evaluated. Insight into the problems facing women in rural communities with respect to decision-making in land use and environmental management are also reviewed.

2.2 Definition of concepts

2.2.1 The meaning of rural

The Department of Land Affairs (1997) points out that there is no precise definition of 'rural' hence some people use the term according to the indication of low density of population or dependence on farming or forestry and the manufacturing and commerce directly associated with it. According to Miya (2003), the term 'rural' can vary in its definition according to different contexts. For instance in developed countries 'rural' is an outside area to urban areas and these are the areas that are poverty-stricken and underdeveloped. In the South African context there are also semi-rural areas or the so called semi-urban areas, which are called 'townships'. During the apartheid era many areas, defined as rural were in reality urban areas without services. According to the Department of Land Affairs (1997), the term 'rural' is defined as the sparsely populated areas in which people farm or depend on natural resources, including the villages and small towns that are dispersed through these areas.

2.2.2 What is a community?

The term community may differ slightly according to different contexts in which it is used. The National Institute for Economic Policy (NIEP) Report (1995) considers a 'community' to be a geographically defined set of people who are few in numbers for direct democracy to be practical. According to the ideas suggested in the report, a 'community' will be one or two neighbourhoods, a small town, and a few nearby villages. Communities tend to define themselves and this should be accepted unless the boundary has been intentionally defined to exclude some group on the grounds of race or

income. Community groups may join alliances and forums with groups from other previously privileged sectors of the broader society, but these sectors would not normally be seen as part of the same community. The status quo might change as the legacy of inexpedient apartheid geography subsides and mindsets are re-modelled (Khanyile, 2002). After considering some of the schools of thought, which provide their definition for a community, the term community refers to a group of people located in one area who share the same problems and life experiences and people who have one goal they need to pursue (African Communist, 1994). Ojwang (2002) argues that the term community has often been loosely used to denote some homogenous entity comprising members sharing common resources, common problems and even similar solutions to these problems. Murphy (1990) re-evaluates the definition of communities and concludes that the principles of communities of place, interest and use pose problems for common property theory.

2.2.3 Defining different types of natural resources

A resource can be defined as “a supply of something that can be of use or that has value for humans” (Hugo et al, 1997: 1030). According to Jones and Hollier (1997), natural resources are merely one set of goods within the category ‘land’, most of which become the capital goods used in production. Most natural resource classifications distinguish between resources that are renewable and those that are not, except over a geological time scale. In analysing such natural resource issues, it is critically important to consider the form and ownership of property rights in resources. Whether the perspective is historical, predictive, or prescriptive; it is important to recognise who controls these property rights, and under what conditions. Only from this framework of property rights can we understand decision processes. Individuals, not large groups or societies, make the decisions. They do so, however, in an institutional framework (Hugo et al, 1997). The property rights paradigm provides an important analytical leverage in comprehending how individuals interact within institutions. According to Eckersley (1992), the property rights concept, then, not only helps us understand history; it also helps us predict the consequences of today's institutions or to compare the likely outcomes of alternative arrangements. Given the increased pressure from larger populations, and from more

powerful technologies which increase our ability to access and process more natural resources, an increased comprehension of our system and our alternatives is most welcome.

2.2.3.1 Renewable resources

Hugo et al (1997) point out that renewable resources are resources that form part of a natural cycle. However, some cycles take such a long time to complete that for all intents and purposes they are considered to be non-renewable, for example, mineral deposits. In certain cases, the conditions under which they originally formed no longer exist and as a result the process can never be repeated. Therefore, it is only those resources with short cycles, such as the supply of fresh water that can be considered renewable. Stroup and Baden (2004) also stress that natural resources not only include biological resources such as animals and plants, but also a number of physical resources such as water and solar energy. Soil is an exceptionally important resource, as agricultural production is dependent on it. Although soil formation takes place over centuries, the nature and conditions of the soil can be improved or degraded by cultivation and fertilisation; therefore, soil can, to a certain extent, be considered a renewable resource. According to Jones and Hollier (1997), renewable resources are best thought of as flow or continuous resources. Natural resources thus include mineral resources, energy resources (fossil fuels such as oil, gas, coal, paraffin, petrol and diesel, as well as nuclear, water, geothermal, tidal, solar, wind and biomass energy), water, plants, animals, the atmosphere and soil. In addition there are cultural resources, which are things manufactured by people, and human resources, which encompass people and their abilities (Hugo et al, 1997).

2.2.3.2 Non-renewable resources

Hugo et al (1997) emphasise that non-renewable resources are resources that can never be replenished. This group includes most of the non-living resources, such as minerals and fossil fuels. When these resources are exhausted something will have to be developed in order to take their place. If this is not possible, people will have to learn to live without these resources or develop more efficient ways of recycling.

According to Hugo et al (1997), the value of a particular resource can be economic, ecological, scientific (for example genetic pool of plant and animal species), cultural (Mopani trees in the Northern Province and the oak trees in Stellenbosch), nutritional (prickly pear, morogo), medicinal, ethical, recreational, tourism related, aesthetic-psychological, educational or ethno-botanical. In some cases the value can be measured in financial terms. In others, as in the case of ecological value, the resource is not directly measurable in financial terms but, can, nevertheless, possess a particular value because it is able to fulfil a particular function in an ecosystem. For instance certain plants can be used to rehabilitate erosion-ravaged areas owing to qualities such as growth hardiness and ease of establishment.

2.2.4 Defining other important concepts

According to Stomph et al (1994), land use involves the human activities that are directly related to land, making use of its natural resources or having an impact on it. It is important that other facets in addition to biophysical conditions are included to fully understand land-use dynamics in poor rural communities. Mortimer (1993), for example, aptly illustrates how income diversification can relieve the agricultural system of the necessity to feed all its population at all times as well as provide a potential source of investment funds for technical change, land conservation and yield improvement. Political, institutional and cultural considerations are significant in shaping land-use strategies (Bob and Banoo, 2002).

The most widely used definition of sustainable development is “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland Commission, WCED 1987 cited in Yeld, 1997: 13). Sustainability is often viewed as integrating and balancing ecological, social, economic (both issues of productivity and viability) and political interests (Bob and Banoo, 2002). The term ‘sustainable development’ and its related ‘sustainable natural resource management’ and ‘Sustainable Land Management’ (SLM) are receiving increasing

attention in the development, research and academic arenas (Bob and Banoo, 2002). Hurni (1998: 4) states:

Sustainable Land Management (SLM) can be defined as a system of technologies and/ or planning that aim to integrate ecological with socio-economic and political principles in the management of land for agricultural and other purposes to achieve intra- and inter-generational equity.

Additionally, Herweg et al (1999: 26) assert:

SLM seeks to harmonise the often conflicting objectives of intensified economic and social development, while maintaining and enhancing the ecological and global life support functions of land resources.

According to Pieri (1997), there is need to move away from concepts and prescriptive approaches to an integrated approach to the physical planning as well as the social and institutional dimensions of land management. Sustainable land use management provides improved options for productive ventures as well as longer term social, economic and environmental sustainability considerations.

Goetz (1995) states that institutions need to be understood as sets of formal and informal rules which shape social perceptions of peoples needs and roles, while organisations administer these rules and respond to needs. Bob and Banoo (2002) assert that institutions and organisations can differ in terms of physical arrangements, management and leadership styles, ideological positions and the purpose for its existence. These manifestations of institutional attributes often reflect strong biases.

2.3 Environmental Issues in South Africa

According to Redclift (1995), the prolonged, endemic conflict in Africa has put additional stress on the region's already fragile environment. Direct damage has been inflicted in a variety of ways. The ecology of some areas has been damaged by forced

population concentration, with increased human and animal pressure on the land as a result, as well as by the clearing of vegetation for military purposes, the extermination of wildlife and the erosion of land routes under heavy mechanised traffic (United Nations, 2002). According to Adams (1990), in other areas in Africa the ecology has been negatively affected by forced depopulation, the cessation of normal productive activity and the invasion of the land by unsuitable plants and pests.

Although modern people have made enormous strides forward in the technological field, they are still dependant on nature for survival. In fact, natural resources form the foundation of a country's economy and the extent to which they (and the human resources) are developed will reflect the wealth of the nation (Hugo et al, 1997). Omara-Ojungu (2000) also emphasises that this statement is especially applicable in South Africa, with its rich natural resources and its mixture of first and third world economies. This combination, as well as the political legacy of the country, has put tremendous pressure on the environment, which has resulted in environmental change.

According to Fuggle and Rabie (1992), environmental change in South Africa is driven by both national and international forces. International driving forces include trade conventions and standards, since South Africa needs to trade with other countries in order to bring in foreign exchange. This, in turn, encourages production within the country. National driving forces include population growth, employment, equity and economic growth. Together these forces influence the country's macro-economic policy. Macro-economic policies determine which activities are dominant, how they are controlled, and which resources are used and how. Macro-economic policy also provides a framework for sectoral policies and the enforcement of these policies (Bruce, 2002). Since growth is associated with exploitation of resources, a number of problems can arise when a government is preoccupied with growth at the expense of issues such as equity, social justice and individual freedom for self-determination (Omara-Ojungu, 2000).

2.3.1 Conflict over natural resources

The question of who gets access to and controls land resources is often highly political and contested (Bob and Moodley, 2004). Furthermore, Herweg et al (1999) indicate that the sustainable use of land resources is a precondition for sustainable rural development. The South African government in recognising the centrality of land resources in terms of development as well as social redress imperatives have embarked on several programmes such as land redistribution, the Working for Water Programme and Integrated Rural Development (Bob and Moodley, 2004). Huge numbers of rural people are landless or near landless. They are becoming even more desperate as they are forced to compete with other poor people who are losing their livelihoods as a consequence of land degradation, expropriation, demographic pressures, ethnic conflicts over land, privatisation of common property, and the expansion of commercial agriculture with its displacing effects on labour through mechanisation (Bruce, 2002).

According to Crowley (1999), in the absence of rural opportunities, the poor normally follow one of between two pathways. First, when property rights are insecure, farmers lack the incentive to invest in the long-term productivity of the land. Instead they mine the soil and then move deeper into the forest. This vicious cycle not only degrades the natural resource base but ultimately produces environmental refugees. When moving is no longer an option, the initial insecurity caused by environmental and biodiversity loss is compounded by economic and political instability as the victims of this re-occurring pattern lose the basis of their livelihood. The second path is to migrate to the cities, which most often do no more than transferring poverty from the country-side to the city where instability is fuelled in the shanty towns (informal settlements) - the classical staging ground for political mobilisation of the poor and uprising against the State (Bruce, 2002).

Bruce (2002) further asserts that for the rural poor secure access to land provides the most realistic opportunity for them to improve their livelihoods and develop assets that can reduce their vulnerabilities. This means food and income security. Secure access to land provides the most powerful incentive for the sustainable management of natural resources. This means environmental security. According to Greenberg (2003), asset ownership by the poor is increasingly being recognised as being essential to sustained

and broad-based economic growth. This means economic security. The economic, social and environmental functions of land provides a platform for a more holistic approach to empowering the rural poor to become agents of their own well-being and in so doing, to contribute to greater political stability. Hugo et al (1997) state that political stability is an embedded benefit in legislative, regulatory and judicial systems of transparent and accountable property rights. Despite these convincing reasons, few countries have undertaken major resource reform measures. In many countries, the political and economic difficulties have been formidable. As difficult as it may be, pro-poor land policies cannot only improve rural livelihoods, but can also increase aggregate food supplies, raise rural employment and foster the uptake of more sustainable agricultural practices (Greenberg, 2003).

According to Bernstein (1997), the catalytic role of land reform policies and tenure security is well known as are the lessons from the past. Among these, it is clear that government-led resource reform without the active support of civil society, and civil society movements without the institutional and enabling support of government have both failed. The record confirms that the active participation by communities in the planning and implementation of land policies and programmes is an essential prerequisite to sustained and stable human development. Bob and Moodley (2004) further state that the importance of community participation and empowerment is widely recognised as a contributing factor to environmentally-orientated and sustainable development projects. These lessons point to the need for more effective alliances linking governments to their civil society organisations, coupled with the moral and financial persuasion of the international community (Hugo et al, 1997).

Development in South Africa is generally undertaken to address political, social and economic imperatives. These directives also frame land reform policies and other programmes in South Africa (Bob and Moodley, 2004). The complexities of land policies and resource reform require robust partnerships of citizen, governmental and international organisations that can share and replicate successful sustainable development experiences and build common platforms for action among affected groups

(Bruce, 2002). Bob and Moodley (2004) argue that the key political objective entails changing power relations, especially in terms of ownership and control patterns so as to redistribute power in South Africa. The social redress goal is aimed at ensuring redistributive justice. These include access to productive land resources. In terms of the social objectives, access to resources and opportunities to previously disadvantaged groups are also important. The economic objectives promote production and efficiency in terms of the utilisation of land and labour. It is argued that the latter is particularly centralised within the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy. Lehulere (1997), Sihlongonyane (1997) and Bob and Moodley (2004) argue that development in South Africa is following a market-led reform process which is favoured by international financial institutions and leading industrial powers. A major challenge facing policy-makers and development practitioners in South Africa is how to balance these often conflicting development imperatives. Furthermore, there are numerous tensions around institutional structures, and this is especially prevalent at community levels where community-based organisations, traditional authorities, local government and other external agencies such as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) compete for influence and power (Bob and Moodley, 2004).

The use of natural resources is susceptible to conflict for a number of reasons. Firstly, natural resources are embedded in an environment or interconnected space where actions by one individual or group may generate effects far off-site. According to Buckles (1999), implicit conflicts are those in which communities are affected by a process of environmental degradation they do not recognise. Although they might be aware of the degradation, they are unable to associate it with the activity of specific social agents. The environmental conflict is thus made explicit when communities establish an immediate logical connection between environmental degradation and the activities of certain social agents (Malhoutra, 1992).

Buckles (1999) further states that natural resources are also embedded in a shared social space where complex and unequal relations are established among a wide range of social producers, small-scale farmers, ethnic minorities, government agencies, etc. As in other

fields with political dimensions, those actors with greatest access to power are also best able to control and influence natural resource decisions in their favour. The natural resources are also subject to increasing scarcity due to rapid environmental change, increasing demand, and their unequal distribution. According to Buckles (1999), environmental change may involve land and water degradation, overexploitation of wildlife and aquatic resources, extensive land clearing or drainage, or climate change. Increasing demands have multiple social and economic dimensions, including population growth, changing consumption patterns, trade liberalisation, rural enterprise development, and changes in technology and land use. Natural resource scarcity may also result from the unequal distribution of resources among individuals and social groups (Malhoutra, 1992).

Buckles (1999) states that natural resources are used by people in ways that are defined symbolically. Land, forests and waterways are not just material resources people compete over, but are also part of a particular way of life, an ethnic identity and a set of gender and age roles. These symbolic dimensions of natural resources lend themselves to ideological, social and political struggles that have enormous practical significance for the management of natural resources and the process of conflict management. According to Cross and Hornby (2002), because of these dimensions of natural resource management, specific natural resource conflicts usually have multiple causes, some proximate, others underlying or contributing. Conflicts over natural resources may have negative impacts. However, people who study conflict also recognise its value as a catalyst for positive social change (Suliman, 1999). Conflict is an intense experience in communication and interaction with transformative potential. Buckles (1999) also states that conflicts are only fully resolved when the underlying sources of tension between parties are removed, a state of affairs that may be antithetical to social life. Creating an environment in which conflicts over natural resources can be dealt with productively will constructively also require new structures and processes for governing natural resources management decisions (Agarwal, 1997). Developing an enabling institutional environment is critical for sustainable land and natural resource management in poor rural communities (Pierie, 1997). The majority of people in rural KwaZulu-Natal remain

dependent on some level of subsistence agricultural production, reliance on outside remittances such as pensions, limited employment opportunities and access to natural resources such as fuelwood, water, medicinal plants and wild foods (Deshingar, 1994; Goldman et al, 2000; Rangan, 1997).

Land concentration which characterises many rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal implies that a growing number of rural families have to share decreasing land resources. Additionally, declining living conditions which reflect the lack of income generating opportunities and the inability to implement and sustain viable agricultural projects mean that households become increasingly reliant on the natural resource base for wild foods, fuelwood and water. Furthermore, subsistence production tends to be extended to marginal, low agricultural potential land (Bob and Moodley, 2004). Dumanski (1997) asserts that rural communities in most developing countries are poorly equipped to address natural resource and land management issues on their own. In most rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal issues of governance, decision-making and accountability are extremely complex. It is only when a multi-disciplinary, integrated approach to understanding community-based organisations in rural communities is adopted that the key issues are unpacked and effective and appropriate interventions and/or support can be initiated (Bob and Moodley, 2004).

Jones and Hollier (1997) argue that resource issues and the concerns of environmental management affect us all. The problem of environmental degradation and the exploitation of natural resources began to force their way into a wider popular consciousness from the late 1960s. According to Jones and Hollier (1997), it was not for another decade that there developed a more broadly based recognition and acceptance of the inter-relationship between resource exploitation and its frequently unintended consequences. Moreover, these consequences could no longer be localised.

2.3.2 Economic development versus conservation

According to Hugo et al (1997), humankind's early existence on the earth was totally dependent on the environment. People used it to meet their needs for food, clothing and shelter. The basic resources that were used consisted of water, plants for food, wood and shelter and animals that were hunted for meat and skins. Later other resources such as clay and minerals were used for various purposes. Until the nineteenth century it was accepted that humankind had but little to say about its destiny, as it was determined by nature. The advent of the Industrial Revolution introduced a new way of thinking: that the environment presented an unlimited set of opportunities and that humankind should take the initiative and exploit these possibilities to the utmost (Fuggle and Rabie, 1992).

Hugo et al (1997) point out that it was only in the 1960s and early 1970s that the extent of public concern for the environment reached sufficiently high levels to generate international co-operation, leading to the first international conference dealing with environmental issues which was held in Stockholm in 1972. Since then, there have been many international initiatives aimed at reconciling environmental and development issues. One of the most important of these was the Rio Conference in 1992.

According to Hugo et al (1997: 89), one of the major reasons for the resistance to the adoption of an environmental conservation ethic was the general perception that conservation meant the "setting aside" or "removal from use" of commodities. Environmental conservation was thus seen as the antithesis of economic growth. According to Fuggle and Rabie (1992), the conflicting philosophies regarding development versus non-development and conservation and the rise of conservation movements led to vehement clashes and protest actions and even bloodshed. Only in the late 1980s did people begin to realise that there is no serious difference between the ultimate goals of development and conservation (Fuggle and Rabie, 1992). Both strive towards improvement of community welfare. Consensus now seems to have been reached that the issue is not whether to grow but how to grow (Hugo et al, 1997).

According to Fuggle and Rabie (1992), the majority of role players agree that development should progress in a sensible way, that natural resources should be used in the most efficient and effective way so that human needs and wants can be satisfied without damaging the environment. Economic development should not be seen as the cause of environmental problems, but as part of the solution (Hugo et al, 1997). Development is often equated with economic growth, where growth, refers specifically to “an increase in the capacity of the national, regional or local economy to meet the needs and aspirations of the people” (Omara-Ojungu, 2000: 10).

2.3.3 Politics and the environment

According to Dixon (1990), it has increasingly been accepted that both the environmental and the structural views contain considerable elements of truth but are incomplete in isolation. As a result, attention has focused on the way structural processes interact with environment.

Jones and Hollier (1997) assert that resources of all types are becoming scarce, pollutants of many different types are increasing and environmental problems are no longer local or even national in extent but have reached international dimensions. If our quality of life is to be maintained we must develop more appropriate management techniques and while many of these will be the result of improved scientific and technological know-how it will probably be the politician who will be responsible for constructing a governmental framework which will allow the creation of a society which can accept, and pay for, the new-found interdependency between humans and their environment (Adams, 1990). According to Jones and Hollier (1997), throughout much of the twentieth century the predominant viewpoint within established political thinking has undoubtedly been that of anthropocentrism in which decision-making processes have been dominated by short-term considerations.

Politicians would undoubtedly defend their behaviour as the real politic of defending a belief (Jones and Hollier, 1997). Prinse (1993) likened such an approach to a linear thinking process in which issues are separated from each other and have a distinct

beginning, which is usually a reaction to a demand or pressure, and an end, the application of a solution. AFRA News (1993) asserts that within southern Africa, traditional strong dualistic tenure structures have not changed significantly since independence.

According to Knill (1991), traditional methods of problem-solving are usually unsuited for coping with environmental problems. The cause of the problem may occur in a different political region or in an adjacent country. Many environmental problems take years to make themselves evident, only to appear suddenly as an environmental catastrophe. Eckersley (1992) states that this slow build-up of environmental problems is due to the operation of time lags, an inertia process that allows ecosystems to compensate for a deficit in one part of the system by overproduction in another. Unless the balance is restored the ecosystem eventually breaks down, a situation recognised only when an area of natural vegetation disappears, or when a species becomes extinct (Jones and Hollier, 1997).

2.3.3.1 Changing perceptions of resource availability

According to Jones and Hollier (1997), the first half of the twentieth century had been a time when the cleanliness of the air we breathed, or the number of garden birds that visited suburban gardens or the number of tigers that existed in the Indian subcontinent were issues hardly worthy of consideration. It was accepted that the industrial workplace would be polluted, noisy and dangerous; this was an inevitable corollary of an industrialised society. But it was also true that by walking for thirty minutes away from the place of work, most people could find themselves in relatively unspoiled countryside where clear air, clean water and wildlife existed in abundance.

Johnston (1991) emphasises that to ensure that our environment and the resource base remain capable of supporting the six billion or so people that inhabit the planet has placed unprecedented demands for new methods of governance and of legislation upon governments and their advisers. Finding an equitable way of sharing out the remaining resources and at the same time ensuring we retain an environment that will provide the

best possible quality of life represents one of the greatest challenges ever faced by our species (Hugo et al, 1997). Resources, which until recently had been assumed to be freely available, suddenly changed to become scarce assets. Basic resources such as land, water and air are now recognised as having a finite use capacity and as such require some form of management in order to safeguard their supply (Jones and Hollier, 1997).

Behind the technocentric mode lies an ideological belief in progress, efficiency, rationality and control, fuelled by optimism, “especially a faith in the technology of intervention and manipulation” (O’Riordan, 1981: 94). According to Knill (1991), this optimism is most apparent within those industries that exact and utilise natural resources, particularly where responsibility for environmental or other consequences is slight, but it is equally evident among scientists such as Maddox (1972) and those economists who place great store by the market forces of the price mechanism to regulate scarcity, or who have faith in the human capacity to change social arrangements when faced by adversity (Mkhabela, 1993).

According to Eckersley (1991), the technocentric mode can be regarded as the traditional approach to resource allocation and environmentalism in that prior to the early 1970s there was widespread adherence to the doctrine of unfettered economic growth within a free market economy in which resources are allowed to be allocated by the forces of supply and demand, unhampered by government regulation or other interference. Further, there was an implicit belief in society’s right to master the environment, that is, to intervene and to manipulate. Questions of limits to growth, still less of morality and values, were scarcely on the agenda. Following O’Riordan’s (1981) model the technocentrists can best be divided into two groups. At the extreme lie the cornucopians or interventionists who abide by a growth-oriented and resource-exploitative philosophy. They believe that economic growth is sustainable indefinitely, irrespective of any environmentally damaging consequences (Jones and Hollier, 1997).

According to Omara-Ojungu (2000), the cornucopian is not unaware of environmental problems, but believes implicitly that any difficulties that arise in pursuing unbridled

economic growth will be overcome by the intervention of technology and by means of objective techniques such as cost-benefit analyses in which all factors, including however intangible environmental ones, are converted into monetary values. The environment can be considered as a commodity to be treated like any other for which there is a market. The desire for environmental goods in this sense can be reflected in the willingness to pay for them. This view reflects the neo-classical tradition that has held sway since the 1870s (Johnston, 1991).

According to Jones and Hollier (1997), a more accommodating position within the technocentric mode is adopted by those who remain committed to growth but believe that this can best be sustained by introducing some element of conservation and resource management. According to Hugo et al (1997), in political terms, they are more liberal than their fellow technocentrists, proposing tax or legal means to bring about minimum standards of environmental equality. The notion of sustainable development also finds a place amongst the 'accommodators', though its intellectual roots owe something to the less pessimistic scenarios of the 'limits to growth' doctrine and its successors in the 'futures' debate (Hugo et al, 1997).

2.4 The nature of rural development

According to the World Bank (1995), rural development is the strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a group of rural poor. It involves extending the benefits of development to the poorest among those seeking a livelihood in the rural areas. The group includes small-scale farmers, tenants and landless. The need to reduce poverty and inequalities consequently became incorporated into national and international programmes. During the early 1970s such terms as 'redistribution with growth' or 'growth with justice' appeared (World Bank, 1995). Wright (1990) further states that while this was a significant change it is also the case that most national and international policies have remained preoccupied with raising productivity. According to Suliman (1999), the 'redistribution' has been of new resources and incomes, not of old ones. In other words, the structures that lie behind the inequitable distribution of power and resources have been left intact.

Dixon (1990) points out that it cannot be denied that the rural poor have begun to receive specific attention. In many instances this has involved pushing existing programmes into remote areas and poorer groups. Elsewhere there have been specific schemes aimed at the poor which have included programmes for basic needs, for small farmers, marginal farmers or landless labourers (Thorp, 1997). However, concerns have been expressed that in practice many of these schemes benefit the less poor, or even the comparatively well-off. Rural land redistribution in post-apartheid South Africa is seen as a critical premise for poverty alleviation in rural areas, as the history of forced removals and poor development strategies (which clearly lacked focus on rural development) have left behind a trail of poverty. The risk of being poor and impoverished is also greater for women than men and is larger for rural women because of their multiple workloads, traditional rules, limited options and limited resources available to them (Ali, 2002). According to Mngxitama (2001), rural poverty is rooted in landlessness, but is sharply worsened by the related lack of basic services

According to the African National Congress (1994b), rural development is concerned with economic growth by raising the standards of the poor with making use of natural resources. Both land and water are natural resources and are inextricably linked in order to foster economic livelihoods. According to United Nations (2002), it must be stressed that resources must be provided and utilised in a sustainable way by encouraging full participation of beneficiaries (individuals and communities), thus ensuring sustainable development which is the utilisation and protection of resources for the present generation without hindering needs of future generations. Rural development is not only about giving people land and services but ensuring that they can make a living off the land sustainably (World Bank, 1975).

2.4.1. Policy contexts

2.4.1.1 The Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (1996)

According to Greenberg (2003), the introduction of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy in 1996 marked a fundamental shift in government policy where economic growth was prioritised over poverty alleviation. The expansion of foreign investment and the industrial sector would be the basis for economic growth, while the development of small, medium and micro-enterprises (SMMEs) were seen as a critical growth strategy.

According to Stroup and Baden (2004), the GEAR policy immediately imposed several limitations on rural development strategy and policy, including: the restriction of resources available for reform; the protection of "productive" sectors of the economy, particularly export oriented farming sectors; the growth of a perception that rural areas outside of commercial farming sectors were requiring welfarist, rather than economic, attention; and a strident programme of promoting liberalisation.

2.4.1.2 Rural Development Strategy (1995)

There are extremely high levels of poverty in the rural areas of South Africa. Recent estimates are that almost half of South Africa's total population can be classified poor, with most of the poor living in the rural areas of South Africa. The poverty rate in rural areas is estimated at 72% (that is, the percentage of individuals classified as poor), as compared with 29% in urban areas. African women living in rural areas constitute the bulk of the victims of poverty (Summary Report, 1998). According to the National Institute for Economic Policy (1995), a rural development programme should seek to put in place policies and mechanisms to enable a redistribution of resources and development which will eradicate poverty in the rural areas of South Africa.

In 1994, the ANC drafted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as a national programme of action for Government in its first five years. The drafting of the document marked a radical shift in government policy formulation, as both civil society and the business sector participated in the formulation of social development targets in

many policy areas (African National Congress, 1994b). The RDP set broad goals for development, which included:

- creating opportunities for all South Africans to develop to their full potential boosting production and household income through job creation, and increased productivity and efficiency;
- improving living conditions through better access to basic physical and social services, health care, and education and training for urban and rural communities; and
- establishing a social security system and other safety nets to protect the poor, the disabled, the elderly and other vulnerable groups.

The RDP gave particular emphasis to the role of women, and to the removal of all forms of policy discrimination impeding women's access to land. A national land reform programme was seen as the central and driving force of a rural development programme. The now-defunct RDP introduced the Rural Development Strategy as a White Paper in 1995. This set out key provisions of the RDP for the Government Departments engaged in rural development and service delivery. According to Greenberg (2003), in essence it spelt out the principles and components for rural development interventions, but said little on operational priorities and mechanisms. The African National Congress (1994b) outlined some of the strategies including the following:

- The creation of structures of local government and local coordination that would allow rural people to set the local development agenda, and influence development in their district and province;
- Insisting on involving local communities in planning and managing infrastructure projects and their budgets, and maintaining the assets created from these projects; and
- The creation of access to information for planning and implementing development projects and programmes at local level.

This would allow communities to set priorities and measure progress with implementation. The Strategy also emphasised the need for coordination between the different tiers and Departments of Government (ANC, 1994b).

2.4.1.3 Rural Development Framework (1997)

Greenberg (2003) states that the closure of the RDP Office in 1996 had a severe impact on the process to operationalise the principles of the RDP and the Rural Development Strategy of 1995, and responsibility for completing an operational plan - the Rural Development Framework (RDF) - fell to the Department of Land Affairs (DLA).

Greenberg (2003) further states that the RDF broke little new ground in the search for a rural development implementation programme, and instead reviewed the different areas and programmes of government constituting rural development. Although useful as an overview of current government policies and programmes in relation to rural development, like the RDS before it, the RDF failed to develop detailed implementation plans and procedures (Ngubane, 2002). The DLA had not been given the mandate to act as the government's inter-departmental coordinating authority in the production of the RDF. In drafting the RDF, therefore, the DLA was attempting to design a prioritised and authoritative plan for implementation by the different institutions of government over whom it had no authority (Greenberg, 2003).

Some reform programmes focus on single issues such as the subdivision of large estates, the consolidation of small or fragmented holdings, the abolition or reform tenancy, the removal of communal ownership and the establishment of private titles to land, and, in the case of radical changes, the complete or partial removal of private ownership through land nationalisation. Most programmes, however, involve a combination of measures (Ngubane, 2002).

2.4.2 Water and rural livelihoods

According to Vincent (2001), livelihoods are the means people use to support themselves, to survive, and to prosper. Livelihoods are an outcome of how and why people organise to transform the environment to meet their needs through technology, labour, power, knowledge, and social relations (Agarwal, 1997). Livelihoods are also shaped by the broader economic and political systems within which they operate. Water is the essential element in rural livelihoods because of the food security and income options it generates

in rainfed and irrigated crop production, industry, domestic processing, aquaculture, livestock, recreation, navigation and transport, and electricity supply. Goodland (1993) highlights that safe water and sanitation also shape health through potable water supply, safe food preparation, hygiene, better nutrition, and relaxation. Vincent (2001) asserts that environmental security depends on peoples' actions to control salinity, drainage, and water pollution; manage droughts and floods; and manage land and water to guard those resources.

According to Moyo et al (1993), unless there is new action to recognise both the roles water plays in rural livelihoods and people's capacity to manage their water sustainably and with social justice, water scarcity threatens to change people's options in production, employment, and exchange, and the relations among these activities, in ways that will exclude the small producer. For example, in Zimbabwe, new smallholder irrigation systems are being developed and old ones are receiving new support that can improve water supply and livelihoods for more people (Vincent, 2001). However, irrigators must also now renegotiate water rights in the face of growing competition for water and new water legislation to promote more integrated water resources management (Moyo et al, 1993). While there is still scope for improving livelihoods in irrigation and aquaculture, emerging competition for water will drive water users to defend and negotiate their water rights when their livelihoods are threatened. Water scarcity increases the need for pro-poor development support (Vincent, 2001).

Khanyile (2002) states that people are working in many ways at the local level to get access to water without giving up or giving in to the external water-crisis rhetoric. Thinking about livelihoods from the perspective of water can guide system redesign and allocations that retain local options, generate higher local value, and empower local management. However, understanding the processes that enable small water users to build and defend more secure livelihoods from water is also vital for new negotiation over water use.

Stroup and Baden (2004) and Vincent (2001) point out that the water management principles that will help water users to negotiate their livelihoods under water scarcity are:

- Institutional viability that sustains water organisations, system operations, and water use practices;
- Equity that reflects access and social justice for water users;
- Political democracy that represents many different stakeholder groups;
- Economic viability that creates financially sound and economically viable livelihoods;
- Productivity, effectiveness, and efficiency based on locally valid criteria that ensure the integrity of hydraulic infrastructure and the value of land and water;
- Secure water access that includes the possibility of negotiating water use rights and managing risks from system or production failure; and
- Ecological equilibrium that builds sustainable water use and fights degradation.

Designers, planners, and managers can support rural livelihoods when dealing with water scarcity by appreciating the many roles of water in rural livelihoods and giving rural users scope to negotiate and defend their livelihoods (Vincent, 2001).

2.4.3 Food security in rural Africa

According to Markakis (1998), food security means access by all people at all times to have enough food for an active, healthy life. The problem of food security is a complex one. The bulk of those who suffer food deprivation are to be found in the rural sector, among subsistence cultivators and pastoralists whose production has been reduced because they no longer command adequate land and animal resources (Markakis, 1998). According to the National Institute for Economic Policy (1995), the primary source of food for poor South Africans is cash income from jobs, pensions and remittances. The South African economy has failed to provide jobs for approximately one third of its workforce, while many of the jobs which it does provide are very low paid and insecure.

According to Thorp (1997), in developing countries, among the poor, rural women are the poorest and most vulnerable. Empirical evidences suggest that women in rural areas

are more adversely affected by poverty than men. The incidence of poverty among rural women is on the rise in most developing countries (Mongella, 2000).

2.4.3.1 Hunger and poverty

According to Markakis (1998), hunger, which usually follows food shortages, is caused by a complex set of events and circumstances such as social, economic and political factors that differ depending on the place and time. Although hunger has been a part of human experience for centuries and a dominant feature of life in many low-income countries, the causes of hunger and starvation are not very well understood. According to Ngubane (2002), our understanding of the main causes of hunger and starvation has been hampered by myths and misconceptions about the interplay between hunger and population growth, land use, farm size, technology, trade, environment and other factors. Poverty cannot be defined simply in terms of lacking access to sufficient food. It is also closely associated with a person's lack of access to productive assets, services and markets. Without access to these, it is unlikely that production and income earning capacities can be improved on a sustainable basis. Rural poverty is related to food insecurity, access to assets, services and markets, income-earning opportunities, and the organisational and institutional means for achieving those ends (Markakis, 1998).

The failure of the labour market is a major cause of poverty, and job creation must be the first priority in reconstruction and development (Agarwal, 1997). Markakis (1998) states that the social security system is rudimentary but of great importance to many poor households. As a result of apartheid policies and practices, remittances are an important source of income for poor rural households. The ending of apartheid has already allowed some families to join their breadwinners in the urban areas, so ending their reliance on remittances, but at the cost of very poor housing conditions. In rural areas many families have access to limited areas of land on which they can grow food. However, the contribution to their food supply from subsistence agriculture is limited by the environmental degradation of their land, by the uncertainty of the seasons, and by the attraction of chances of urban employment (National Institute for Economic Policy, 1995).

In the Summary Report (1998), it is stated that the pattern of development, and hence of poverty in the homelands and other rural areas where Africans have been allowed to live has, to a considerable extent, been influenced by the dictates of apartheid policy due to lack of land, administrative neglect, the absence of credit, market discrimination and general underdevelopment. Subsistence farmers are limited to production for home consumption. Crop production is generally low and few households are able to meet their immediate consumption needs. Despite low returns from agriculture, subsistence farming remains an important activity for many households in the communal areas. In their efforts to minimise the risks of a declining physical resource base, households throughout the rural areas have developed multiple income sources as part of their survival strategy. In general, cash income is generated from remittances and from wages and salaries earned by family members in urban centres, from old age pensions and from informal sector activity rather than from agriculture. It is thus generally the case that the primary determinants of food security are not to be found in the rural areas, but depend on the extent of inputs from people elsewhere. At present, the returns to labour under traditional systems of crop production are extremely unattractive to anyone in the rural areas who is economically mobile (Redclift and Sage, 1995). As a consequence, with the abandonment of influx control measures in the 1980s there has been an acceleration in the number of people leaving the rural areas in search of urban work (Summary Report, 1998).

2.4.4 Rural women and development

According to Cross and Hornby (2002), women are the key development actors, playing a more and more crucial role in the field, although this role is often ignored or minimised. In Africa, the lives of women have not changed in a meaningful way. The women who spend eight hours a day gathering firewood are still doing that. Women are still subjected to domestic brutality, and female employment remains limited to relatively few fields and relatively low jobs (Awumbilo and Momsen, 1995). Women and children are the ones who suffer most as a result of wars, as well as political and ethnic conflicts (Agarwal, 1997). In Africa, women are subjected to specific constraints due to gender inequalities, and these constraints shape the results they obtain. According to Meer (1997), the constraints most frequently identified are: lack of access to credit and land, poverty,

marginalisation, discriminatory and inadequate laws, lack of access to decision-making power, unjust and unfair cultural practices, women's heavy workloads, lack of education and training, and also the way in which women's activities are structured.

According to Greenberg (2003), approximately half of South Africa's population is poor and the majority of them live in rural areas. Most of the rural poor are women, who form the backbone of rural communities. They are also the major food producers, while bearing the burden of child and frail care, especially in instances of HIV/AIDS-related illnesses. Their gendered roles demand that they do labour-intensive work in the home without receiving any remuneration for it. In spite of all this, women are the most marginalised group in rural communities. Greenberg (2003) also states that many decades of activism have proved that poverty disempowers. According to Cross and Friedman (1997), women lack access to education and information, which further limits their ability to claim and demand their rights. It is also true that most rural women are excluded from decision-making processes and structures, and seldom benefit from development.

According to Greenberg (2003: 69), a gender approach to rural development enables one to view "women's location in social structures" and to trace the "cause of women's subordination". Cross and Hornby (2002) assert that due to the increase in unemployment, there has been a steady increase in crime rates, prostitution, and abandonment of children by mothers who cannot afford to look after them. In Africa women produce up to 80% of the basic food commodities (Malhoutra, 1992). In addition, their activities directly affect the environment, given that women have traditionally been responsible for bringing water and wood to the household. Women have sole responsibility for the health and nutrition of their families. In Africa, women have multiple roles, and have to respond to family, economic and social expectations at the same time. Mongella (2000) asserts that women show imagination in doing so and are innovative and capable of developing a wide range of activities within the framework of the social economy (commercial and non-commercial). They respond to a number of constraints.

According to *Women and Structural Adjustment* (1995), segregation of roles according to gender creates barriers that are difficult to overcome, which explains why poverty, which is already more widespread amongst women, is still growing. The discrimination of women will only be abolished when gender ceases to define the distribution of work, responsibility and power. Women are the major victims of environmental deterioration and poverty. Women's empowerment and gender equality is both a matter of justice and a prerequisite for the development of harmonic and sustainable societies (Cross and Hornby, 2002).

2.4.4.1 Women and fuelwood

Malhoutra (1992) states that wood has become the mainstay fuel for nearly half the people in the world, but wood is in short supply and the situation is rapidly worsening. The poor are worst affected, with women bearing the largest burden. Awumbilo and Momsen (1995) and Rodda (1991) assert that women throughout Africa spend a substantial part of their day gathering wood, and are forced to walk further and further to fetch dwindling supplies as the fuelwood situations worsen. The weight causes them to suffer from back and head pains. Malhoutra (1992) further point out that in rural areas, substitute fuel from animal dung, and agricultural residues means that these are no longer available to fertilize the soil, so crop yields drop.

According to AFRA News (1991), in many countries of Sub-Saharan Africa energy sector planning has long been something of a paradoxical exercise in the context of modern as opposed to traditional fuels in the economy. However, since they are inseparable from modern methods of energy transformation and use, these modern fuels absorb virtually all investments in the energy sector (Mongella, 2000). Traditional fuels, on the other hand, although they occupy a dominant place in the overall energy balance and in the consumption of households, have received little in the way of planning and policy-making attention and investments (Awumbila and Momsen, 1995).

Walker (1994) emphasises that the importance of traditional energy (fuelwood and charcoal) in terms of total energy consumption is significant. According to *Women and*

Structural Adjustment (1995), in low-income countries such as Burkina Faso and Ethiopia, the household sector accounts for more than 80% of total energy consumption and projections call for this rate of consumption to continue into the 21st century. Most traditional energy is used for household consumption (cooking and heating) and the daily lives of rural women are greatly influenced by its availability and use. Traditional energy affects women's lives in several key areas. More than half of the world's households cook daily with wood, crop residues and untreated coal, exposing primarily women and children to indoor air pollution (Awumbilo and Momsen, 1995). According to Mongella (2000), acute respiratory infections, chronic obstructive lung diseases, low birth weights, lung cancer and eye problems are often attributable to this practice. The increased scarcity of fuelwood and the additional amount of time that rural women (and children) must devote to its collection raises additional health concerns. For example, changes in food preparation occur when women have less time for cooking due to an increase in the amount of time spent in fuelwood collection (Mongella, 2000). According to Cross and Friedman (1997), women will cook fewer meals, which means that families will eat cold or reheated leftovers and more processed foods. This results in a less healthy diet. Also, the daily collection of fuelwood demands physical exertion for which rural women often lack the caloric intake. The loads of fuelwood women carry on their backs can weigh between 25 to 35 kilograms and are typically carried for several miles.

Generally, while men have greater access than women to cash income activities, women's daily activities revolve around the subsistence economy. Their time is devoted to fuelwood and water collection, food production and household maintenance. The opportunity cost of these activities prevents rural women from undertaking income generating activities, which deprives poor families of much needed income. Malhoutra (1992) asserts that there is need for technology and alternative sources of energy to free up women's time. However, in order to obtain these labour-savings tools, women must earn income or have access to credit which often means overcoming gender-specific barriers in accessing financial (credit) services, including lack of collateral (usually land) and low levels of literacy and numeracy (Small, 1994).

2.5 Sustainable Development

According to Fuggle and Rabie (1992), in effect, sustainable development is based on renewability and replenishment rather than exploitation, thus offering hope to the world's dispossessed of some improvement in living standards. In this way, sustainable development has become the acceptable face of a greener development in the South "attractive to development agencies and theorists looking for new labels for liberal and participatory approaches to development planning" (Fuggle and Rabie, 1992). The concept of sustainable development cannot be understood in a historical vacuum. Many events led to the development of the concept and over time have taken within it many other conservation aspects and influences. History of thinking about sustainable development is closely linked to the history of environmental concern and people's attitude to nature (Adams, 1990). According to Jones and Hollier (1997), supporters generally offer the caveat that there has to be the political will if painful choices are to be made. Adams (1990) further states that even the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), a body founded to promote economic growth and representing the leading industrial nations, has taken on the idea of sustainable growth in its report *The State of the Environment* (OECD, 1991), but it lies with the politicians to grasp the central message of integrating environmental concerns into economic policy-making.

According to the World Summit on Sustainable Development (2002), sustainable development refers to the means by which development is made to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs. In a rural context, sustainable use thus involves not only conserving biological diversity, fauna and flora, but also maintaining ecological functions such as soil quality, hydrological cycles, climate and weather, river flow and water quality. It also implies maintaining and sustaining natural products, such as game, fish, fuelwood, construction materials, and others, which are essential to the livelihoods of local people.

According to Markakis (1998), to achieve sustainable utilisation, a radical change both in the patterns of consumption as well as the development process is of vital importance. It

requires a fundamental change in the way natural resources are owned, controlled, mobilised and consumed. To be sustainable, development must meet the needs of local people, for if it does not, people will be obliged by necessity to take from the environment more than planned. Sustainability is fundamentally linked to concepts of social justice and equity, both within generations as well as within nations and between nations (World Summit on Sustainable Development, 2002). Redclift and Sage (1995) state that sustainable development is a process in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments and institutional changes are all made consistent with future as well as present needs. Sustainable development has the following premises:

- Sustainable development is closely linked to the carrying capacity of ecosystems, which is the ecosystem's capacity to maintain the population.
- The underlying correlation between population and poverty must be analysed against the backdrop of ecosystem's capacity to provide supportive capacity for maintenance of acceptable quality of environment.

(Redclift and Sage, 1995)

Redclift and Sage (1995), United Nations (2002) and Mngxitama (2001) define sustainable development as the development of natural resources to meet the immediate needs of the present population, without hampering the requirements of future generations, as well as endangering the ecology and environment. It can also be referred to as improving the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of the producer natural environment. According to Mngxitama (2001: 54):

Environmental degradation in the Third World is the inevitable consequence of present development policies and Third World people are poor because they have been robbed by developers of their means of sustenance, and are now condemned to scratching an ever more marginal existence from land that ever more closely resembles the surface of the moon.

Van Riet et al (1997) point out that the signs of degraded natural environments are:

- Extensive deforestation, accounting for the losses of flora, fauna and some rare species;
- Drying of drinking water sources and precipitous fall in the underground water levels;
- Intensifying rate and frequency of flood and droughts and rainfall variation;
- Growing land degradation reflected through unleashed forces of desertification, wastelands, salinity and water logging areas; and
- Quality deterioration of air and water under pressure of population explosion.

According to Fuggle and Rabie (1992), such environmental breakdown accounts for mass suffering of the marginal poor as the population growth outstrips the available resource base of croplands, woodfuel, forage and feed, and even fresh water to drink, the nexus among people, resources, environment, technology and agriculture draws closer.

According to Jones and Hollier (1997), counter-posed to the technocentric mode of thought is an increasing degree of ecocentrism. Again, Jones and Hollier (1997) has distinguished between extreme and more moderate positions, between the politically radical activism of deep environmentalists and the greater conservatism of so-called soft technologists or communalists. They share the belief that the Earth's bounty is finite, and are sceptical of, or openly hostile to the technological fix which leads them to demand a complete change of attitude away from a materialistic and divisive growth-obsession towards greater ecological harmony with the Earth and the provision of basic needs for all its inhabitants (Jones and Hollier, 1997). In their more moderate form, ecocentrists occupy a resource preservationist position, arguing that because of physical and social limits, steps must be taken to constrain economic growth (Eckersley, 1992). What is needed, they stress, is greater self-reliance and self-sufficiency, more of a focus on smaller-scale interdependent communities, and the right for individuals and minority groups to participate in community affairs. Such views are not new. The anarchist tradition of the nineteenth century best exemplified by the writings of Peter Kropotkin, rejected the alienation of the industrial workplace in favour of small self-sustaining

communities, while British town planning in the early years of the present century developed the ideas in the concept of the garden city (Prinse, 1993).

According to Stroup and Baden (2004), sustainability may be retained for a more ecocentric position demanding a clearer set of conditions on, for example, global stability, biodiversity, sustainable harvesting of renewable resources, more intensive use of non-renewable resources and alternative resource funding mechanisms. It clearly requires greater commitment from industry and consumers, backed by tougher regulatory legislation, and both financial and strategic support from the state (Elkins et al, 1992). Jones and Hollier (1997) state that at the extreme of the ecocentric attitude to environmentalism lie the deep environmentalists or deep ecologists who see the protection of natural ecosystems not from a human-centred perspective but as a biotic right. Nature has an intrinsic value other than to humankind as a bounty to be exploited or managed (Johnston, 1991).

The deep ecology stance is criticised by those whose views are rooted in neo-Marxist analysis for failure “to deal with the social nature of environmental problems without compromising its non-anthropocentrism” (Knill, 1991: 57). In short, the social critique doubts whether human-nature relationships can be improved without first improving those between humans (Hugo et al, 1997). Countering both are eco-feminists who claim that the problem lies not in cultural anthropocentrism, but in its male-centred dominance. According to Malhoutra (1992), the planet’s destruction is inevitable if power remains in male hands. Despite the in-fighting, the challenge posed by more ecocentric views of human-nature relationships to the technocentric or dominant western environmental paradigm is seen by many as witness to a rising green paradigm (Knill, 1991; Eckersley, 1992).

2.5.1 South Africa’s environmental policy

Cousins (1997) argues that in a democratic environment it is the product of government’s involvement in a consultative process with communities, and helps to set priorities and allocate resources. According to Omara-Ojungu (2000), the approach to environmental

and resource development adopted by the South African government, and indeed by any government, is based upon decisions taken at international level. One of the major events and actions that influenced the present policies was the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, where Agenda 21 was adopted as the global strategy for sustainable development. Agenda 21 is the fundamental programme of action for achieving sustainable development. It is an action plan a blueprint for sustainable development. It is not an environmental agenda but an agenda for sustainable development (Fuggle and Rabie, 1992).

According to Hugo et al (1997), a number of important issues must be taken into account by the government when developing a policy, identifying priorities and deciding on strategies and inventions. These include social (population and education) and economic (employment and unemployment; the state of the various economic sectors) issues as well as the natural and cultural resources. It should also be borne in mind that the environment is not static. It is in a constant state of change, either through natural processes or owing to human actions.

The South African government's environmental management policy is laid down in the National Environmental Management Act 107 of 1998 (NEMA). The Act sets out the principles for effective management of the environment. According to Van Riet et al (1997), all organs of the state have to comply with these in their decision-making. It also makes provision for the establishment of the National Advisory Forum, where stakeholders and experts can advise the Minister on environmental management issues. The policy is one of a society in harmony with its environment (Hugo et al, 1997). Stroup and Baden (2004) assert that it seeks to unite the people of South Africa in working towards a society where all people have sufficient food, clean air and water, decent homes and green spaces in their neighbourhoods that will enable them to live in spiritual, cultural and physical harmony with their natural surroundings (White Paper on Environmental Management Policy for South Africa, 1997).

According to Omara-Ojungu (2000), this can only be achieved through the paradigm of sustainable development. The policy emphasises that integration and sustainable management of the environment, now and in the future, form the fundamental basis of sustainable development in all areas of human activity. Fuggle and Rabie (1992) state that it is very well for a country to have laudable ideals and policies, but without successful implementation they mean nothing.

2.5.2 Environmental security

According to Conserve Africa Foundation (2004), in Africa, the problem of environmental degradation has social, economic and cultural roots, and poverty alleviation is a prerequisite for sustainable development. In most African regions, the majority of poor people live in rural areas and depend directly or indirectly on terrestrial and marine natural systems for income generation. Real, lasting poverty reduction is only possible if the environment is able to provide the services people depend on, and if natural resources are used in a manner that does not undermine long-term development. Current local air and water quality conditions in many countries result in millions of premature deaths, especially among women and children (Rwelamira, 2001).

According to the United Nations (2002), climate change is projected to cause significant increases in famine and hunger in many of the world's poorest areas, which, especially in the tropics and sub-tropics, depend on isolated agricultural systems. Climate change is expected to lead to the displacement of millions of people, to decreasing incidence of vector-borne diseases such as malaria, and to rapid shifts in the distribution and productivity of terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems resulting in the loss of biodiversity (Omara-Ojungu, 2000).

Stroup and Baden (2004) highlight that sub-Saharan Africa depends more on its environmental resource base for its economic and social needs than any other region in the world. But with the natural resource base alarmingly declining, the entire region, rural and urban, is being profoundly affected. Two-thirds of the region's people live in rural areas and depend primarily on agriculture and other natural resources for income

(Mngxitama, 2001). To them, the region's severe environmental problems like soil erosion and declining soil fertility, deforestation, pollution of water supplies, and biodiversity loss are everyday, real and critical concerns. With the world's fastest growing population, averaging about 3% a year, the region will be home to more than a billion people by the year 2025 (Stroup and Baden, 2004).

According to Jones and Hollier (1997), the level of support in the population at large is not easy to gauge. Opinion surveys from the early to mid-1980s quoted by O'Riordan (1989) suggest that the cornucopian mode is supported by between 10% and 35% of the population while the more accommodating stance varies in support from 55% to 70% of those questioned. By contrast, fewer than 10% supported the communalist mode while only between 0.1% and 3% put much store by the Gaian or deep environmentalist positions.

2.5.3 Natural resource and land management issues

Herweg et al (1999) indicate that the sustainable use of land resources is a precondition for sustainable rural development. This is even more heightened as the natural resource base becomes increasingly scarce. Developing an enabling institutional environment is critical for sustainable land and natural resource management in poor rural communities (Pierie, 1997). The majority of people in rural KwaZulu-Natal remain dependent on some level of subsistence agricultural production, reliance on outside remittances such as pensions, limited employment opportunities and access to natural resources such as fuelwood, water, medicinal plants and wild foods (Deshingar, 1994; Goldman et al, 2000; May et al, 2000; Rangan, 1997). Bob and Moodley (2004) indicate that land concentration which characterises many rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal implies that a growing number of rural families have to share decreasing land resources. Additionally, declining living conditions which reflect the lack of income generating opportunities and the inability to implement and sustain viable agricultural projects mean that households become increasingly reliant on the natural resource base for wild foods, fuelwood and water. Furthermore, subsistence production tends to be extended to marginal, low agricultural potential land.

Dumanski (1997) asserts that rural communities in most developing countries are poorly equipped to address natural resource and land management issues on their own. General constraints faced by marginalised rural communities in relation to land use management and governance include (Bonti-Ankomah, 1997; Cousins, 1996; Rangan, 1997):

- Unsustainable land use practices
- Economic and social vulnerability of households and communities
- Degradation of the natural resource base
- Inappropriate natural resource management structures
- Lack of capacity
- Internal conflicts linked to social differentiation and contesting land needs
- Government imperatives (for example, GEAR centralises economic rather than social imperatives)

Erskine (1997) aptly illustrates that current strategies and practices have tended to exacerbate natural resource degradation as well as economic and social insecurity.

2.5.4 Women and sustainable rural livelihoods

Despite their close contact with the environment, women have not been fully recognised as part of the natural environment conservation scene. Awumbilo and Momsen (1995) assert that when placed in impoverished emergency situations, women are forced to apply survival strategies that usually imply environmental degradation, in order to provide food and energy for their families. Like most parts of Africa, the majority of women in southern Africa spend their time ploughing, planting, weeding, harvesting, processing and storing food crops. The cultural division of tasks between women and men mean that women's areas of environmental knowledge differ from those of men (Mongella, 2000).

Ngubane (2002) asserts that throughout the history and in many societies, inequalities between women and men were part and parcel of an accepted male-dominated culture. According to Goodland (2003), one of the basic factors causing unequal share of women in development relates to the division of labour between the sexes. This division of labour has been justified on the basis of the childbearing function of women and this is biologically important for survival. Consequently, distribution of tasks and

responsibilities between men and women in a given society has mainly restricted women to the domestic sphere (Women and Structural Adjustment, 1995). Mass poverty and general backwardness has further aggravated the inequalities (Markakis, 1998). While women's childbearing and child-rearing functions are respected in many countries, there has been very little recognition of women's actual or potential contribution to the economic, social and cultural states (Momsen, 1999).

According to Malhoutra (1992), rural women are at particular risk from the effects of deteriorating environmental conditions. Their livelihoods and responsibilities make them more dependent than men on the local natural resources. The constraints and pressures which they face leave them more vulnerable to lack of water, declining crop yields and others. Yet they are still neglected by many outsiders, including government development planners, who tend to regard rural women as an irrelevant group. As an integral part of both the problems and the challenges of environmental degradation, women must be treated as a central group, not left out of the action (Ngubane, 2002). Unfortunately, women have not made major strides in decision-making pertaining to development due to continuing barriers to their full participation in the development process. It is now accepted that for women to fully participate in the development process, radical adjustments are required to remove these barriers. Only then will women's access to education, training, resources and management be realised (Malhoutra, 1992).

Agarwal (1997) argues that women are integral to any community and should not be seen as an isolated group. It is today widely recognised that without complementarity between women and men, there is no hope of success in development. Women have also demonstrated that they are key actors in maintaining society. For example, when women villagers initiate conservation activities, their intention is not to compete with men, but to complement men's activities in order to improve family, environmental and social welfare (Malhoutra, 1992).

According to Awumbilo and Momsen (1995), there are two approaches that characterise the debate on the relationship between women and the environment. Firstly, there is the

eco-feminist approach which sees women as being biologically made to be more closely related to the environment than men. Women are, therefore, seen as having a natural structural resemblance or similarity of character and hence a close relationship with the environment and are furthermore biologically made to exploit the environment. The second approach is the women and the environment approach which emphasises women's roles as environmental managers. This approach's primary aim is to develop environmental programmes for women which are quite distinct from those environmental programmes which are designed for men. These two approaches generalise women's roles in different households as well as their relationship with the environment and ignore the socio-cultural differences between women of different cultures. For example, it is not easy to claim that women from different racial categories are responsible for collecting wood for fuel and wild plants to be used either as vegetables or traditional medicine (Small, 1994).

According to Meer (1997), the eco-feminist approach can therefore be classified as an approach that applies to, and suitable to be used in rural African communities. Furthermore, by linking women's biological characteristics or behaviour patterns with nature, the eco-feminist approach leaves no room for cultural construction of gender, gender roles and cultural division of labour. Meer (1997) further asserts that the eco-feminist approach argues that women are traditionally excluded from the institutions that deal with environmental problems. Although in most societies women are primarily linked with environmental resources such as firewood, water and wild plants, this cannot necessarily be termed as a biological relationship as the eco-feminist approach claims. If the gender division of labour, which is culturally determined, has not assigned the role of fuelwood collection, fetching of water, and collection of wild plants, women would not be so closely linked with these environmental resources, and hence environmental degradation. Women, being so closely linked to the environment, are therefore the main section of the rural population that can be used in the adoption of environment conservation strategies (McIntosh and Vaughan, 1999).

According to Trivedi (1994), women are not only the key participants in the utilisation of natural resources but also play an important role in sustaining the natural environment. They do this by using the animal waste as a natural fertiliser to improve the soil structure in the fields. They also use the crop remnants as fodder for domestic animals. According to Agarwal (1997, Cousins (1997) and Mongella, (2000), they dig river beds to increase the volume of the rivers from which they fetch water. Given this attitude which women have towards the environment, environment exploitation and degradation of any form practised by women seems inevitable. Rural women have no alternative but to rely on the environmental resources for sustenance. Limited natural resources would render the environment vulnerable to be exploited and degraded by women in the process of utilising those resources. If ever there can be any alternative besides reliance on natural resources, women would not hesitate to turn to that alternatives (Agarwal 1997).

According to Trivedi (1994), since the 1970s women's groups and organisations have been very active in promoting environmental awareness. Women, particularly those living in rural areas play a crucial role in managing natural resources, such as water, forests, as farmers, stockholders, suppliers of water and fuel. Their tasks in agriculture and animal husbandry as well as in the household make them daily managers of the living environment (Agarwal, 1997).

Meer (1997) states that there may be cases in which benefits to the environment may bring costs to the women, and vice versa. For instance, if an area of land, previously accessible to the local women and men, was made out-of-bounds, and guarded against intruders in order to give the soil and vegetation a chance to recover from the heavy exploitation in the past, this would clearly have benefits for the environment but, in the short term at least, would be seen as a problem by the women and men who would no longer be able to use this land to graze their livestock, collect fuel and fodder, or collect food and water (Malhoutra, 1992). In the long term though they may benefit from the increased and sustained production of the land after it has been rehabilitated. In many instances difficult decisions will have to be taken, and compromises made, in order to avoid heavy damage to the environment or major problems for rural women. Making

such decisions is easier if the likely impacts of the activity have already been considered. If we are aware of how the environment and the local rural women will be affected by the planned activity we will be in a better position to help choose an option which causes least damage (Malhoutra, 1992).

According to Letsoalo (1991), a focus on the gender relations within which resources are controlled and used is crucial both for understanding local resource management practices and innovations for assessing policies that support or supplement. Awumbilo and Momsen (1995) state that in Mende rice farming men clear and burn bush and forests, and are therefore responsible for deforestation, while women cultivate farmlands and are therefore responsible for poor cultivation practices and hence land degradation. Virgin forests are denoted as “male” and cultivated space as “female”. In the Dogon culture, masks are worn by men, chastising the women’s lack of respect in using certain trees favoured by men (Letsoalo, 1991). Even in some rural areas, women are not allowed to cut plain trees from the indigenous forests, but to use only thorny species whereas men have the freedom to use any tree species. Indeed, it has been argued that the whole environmental focus is misguided, and that only when poverty is eliminated can ecology problems be addressed (Moore and Vaughan 1994).

According to Meer (1997), the cultural division of labour as well as some ceremonies and cultures contribute in the gender relations and tensions in resource use as well as resource management. For example, for the Bemba-speaking people, the Bemba men are responsible for cutting down trees for the ‘citemene’ garden (Meer, 1997). The tree-cutting ceremony or ‘ukutema rites’ had been particularly important in binding chiefly authority to ordinary agricultural activity. The tree cutter likens himself to an animal who climbs high or to a fierce chief who mutilates his subjects, cutting off their limbs like the branches of the tree. Other important ceremonies include the firing of the land at the beginning of the agricultural season, and tribute giving after the harvest (Moore and Vaughan, 1994).

According to Awumbilo and Momsen (1995), Bemba women had exercised ritual authority over agricultural production and fertility. Though clearing of fields was once prohibited by the administration, fear of rebellion and anxieties over food shortage led the administration to re-allow the clearing of the citemene fields. However, only males are allowed to stay in the rough shelter (sakwe) at times of the cutting of branches, gathering of branches and fencing of the fields. Women stayed in the sakwe only during the harvest period (Moore and Vaughan, 1994). This clear cut boundary between male and female roles in resource utilisation can inevitably bring about tension and thereby conflict between the two population groups. For example, men can be blamed for traces of deforestation whereas women can be blamed of any traces of land degradation if ever soil is mismanaged during the cultivation process.

People in rural areas rely heavily on natural resources for their survival. These include plants from the natural vegetation used as vegetables or medicines, cultivation of land for agricultural products, reliance on wood as a source of fuel, cutting down trees for building households, kraals, garden walls, yolks, etc., use of animal products like kraal manure as fertilisers, cow-dung for smearing mud-floors, hunting of wild birds and wild animals for food and as a hobby, as well as the fact that some animal and bird species are hunted for medicinal purposes. According to Adams (1990), the majority of the rural population is unemployed, poor, and therefore have no choice but to rely on natural resources for survival. This, therefore, means that these people have no alternative but to exploit the environment in order to survive.

Adams (1990) further asserts that poverty and environment are linked. Poor people live in and suffer from degraded environments, and very often they create environmental degradation because their poverty forces them to do so. The poorest suffer maximally from environmental deterioration since they generally live on land which is inappropriate for human habitation, in areas with very poor services. The poor generally cannot afford efficient sources of energy and hence depend on wood for fuel as well as other agricultural and animal wastes for their energy requirements. Overpopulation leads to a large number of people exerting pressure on natural resources like forests, animal

manure, water and cultivated fields by utilising these resources more than their capacity to replenish themselves (Letsoalo,1998). Middleton (1997) also states that the farmers in the highlands of Ethiopia or Nepal do not farm steep and eroded hillside through perversity, but through necessity. This again shows that rural populations have no choice but to exploit the environment in order to survive.

On the other hand degraded environments themselves create poverty. According to Adams (1990), drought in Sahel or pollution from mine tailings in tropical rivers exacerbate the exposure of the poor. Very often those affected have neither the freedom to stop causing degradation nor the opportunity to move elsewhere. Moyo et al (1993) assert that poverty and environmental degradation form a trap from which there is little chance of escape. According to Middleton (1997), this linkage between poverty and environmental degradation demonstrates the centrality of social, economic and political issues in questions of environment and development. It is on the environments in which the poor live and from which they draw their sustenance that concern about sustainable development has to focus (Adams, 1990).

According to Adams (1990), the poor small producers cause soil erosion because they are poor and desperate and soil erosion in its turn worsens their condition. The environment is not neutral in its effects on the poor, environmental quality is mediated by society, and society is not undifferentiated. Markakis (1998) states that access to and the distribution of environmental “goods” (cultivated land, fuelwood or clean air) is uneven. Environmental degradation is therefore a political issue. According to Wildbanks (1994), sustainable development is not just a matter of the environmental and the economic sciences. It is a concept that is fundamentally political. Its realisation lies in the answers to such questions as who is in control, who sets agendas, who allocates resources, who mediates disputes, who sets the rules of the game. It depends on research and learning not only in such fields as tropical ecology and rational choice behaviour, but also in fields concerned with socio-political structures (Markakis, 1998). In sustainable development, population increase, politics and decision-making are the most important areas of concern.

2.6 Women and decision-making capacity

Participatory theorists argue that for any development to be successful, it should be based on participation. Present obstacles to people's development can and should be overcome by giving the populations concerned the full opportunity of participating in all activities related to their development (Chambers, 1994a). According to Abbot (1995), participation is justified because it expresses not only the will of the majority of people, but also it is the only way for them to ensure that the important moral, humanitarian, social, cultural and economic objectives of a more humane and effective development can be peacefully attained. Participation by a broad spectrum of the population in local level governance is an ongoing objective of development practitioners in many parts of the world. Bailey (1994) stresses that participation is seen as one of the ingredients necessary to promote sustained development. To achieve sustained development requires more than people participating in the development process. Also important is a coherent and integrated state policy at national, regional and local level.

By participation we mean people involving themselves, to a greater or lesser degree, in organisations indirectly or directly concerned with the decision-making about, and implementation of, development (Mouton, 1996). Reason (1994: 80), who refers to the attempts at local level participation as "community politics", is cautious about the success of community initiatives so far. Chambers (1994b) asserts that in a survey of community politics in the United States of America and Britain, real gains have been limited and a number of problems have come to light. Briefly, these include the perceived impossibility of dealing with structural problems of economic and social inequity at a local level. Concessions won have usually been of a trivial nature at significant in time and effort, and local leaders tend to get sucked into official structures and begin to feel threatened by pressure from below (Buckles, 1999).

Awumbilo and Momsen (1995) state that the participation of citizens in local level decision-making through active involvement in formal structures, or through organised pressure groups, as part of civil society, is something that is difficult to achieve and to sustain. The achievement of genuine participation is difficult because local elites

monopolise power and are often hostile to widespread participation. They use combination of power positions, such as class, race, gender, age and education, often backed up by tradition and culture, to prevent meaningful participation from occurring (Buckles, 1999). According to Greenberg (2003), NGOs often state that women must be encouraged to participate in rural development, but fail to address the cultural myth that women should not participate in community meetings if men are present. Neither do they address the fact that many women who refuse to ask for permission from their partners or to be quiet in meetings in the presence of men, get assaulted afterwards. Information that should empower women to enable them to make decisions does not filter down to them. Anything to do with issues of land, agriculture and property ownership will often not be discussed with them because these issues are traditionally seen as men's responsibility (Greenberg, 2003).

According to Ngubane (2002), women's participation in land reform processes has not been on an equal basis with men and it is not easy for rural women to have access to processes of political decision-making. Many of the legal entities and committees that have been established in the land restitution and redistribution processes are still male-dominated. Additionally, there are men in most communities who do not believe that they can be on the same footing as women. Women's voices are not heard in most rural communities. Ngubane (2002) also states that in situations where women have access to their partner's land, they lack decision-making power. Women's needs and aspirations are hardly represented in most community structures (Gumede, 1997). According to Bob (2000), the role of women in the establishment and planning of the projects is very minimal. In most planning processes people do not take the issue of gender equality into consideration.

2.6.1 Culture and customs

According to Ngubane (2002), claims of culture and family are said to be the primary obstacles to the establishment of women's human rights. Over the last decades, in many areas of women's human rights - their personal liberty and their fundamental freedoms - are constantly and overtly denied. Greenberg (2003) asserts that the rationale given most

often for this denial of human rights to half the population is preservation of family and culture. Because the claims of culture and family are a primary obstacle to the establishment of women's human rights, the challenge for the South African community, including government, individual citizens, and NGOs, as well as CBOs, is to recognise that protecting rights of women within families as well as within society is not inimical to family life or to cultural integrity (Meynen, 1994). De Beer and Swanepoel (2000) state that family life and societies are strengthened when the capacity of all family members to function with respect between themselves is fully developed. It is the impression of how people live and how they respond to changing conditions. Different cultures maintain themselves only by incorporating and adapting to change (Ngubane, 2002).

2.6.2 Inequality in the sharing of power and decision-making

Women also remain under-represented in the leadership of institutions outside of government. According to Dauwes-Dukker et al. (1995) in communal areas, traditional authorities hold responsibility for allocating land and adjudicating disputes. With the exception of a few female chiefs and "headmen", women have been and remain almost completely excluded from positions of authority under traditional systems. Only through family lines can women hope to influence the decisions of traditional authorities (Cross and Friedman, 1997). Many organisations have adopted policies, often entrenched in their constitutions, which specify that women must constitute a certain percentage of membership and/ or positions on management committees and organisational boards (McIntosh and Vaughan, 1996). The forthcoming Co-operative Act includes provisions that cooperatives in which more than a third of the total members are women must have at least one woman on each management committee and sub-committee (Mayoux, 1995). Policies such as these, while not yet balancing power, have helped to diversify leadership structures (Geisler and Letsoalo, 2000).

However, the management and field staff of NGOs are primarily men, while the participants in the community groups they serve are mostly women. According to Modebe (2000), some NGO staff feel that extensive travel and overnight stays in the field deter women, who must still tend to household and child care responsibilities. Ngubane

(2002) asserts that women often don't have driver's licenses. This is also seen as an obstacle. However, this can be easily overcome by supporting driving lessons, and one NGO's recent advertisement for a rural-based position successfully encouraged female applicants by noting that lack of a license would not be a handicap. An overemphasis on secondary or tertiary qualifications may also exclude women, whose qualifications are often more experience-based (Geisler and Letsoalo, 2000).

Mongella (2000) points out that within community groups, farmers associations and other local-level organisations, a gap continues to exist between membership at the community level and participation in decision-making. Kabadaki (1994) stresses that women are often praised as the backbone of self-help efforts and community development, but this recognition does not always translate into access to leadership and decision-making. According to Nkhoma-Wamunza (1992), in some self-help programmes that work with households, although a woman may be the active participant, her husband is the registered member, attending meetings.

Greenberg (2003) asserts that some local associations have also drafted statements that guarantee women have one or more places in management structures. However, this may not guarantee meaningful participation. One observer noted that female committee members are often relegated to be association secretaries. Discriminatory marriage laws exert the greatest limitations on women's authority over children, control over property, and access to land and credit (Meer, 1997). Indeed, under both civil and customary systems, women are treated as *de facto* minors. For example, in the absence of an antenuptial contract, most civil law marriages are in community of property. Married women cannot register property in their own name. This gives husbands control over the purchase and disposal of property. Marriage in community of property also restricts women's access to credit; wives require husband's consent and signature to enter into contracts and to initiate law suits. Not recognised as property owners, women are also unable to pledge property as security for credit (Modebe, 2000). The husband is also recognised as the guardian of all children born to the marriage. Similarly, under common

law marriages, the upbringing of minor children, including decisions about their education, legally falls under the authority of the father (Mongella, 2000).

According to Greenberg (2003), under customary systems, traditional authorities allocate land, adjudicate disputes and rule on criminal acts, and make judgement over traditional divorce. It is important to stress that customary law was largely influenced by colonial interpretation and intervention. With the cooperation of elites and tribal leaders, colonial authorities saw customary law as "a tool to control resources" including the labour and reproductive capacity of women (Francis, 1997: 49). The stability of the reserve system hinged on these measures. A confusing web of legal provisions continues to govern marriage for most rural women, as colonial marriage laws have been overlaid onto the customary system (Greenberg, 2003). Women in customary marriages are also dependent on husbands' authority to sell property or to enter into contracts.

According to Mongella (2000), decision-making processes in a family are complex. In general, property relations define power relations. The spouse who controls the property and means of production also makes the major decisions in the family. Women's lack of decision-making power also comes almost as a consequence of their subservience to men (Modebe, 2000). This lack of decision-making power influences timing of agricultural operations (Mayoux, 1995). The significance of this is that untimely agricultural activities can reduce yields within the whole production system. Women make their own decisions in female-headed households.

Malhoutra (1992) states that women have access to family and hired labour although these two aspects are controlled by their husbands in the majority of cases. Women work very long hours in order to fulfil productive and reproductive labour requirements. Closely related is the lack of suitable technology for use by women (Meer, 1997). According to Agarwal (1997), women's productive roles take place at two different moments and in two different contexts; at household level and through employment or self employment. While women care for the family and thus carry the major burdens of domestic work, in most cases they have to work outside the home in order to contribute

to the family's income and to meet their basic needs. Males tend to be decision-makers in the homes, regardless of how substantial the female's contribution is towards the household budget (Mongella, 2000). Labour is a limiting factor in farming systems. Measures to motivate women and improve the efficiency of labour resources will also improve yields and performance (Cross and Friedman, 1997). The Mail and Guardian (2000) further states that decision-making at community level depends on the group of people who control and own productive resources or who are in control of activities and services or considered to be opinion leaders.

According to Mayoux (1995), power and decision-making in issues such as succession and inheritance after the death of a husband is also biased in favour of men, even where the husband and wife accumulate property jointly. In most societies, especially under customary law, women have no power over marital property, even after their husbands are dead (Mongella, 2000). Many of the problems facing women in South Africa regarding participation in decision-making bodies, formal or informal, relate to social attitudes perpetuated by the family (Levin et al, 1997). Women are discouraged from participating in public life because of discriminatory cultural attitudes and practices, which position them in the private sphere, with family and child-care oriented responsibilities, while males dominate the public sphere (Rodda, 1991).

2.7 Redistribution of resources

According to Meer (1997), the history of racial division in South Africa has resulted in gross inequalities of resource allocation, not least in access to, and use of land and other natural resources. One major aspiration of post-apartheid South Africa has been a move towards a reversal of these inequalities. This has involved the redistribution of land and associated resources. Such redistribution only has meaning if it can lead to the sustainable use of these resources to meet the requirements and aspirations of those who would benefit from the redistribution (Sowetan, 1999).

According to the African National Congress (1994b), one of the key issues facing the new democracy of South Africa is how to make choices with regard to the production,

allocation and distribution of the natural resource wealth in the country. This clearly raises the question how and on what basis such choices should be guided. Ngubane (2002) states that one can take the neo-liberal approach that choice should be guided by markets only. However, this assumes a rational calculating *homo economicus* (or economic man) and a view of reality where all (or at least the most important) social relationships are captured in market transactions (Ngubane, 2002). Alternatively, a political economic viewpoint views the market as just one institution, one way of providing answers to society's questions on natural resource wealth and how these should be produced, allocated and distributed. The achievement of equity, economic efficiency and environmental sustainability is largely a political economic and institutional question, one which would include the market as an institution. Market outcomes, political outcomes, or any institutional outcome is not an end in itself, but up for testing and evaluation against a normative framework other than economic efficiency alone (Cross and Friedman, 1997). Once such norms and objectives have been set, a key issue starts emerging: responsibility in living up to these objectives. Every actor in the landscape of decision-making on natural resources has a responsibility, a morality or an ethic that will guide and evaluate his or her actions (Meer, 1997).

Meer (1997) asserts that the state can provide the setting and context within which individuals and organisations can live up to being responsible producers and consumers of our natural resource wealth, but the ultimate responsibility lies with producers and consumers themselves. In the brief period following the 1994 elections, South Africa embarked on a process that the economist Jan Tinbergen would have called the setting of societal objectives (African National Congress, 1994b).

According to the United Nations (2002), national development priorities, and how natural resources should invariably contribute to these, were set. As a result, the principles and accompanying institutions governing the use of our natural resource wealth are in various stages of maturation. This has led to certain pockets of uncertainty in the political economy of natural resources as new natural resource Green Papers, White Papers, Bills and Acts are released (United Nations, 2002). According to Stroup and Baden (2004), the

area where the greatest uncertainty abounds is on the instruments that will be used to ensure that natural resource wealth contributes to society's well-being. For example, the debate has only recently started in earnest on the use of market-based incentives for environmental management as opposed to the more traditional command and control approaches. South Africa has always been heavily reliant on its natural resource base (Meer, 1997).

According to Dixon (1990), access to resources, particularly land is a key factor in the differentiation of Third World rural communities. Land shortages are frequently presented as the result of exhaustion of the reserves of uncultivated land. While this is increasingly true in some parts of the world, in many instances the problem is not one of land shortage but of very inequitable distribution of ownership. Similar arguments of mal-distribution rather than shortage can be advanced for other resources (Greenberg, 2003).

2.8 Land reform

According to Khanyile (2002), in some cases 'land reform' and 'agrarian reform' are used as alternative or interchangeable terms. Such a view is understood to have flowed from the perception that land reform always meant the distribution of property in land for the benefit of the landless, tenants and small-scale farmers. Dixon (1990) states that for some advocates, land reform is almost a magic wand which by redistributing land in a more equitable manner, will reduce poverty and tension between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. Such reforms are sometimes presented as essential if there is not to be violent political change. According to Dixon (1990), reform must be accompanied by measures to raise the productivity of land and ensure equitable distribution of inputs.

Land reform is a national competency through which the national government ensures a more equitable distribution of land ownership (Khanyile, 2002). Rural land reform and development cannot be separated, as they are inextricably linked (Ali, 2002). According to the African National Congress (ANC) (1994: 20), "A national land reform programme is central and a driving force of the programme of rural development." Rural land reform

is but a tool for rural development and government is the instrument. According to Ali (2002), the history of South Africa shows a myriad of inequalities of which the land issue was undoubtedly the central issue. Blacks were faced with the increased pressures from landlessness, insecurity and poverty due to racial laws and apartheid. Land in South Africa was central to conflicts, expropriation and relocation which resulted in the White minority owning 87% of the land. The Black majority were subjected to harsh conditions and were dumped into 13% of marginalised land (Davies, 1990). According to the Department of Land Affairs (2000), approximately half of the total South African population are categorised as being poor, of which 72% live in rural areas/ households, taking into consideration that 50% of the total population live in rural areas.

With the demise of apartheid in 1994, the government of National Unity with the new refined Department of Land Affairs (DLA) was tasked with implementing the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) objectives (seen as the basic needs approach), which was seen as a means to alleviate poverty (Hargreaves and Meer, 1999). The land reform programme was thus implemented to remedy the past injustices and bring about reconstruction and development by promoting sustainable growth and community development. The programme fell under the auspices of the Bill of Rights, which outlawed unfair discrimination and promoted women's access to land and their active participation in the decision-making process (Ali, 2002). The Congress for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) agreement, paved the way for land reform in South Africa, but which had a no expropriation clause attached as a precondition. According to Greenberg (2003), the RDP to alleviate poverty in rural areas was adopted by the DLA and a Land Reform Programme which appeared in the White Paper on South African Land Policy (1997) was developed. The main aims articulated in the White Paper were:

- Transfer 30% of agricultural land from Whites to Blacks in five years;
- Use natural resources (land, water, etc);
- Generate economically viable agricultural holdings;
- Recognition of the cultural value of land;
- Prioritise historically marginalised groups in the provision of land;
- Ensure that all South Africans have a place to live and secured tenure;

- Increase the income and the quality of life for all South Africans;
- Provide a potential for a variety of land uses;
- Provide a link to broader rural development components (infrastructure); and
- Provide a link to better local government organisations.

According to the ANC (1994), a national land reform programme aims to address effectively the injustices of forced removals and the historical denial of access to land and in implementing the national land reform programme and through the provision of support services, the democratic government, will increase incomes and eliminate overcrowding. The objectives were seen as a basic needs approach to poverty alleviation and resolving the injustices of the past, which included redressing the injustices and marginalisation of women. However, under the CODESA agreement the expropriation of land from White landowners was not an option. Only state land, donated land and purchased land from the White landowners, which fell under the “willing buyer- willing seller principle” were options available. The willing seller principle advocated that land could only be purchased at market related prices, which made land acquisition very difficult (Ali, 2002). According to Bob (1999), the willing sellers were and are often White commercial farmers who would sell their land at inflated prices or were and are unwilling to sell good quality land at decent prices.

The Government’s land reform policy therefore aims to:

- Redress the injustices of the colonial and apartheid era;
- Build national reconciliation;
- Promote stability, economic growth and eliminate poverty; and
- Improve household welfare.

In order to achieve these goals the programme must:

- Compensate people for land lost due to racial laws;
- Promote greater equality in the distribution of land ownership amongst its citizens;
- Provide secure tenure for all people living on the land;

- Ensure that the land is used sustainably so that it will be a productive resource for future generations;
- Provide land to meet the need for affordable housing and services;
- Record and register all rights in property; and
- Administer public land efficiently and effectively.

Brown et al (1998) state that the National Government is therefore responsible for land reform in the country, who must also liaise closely with the local, provincial and tribal authorities as they all have important roles to play in land reform. Not liaising with any one of the above authorities and facilitating buy-in, can lead to the programme failing. Apart from authorities participation, the success of any project depends to a large scale on public participation in decision-making, gender equity (which remove laws that restrict women's access to land, promote women's active participation and registers land assets in the names of the beneficiary household members and not only household heads), as well as economic, social, and environmental sustainability (Brown et al, 1998).

According to the White Paper on South African Land Policy (1997), it is for the landless people, especially women, farm workers and their families who want to improve their tenure rights; labour tenants who want to secure land rights; residents who want to secure or upgrade conditions of tenure under which they occupy land; people who get land through the land restitution programme; and people who lost land but are not covered by the restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994.

The approved households are given a Settlement/ Land Acquisition Grant of R16 000 (initially R15 000) per household. The main purpose of the grant is for settlement, production and/ or improving the tenure conditions. Successful applicants can use the grants for housing, water supply, sanitation, etc. It is also important to note that other departments like Housing, can be contacted for subsidies/ grants but only a combined maximum of R16 000 can be allocated per household from the two Departments as a once off grant. This, therefore, entails that the entire development per household comes out from the allocated R16 000 grant. If the proposed development is greater than the

allocated amount then that additional amount is costed to the applicant/ beneficiary. The three programmes under the land reform programme that was adopted based on market and demand driven processes are redistribution, restitution and tenure reform.

2.8.1 Redistribution

Redistribution aims to provide the disadvantaged and the poor with access to land for residential and productive purposes. Its scope includes urban and rural labour tenants, farm workers as well as new entrants to agriculture. This land reform strategy is attempting to fast-track the programme of new Black farmers and compensate those people whose land were taken during the colonial period.

The land redistribution programme is a needs-based component of the land reform programme (Ali, 2002), and according to Bob (1999), it is envisaged to exceed the number of households it reaches as compared to the rights-based tenure reform and restitution programme. The purpose of the land redistribution programme administered by the Department of Land Affairs is to provide the poor with land for residential and productive purposes. According to the Department of Land Affairs (1998: 26), the redistribution priorities are to provide for the following:

- The needs of the marginalised and women;
- Effective implementation of projects to areas that have institutional capacity;
- Projects that give attention to economic and social viability, fiscal sustainability by local authorities, environmental sustainability, access to markets and employment and availability of water and bulk infrastructure; and
- Support for diversity of land redistribution projects, to address the multiplicity of needs.

Land redistribution was set up to improve the livelihoods of the poor thus improving the quality of their lives and moving them away from poverty. Land redistribution was intended to assist the urban and rural poor, farm workers, women, labour tenants and emergent farmers. The land redistribution project is the most advanced of the three land reform programmes (Bob, 1999). According to Ntsebenza (1999: 1), the initial policy

platform as outlined in section 25 of the Constitution of South Africa, created “an imperative for government to respect and protect existing property rights and to ensure that no right could be arbitrarily removed.” There was also the guarantee that government would assist the needy to purchase and develop land and provide services. It is also enshrined that land redistribution should take place through the market with agreements for purchase of land being reached through the “willing-buyer” and “willing-seller” principle, with expropriation being an instrument of last resort if urgent land needs cannot be met through market transactions (Ali, 2002). The process of redistribution involves the identification of land and the formation of a legal entity by the beneficiaries (usually a Communal Property Association – CPA), development of a plan for use of the land and evaluation, negotiation with the land owner and purchasing and transfer of the land with government assistance in the form of the Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant (Ntsebenza, 1999).

2.8.2. Land restitution

Land restitution covers cases of forced removals, which took place after 1913. The Land Claim Courts (LCC) deals with these cases and commissions are established under the restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994. After the democratic State took over from the apartheid regime it realised the need for people to get back their land, especially those who were forcefully removed. The processes for people to access their original land is moving relatively slow as a result of resistance by some White farmers.

The government of national unity passed the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994, to provide or compensate those people who were marginalised by racially prejudiced laws that removed/ evicted people since 19th June 1913. The former president Mr F.W. de Klerk in 1991 acknowledged that dispossession of land from the Black South Africans was the most decisive move in redistributing wealth and power to the White minority (Bob, 1999). Restitution is therefore seen as a right-based programme, where the government must after reviewing applications, restore the land to people, provide alternate land or monetary compensation or alternate relief as agreed upon or negotiated by the applicant. The claimants for restitution rights are identified as the victims of forced

removals, labour tenants, landless people, current occupants without title and people with historical claims based on occupation of land by predecessors (Levin, 1997).

According to the Department of Land Affairs' (2000) Quality of Life Report, 28% of the total number of claims received was from KwaZulu-Natal. Also, 29% of the total rural claims were from KwaZulu-Natal, stressing that KwaZulu-Natal has the highest rural claimants. According to Bob (1998), in rural areas there are more community-based claims lodged rather than individual land claims.

2.8.3 Land tenure reform

Land tenure reform is considered through a review of land policy, administration and legislation to improve the tenure security of all South Africans and to accommodate diverse forms of communal tenure. According to Ali (2002), land tenure is envisaged as a secure way in which people own or occupy land or seen as a way in which to formalise informal rights of settlements and utilization. Until the fall of apartheid, it was very difficult for Black South Africans to get registered ownership rights to land which created a land shortage for Black people and led to people occupying land that they had no legal rights to. This led to evictions and threats thereof and severe conflicts. Thus, tenure reform aims to ensure that all people have security of tenure, irrespective of whether or not they own the occupied land, in order to eradicate exploitation, especially on farms and traditional land (where people lived in South African Development Trust Land which could be confiscated at any time) (Ali, 2002).

Amongst others, tenure reform was thus formulated to ensure that:

- Problems of insecurity, inequalities and landlessness are resolved, including the protection of vulnerable people against arbitrary evictions, thus ensuring that all South Africans have land rights;
- Systems of group or communal rights with individual rights are resolved ensuring appropriate land administration thereof; and
- All rights holders under communal ownership systems, especially women, have adequate representation in decision-making processes.

The Department of Land Affairs' (2000) Quality of Life Report stipulated that there were 82 land tenure projects nationally, of which only 3 was from KwaZulu-Natal and only 1.6% of the DLA's target to meet land demand of 600 000 households were realised.

2.8.4 Land redistribution and conservation

Conservation, according to Jordan (1995: 29), "is the philosophy of managing the environment in a way that it does not despoil, exhaust or extinguish" our resources. Therefore, conservation is seen as means of protection and use of our resources, but in a sustainable way. However, an area of contention has emerged between conservation areas/ game parks and redistribution projects that are located in close proximity to these nature reserves. According to Hall (1996), colonisation was accompanied with a tremendous effect on accessibility to land and landed resources. Land grabbing led to alienation of major ancestral lands, disruption of the existing social fabric and the collapse of traditional land management systems. Yet the dual tenure system meant that land under communal systems never came under government management. After independence, this has been the prevailing situation in most countries (Geisler and Letsoalo, 2000).

Despite the enormous social costs associated with racially-tinged conservation in the past, social and environmental policy need not be irrevocably at odds in South Africa (Herweg et al, 1999). Levin et al (1997) states that land reform can be a tool of both social and environmental justice, and can be an inducement to environmentally useful behaviours among the very farmers cast as threats to protected areas. Land reform offers various forms of land restitution for environmental refugees, and, when implemented as fully-fledged agrarian reform, provide security for majority and minority populations (Levin et al, 1997). Furthermore, at its best, land reform can increase the social carrying capacity of South Africa's resource base for the benefit of all rather than a few. According to Makopi (1999), despite this potential, land reform is not a panacea for all social or environmental problems. Indeed, in countries with extreme land concentration such as South Africa, land reform may be token or, if authentic, its social and economic challenges (centuries

of land claims and dramatic population changes) may eclipse or postpone important ecological concerns.

Environmentalists open to an alliance with land reformers may be unwilling to wait until equity matters are settled and shun rural economic development unless its sustainability is proven (Hall, 1996). They will have important transboundary concerns of the ecosystems they seek to save often conforming only poorly to the politically constructed boundaries of land reform. The unique cultures and political economies of different countries mean that innovative land reform from one national context do not transfer easily or automatically to another (Geisler and Letsoalo, 2000).

Rural land reform programme is but a tool for rural development and government is the instrument (ANC, 1994: 200). New laws recognise that for environmental protection to succeed, ordinary people must be involved in decision-making regarding the use of natural resources. For example, in the past rural communities were often summarily dispossessed of their land to create protected areas and then denied access to that land to make a living. There is now an acknowledgement that rural communities should play a role in these game reserves (Geisler and Letsoalo, 2000).

2.9 Gender and land reform

In the literature on development the specific roles of women had been largely ignored, particularly the question of how development affects women's subordinate position in most societies (Beneria and Sen, 1997). Women produce and reproduce life not merely biologically, but also through their social role in providing sustenance (Shiva, 1997). According to Greenberg (2003), in South Africa, most rural communities live from the land. Land is the most critical natural resource to which all other natural resources are linked. Access to land can provide access to food, jobs, shelter, and infrastructural services, and therefore offer the possibility of sustainable livelihoods. Most researchers, policy makers, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) including women's groups, seem preoccupied with employment as the primary indicator of women's economic status, neglecting the issue of property rights (Agarwal, 1994)). Land dispossession has

been one of the most significant factors contributing to the marginalisation of poor rural women, and women's access to and control over land is a determining factor of their economic status (Greenberg, 2003).

The subject of women and land resources merits special attention because many studies have shown that women and men interact in different ways with the land resource base (Agarwal, 1994; 1997; Deshingar, 1994; Rangan, 1997). Rights to resources, their interaction with land via the work patterns and experience with land policy programs are highly gendered (Bob, 1999).

Deshingar (1994) states that the inability of rural women to own or gain access to adequate quantities of natural resources is another manifestation of their generally vulnerable position in society. Davison (1988) highlights that despite the symbolic association between women and land and the widespread cultural perception of Earth as "mother", women only own less than one percent of the world's land. According to Bob (1999), South Africa is no exception in this regard. Agarwal (1997) asserts that women's struggle for their legitimate share in landed property can prove to be the single most critical entry point for women's empowerment. Bob (1999) further states that the issue of women's land rights needs to be given the centrality it justly deserves by policy-makers and academics who are concerned with gender and development issues.

2.9.1 Opportunities and obstacles to women's land access in South Africa

Crowley (1999) states that women's right to land is a critical factor in social status, economic well-being, and empowerment. Land is a basic source of employment, the key agricultural input, and a major determinant of a farmer's access to other productive resources and services. Meer (1997) states that land is also a social asset, crucial for cultural identity, political power, and participation in local decision-making processes. Women's access to other natural resources, such as water, fuelwood, fish and forest products, is also crucial for food security and income, particularly as land becomes increasingly scarce and access becomes a growing problem for women and men alike (Crowley, 1999).

According to Rwelamira (2000), land is a productive resource and means of survival. Although women make up the majority of the rural population, they manage only a small proportion of rural land. Crowley (1999) states that women face major obstacles with respect to legitimate access to this resource, and any access they have is insecure. Women also have fewer decision-making powers, from the home to the nation's government. In rural South African communities, land is a means of access to community leadership and political power.

Women and Structural Adjustment (1995) asserts that the opportunities and obstacles to women's access to land are inextricably tied to a web of traditional social values, attitudes and stereotypes in communities, the traditional institutions that support and enforce these values, and the policies, legislation and particular implementation strategies and practices of each of the three streams of land reform, namely state-led land reform, private sector land reform initiatives and civil society engagements with land reform. While both private sector and civil society land reform processes must also challenge these barriers, the institutional reforms which are the constitutional enforcement, legal reforms and capacitation of elected local governments needed to unblock the path to such changes are tasks of the state (Crowley, 1999).

According to Cross and Hornby (2002), the efforts to promote women's independent and secure land rights will inherently challenge the traditional power structures that enforce gendered roles in land allocation and use. The authority of traditional leaders, other community-based governing structures, and men in general is based on their ability to allocate or withdraw rights to land access and use. It is therefore evident that the promotion of women's independent land rights represents a threat to existing power relations and will inevitably lead to conflict in certain contexts.

2.9.2 Institutional factors and women's access to land

Meer (1997) states that in Traditional Authority districts particularly, but also on missions and many farms, rural micro-level governance institutions – *amakhosi* (chiefs),

izinduna (headmen) and informal local committees – still exercise power and authority in spite of the election of democratic local government structures in rural areas. According to Sowetan (2000), these institutions are, however, often on shaky ground, and some community members believe they are in danger of collapsing altogether as other institutions and the rural cash economy encroach on their traditional authority to allocate land and community membership. If women are allowed to hold land outside of the authority of such traditional leaders, their social control functions will be further undermined (Cross and Friedmann, 1997). According to Rwelamira (2000), some community members – most conservative rural men in particular - believe this could lead to the collapse of the structures and to violence. This impasse, in all its ramifications, blocks implementation of women’s land rights in most rural areas of South Africa. The South African literature on women and land rights has documented various ways that women are obstructed from exercising full control over land, and explains how this increases women’s marginality and dependency (Mongella, 2000). The literature has examined various aspects of this problem, including women’s lack of access to public process in their communities; their increased poverty burden; their coping mechanisms and efforts to sustain their household livelihoods; collective initiatives to access land; gender violence and other mechanisms through which men resist women’s attempts at independence; and the nature and capacity of the institutional structures found in traditional communities (Bob, 2000; Cross and Friedmann, 1997).

2.9.3 Gender critique of land reform policies

According to Greenberg (2003), the entire plethora of land reform policies and legislation give gender equity and women’s access to land as objectives, but there is no holistic, integrated approach with clear gender strategies to empower women to gain control over productive land and consequently access to sustainable livelihoods. A study of the gender impact of the land reform programme shows a lack of vision within the Department of Land Affairs why gender equity is crucial to the land reform process. Hargreaves and Meer (1999) found that:

- Policies are not guided by gender equity principles.
- There are no mechanisms to implement gender equity.

- There is a lack of understanding of the highly unequal power relations of gender, which affect access to and control over land and resources.
- The DLA has not developed any clear indicators to measure whether or not its gender policy or commitments under international treaties are being followed.

According to Greenberg (2003), another limitation of current land reform policy is the Women's Rights in Land sub-directorate, an institution tasked with gender mainstreaming in the DLA. While the establishment of such a structure is important, it must be equipped with the appropriate financial and human resources for it to fulfil its mandate. It also requires sufficient political will. According Levin (1997), from the National Land Committee's (NLC) interactions with the sub-directorate, it became clear that although these needs were recognised, they were not addressed. Furthermore, the sub-directorate has more recently been replaced by a gender unit, incorporated into the Transformation Directorate of the DLA. The power, authority and capacity of this structure have been even further diminished, as experienced by the NLC (Greenberg, 2003). Overall it can be argued that there is limited space for women to gain access to and control over land within the current government framework. According to Greenberg (2003), neo-liberal policies, coupled with limited budgets for land reform and the ineffective implementation of legislation, continue to perpetuate the marginalisation of rural women.

According to Greenberg (2003), current socio-economic and political realities do not contribute to promoting access to and control over productive land for women farm dwellers and those who live under communal tenure. As well as having no independent tenure rights, women farm dwellers are the first victims of the casualisation of the agricultural workforce. They continue to be subjected to increasing poverty, coupled with unlawful evictions, unemployment, low wages, the phasing out of the maintenance grants, HIV/AIDS and domestic violence. The Extension of Security of Tenure Act of 1997 (ESTA), the Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act of 1996, and the Prevention of Illegal Evictions and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act of 1998, are the legislative

measures put in place to secure the tenure rights of Black farm dwellers while protecting the ownership rights of White commercial farmers (Greenberg,2003).

According to Greenberg (2003), ESTA which seeks to protect people who were living on rural or peri-urban land with the permission of the owner on February 1997, gives women the same rights as men, assuming that equality translates into sameness and once again ignoring the underlying power imbalance out of which women's experiences are constructed. There is no recognition that women farm workers are discriminated against merely on the basis of being women. Most women farm workers have limited tenure security, since they are mostly employed as seasonal and temporary workers. Few have independent contracts, and many have limited access, if any, to housing, which is usually tied to employment contracts. Women are often evicted along with their male partners. Hall (1996) argues that ESTA has failed to counteract the traditional forms of women's dependence on men's relationships with employers and owners. In addition, the majority of women farm dwellers have very little knowledge of legislation and how to access their rights, let alone access resources that would contribute to the protection of those rights (Greenberg, 2003).

Greenberg (2003) argues that women are mostly excluded from benefiting from share equity schemes that aim to redistribute land. Many women are seasonal and casual workers and are therefore excluded from participation in these schemes. Where women are participating in share equity schemes:

- They are often not represented in decision-making structures.
- They hold the lowest paid jobs and are still being paid less for work of equal value.
- Discriminatory gender stereotypes are often reinforced by DLA planners.
- Men are still regarded as the beneficiary on behalf of the household, which creates the impression that the man holds the asset (Levin and Mkhabela, 1997).

According to Cross and Friedman (1997), the Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act of 1991 initially envisaged the individual ownership of communal land a last-ditch attempt by the apartheid government to privatise communal land and bring it into the land market. Private ownership of land, whether for an individual or group, contradicts the

principles underlying African tenure (Cousins, 1997). According to Greenberg (2003), the Act advocates that applications for upgrading to individual tenure should be both fully informed and demand-driven. Procedures were introduced to ensure that all interested parties have an opportunity to participate in any process of upgrading 'lower' land rights ('permission to occupy' certificates). Greenberg (2003) further states that this Act ignores the underlying power relationships in communities by failing to recognise that only certain categories of people are able to express a demand of this nature, and that only certain categories of people have access to opportunities to participate in these kinds of processes. Amendments to the Act in 1996 meant that security of a variety of forms of tenure could be protected, not just individual ownership. However, the amendments remain gender neutral. According to Meer (1997), under communal tenure, women's access to land is tied to men, both family members and chiefs. There is no tribal law stating that women cannot have access to land in their own right, but tribal authorities are patriarchal institutions that frequently deny women this access and their other constitutional rights.

The Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) was initially set by the DLA at R15 000 and later increased to R16 000 to match the urban housing grant (Turner, 1997). Cross and Hornby (2002: 54) state that to qualify for the grant, potential beneficiaries had to meet the following criteria:

- Be married under civil or customary law or 'habitually' cohabiting with another person/ have financial dependants;
- Be lawfully resident in South Africa;
- His/ her household earned a total of/ less than R1 500 per month;
- Neither the person nor his or her spouse had received any benefits from the housing subsidy scheme.

According to Greenberg (2003), the criteria of marriage, cohabitation and financial dependents discriminate against both single women and single men. It is ironic that the DLA's criteria for land redistribution prejudices a particular category of women, while its White Paper stresses that it will prioritise the needs of women. According to Levin and

Mkhabela (1997), many argue that the requirement of having financial dependants has encouraged some single women to acquire dependants and thus change their status. They used the dependants requirement to assert their user rights and as a means of maximising their grants. The rights of single women with dependants are still compromised by inconsistencies in the implementation of policies and legislation, coupled with the stereotypical patriarchal attitudes of some implementers, some of whom, for example, hold strong prejudices against unmarried women who have children (Greenberg, 2003).

According to Greenberg (2003), the Communal Property Associations (CPA) Act of 1996 was established as a new form of legal body through which members of disadvantaged and poor communities can collectively acquire, hold and manage property. Although the Act requires that the constitutions and internal rules of Communal Property Associations provide for equal rights for women and for democratic decision-processes, CPAs themselves have not contributed to rural women's empowerment or increased their access to land. Accounts of work done reveal that CPAs did not have any significant impact on the participation of women (Greenberg, 2003).

Greenberg (2003) further states that although the DLA has been using a quota system (ranging from 30% to 50%) to ensure the representation of women in CPAs, the focus is on the numbers of women and not at all on the substantive equitable participation of the poorest rural women. According to Greenberg (2003), for any quota system to be beneficial to the majority of women, it must be accompanied by an integrated strategy with clear goals and objectives for gender equity, coupled with raising awareness, training and capacity building.

According to Greenberg (2003), it is imperative that all policies, legislation and strategies recognise that women are not a homogenous group. Turner et al (1997) assert that it is essential to go beyond the numbers and continuously consider which women are benefiting from provisions and targeting. The DLA has failed to provide statistics on the number of women who benefited from the land redistribution programme between 1994 and 1999, let alone provide a profile on these women (Cousins, 1997). Because women

were never targeted as a beneficiary category under the land redistribution programme, they became invisible as members of households and members of groups applying for grants to buy land (Cross and Hornby, 2002). Greenberg (2003) points out that the recognition of gender, class and race differences is central to building gender equity in land reform. The DLA's land redistribution programme lacks an understanding of these inter-connected relationships (Greenberg, 2003).

Government's most recent redistribution programme, presently in its pilot phase, has different components or sub-programmes, namely agricultural development, settlement and non-agricultural enterprises (Greenberg, 2003). Its Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) sub-programme aims to create a Black farming class, and specifically provides grants to Black South Africans for accessing land for agricultural purposes or to make better use of land already accessed (DLA, 2001). Women qualify to apply for these grants and can do so as individuals (or groups); they do not have to apply as a member of a household. To qualify for a grant, all applicants are required to make a contribution in labour, kind or cash, usually a R1 000 contribution (Greenberg, 2003).

According to the Sowetan (2000), on the face of it, this seems to be an equitable means of providing women with access to land and economic opportunities, since it allows for, and encourages, women-only projects. However, on closer analysis it becomes evident that the programme ignores "the underlying power imbalances out of which women's experiences are constructed" (Hornby and Cross, 2002). Furthermore, there is no specification of how women's labour time will be calculated. Will it be calculated in terms of farm workers' wages or farm managers' salaries? Will there be any recognition of women's unpaid labour, and will there be any recognition of the indigenous knowledge and experience that rural women often have? Thorp (1997) asserts that women farm workers, unlike men farm workers, are not only discriminated against in regard to wages, but are also subjected to the gender division of labour where they are often relegated to the private, domestic sphere, while men have more opportunities to enter the public sphere. For example, many women farm workers do not have individual

employment contracts, but are considered an extension of their partners' contracts (Greenberg, 2003).

The LRAD programme ignores some of the basic realities of most poor, Black, landless women. Women are struggling to feed their families, often without the benefit of maintenance or child support grants. They bear the bulk of the responsibility for domestic duties. According to the Sowetan (2000), they care for those who are HIV-positive or who have AIDS. How could they possibly save R1 000 to contribute towards acquiring land (Greenberg, 2003)?

Cross and Hornby (2002) state that the women beneficiaries of the LRAD programme are likely to be elite, married women, since poor rural women are held back by class factors and by customary gender roles as well as by lack of information and outreach. Although the programme has specific gender targets and seeks to ensure full participation by rural women, it fails to provide equitable access to the poorest (Greenberg, 2003). Hornby and Cross (2002: 84) point out that obstacles to women's participation in the programme lie at an institutional level, "where women's aversion to risk and the danger of negative social reactions to their pursuit of entrepreneurial farming are some of the other stumbling blocks." All applicants are also expected to develop a business plan, and most poor rural women would require the assistance of an intermediary because of their low levels of education. Furthermore, the scale of the grant is determined by the amount of the "own contribution", which means that the more you can contribute, the more you can get (Hornby and Cross, 2002: 79).

2.10 Conclusion

According to Meer (1997), in recent years, natural resource sectors have been playing an increasingly prominent role as the realisation dawns that access to and use of natural resource wealth will shape the contours of South African society for many years to come. In the space of a few years after the transition to democracy, natural resource sectors in South Africa find themselves at the centre of decision-making processes where political, economic, environmental and societal ends meet, if not collide. Kabadaki (1994) states that in our favour is the fact that South Africa has a short but rich history of public debate and participation in shaping these new natural resource management systems, an asset that will prove to be invaluable in overcoming those obstacles related to the management of natural resources in the years to come.

Women's right to land is a critical factor in social status, economic well-being, and empowerment. Land is a basic source of employment, the key agricultural input, and a major determinant of a farmer's access to other productive resources and services. But land is also a social asset, crucial for cultural identity, political power, and participation in local decision-making processes (Cross and Friedman, 1997). Women's access to other natural resources, such as water, fuelwood, fish and forest products, is also crucial for food security and income, particularly as land becomes increasingly scarce and access becomes a growing problem for women and men alike (Meer, 1997).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

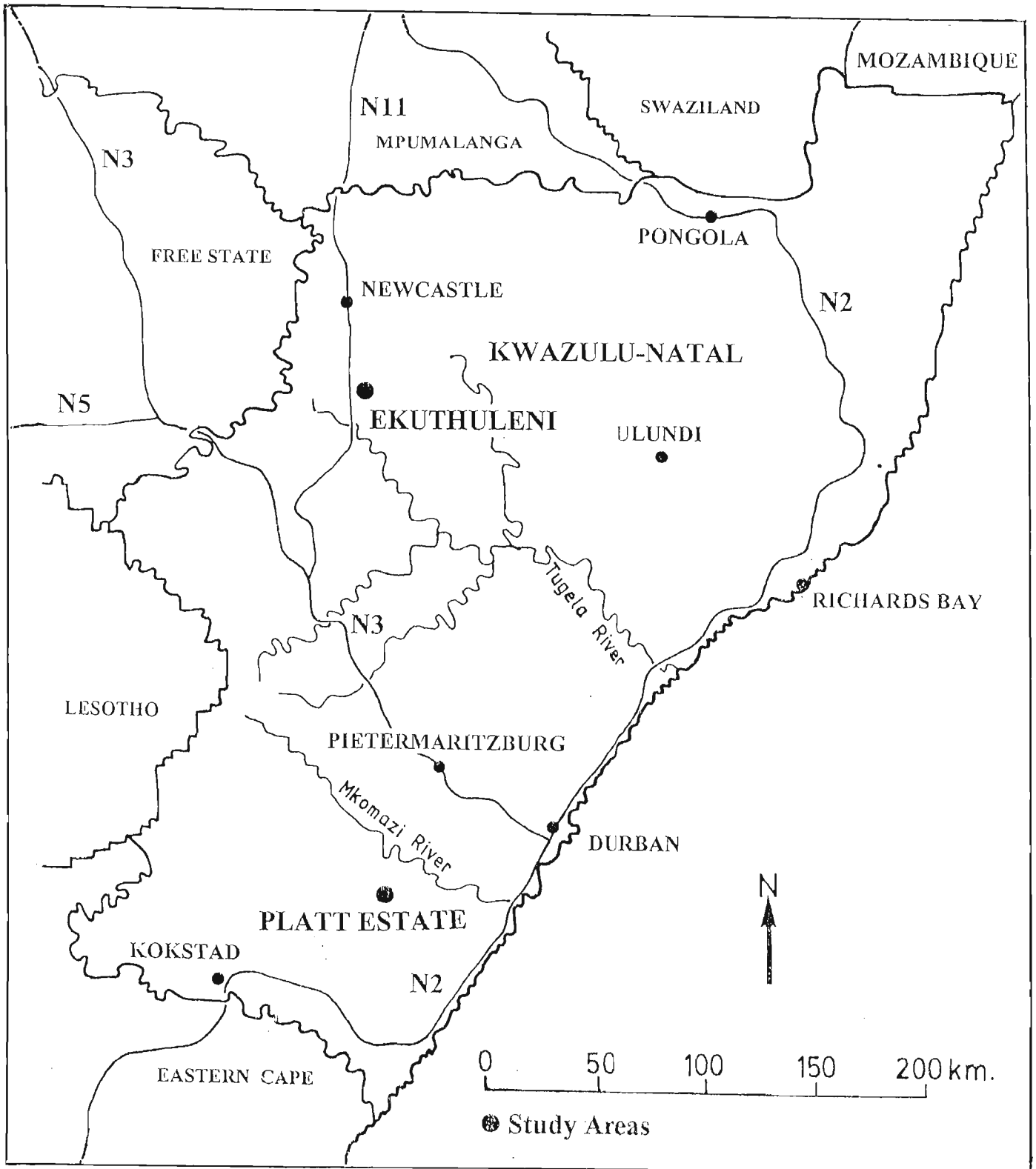
3.1 Introduction

According to Leedy (1993: 137), methodology is “merely the study of a particular method, or methods, for reaching a desired end” where the method is the way in which one solves the problem, reaches an objective or gets the job done. Case studies are important facet of research as it gives one direction. The research uses the case studies of Platt Estate and Ekuthuleni in KwaZulu-Natal. This chapter deals with research methods, fieldwork experiences, sampling techniques and other related issues employed to gather data. This chapter also deals with the background of the study areas and elaborates on these study areas. The information provided gives a description of the status quo of the project, the development proposal and the physical characteristics of the area.

3.2 Background to case studies

The background information for the study is drawn from the Business Plan for Platt Estate and Ekuthuleni that was developed by Lima Rural Development Foundation (1998; 1999 and 1997, respectively). Map 1 shows the location of Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate. These study areas were specifically chosen so that a cross section of experiences from different rural contexts could be examined.

MAP 3.1: MAP OF KWAZULU-NATAL SHOWING STUDY AREAS



3.2.1 Location of Platt Estate

Platt Estate is located in the Ugu Regional Council Area of KwaZulu-Natal and is situated 20km north of Highflats and 60km west of Umzinto. The estate comprises of a number of farms which were controlled by the State and managed by the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Agriculture. The Department was responsible for the management of the estate, including the maintenance of the timber plantations (black wattle and gum), fencing, infrastructure and agricultural extension.

3.2.1.1 Legal status

According to the Lima Rural Development Foundation (1998), a survey of residents residing on the properties of Platt Estate indicated that 104 families lived on the property since birth or for longer than 20 years, 102 families moved in within the last 10 years and 8 families moved in within the last 12 months prior to the survey being undertaken. The residents had utilised the resources on the farms with the full knowledge of the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Agriculture and the Department of Land Affairs, without paying rent.

The families living on the land had rights to the land. The legal rights within which the families had claims were in terms of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act, Act 62 of 1997 (ESTA) and the redistribution programme (Lima Rural Development Foundation, 1998). The ESTA gives the occupiers who lived on someone else's land on or before the 4th of February 1997, with the permission or knowledge of the owner, a secure legal right to live on and use the land. With respect to this case, as the land is state land, the state agreed to provide financial aid to ensure that the occupiers become owners of the land.

3.2.1.2 Development issues

According to the Lima Rural Development Foundation (1999), Platt Estate is located within the Vulamehlo Standing Committee area of the Ugu Regional Council and it was noted that access to services was generally poor and that the land was generally used for vegetable gardens and crop production. Thus, the vision amongst others was for:

- Water and sanitation development;

- Primary health care;
- Co-ordinated supply and maintenance of infrastructure and services (roads and water);
- Housing development, land acquisition and government support and training; and
- Environmental management (including water and sanitation).

Thus, the vision for Platt Estate, according to the Lima Rural Development Foundation (1998), was to create a total living environment for its inhabitants which provides for their basic needs, which allows residents to lead a realistically prosperous and safe life and within which they can fulfil their aspirations and expectations. According to Lima Rural Development Foundation (1998), therefore, the principles of the development need to incorporate the following:

- **Social development:** through developing the needs of the community with respect to access to basic levels of infrastructure and social services (such as education and health care facilities) which impact directly upon their living conditions.
- **Sustainable development:** through providing basic needs, the provision of access to basic necessities and services (such as water, sanitation, employment and transport links). There is also a need to ensure that the development is environmentally sustainable as well as socially, economically and institutionally sustainable, through ensuring buy-in from all stakeholders and organs of the state.
- **Settlement principles:** through the need to accommodate existing residents by formalising their land rights as well as formalising rights to those families that are detached from Platt Estate but who belong to the community.

3.2.1.3 Development proposal

The present settlement pattern is scattered with some agglomeration along the main roads through the Estate and therefore the settlement plan is not to relocate the people but to encourage new settlements to occur in zones of existing settlement adjacent to existing roads. Platt Estate has been divided into areas for settlement and vegetable gardens and areas for agriculture (timber plantations and grazing lands).

Fifty-seven (57) families are located on the property which is 843 hectares in extent. The property includes approximately 63 hectares of scrub wattle which is being utilised by the community for their domestic purposes. The land under occupation is regarded as high quality agricultural land. The settlement is dispersed resulting in the inefficient use of the land. However, there are options to densify this settlement and utilise it for the expansion of Platt Estate or to provide agricultural support by developing it into small-scale farms (as a local economic development strategy) which could provide income by the sale of the crops to local residents. Property FH 8895 lies to the south of the above property and is unoccupied, as it has steep slopes which fall away down to the Mpambanyoni River. There is only approximately 20 hectares suitable for timber production. The rest of the property is suitable for livestock grazing.

3.2.1.4 Vegetation

The vegetation is mixed open Ngongoni veld (*Aristida junciformis*), the density of which varies with slope and aspect. The river valleys have a much drier and hotter climate with predominantly valley Bushveld in the middle altitudes with Coastal Forest, especially in valleys and moist sites.

3.2.1.5 Soils

The soils of Platt Estate are mostly shallow Lithosols as is expected with the very steep topography. There are also good Hutton soils on the main watershed ridge near the Gartreff Store and further west at Nkolotsheni with smaller areas of Griffin soil. The remaining soils are shallow and of lower inherent fertility. Nevertheless, the Glenrosa and Clovelly soils which occur at the northern end of the watershed are reasonably deep, medium-textured soils with generally good physical characteristics. It is only in the extreme west and south-west that the sandier soils of the Platt series predominate in association with small patches of poorly-drained soils of the Cartref form. These soils are of reasonable depth and favourable topography so that they have a modest cropping potential despite their erodibility and low inherent cropping fertility. Platt Estate as a whole has significant cropping potential but one which is unevenly distributed.

3.2.1.6 Rainfall and water

The rainfall in the area ranges from 860mm to 910mm according to the Centre for Water Research of the Faculty of Engineering, University of Natal as cited in the Lima Rural Development Foundation (1999). This is ideal for timber growing.

The water resources of the area are unevenly distributed with useful water sources provided by the perennial Mzimlilo and Mpambanyoni rivers. Both these rivers are deeply incised making it prohibitively expensive to pump water up onto the intervening ridges. The result is that the ridges are rather poorly supplied with water, a condition which is aggravated by the lack of ground water normally associated with sub-strata. However, it should not be difficult or excessively costly to build a number of small farm dams to rectify this problem. There are a number of springs in the area which dries up during the dry seasons.

3.2.1.7 Infrastructure

The area is poorly served in relation to infrastructure with the conditions of the roads of poor quality, with a lack of well distributed internal water supplies and proper sanitation facilities and a lack of adequate fencing. The fencing could be used for proper veld management as well as the protection of the springs from animals.

3.2.2. Location of Ekuthuleni

The 88 families (beneficiaries) were originally evicted from the farms Gomba, Esikhaleni, Matiseni, Kopo, Msuluzi, Vumbu, Sihlanjeni, Bulinga, Watling Farm and Labuschagneskraal. These families made an application to the Department of Land Affairs to purchase the farm Labuschagneskraal No. 1229. Most families wanted to own their own land. This farm later became known as Ekuthuleni. The Ekuthuleni community area is situated on the outskirts of Colenso and lies to the east of town. The Colenso/Weenen road runs through the middle of this area and the Tugela River forms the northern boundary.

3.2.2.1 Legal status

According to Lima Rural Development Foundation (1997), residents mostly of the farm Chievely in the Estcourt District, made application to the Department of Land Affairs to purchase the farm Labuschagneskraal No. 1229, Remainder of Subdivision No. 1, from Mrs E Horner in terms of Act 126. Most of the families have previously been evicted from farms in the Estcourt district and, wanting to own their own land, made application to the Department of Land Affairs for a planning and settlement grant. The Ekuthuleni Community Land Trust was established for this purpose.

3.2.2.2 Development proposal

Ekuthuleni which was known as Labuschagneskraal is a farm of 927 ha located immediately to the east of the Colenso/ Nkanyezi Transitional Local Council area. Ekuthuleni is transversed by three sets of electricity power lines that restrict settlement development on the site. The Department of Water Affairs proposed to build two dams, one in the Thukela River and one in the Bushmen's River as part of a R4,5 billion transfer scheme to get water to Gauteng. The water was to be channelled and pumped to the Kilburn Dam from where it would be pumped to the Vaal River scheme. According to Lima Rural Development Foundation (1997), the implications of the channel system to Ekuthuleni were the following:

- Relatively large portions of the farm would become unusable and inaccessible;
- Although the channels would be fenced off they would still pose a danger to animals and children;
- Irrigation for food garden plots would possibly be allowed from the channel;
- If necessary, the water could be used for domestic purposes although not yet treated; and
- Preference would be given to local labour during the construction of dams and the channels.

3.2.2.3 Thukela Biosphere

The eastern boundary of Ekuthuleni is adjacent to the Thukela Biosphere. The biosphere is a conservation orientated initiative aimed at promoting sustainable development

through the utilisation of human and natural resources. An important aspect which should be noted is that the biosphere intends, amongst others, to promote tourism development. The Weenen Nature Reserve and a number of bed-and-breakfast facilities are already established within the reserve area. The location of Ekuthuleni in relation to the biosphere and tourism facilities creates opportunities for the community to establish an arts and crafts kiosk and/ or a fresh farm produce kiosk next to the Colenso/ Weenen Road.

3.2.2.4 Location next to Colenso/ Nkanyezi

The farm is located next to Colenso/ Nkanyezi. The community could benefit from this location in the following ways:

- Accessibility to employment opportunities;
- Relatively low transport costs due to the proximity to shops and other commercial and social services offered in the town; and
- Access to some of the services and facilities such as solid waste removal, the cemetery, schools and clinics.

3.2.2.5 Vegetation

Ekuthuleni is dominated by natural grasses such as *Eragrostic racemosa*, *Themeda triandra*, *Panicum natalense*, *Hyperhemia hirta*, *Eragrostis plan* and *Letaria nigrirostis*. There is also sparse *Acacia* thorn and about 50 ha of denser thornveld. Ekuthuleni is situated in the Dry Tall Grassveld. Most of the veld area was previously ploughed and is now well established to natural veld grasses again. Most of the veld area is open grassland, with sparse *Acacia* thorn, but approximately 50 hectares is denser thornveld.

3.2.2.6 Soils

The soils of Ekuthuleni are generally heavy, with the clayey Rensburg soil. Alluvial soils of the Oakleaf form occur adjacent to the Tugela River. Other common soils are largely loamy Estcourt soils and very little Shortlands. Basically the suitable area of settlement would be the area next to the main road (on either side of the road) but preferably not far from town.

3.2.2.7 Infrastructure

The plunge dip and handling facilities are also available and in good condition. There is also a metal reservoir and one windmill. There are thirteen camps. Two of the camps were being used by two families. These camps were in good condition and were all fenced.

The main road that joins Weenen and Colenso runs through the middle of the farm. The road giving access to the Tugela River is on the neighbouring farm.

3.3 Methodology

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used in this study to generate data relating to the research objectives. These included survey questionnaires, focus group discussions, venn diagrams, mental mapping, observations and problem ranking exercises. The need to include participatory techniques is based on the assertion that conventional methods used in data collection are often inadequate to unpack underlying meanings and processes (Chambers, 1994a). Ranking exercises identify factors that affect social differentiation in the communities. Venn diagrams were used to understand power relations and dynamics in the community.

3.3.1 Quantitative and qualitative research

According to Bless et al (2000), quantitative research methodology relies upon measurement and uses various scales. Systematic changes in “scores” are interpreted or given meaning in terms of the actual world that they represent. Numbers have the advantage of being exact. For example, “three” means exactly the same thing to every human being who knows the concept, and will mean exactly the same thing in different social, cultural and linguistic contexts (Bless et al, 2000). Another important advantage of numbers is that they can be analysed using descriptive and inferential statistics. However, there are some kinds of information that cannot be adequately recorded using quantitative data.

According to Neuman (1997), in many cases language provides a far more sensitive and meaningful way of recording human experiences. In these cases words and sentences are

used to qualify and record information about the world. This research is qualitative in nature. When a researcher studies the education of a community, she/ he might do so in terms of the number of years of schooling that the majority of people living in that community have completed. In other words, “education” is defined as the “number of years of schooling” (De Vos, 2001). This study is quantitative. However, the researcher might prefer to ask people what they know, and how they learned what they know. In this case members of the community might describe different educational techniques including experiential learning, learning by observing and copying other people in the community, learning by rote and so forth. They might speak about their practical knowledge and their understanding of their world. Here language is the tool by which social reality is recorded and the research is qualitative (Bless et al, 2000).

According to Mouton and Marais (1990), although the terms qualitative and quantitative are fairly commonly used, there is a good confusion about their meaning. According to these authors, however, the quantitative approach is that approach to research in the social sciences that is more highly formalised as well as more explicitly controlled, with a range that is more exactly defined and which, in terms of the methods used, is relatively close to the physical sciences. In contradistinction, qualitative approaches are those approaches in which the procedures are not as strictly formalised, while the scope is more likely to be undefined and a more philosophical mode of operation is adopted. According to Leedy (1993), all research methodology rests upon a bedrock axion: the nature of the data and the problem for research dictate the research methodology. Leedy (1993) subsequently identifies qualitative research methodologies as dealing with data that are principally verbal and quantitative research methodologies as dealing with data that are principally numerical.

Reid and Smith (1981) point out that in the quantitative approach the researcher’s role is that of an objective observer and studies are focused on specific questions or hypotheses that ideally remain constant throughout the investigation. Data collection procedures and types of measurements are constructed in advance of the study and applied in a standardised manner. Interviewers or observers are not expected to add their own

impressions or their interpretations. Measurements are focused on specific variables that are quantified through rating scales, frequency counts and other means. Analysis proceeds by obtaining statistical breakdowns of the distribution of the variables and by using statistical methods to determine associations or differences between variables.

De Vos (2001) states that when working from a qualitative perspective the researcher attempts to gain a first-hand, holistic understanding of phenomena, and data collection gets shaped as the investigation proceeds. Methods such as participant observation and unstructured interviewing are used. Qualitative methodology rests on the assumption that valid understanding can be gained through accumulated knowledge acquired first-hand by a single researcher. Finally, the assumptions and methods of qualitative research lead to products that differ markedly from the products of quantitative research (Reid and Smith, 1981). Bless et al (2000) state that the researchers should choose one of the two possibilities, but some authors point out that in reality researchers often have to use both approaches. According to Mouton and Marais (1990), the phenomena which are investigated in the social sciences are so enmeshed that a single approach can most certainly not succeed in encompassing human beings in their full complexity. Abbot (1995) also states that although purists from both camps would object, the best approach is to mix qualitative and quantitative evaluation methods.

The skilled social researcher carefully chooses the most appropriate approach to a particular problem. In nearly all cases the line between quantitative and qualitative methods is somewhat blurred. In fact a comprehensive study will use both methods and thus cannot strictly be called either quantitative or qualitative (Bless et al, 2000).

3.3.2 Participatory research

The concept participation cannot be easily defined in isolation, but it can be understood when it is associated with the type of participation. There are seven types of participation namely manipulative, passive, consultation, participation for material incentives, functional, interactive and self-mobilisation (Bailey, 1994). However, there is considerable disagreement with the definition and the aims of participation (Mayoux,

1995). Due to the fact that there are many types or interpretations, it is essential for the community to adopt the appropriate ones. Mayoux (1995) asserts that there is considerable disagreement with the definition and the aims of participation.

According to Bless et al (2000), participatory research is distinguished by two characteristics, that is, the relationship between the people involved in the research and the use of research as a tool for social change as well as for increasing human knowledge. Furthermore, participatory research encourages the active participation of the people when the research is intended to assist. In this way, it empowers the people to be involved in all aspects of a project including the planning and implementation of the research and any solutions that emerge from the research. Everybody involved in the research project works together as a team (Bless et al, 2000). Reason (1994) and Abbot (1995) submit that participation has been discovered by such diverse ideological groupings such as the World Bank, universities, non-governmental organisations, religious groups and bilateral agencies. Participation can be used for the purpose of transforming a present system or maintaining the status quo (Reid et al, 1981).

Levin et al (1997) distinguishes between the language of participation for legitimation (as used by government structures and the World Bank) and popular participation which involves local people in the process of defining and prioritising their needs of social transformation. He argues that this type of rhetorical participation is used primarily to legitimise a top-down policy-making process. In South Africa, participation has become part of mainstream development thinking. The fact that the local community is not taken seriously is noticeable in different positions that communities and policy makers have in terms of the land issue. The government and the World Bank have more or less agreed on market-based land reform programme while communities are rejecting the approach (Levin et al, 1997).

3.3.3 Participatory action research as a tool for sustainable social development

Bless and Higson-Smith (2000) assert that participatory research is not necessarily action-research, although action research is always participatory. Beyond the characteristics of participatory research, the action research demands that social scientists and community as equal partners in the planning and implementation of a project. Furthermore, action and research take place alternatively in an ongoing process for everyone involved (Bless and Higson-Smith, 2000). According to De Vos (1998), the earliest traces of the participatory action approach to community development were found in the efforts of colonialists to develop and encourage self-help among indigenous people. Despite the efforts of colonialists to involve indigenous people, social planning up to 1960 was characterised by elitist processes that dispensed resources and services in accordance with the wishes of the most powerful. The needs and ideas of communities were largely ignored by researchers and policy makers and consequently many communities underwent disruptive changes as a result of decisions made by people in positions of authority (De Vos, 1998).

De Vos (1998) states that community participation *per se* did therefore not guarantee, as it intended, that the needs of the community would be satisfied. Abbot (1995) points out that apart from succeeding in narrowing the gap between the researcher and the respondents, the participatory research approach often failed because of a lack of clear understanding by researchers of what the community perceived their partnership role to be. Communities felt that they were rarely given the power to choose how they want to become involved in research. Activists even alleged that the notion of participatory action research was used as a smokescreen for neo-colonial expansion. As a result most international organisations and national governments have discarded the notion of community development through participation as a lost cause (Jones and Wiggle, 1987).

It is only in recent years that there has been resuscitated support for community development and participatory research (Abbot, 1995) and that people's participation has become a major concern in development thinking (Rahman, 1993). Today there is a growing consciousness that no development should or can take place without involving

communities in the planning of the type of services they need (De vos, 1998). Rahman (1993) correctly states that the people want to stand up, do things themselves in their own search for life and move forward, supporting each other.

De Vos (1998) mentions that researchers are no longer perceived as having the right to exercise a monopoly over explaining the social world, but to empower research participants to understand and solve their own situation and problems, become aware of their own potential and regain their own sense of dignity to take collective action for their self-development. Sustainable development can only take place through people's self-development and mobilisation. It can never take place if the state or some outsider (researcher) takes the primary responsibility for initiating and implementing development (De vos, 1998). If State agencies or international organisations take such responsibility, people will expect them to deliver development instead of mobilising their own resources and taking their own decisions (Rahman, 1993).

3.3.4 Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)

Whyte (1991) states that PRA is a cross-disciplinary and cross-sectoral approach to engaging communities in development through interactive and participatory processes. Khanyile (2001) states that PRA is a methodology for interacting with villagers, understanding them and learning from their experiences. It initiates a participatory process and uses its principles and a menu of methods to help in the organisation of the participatory process. PRA aims to collect different types of data, identifies and mobilises intended groups, encourages their participation as well as creates ways for the involvement in decision-making, project design, execution and monitoring. PRA is sometimes known as Participatory Rapid Appraisal (PRRA) and Participatory Learning Method (PALM). A key aspect of PRA is building rapport between the research team and the community (Khanyile, 2002). Participatory methodologies support a new and emerging paradigm of development and research. Chambers (1994b) states that what is local and what is different is valued.

3.3.5 Sampling

According to Bob (1999: 129), sampling refers to “the set of procedures by which individuals, households or communities are selected from a total population group”. According to Bless and Higson-Smith (2000), sampling is a practical way of collecting data when the population is infinite or extremely large, thus making a study of all its elements impossible. It must therefore be stressed that an adequate sampling frame excludes no element of the population under investigation. An even stricter requirement would be that all elements of the population have the same chance of being drawn into the sample (Bless and Higson-Smith, 2000). Therefore, for the purpose of this study 40 households from each community (Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate) were randomly sampled.

3.3.5.1 Random sampling

According to Bless and Higson-Smith (2000), random sampling is the method of drawing a portion (sample) of a population so that each member of the population has an equal chance of being selected. This definition seems to be limited, so a better definition has been provided: random sampling is that method of drawing a sample of a population so that all possible samples of fixed size have the same probability of being selected (De Vos, 2001). According to Bless and Higson-Smith (2000), simple random sampling is a sampling procedure which provides equal opportunity of selection for each element in a population. A list of households was compiled in each community under study. Forty households in each community were then randomly selected using a random table.

3.3.6 Questionnaire survey

According to Bob (1999), questionnaire-based surveys are the most common methodology used to gather information which is directed to specific individuals, whilst Leedy (1993: 187) argues that “a common place instrument for observing data beyond the physical reach of the observer is the questionnaire.” Both agree that the questionnaire is the simplest and most widely used instrument to gather information. The questionnaire comprises a set of carefully structured questions, designed to obtain the needed information without any ambiguity or bias as every respondent answers the same question, which is worded in the same way and in the same sequence (Johnston et

al,1986). For the purpose of this study, the questionnaire was designed to collect information from 40 households per community.

Bob (1999) indicates that using the questionnaire methodology is useful in gathering a wide range of information that can be easily quantified and used for statistical analysis. The questionnaire was designed with closed-ended and open-ended questions. The closed-ended questions required specific information from a range of choices and were designed to collect data that could be qualified and quantified statistically. The open-ended questions needed verification of the answers given. The open-ended questions were therefore used to clarify positions as well as to use this information qualitatively and statistically. The questionnaires were conducted by visiting female adults in the chosen households in the study areas. Eighty copies of questionnaires had to be filled and the researcher who understands their language (IsiZulu) conducted personal, face-to-face interviews. This was advantageous to the researcher because some of the respondents were illiterate.

3.3.7 Interviews and observations

Some informal interviews were also conducted. The community members were interviewed as well as the key respondents such as the community leaders and government officials. What is interesting about the interviews is that if a person is interviewed and nothing is recorded down, he or she is more likely to feel comfortable with the conversation and hence more accurate and personal information is drawn from the respondent. Most people, especially those in the rural areas, are not familiar with surveys. There were those respondents who were in the forest collecting fuelwood and did not want to be disturbed. In such cases the researcher interviewed them while they were busy doing their work and they eventually enjoyed that. Another problem was that some of the respondents that did not attend the meeting in Ekuthuleni thought that they were going to be arrested for stealing the logs from the game reserve forest. They were relieved after the researcher explained everything to them. Observations also help in avoiding asking questions about things that can be seen in the surrounding area.

3.3.8 Mental mapping

According to Kong (1998), maps play an important role in participatory methodology. Maps provide basic knowledge of aspects of a community. A map can show different natural resources and micro environments. They also show relational locations within the village including infrastructure, dwellings and ownership of assets. According to Bob (1999), mental maps are crucial to geography as it provides a basis for knowing different aspects of a community as well as showing the different natural resources and micro-environments. According to Leedy (1993), by analysing the structure of mental maps, one can gain an idea of how people orientate themselves in relation to the environment. Therefore, mental maps are useful in planning from a government level, since it gathers information which can be used in detailed planning ensuring an integrated approach to development (Ali, 2002). According to Khanyile (2002), resource mapping helps outsiders and the communities to understand how different segments see the communities' resources and how they differ from outsiders' perceptions or the results of the surveys. Mapping community's access to and control over resources is essential to understand how places and spaces are used. Mapping is conducted among people who belong to the same community and know each other, not simply for convenience of organisation or to enable triangulation of responses, but to facilitate post-exercise action among group members (De Vos, 2001).

Participants work in focus/ peer groups, for example a group of unemployed youth, one for female households heads, another for married men. These exclusive groupings enable the participants to share experiences and develop ideas independently of those with different competing positionalities (Bless and Higson-Smith, 2000). They further state that within these groups, the visual and unexpressed nature of mapping facilitates the contribution of less dominant personalities and helps them to express their 'voice' without necessarily requiring them to 'speak'. Essentially, the respondents are able to see the results of the research immediately provided the researcher/ facilitator affords them an opportunity to analyse and discuss the map themselves (Khanyile, 2002).

3.3.9 Venn diagram

Venn diagrams are basically visual methods that represent the role of organisations and the degree of their importance in decision-making (Khanyile, 2002). They are also referred as chappati diagrams which are visual representations of the different power structures (traditional leadership, public elected representatives and other development structures), which the community perceives to be influencing decisions at the community level (Miya, 2003). The relative importance of each structure and the relationships between each other are represented using circles. Overlapping of circles show that they overlap in terms of membership or decision-making.

Furthermore, Khanyile (2002) asserts that this method assists the facilitator to comprehend the roles of the local and outside organisations and the perceptions that people have about them. In addition this tool helps to show which institutions are the most important, which have the respect and the confidence of men and women, and who participates in and is represented by which one. This tool visually illustrates the power and decision-making structures.

3.3.10 Problem ranking exercises

In the communities, wealth and problem ranking exercises using pairwise ranking and scoring were conducted with the community members. Pairwise ranking and options assessment are tools for identifying issues of concern and their causes, prioritising these problems and choosing solutions (Sherman and Reid, 1994). The advantages of employing ranking exercises are that researchers get the opportunity to experience the lives of rural people for a while and it makes the collection of data much easier in a sense that researchers can work with the individuals who are illiterate.

3.3.11 Fieldwork

Quantitative and qualitative methods were both employed as mentioned before to generate data relating to the research objectives identified. These included survey questionnaires (with some open-ended questions), focus group discussions, venn diagrams, resource mapping and problem ranking exercises. The need to include

participatory techniques was based on the assertion that conventional methods used in data collection are often inadequate to unpack underlying meanings and processes (Chambers, 1994a; 1994b; Fortmann, 1995; Guijt and Shah, 1998; Mukherjee, 1993; Slocum et al, 1995). The survey questionnaire identified trends and issues for further consideration. Additionally, the data assisted in identifying the focus groups in each community to engage in more in-depth discussions around concerns raised in the questionnaire findings.

Resource mapping focused on different spatial aspects related to land use and management such as links to the natural resource base, social networks and food production activities (Bob and Moodley, 2004). Problem ranking exercises were used to identify problems associated with suitable land use and management at the community level, especially in relation to aspects such as legal considerations, participation, decision-making processes, influence of external agencies and existing capacity. Venn diagrams were used to represent the role of individuals and institutions as well as their degree of importance in decision-making within a community. The participatory exercises were conducted with focus groups.

3.3.12 Introductory meetings

The first step when conducting the fieldwork was to arrange an introductory meeting with the community leaders. The whole aim of arranging these meetings was to ask for permission from the community leaders to conduct this research. During the introductory meetings the community leaders were also interviewed.

During these meetings a sample size was selected as mentioned before. From the randomly selected households chosen to conduct the interviews, a focus group of ten people from each community was chosen for the focus group discussions and participatory exercises. This was done in both study areas and the two focus groups that were selected from each community were used for the execution of the mental mapping, ranking exercises and venn diagrams.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter the methods employed in this study were presented. Many authors argue that when both quantitative and qualitative research tools are collectively designed and appropriately combined, a carefully selected set can provide relevant information on issues that cover the dynamics of processes at the local level. Therefore, the research tools that were used in this study allowed for analysing problems and opportunities that rural women experienced due to participation in decision-making over land use in Platt Estate and Ekuthuleni.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

According to Sherman and Reid (1994), the collection and analysis of data play an important role in planning. Planning is the process of decision-making and decisions cannot be made without at least minimum information. Therefore, interpreted or analysed data reveals certain information that is required for planning purposes or to determine the status quo (Ali, 2002). In this section the data that was collected from the two communities in KwaZulu-Natal, that is, Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate is presented and analysed.

4.2 Survey data analysis

4.2.1 Socio-economic profile of respondents

Table 4.1: Marital status of respondents ✓

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Married	22	55	25	63	47	59
Single	10	25	5	13	15	19
Widowed	8	20	10	25	18	22

Table 4.1 illustrates that 55% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni are married and 25% of the respondents are single. In Platt Estate 63% of the respondents are married and 13% are single. In both communities the majority of the respondents that are single were either the youth looking after their households when the interviews were conducted or the daughters of families who lived with the parents. Twenty percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni are widowed and at Platt Estate 25% of the respondents are widowed.

Table 4.2: Age of respondents

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>F(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
<20	1	2.5	3	7.5	4	5
20-39	10	25	6	15	16	20
40-49	18	45	10	25	28	35
50-59	8	20	12	30	20	25
60-69	3	7.5	9	22.5	12	15

The above Table demonstrates that a significant majority of the respondents in Ekuthuleni were between the age of 40-49 years (45%) and at Platt Estate the majority of respondents were between 50 and 59 years of age (30%). Table 4.2 also demonstrates that fewer respondents in the less than 20 years age category were interviewed in both communities because of a focus in interviewing adults (2.5% in Ekuthuleni and 7.5% in Platt Estate). Twenty five percent of the respondents interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 15% interviewed in Platt Estate were between the ages of 20-29 years. The Table also shows that 25% of the respondents interviewed at Platt Estate were in the 40-49 years category. Twenty five percent of the respondents interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 15% of the respondents in Platt Estate were between 20-39 years.

Table 4.3: Educational level of respondents

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
No schooling	2	5	1	2.5	3	3.75
Primary	30	75	32	80	62	77.5
Secondary	6	15	6	15	12	15
Tertiary	2	5	1	2.5	3	3.75

In terms of educational level, Table 4.3 illustrates that the majority of the respondents interviewed in both communities (75% in Ekuthuleni and 80% in Platt Estate) have primary education. Fifteen percent of the respondents interviewed in Ekuthuleni and in

Platt Estate have secondary education. The Table also shows that 5% of the respondents interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 2.5% in Platt Estate have secondary education and 5% of the respondents interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 2.5% interviewed in Platt Estate did not go to school. Although some differentiation is noticeable among the communities, in general there is evidence that access to formal education is limited in the communities, especially at higher levels.

Table 4.4: Sources of income of households: Multiple responses

	Ekuthuleni		Platt estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Agricultural wage labour	8	20	2	5	10	12.5
Informal activities	6	15	10	25	16	20
Non-agricultural wage labour	12	30	12	30	24	30
Pensions, welfare grants, etc.	12	30	15	37.5	27	33.75
Professional	2	5	1	2.5	3	3.75

The households in this study engage in various occupations that reflect social differentiation among the households (Table 4.4). Furthermore, most households depend on a combination of income sources, relying on multiple income generating activities. Clearly, social welfare grants as well as various types of income generating activities are important for household survival. It is also important to point out that non-agricultural wage labour includes migrant labour. The majority of respondents from both communities (30%) work in urban areas and in areas surrounding their communities. Thirty percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 37.5% in Platt Estate depend on pensions and welfare grants to support their families. Twenty percent of the interviewees in Ekuthuleni and 5% in Platt Estate obtain their income from agricultural wage labour while 15% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 25% from Platt Estate depend on informal activities as their sources of income. Five percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 2.5% in Platt Estate depend on professional activities such as teaching or nursing as sources of income.

During the focus group discussions, many respondents stated that they wanted to work but there were no jobs available. Furthermore, in Ekuthuleni many respondents indicated that the scarcity of garden plots and the increase in competition for arable land between cash crops and food crops means that households depend increasingly on cash to buy food they consume in their homes.

Table 4.5: Number of years respondent has been living in the area ✓

Number of years	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
<5	18	45	-	-	18	22.5
6-10	18	45	1	2.5	19	23.75
11-15	-	-	9	22.5	9	11.25
>15	4	10	30	75	34	42.5

Table 4.5 illustrates that most of the respondents in Platt Estate have been living in the area in which they currently reside for more than fifteen years (75%). This Table also shows that 10% of respondents in Ekuthuleni reside in the area for more than fifteen years and 45% of households in Ekuthuleni have been living in the community for less than five years. In the case of Platt Estate there are no respondents who have been living in the area for less than five years. In Platt Estate 22.5% of the respondents have been residing in the area between eleven and fifteen years while in Ekuthuleni there are no respondents who fall under this category. Forty five percent of the respondents have been living in Platt Estate for six to ten years and one respondent in Platt Estate falls in this category. The results suggest that many of the respondents have sufficient knowledge of their environment as well as the community social dynamics.

4.2.2 Profile of communities under study

Table 4.6: Services available for the households: Multiple responses

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Water services	30	75	10	25	40	50
Land for cultivation	10	25	35	87.5	45	56.25
Land for grazing	30	75	25	62.5	55	68.75
Toilet	10	25	10	25	20	25
Sources of fuel	-	-	35	87.5	35	43.75

Table 4.6 indicates that 25% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni stated that they have land for cultivation, while in Platt Estate most of the respondents (87.5%) have land for cultivation. In the case of Ekuthuleni the community members interviewed acknowledged that they were allocated enough land for cultivation, but it is very far from their residential areas. For that reason most of the respondents interviewed said that they are unable to cultivate. Seventy five percent of the interviewees in Ekuthuleni and 62.5% in Platt Estate have land for grazing. From both communities the respondents expressed their concerns over the men who dominate the decision-making processes which had resulted in more land and resources allocated for grazing needs rather than to support subsistence agricultural production on their marginal arable land.

Only 10% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni have sources of fuel and most of the respondents interviewed in Platt Estate (87.5%) said that they had enough sources of fuelwood. Platt Estate has a forestry plantation and most of the respondents access fuelwood from the plantations. Seventy five percent of the community members interviewed in Ekuthuleni had water sources, and in Platt Estate only 10% had water sources. The water sources do not meet the needs of the community throughout the year in terms of supply and/ or volume.

All of the respondents in Platt Estate stated that their water requirements were not adequate throughout the year. However, all responded that during the rainy summer

months their water needs were adequate but during the dry winter months their supply was inadequate, as the springs would dry up. They also have to spend long periods standing in long queues waiting to collect water. Twenty five percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and in Platt Estate had toilets. The respondents from both communities agreed that these pit toilets are within a reasonable distance from the houses.

Table 4.7: Services most preferred: Multiple responses

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f</i> (n=40)	%	<i>f</i> (n=40)	%	<i>f</i> (n=80)	%
Electricity	38	95	34	85	72	90
Land for cultivation	36	90	4	10	40	50
Fuelwood sources	40	100	10	25	50	62.5
Toilets	40	100	18	45	58	72.5
Water sources	20	50	40	100	60	75
Roads	30	75	4	10	34	42.5
Schools	32	80	30	75	62	77.5

The above Table shows that respondents in both communities rely heavily on natural resources such as fuelwood (62.5%). Access and affordability of basic services in particular positively impacts on people's health and reduces dramatically the time spent on collecting resources such as water and wood. Bob and Moodley (2004) assert that the national and regional trends illustrate that there remains a backlog in the provision of services in many land reform communities. Most of the communities that have settled on land acquired through land reform processes have done so without the availability of basic services (Bob and Moodley, 2004). Access to water and electricity are inadequate in Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate.

Table 4.7 illustrates that access to electricity was a popular choice as a preferred service in the community (95% in Ekuthuleni and 85% in Platt Estate). Ninety percent of respondents in Ekuthuleni need land for cultivation near their households as it was pointed earlier that the land they have is very far from their residential areas. In Platt

Estate only 10% of the respondents wished to have land for cultivation. These respondents pointed out that the land they have been allocated for cultivation is too small. All the respondents interviewed in Ekuthuleni expressed the need for fuelwood sources, while in Platt Estate only 25% of the respondents needed fuelwood sources and these were those respondents who were residing far from the forest. Forty five percent interviewed in Platt Estate expressed a need to have toilets and all respondents in Ekuthuleni need toilets.

Access to water is a problem in both communities, especially in Platt Estate where all the respondents that were interviewed pointed out that they need water sources and 50% in Ekuthuleni would like to have enough water sources. Seventy five percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 10% in Platt Estate need improved roads. Both communities have the problem of inadequate and/ or inaccessible schools. In Ekuthuleni there is no school at all and children have to travel from the community to Colenso and in Platt Estate they have schools, but they are not enough. Therefore, 80% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 75% in Platt Estate would like to have schools in close proximity to their communities.

Table 4.8: Type of toilets in the households of respondents

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Pit latrine	22	55	34	85	56	70
No toilets	18	45	6	15	26	30

The above Table shows that 45% of the respondents interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 15% of the respondents in Platt Estate do not have toilets. They said that they use bushy open spaces to relieve themselves. Fifty five percent of the community members in Ekuthuleni and 85% in Platt Estate have pit latrine toilets outside their dwellings.

Table 4.9 The main type of water supply used by respondents in their households: multiple responses

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Rain water tank	6	15	20	50	26	32.5
Borehole	40	100	-	-	40	50
Spring	-	-	40	100	40	50

Table 4.9 demonstrates that all respondents in Platt Estate said that they use springs as sources of water for household needs. It was noticed that these springs were not fenced and they share them with their livestock. All the community members interviewed from Ekuthuleni stated that they use boreholes as sources of water. Fifteen percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 50% from Platt Estate have rain water tanks. They use rain water during rainy seasons. This means that there is much reliance on natural water sources which are boreholes and groundwater.

Table 4.10: Members of households who collect water

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Girls <18	10	25	6	15	16	20
Women 18-60	20	50	22	55	42	52.5
Women >60	8	20	6	15	14	17.5
Boys <18	2	5	6	15	8	10

Table 4.10 illustrates that 50% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 55% from Platt Estate indicated that women between 18 and 60 years are responsible for collecting water for their households. Twenty five percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 15% in Platt Estate said that the girls under the age of 18 collect water for their households. Women above the age of 60 years are also responsible for collecting water (20% in Ekuthuleni and 15% in Platt Estate). Five percent of the community members interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 15% in Platt Estate said that boys under 18 years collect

water. Thus, the results reinforce findings presented in the literature review that indicate the gendered dimensions of reproductive/ domestic work at the household level.

Table 4.11: The managers of water use including storage in households of respondents

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>F(n=80)</i>	%
Girls <18	6	15	4	10	10	12.5
Women 18-60	24	60	32	80	56	70
Women >60	10	25	4	10	14	17.5

The above Table shows that most of the respondents (60% from Ekuthuleni and 80% from Platt Estate) are of the opinion that women between ages of 18 and 60 years are managers of water including storage in their households. Twenty five percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 10% in Platt Estate are women who are above 60 years of age and who manage water, including its storage. Fifteen percent of the community members interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 10% from Platt Estate said that girls under the age of 18 years manage water including its storage. The results indicate that only women in these communities are responsible for the management and storage of water.

Table 4.12: Water problems experienced by respondents

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Not enough sources of water	15	37.5	30	25	45	12.5
Water taste (salty)	25	62.5	-	-	25	31.25
No sources of clean water	-	-	10	75	10	56.25

The above Table illustrates that 75% of the respondents in Platt Estate stated that they do not have sources of clean water. It was mentioned earlier that they use the same source of water with the livestock. Most of the time animal dung is found in the water. This was also observed by the researcher. Table 4.12 also indicates that 37.5% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 25% from Platt Estate stated that they do not have enough sources of

water. In Platt Estate some of the women said that the springs they depend on as sources of water dry up during winter. When that occurs they have to walk long distances in search of water. Sometimes they have to buy it from those who collect it from the river. In the case of Ekuthuleni, the respondents stated that the boreholes are not enough for the whole community, so they waste most of their time standing in queues waiting to collect water. Table 4.12 shows that 62.5% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni said that the taste of the water from the boreholes is salty. This water is not good for drinking. They also pointed out that if they use it for washing a lot of soap is needed.

Table 4.13: Primary sources of fuel for cooking: multiple responses

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Wood	20	50	40	100	60	75
Paraffin	35	87.5	10	25	45	56.3
Gas	1	2.5	3	7.5	4	5

Access to firewood is poor in Ekuthuleni as compared to Platt Estate. Many households indicated that they use multiple sources of fuel. A significant number of respondents (87.5%) in Ekuthuleni used paraffin for cooking and 25% of the respondents in Platt Estate favoured paraffin. Fifty percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni rely on wood while all the respondents in Platt Estate used wood. From the above Table it is clear that the Ekuthuleni community do not have enough sources of fuelwood. The Table also shows that 2.5% of the interviewees in Ekuthuleni and 7.5% in Platt Estate favoured gas.

Table 4.14: Primary sources of fuel for lighting: Multiple responses

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Paraffin	30	75	35	87.5	65	81.3
Candles	40	100	38	95	78	97.5

Table 4.14 shows that all the respondents interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 95% in Platt-Estate favoured candles for lighting. Seventy five percent of the community members interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 87.5% in Platt Estate use paraffin for lighting.

Table 4.15: Primary sources of fuel for heating: Multiple responses

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Wood	40	100	40	100	75	100
Paraffin	20	50	10	25	20	25

Many households indicated that they used multiple sources of fuel for heating. All the households in both communities use wood for heating purposes. Although wood that is good for fire-making is not available on the periphery of the settlements, some members of the community collect and transport it and others buy it from those who collect and sell it. The collection and access to wood sources can be a critical household survival resource that generates income. Table 4.15 illustrates that fifty percent of the respondents interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 25% in Platt Estate use paraffin for heating purposes.

Table 4.16: Reasons for preferring electricity as a source of fuel

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
It saves time	20	50	28	70	48	60
It is convenient	5	12.5	4	10	9	11.5
It is clean	3	7.5	1	2.5	4	5
A symbol of development	12	30	7	17.5	19	23.75

Table 4.16 illustrates that 50% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 70% in Platt Estate preferred electricity because it saves time. The Table also shows that 12.5% of the community members interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 10% in Platt Estate said that although electricity is not available in their communities, they would prefer to have it because of its convenience and reliability. Other respondents from both communities (30% in Ekuthuleni and 17.5% in Platt Estate) indicated that the supply of electricity in the community is a symbol of development. Other respondents (7.5% from Ekuthuleni and 2.5% from Platt Estate) prefer electricity because it is clean. What is also noticed is that even in rural households where electricity is available, fuelwood is generally used for cooking. According to Bob and Moodley (2004), for poor rural households with limited access to cash income, it is not only accessibility to basic services that is important but also whether households will be able to afford these services.

Table 4.17: Members of households responsible for collecting fuelwood

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Girls <18	10	25	6	15	16	20
Women 18-60	20	50	22	55	42	52.5
Women >60	8	20	6	15	14	17.5
Boys <18	2	5	6	15	8	10

Table 4.17 demonstrates that a significant majority of the respondents in Ekuthuleni (50%) and in Platt Estate (55%) who are between 18-60 years of age are responsible for collecting fuelwood. Collecting fuelwood is not an easy work, that is why most of the respondents doing such work are not young or very old. Girls under the age of 18 years (25% in Ekuthuleni and 15% in Platt Estate) collect fuelwood. Women above sixty years responsible for collecting wood make up 20% in Ekuthuleni and 15% in Platt Estate. In the case of Ekuthuleni the respondents said that they have to work before collecting fuelwood. This means that the situation is more difficult for those who are old and sick. The Table also demonstrates that few respondents who are the boys less than 18 years collect fuelwood (5% in Ekuthuleni and 15% in Platt Estate). Similarly to water collection, the collection of fuelwood is generally the responsibility of the females.

Table 4.18: Difficulties in collecting fuelwood

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Restricted access to the forest	25	62,5	-	-	25	31.25
Have to work before collecting it	10	25	-	-	10	12.5
Long distance to the forest	-	-	6	15	6	7.5
Financial problems	5	12,5	2	5	7	8.75
No problem	-	-	32	80	32	40

Land rights in communal tenure situations also include rights to use and the collection of natural resources like wood and thatch grass. These tasks are generally the work of women, though decisions taken on management rarely involve them. There was evidence drawn from the interviews that there are some rules and regulations governing the utilisation of resources. Values and norms governing societies are social constructs. Laws and rules laid down favour the group that was dominant when they were constructed. For example, in both communities men play a crucial role in decision-making concerning land use. Most of the rules governing the use of resources favour them (men). Like any other society, Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate have their own values and norms. Among those rules and regulations are the restrictions to resource utilisation. Table 4.18 shows that the

majority of the respondents in Ekuthuleni (62.5%) and 55% in Platt Estate said that access to fuelwood sources is restricted. In Ekuthuleni the owner of the forest gives people work to do as payment for collecting fuelwood. For example, if they want fuelwood they do not pay money for it, but they are given a job such as weeding for a certain amount of hours before being allowed to collect fuelwood. In Platt Estate women stated that they are only allowed to collect dry wood. They said that they are also not allowed to cut the plain tree species as it is meant to be used for the construction of sledges, yokes and houses. Men are responsible for these activities. Women also stated that they are not allowed to go to the forest during hunting days because they would scare the animals away. Women of Platt Estate further stated that if they were found collecting fuelwood in restricted areas, their wood together with their equipment (that is, axes, bush knives and others) would be confiscated and given to the committee leader. When asked whether there are any rules restricting men from the forest utilisation, the response was no. Therefore, all of these restrictions applied to women only.

Twenty five percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni pointed out that they have to work very hard for the game reserve owner before collecting fuelwood. Sometimes they have to clear the boundary that separates the forest from the community area and they use hoes. They do that job for more than two hours as their payment before collecting wood. Those who are old and sick suffer if they do not have money to buy from those who are able to work and collect fuelwood. Fifteen percent of the respondents from Platt Estate stated that they have to walk long distances to the forest to collect fuelwood. Table 4.18 also indicates that 12.5% from Ekuthuleni and 5% from Platt Estate do not have enough money to purchase fuelwood. Most of the people interviewed in the Platt Estate community pointed out that they do not have any difficulty in relation to collecting fuel wood (80%).

Table 4.19: Types of materials used to build houses: Multiple responses

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>F(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Blocks	4	10	18	45	22	27.5
Poles	40	100	40	100	80	100
Mud	38	95	30	75	68	85
Thatch	36	90	32	80	68	85

Table 4.19 demonstrates that all respondents from both communities use poles for building their houses. Other respondents pointed out that they also use poles for fencing their gardens and kraals for their livestock. Ninety five percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 75% of the respondents from Platt Estate use mud for building. Women from both communities stated that they have problems with muddy houses because these do not resist heavy rainfalls. Ninety percent of the community members interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 80% in Platt Estate use grass for thatching their houses. Ten percent of the respondents from Ekuthuleni and 45% from Platt Estate use blocks for building. It is clear that the houses of Platt Estate are much better than those at Ekuthuleni because the majority of respondents use blocks.

Table 4.20: Difficulties in collecting/ purchasing thatching grass

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Far from grass sources	10	25	20	50	30	37.5
Restricted access to sources	20	50	8	20	28	35
Financial problems	6	15	4	10	10	12.5
Not applicable	4	10	8	20	12	15

Table 4.20 shows that half of respondents in Ekuthuleni stated that access to thatch grass is restricted. It was also noticed that the same problem of restricted access to sources apply in the collection of poles for building. In Platt Estate only 20% of the respondents

experience the same problem. In the case of Ekuthuleni, during the focus group discussions, women pointed out that the grassvelds are conserved and guarded by selected officials during certain seasons like autumn to be open in winter for consumption by the livestock. Women also valued this type of grass to be used as thatching material. However, women were not allowed to cut it for thatching. Most of the interviewed respondents witnessed these gender-biased restrictions. In the case of Platt Estate the respondents pointed out that women have to wait until the grass is mature in June before cutting it. Some of the women in Platt Estate said that even if the grass is mature, they are not allowed to cut it when it is not in June.

They also pointed out that there is bias in the cutting of grass. Other women, especially those who are not related to committee members, are not allowed to cut the grass in certain areas where the quality of grass is good for thatching. They also said that because of these rules they have to cut thatch grass in other areas which are far from their village. Fifty percent of the respondents in Platt Estate said that they are residing far from the thatch grass sources and 25% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni have the same problem. Fifteen percent of the community members interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 10% from Plate Estate raised the point that they are unable to cut grass for thatching and they are unable to buy it because they do not have enough money. Ten percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 20% in Platt Estate do not have any problems concerning grass for thatching.

4.2.3 Managing natural resources in the community

Table 4.21: Person/s and /or structure/s responsible for managing land resources in the community

Person/ structure	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Traditional authority	-	-	2	5	2	2.5
Elected committee/legal entity/CPA	40	100	38	95	78	97.5

Table 4.21 illustrates that in Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate, the majority of the respondents (100% and 95% respectively) indicated that the elected committee/ legal entity/ Communal Property Association (CPA) was responsible for managing land resources in the community. Two respondents in Platt Estate stated that the traditional authority was responsible for managing land resources in the community.

Table 4.22: Rating of the working relationship between people (members) responsible for managing land resources in the community

Rating	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Good	6	15	32	80	38	47.5
Fair	5	12.5	8	20	13	16.25
Sometimes bad	12	30	-	-	12	15
Bad	13	32.5	-	-	13	16.25
Don't know	4	10	-	-	4	5

Table 4.22 illustrates the rating of the working relationship between people responsible for managing land resources in the community. Generally, the respondents perceived the relationship to be good or fair with the exception of Ekuthuleni where the majority of the respondents felt that the relationship was sometimes bad or bad. A significant proportion of the respondents in Ekuthuleni (32.5%) stated that the relationship was bad while there are none in Platt Estate. The findings shows that 80% of respondents in Platt Estate are satisfied about people managing land resources in their community and only 15% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni said that the relationship is good. Thirty percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni perceived the relationship as sometimes bad and there are none in Platt Estate who said so. A few of the respondents (12.5%) in Ekuthuleni stated that the relationship is fair and 20% of respondents in Platt Estate said so. Ten percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni did not respond.

Table 4.23: Rating of the working relationship between people responsible for managing land resources and community members

Rating	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>F(n=80)</i>	%
Good	2	5	28	70	30	37.5
Fair	5	12.5	11	27.5	16	20
Sometimes bad	10	25	1	2.5	11	13.75
Bad	16	40	-	-	16	20
Don't know	7	17.5	-	-	7	8.75

Table 4.23 illustrates that there were similar perceptions regarding the rating of the working relationship between people responsible for managing land resources and community members. However, it is important to note that there is a higher level of dissatisfaction regarding the relationship with the community members. For example, in Ekuthuleni most of the respondents stated that the working relationship between people managing land resources was sometimes bad and bad (25% and 40% respectively). Only 2.5% in Platt Estate stated that the relationship is sometimes bad. Seventy percent of respondents in Platt Estate stated that the relationship is good. However, only 5% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni perceived the relationship as good. Furthermore, 27.5% of respondents in Platt Estate suggested that the relationship is sometimes fair while 12.5% in Ekuthuleni said that it was fair. A range of responses were forwarded by the respondents regarding their negative responses in Ekuthuleni. Some of these were:

- Nepotism, for example, it was mentioned earlier that women who are not related to the members of the committee were not allowed to cut thatching grass in certain areas.
- Some of the basic needs are not met. The respondents mentioned that the roads are not improved, they did not have enough water sources, no schools, cultivated land is far and they did not have fuelwood sources within the community.
- Too much corruption. There was money that was paid by the community which cannot be accounted for.

- Committee members are not united. The respondents also stated that sometimes the committee members do not agree with each other and that resulted in the installation of water pipes being delayed.
- Decisions taken are not implemented
- Many people are excluded from decision-making because the respondents mentioned that they were not consulted when decisions were made, and others pointed out that although they were, their views were not considered.

The reasons forwarded above relate to the functioning of the committees/ decision-making structures, how decisions are taken and who benefits from the decisions that are taken.

Table 4.24: Description of the situation where members of the community were involved in disagreements related to land and natural resource issue

Situation	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Not applicable	14	35	38	95	52	65
Tension between community members and forest guards/ game reserve owner	3	7.5	-	-	3	3.75
Contestations over water pipe installation	3	7.5	-	-	3	3.75
Farmer shot and arrested community member	3	7.5	-	-	3	3.75
Corruption with regard to finances	17	42.5	-	-	17	21.25
Bias in electing members for jobs in the community	-	-	2	5	2	2.5

Respondents in Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate identified situations where members of the community were involved in disagreements related to land and natural resource issues. The main situation revolves around access to and use of resources, tensions/ disagreements between various stakeholders, decision-making processes and corruption. Table 4.24 shows that 65% of the respondents in both communities (35% in Ekuthuleni and 95% in Platt Estate) did not indicate any situation where members of the community were involved in disagreements. Most of the disagreements were experienced by the community members of Ekuthuleni such as the contestations over water pipe installation (7.5%), tensions between community members and game reserve owner (7.5%), farmer shot and arrest of community member (7.5%) and corruption with regard to finances (42.5%). As mentioned earlier, the latter issue related to money that was paid by the community not being accounted for. Five percent of the respondents in Platt Estate indicated that there was bias in electing members for jobs in the community.

Table 4.25: Responsibility for access to the forest

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>F(n=80)</i>	%
Community-based organisations	-	-	40	100	40	50
Reserve owner	40	100	-	-	40	50

The above Table 4.25 indicates that all the respondents in Ekuthuleni identified the game reserve owner as responsible for controlling access to the forest and all the respondents in Platt Estate stated that the community-based organisation is responsible for access to the forest. In the case of Ekuthuleni, there is no community forest at all. In that case the community members use the nearby forest. According to the game reserve owner and the respondents interviewed, the community members have to work first before collecting anything from the forest, for example weeding. If the members of the community are found in the forest without permission from the reserve owner, they are arrested.

Table 4.26: Ownership of land within the households

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Male	36	90	39	97.5	37	46.25
Female	4	10	1	2.5	43	53.75

The above Table demonstrates that in both communities most of the people identified by the respondents as having land rights within the households are males (90% in Ekuthuleni and 97.5% in Platt Estate). Only 10% in Ekuthuleni and 2.5% in Platt Estate are women who have land rights and they are female-heads of households. This correlates with what Small (1994) stated that land grants are generally only given to households, and then to its head, assumed to be the husband.

Table 27: Communal use of the forest: Multiple responses

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Source of fuel	40	100	40	100	80	100
Medicinal use	5	12.5	10	25	15	18.75
Building	30	75	10	25	30	37.5
Hunting	4	10	2	5	6	7.5
Harvesting of fruits	5	12.5	8	20	13	16.25
Craft production	6	15	10	25	16	20

Table 4.27 shows that all the respondents interviewed in both communities use the forest as a source of fuel. Women in both communities are mainly responsible for collecting natural resources such as fuelwood. Table 4.27 shows that 12.5% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 25% from Platt Estate collect traditional medicine from the forest. Seventy five percent of the community members interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 25% of the respondents interviewed in Ekuthuleni use the forest for collecting building materials. Ten percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 5% in Platt Estate hunt in the forest. The Table also indicates that 12.5% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 20% in Platt

Estate harvest fruits from the forest. Fifteen percent of the community members interviewed in Ekuthuleni and 25% in Platt Estate collect materials for craft production from the forest. From the above results, it is clear that the rural communities rely heavily on natural resources for their survival. They collect fuelwood, medicinal herbs, logs for building and making crafts, they collect fruits and also hunt wild animals for meat, skins and medicine.

Table 4.28: Rating of the adequacy of access households have to wild foods

Rating	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Poor	30	75	3	7.5	33	41.25
Satisfactory	-	-	-	-	-	-
Good	5	12.5	36	90	41	51.25
Excellent	2	5	1	2.5	3	3.75
Not applicable	3	7.5	-	-	3	3.75

In terms of access to wild foods, Table 4.28 illustrates that 75% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 7.5% in Platt Estate rated access as poor. Ninety percent of the respondents in Platt Estate and 12.5% in Ekuthuleni rated the access as good while 2.5% in Platt Estate and 5% in Ekuthuleni rated the access as excellent. There is a big difference in access between Platt Estate and Ekuthuleni because the majority in Platt Estate said access is good while the majority in Ekuthuleni stated that it is poor. This is due to the fact that Platt Estate has a community forest while Ekuthuleni residents depend on the reserve forest which is outside the community and owned by the game reserver. Access to wild foods is particularly important for household food security, especially during times of risks such as periods of drought or when household income sources are reduced or stopped (Bob and Moodley, 2004). Thus, in rural areas where access to income is limited and often unreliable, the inability to access wild foods (especially during times of crisis) increases the vulnerability of households.

Table 4.29: Rating of the adequacy of access households have to medicinal plants

Rating	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Poor	29	72.5	-	-	29	36.25
Satisfactory	1	2.5	2	5	3	3.75
Good	5	12.5	36	90	41	51.25
Excellent	2	5	2	5	4	5
Not applicable	3	7.5	-	-	3	3.75

In terms of access to medicinal plants, Table 4.29 indicates that a significant proportion of the respondents in both communities (36.25%: 72.5% in Ekuthuleni and 29% in Platt Estate) rated access as poor while 51.25% rated access as good. Five percent of the respondents from both communities rated access as excellent while 3.75% rated access as satisfactory. Again, there is a big difference in access because most of the medicinal plants are found in the forest and the Ekuthuleni residents do not have direct access to the forest. Access to medicinal plants is important in rural households where there remains a strong reliance on traditional medicines and practitioners to deal with health ailments and related concerns (Sowetan, 2000).

Table 4.30: Rating of adequacy of land for grazing

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Satisfactory	10	25	20	50	30	37.5
Good	10	25	20	50	30	37.5
Excellent	20	50	-	-	20	25

It seems that both communities do not have problems concerning land for grazing. Table 4.30 demonstrates that 25% of the respondents from Ekuthuleni and 50% from Platt Estate are satisfied with their land for grazing. Another 25% from Ekuthuleni and 50% from Platt Estate acknowledged that they are allocated good land for grazing. Fifty percent from Ekuthuleni said that the size of the grazing land and its quality is excellent.

There is a difference in rating of adequacy of land for grazing in these communities. In Ekuthuleni the respondents stated that in decisions concerning livestock males dominated and they ensured that the land for grazing was in good locations.

Table 4.31: Ownership of livestock

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Male	30	75	25	62.5	55	68.75
Female	2	5	-	-	2	2.5
No livestock	8	20	15	37.5	23	28.75

From the above Table it is clear that most of the people who own the livestock such as cows, goats, sheep and horses, are males (75% in Ekuthuleni and 62.5% in Platt Estate). Only 5% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni who are females own livestock. It was noticed that these females are heads of their households, are widowed and they do not have elder sons. Twenty percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 37.5% in Platt Estate raised the point that they do not have livestock.

Table 4.32: Who decides on marketing of livestock

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Male	38	95	39	97.5	77	96.25
Female	2	5	1	2.5	3	3.75

Table 4.32 demonstrates that 95% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 97.5% in Platt Estate said that males decide on marketing of the livestock. During the discussions, some of the women said that they are responsible for looking after the livestock while their husbands are at work in urban areas, but they do not take decisions on marketing of the livestock. Five percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 2.5% from Platt Estate said

that females are responsible for marketing the livestock. Again, these were female-headed households.

Table 4.33: Members of the households who perform the following tasks in Ekuthuleni:
Multiple responses

Tasks	Girls <18		Women 18-60		Women >60		Boys <18		Men 18-60		Men >60	
	<i>fn</i>	%	<i>fn</i>	%	<i>fn</i>	%	<i>fn</i>	%	<i>fn</i>	%	<i>fn</i>	%
Cooking	6	15	10	25	18	45	5	12.5	2	5	3	7.5
Shopping	3	7.5	18	45	20	50	3	7.5	5	12.5	3	7.5
Laundry	6	15	15	37.5	10	25	5	12.5	2	5	3	7.5
House cleaning	4	10	18	45	15	37.5	3	7.5	2	5	1	2.5
Child care	-	-	14	35	12	30	-	-	5	12.5	6	15
Repairs	-	-	5	12.5	6	15	2	5	13	32.5	10	25
Tending livestock	-	-	14	35	10	25	2	5	6	15	8	20
Gathering of wild plants	10	25	4	10	8	20	2	5	5	12.5	10	25
Ploughing	6	15	20	50	10	25	8	20	18	45	9	22.5
Planting	10	25	28	70	18	45	5	12.5	5	12.5	6	15
Weeding	6	15	20	50	18	45	3	7.5	5	12.5	4	10
Irrigating	3	7.5	15	37.5	8	20	3	7.5	2	5	2	5
Harvesting	6	15	18	45	10	25	8	20	5	12.5	4	10
Marketing of products	2	5	28	70	18	45	3	7.5	5	12.5	10	25
Transport of products	6	15	10	25	10	25	5	12.5	3	7.5	8	20

Table 4.33 illustrates that under the category of women above the age of 60 years in the Ekuthuleni community, 45% of women cook for their families, 50% do shopping, 25% laundry, 37.5% clean houses, 30% of the women are responsible for childcare, 15% do repairs, 25% tend livestock, 20% gather wild plants for cooking and medicine, 25% plough their fields, 45% plant and weed, 20% are involved in irrigation, 25% harvest their products, 45% are responsible for marketing of products and 25% are involved in the transport of products. Women who are between the ages of 18-60 years cook and transport products (25%), 45% do shopping, house cleaning and harvest their products, 37.5% do laundry and irrigate their plants, 35% are responsible for child care and tending livestock, 10% gather wild plants, 50% play a crucial role in ploughing and weeding, 70% plant their fields and market products, and 12.5% do repairs. Under the category of men between 18-60 years, only 5% are involved in cooking, laundry, house cleaning, and irrigating fields, 12.5% do shopping, childcare, gather wild plants, plant, weed, harvest and market products. The Table also indicates that 32.5% of men do repairs, 15% tend livestock, 45% are responsible for ploughing the fields and only 7.5% of the men transport products.

The men above 60 years of age are involved in cooking, shopping, and laundry (7.5%). One respondent indicated that men clean their houses, 15% are responsible for childcare and planting of fields, 25% do repairs, gather wild plants and market products. Twenty percent of men under this category tend livestock and transport products. Furthermore, 22.5% of men plough the fields, 10% weed and harvest the fields and 5% are involved in irrigation. Girls under 18 years are responsible for cooking, laundry, ploughing, weeding and harvesting the fields and transport of products (15% respectively). Seven and a half percent of the girls do shopping and irrigate the fields. Ten percent do house cleaning, 25% gather wild plants for food and also plant the fields while 5% play a role in marketing of products.

The boys under the age of 18 years are also involved in cooking, laundry, planting of the fields and transport of products (12.5%). The Table shows that 7.5% of the boys do shopping, house cleaning, weeding and irrigating of fields and marketing of products.

Five percent do repairs, tend livestock and gather wild plants. Twenty percent of the boys plough the fields and harvest products.

Table 4.34: Members of the households who perform the following tasks in Platt Estate:
Multiple responses

Tasks	Girls <18		Women 18-60		Women >60		Boys <18		Men 18-60		Men >60	
	<i>fn</i>	%	<i>fn</i>	%	<i>fn</i>	%	<i>fn</i>	%	<i>fn</i>	%	<i>fn</i>	%
Cooking	10	25	20	50	15	37.5	5	12.5	2	5	3	7.5
Shopping	8	20	12	30	10	25	2	5	5	12.5	9	22.5
Laundry	10	25	20	50	15	37.5	5	12.5	2	5	3	7.5
House cleaning	10	25	16	40	15	37.5	3	7.5	2	5	3	7.5
Child care	3	7.5	18	45	10	25	-	-	4	10	4	10
Repairs	-	-	4	10	6	15	8	20	10	25	7	17.5
Tending livestock	-	-	10	25	13	32.5	2	5	15	37.5	9	22.5
Gathering of wild plants	6	15	2	5	8	20	8	20	2	5	4	10
Ploughing	5	12.5	18	45	14	35	8	20	2	5	6	15
Planting	10	25	20	50	15	37.5	4	10	2	5	3	7.5
Weeding	10	25	20	50	15	37.5	4	10	2	5	3	7.5
Irrigating	4	10	5	12.5	6	15	4	10	2	5	3	7.5
Harvesting	10	25	20	50	14	35	8	20	5	12.5	8	20
Marketing of products	6	15	15	37.5	15	37.5	4	10	10	25	6	15
Transport of products	9	22.5	10	25	10	25	8	20	8	20	3	7.5

Table 4.34 indicates that in Platt Estate under the category of women above 60 years, 37.5% of women cook, do laundry, clean the houses, plant weed and market their products. Twenty five percent of the women in the same category do shopping for their families, play a role in child care and also transport products. Fifteen percent do repairs and irrigate the fields and 32.5% tend livestock. Twenty percent gather wild plants for food and medicine, 35% plough the fields and harvest the products.

Women under the category of 18-60 years who are responsible for cooking, laundry, planting, weeding and harvesting of products make up 50% respectively and 30% of the women do shopping. Forty percent clean their houses and 45% are responsible for childcare and ploughing of fields. Ten percent do repairs and 25% tend livestock and are also responsible for transport of products. Five percent gather wild plants for food and medicine, 12.5% irrigate the fields, 37.5% are involved in the marketing of products. Men above 60 years cook, do laundry, clean the houses, plant, weed, irrigate the fields and transport the products (7.5% respectively). The table also illustrates that 22.5% of the men do shopping and tend livestock, 10% are responsible for child care and gathering of wild plants. Seventeen and a half percent do repairs and 15% plough the fields and market the products. Twenty percent of the men harvest the fields.

Men between the ages of 18-60 years cook, do laundry, clean the houses, gather wild plants, plough, plant, weed and irrigate their fields (5%). Twelve and a half percent of the men do shopping and harvest fields, 10% are responsible for childcare, 37.5% tend livestock, 25% do repairs and market the products and 20% of the men transport the products. Girls under the age of 18 years cook, do laundry, clean the houses, plant, weed and harvest the plants (25% respectively). Twenty percent of the girls do shopping, 7.5% are responsible for child care, 15% gather wild plants and are also involved in the marketing of products. Twelve and a half percent of the girls plough the fields and 10% irrigate the plants. The Table also illustrates that 22.5% play a major role in the transport of products.

Boys under the age of 18 years who cook and do laundry make up 12.5% respectively. Five percent of the boys in the same category do shopping and tend livestock. Seven and a half percent clean their homes while 20% do repairs, gather wild plants, plough, harvest and transport the products. Ten percent of the boys plant, weed, irrigate the fields and market the products. According to the above results, in Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate, like in many rural areas, women contribute unpaid labour to the households' agricultural production and spend more hours on domestic labour.

Table 4.35: Members of the households who make decisions on the following in Ekuthuleni: Multiple responses

	Women		Men	
	<i>fn</i>	%	<i>fn</i>	%
Which crops to grow	32	80	8	20
Where to grow	28	70	12	30
When to plant	32	80	8	20
When to harvest	32	80	8	20
Storage facilities	30	75	10	25
When to buy or sell livestock	6	15	34	85
Which children to go to school	35	87.5	5	12.5
How to pay for school fees	35	87.5	5	12.5
Amount to spend on household needs	35	87.5	5	12.5

Table 4.35 shows that 80% of the respondents stated that women in Ekuthuleni take decisions on which crops to grow, when to plant and when to harvest. Seventy percent of the respondents interviewed stated women make decisions on where to grow, 75% decide on storage facilities, 15% decide on when to buy or sell livestock. In terms of the latter responses, these were women who were heads of households. The Table also indicates that 87.5% play a major role in making decisions on which children go to school, how to pay for the fees and amount to spend on household needs. It is also indicated in this Table that 20% of the men take decisions on which crops to grow, when to plant and when to harvest. Thirty percent of the men decide on where to grow, 25% of the men decide on

storage facilities, 85% decide on when to buy or sell livestock and 12.5% respectively make decisions on which children go to school, how to pay for school fees and amount to spend on household needs.

Table 4.36: Members of the households who make decisions on the following in Platt Estate: Multiple responses

	Women		Men	
	<i>fn</i>	%	<i>fn</i>	%
Which crops to grow	30	75	10	25
Where to grow	29	72.5	11	27.5
When to plant	35	87.5	5	12.5
When to harvest	35	87.5	5	12.5
Storage facilities	35	87.5	5	12.5
When to buy or sell livestock	4	10	36	90
Which children to go to school	37	92.5	3	7.5
How to pay for school fees	38	95	2	5
Amount to spend on household needs	30	75	10	25

Table 4.36 demonstrates that 87.5% of the respondents in Platt Estate stated that women decide on when to plant, when to harvest and also decide on storage facilities. The Table also shows that 72.5% of the women make decisions on where to grow their plants while 75% decide on which crops to grow. Ninety two and a half percent decide on which children go to school and 95% of the women make decisions on how to pay school fees for their children. Seventy five percent of the women decide on which crops to grow and also decide on the amount to spend on household needs. Only 10% of the women make decisions on when to buy or sell livestock.

Twelve and a half percent of the men decide on when to plant, when to harvest and on storage facilities. Most of the men (90%) make decisions on when to buy or sell livestock. Twenty five percent of the men decide on which crops to grow and 27.5% make decisions on where to grow. Seven and half a percent of the men make decisions on

which children go to school and only 5% of the men decide on how to pay school fees for their children. Twenty five percent of the men decide on the amount spent on household needs.

Most of the decisions concerning the welfare of children, crop production and the amount to be spent on household needs are taken by women. Men play a crucial role in decisions concerning livestock and women who take decisions concerning livestock are female heads of households.

4.2.4 Knowledge of and level of participation in community-based organisation/s dealing with land issues in the community

In development circles, the notion of participatory development has become extremely popular as illustrated in the literature review. However, Burkey (1993), Guitz and Shah (1998) and Mayoux (1995) warn that within participatory development processes and projects there are grave inequalities that can be attributed to resource disparities, time constraints and power dynamics. These factors influence the activities, priorities, framework, extent and quality of participation. Furthermore, participatory processes in flawed programmes tend to have the effect of shifting the costs of development and service provision onto communities (Bob and Moodley, 2004).

Table 4.37: Ways in which respondents heard about the organisation/ structure

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Family members/ friends	14	35	4	10	18	22.5
Community leader/s	23	57.5	36	90	59	73.75
Not applicable	3	7.5	-	-	3	3.75

The majority of respondents (96.25%) indicated that they were aware of community-based organisations/ structures set up in the community to deal with land issues. A few respondents in Ekuthuleni (7.5%), however, were not aware (Table 4.37). The Table also

indicates how respondents heard about the organisation/ structure responsible for dealing with land issues in the community. The main mechanisms were community leader/s (73.75%) and family members/ friends (22.5%). In Platt Estate it appears that there was a higher level of formal dissemination of information, via community leaders (90%), than in Ekuthuleni (57.5%). It is worth noting that social networks in communities play important roles in the dissemination of information.

Table 4.38: Household member participation: Multiple responses

Who participates	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Not applicable	18	45	13	32.5	31	38.75
All adult members of the household	13	32.5	25	62.5	38	47.5
Male head of the household	13	32.5	10	25	23	28.75
Female head of the household	3	7.5	6	15	9	11.25
Both partners	2	5	3	7.5	5	6.25

Table 4.38 reveals who in the household participates. It is important to note that in 38.75% of the households respondents indicated that no one participates. Close to a third of the respondents (32.5%) in Ekuthuleni and 62.5% in Platt Estate said that all members of the households participate. Twenty five percent in Platt Estate 32.5% in Ekuthuleni stated that male head of households participate. A few respondents (7.5%) in Ekuthuleni and 15% in Platt Estate said that female head of households participate. Some respondents mentioned that both partners participate (5% in Ekuthuleni and 7.5% in Platt Estate). This suggests that nearly half of the households interviewed have no say in the way in which land use and natural resource management decisions are made and implemented in the community. Generally, adults participate in the decision-making processes with a tendency towards male participation.

Table 4.39: Specific processes/ aspects members of the household participate/ participated: Multiple responses

Process/ aspect	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Identifying land use options in the community	9	22.5	21	52.5	30	37.5
Deciding on land use	23	57.5	35	87.5	58	72.5
Developing community's business plan/ development project	5	12.5	2	5	7	8.75
Tenure arrangements/ land allocation	2	5	6	15	8	10
Not applicable	9	22.5	-	-	9	11.25

Table 4.39 illustrates the specific processes/ aspects that members of the household participate/ participated in. Over half of the respondents (57.5%) in Ekuthuleni and 87.5% in Platt Estate said that the members of the households participated in deciding on land use. Fewer respondents (22.5% in Ekuthuleni and 52.5% in Platt Estate) stated that the household members participated in identifying land use options in the community. Five percent of respondents in Ekuthuleni and 15% in Platt Estate mentioned that the household members participated in tenure arrangements/ land allocation. Furthermore, 12.5% of respondents in Ekuthuleni and 5% in Platt Estate said that the household members participate in developing the community's business plan/ development project. It is also noticeable that in 22.5% of households in Ekuthuleni there was no one who participated in specific processes concerning land use.

Table 4.40: Members of the household who participated in the processes/ aspects in Table 4.39: Multiple responses

Members	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
All adult members of households	13	32.5	19	47.5	32	40
Male head of household	11	27.5	15	37.5	26	23.75
Female head of household	5	12.5	8	20	13	16.25
Both partners	6	15	1	2.5	7	8.75
Not applicable	9	22.5	-	-	9	11.25

Table 4.40 shows that 32.5% of respondents in Ekuthuleni and 47.5% in Platt Estate stated that all adult members in the households participated in the above processes. It is also noticeable that 27.5% of respondents in Ekuthuleni and 37.5% in Platt Estate stated that male heads of households participated. Fewer respondents (12.5% in Ekuthuleni and 20% in Platt Estate) mentioned that female heads of households participated. Only one respondent in Platt Estate and 15% of respondents in Ekuthuleni stated that both partners participated. In Ekuthuleni, 22.5% of the households did not participate in these processes.

Table 4.41: Ways in which members of the household participated: Multiple responses

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Talking in meetings	11	27.5	21	52.5	32	40
Attending meetings	13	32.5	-	-	13	16.25
Identification of needs	14	35	32	80	46	59
Site visits	-	-	1	2.5	1	1.25
Not applicable	9	22.5	-	-	9	11.25

The above Table shows the main ways in which members of the household participated. Thirty five percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 80% in Platt Estate participated in identification of needs. In Ekuthuleni, 32.5% attended meetings. Some of the

respondents (27.5% in Ekuthuleni and 52.5% in Platt Estate) talked in meetings. One respondent in Platt Estate participated in site visits. Clearly, the level of participation in different processes is the highest in Platt Estate. This can be attributed to the fact that Platt Estate is a relatively recent land reform project where specific processes are a mandate of the Communal Property Association or legal entity constitution, especially broad-based participation in key decisions regarding land use and allocation in the community (Bob and Moodley, 2004).

Table 4.42: Responses on whether respondents or any member of the household who participated felt that their inputs were considered

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Yes	9	22.5	33	82.5	42	52.5
No	15	37.5	2	5	17	21.25
Uncertain	7	17.5	3	7.5	10	12.5
Don't know	-	-	2	5	2	2.5
Not applicable	9	22.5	-	-	9	11.25

The above Table indicates that a significant proportion of the respondents (52.5%) felt that their inputs were considered during processes in which they participated. Platt Estate has the highest affirmative responses (82.5%) as compared to Ekuthuleni (22.5%). The results reveal that Platt Estate has a relatively high level of community participation while this is not the case in Ekuthuleni. From the results regarding participation, it is important to underscore that state initiated projects that mandates participation and empowerment in terms of legal requirements is no guarantee that this will translate into practice at the community level.

The main reasons forwarded by the respondents for feeling that their inputs were considered were:

- Decisions have been implemented
- Decisions were taken jointly

- They were allowed to attend meetings and contribute to the resolution of disputes
- Suggestions were accepted
- They were given a chance to express opinions
- Access to forests were granted to the community
- Site for the clinic was proposed
- People were involved in temporary jobs in the community
- They were given enough land for cultivation

The responses suggest that for the respondents, key criteria used to assess whether inputs were considered relate to tangible or visible benefits being accrued, decisions being taken and implemented and being allowed to express opinions and suggestions that were given due consideration. These aspects are also reinforced when considering responses pertaining to why respondents felt that their inputs were not considered. These were:

- Other people's views are not considered
- Because corruption persists in the decision-making structures, especially in Ekuthuleni.
- Power is too centralised
- No implementation of decisions taken
- No development in the community
- Not invited in meetings
- Bias in decision-making
- Decisions taken without consultation
- There is still no reliable source of water in the community

The above results indicate that the main concerns raised by the respondents related to addressing development priorities of the households and the communities as well as frustration pertaining to participation.

Table 4.43 Obstacles/ constraints to participating in community-based organisations dealing with land use issues: Multiple responses

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Not applicable	16	40	27	67.5	43	53.75
Lack of consultation	11	27.5	3	7.5	14	17.5
Too busy (doing domestic work, etc.	12	30	13	32.5	25	31.25
Not informed about meetings	4	10	2	5	6	7.5
Was not allowed to participate	2	5	-	-	2	2.5
Venue of workshops/ meetings too far	3	7.5	-	-	3	3.75
Fear	1	2.5	-	-	1	1.25

The main obstacles identified by the respondents in Table 4.43 were that they were too busy doing domestic work, etc. (31.25%: 30% in Ekuthuleni and 7.5% in Platt Estate), lack of consultation (17.5%: 27.5% in Ekuthuleni and 7.5% in Platt Estate), they were not informed about meetings (7.5%: 10% in Ekuthuleni and 5% in Platt Estate), not allowed to participate (5% in Ekuthuleni), the venue of workshops/ meetings were too far (7.5% in Ekuthuleni) and one respondent in Ekuthuleni stated that fear was the main obstacle for not attending meetings.

Table 4.44: Participation of women in the following processes: Multiple responses

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Identifying land use options	10	25	13	32.5	23	28.75
Deciding on land use	8	20	20	50	28	35
Land allocation	18	45	25	62.5	43	53.75
Land management	10	25	15	37.5	25	31.25

Table 4.44 illustrates that only 20% of women in Ekuthuleni participated in deciding on land use while 35% of women in Platt Estate participated in the same process. Forty five percent of the women in Ekuthuleni participated in land allocation while 62.5% of the women in Platt Estate participated in that process. Twenty five percent of the women participated in the process of identifying land use options in Ekuthuleni and in Platt Estate 32.5% participated. Twenty five percent of the women in Ekuthuleni participated in the process of land management while 37.5% of the women in Platt Estate participated. The responses indicate that women generally attend meetings and participated in discussions. However, their roles in actually taking and significantly influencing decisions are limited.

Table 4.45: Roles women play or played in community-based organisations dealing with land use issues

Roles	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Not applicable	6	15	-	-	6	7.5
Deal with community problems	12	30	9	22.5	21	26.25
Deal with issues concerning land use	-	-	31	77.5	31	38.75
Talk in meetings	1	2.5	-	-	1	1.25
Attend meetings	7	17.5	-	-	7	8.75
No significant roles	5	12.5	-	-	5	6.25
Don't know	9	22.5	-	-	9	11.25

Table 4.45 indicates the roles that the respondents felt that women play or played in community-based organisations dealing with land issues. While none of the respondents in Ekuthuleni dealt with issues concerning land use, 77.5% of respondents in Platt Estate dealt with issues concerning land use. Thirty percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 22.5% in Platt Estate dealt with community problems. A few respondents (17.5%) in Ekuthuleni stated that women attend meetings.

It is important to note that 11.25% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni were not able to identify the role played by women. However, the responses indicate that women generally attend meetings and participate in discussions. During focus group discussions it was revealed that in both communities women's groups are active. These were initiated via the land reform process and have positively influenced the level and extent of participation of women in these projects. However, discussions with some of the women who hold positions indicate that it is difficult to participate fully with men, many of whom continue to embrace traditional ideas about women's roles.

The results from this study support concerns raised by other studies that show that women are unable to participate equally in legal entities in land reform projects. Whilst the Communal Property Association's constitution might make legal provision for women's equal participation, it fails to consider the non-legal factors such as cultural attitudes and workloads that prevent women's participation (Bob and Moodley, 2004). In both Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate some women are elected committee members. However, in these cases gender roles are clearly evident. Most of the women attend meetings if they are able to do so. According to Bob and Moodley (2004), this suggests that women's organisations and their participation in community structures tend to reflect rather than challenge gender and other forms of inequalities. Decisions about resource use, allocation and priorities are often made in these structures. The trend suggests that women's needs and aspirations will be neglected in both communities since women's inputs and representation in decision-making processes in the communities are limited.

Table 4.46: Obstacles/ constraints to women's participation in community-based organisations dealing with land issues: Multiple responses

Obstacles	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f</i> (<i>n</i> =40)	%	<i>f</i> (<i>n</i> =40)	%	<i>f</i> (<i>n</i> =80)	%
None	2	5	-	-	2	2.5
Too busy doing domestic work	9	22.5	2	5	11	13.75
Not informed about meetings	29	72.5	39	97.5	68	85
Majority of the participants are men	3	7.5	-	-	3	3.75
Women cannot write	1	2.5	-	-	1	1.25

The obstacles/ constraints identified by the respondents in terms of women's participation in community based organisations specifically dealing with land issues are presented in Table 4.46. One of the obstacles identified were that women were too busy doing domestic work (22.5% in Ekuthuleni and 5% in Platt Estate). The main obstacle identified was that women were not informed about meetings (72.5% in Ekuthuleni and 97.5% in Platt Estate). It is clear that if women could be informed about the meetings their attendance would be high. The respondents also identified that other obstacles to women's participation were that the majority of participants were men (5%) and that women cannot write (1.25%).

During the focus group discussions it was clear that women's presence in key decision-making structures such as land, agricultural and water committees are limited. This is an important concern since members of the women's groups stated that they felt that they do not have the power to make important decisions that remain the domain of the men. According to Bob and Moodley (2004), women's groups are unable to tackle the larger issues that face women in the community relating to issues such as access to good quality agricultural land for subsistence production, installing taps and boreholes, the need for electricity and accessibility to building materials.

Table 4.47: Efforts undertaken to enhance women's participation

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Women encouraged to participate	2	5	32	80	34	42.5
Views considered	-	-	6	15	6	7.5
Not applicable	38	95	2	5	40	50

Table 4.47 illustrate that 80% of the respondents in Platt Estate are of the opinion that women are encouraged to participate in community activities but only 5% from Ekuthuleni said so. Fifteen percent of the respondents from Platt Estate bear testimony to the fact that women's views were considered in meetings and this will play a role in encouraging other women to participate in community activities. Ninety five percent of the respondents in Ekuthuleni and 5% in Platt Estate did not comment. According to Khanyile (2002), it is interesting to note the factors that tend to reflect rather than challenge gender and other forms of inequalities seem to be more prominent when the issue of participation comes under spotlight.

4.2.5 General

Table 4.48: Advantages of having community-based organisations managing land resources in the community: Multiple responses

	Ekuthuleni		Platt-Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Direct meetings and keep records	5	12.5	1	2.5	6	7.5
Resolve conflicts and disputes	5	12.5	15	37.5	20	25
Disseminate information/ advise the community on environmental issues	7	17.5	2	5	9	11.25
Unites people	-	-	17	42.5	17	21.25
Keep proper records	6	15	-	-	6	7.5
None	14	35	-	-	14	17.5

Tables 4.48 and 4.49 reflect respondents' perceptions regarding the advantages and disadvantages of having community based organisations manage land resources in the community. The main advantages identified were (Table 4.48):

- They direct meetings (12.5% in Ekuthuleni and one respondent in Platt Estate)
- They resolve conflicts (12.5% in Ekuthuleni and 37.5% in Platt Estate)
- Disseminate information/ advise community on environmental issues (17.5% in Ekuthuleni and 5% in Platt Estate)
- They unite people (42.5% in Platt Estate)
- Keep proper records (15% in Ekuthuleni)

It is also noticed from the Table that 35% of the respondents in Ekuthuleni do not see any advantage of having community-based organisation managing land resources in the community.

Table 4.49: Disadvantages of having community-based organisations managing land resources in the community: Multiple responses

	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=40)</i>	%	<i>f(n=80)</i>	%
Poor consultation	2	5	3	7.5	5	6.25
Unequal treatment	6	15	5	12.5	11	13.75
Corruption and nepotism	22	55	6	15	28	35
Centralises power	3	7.5	2	5	5	6.25
Biasness	-	-	7	17.5	7	8.75
Lack of expertise to run organisations properly	5	12.5	2	5	7	8.75
Lack of sense of urgency	6	15	-	-	6	7.5
Takes too long to call meetings	-	-	2	5	2	2.5
Don't know	6	15	-	-	6	7.5
None	2	5	19	47.5	21	26.25

Table 4.49 illustrates that 26.25% (5% in Ekuthuleni and 47.5% in Platt Estate) of the respondents did not indicate any disadvantages of having community-based organisations managing land resources in their communities. The disadvantages indicated from both communities were:

- Poor consultation (5% in Ekuthuleni and 7.5% in Platt Estate)
- Unequal treatment (15% in Ekuthuleni and 12.5% in Platt Estate)
- Corruption and nepotism (55% in Ekuthuleni and 15% in Platt Estate)
- Centralises power (7.5% in Ekuthuleni and 5% in Platt Estate)
- Biasness (17.5% in Platt Estate)

- Lack of expertise to run organisations properly (12.5% in Ekuthuleni and 5% in Platt Estate)
- Lack of sense of urgency (15% in Ekuthuleni)
- Takes too long to call meetings (5% in Platt Estate)

Fifteen percent of the respondents from Ekuthuleni were unable to identify any disadvantages. It is clear from Tables 4.48 and 4.49 that the respondents linked community-based natural resource management organisations to positive changes in terms of addressing developmental and environmental needs in the community. The results indicate that in KwaZulu-Natal most rural communities struggle to access sufficient natural resources and basic services. This is context specific with some communities being better-off than others. This is usually linked to the amount and quality of land resources available in the community. In the case studies, Platt Estate is much better as compared to Ekuthuleni in terms of natural resources. Although Platt Estate has limited access to clean water but other natural resources are sufficient, such as forests, enough land for cultivation and **grazing and other basic needs**.

According to Bob and Moodley (2004), many structures responsible for natural resource management in communities are planning on largely false expectations. Under these circumstances those individuals, usually women and children, who are generally responsible for collecting water and fuelwood are likely to bear the brunt of this type of misinformed planning in their communities (Bob and Moodley, 2004). In this instance, like the cases of many resettled households under land reform, it is possible that in terms of access to services and facilities households will be worse off.

Table 4.50: Problems experienced by households: Multiple responses

Problems	Ekuthuleni		Platt Estate		Total	
	<i>f</i> (<i>n</i> =40)	%	<i>f</i> (<i>n</i> =40)	%	<i>F</i> (<i>n</i> =80)	%
Inadequate infrastructure (e.g. roads and telephones)	38	95	38	95	76	95
Lack of employment opportunities	27	67.5	25	62.5	52	65
Conflict in the community	21	52.5	5	12.5	26	32.5
Financial problems	24	60	13	32.5	37	46.25
Environmental problems (poor soils)	19	47.5	1	2.5	20	25
Not enough land	21	52.5	4	10	25	31.25
Dependence on community organisations to take decisions	23	57.5	3	7.5	26	32.5
Community structures not functioning properly	22	55	5	12.5	27	33.75
Inadequate extension services	9	22.5	12	30	21	26.25
No access to credit	23	57.5	5	12.5	28	35

Several problems experienced by the households, illustrated in Table 4.50, were identified by the respondents. Some of the main problems were: inadequate infrastructure (95% in both communities), lack of employment opportunities (65%: 67.5% in Ekuthuleni and 62.5% in Platt Estate), financial problems (46.25%: 60% in Ekuthuleni and 32.5% in Platt Estate), environmental problems (25%: 47.5% in Ekuthuleni and 2.5% in Platt Estate), no access to credit (35%: 57.5% in Ekuthuleni and 12.5% in Platt Estate), and not enough land (31.25%: 52.5% in Ekuthuleni and 10% in Platt Estate). In relation to community structures and functioning, the problems identified were community structures not functioning properly (33.75%: 55% in Ekuthuleni and 12.5% in Platt Estate), conflict in the community (32.5%: 52.5% in Ekuthuleni and 12.5% in Platt

Estate), inadequate extension services (26.25%: 22.5% in Ekuthuleni and 30% in Platt Estate) and dependence on community organisations to take decisions (32.5%: 57.5% in Ekuthuleni and 7.5% in Platt Estate). These problems were noticeable in both communities but were particularly acute in Ekuthuleni.

4.3 Problems, needs and development priorities in Ekuthuleni

Ranking exercises were conducted in both communities to ascertain the respondents' development problems and priorities. Tables 4.52 and 4.53 show the community problems that were ranked by the focus groups. One of the objectives of conducting such exercises (ranking) is to understand social differentiation among rural areas like Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate. The following problems were indicated by the focus group in Ekuthuleni:

- The schools are mostly needed in Ekuthuleni as their children travel long distances to Colenso and it was ranked first. They also need a crèche for their younger children.
- The members of the focus group agreed that corruption within the committee members was a crucial problem and the older women insisted that it was a problem that was “out of their hands”. This problem was ranked second.
- The community members highlighted that they lack job opportunities in the community and it was also ranked second.
- The focus group members identified electricity as a need in the community and it was ranked fourth. It was highlighted earlier that one of the advantages of electricity is that it is a sign of development in the community.
- Fuelwood was ranked fifth as it was highlighted earlier that this community did not have forests, but they relied on the neighbouring game reserve forest for fuelwood and access was restricted.
- The community do not have enough sources of water and it was also ranked fifth.
- Land for cultivation was indicated as a problem and ranked seventh. They stated that the land they have for cultivation is very far from their residence.
- The focus group respondents highlighted that they lack extension services and it was ranked eighth. They stated that extension services could help them develop their skills in agricultural activities.

- Inadequate infrastructure such as roads was one of the problems identified and was also ranked eighth.
- The community also need a community hall and it was ranked number ten.

Table 4.51: Ranking matrix of Ekuthuleni

	C	ES	LC	FW	E	R	W	SC	J	CH
C	■	C	C	C	C	C	C	SC	C	C
ES	■	■	ES	FW	E	R	W	SC	J	ES
LC	■	■	■	FW	E	LC	LC/W	SC	J	LC
FW	■	■	■	■	E	FW	FW/W	SC	J	FW
E	■	■	■	■	■	E	E	SC	J	E
R	■	■	■	■	■	■	W	SC	J	R
W	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	SC	J	W
SC	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	SC/J	SC
J	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	J/CH
CH	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

Problems	Scoring	Ranking
Corruption (C)	8	2
Extension services (ES)	2	8
Land for cultivation (LC)	3	7
Fuel-wood (FW)	5	5
Electricity (E)	6	4
Roads (R)	2	8
Water (W)	5	5
School and Creche (SC)	9	1
Jobs (J)	8	2
Community Hall (CH)	1	10

The following were the problems identified by the focus group in Platt Estate:

- Access to water, especially clean water was identified as one of the crucial problems and was ranked first. The women in the focus group emphasised that the water problem needed to be addressed very soon.
- The focus group members felt that the inability of community members to get jobs was directly linked to them not having access to child care facilities and it was ranked second.
- Although they stated that having jobs can solve many problems of the community, other members of the focus group stated that electricity is also the most important resource needed by the community and it was ranked third.
- Some members of the focus group agreed that training institutions are also needed to be allocated within the community for their children to further their studies and was also ranked third.
- The community members indicated that a clinic is needed in the community. Although the site was proposed for a clinic the community needed it soon and it was ranked fifth.
- The focus group members also indicated toilets as one of community problems and it was ranked fifth as well.
- The community needs enough shops and it was ranked number seven.
- The focus group indicated that a crèche is also needed for the community and was ranked eighth.
- Telephones are also needed by the community and was ranked number nine.



Table 4.52: Ranking matrix of Platt Estate

	E	W	TT	EO	TP	C	TI	PF	CL	S
E	■	W	E	EO	E	E	E	E	E	E
W	■	■	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
TT	■	■	■	EO	TT	TT	TI	TT	TT	TT
EO	■	■	■	■	EO	EO	EO/TI	EO	EO	EO
TP	■	■	■	■	■	C	TI	PF/TP	CL	S
C	■	■	■	■	■	■	TI	C	CL	S
TI	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	TI	CL/TI	TI
PF	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	CL	S
CL	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	CL
S	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

Problems	Scoring	Ranking
Electricity (E)	7	3
Water (W)	9	1
Toilets (TT)	5	5
Employment Opportunities (EO)	8	2
Telephone (TP)	1	9
Crèche (C)	2	8
Training Institutions (TI)	7	3
Playing Field (PF)	1	9
Clinic (CL)	5	5
Shops (S)	3	7

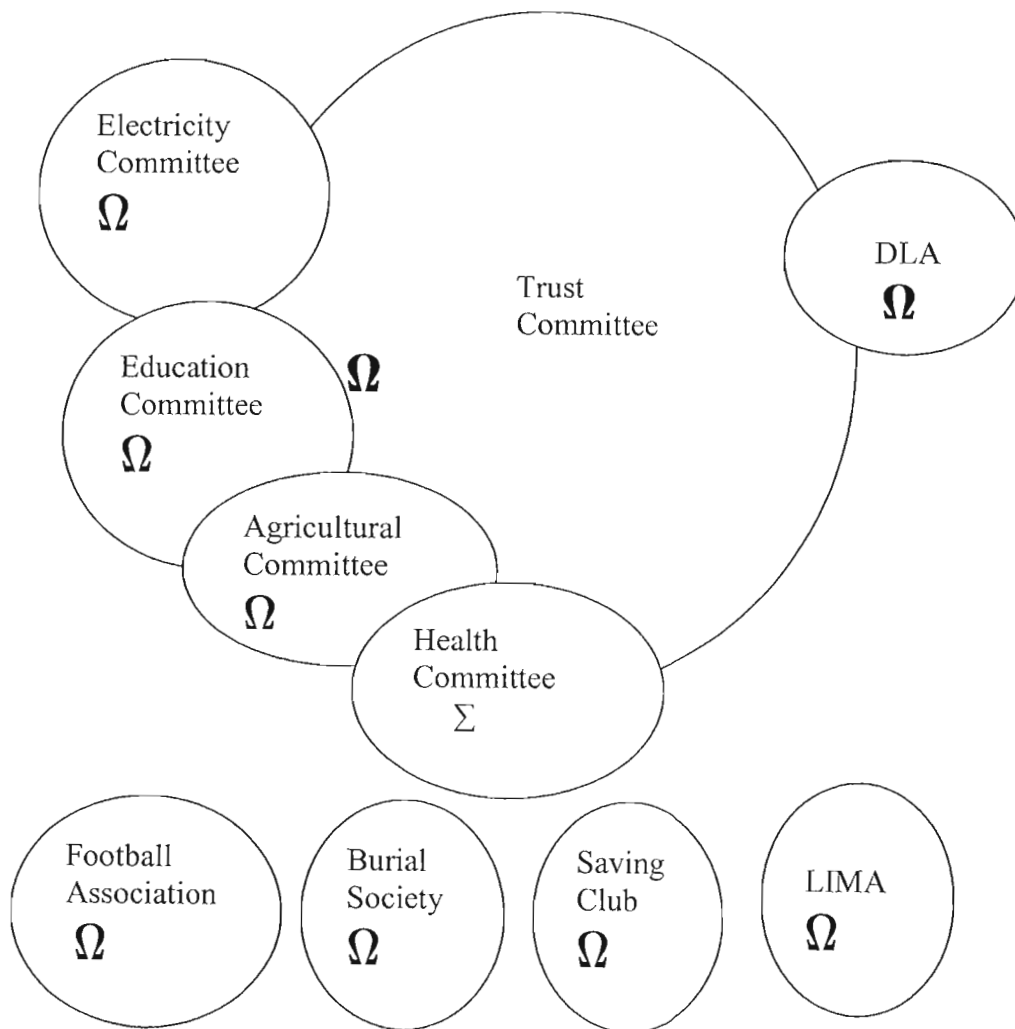
As mentioned earlier, the respondents of Platt Estate do not have access to clean water, therefore water is ranked as problem number 1 while in Ekuthuleni it is ranked number 5 and the school and crèche are ranked number 1. In Ekuthuleni corruption and jobs are ranked number 2 in Platt Estate the respondents felt that lack of employment opportunities is one of their major problems and it is ranked 2. The results again reflect the fuelwood problem experienced in Ekuthuleni which is ranked number 4. In Platt

Estate electricity and training institutions are ranked number 3. Land for cultivation is not a problem in Platt Estate while in Ekuthuleni it is ranked number 7 and shops are ranked number 7 in Platt Estate. In Ekuthuleni there are no improved roads and the community lacks extension services and these problems are ranked number 8 and in Platt Estate the crèche is ranked number 8. Platt Estate also needs telephones and a playing field and these are ranked number 9. In Ekuthuleni the community hall is ranked number 10.

The results indicate that there are major differences related to problems experienced, especially in terms of their relative importance, in the two communities. The nature and prioritisation of the problems are linked to specific contexts relating to access to infrastructure and services, perceived needs and availability of resources (both human and physical). The variations are important to consider in terms of development efforts since clearly one “one-size-fits all” solutions to land reform projects specifically and rural development generally are unlikely to address the diverse challenges and needs in different rural communities.

4.4. Venn diagrams: existing community structures

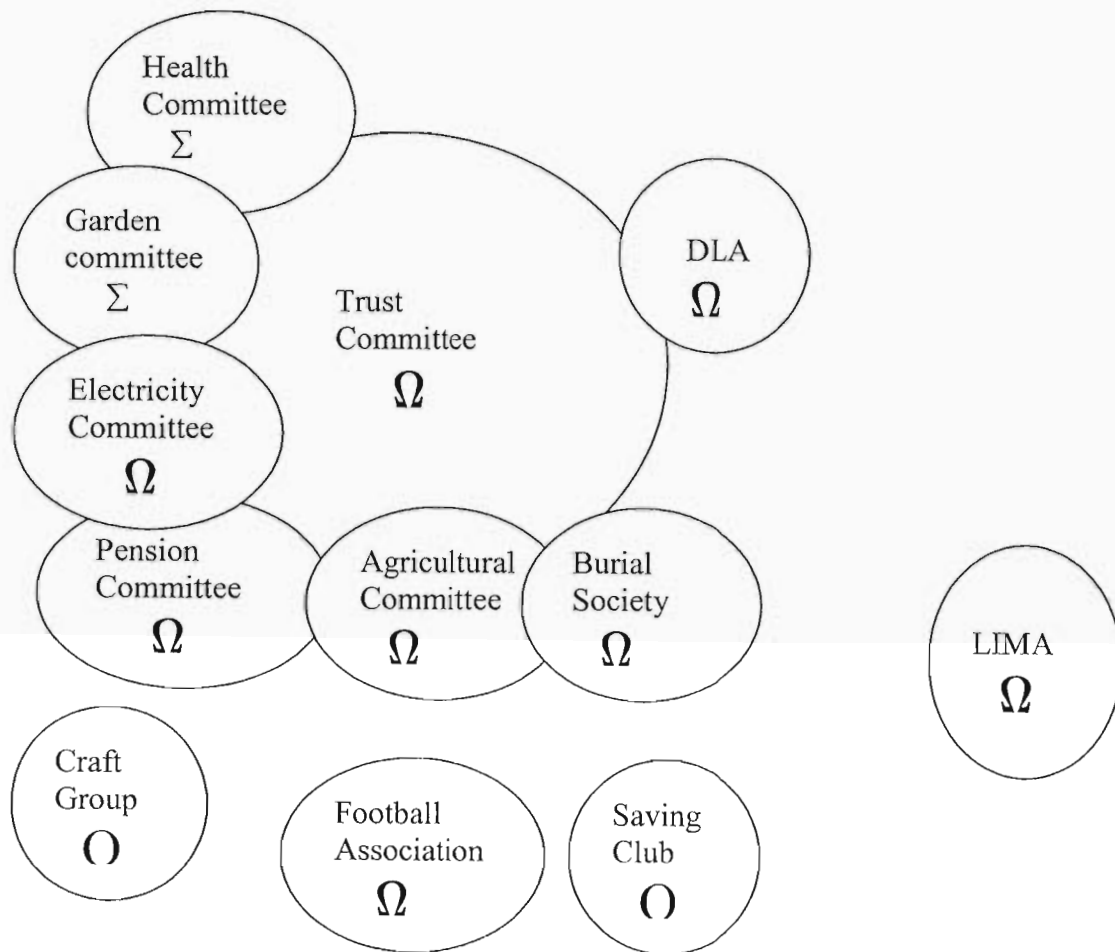
Figure 4.1 The Venn diagram of Ekuthuleni



ΩMen ΣWomen
--



Figure 4.2 The Venn diagram of Platt-Estate



Ω Men
 Σ Women

J

The Venn diagrams were compiled by the focus groups in both study areas. The focus group members were asked to rank community institutions and outside organisations operating within the case study areas in order to construct diagrams that indicate the relationships between and among them.

During discussions it became clear that generally the Ekuthuleni Trust Committee and the Platt Estate Trust Committee are central to most activities that take place in these two areas. It is also evident that there are outside organisations that operate in both communities. Some of these influential structures are the Department of Land Affairs, Lima Rural Development Foundation, local government department officials and planning agencies. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 are the venn diagrams of Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate which were compiled by the focus groups. The same focus groups that were used for the ranking exercises were asked to rank community institutions or organisations. The diagrams were constructed with the aim of revealing the relationships between and among these community institutions or organisations. These circles which have been constructed by the focus groups, overlap each other. The importance of the overlap of circles is to show the overlap of members, functions and decision-making powers. These venn diagrams helps to show how decisions are made and who has the major influence in decision-making.

The venn diagrams illustrate the dominance of males in most community structures, especially those structures that enable them to wield more power in the communities such as the Trust Committee, the Electricity Committee, Education Committee, Agricultural Committee, Football Association, Burial Society and Saving Club in Ekuthuleni, The venn diagram of Platt Estate also indicates the dominance of males in community structures such as the Trust Committee, Electricity Committee, Pension Committee, Agricultural Committee, Burial Society, Craft Group, Football Association and Savings Club. During discussions it became clear that a few people in the communities dominate most decision-making structures. It is evident that there are individuals and organisations outside the communities that influence decisions within the communities. Some of the most influential include the DLA, NGOs, local government departments, police services

J

and planning agencies. In Ekuthuleni all the structures with the exception of the health committee (that is dominated by women), had at least one female and in Platt Estate the women dominate in the health and garden committees and other structures include at least one female.

4.5 Mental mapping

Map 4.1 shows a mental map of Ekuthuleni that was compiled by the focus group. The focus group respondents were asked to draw a map showing important features within the community. The mental map does not show the land for cultivation. The respondents who compiled the mental map explained that the land for cultivation is far from the settlement. The only productive capacities that could be observed were the household gardens.

The mental map shows that the community has the following services:

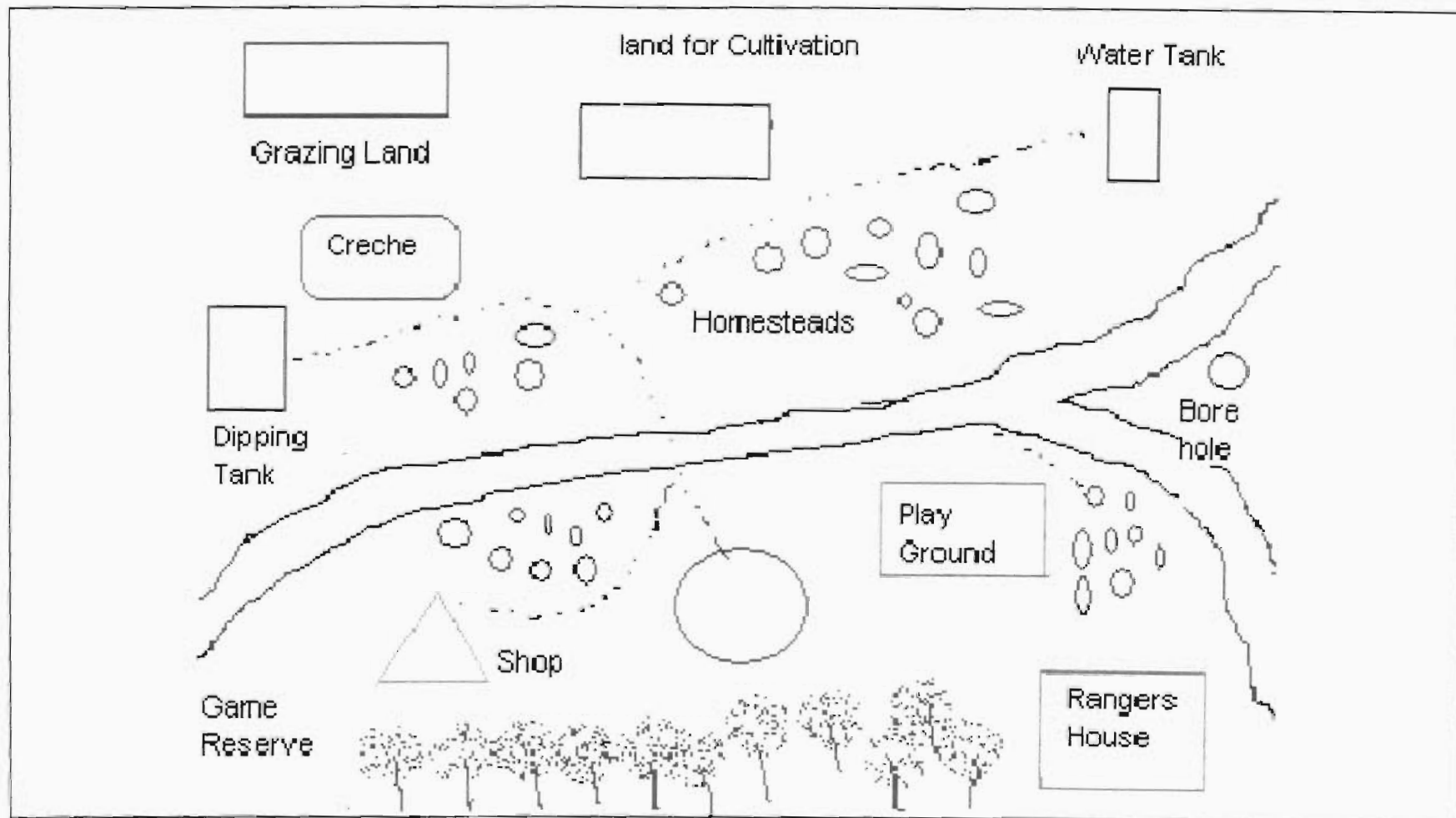
- A number of households
- One shop
- It also shows a proposed site for a clinic
- Water tank, which is not situated in the centre of the area
- Borehole
- The gravel road
- A dipping tank
- Open land for grazing

The mental map confirms the absence of a school in the community as it was mentioned earlier that they used the schools outside the community. A proposed site for a school is indicated on the map. The game reserve and the house of the game reserve owner are found outside the boundary of the community as shown in the map.

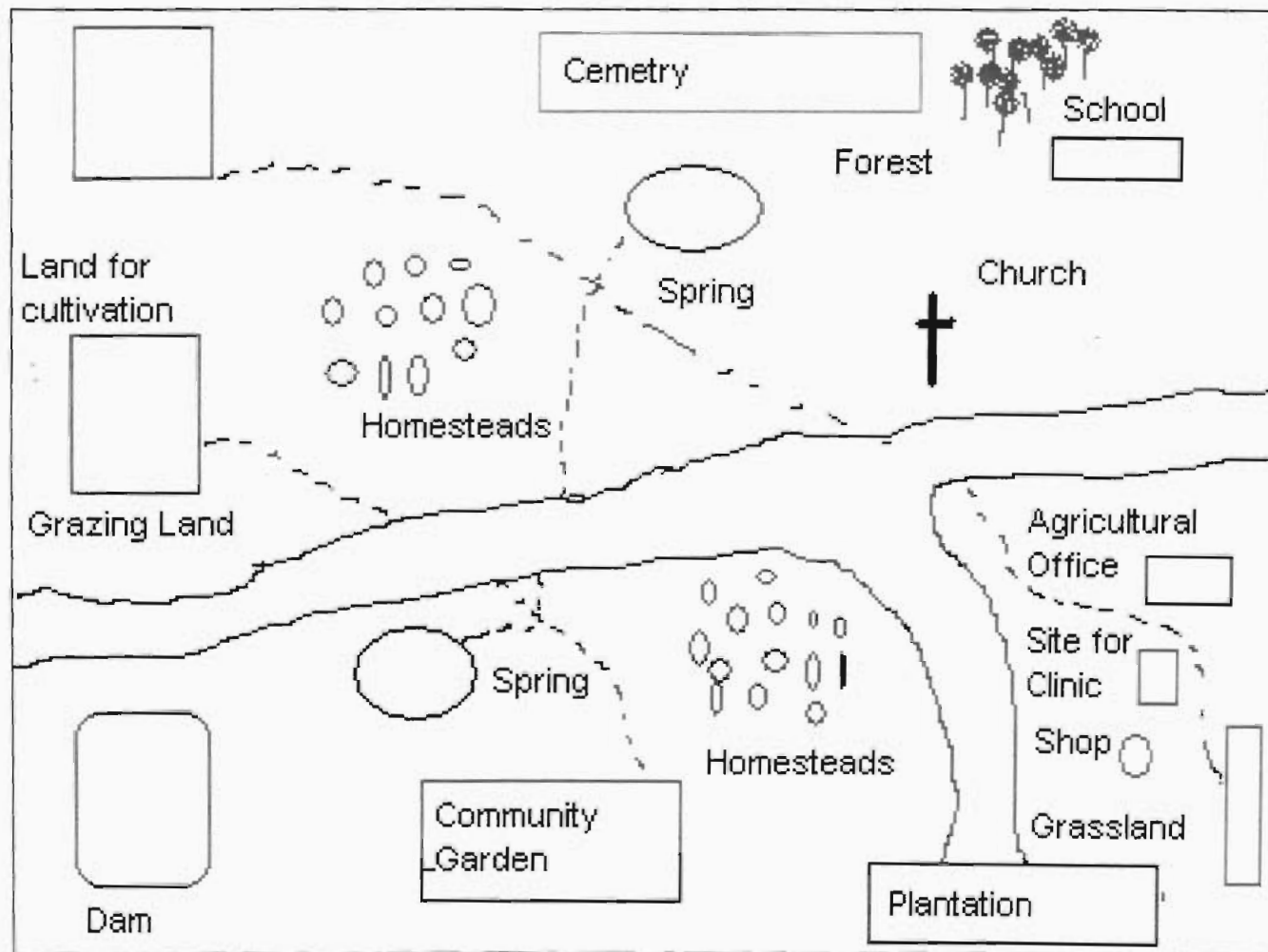
Similarly, Map 4.2 shows a mental map that was compiled by the focus group in Platt Estate. The mental map shows the services and number of households found in the community. These include the gravel road, a proposed site for a clinic, a periodical dam which exists during rainy seasons, the agricultural office, the sports ground and community gardens. The grassland which is the source of grass for thatching is also

shown on the map. The mental map indicates the plantations and indigenous forests. The school, the Roman Catholic Church, cemetery and the grazing land are also shown on the map. The mental map also indicates the land for cultivation and the springs.

Map 4.1: Mental mapping of Ekuthuleni



Map 4.2: Mental mapping of Platt Estate



4.6 Conclusion

Having analysed the data, it is quite evident that rural women in these two communities rely heavily on natural resources for their survival. Also, it is clear that both men and women use the natural resources that are found in their communities. However, natural resources are used by men and women for different purposes and to different extents. It is also clear that there are regulations that govern the use of natural resources and these rules favour men because they play a crucial role in decision-making concerning land use. Although some of the women participate in decision-making processes, their views are generally not considered, especially if they are against those of men. It is clear that because of patriarchy and limited education women are still dependent on men to decide on land use matters. Even if the decisions are against their will, they accept them.

CHAPTER 5: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This study clearly illustrates a major contradiction in terms of land and natural resource management in rural areas: while women are the key managers and users of natural resources their direct and meaningful participation in decisions are limited. This research illustrates that gender issues in relation to sustainable land use and natural resource management at the community and household levels in rural areas cannot be neglected or ignored. As Bob and Moodley (2004) assert, this is particularly acute in rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal where high levels of poverty persist and where the re-invention and re-assertion of tradition is prevalent, especially in traditional governance structures. Black rural women experience multiple forms of oppression as unequal race, class and gender relations combine to place them at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Discriminatory social, cultural and political systems limit women's access to and control over land and other resources, as well as their participation in decision-making in the household, community and nation. Several interconnected gender issues have been raised in the study which are linked to ownership and rights of land resources as well as how decisions are made and implemented.

Why are there major differences in community? Perhaps the main factor is that access to natural resources in Ekuthuleni is dependent on a private game reserve which is outside the control of the community.

Gender bias and blindness are prevalent worldwide and constitute principal constraints contributing to food insecurity (Cross and Friedman, 1997). Many rural women lack access to land or have insecure land tenure. According to Greenberg (2003), it is their husbands, fathers and brothers who hold land titles, a practice which essentially eliminates women's eligibility for formal sources of credit or membership in farmers' organisations, which could enable them to gain access to inputs that can help stabilise or enhance their production systems. Rural women's access to agricultural extension services worldwide is only about 1/20th of that of men, and technology is rarely designed specifically to address their needs (Meer, 1997).

According to Goodland (1993), the exclusion of women from decision-making structures is undemocratic, discriminatory and wasteful of their unique intellectual resources and perspective. According to Mongella (2000), structures concerned with development, on which half the population has partial or no representation, cannot adequately address their interests. Ngubane (2002) asserts that the extensive gender inequalities in rural life, including differences in the nature of work undertaken by women and men and their respective access to services and facilities, make it clear that women will have totally different experiences, concerns and approaches to development problems. Their exclusion from or under-representation in structures in which development decisions are made and strategies implemented will inevitably narrow the scope of development actions and reduce their effectiveness (Malhoutra, 1992). More fundamentally, it is unlikely that such structures can adequately respond to women's development needs and interests.

Rwelamira (2000) emphasises that throughout Africa, empowering women, to reach at least parity with men, is overdue. Aspects such as equal access to land, job creation for women, health, social security and education for girls have raised concerns. Women's empowerment is nothing more and nothing less than increasing women's control over their own lives (Rwelamira, 2000). According to Goodland (1993), it includes increasing the choices open to women, especially in land ownership and women's access to resources and credit. Women, especially in the rural areas, see access to land as central to their role in social reproduction and the domestic economy. In most rural communities, community politics and local governance are still largely structured by an overarching ideology and practice of male authority. Rarely do women participate in the committee or traditional governance structures of the community, except for women groups. This is in spite of the fact that they are deeply involved in community affairs and actively participate in social networks beyond the household (Rwelamira, 2000). In rural South Africa there is limited focus on the crucial questions of the relations of power that determine women's participation in, access to and control over land and other resources (Ngubane, 2002).

5.2 Summary of key findings

5.2.1 The socio-economic conditions of the study areas

The first objective of the study was to assess the socio-economic profile of the areas that are probed. To assess the social and economical status of rural areas one needs to consider the following aspects or themes: gender, education, age, marital status, household's sources of income, provision of services and facilities, household and community problems and others. Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate are typical of rural communities in South Africa. The residents of these communities obtained their land through the land reform programme. Both these communities are made up of a large number of women and children. Households engage in multiple survival strategies which are characteristic of households under stress. The key source of income is pension and welfare grants. A significant number of households have income in non-agricultural wage labour. Other community members depend on informal activities as their sources of income.

The primary source of drinking water in Platt Estate is springs. These sources of drinking water were unprotected and can lead to the transmission of disease carrying organisms as animals frequent the water sources and the community members utilise these areas for washing and bathing. Other households of Platt Estate have water tanks in which they store water collected from rain. However, even those households which have water tanks only have access to rain water during the rainy season. During dry seasons these families walk long distances searching for water. In Ekuthuleni the respondents expressed that although they had sources of water (boreholes) they were not enough for the whole community and the water taste is bad (salty).

5.2.2 Current land use

The second objective was to investigate current land use and natural resource management systems in the study areas. The primary land use in Platt Estate is agricultural, which is community based. The major crops produced include maize, pumpkins, beans and cabbages, mostly for home consumption. Each household has a field far from the residential area and a home garden. They have community gardens too.

In Ekuthuleni it is mostly for subsistence purposes as they rely on their home gardens for cultivation. In the case of Ekuthuleni the fields for cultivation are allocated very far from their residence and this results in most households using the home gardens for crop production.

Both communities have large areas located as grazing lands. In Platt Estate they have plantations of trees for the sake of selling logs, and this has led to the creation of employment opportunities, but on a temporal basis. The community members depend on natural resources for survival. The forests are used for different purposes such as building materials, garden fencing, building kraals, firewood sources, collection of traditional medicines, hunting, harvesting of fruits and craft production. They also use grass for thatching their houses and they use soil as mud for smearing their houses.

5.2.3 Opportunities and constraints faced by rural women relating to natural resource management

It is also important to note that in both communities the level of education is very low among women, which negatively influences their knowledge levels and exposure to new ideas. The less educated women interviewed gave evidence of the fact that due to their limited access from other sources of survival they rely heavily on natural resources for subsistence. This can be attributed to the fact that less educated people in general and women in particular have very few chances of being employed.

Some of the major problems encountered by women include the gender division of labour that characterises both of these communities. Women carry out the bulk of domestic and agricultural duties while men are responsible for specific spheres of activity, such as marketing of livestock, constructing homes and kraals, and fencing gardens. Women are largely responsible for the use and management of natural resources to provide daily domestic household needs including water, fuel, fodder, food and medicinal products. The children also play an important role in collecting water for domestic use and wood which is the principal source of fuel for the majority of households in both communities. These tasks are made more difficult by a shortage of resources. They also help in

agricultural duties. Being in charge of household provisioning, women are most concerned with food and water security. Unfortunately, food inadequacy in the rural household is affected by insufficient income. These concerns are borne everyday by rural households and complicate women's capacity to participate in other development activities. Women also bear the burden of limited access to housing, health services and livelihood programmes. Additionally, the processing and storage of food crops is also mainly their responsibility. Corruption among committee members is one of the major problems encountered by Ekuthuleni community members. The community members of the very same community have a problem of land for cultivation that is located far from their residential areas and this results in the community members relying on home gardens for cultivation. Women in Ekuthuleni stated that their view of locating land near their households was denied by men instead the land for grazing was located closer.

5.2.4 The management of resources

The Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate communities have rules governing the utilisation of natural resources such as forests and grasslands. The grasslands are conserved until it is winter. In Platt Estate only dry wood and thorny trees can be collected. In Ekuthuleni people have to do work before collecting wood from the game reserve forest. This puts more pressure on women, especially those who are sick and those who do not have money for buying paraffin.

5.2.5 Women and decision-making in land use

Prevailing patriarchal notions and practices are impeding women's participation in land use and are also restricting their benefits. However, it is worth noting that some women have been empowered by the land reform processes and are starting to develop structures and participate in decision-making process and most women play a crucial role in making decisions based on crop production and in domestic activities including childcare. In Ekuthuleni some of the respondents were unable to identify the roles played by women in community-based organisations concerning land use, and in Platt Estate most of the women stated that they were disturbed by their domestic work from participating in meetings concerning land use.

5.2.6 The evaluation of the sustainability of current policies relating to natural resource and management

Land is the key to all aspects of social reproduction for the rural family and distributing it to African women is one of the acute problems of land reform. Women form the majority of the Black rural population and most subsistence farming is carried out by them. Women are the major food producers in both of these communities, at the same time, development policies and programmes have not given sufficient attention to their needs to improve their food productivity without placing a disproportionate burden on them.

Land reform programmes, together with the break-up of communal land holdings, have generally led to the transfer of exclusive land rights to males as heads of households. This ignores both the existence of female-headed households and the rights of married women to a joint share. Marital status determines access to the land for both men and women, but for women land rights are dependent on their relationship to men. In these communities the household is the core of the society. Land grants are generally only given to households, and then to its head, assumed to be the husband. Unmarried women do not have land, or even homes of their own.

5.3 Recommendations

An awareness of power relations at the community and household levels is critical to formulate policies that are aimed at redressing unequal relations and ensuring that community structures are able to incorporate a range of voices that reflect social differentiation and differing interests (Bob and Moodley, 2004). The following recommendations are forwarded to address some of the key challenges and constraints identified in the study.

5.3.1 Need for an overall rural development strategy

Bob and Moodley (2004) assert that it is imperative that rural development be a key focus of the South African government's development strategies. As yet, the government is failing to have a positive impact on the scale and depth of rural poverty and this has serious social, economic, political and environmental implications. Most of rural South Africa lack basic infrastructure and services such as electricity, water supply and sanitation. This has dramatic social and environmental impacts. The provision of proper and appropriate services and infrastructure will go a long way in releasing peoples', especially women's, time to engage in productive activities. The cooperation between different departments and structures interested in rural development is currently weak. It is imperative that redress programmes such as land reform go beyond redistributing land but also addresses the questions of survival, environmental sustainability and improved standards of living of the rural poor (Bob and Moodley, 2004). Bonti-Ankomah (1997) highlights that this requires several government policies to be integrated, but they are currently implemented in isolation from each other.

5.3.2 Policy changes

A more consistent approach to challenging power relations is needed. This means reformulating policies, implementation and monitoring procedures as well as putting mechanisms in place that will enforce existing legislation that protect and advance the rights of the community as well as ensuring the sustainable use of natural resources. Thus far, the legal structures of South Africa have not played a major role in addressing situations where there is a blatant disregard for respecting laws and policies relating to these rights. The message that the poor communities are receiving is that laws and policies exist on paper but no one is willing to enforce these laws (Bob and Moodley, 2004).

The capacity of local governments with regard to decision-making and the implementation of sustainable policies need to be enhanced through the participation of all stakeholders, especially women, indigenous people, landless labourers and other major groups. Recognising that in the agricultural sector development cannot be

sustained without considering social needs and potentials, especially of women, increased attention should be given to gender issues and indicators (Bob and Moodley, 2004). The development and use of appropriate indicators (including performance indicators) tailored to meet local requirements and circumstances, is essential to design and implement, as well as evaluate results of sustainable development programmes and projects (Bob and Banoo, 2002). Sustainability indicators will cover, inter alia, social dimensions, namely the roles and needs of women in sustainable production and conservation of the natural environment (AFRA, 1999).

5.3.3 Increase representation and participation

It is important that representation and participation in community-based structures be broadened for the following reasons (adapted from Moser, 1993):

- Participation is an end in itself. People have the right and duty to participate in the execution of projects which profoundly affects their lives.
- Participation is a means to improve project results. The exclusion of different groups and stakeholders can negatively affect the outcome of a project, while their active involvement can often help its success.
- Participation in project activities stimulates participation in other spheres of life. Participation in projects has been seen as an important mechanism to overcome apathy and lack of confidence and it can make individuals, especially from previously marginalized groups, visible in the community.

According to Bob and Moodley (2004), there needs to be a concerted effort to increase representation of different groups and households in management structures. The active participation of certain groups in public forums is generally limited as a result of productive and reproductive responsibilities as well as cultural and social constraints. These problems must be addressed.

5.3.4 Training and capacity building

There is a widespread acceptance that there is a need for training and capacity building to ensure effective and efficient implementation and planning for sustainable land use. This requires budget and resource allocations and will need the support of both public and

private sectors (Bob and Moodley, 2004). The causes of women's exclusion from decision-making processes are closely linked to their additional reproductive roles and their household workload, which account for an important share of their time. The empowerment of women would therefore directly or indirectly result in environmental protection. Representing women in decision-making as well as increasing the employment opportunities would lead women to be less dependent on men and thereby the power of men over women would be decreased or challenged.

5.3.5 Provision for other land use options

There is a need to expose communities to other land use options rather than assume that everyone who needs land intends to use the land exclusively for residential and agricultural purposes. Viable economic alternatives such as ecotourism and small business development, for example, also need to be considered and supported. Communication strategies need to be developed that will ensure that information is provided to the local communities pertaining to production possibilities, credit sources, available services, business opportunities, and their rights and obligations.

5.4 Conclusion

Managing sustainable land use practices needs to incorporate a focus on the human component, the users of land (Farrington and Boyd, 1997). Bob and Moodley (2004) assert that this includes managing the way information is disseminated, dealing with social differentiation, the issue of leadership and representation, the handling of conflicts (both intra-community and inter-community) as well as sustaining community involvement and participation in decision-making. It is worth noting that although reference is made to “communities”, these are often artificially constructed with diverse interests and needs that are often contradictory and competitive (Guitjt and Shah, 1998).

Land use and environmental assessment data are key parameters to analyse natural resource management strategies and conflicts in communities (Bob and Moodley, 2004). Additionally, this type of information is often used to monitor changes in agricultural strategies as well as consequences of changed environmental and socio-economic

conditions (Fog, 1995). Planning and development in communities often takes place without due consideration for the natural resource base. In the long term, this can have serious implications for the viability and sustainability of the projects as well as the natural environment (Bob and Moodley, 2004).

Women's relationship with the environment revolves around their central concern with household food security and family welfare, and with the provision of water and fuel. Changes in land and tree tenure, land use, technology and inputs are viewed by women according to their effects on the supply of water for domestic use and small-scale irrigation; on the possibilities for gathering food, fuelwood, fodder, medicinal plants and raw materials for small industries; and on tree, plant and animal production for consumption and sale.

Besides resource access and land tenure patterns that favour men, rural women must cope with poor availability and quality of means of production, eroding environmental conditions, male out-migration, and decreasing access to services (Bob, 2000). Thus, increasing demands are made on women's time and energy, in addition to their already overburdened assignment of domestic, farm, and community work responsibilities. In their efforts to satisfy their families' basic needs and, lacking alternative means of employment or access to capital, poor women are frequently pushed to over-exploit the few resources at their disposal. Rural women are both the best equipped and the least equipped to manage the environment. They are the best equipped with determination, responsibility and indigenous knowledge. However, they are also the least equipped since they usually have no voice or influence in major decisions affecting their natural environment, so that their views and needs are often overlooked (Suliman, 1999). Rural women's technical knowledge of sustainable resource use in soil and water conservation and management, pest management, forest use and conservation, and plant and animal genetic resource management needs to be recognised. Policies and development interventions must incorporate the knowledge and concerns of rural women and include them as actors and decision-makers.

Rwelamira (2000) asserts that the increased concentration of poverty among rural women can be attributed to their limited access to and control over productive resources (especially land, water, labour, inputs and technology), services (extension, training and credit), and markets, and to their limited participation in decision-making processes oriented towards enhancing agricultural productivity and improving the status of rural dwellers. When households must generate additional earnings or confront a decrease in access to services due to economic crisis, structural adjustment programmes or loss of resources, it is generally women who must mobilise their energies to compensate. Policies on poverty, agriculture, land reform, settlement and structural adjustment do not generally consider rural men and women's differential conditions and needs, nor are the differential policy impacts on men and women considered. The effect has often been a deterioration in the welfare of the most disadvantaged groups in society, particularly rural women. This is reflected in the fact that for the first time in many years, maternal and infant mortality rates are rising and girls' school enrolment is declining in several developing countries (Sowetan, 2000). Rural poverty will only be alleviated if these issues are recognised and fully integrated into policy and programme design, implementation and evaluation (AFRA, 1991).

According to Rwelamira (2000), the steps taken to eliminate or slow down environmental degradation must be accompanied by the empowerment of women. Empowerment may include non-environmental issues such as effective health and reproductive health services such as the means of choosing to limit reproduction, a pre-requisite for population control. According to Small (1994), women are agents of economic and environmental change, and must be recognised for their role in managing resources and families. Equal rights for women on resource ownership is essential.

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APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY AND ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

Women and Decision-making in Sustainable Land Use and Natural Resource Management in Rural KwaZulu-Natal: Case Studies of Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate

Community Details

1. Name _____
2. Location _____

A. Background of respondents

1. Marital status

Married	1
Single	2
Divorced	3
Widowed	4
Other	5

2. Age of respondent

< 20	1
20-39	2
40-49	3
50-59	4
60-69	5
70+	6

3. Level of education

No schooling	1
Primary	2
Secondary	3
Tertiary	4

4. How long have you been living in the area?

No. of years	Code
< 5	1
6-10	2
11-15	3
> 16	4

5. Sources of household income: multiple responses

Principal sources of income	Code
Household farming	1
Own business	2
Agricultural wage labour/ farm worker	3
Informal activities (crafts, traditional medicine)	4
None-agricultural wage labour	5
Pensions, social welfare grants, etc	6
Professional activity	7
No source of income	8
Other (specify)	9

6. If you were given the opportunity to move to another area, would you do that?

Yes	1
No	2
Do not know	3

(If No, go to section C)

6.1 If yes, where would you choose to move?

6.2 Why would you decide to resettle in the new area/ location?

A. Socio-Economic Profile

1. What services are available for the households in your community?

Services	Code
Telephone	1
Water sources (borehole, tap, etc.)	2
Electricity	3
Land for cultivation	4
Land for grazing	5
Toilet	6
Sources of fuel	7
Other (specify)	8

2. What other services would you like to have for your household that should be provided by the community?

3. What are the primary sources of fuel for cooking, lighting and heating for the household?

Source	Cooking	Lighting	Heating
Wood	1	-	1
Paraffin	2	2	2
Coal	3	3	3
Electricity	4	4	4
Gas	5	5	5
Generator	6	6	6
Candles	-	-	-
Other (specify)	8	8	8

4. Which source of fuel would you most prefer?

Source of fuel	Code
Wood	1
Coal	2
Electricity	3
Paraffin	4
Gas	5
Cow dung	6
Other (specify)	7

4.1 Why do you prefer the source of fuel identified above?

5. Do you experience difficulties in obtaining/ purchasing/ collecting the source of fuel?

Response	Code
Yes	1
No	2
Sometimes	3
Not certain	4

1.1 If yes, which difficulties are those?

6. What type/s of materials used to build and maintain your home?

Material	Code
Brick	1
Blocks	2
Mud	3
Poles	4
Thatch	5
Other (specify)	6

6.1 Do you experience difficulties in obtaining/ purchasing/ collecting the building materials identified above?

Response	Code
Yes	1
No	2
Sometimes	3
Not certain	4

6.1.1 If yes, which difficulties are those?

7. Does the household experience any of the following problems?

Problem	Code
Inadequate infrastructure e.g. roads, telephones	1
Lack of employment opportunities	2
Conflict in the community	3
Not enough land	4
Financial problems	5
Dependence on community organisations to make decisions	6
Community structures not functioning properly	7
Environmental problems, e.g. dry, poor soils	8
Inadequate extension services	9
No access to credit	10
Any other problem (specify)	11

7.1 What do you think needs to be done to solve the problems identified above?

D. Managing natural resources in the community

1. Who is responsible for the managing of land resources in the community?

Structure/ individual/ institution	Code
Elected committee/ legal entity/ CPA	1
Traditional authority	2
All beneficiary households	3
Government officials	4
NGOs	5
Consultants	6
Other (specify)	7
Don't know	8

2. How would you rate the working relationship amongst the people referred to in 1, above?

Good	1
Fair	2
Sometimes bad	3
Bad	4
Don't know	5

3. How would you rate working relationship between the people/ individual mentioned in 1 and the community?

Rating	Code
Good	1
Fair	2
Sometimes bad	3
Bad	4
Don't know	5

3.1 If **bad** or **sometimes bad**, what do you think are/ were the causes of that?

4. Who allocates land to different households in the community?

Individual/ group	Code
Legal entity/ Elected committee/ CPA	1
The chief/ Induna	2
All households	3
Government officials	4
Consultants	5
NGOs	6
Other	7
Don't know	8

5. Are you satisfied with the land you have been allocated for residential purposes?

Yes	1.
No	2

5.1 If **No**, state why

6. Are you satisfied with the land you have been allocated grazing purposes?

Yes	1
No	2

6.1 If **No**, state why

6.2 Ownership of livestock

Male	1
Female	2
No livestock	3

6.3 Who decides on marketing of livestock?

Male	1
Female	2

6.4 Members of the households who perform the following tasks: Multiple responses

Tasks	Girls <18	Women 18-60	Women >60	Boys <18	Men 18-60	Men > 60
Cooking						
Shopping						
Laundry						
House cleaning						
Child care						
Repairs						
Tending livestock						
Gathering of wild plants						
Ploughing						
Planting						
Weeding						
Irrigating						
Harvesting						
Marketing of products						
Transport of products						

6.5 Members of the households who make decisions on the following in Platt Estate:

Multiple responses

	Women	Men
Which crops to grow		
Where to grow		
When to plant		
When to harvest		
Storage facilities		
When to buy or sell livestock		
Which children to go to school		
How to pay for school fees		
Amount to spend on household needs		

7. How would you rate the adequacy of access your household has to the following common pool natural resources:

	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	Excellent
Thatch	1	2	3	4
Fuelwood	1	2	3	4
Water	1	2	3	4
Medicinal plants	1	2	3	4
Wild foods	1	2	3	4

7.1 If **poor or satisfactory** to any of the above, state why

8. Do you have proof of ownership of having access to the land/ land rights?

Yes	1
No	2

9. Do you feel secure about land rights?

Yes	1
No	2

9.1 If **No**, explain

10. Who do you speak to when encountering a problem related to land/ natural resources in the community?

Chief/ traditional authority	1
Community-based organization/ elected committee	2
Government official	3
NGOs	4
Consultants	5
Other (specify)	6

10.1 Are you satisfied that the matter is given the attention it deserves?

Yes	1
No	2

11. Do you know of any situations where members of the community were involved in disagreements related to land and natural resource issues?

Yes	1
No	2

11.1 If **Yes**, describe the situation.

11.2 Did such disagreements develop into violent conflicts/ fragmentation in the community?

Yes	1
No	2

(If no, go to question 10)

11.2.1 If Yes, explain

11.3 Do you think conflicts have impact(ed) on the successes of development projects in the community?

Yes	1
No	2

(If **no**, go to question 11)

11.3.1 If **yes** explain

12. Are there steps in place to resolve conflicts or discipline members of the community who fail to adhere community decisions regarding the use and allocation of land and natural resources?

Yes	1
No	2

12.1 If **yes**, are the procedures in place to address the issues at hand?

Yes	1
No	2

12.2 If **yes**, what type of conflict resolution procedures are used?

Procedure	Code
Elected committee meets parties involved	1
Community meeting attends to the dispute	2
All male household heads discuss the problem	3
The parties are told to resolve their differences	4
Police handle the disputes	5
Government officials intervene	6
Other (specify)	7

12.3 Who is the most important person or group in charge of settling disputes about land and natural resources in the community?

Only the people involved	1
Community organization	2
Traditional authority	3
The police	4
Government officials	5
NGOs	6
No one	7
Don't know	8

12.4 Who, in your opinion, should be participating in the resolution of disputes/ problems pertaining to land use and natural resources in your area?

Participants	Codes
All male household heads	1
All households	2
Traditional authorities	3
Government officials	4
Police officers	5
Elected committee	6
Other (specify)	7
Don't know	8

E. KNOWLEDGE OF AND LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATION/S DEALING LAND IN THE COMMUNITY

1. Are you aware of any community-based organizations/ structures set up in the community to deal with land issues?

Yes	1
No	2

1.1. If yes, how did you first hear about the organization/ structure?

Family member/ friend	1
Community leaders	2
Publications, pamphlet, newspaper, etc	3
Government official	4
Consultant/ service provider/ facilitator	5
Other (specify)	6

1.2. Did you or a member of the household participate in deciding who are members of the community organization/ structures?

Yes	1
No	2

2.1 If yes, who in the household participated?

Members of household	Code
All adult members of household	1
Male head of the household	2
Female head of the household	3
Both partners	4
Other (specify)	5

2.2 Were/ are you or a member of the household a member of the community organization/ structure?

Yes	1
No	2

3.1 If yes, who in the household participated?

Members of household	Code
All adult members of household	1
Male head of the household	2
Female head of the household	3
Both partners	4
Other (specify)	5

4. Did any member of the household participate in any of the following specific processes? If so, who in the household participated and how did he/ she participated?

Processes	Code	Who	How
Identifying land use options in the community	1		
Decision on land use	2		
Developing community's business plan/ development projects	3		
Tenure arrangements/ land allocation	4		
Land management (developing principles & legal entity)	5		
Other (specify)	6		

CODES

WHO	HOW
1. All adult members of household	1. Talking in meetings
2. Male head of household	2. Identification of needs
3. Female head of household	3. Ste visits
4. Both partners	4. Responding to questionnaires
5. Other (specify)	5. Publication/ letter/ pamphlet
6. Don't know	6. Other (specify)

4.1 If you or any member of the household participated in any of the processes above, did you feel that your inputs were considered?

Yes	No	Uncertain
1	2	3

4.1.1 If **yes**, explain

4.1.2 If **no or uncertain**, explain.

5. Are you satisfied with the level of participation of your household in terms of land concerns in the community?

Yes	1
No	2

5.1 If yes, explain

5.2 If no, explain

6. Do you think there were/ are obstacles in participating in community-based organizations dealing with land use issues in the community?

Yes	1
No	2

6.1 If yes, what were/ are those obstacles/ constrains?

Constraints	Code
Lack of consultation	1
Too busy (doing domestic work, etc)	2
Not informed about meetings	3
Venue of workshops/ meetings too far	4
Was not aware that I/ we was/ were allowed to participate	5
Other (specify)	6

7. Do/ did the women participate in the community-based organizations dealing with land use issues?

Yes	1
No	2

7.1 If yes, what role(s) do/did they play?

8. What are the obstacles/ constrains to women's participation?

Constrains	Code
Lack of consultation	1
Too busy (doing domestic work, etc)	2
Not informed about meetings	3
Venue of workshops/ meetings too far	4
Majority participants are men	5
Other (specify)	6

F. GENERAL

1. What are the advantages (why is it important) of having community-based organizations manage land resources in the community?

2. What are the disadvantages of having community-based organizations manage land resources in the community?
