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# **Community-based Organisations, Sustainable Land Use and Management in Marginalised Communities in KZN**

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

The question of who gets access to and controls land resources is often highly political and contested. 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. 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. Furthermore, the importance of community participation and empowerment is widely recognised as a contributing factor to environmentally-orientated and sustainable development projects. Rhetorical support for community participation and empowerment is discernable in nearly all government policy documents.

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. 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. The latter is particularly centralised within the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy. As Sihlongonyane (1997) asserts, development in South Africa is following a market-led reform process which is favoured by international financial institutions and leading industrial powers. Lehulere (1997) supports Sihlongonyane (1997) and argues that GEAR is in many ways a retreat from the transformative agenda and poverty focus initially articulated by the ANC-led government. 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. 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.

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). 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. Thus, this research endeavour examines the roles that external agencies such as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and governmental institutions (such as the Department of Agriculture, Department of Land Affairs and Department of Water Affairs and Forestry) play in terms of supporting or building capacity within communities to ensure that governance issues pertaining to land concerns are adequately addressed.

This research investigated the nature, efficiency and distributional consequences of current governance and resource management practices and concerns in poor rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal. In this regard, both intra as well as inter-community dynamics were examined. Inter-community aspects included the roles of external organisations such as NGOs and government departments. Intra-community issues included social differentiation, the roles of the chieftaincy and traditional structures, as well as a critical examination of existing community-based organisations in relation to representation, participation, procedures and modes of operation, etc. An examination of social differentiation entailed looking at aspects such as gender, class, race, age and location.

It was also important to examine 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. A multi-conceptual framework coalesces several themes relating to the sustainable management of land resources including historical dimensions, policy frameworks, distributional concerns, governance considerations as well as cultural dimensions. The patterns of land use and exploitation are viewed to be profoundly impacted by livelihood strategies and institutional dynamics at the local level (Buckles, 1999; Herweg et al, 1999). In South African rural areas, government imperatives informed by GEAR as well as local traditional structures also play major roles. The point of departure of this analysis is that the position of households and communities in both the local and wider economies as well as the corresponding social, political and economic environments provide the basis for understanding sustainable land use management practices, opportunities and constraints in poor rural communities at the local level.

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 intervention and/ or support can be initiated. This research endeavour problematises issues relating to the sustainable management and governance of land as well as links them to broader concerns relating to rural poverty, agrarian reform and other relevant policies and programmes, power structures and social differentiation.

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. An examination of sustainable land use and management in marginalised rural communities is urgently required if resource degradation is to be reduced and reversed, and the quality of life and food security in rural communities increased.

### 1.1. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

#### Aim

This research endeavour examined the role/s of community-based organisations in sustainable land use and management in marginalised rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal in relation to broader development and empowerment imperatives. Four case studies from Kwazulu-Natal formed the focus of this research effort.

#### Objectives

- To generate detailed, locality specific information on community-based organisations that focus on land use and management in specific rural communities.
- To examine the roles of various stakeholders (especially community-based organisations, NGOs and governmental institutions) in developing ecologically, socially and economically sustainable land use and management strategies within the broader framework of current livelihood systems.
- To investigate current land use management systems, including traditional and governmental institutional arrangements at the local level.
- To ascertain the extent to which sustainability imperatives that are linked to individual, household and environmental concerns are integrated into governance structures and objectives.
- To examine the opportunities and constraints for community-based organisations to sustainably manage and use land resources in marginalised rural communities.
- To evaluate the sustainability of current policies and institutional governance structures relating to land use and management in rural KwaZulu-Natal.
- To forward policy recommendations and possible alternatives aimed at enhancing sustainable land use management and governance practices in marginalised rural households and communities in KwaZulu-Natal.

The centrality of natural resources, especially land, to rural livelihoods, security and stability permeates the study. This research demonstrates that most rural communities (including land reform projects) in KwaZulu-Natal struggle to access sufficient natural resources and basic services. This is community specific and linked to the amount and quality of land resources available. Many structures responsible for natural resource management and land related decision-making within the communities are planning on largely false expectations. Additionally, there is a general lack of understanding among the respondents about the specific roles and functioning of community-based management processes, practices and structures such as the CPA. Furthermore, the results reveal that there is limited, inconsistent and ineffective participation of many households in community decision making processes related to natural resource management. Both intra- and inter-community power struggles and tensions over natural resources exist.

## **2. METHODOLOGY**

This study explored the various dimensions of land management and land use in rural communities by adopting a locality level analysis as well as incorporating regional and national dynamics and trends. However, the central focus was on a place-based analysis of land reform processes. Given the locality focus of the study, the research questions and methods were locality sensitive. Locality studies allowed for an in-depth analysis that is place-specific. Localities differ according to their socio-economic characteristics. Thus, focusing on four case studies in the same province was an attempt to capture some of the similarities and differences. The following broad research questions guided the study:

- What are the roles of various stakeholders in developing ecologically, socially and economically sustainable land use and management systems that would promote development and support rural livelihood strategies?
- How are individuals and households participating in land use and management organisations and forums? Is the nature and extent of the participation effective, equitable and empowering?
- Which institutions are present to regulate and manage the use of land and natural resources in the communities? Are these institutions effective? What are the characteristics in terms of membership and decision-making processes of these institutions?
- What opportunities and constraints exist for the management and sustainable use of the land resources in marginalised rural communities?
- What are the relationships between socio-economic characteristics, land use and management systems and sustainability imperatives in poor rural communities?
- Are current policies relating to land use and natural resource management in rural KwaZulu-Natal appropriate and sustainable?

## 2.1. BACKGROUND TO CASE STUDIES

Four rural communities located in KwaZulu-Natal were the sites of the study (Appendix 1, Map 1). The study areas were specifically chosen so that a cross section of experiences from different rural contexts could be examined.

### 2.1.1. Okhombe (O)

Okhombe is located at the foot of the Northern Drakensberg Mountains, in the Province of KwaZulu Natal, Bergville area. It sits precisely between the Royal Natal and Cathedral Peak National Parks. It is in the Amazizi Tribal Authority under the Council of *Inkosi* Miya. The Amazizi Tribal Authority formed part of the old KwaZulu area (one of the non-independent homelands of apartheid South Africa) and forms a section of the Ingonyama tribal trust land, under trusteeship of the State, but administered through tribal authorities. The Okhombe region is fortunate in having relatively high rainfall, with the valleys having a long-term average of approximately 800 mm and the hills receiving substantially more. This means that good maize crops are feasible. Drought years are, however, relatively common. The grazing lands are sour veld, that is, grasses that are only palatable during the summer months. In winter the nitrogen to carbon ratio of the grasses is too low for them to be digested by ruminants.

The area was ‘bettered’ (re-planned for agricultural production) in the early 1960s. This process resulted in planned settlements being positioned on the lower hill slopes, with the upper slopes and mountain tops being reserved for grazing, and the flatlands in the valleys being reserved for fields. This replaced the traditional system where homesteads were more scattered and typically on the hilltops or upper slopes. The Okhombe community comprises of six villages with associated grazing and agricultural land. The names of the six villages are: Mahlabathini (86 homesteads), Sigodiphola (86 homesteads), EnhlanoKhombe (255 homesteads), Empamemi (65 homesteads), Oqolweni (120 homesteads) and Ingubhela (50 homesteads). The study was conducted in the Mahlabathini community.

The Farmer Support Group (FSG), a NGO, which is situated at the University of Natal-Pietermaritzburg, together with partners, conducted a series of sub-ward workshops. In the participatory workshops, the participants identified a number of challenges that they were faced with. Some of the challenges the people of Okhombe were faced with were dongas, soil erosion due to lack of grass and trees, overgrazing mainly due to absence of fencing between the homesteads and grazing lands, setting up of community gardens and setting up a craft market. To try and address these challenges, the FSG, together with the University of Natal-Pietermaritzburg and the people of Okhombe established the Land Care Project.

### 2.1.2. Ekuthuleni (E)

The Ekuthuleni community resides on Labuschagnieskraal Farm. This farm of 928 hectares is situated on the outskirts (approximately 7km East) of Colenso. The Colenso/ Weenen road passes through the farm and the Northern boundary is formed by the Thukela river. The eastern part of the farm is bordered by the Thukela Biosphere. Ekuthuleni is situated on the south side of the Thukela River on an extensive gentle slope. The area receives an average rainfall of 720mm and is characterized by dry, tall grasslands. Much of the area was previously ploughed but has returned to grassland. There exists approximately 30ha of arable land that is close to the Thukela

river. It is estimated that the veld can support 224 cattle and 150 goats. The farm has not been supplied with electricity or telephones and sewerage facilities are rudimentary. Only recently has the construction of boreholes began in the community.

A group of 88 families have been resettled on this farm via the redistribution process. These families formally resided on farms as well as in township communities near Colenso and Estcourt. The farm that is owned and managed by the Ekuthuleni Community Land Trust. Beneficiary plots are relatively large (about 0.5ha) and are concentrated towards the South of the farm. The 88 families are from more than 20 different communities. Most of the families have a history of eviction and have a strong desire for their own piece of land that will provide them with security of tenure. A twelve member committee comprising the Community Property Association manages the farm.

#### 2.1.3. Makomoreng (M)

Makomoreng is one of the deep rural areas of Matatiele and is located approximately 80km away from the town of Matatiele. Makomoreng has approximately 80 households with an overall population of about 800 people. Makomoreng is a rural area under the traditional authority system and most of the residents are heavily involved in agricultural activities. The area comprises of traditional leaders, that is, the *inkosi* (chief) and *indunas* (headmen). The area has insufficient infrastructure and the conditions of the roads are generally poor. There is only one bus that operates in the area and caters for the surrounding districts as well. There is also a lack of water and sanitation facilities.

The climate of the area consists of hot summers and the winters are extremely cold with snow during the cold season. Households are highly dependent on natural precipitation as there are no irrigation schemes except one household that has a sprinkler irrigation system. The vegetation consists of grasslands and thorny shrubs that are scattered in the area, which is mostly used for grazing. The fertile areas for cultivation are found along the rivers that runs across the southern part of the area. There is mixed black wattle (*acacia mearnsii*) and silver wattle (*acacia dealbata*) in the community which are extensively used for fuel as the area has no electricity.

#### 2.1.4. Platt Estate (PE)

Platt Estates is located in the Ugu Regional Council 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. A survey of residents residing on the properties of Platt Estate indicates 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. Thus, the families on the farms had rights to the land. The legal rights under 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. ESTA grants the occupiers who

lived on someone else's land on or before the 4<sup>th</sup> February 1997, with the permission or knowledge of the user, a secure legal right to live on and use the land. With respect to Platt Estate, as the land is State land, the State acknowledged the provision of financial aid (via the redistribution programme) to ensure that the occupiers become legal owners of the land.

The Estate has been divided into areas for residential settlement and vegetable gardens as well as areas for agriculture (timber plantations and grazing land). The Estate division comprises of five separate and autonomous geographic and legal entities that have purchased land that they were residing on. In total, close to 200 households live on Platt Estates which comprises of 3 624 hectares of land.

## **2.2. RESEARCH APPROACH**

Standard quantitative and qualitative methods were employed 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, 1997; 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. Problem ranking exercises were used to identify and prioritise problems associated with sustainable 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 visual methods used to represent the role of individuals and institutions as well as their degree of importance in decision-making within a community.

The sample sizes for the questionnaire surveys were large enough to be statistically significant. In all cases the number of sampled households was at least 10% of the total number of households in the community. Respondents were randomly selected after a household list was compiled in each community during the introductory visits. The participatory exercises, mentioned above, were conducted with focus groups. The incorporation of more than one case study as well as multiple focus groups allowed for comparative analyses.

## **3. ANALYSIS OF RESULTS**

During the interviews, focus group discussions and participatory exercises conducted in the four case studies, a number of important concerns were raised. This section focuses on a range of issues that are linked to the research questions identified previously. These include:

- respondent profiles;
- socio-economic profile of communities under study;
- managing natural resources in the communities;
- knowledge of and level of participation in community-based organisation/s dealing with



- land issues in the community; and
- advantages and disadvantages associated with having community-based organisations manage land resources in the communities under study.

The tables and graphs used in the analysis utilise the following abbreviations:

O: Okhombe  
 E: Ekuthuleni  
 M: Makomoreng  
 PE: Platt Estate  
 T: Total

### 3.1. SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS

This section briefly summarizes the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. Gender, age characteristics, marital status, educational levels and occupation of the respondents in the three case studies are analysed. Furthermore, family sizes of respondent households are presented.

The Table below illustrates that the majority of the respondents interviewed (58.1%) were females. Platt Estates has the largest percentage of female respondents (77.5%) and Ekuthuleni was the only community where the majority of respondents interviewed (57.5%) were male.

Table 1: Gender of respondents (in %)

Gender	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Male	45	57.5	42.5	22.5	41.9
Female	55	42.5	57.5	77.5	58.1

Table 2 illustrates that 51.3% of the respondents are married. The rest of the respondents were single (34.4%), widowed (10.6%) or divorced (3.7%). The relatively low number of married respondents (only slightly more than half of the respondents generally and as low as 37.5% of the respondents in Makomoreng) supports existing studies that show that labour tenancy and migration promotes fragmented family structures in rural areas in South Africa (Ditlahke, 1997; Marcus et al, 1996; Meer, 1997).

Table 2: Marital status of respondents (in %)

Marital Status	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Married	40	52.5	37.5	75	51.3
Single	55	40	32.5	10	34.4
Divorced	-	2.5	12.5	-	3.7
Widowed	5	5	17.5	15	10.6

Table 3 shows that the majority of the respondents were over 40 years (63.1%). This suggests that older, more established families are discernable in rural communities. The average family size of respondent households in Okhombe was 6.1, Ekuthuleni was 8, Makomoreng was 7.2 and

Platt Estate was 6.9. The overall average for all households was 7.1. During the focus group discussions, it was established that the majority of the households fell under the category of an extended family. In many instances, grandparents were raising grandchildren alone.

Table 3: Age of respondents (in %)

Age (in years)	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
< 20	15	5	10	2.5	8.1
20-29	15	20	15	7.5	14.4
30-39	20	15	10	12.5	14.4
40-49	17.5	17.5	12.5	32.5	20
50-59	22.5	32.5	22.5	32.5	27.5
60-69	7.5	7.5	22.5	10	11.8
>70	2.5	2.5	7.5	2.5	3.8

In terms of educational level, Table 4 illustrates that 15.6% of respondents did not have access to formal educational opportunities. The majority either had some primary level (43.1%) or secondary level (38.8%) education. Only 2.5% of the respondents had some tertiary level education. 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: Level of education of respondents (in %)

Level of education	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
No Schooling	-	22.5	12.5	27.5	15.6
Primary	35	47.5	40	50	43.1
Secondary	60	30	45	20	38.8
Tertiary	5	-	2.5	2.5	2.5

The respondents in this study engage in various occupations that reflect social differentiation among the households (Table 5). Furthermore, most households depend on a combination of income sources, relying on multiple income generating activities. The main sources of household income noticeable in all communities were:

- Pensions, social welfare grants, etc. (31.9%)
- Non-agricultural wage labour (31.3%)
- Informal activities (crafts, traditional medicine, etc.) (25%)
- Own business (13.1%)

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. Subsistence/ household farming was also important for 10% of the households and was particularly important in Makomoreng. Agricultural wage labour/ farm work was also discernable among 8.1% of the households interviewed. A few households (6.9%) also indicated that a member of the household engaged in professional activities such as teaching

or nursing. Some of the households (6.3%) stated that there were no sources of income. During the focus group discussions, many respondents vociferously stated that they wanted to work but there were no jobs available. Furthermore, in Okhombe, Ekuthuleni and Makomoreng 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. Despite this need, this study highlights that most households that have access to outside remittances rely heavily on social welfare grants or engage mostly in seasonal farm work, non-agricultural wage labour or informal sector activities which yield meagre earnings.

Table 5: Sources of household income (in %): Multiple responses

Sources of household income	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Household farming	7.5	5	27.5	-	10
Own business	5	2.5	30	15	13.1
Informal activities (crafts, traditional medicine, etc.)	25	20	22.5	32.5	25
Agricultural wage labour/ farm worker	-	15	10	7.5	8.1
Non-agricultural wage labour	37.5	25	47.5	20	31.3
Pensions, social welfare grants, etc)	32.5	27.5	12.5	55	31.9
Professional activity	12.5	5	-	10	6.9
No source of income	5	15	2.5	2.5	6.3

In terms of sources of household income, two issues are important to underscore in relation to sustainable land use and natural resource management. One is that clearly a range of socially differentiated needs and interests exist in the communities under study. Secondly, many of the activities identified by the respondents either directly or indirectly impact on the use of natural resources in the community.

Table 6 below illustrates that with the exception of Ekuthuleni, a newly developed land redistribution project, most of the respondents have been living in the area in which they currently reside for more than 15 years (70% in Okhombe, 92.5% in Makomoreng and 75% in Platt Estate). Only a few households (12.5%: 45% in Ekuthuleni) have been living in the communities under study for less than 5 years. This suggests that many of the respondents have sufficient knowledge of their environment as well as the community social dynamics.

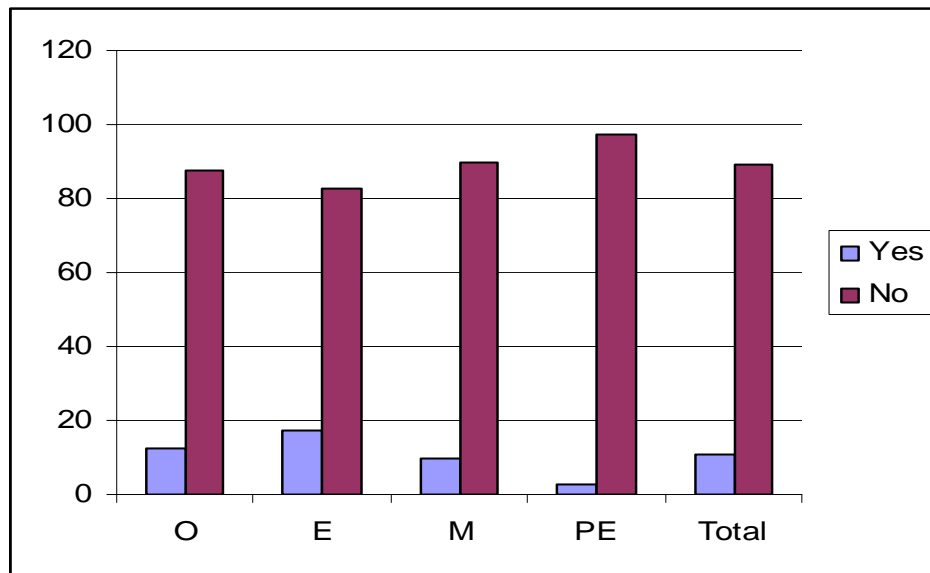
Table 6: Number of years respondent has been living in the area (in %)

Number of years	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
< 5	2.5	45	2.5	-	12.5
6-10	2.5	45	2.5	2.5	13.1
11-15	25	-	2.5	22.5	12.5
> 15	70	10	92.5	75	61.9

Graph 1 illustrates that the majority of respondents in all communities (89.4%) indicated that if given an opportunity they would not move into another area. This suggests a high level of satisfaction with the communities they currently reside in and may also be reflective of the extent to which they are committed to the development of the community. The 10.6% of the respondents who desired to move into another area if given an opportunity generally identified nearby urban centres such as Johannesburg, Durban, Ladysmith and Bergville as areas where they would like to move. The main reasons cited for resettling in the new areas/ locations identified were:

- To be close to job opportunities
- Access to services and ample resources

Two respondents identified QwaQwa and Maluti as areas that they would move to so that they could be far from town and have enough grazing land.



Graph 1: Proportion of respondents that would move into another area if given the opportunity (in %)

### 3.2. PROFILE OF COMMUNITIES UNDER STUDY

Table 7 below illustrates some of the main services and resources available for households in the communities. Clearly, there are major differences among the communities which must be given due consideration when planning for sustainable development. Only a few households in Okhombe (20%) and Makomoreng (15%) have access to telephones. In most cases these were cell phones. None of the respondents in Platt Estate indicated that they had water sources in the form of reticulated water or boreholes. Seventy percent of the respondents in Okhombe, 65% in Ekuthuleni and 67.5% in Makomoreng has access to these types of water sources. Even in the latter communities, there was a high reliance on natural water sources in all the communities under study. The issue of access to water is also linked to access to toilets/ sanitation facilities. Slightly more than half of the respondents (51.3%) indicated that they had toilet facilities. This

was highest in Okhombe (92.5%) and lowest in Ekuthuleni (22.5%). It is important to note, however, that even in Okhombe most of the toilets were pit latrine systems. For health and other reasons it is imperative that these water sources and sanitation facilities be managed in a sustainable manner. Most of the respondents indicated that they had access to land for cultivation (81.3%) and land for grazing (81.9%). Land for cultivation is particularly a problem in Ekuthuleni with only 47.5% of the respondents stating that they had land for grazing. This is a central problem in many land redistribution projects.

Table 7: Services and resources available for households in the community (in %):  
Multiple responses

Services	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Telephones	20	-	15	-	8.8
Water sources (taps, boreholes, etc.)	70	65	67.5	-	50.6
Land for cultivation	90	47.5	87.5	100	81.3
Land for grazing	80	87.5	70	90	81.9
Toilets	92.5	22.5	50	40	51.3

The Table below illustrates that the respondents desired several services in the community and household. The main services identified were electricity (76.3%), tap water/ improved water sources (47.5% - particularly in Platt Estate) and tarred roads/ improved roads (24.4% - particularly in Ekuthuleni). These, as well as the majority of responses tabulated below, relate to basic needs and services. Access to social, economic and infrastructural services is critical to ensure that communities participate fully in social, economic and political activities. Additionally, access to appropriate services can greatly enhance the sustainable use of natural resources in the community such as the use of fuelwood and water.

Table 8: Other services respondents would like to be provided in the community (in %):  
Multiple responses

Other services	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Solar energy	2.5	-	-	-	0.6
Extension services	2.5	-	-	-	0.6
Industries	2.5	-	-	-	0.6
Electricity	77.5	82.5	77.5	67.5	76.3
Tarred roads/ improved roads	17.5	50	12.5	17.5	24.4
Tap water/ improved water sources	42.5	32.5	32.5	82.5	47.5
Land for cultivation	7.5	10	-	-	4.4
Jobs	2.5	-	2.5	-	1.3
Farming equipment (eg. tractors)	2.5	7.5	-	-	2.5
Fuelwood sources	2.5	27.5	-	-	7.5
Fenced community fields	2.5	-	-	-	0.6
Schools	2.5	27.5			7.5

Toilets	-	10	12.5	17.5	10
Telephones	-	2.5	5	-	1.9
Sports fields	-	2.5	-	-	0.6
Clinic	-	-	5	-	1.3

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. The national and regional trends aptly 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. Access to water and electricity are inadequate in Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate, both land reform projects.

Many households indicated that they used multiple sources of fuel for cooking (Table 9), lighting (Table 10) and heating (Table 11). The primary sources of fuel for cooking are wood (98%) followed by paraffin (61.9%). The primary sources of fuel for lighting are candles (85%) followed by paraffin (45%). The primary source of fuel for heating is wood (94.4%). Other sources of fuel used by some of the respondents were gas, generators, coal and cow dung. Clearly, there is a reliance on wood as a major source of fuel. During the focus group discussions it was also raised that some households sold wood. Thus, the collection and access to wood can be a critical household survival resource that generates income as well. Also, in Makomoreng respondents complained about deforestation (the eradication of wattle via the Working for Water Programme). They pointed out that the government was cutting down the trees instead of beginning with providing electricity as an alternative.

Table 9: Primary sources of fuel for cooking for households (in %): Multiple responses

Sources	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Wood	95	100	95	100	98
Paraffin	82.5	82.5	45	37.5	61.9
Gas	17.5	15	5	12.5	12.5
Generator	2.5	2.5	7.5	2.5	3.8

Table 10: Primary sources of fuel for lighting for households (in %): Multiple responses

Sources	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Paraffin	40	42.5	95	2.5	45
Candles	95	100	45	100	85
Generator	15	-	-	-	3.8
Gas	5	2.5	-	-	1.9
Wood			7.5	-	1.9

Table 11: Primary sources of fuel for heating for the households (in %): Multiple responses

	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Wood	92.5	97.5	87.5	100	94.4
Paraffin	37.5	7.5	35	2.5	20.6
Gas	2.5	2.5	-	5	2.5
Coal	5	-	7.5	-	3.1
Candles	-	-	10	-	2.5
Generator	-	-	2.5	-	0.6

It is important to note that none of the households had access to electricity but 93.8% of the respondents stated that electricity was the source of fuel most preferred (Table 12). However, even in rural households where electricity is available, fuelwood is generally used for cooking. Thus, 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. Other sources of fuel most preferred by households were wood (12.5%), coal (3.1%), paraffin (2.5%), gas (2.5%) and cow dung (0.6%). The main reasons forwarded for preferring the sources of fuel identified above were:

- Saves time (40.7%)
- Covers many household needs (13.2%)
- Effective and easy to use (11.4%)
- Modern/ sign of development (9.5%)
- Convenient (8.9%)
- Cheap/ inexpensive/ affordable (6.9%)

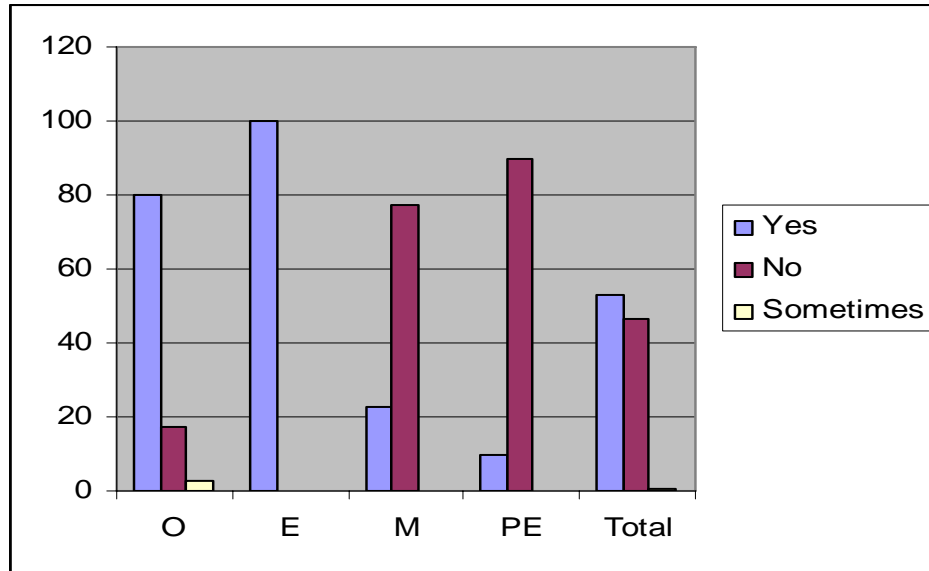
Table 12: Sources of fuel most preferred by the households (in %): Multiple responses

	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Wood	10	12.5	25	2.5	12.5
Electricity	97.5	92.5	87.5	97.5	93.8
Paraffin	5	-	5	-	2.5
Gas	5	-	2.5	2.5	2.5
Coal	-	-	12.5	-	3.1
Cow dung	-	-	2.5	-	0.6

Graph 2 illustrates whether respondents experienced difficulties in obtaining/ purchasing/ collecting sources of fuel. The majority (53.1%), especially in Okhombe (80%) and Ekuthuleni (100%), stated that they did experience problems. While one respondent in Okhombe indicated that he/ she experienced problems sometimes, the rest (46.3%) stated that they did not experience any problems. The difficulties experienced were:

- Difficult to access fuel sources (18.9%)
- Restricted access to fuel sources (13.9%)
- Distance and cost (11.9%)

- Harvested on the basis of ability not need (3.9%)
- Have to work before collecting fuelwood (2.6%)
- Lack of finance (1.9%)
- No forests in Okhombe (0.6%)



Graph 2: Difficulties experienced in obtaining/ purchasing/ collecting the source of fuel (in %)

Table 13 shows the types of materials used to build and maintain the structures of homes. The main materials used are mud (92.5%), poles (91.9%) and thatch (86.3%). These materials are gathered from the natural resource base and in some cases households purchase these materials. Blocks (43.1%) and brick (11.3%) were also used by some of the households.

Table 13: Type/s of materials used to build and maintain the structure of homes (in %): Multiple responses

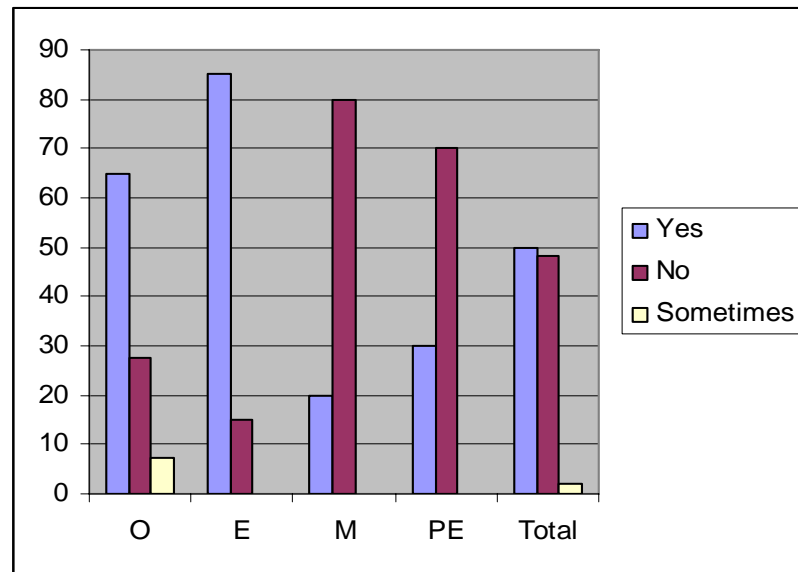
Materials	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Brick	5	-	25	15	11.3
Blocks	65	12.5	70	25	43.1
Poles	85	100	85	97.5	91.9
Mud	85	92.5	95	97.5	92.5
Thatch	90	95	62.5	97.5	86.3

Fifty percent of the respondents (85% in Ekuthuleni and 65% in Okhombe) stated that they experienced difficulties in obtaining/ purchasing/ collecting building materials identified in Table 13 (Graph 3). The difficulties experienced were:

- Insufficient sources of materials/ limited access to sources (25%)
- Financial problems/ materials too expensive (23.1%)



- Distance (to far) (2.5%)
- Transport (1.3%)



Graph 3: Difficulties experienced in obtaining/ purchasing/ collecting building materials identified (in %)

Several problems experienced by the households, illustrated in Table 14, were identified by the respondents. Some of the problems were: inadequate infrastructure (93.8%), lack of employment opportunities (77.5%), financial problems (58.1%), environmental problems (40%), no access to credit (34.4%) and not enough land (19.4%). In relation to community structures and functioning, the problems identified were community structures not functioning properly (40%), conflict in the community (38.8%), inadequate extension services (37.5%) and dependence on community organisations to take decisions (28.8%). These problems were particularly noticeable in Okhombe, Ekuthuleni and Makomoreng. Furthermore, the results from the problem ranking exercises (Appendix 1) reinforce the findings presented in the Table 14 below. In all communities the top ranked problems were:

- Water services (ranked 1 in all communities)
- Electricity
- Employment opportunities/ jobs
- Poor infrastructure

It is important to note that in Ekuthuleni corruption was ranked 2.

Table 14: Problems experienced by households (in %): Multiple responses

<b>Problems</b>	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Inadequate infrastructure (eg. roads and telephones)	87.5	95	97.5	95	93.8
Lack of employment opportunities	87.5	67.5	92.5	62.5	77.5
Conflict in the community	40	52.5	50	12.5	38.8
Financial problems	80	60	60	32.5	58.1
Environmental problems (poor soils)	72.5	47.5	37.5	2.5	40
Not enough land	7.5	52.5	7.5	10	19.4
Dependence on community organizations to take decisions	20	57.5	30	7.5	28.8
Community structures not functioning properly	47.5	55	45	12.5	40
Inadequate extension services	37.5	22.5	60	30	37.5
No access to credit	20	57.5	47.5	12.5	34.4

### 3.3. MANAGING NATURAL RESOURCES IN THE COMMUNITY

In Okhombe and Makomoreng, the majority of the respondents (97.5% and 90% respectively) stated that the traditional authority was the structure responsible for managing land resources in the community. In Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate, the two land reform projects, 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. One respondent in Okhombe (where the Farmer Support Group is active) stated that and NGO was responsible for managing land resources in the community. The responses reinforce current practices in the community that were elucidated during the venn diagram exercises (see Appendix 2 for venn diagrams) that the chieftaincy structure is responsible for managing land resources in Okhombe and Makomoreng and that the legal entity created as a result of the land reform process is responsible in Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate.

Table 15: Person/s and/ or structure/s responsible for managing land resources in the community (in %)

<b>Person/ structure</b>	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Traditional authority	97.5	-	90	5	48.1
NGO	2.5	-	-	-	0.6
Elected committee/ legal entity/ CPA	-	100	10	95	51.3

Table 16 below 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. Some respondents in Okhombe and Makomoreng also felt that the relationship was sometimes bad or bad.

Table 16: Rating of the working relationship between people responsible for managing land resources in the community (in %)

<b>Rating</b>	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Good	65	15	52.5	80	53.1
Fair	17.5	12.5	7.5	20	14.4
Sometimes bad	2.5	30	15	-	11.8
Bad	10	32.5	22.5	-	16.3
Don't know	5	10	2.5	-	4.4

Table 17 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, while in Makomoreng only 15% of the respondents stated they felt that the working relationship between people managing land resources was sometimes bad (Table 16) whilst 42.5% felt that the working relationship between people responsible for managing land resources and community members were sometimes bad (Table 17). A range of responses were forwarded by the respondents regarding their negative responses. Some of these are:

- Nepotism
- Chief sometimes takes sides when there are disputes
- Political freedom is lacking
- Chief does not stay in the community
- Some of the basic needs are not met
- Lack of information
- Too much corruption
- Committee members are not united
- Decisions taken are not implemented
- Many people excluded from decision-making
- Lack of consultation
- Always disagree and confuse people
- Chief takes decisions without consulting members

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 17: Rating of the working relationship between people responsible for managing land resources and community members (in %)

Rating	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Good	57.5	5	22.5	70	38.8
Fair	10	12.5	5	27.5	13.8
Sometimes bad	10	25	42.5	2.5	20
Bad	10	40	20	-	7.4
Don't know	12.5	17.5	10	-	10

The prominence of the decision-making structures identified above are reinforced in Table 18 that illustrates the individual/ group responsible for allocating land to different households in the community. In Okhombe and Makomoreng the chief/ *induna* was responsible for allocating land while in the land reform projects (Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate) the legal entity was responsible.

Table 18: Individual/ group allocating land to different households in the community (in %)

Individual/ group	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Chief/ <i>induna</i>	100	-	92.5	-	48.1
Elected committee/ legal entity/ CPA	-	100	5	100	51.3
Government officials	-	-	2.5	-	0.6

There was generally satisfaction with the land allocated for residential and grazing purposes with 92.5% of the respondents indicating that they were satisfied (Tables 19 and 20). The few respondents (7.5% - mainly in Ekuthuleni in the case of residential land and Okhombe in the case of grazing land) who were dissatisfied with the land allocated for residential and grazing purposes felt that the plots were too small, that they don't have sufficient land for home-garden cultivation and that there was corruption and bias in the way land was allocated.

Table 19: Respondents' satisfaction with the land allocated for residential purposes (in %)

	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Yes	95	80	97.5	97.5	92.5
No	5	20	2.5	2.5	7.5

Table 20: Respondents' satisfaction with land allocated for grazing purposes (in %)

	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Yes	80	97.5	95	97.5	92.5
No	20	2.5	5	2.5	7.5

The Tables below illustrate the rating of the adequacy of access to households to the following common pool natural resources: thatch, fuelwood, water, medicinal plants and wild foods. In terms of the adequacy of households' access to thatch, 25.6% of the respondents (62.5% in Ekuthuleni) indicated a rating of poor.

Table 21: Rating of the adequacy of access households have to thatch (in %)

<b>Rating</b>	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Poor	17.5	62.5	2.5	20	25.6
Satisfactory	10	12.5	2.5	7.5	8.1
Good	47.5	15	57.5	65	46.3
Excellent	25	10	37.5	7.5	20

In the case of fuelwood (Table 22), respondents at Okhombe (97.2%) and Ekuthuleni (100%) rated access as poor while at Makomoreng and Platt Estate there was generally satisfaction expressed regarding access to fuelwood. This is largely attributed to residents in Makomoreng being close to forests that they can access and in Platt Estate the forestry plantation, one of the main commercial activities on the Estate, provides sufficient fuelwood for the households. This indicates that communities that are in close proximity to fuelwood sources, whether natural forests or plantations, generally are better-off in terms of accessing fuelwood. In Ekuthuleni and Makomoreng they generally have no ownership rights to the critical resources of water and fuelwood. In most of the households their access to these resources are dependent on the permission of someone else. In fact, during focus group discussions in Ekuthuleni some respondents admitted that they stole wood and water from neighbouring farms. On a number of occasions, members of the community in Ekuthuleni were arrested because of this. They are constantly being threatened by the police and neighbouring farmers.

Table 22: Rating of the adequacy of access households have to fuelwood (in %)

<b>Rating</b>	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Poor	97.5	100	2.5	2.5	50.7
Satisfactory	2.5	-	-	-	0.6
Good	-	-	20	12.5	8.1
Excellent	-	-	77.5	85	40.6

In terms of access to water, Table 23 illustrates that respondents in Platt Estate (92.5%), Ekuthuleni (67.5%) and Okhombe (40%) rated access as poor. In these communities there is generally a reliance on natural water sources. It is also important to note that there are high expectations in all communities for government to provide households with reticulated water. In the interim, decisions are taken that impact on household members who are responsible for collecting water from rivers, dams and/ or boreholes. On the assumption that taps will be provided in the communities, especially in land reform projects, residential plots are located away from natural water sources.

Table 23: Rating of the adequacy of access households have to water (in %)

Rating	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Poor	40	67.5	5	92.5	51.3
Satisfactory	22.5	27.5	-	2.5	13.1
Good	20	5	40	2.5	16.8
Excellent	17.5	-	55	2.5	18.8

In terms of access to medicinal plants, Table 24 shows that a significant proportion of the respondents in Okhombe (42.5%) and Ekuthuleni (75%) rated access as poor while in Makomoreng and Platt Estate there was general satisfaction expressed. 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.

Table 24: Rating of the adequacy of access households have to medicinal plants (in %)

Rating	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Poor	47.5	72.5	-	-	30
Satisfactory	12.5	2.5	5	2.5	5.8
Good	20	12.5	22.5	90	36.5
Excellent	20	5	72.5	5	25.8
Not Applicable	-	7.5	-	-	1.9

In terms of access to wild foods, again in Okhombe (42.5%) and Ekuthuleni (75%) a significant proportion of the respondents rated access as poor. In Makomoreng and Ekuthuleni there was general satisfaction. Access to wild foods is particularly important to household food security, especially during times of risks such as periods of drought or when household income sources are reduced or stopped. 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 25: Rating of the adequacy of access households have to wild foods (in %)

Rating	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Poor	42.5	75	5	7.5	32.5
Satisfactory	12.5	-	-	-	3.1
Good	25	12.5	17.5	90	36.2
Excellent	20	5	77.5	2.5	26.3
Not Applicable	-	7.5	-	-	1.9

The reasons forwarded regarding why respondents rated access to natural resources identified above as poor were:

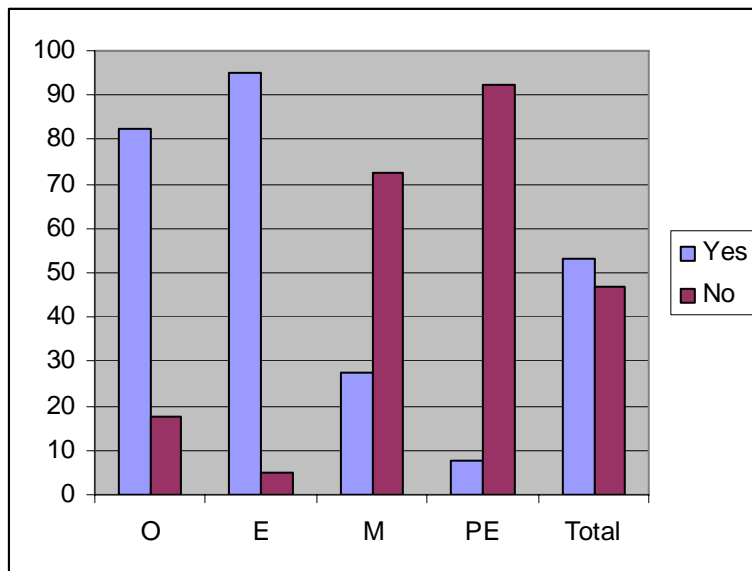
- Insufficient sources of these resources in or near the community (38.1%)
- No water services (especially in Platt Estate) (16.2%)
- Restricted access (13.1%)

- Because of seasonal changes and availability (5%)
- No forests (2.5%)
- Increase in population pressure (1.9%)
- Wattle trees destroyed (1.3%)
- No equity in terms of distribution of resources (1.3%)
- Resources are located on private property (1.3%)
- Sharing water resources with livestock (0.6%)

It is important to point out that in Makomoreng the Working for Water Programme was aimed at eradicating the wattle trees to ensure the sustainability of the river catchment system in the area. While the Programme was embedded in addressing a serious environmental problem as well as creating jobs for some community members, an unintended consequence of the Working for Water Programme was reducing fuelwood sources in the community.

The Graph below illustrates that in Okhombe (82.5%) and Ekuthlueni (95%) the majority of the respondents perceived their land rights to be secure. This was not the case in Makomoreng and Platt Estate where only 27.5% and 7.5% of the respondents respectively felt secure about their land rights. The situation in Platt Estate is particularly disconcerting since one of the major intentions of land reform is to confer land rights and security on previously disadvantaged persons and households. The reasons forwarded for not feeling secure about land rights were:

- No certificate of ownership/ title deeds (24.3% - 87.5% in Platt Estate)
- The land belongs to the chief (18.8% - 55% in Makomoreng)
- Can be removed from the land (2.5%)
- Scared of being dispossessed because of gender (1.3%)



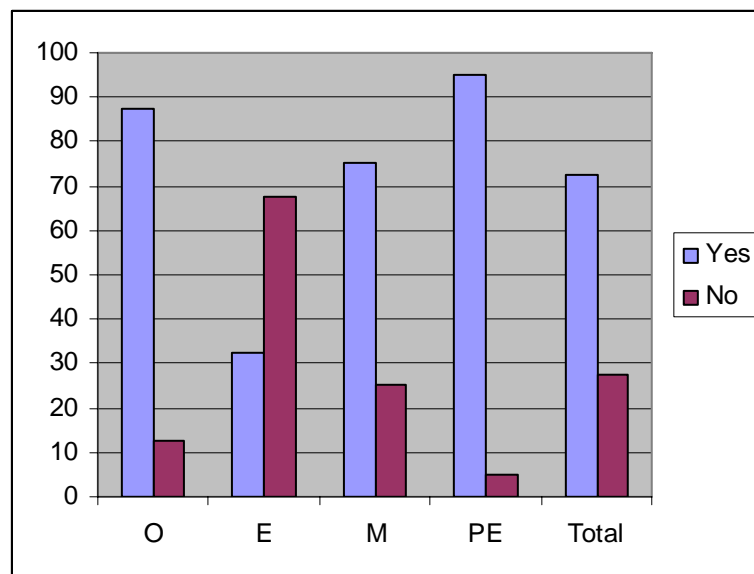
Graph 4: Respondents' security about land rights (in %)

The above responses indicate that in Makomoreng there is a strong concern expressed in relation to the chief being perceived as the owner of the land. In Platt Estate, the majority of households would like to have a certificate of ownership or title deed that proves that the land belongs to them.

Table 26 below shows the person/s and/ or structure/s consulted when encountering problems related to land/ natural resources in the community. The results are similar to those regarding who or which organisation makes decisions in the community regarding natural resources and land use. In Okhombe (100%) and Makomoreng (85%) the main individual/ structure identified was the chief/ traditional authority. In the two land reform projects, the structures identified were the legal entity or community based organisation.

Table 26: Person/s and/ or structure/s consulted when encountering problems related to land/ natural resources in the community (in %)

	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Chief/ traditional authority	100	-	85	7.5	48.1
Community-based organization	-	90	15	-	26.3
CPA/ legal entity	-	10	-	92.5	25.6



Graph 5: Respondents' satisfaction to the attention the matter is given when encountering problems related to land/ natural resources in the community (in %)



While there was general satisfaction in Okhombe (87.5%), Makomoreng (75%) and Platt Estate (95%) regarding the attention the matter is given when encountering problems related to land/ natural resources in the community, in Ekuthuleni only 32.5% of the respondents were satisfied (Graph 5). The results suggests that in at least three of the communities, with the exception of Ekuthuleni, structures mandated with addressing land/ natural resources problems in the community are functioning adequately. Several problems are nonetheless encountered and these will be dealt with later in the report.

Respondents in all communities (22.5% in Okhombe, 65% in Ekuthuleni, 35% in Makomoreng and 5% in Platt Estate) identified situations where members of the community were involved in disagreements related to land and natural resource issues. The situations identified are presented in the Table 27 below. The main situation revolves around access to and use of resources, tensions/ disagreements between various stakeholders, decision-making processes and corruption.

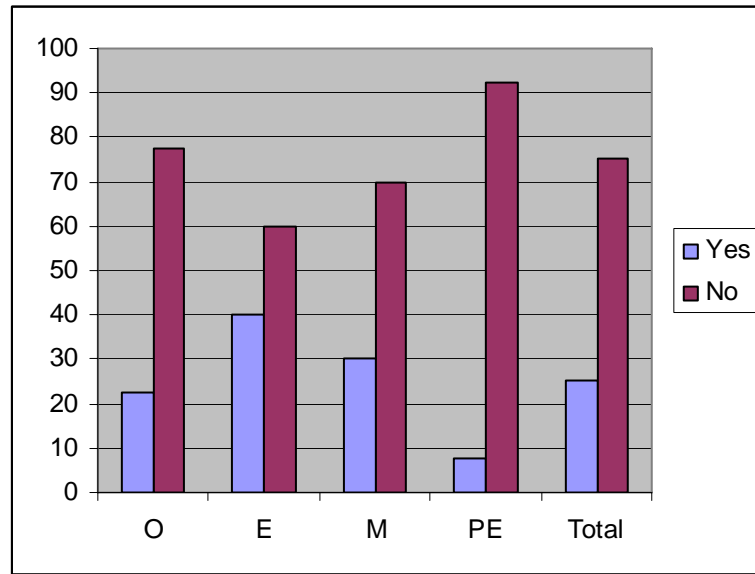
Table 27: Description of the situation where members of the community were involved in disagreements related to land and natural resource issues (in %)

	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
No applicable	77.5	35	65	95	68.1
Permission to harvest fuelwood and poles	5	-	-	-	1.3
Tension between community members and forest guards/ game reserve owners	7.5	7.5	-	-	3.8
Not satisfied with forest eradication	10	-	-	-	2.5
Contestations over water pipe installation	-	7.5	-	-	1.9
Farmer shot and arrested community member	-	7.5	-	-	1.9
Corruption with regard to finances	-	42.5	-	-	10.5
Bias in electing members for jobs in the community	-	-	17.5	5	5.6
Community is divided due to disagreements	-	-	15	-	3.8
Local people have limited access to resources	-	-	2.5	-	0.6

In some cases (12.5%), illustrated in Table 28, respondents believed that disagreements developed into violent conflicts and community fragmentation. Significantly more of the respondents (25%) (Graph 6) felt that conflicts impact on the success of development projects in the community.

Table 28: Whether disagreements developed into violent conflicts/ community fragmentation (in %)

	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Yes	5	7.5	27.5	10	12.5
No	95	92.5	72.5	90	87.5



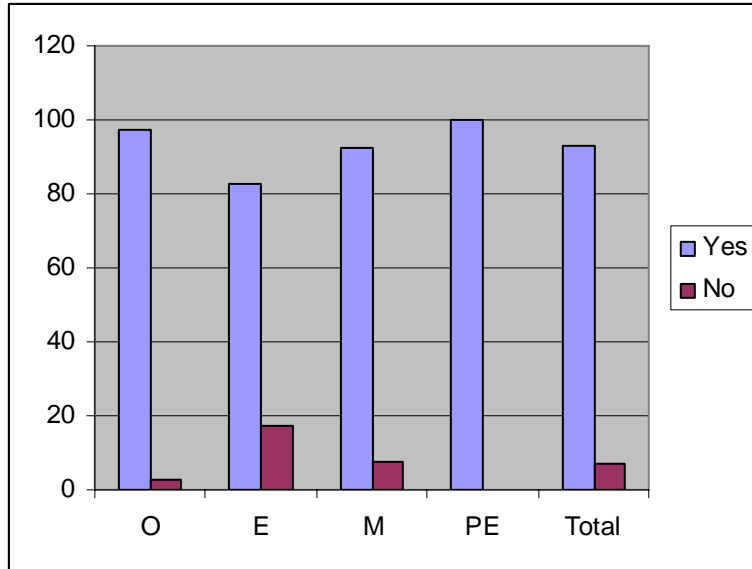
Graph 6: Impact of conflict on the success of development projects in the community (in %)

Table 29 illustrates respondents' responses regarding how conflicts impact on the success of development projects in the community. The impacts relate to the inability to develop, maintain and sustain projects as well as lack of community participation in development projects.

Table 29: Ways in which conflicts impact on the success of development projects in the community (in %)

	<b>O</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>E</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>M</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>PE</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>T</b> <b>(n=160)</b>
Not applicable	77.5	60	70	92.5	75
Can't have a garden without having it fenced	5	-	-	-	1.3
Poor commitment to projects leading to failures	7.5	5	10	5	6.8
Disinterest in contributing towards project	2.5	7.5	-	-	2.5
Poor participation	2.5	5	7.5	2.5	4.4
Inability to take joint decisions	5	5	-	-	2.5
Community views ignored by government officials	-	5	-	-	1.3
Projects delayed	-	10	2.5	-	3.1
Community not prepared to work with the committee	-	2.5	-	-	0.6
Contributions by members of the community are hindered	-	-	10	-	2.5

The Graph below indicates whether there are steps in place to resolve conflicts or discipline members of the community who fail to adhere to community decisions regarding the use and allocation of land and natural resources. The majority of the respondents in all communities (93.1%) indicated that there were steps in place to resolve or discipline members of the community who fail to adhere to community decisions regarding the use and allocation of land and natural resources.



Graph 7: Steps in place to resolve conflicts or discipline members of the community who fail to adhere to community decisions regarding the use and allocation of land and natural resources (in %)

Table 30 below illustrates the various conflict resolution procedures used. The main procedures used are elected committee meets parties involved (51.9%) and community meetings attend to the dispute (50.1%). Clearly, several individuals and/ or groups are involved in resolving the disputes. This could indicate broad participation and transparency in terms of the manner in which conflicts are handled. On the other hand, it also suggests that there are no clear processes and procedures to be followed that have been agreed on by community members. This is likely to have the impact of exacerbating problems/ conflicts in some instances. During the focus group discussions some respondents also raised the concern that it is in reality a relatively small number of individuals who are both responsible for taking decisions as well as managing conflicts. The concern of vested interests was also mentioned.

Table 30: Types of conflict resolution procedures used (in %): Multiple responses

	<b>O</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>E</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>M</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>PE</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>T</b> <b>(n=160)</b>
Elected committee meets parties involved	20	52.5	72.5	62.5	51.9
Community meeting attends to the disputes	65	35	45	55.5	50.1
All male household heads discuss the problem	27.5	-	5	-	8.1
Government officials intervene	2.5	-	2.5	-	1.3
Police handle the disputes	10	-	2.5	2.5	3.8
Parties are told to resolve their differences	-	-	5	-	1.3
Not applicable	2.5	17.5	7.5	-	6.9

Table 31 shows that according to the respondents, the most important person or group in charge of settling disputes about land and natural resources in the community are the chief/ traditional authority in Okhombe and Makomoreng and the community organisation or elected committee in Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate. This is in keeping with previous results that show the prominence of these persons and structures in terms of decision-making and management in the communities.

Table 31: The most important person or group in charge of settling disputes about land and natural resources in the community (in %)

	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Chief/ traditional authority	100	-	82.5	-	45.6
Community organization/ CPA	-	95	7.5	100	50.7
Only the people involved	-	-	2.5	-	0.6
Don't know	-	5	7.5	-	3.1

The results indicating who respondents believed should participate in the resolution of disputes/problems pertaining to land use and natural resources in the area (Table 32 reflects a much broader range of stakeholders and key participants than the current status presented in Tables 30 and 31). The main preferences were:

- Government officials (65%) and all households (35%) in Okhombe
- All households (35%) and police officers (25%) in Ekuthuleni
- Government officials (72.5%), police officers (62.5%) and elected committee (57.5%) in Makomoreng
- Elected committee (87.5%) and all households (22.5%) in Platt Estate

It is also important to note that many respondents support the involvement of external agencies (notably government officials and police officers) in playing a role in resolving disputes/problems pertaining to land use and natural resources in the area. During discussions, the main reason forwarded in support of external agencies was the perception that this would result in fairness.

Table 32: Opinions of respondents about who should participate in the resolution of disputes/ problems pertaining to land use and natural resources in the area (in %): Multiple responses

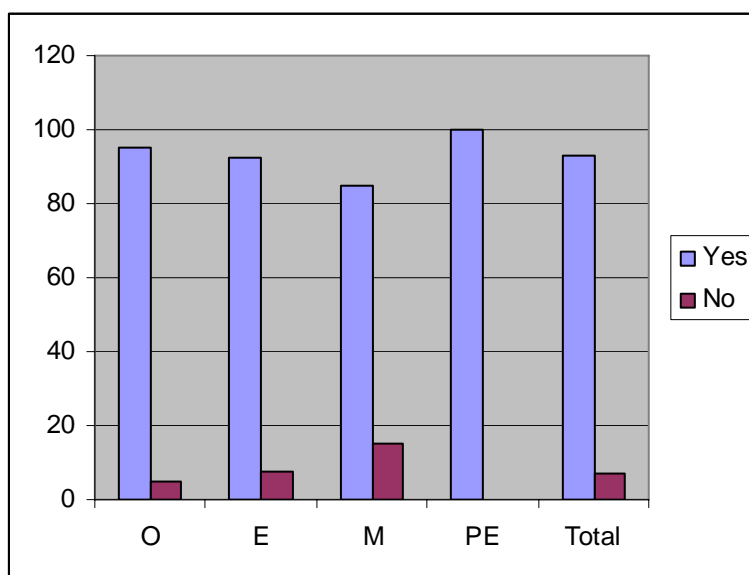
	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
All male household heads	5	10	7.5	2.5	6.3
All households	35	35	20	22.5	28.1
Government officials	65	2.5	72.5	7.5	36.9
Police officers	22.5	25	62.5	5	28.8
Elected committee	22.5	22.5	57.5	87.5	47.5
Don't know	7.5	35	2.5	-	11.3

The venn diagrams (Appendix 2) clearly illustrate the dominance of certain structures in terms of managing land and natural resources in the community. As stated earlier, in Okhombe and Mokomereng traditional authority structures dominate while in Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate legal entities in the form of Communal Property Associations are prominent. In Ekuthuleni, however, during the venn diagram exercise the chieftaincy was also identified as a central structure that was in fact more powerful than the legal entity. It was clear during the discussion that the chief dominated the legal entity in Ekuthuleni. During the discussions it was also indicated in all communities that males dominate in most community structures. The overlap of circles shows the overlap of members, that is, members who concurrently belong to more than one structure. During the discussions it became clear that a few people in the community dominate most decision-making structures.

Also evident during the venn diagram exercises is the fact that there are individuals and organisations outside the community that influence decisions within the community. These were not generally articulated at the household level during the interviews. Some of the most influential structures are government programmes such as the Working for Water Programme and NGOs such as the Environment and Development Agency in Makomereeng and the Farmer Support Group in Okhombe. The outside groups are viewed as being less important than the structures in the community. Numerous smaller community structures set up to attend to specific community needs and concerns were also identified in all the communities. Some of these were burial societies, water committees, school committees, sports associations, church groups, tourism associations, women's groups, agricultural committees and health committees.

#### 3.4. 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), Guijt 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.



Graph 8: Respondents awareness of any community-based organisations/ structures set up in the community to deal with land issues (in %)

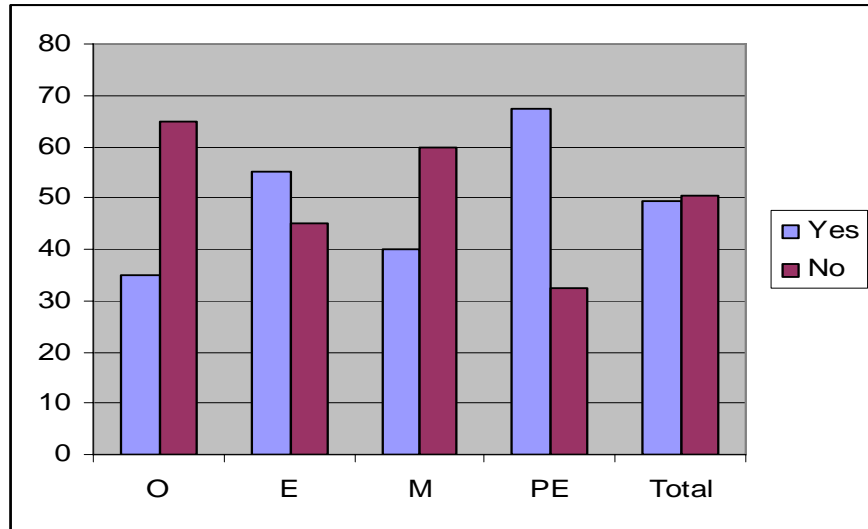
The majority of the respondents (93.1%) indicated that they were aware of community-based organisations/ structure set up in the community to deal with land issues (Graph 8). A few respondents (6.9%), however, were not aware. Table 33 indicates how respondents heard about the organisation/ structure responsible for dealing with land issues in the community. The main mechanisms were community leader/s (60.5%) and family members/ friends (30%). It is worth noting that social networks in communities play important roles in the dissemination of information

Table 33: Ways in which respondents heard about the organisation/ structure (in %)

	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Family members/ friends	30	35	45	10	30
Community leader/s	57.5	57.5	37.5	90	60.5
Publication, pamphlet, newspaper, etc.	5	-	-	-	1.3
Government official	2.5	-	2.5	-	1.3
Not applicable	5	7.5	15	-	6.9

Graph 9 illustrates that a significant proportion of the respondents (49.4%) indicated that they or members of the household participated in deciding who the members of the community organisations/ structures were. This suggests a high involvement of households in deciding who represents their interests. This is particularly apparent in Platt Estate where 67.5% of the respondents stated that they or members of the household

participated in deciding who the members of the community organisations/ structures were. Off course, important aspects to consider is who in the households participate and what was the nature and extent of participation. These aspects reveal a more critical understanding of the power dynamics associated with community representation.



Graph 9: Responses on whether respondents or members of the household participate in deciding who the members of the community organisations/ structures are (in %)

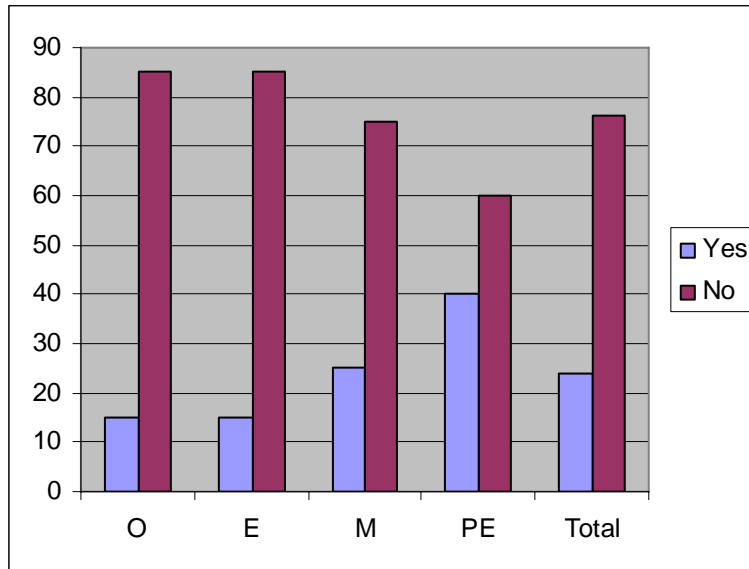
Table 34 reveals who in the household participates. It is important to note that in 50.6% of the households respondents indicated that no one participates. This is extremely disconcerting since it suggests that almost half of the households interviewed have no say in the way in which land use and natural resource management decisions are made and implemented in the community. This concern is particularly acute in Okhombe (65%) and Makomoreng (60%) where chieftaincy structures dominate. Generally, adults participate in the decision-making processes with a tendency towards male participation. This is not surprising given the high levels of patriarchy prevalent in rural communities and embedded in chieftaincy structures.

Table 34: Household member participation (in %): Multiple responses

Who participates	O (n=40)	E (n=40)	M (n=40)	PE (n=40)	T (n=160)
Not applicable	65	45	60	32.5	50.6
All adult members of the household	10	32.5	5	62.5	27.5
Male head of the household	17.5	32.5	42.5	25	29.4
Female head of the household	20	7.5	30	15	18.1
Both partners	2.5	5	-	7.5	3.8



Graph 10 below illustrates that only 23.8% of the respondents indicated that they or a member of their household were members of the community organisations/ structures. The highest percentage was in Platt Estate (40%) and the lowest percentages in Okhombe and Ekuthuleni (15% each).



Graph 10: Responses on whether respondent or any other members of the household are members of community organisations/ structures (in %)

Table 35 illustrates the specific processes/ aspects that members of the household participate/ participated in. The main processes/ aspects were:

- Deciding on land use (58.1%)
- Identifying land use options in the community (35%)
- Developing the community's business plan/ development project (16.9%)
- Tenure arrangements/ land allocation (9.4%)

Table 35: Specific processes/ aspects members of the household participate/ participated in (in %): Multiple responses

<b>Process/ aspect</b>	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Identifying land use options in the community	30	22.5	35	52.5	35
Deciding on land use	42.5	57.5	45	87.5	58.1
Developing community's business plan/ development project	32.5	12.5	17.5	5	16.9
Land management (developing principles and legal entity)	15	-	7.5	-	5.6
Tenure arrangements/ land allocation	7.5	5	10	15	9.4
Water committee	-	-	2.5	-	0.6
Not applicable	20	22.5	12.5	-	13.8

Again, the Table below shows that generally adult males in the households (36.3%) participated in the above processes.

Table 36: Members of the household who participated in the above processes/ aspects (in %): Multiple responses

	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
All adult members of households	17.5	32.5	27.5	47.5	31.3
Male head of household	37.5	27.5	42.5	37.5	36.3
Female head of household	20	12.5	20	20	18.1
Both partners	2.5	15	2.5	2.5	5.6
Don't know	2.5	-	-	-	0.6
Not applicable	20	22.5	12.5	-	13.8

The main ways in which members of the household participated were (Table 37):

- Identification of needs (44.4%)
- Talking in meetings (41.3%)
- Attending meetings (24.4%)

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.

Table 37: Ways in which members of the household participated (in %): Multiple responses

	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Talking in meetings	22.5	27.5	62.5	52.5	41.3
Attending meetings	47.5	32.5	7.5	-	24.4
Identification of needs	20	35	42.5	80	44.4
Site visits	5	-	12.5	2.5	5
Not applicable	20	22.5	12.5	-	13.8

It is important to note that a significant proportion of the respondents (50.6%) felt that their inputs were considered during processes in which they participated (Table 38). Platt Estate has the highest affirmative responses (82.5%) and Ekuthuleni the lowest (22.5%). 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 two land reform communities are cases in point. The results reveal that Platt Estate has a relatively high level of community participation while this is not the case in Ekuthuleni.

Table 38: Responses on whether respondents or any members of the household who participated felt that their inputs were considered (in %)

	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Yes	42.5	22.5	55	82.5	50.6
No	15	37.5	2.5	5	15
Uncertain	15	17.5	2.5	7.5	10.6
Don't know	7.5	-	27.5	5	10
Not applicable	20	22.5	12.5	-	13.8

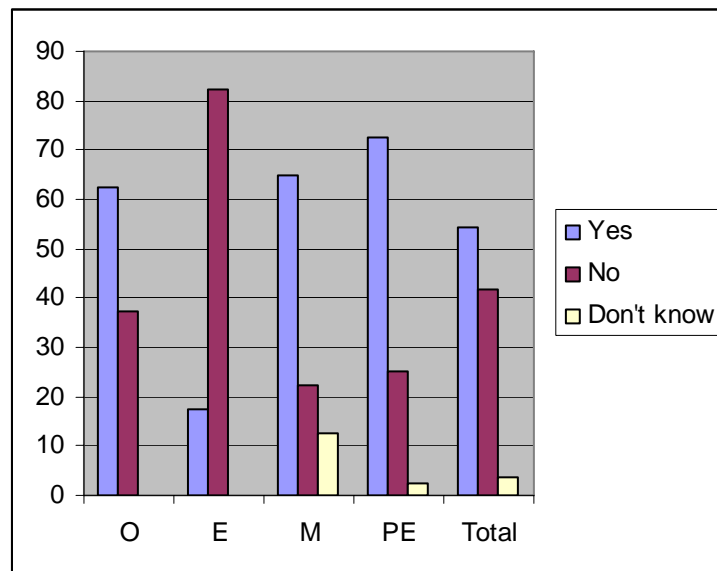
The main reasons forwarded by the respondents for feeling that their inputs were considered were:

- Decisions have been implemented
- Decisions were taken jointly
- Allowed to attend meetings and contribute to the resolution of disputes
- Suggestions were accepted
- Given a chance to express opinions
- Forest was given to the community
- Soil test and land rehabilitation has been undertaken
- Site for the clinic was proposed
- People were involved in temporary jobs in the community
- Was given enough land for cultivation
- Has enough land for cultivation
- Dam was constructed

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:

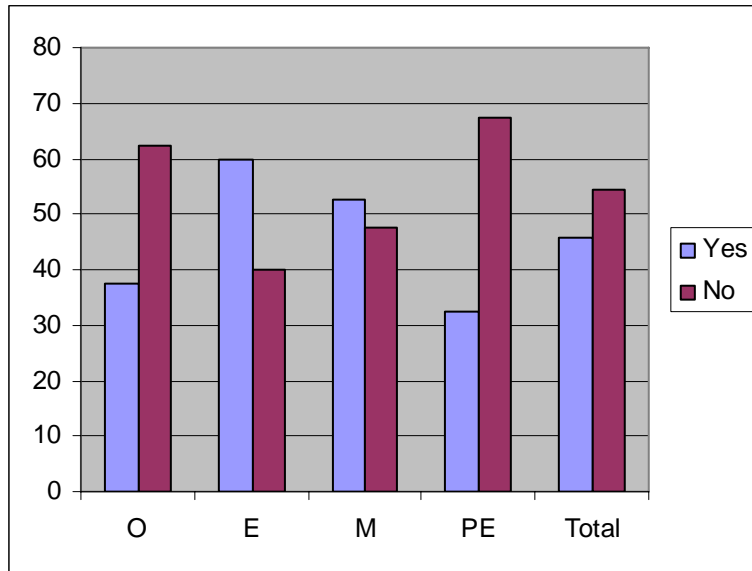
- Access to fuelwood is restricted by the chief
- Decisions are usually taken by the chief
- Traditional leaders dominate
- Other people’s views are not accepted
- Women not consulted
- Because corruption persists in the decision-making structures
- Power is too centralised
- No implementation of decisions taken
- No development in the community
- Not invited to meetings
- Bias in decision-making
- Decisions taken without consultation
- There is still no sources 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. Specifically, Graph 11 shows whether respondents are satisfied with the level of participation of households in terms of land concerns in the community. Slightly more than half of the respondents (54.4%) stated that they were satisfied. This was highest in Platt Estate (72.5%) and lowest in Ekuthuleni (17.5%).



Graph 11: Responses on whether respondents are satisfied with the level of participation of households in terms of land concerns in the community (in %)

The Graph below shows whether respondents feel that there are/ were obstacles to participating in community-based organisations dealing with land use issues in the community. Slightly less than half of the respondents (45.6%) indicated that they are/ were obstacles. Sixty percent of the respondents at Ekuthuleni stated that there were obstacles, 52.5% in Makomoreng, 37.5% in Okhombe and 32.5% in Platt Estate.



Graph 12: Responses on whether respondents feel that there are/ were obstacles to participating in community-based organisations dealing with land issues (in %)

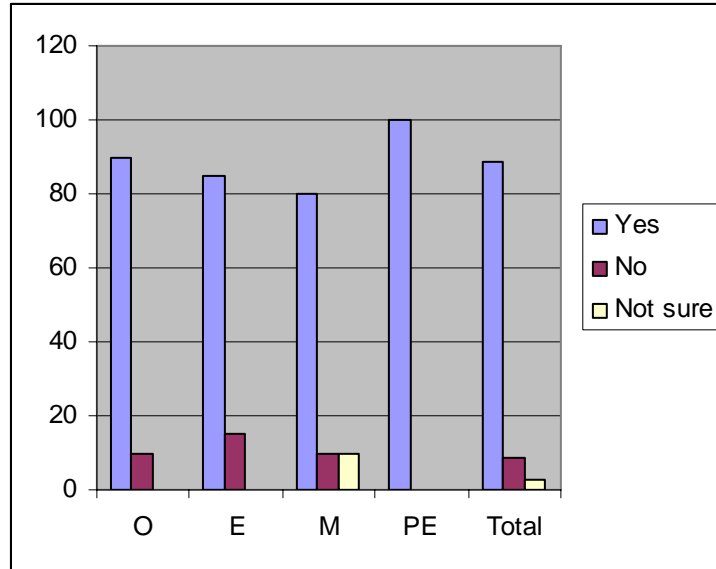
The obstacles identified by the respondents are presented in Table 39. The main obstacles were:

- Too busy (doing domestic work, etc.) (27.5%)
- Lack of consultation (21.3%)
- Not informed about meetings (7.5%)

Table 39: Obstacles/ constraints to participating in community-based organisations dealing with land use issues (in %): Multiple responses

	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Not applicable	62.5	40	47.5	67.5	54.4
Lack of consultation	25	27.5	25	7.5	21.3
Too busy (doing domestic work, etc.)	12.5	30	35	32.5	27.5
Not informed about meetings	7.5	10	7.5	5	7.5
Was not allowed to participate	-	5	-	-	1.3
Venue of workshops/ meetings too far	-	7.5	10	-	4.4
Fear	-	2.5	-	-	0.6

Graph 13 below illustrates responses regarding whether women participate in community-based organisations dealing with land issues. The majority of the respondents from all communities (88.8%) felt that women participate in community-based organisations.



Graph 13: Responses on whether women participate in community-based organisations dealing with land use issues (in %)

Table 40 shows the roles that respondents felt that women play or played in community-based organisations dealing with land issues. The most prominent roles identified were:

- Deal with community problems (27.5%) - particularly in Okhombe, Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate
- Deal with issues concerning land use (19.4%) - in Platt Estate
- Advice community and traditional leaders(12.5%) - in Makomoreng

The responses indicate that women generally attend meetings and participate in discussions. However, their roles in actually taking and significantly influencing decisions are limited. In fact, only one respondent (in Okhombe) stated that women take a leadership role.

Table 40: Roles women play or played in community-based organisations dealing with land use issues (in %)

<b>Roles</b>	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
Not applicable	10	15	20	-	11.3
Deal with community problems	52.5	30	5	22.5	27.5
They deal with issues concerning land use	-	-	-	77.5	19.4
Talk in meetings	-	2.5	7.5	-	2.5
Attend meetings	-	17.5	5	-	5.6
Involved in decision-making	22.5	-	-	-	5.6
Advice community and traditional leaders	-	-	50	-	12.5
Take leadership role	2.5	-	-	-	0.6
Secretary/ treasurer	-	-	7.5	-	1.9
No significant roles	-	12.5	-	-	3.1
Don't know	12.5	22.5	5	-	10

During focus group discussions it was revealed that in Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate 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. One woman stated:

*It is very difficult to openly discuss problems with men in the community. We simply attend the meetings and listen. The women's group is much better. We talk about things and actually get things done. Our sewing group is active and we will be starting a vegetable garden together. We really enjoy being together and try to get other women to join.*

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 as well as other community-based structures. 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. In both Ekuthuleni and Platt Estate some women are elected committee members. However, in these cases gender roles are clearly evident. Women usually occupy secretarial positions. Most of the women simply attend meetings if they are able to do so. 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 the communities since women's inputs and representation in decision-making processes in the communities are limited.

The obstacles/ constraints identified by the respondents in terms of women’s participation in community-based organisations are presented in Table 41. The main obstacles were that women were too busy doing domestic work (75.6%) and lack of consultation (18.1%). Other reasons identified were the women were not informed about meetings (6.3%), the majority of the participants are men (5.6%), venue of meetings are too far (3.8%) and that women cannot write (0.6%).

Table 41: Obstacles/ constraints to women’s participation in community-based organisations dealing with land issues (in %): Multiple responses

<b>Obstacles/ constraints</b>	<b>O (n=40)</b>	<b>E (n=40)</b>	<b>M (n=40)</b>	<b>PE (n=40)</b>	<b>T (n=160)</b>
None	17.5	5	2.5	-	6.3
Lack of consultation	22.5	22.5	22.5	5	18.1
Too busy doing domestic work	52.5	72.5	80	97.5	75.6
Not informed about meetings	12.5	7.5	5	-	6.3
Majority of the participants are men	10	7.5	2.5	2.5	5.6
Venue of meetings are too far	2.5	-	12.5	-	3.8
Women cannot write	-	2.5	-	-	0.6

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. Under these conditions, the affairs of the women’s groups are primarily focused on “women’s activities” such as starting a sewing club. There was a general sense that the women’s groups were 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 (women spend a great deal of time collecting fuelwood that is not easily available) and accessibility to building materials.

Tables 42 and 43 below 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 42):

- They resolve conflicts (27.5%)
- They direct meetings (16.3%)
- Unites people (14.4%)
- Plan for the future/ development projects for the community (11.3%)
- Keep proper records (10%)
- Disseminate information/ advise community on environmental issues (10%).

Other advantages identified were that these organizations are sensitive to individual community needs, they project the community’s interests, they maintain and retain stocks for the future, able to pool community resources, allows for the sustainable use of



resources, communication with community members, encourages/ builds cooperation and distributes resources and opportunities fairly. One respondent did not identify any advantages and 8.8% of the respondents (all in Ekuthuleni) stated that there were none.

Table 42: Advantages of having community-based organisations manage land resources in the community (in %): Multiple responses

	<b>O</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>E</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>M</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>PE</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>T</b> <b>(n=160)</b>
They direct meetings	45	12.5	5	2.5	16.3
Keep proper records	22.5	15	2.5	-	10
Sensitive to individual community members	22.5	-	-	-	5.6
Protect the community's interests	12.5	7.5	-	-	5
Maintain and retain stocks for the future	17.5	-	-	-	4.4
Resolve conflicts	12.5	12.5	47.5	37.5	27.5
Plan for the future/ development projects for the community	15	10	12.5	7.5	11.3
Able to pool community resources	7.5	2.5	-	7.5	4.4
Allows for the sustainable use of resources	-	-	7.5	-	1.9
Disseminate information/ advise community on environmental issues	-	17.5	17.5	5	10
Communicate with community members	-	-	17.5	17.5	8.8
Encourages/ builds cooperation	-	17.5	-	5	5.6
Distributes resources and opportunities fairly	5	12.5	2.5	10	7.5
Unites people	-	-	15	42.5	14.4
Don't know	2.5	-	-	-	0.6
None	-	35	-	-	8.8

The main disadvantages identified were (Table 43):

- Encourages nepotism and corruption (20%)
- Biasness (10.6%)
- Unequal treatment (10.1%)
- Poor consultation (9.4%)
- Lack of expertise to run organisations properly (8.8%)

Other disadvantages identified were that there was a lack of remuneration for duties performed, these organizations centralise power, lack of a sense of urgency, takes too long to call meetings and lack of cooperation. Some of the respondents (6.9%) did not identify any disadvantages and 28.1% of the respondents stated that there were none.

Table 43: Disadvantages of having community-based organisations manage land resources in the community (in %): Multiple responses

	<b>O</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>E</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>M</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>PE</b> <b>(n=40)</b>	<b>T</b> <b>(n=160)</b>
Delays after problem has been reported	5	-	-	-	1.3
Poor consultation	7.5	5	17.5	7.5	9.4
Unequal treatment	7.5	15.5	5	12.5	10.1
Nepotism and corruption	7.5	55	2.5	15	20
Lack of remuneration for duty performed	5	-	-	-	1.3
Centralises power	5	7.5	5	5	5.6
Biasness	12.5	-	12.5	17.5	10.6
Lack of expertise to run organizations properly	10	12.5	7.5	5	8.8
Lack of a sense of urgency	-	15	-	-	3.8
Takes too long to call meetings	-	-	17.5	5	5.6
Lack of cooperation	-	-	12.5		3.1
Don't know	7.5	15	5	-	6.9
None	35	5	25	47.5	28.1

It is clear from Tables 42 and 43 that the respondents linked community-based natural resource management organisations to positive changes in terms of addressing developmental and environmental needs in the community. Additionally, these organisations are also deemed to have strategic benefits related to promoting participation and resolving conflicts among community members. This is linked to the idea of having increased control over community decision-making processes. In terms of disadvantages, the important threat identified by the respondents was linked to the potential for corruption and bias in decision-making. Also, the ability of these organisations to deliver was questioned by a number of the respondents.

The results indicate that in Kwazulu-Natal, most rural communities (including land reform projects) 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 to the community. What is also clear is that 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. In this instance, like the cases of many resettled households under land reform, it is plausible that in terms of access to services and facilities (such as education and health care) households will be worse off.

## 4. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research illustrates that issues of sustainable land use and natural resource management at the community and household levels in rural areas cannot be neglected or ignored. 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 traditional governance structures. Several interconnected issues have been raised in the study linked to ownership and rights of land resources as well as how decisions are made and implemented. The data analysed in this report indicates that in all four communities several structures pertaining to land management exist. However, concerns about the functionality, sustainability and viability of these structures and their ability to address development and environmental needs and concerns have been raised. The implications of this on social, economic, political and environmental quality of life in these communities are indeed a cause for concern.

Key issues raised in the research include:

- whether current strategies to manage and sustain land use and the use of natural resources in the community in general but especially in poorer households are appropriate and consistent;
- the lack of understanding among the respondents about the role and functioning of community-based management processes, practices and structures such as the CPA;
- limited, inconsistent and ineffective participation of many households in community decision making processes;
- power struggles and tensions both within the household and the community;
- the multiple reproductive and productive household survival strategies depend greatly on access to a range of natural resources include agricultural land, water resources, wood and medicinal plants; and
- land resources (agricultural land, fuelwood, water, wild foods, medicinal plants, craft materials, etc.) are critical for rural households, despite the fact that ownership arrangements often restrict women's access and control of these vital resources.

### 4.1. 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. It is imperative that attempts are made to include different categories of people into programmes and processes as well. The above concerns reiterate the point that rural areas are extremely complex. This poses different challenges for development generally and for sustainable land use and natural resource management in particular. The following recommendations are forwarded to address some of the key challenges and constraints identified in the study. While some of the recommendations have practical implementation implications, others bear on reconceptualising policies, processes, products and outcomes. Furthermore, the need for additional research is identified.

#### 4.1.1. Need for an overall rural development strategy

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. It is imperative that there is a recognition that access to land and natural resources generally are necessary but not a sufficient conditions to increase livelihood options and quality of life in rural areas. Land itself cannot realize broader development goals of improving conditions in rural areas. There needs to be a more concerted effort to address the issue of job creation in rural areas. This must include an appraisal of existing livelihood strategies that households engage in, especially the constraints and capacities.

Most rural South Africans 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 and/ or leisure activities. Also, the sustainable use of natural resources will be promoted as it is more than likely that overexploitation of these resources will cease.

The cooperation between different departments and structures interested in rural development, is currently weak and ineffectual. It is imperative that redress programmes such as land reform go beyond redistributing land but also addresses the question of survival and improved standards of living of the rural poor. Bonti-Ankomah (1997) highlights that this requires several government policies and programs to be integrated, but they are implemented in isolation from each other and, in some cases, contradict each other.

The roles of agencies and structures outside the government, such as NGOs and CBOs must also be strengthened and supported. In many instances, these structures are closer to the community and may be in a better position to contribute towards their empowerment. Partnerships with NGOs are important to tap into existing experience, knowledge and skills as well as financial and other resources. NGOs can also play a critical role in monitoring land use practices as well as acting as a pressure group. There is thus the need for critical partnerships with NGOs and government structures.

#### 4.1.2. Legal and policy changes required

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 poor communities are receiving is that laws and policies exist on paper but no one is willing to enforce these laws.

#### 4.1.3. 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.

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. It must also be noted that increased representation does not automatically lead to issues being incorporated into decision-making processes. Strategies to include people in decision-making structures must include intensive capacity building and training programs. Understanding the constraints and capacities of both men and women has important implications for the extent to which different individuals and groups can participate in the different project cycles. A critically important aspect in terms of providing an enabling environment to address issues pertaining to participation is to re-think information dissemination and support strategies. Sustainable land use strategies require the broad participation of all stakeholders, especially the recipient and target groups. Innovative and appropriate ways of reaching people and convincing them to participate in community-based organizations need to be developed.

#### 4.1.4. Monitoring and evaluation

Monitoring refers to a frequent or even continuous process of data gathering related to the implementation of a process which is designed to bring about change. The key foci of monitoring are to examine whether implementation activities and expected changes are realized. Evaluation is concerned with the measurement of the success or failure of a project or programme in terms of targets or objectives which are specified in advance. Monitoring provides the basis for accountability and lobbying. The absence of criteria and indicators to assess current land use and natural resource management strategies and structures makes it difficult to critically examine the effectiveness and efficiency of current community-based structures in terms of managing land and natural resources. The identification, operationalisation and formalization of key performance indicators and the design of a monitoring system are vital.

#### 4.1.5. Training and capacity building

There is 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

will require budget and resource allocations and will need the support of both public and private sectors.

#### 4.1.6. Provisions 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.

#### 4.1.7. Addressing the challenges posed by traditional structures

One of the constraining issues that emanate from this study is that of traditional protocols as it applies to certain groups, especially females, in rural areas. The nature and the extent of the roles of chieftaincy structures in relation to modern governance practices at the local level needs to be addressed. The government will be forced to make controversial and highly contested decisions. It is apparent from this study that traditional structures are strong and can be very popular in some rural communities. However, there is also evidence that suggests that traditional structures often advance their own interests and try to centralize power. This results in the marginalization of certain groups within the community. The government has to strike a balance of respecting cultural tradition while at the same time ensuring that human rights are not violated.

### 4.2. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Managing sustainable land use practices needs to incorporate a focus on the human component, the users of the land (Farrington and Boyd, 1997). 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 (Guijt and Shah, 1998). As indicated earlier, this research endeavour gives due consideration to social differentiation and conflicts within the community.

In all communities under study, NGOs did not seem to be playing central roles in assisting in managing land use and natural resources. Their visibility is often confined to individuals they interact with and their involvement tends to be project specific.

Land use and environmental assessment data are key parameters to analyse natural resource management strategies and conflicts in communities. 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.

The interest in land resources in South Africa has become marked in the past several years. Social movements, political parties, service providers, NGOs, researchers and development practitioners have begun to underscore the need to examine issues pertaining to the access, ownership and management of land. Conflicts around land have resulted in violence which have often constrained communities' abilities to participate meaningfully in and benefit from development and transformation processes. Cobett (1998) argues that critical issues concerning the governance and management of land in rural communities have been overlooked when broad-based social, economic and political planning has taken place in the new South Africa. For example, land redistribution in rural South Africa has set up complicated legal entities such as Communal Property Associations without due consideration to traditional institutions, local governance structures and social differentiation within communities (Ntsebeza, 1999). There have been numerous calls to provide more substantive information and rigorous research about the nature, scope and dimensions of the problem.

No programme that focuses on development and social upliftment can ignore the centrality of land to rural livelihoods, security and stability. There is a great deal of literature that demonstrates rural people's vulnerability to resource scarcity and poverty in rural areas. Addressing issues pertaining to sustainable land use and management in rural areas will enhance people's ability to effectively participate in and benefit from development processes. Efforts at promoting rural development need to incorporate land use and governance concerns which can have negative social, economic and political consequences.

This research contributes to a broader analysis of governance and institutional dimensions pertaining to land resources by comparing rural experiences and strategies in different localities in KwaZulu-Natal. The locality-specific manifestations of institutional structures require different development and empowerment strategies in particular contexts. The research therefore builds on current literature that challenges conventional approaches to rural development that tend to neglect issues pertaining to community-based organisational structures.

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## APPENDIX 1: PROBLEM RANKING TABLES

### A: Platt Estate

<b>PROBLEM</b>	<b>RANKING</b>	<b>SCORING</b>
Electricity	7	3
Water services	9	1
Toilet/ sanitation	5	5
Employment opportunities	8	2
Telephones	1	9
Creches	2	8
Training institutions	7	3
Playing fields	1	9
Clinics	5	5
Shops	3	7

### B: Ekuthuleni

<b>PROBLEM</b>	<b>RANKING</b>	<b>SCORING</b>
Corruption	8	2
Extension services	2	8
Land for cultivation	3	7
Fuelwood	5	5
Electricity	6	4
Roads	2	8
Water services	9	1
Schools and crèche	5	5
Jobs	8	2
Community hall	1	10

### C: Makomoreng

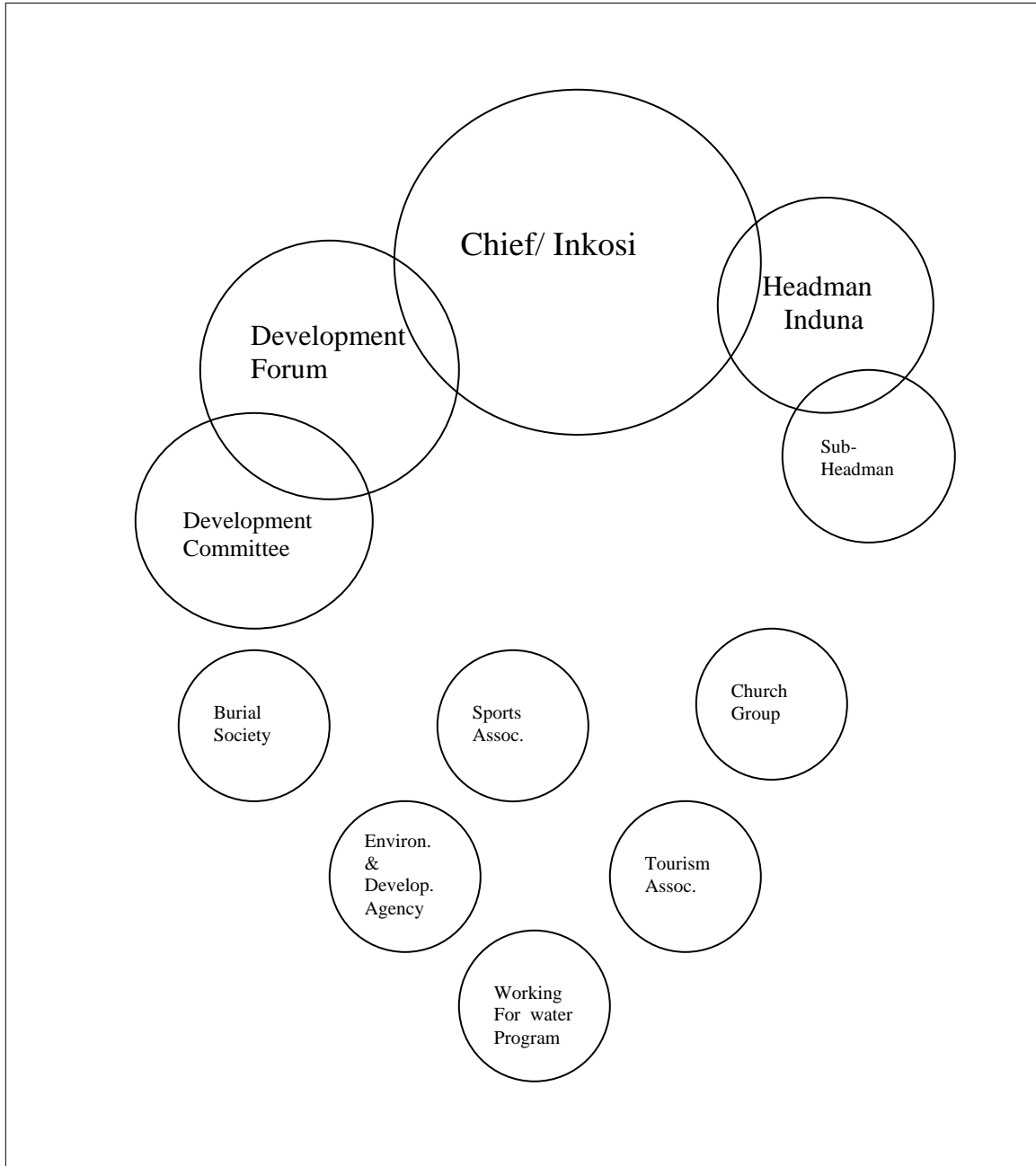
<b>PROBLEM</b>	<b>RANKING</b>	<b>SCORING</b>
Poor infrastructure	7	2
Need irrigation schemes	6	3
Lack of training	4	6
Water services	9	1
Lack of agricultural skills	3	7
Fencing	2	8
Weeds	0	10
Electricity	6	3
Markets	1	9
Extension services	5	5

D: Okhombe

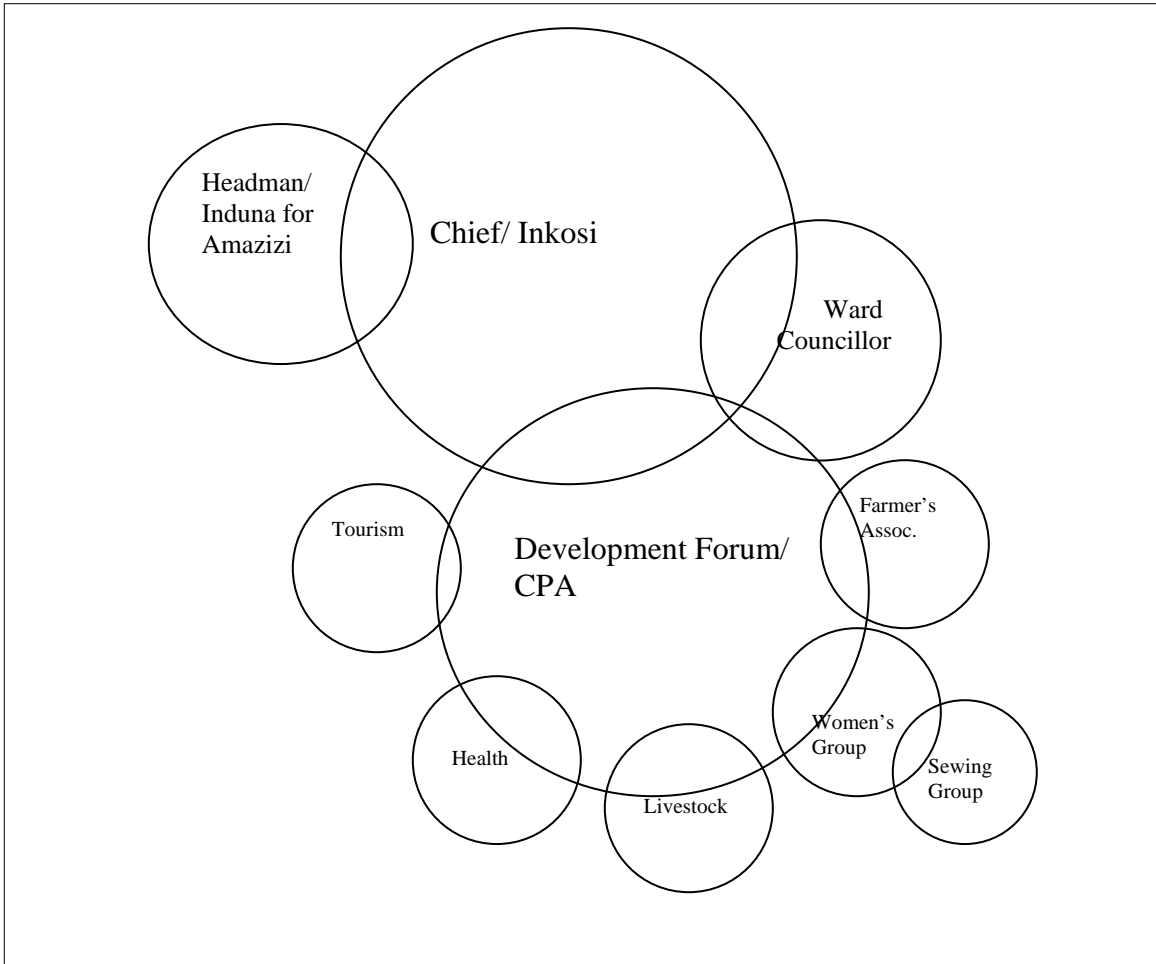
<b>PROBLEM</b>	<b>RANKING</b>	<b>SCORING</b>
Poor infrastructure	8	2
Electricity	7	3
Telephones	1	10
Water services	10	1
Clinic	7	3
School	3	7
Fence	2	9
Irrigation systems	5	6
Toilets	3	7
Markets	6	5

## APPENDIX 2: VENN DIAGRAMS

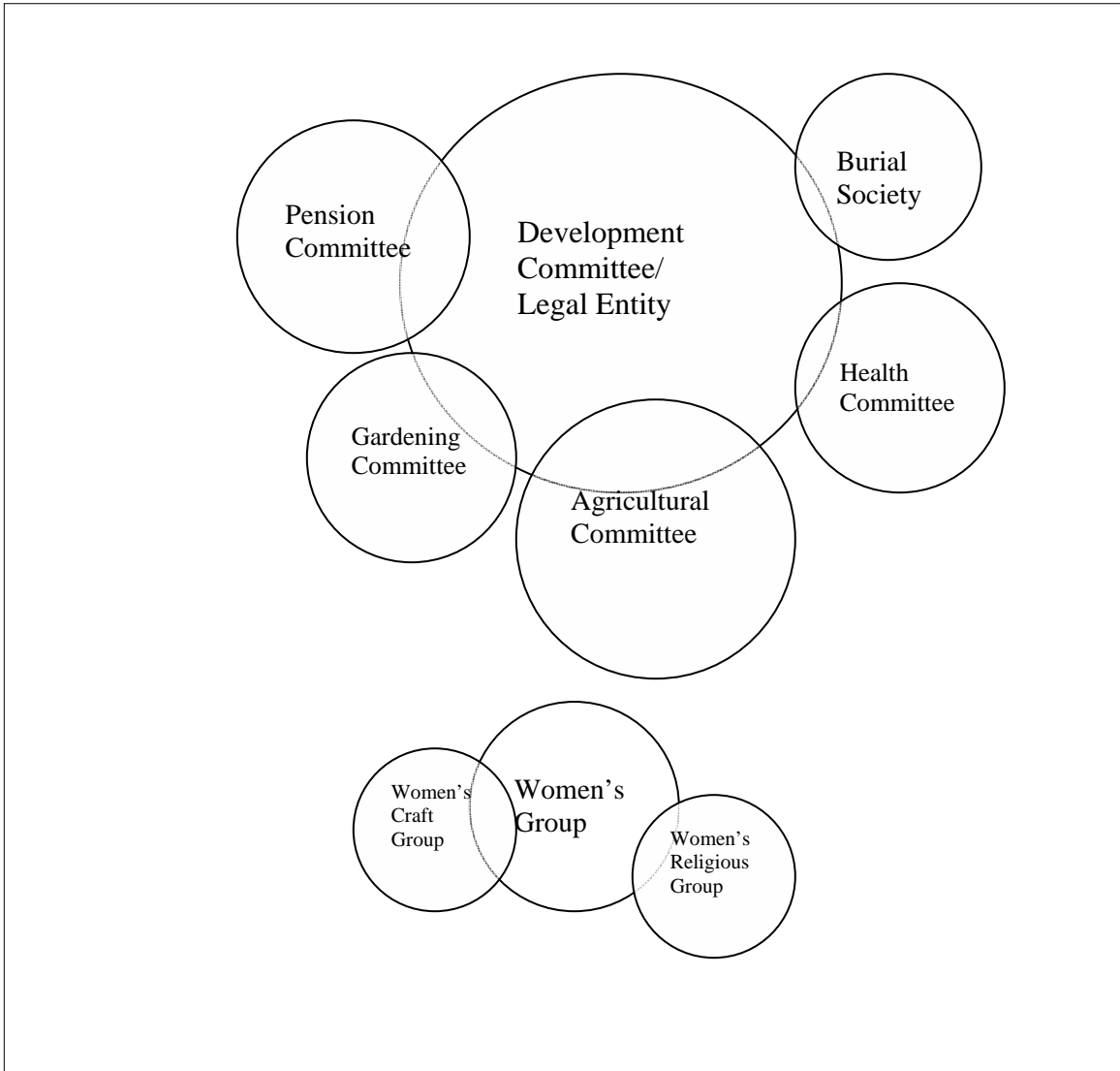
### A. Makomoreng



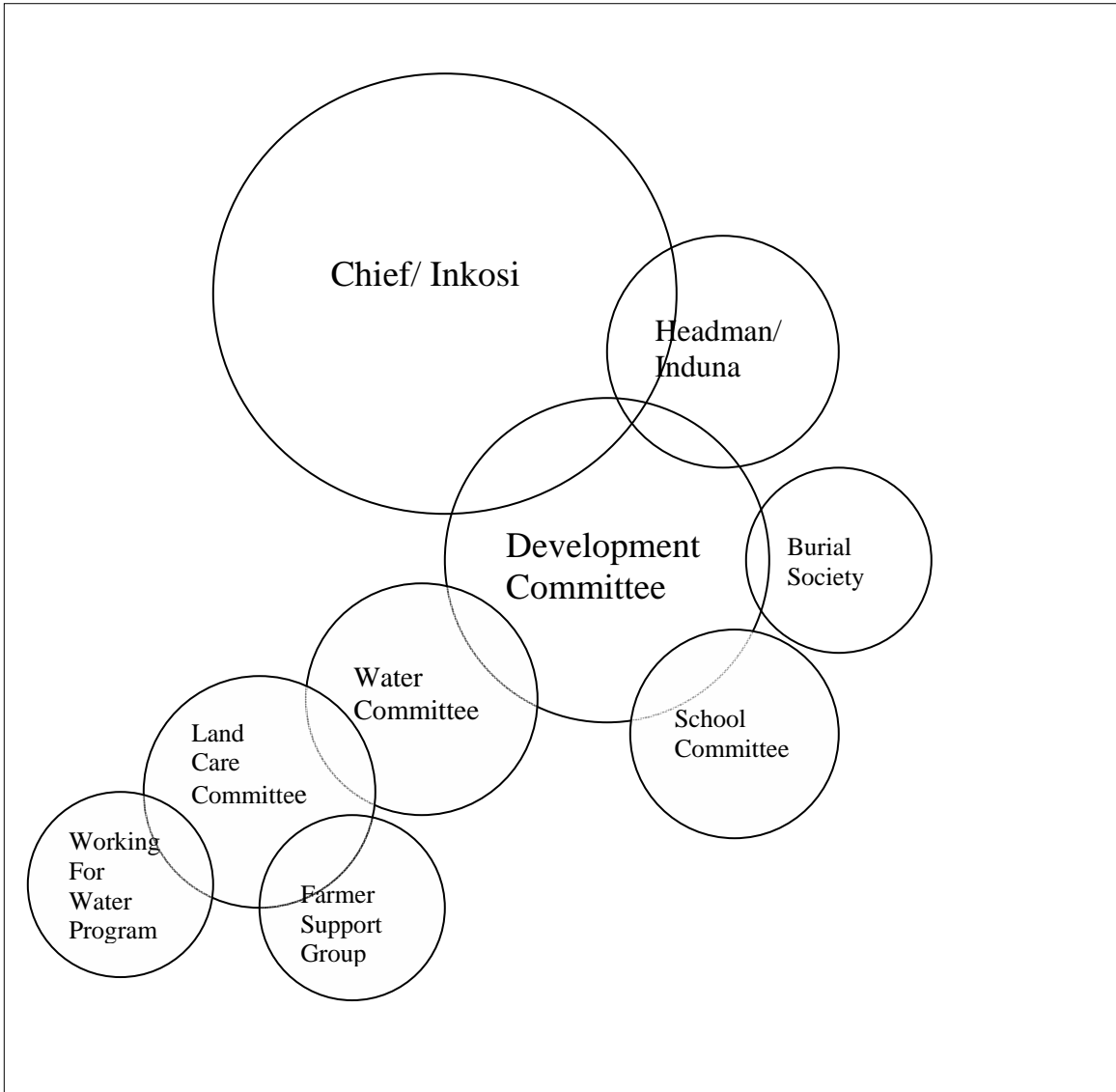
B: Ekuthuleni



C: Platt Estate



D: Okhombe



APPENDIX 3

