

Qualitative Approaches to Unpack Gendered Land Relations and Power Dynamics in Inanda, KwaZulu-Natal

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Abstract

Land in rural South Africa is a contested issue. Women are at the heart of the debate, often being denied access to and control over land due to historical as well as traditional and cultural systems. This article explores how the nature, extent and implications of property rights for women in peri-urban communities can be examined by collecting qualitative data using local and indigenous knowledge through the use of participatory rural appraisal techniques in Inanda. Four focus group discussions (two with men only and two with women only) were held in the community to acquire this data. Specific qualitative techniques used during the focus group discussions included gendered resource mapping and ranking exercises. Participatory-Geographic Information Systems (P-GIS) and the thematic constant comparative approach were used to analyse the data. The data collected is used to illustrate the advantages of using qualitative approaches to examine gender issues in relation to land rights in Inanda. A key focus is on the use of P-GIS which extends the technical field of GIS to the qualitative realm. The importance of spatial information that includes perceptions is also underscored. The results reveal that the nature of women's land tenure in Inanda has a range of forms. Furthermore, the extent of women's access to secure land tenure is minimal in the region. Younger women continue to be denied access to, control over and inheritance of land. There are several factors such as the role of the chieftaincy, social norms as well as lack of available technologies which hinder women's access to land and productive use thereof. The study indicates the importance of using qualitative

approaches and highlights the importance of comparing findings between men and women as well as among the two groups.

Keywords: Gender, land relations, qualitative methods, Participatory-GIS, ranking exercises, Inanda, Durban

Introduction

The prominence of women's disadvantaged positions in relation to land access, control and ownership emerges as a key concern in the literature on gender and land issues in South Africa (Bjuris & Daniels 2009; Bob 2008; Classens 2007; Cross & Hornby 2002; Jacobs *et al.* 2011; Meer 1997; Walker 2009). In rural contexts, patriarchal and cultural traditional practices of allocating and managing land further reinforce gender inequalities. This is within the context of historical, unresolved unequal distribution of land resources due to the legacy of colonisation and Apartheid. Thus, land in South Africa has and continues to be subjected to high levels of contestation and conflict.

It is important to conceptually and methodologically link land and gender to understand land relations and power dynamics as well as resultant impacts for women. This article specifically asserts that gendered land relations and power dynamics can be better understood in peri-urban communities by collecting qualitative data using local and indigenous knowledge adopting participatory rural appraisal (PRA) techniques. An illustrative case study of Inanda, a peri-urban community in eThekweni Municipality (the largest Municipality in KwaZulu-Natal province and third largest Municipality in South Africa), is used. Qualitative techniques (specifically resource mapping including Participatory-Geographic Information Systems [P-GIS] and ranking exercises) were used during four focus group discussions (two with men only and two with women only) to collect information on land issues in relation to gender dynamics. The main contribution of this article is to show how the use of P-GIS (which is an extension of the technical field of GIS) can be used as a qualitative tool.

Land and Gender Issues

Payne (2004) asserts that access to land and shelter is a precondition for access to other services and livelihood opportunities; thus it is important in

relation to efforts to reduce poverty. Women require land for multiple reasons and hence without formal rights to land, women are vulnerable. While women continue to contribute significantly to the survival of households in sub-Saharan Africa (mainly responsible for reproductive responsibilities, subsistence production and income generation in the informal and/ or low-income sectors), several researchers such as Buregeya *et al.* (2001), Rugege *et al.* (2008) and Toulmin (2009) underscore that women continue to be denied the right to security of tenure to the land on which they support their families. Specifically, the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT 2005) illustrate that similar patterns persist in Zambia. Land is a critically important asset to the poor. Access and ownership of land increases security and livelihood options at the household level. Women have had access to land in sub-Saharan Africa for many generations, however, men and women rarely have identical claims and rights to land, predominantly due to traditional and cultural systems (Whitehead & Tsikata 2003). Specifically, Buregeya *et al.* (2001) argue that without formal rights to land, women are vulnerable as they are denied the means to ensure stable and sustainable livelihoods.

In Africa generally, and South Africa is no exception, land has been subject to conflict, conquest and exploitation resulting in discrepancies and inequalities (Rugege *et al.* 2008). Rugege *et al.* (2008) further indicate that this has greatly determined the socio-economic and political positions of women in South Africa. They further argue that the connections between gender and property relations need to consider both the distribution of property in terms of ownership; and also, who controls the land, as studies indicate that gender equality in legal rights to own property does not guarantee actual ownership. As indicated in the next section, qualitative and spatial approaches to research can assist greatly in better understanding these interactions and concerns.

Classens (2007) and Cross and Hornby (2002) state that during the Apartheid era, access and use rights to land were largely confined to male heads of households. They further suggest that women's access to and control over land has largely been mediated through a male relative. There are many additional factors which influence women's access to land and resources. The literature highlights these to be: land use and availability, power relations, household requirements, social status of the women, natural environmental conditions, type of ownership or tenure arrangement, historical processes and

cultural practices (Bob 2008; Classens 2007; Cross & Hornby 2002; Deere & Leon 2003; Hansen *et al.* 2005; Meer 1997; Rao 2006; Rugege *et al.* 2008; UN-HABITAT 2005). All these need to be understood so that women's land needs and concerns may be prioritised. Despite women's disadvantaged position in terms of control and access to land and related resources, Bob (2000) asserts that women remain key environmental managers and consumers, and their vast knowledge of the land is key to achieving sustainable development.

Property rights and not employment is highlighted by Panda and Agarwal (2005) as being the single most critical entry point for women's empowerment. They continue to emphasise that many development programmes in Africa fail to achieve their potential to benefit women due to a lack of understanding of the dynamics of family relationships, landholding customs, household power structures and other social realities in the region. These factors play a role in limiting women's access to resources and land in rural areas. This has a significant impact on sustaining livelihoods as indicated by the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM 2010) in their study on women and land in Malawi, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

Rugege *et al.* (2008) indicate that understanding social differentiation among women (and men) in rural areas is crucial to understanding the different conditions faced by different groups within a community. Together with Jacobs *et al.* (2011), they assert that factors such as age, marital status, motherhood, employment status and access to income, asset ownership, lineage and position in the household all affect women's access to land. However, they stress that the most blatant differentiation occurs between male-dominant and female-dominant households. Deere and Leon (2003) identify four factors which determine women's access to land: male preference in inheritance; male privilege in marriage; male bias in community programmes of land distribution and gender bias in the land market. According to Bob (2008), female-headed landless households are most commonly the poorest of the poor. Hansen *et al.* (2005) indicate that marriage and inheritance patterns (especially male to male inheritance patterns that are dominant in most developing contexts) are essential aspects of tenure which influence how individuals acquire land and resources.

The increasing literature on gender and land issues is informed by different methodological approaches, including qualitative methods. The next section briefly examines the importance of qualitative approaches with

specific reference to spatial techniques, a neglected component in relation in to understanding gender issues in relation to land.

The Importance of Qualitative Approaches: P-GIS and Ranking

Participatory/ qualitative techniques to conducting research challenge traditional assumptions that were entrenched in the positivist paradigm and were thus quantitative in nature (von Maltzahn & van der Riet 2006). The key difference between qualitative and quantitative is that qualitative research is focused on examining meanings, differences and the social construction of knowledge while quantitative research examines trends generally using numerically-based information and hypothesis testing. A central notion is that culture and context play a crucial role in the formation of knowledge. Qualitative approaches also inform participatory research efforts. Duraippah *et al.* (2005) assert that participatory methodologies developed from a desire by decision-makers to incorporate the perspectives and priorities of local people and their knowledge in policy development and decision-making. They further note that the growing adoption of the approach reflects a continuing belief in a bottom-up approach to research in which local people become agents of change.

Qualitative techniques include local knowledge in research. Local knowledge is developed within a particular setting and is also tied to that setting (von Maltzahn & van der Riet 2006). According to von Maltzahn and van der Riet (2006), using local knowledge increases the validity of a study as it permits the inclusion of information considered important by participants into the study. Thus, the focus is on the concerns, experiences and knowledge of local people rather than those of the researcher. The inclusion of local knowledge also permits the identification of problematic issues which would not have been identified otherwise (von Maltzahn & van der Riet 2006). A key contribution of qualitative approaches is their focus on examining differences. This is an important aspect to consider when examining gender dynamics in relation to land relations as discussed in the previous section.

There are many techniques which can be used when conducting qualitative research. However, this research focuses on two - resource mapping including P-GIS and ranking exercises - which are part of the PRA toolkit. PRA, according to Duraippah *et al.* (2005), recognises that

knowledge is power. Furthermore, PRA, especially in gender studies acknowledges that women are not a homogenous entity and thus identifies who is affected and how they are affected. The specific techniques used in this study are part of visualisation and diagramming methods. Thus, they are useful in the geographical and social sciences since they focus on spatial and resource aspects. Land in particular is a key livelihood and contested resource which these techniques are well suited to examine.

However, whilst the benefits of PRA have been emphasised, there are problems associated with this approach. One of the main concerns surrounding PRA is that since it primarily revolves around focus groups (as was used in this research endeavour), it is premised on the possibility of consensus. Furthermore, PRA assumes that the benefits of the research are self-evident to all involved which may not always be the case. A further issue is that of facilitation. In order for PRA to be successful, it is critical that facilitators are familiar with the local language as well as being trained in PRA techniques. Moreover, it is essential to note that not all sections of the community are equally likely to participate due to numerous factors (Duraiappah *et al.* 2005). These could include practical factors such as a lack of time (busy with chores) or distance (too long a distance to travel) as well as social factors such as gender (some women may be prohibited by their husbands to attend such meetings) or political alliances. In gender terms, often women may be unwilling to participate if men are present as women's knowledge is regarded as inferior. Furthermore, men generally dominate discussions. Thus, it is essential that when focus groups are planned, these barriers to participation are understood and avoided.

For the purposes of this research, many of these drawbacks and challenges were avoided through careful planning and consideration. Facilitators were familiar and comfortable with the local isiZulu language and were able to converse with participants in their mother tongue. Furthermore, the facilitators and scribes were trained at a workshop prior to the research being conducted about the various PRA techniques and how they should be conducted. The challenge of ensuring all sections of the community are able to participate by reducing transport costs was overcome by providing participants with compensation for transport costs as well as their time. A further barrier which was overcome was that of the unwillingness of women to participate should men be present. The women's and men's focus groups were separated and so that they were able to comfortably comment on issues.

Additionally, the separation of focus groups into male and female groups ensured that gender differences could be explored. Furthermore, both men and women were explicitly informed that their comments were confidential, creating the cultural ethos which was necessary for participation. The different PRA techniques used in this study are now explained.

Ranking Exercises

Ranking exercises were conducted in each focus group, using pairwise ranking and scoring. Ranking exercises (matrices), according to von Maltzahn and van der Riet (2006), are mainly used to determine the order in which objects, concepts and/ or resources are deemed to have the greatest importance by participants usually determined by agreement. The technique can identify issues of concern and prioritise these problems. It is a particularly useful technique to understanding the social dynamics and differentiation among women. However, von Maltzahn and van der Riet (2006) stress that ranking exercises require that no single person dominate and a degree of consensus among participants is achieved. While ranking exercises is generally well known and used often in qualitative research, resource mapping integrating P-GIS is a neglected technique which this research adopts. This approach is discussed next.

Resource Mapping Integrating P-GIS

According to Kesby (2000), participatory mapping is a technique which employs the use of large sketches (maps) of the area which are created by local people and with local materials. These maps are used to gather data on both natural resources as well as social issues. It further permits an opportunity for key stakeholders to air their views as indicated by Hessel *et al.* (2009). According to von Maltzahn and van der Riet (2006), mapping is a graphic participatory technique which provides physical information regarding the study site as well as community perceptions and socio-economic information. Furthermore, Hessel *et al.* (2009) state that these types of maps facilitate discussion among participants in relation to current land use issues and future options. The focus groups in this study were differentiated according to gender and age groups, and this permitted the

differences between groups in terms of knowledge, perceptions and interests to become evident. von Maltzahn and van der Riet (2006:123) emphasise that the value of this technique is not the accuracy of the maps created but the analysis of 'what people draw, in what order, in what detail and with what comments'. However, Brown (2012) argues that it is possible (and useful) to identify processes that increase both participation and spatial accuracy in P-GIS. Furthermore, von Maltzahn and van der Riet (2006) assert that local knowledge is not homogenous and that different people within a community are exposed to different types and levels of knowledge. Hence, mapping exercises indicate these differences and the different requirements different groups of people require. Rocheleau *et al.* (1995) assert that the visualising techniques such as mapping are beneficial as they facilitate a more transparent and reflective discussion among participants and experts. There are various types of maps that can be created such as social mapping, resource mapping and gendered mapping. These depict key aspects of a community. Rocheleau *et al.* (1995) state that gendered resource mapping is crucial as women's spaces frequently occur between and within lands which are controlled by men.

It is stressed by Kesby (2000) that the tactical nature of diagramming permits the contribution of less dominant personalities by allowing their voices to be heard. Furthermore, participants can immediately see the visual results of the research (Kesby 2000). This, according to Kesby (2000), allows the facilitator to encourage discussion amongst participants which enables them to learn from the results and act on the findings. For example, Bernard *et al.*'s (2011) study using P-GIS in Brazilian Amazonia illustrates the social and conservation implications of using this approach.

The mapping exercise used was participatory mapping. This, according to Quan *et al.* (2001), is participants' free drawn maps indicating features of significance to their livelihoods such as natural resources, land, social resources or their village as well as indicating gendered space. They further note that the data may be incorporated into more formal maps through the use of GIS. Quan *et al.* (2001) emphasise that GIS play an important role in ensuring sustainable use of resources in rural areas, especially when encouraging pro-poor development. A GIS has many definitions. However, the most commonly used definition, which is accepted as the norm is used as it incorporates all the characteristics and components of a GIS (Chrisman 2002:12):

A GIS is a system of hardware, software, data, people, organisations and institutional arrangements for collecting, storing, analysing and disseminating information about areas of the earth.

A GIS manages and integrates data to solve real world problems (MacDonald & Peters 2004). Furthermore, it is connected to software programmes which enable one to digitally draw maps (MacDonald & Peters 2004). Quan *et al.* (2001) argue that a GIS may facilitate one's understanding of spatial aspects of social and economic development by providing a tool which relates socio-economic variables to natural resources. Furthermore, according to Quan *et al.* (2001), a GIS can target interventions and monitor impacts over a variety of areas and scales. Thus, it is a very important tool when assessing the sustainable livelihoods of women in peri-urban and rural areas in relation to resource (including land) issues. According to Quan *et al.* (2001), this is done using P-GIS. This is the integration of local and indigenous knowledge as well as stakeholders' perspectives into the GIS (Quan *et al.* 2001).

Tripathi and Bhattarya (2004) assert that P-GIS methods are important as they:

- Encourage the empowerment of weak groups and a move towards an equitable social redistribution through local decision-making, by allowing local community members to be on an equal status as decision-makers; and
- Facilitate external or outside projects by creating links between the two. This is done by using local people to collaborate between external ideologies and internal demands.

Furthermore, Tripathi and Bhattarya (2004) emphasise that P-GIS enables gender empowerment. They argue that ownership to land and space is a source of social power and without it, people (most commonly women) are disempowered. In order to include the needs and requirements of women who are disempowered, counter or resource maps (which are created by women) are used (Tripathi & Bhattarya 2004).

Thus, from the literature, it is evident that P-GIS is a useful tool to use as it creates a visual representation of gender relations and problems in rural communities in relation to environmental resources. McCall (2003) and McCall and Dunn (2012) suggest that P-GIS has strong potential to map

indicators of poverty, exclusion and/ or discrimination as well as contribute to good governance and the validation of local knowledge. McCall (2003) argues that disadvantaged groups of the community can be prioritised through the mapping of distinct zones of deficiency. This creates a visual representation of disempowerment and neglect which, according to de Perez (2008), is fundamental in explaining the problem at hand to government agencies as well as community leaders. de Perez (2008) continues to explain that these maps are a tool for planning agencies to identify critical areas of development lags so that these can be targeted for appropriate policies to help upgrade them.

Methodology

The peri-urban community of Inanda is located in eThekweni Municipality (24 km North of Durban) within the KwaZulu-Natal province in South Africa. KwaZulu-Natal is South Africa's most populous province. According to the 2001 census data (Statistics South Africa 2001), 21.03% of South African's reside in KwaZulu-Natal. Despite this, Bob (2000) stresses that the province only occupies some 8% of the country's land mass. The majority (85%) of the province's population is of African descent and 53% consist of females (Statistics South Africa, 2001). Additionally, 46% of households in the province are headed by females. According to Classens (2007), many areas in the region are communal and affected by the chieftaincy. Inanda also has wards that are under traditional leaders.

Statistics South Africa (2001) also reveal that 77% of households have electricity supply, with the remaining households using paraffin, gas, candles and other resources for power. Furthermore, 131 527 males are employed compared to 91 215 females. Significantly more women (43 211) are housewives or homemakers compared to 645 males. Moreover, 44.6 % of households have an average annual income of R9 600 or less per annum indicating that just fewer than half the households in the community survive on minimal incomes. Large discrepancies are evident in Inanda, with the built up section experiencing higher incomes than the 'rural' region.

As indicated earlier, Inanda is used as a case study to illustrate that qualitative data using local and indigenous knowledge through the use of PRA techniques can be used to explore gender and land relations. Four focus group discussions (two with men only and two with women only) were held

in the community. Participants in the four focus groups were as follows: one group each with younger women and men only (between the ages of 18-20 years) and one group each with women and men only of mixed ages (over 20 years of age). Participants were chosen according to a cross-section of ages and were identified using purposive sampling.

During the focus group discussions resource mapping and ranking exercises were included as specific activities completed by the focus group participants. This was in addition to discussions pertaining to land rights in Inanda. In terms of the mapping exercise, a base sketch map of Inanda was provided depicting key features in the community. Topographic maps of the area as well as orthophotos were used to generate a sketch map of key physical (rivers, forests, dam, etc.) and infrastructural (roads, hospitals, schools, etc.) features. This formed the base map and the features depicted were used to orientate participants. Participants drew areas of significance, community buildings, activities and land uses onto the base map. They were also asked to define their perception of the boundary of Inanda. Furthermore, participants mapped out ownership of land in the region. The maps were sketched on different layers of tracing paper which were overlaid onto the base map.

The ranking exercise related to problems participants faced with regard to land. This was done in order to ascertain key barriers to land acquisition and use. The first step was to establish consensus regarding the major problems participants face with regard to accessing and using land. These problems were then entered into a matrix in which each problem was weighted against each other. This permitted the problems to be scored and ranked. P-GIS (a component of gendered resource mapping) and the thematic constant comparative approach were used to analyse the data.

Results

This section presents the findings from the primary research undertaken. It is important to note that because each exercise was undertaken four times in the different focus groups, illustrative Figures and a Table are used to inform the discussions and show the type of information the exercises provided. A critical analysis of the data is undertaken, highlighting key findings and observations.

Households in the community mainly use land for homes, renting, small subsistence garden plots, agricultural production for income such as

sugar cane and chicken production, running businesses and forestry. Land predominantly belongs to the municipality, the tribal chiefs (*amakhosi*), the Shembe Church and to individuals who have either bought or inherited land. At the household level, the individuals who own the land according to the participants are usually the father (male head). The women participants defined the owner of the land as those that hold the title deed, indicating that they are aware of legislation. Moreover, a few of the older women asserted that the law states that what belongs to their husband should be inherited by them - the wife - and the children when he dies. Thus, these women stated that they fight for the right to control their land and abandon old patriarchal notions which prohibit females from inheriting land. This is significant as it illustrates that some of the older women are less accepting of social norms and fight for their rights. The younger women argued that women still do not inherit land from their fathers due to the assumption that they will marry. This is in keeping with inheritance trends in Africa which tend to favour male to male patterns. This is also in accordance with Classens' (2007) arguments that single women are often forced to marry as they cannot acquire land without the support of a male figure.

A further finding is that the women argued that it is important for them to have the right to buy or inherit land (which is currently limited and restrictive) as they could use it to earn an income through renting the land, building a shop, farming, forming a crèche, having a bed and breakfast establishment, planting vegetables, family cemeteries as well as making community facilities such as sport fields, community halls, orphanages, parks, etc. They also noted that men use land for building car washes, spray painting facilities, furniture building, sports grounds and for cattle farming. This indicates that Small, Medium and Micro-Enterprises (SMMEs) are found in Inanda; however, it also suggests that there is a gendered component to the distribution of these SMMEs.

The adult women group further argued that it is good for women to own land as it reduces oppression and vulnerability. They asserted that owning land makes them (women) self-sufficient and independent. Furthermore, they argued that women have a sound understanding and knowledge of the land and hence they use the land in a more appropriate and sustainable manner. They also stressed that women only have one husband as opposed to many men who have multiple wives. Hence, they argued that land ownership for women ensures the land always resides with the same family.

However, they did accept that when women do own land, there continues to be a lack of respect for these women as land owners and that conflicts occur should these women make decisions on behalf of their families. This supports the literature which suggests that ownership of land does not necessarily mean control of the land.

The men participants also realised the importance of women owning land as they noted that most households are headed by females. However, they further argued that women are not accustomed to good land use practice and may destroy the land. The men further insisted that it is disadvantageous for women to own land as they will eventually marry and when they do, they will take the wealth acquired from the land with them. This finding reinforces the old patriarchal notions that unmarried women cannot own or inherit land as they are destined to be married as indicated earlier. The men further indicated that women often build small houses on the land and then sell these houses which results in conflict because often this is done without consulting the family. This statement by the men emphasises that even if women own the land, they are expected to consult men when making decisions and hence do not necessarily have full control of the land. The statement also indicates that men and women have different views regarding sustainable land use practices. Women and men require land for different purposes resulting in conflicts arising over land. The problems faced by the women and men participants with regard to land are scored in relation to the results from the pairwise ranking matrices in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Results from the Ranking Exercise Focusing on Problems Relating to Land in Inanda

	Women - >20 years	Women – 18 to 20 years	Men - >20 years	Men – 18 to 20 years
Conflict occurs over the land	6	8	10	-
Difficulty in making paying rates	8	-	7	-
People don't pay women rent	5	-	-	-
Difficult to maintain the land	8	-	-	9
The price of land is too high	1	1	-	7
Tools and equipment are not available	7	-	-	-

Difficult to access sufficient water	3	-	-	-
Poor quality of soil	10	5	6	5
Land is not available to buy	2	-	-	
Crime is a problem due to theft and robberies	3	2	-	1
Land is unsafe due to theft and conflicts	-	6	-	-
Women are weak and vulnerable	-	4	-	-
Insufficient land/ land is not available	-	1	3	-
Difficult for women to access land	-	3	-	-
Difficult to access land	-	-	4	3
Decreasing land size and availability	-	-	4	1
Land inheritance/ who should inherit land	-	-	9	-
Water table is too high	-	-	7	-
Most land is used for housing	-	-	2	-
Lack of facilities and infrastructure	-	-	1	-
Poor location of land	-	-	-	6
Poor access to goods and services	-	-	-	3
Briberies and corruption	-	-	-	7
Difficulty for foreigners to access land	-	-	-	9

The above Table indicates that adult women (over 20 years group) perceive the price of purchasing land to be a major obstacle to land acquisition for them in Inanda. Land is either unavailable or too expensive. Furthermore, if women do manage to acquire land, there is often insufficient access to water and necessary tools and equipment such as ploughs which makes agricultural production and other uses of the land difficult. Moreover, crops are often stolen and owners' equipment and other belongings are prone to theft. This suggests that the absence of adequate agricultural inputs such as water, equipment and financial resources could in fact result in land becoming an

increased responsibility to women. The women also emphasised that as female land owners, tenants do not respect them. This often results in tenants not paying them rent, resulting in them experiencing difficulty in maintaining the land and keeping up with their rate payments. They also suggested that the quality of the soil hindered them from adequately utilising the land. However, this did not emerge as a significant problem in the region. From the ranking of the problems, it is clear that land availability and price as well as water availability are severe problems. From the P-GIS mapping exercise, it was evident that most communal gardens occur away from Inanda dam or the river, resulting in reduced water supplies. Most of the land near the dam and river is owned by the local chief. This suggests that this land is predominantly available to men or already allocated. In order to eradicate some of these problems, more communal gardens should be located closer to a water supply. Communal gardens, as suggested by Walker (1997), are also a preferable option for these women as these gardens require less extensive equipment (a problem identified earlier) and hence could be a more viable option than large areas of arable land. The ranking further suggests that should women be empowered and respected as land owners, tenants will pay rent which may eliminate the problem of the cost of maintenance and rates as they may have a sufficient income to pay these.

The Table also indicates that younger women also felt that land is too expensive or too scarce. The younger women further noted that it is difficult for women in particular to access land. They also suggested that women are perceived to be vulnerable or weak and hence are taken advantage of – a problem emphasised by the adult women's group as well. These women do, however, perceive the quality of the soil to be a more pertinent problem and crime to be less important. It is crucial to note that the younger women stated that conflict amongst family members is a problem with regard to land. This reinforces the statements made earlier that when women own land they do not have the freedom to make the decisions regarding what should be done with the land – often resulting in conflicts.

The problems experienced by the male participants are similar in nature as is depicted in Table 1. Once again, the issue of the lack of available land is apparent as, according to the men, most of the available land is used for housing. The quality of the soil in the region is further noted as being an obstacle in Inanda. Further problems suggested by the male participants are the high water table, the burden of rate payments, the issue of maintaining the

land, crime, the issue of where the land is located, the issue of who inherits the land and conflicts between family members over the land – a key concern of the women participants as well. The younger men also suggested that foreigners have greater difficulty in accessing land than local people. This is a very interesting issue raised by the young men, particularly in light of recent xenophobic attacks which have occurred in South Africa. These men also indicated that bribery and corruption was a problem in the region – a point which Bob (2000) highlights as being detrimental to women.

It can be concluded from the ranking exercises that a recurrent problem stressed by both male and female participants was that of the lack of available land. Due to this, communal gardens seem to be the most viable option and are extremely important for women as they encourage resource pooling and sharing within the community which promotes efficiency and equity (Mashinini 2001). The P-GIS map also illustrates that women are in agreement with this suggestion, as they indicated that they would like more communal gardens to occur in the future. Furthermore, it can also be deduced from the Table that declining soil quality is also a significant problem which may be attributed and linked to declining land availability. More people are forced to use a smaller quantity of land resulting in exploitation of the land. This is in accordance with Woodhouse's (2003) findings that resources in rural and peri-urban areas are unable to keep up with growing pressures due to high population densities in these areas which result in large numbers of people sharing resources from a decreasing base.

The maps obtained from the P-GIS exercises depicting land ownership for the different groups are illustrated in Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Figures 1 and 2 indicate women's perceptions regarding the owners of the various facilities and land uses depicted. It is clear from the map that the women regard these community gardens to be owned by the municipality and women's non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and not tribal authorities. This suggests that women in the community do not have confidence in the chieftaincy providing land to them. From the map, it can be seen that women perceive the land owned by the chief to be quite extensive and situated in the 'rural' section of Inanda, close to the dam. It also interesting to see that the women perceive the owners of the facilities within the built-up section of Inanda to be the municipality, ward committees or private owners. This suggests that these women have preference for outside institutional control rather than traditional authorities.

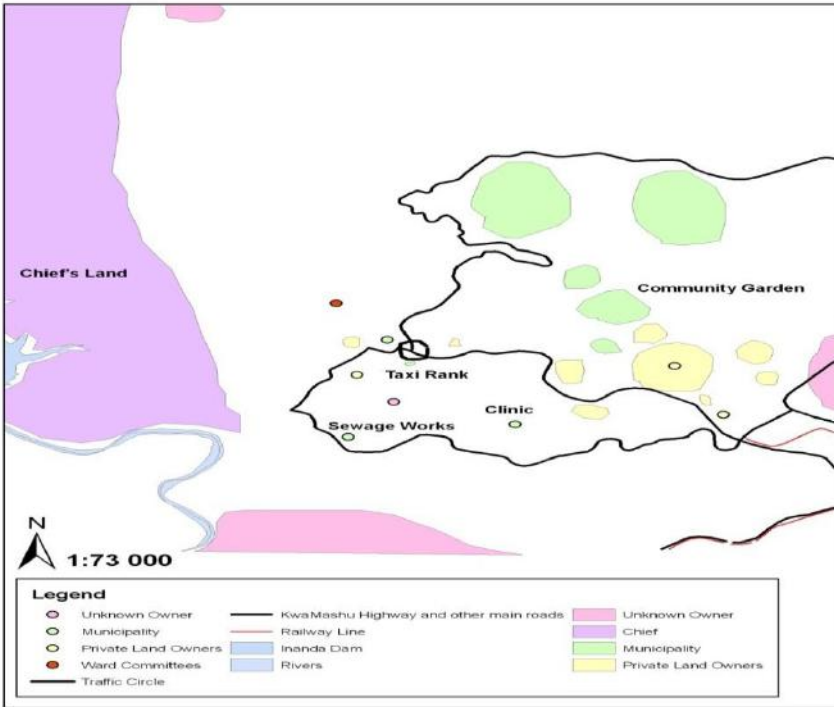


Figure 1: Perceptions of women > 20 years: ownership of land in Inanda (Only the base features are to scale)

Figure 2 also suggests that the younger women wish to change the traditional custom within the community that land owned by the chief is reserved for men only by indicating that they would like a share of the chief's land in the future through the construction of formal housing on a portion of this land. However, this may not be possible due to the dense land use already being experienced in Inanda. The discussion also revealed that younger women would like to have more facilities such as a hospital, library and sports ground in Inanda in the future. Furthermore, younger women do not perceive community gardens as being important as they failed to illustrate this on their map. This suggests that these women do not value land for its agricultural productive use value – indicating that the younger women possibly have different experiences, responsibilities and aspirations than the older women.

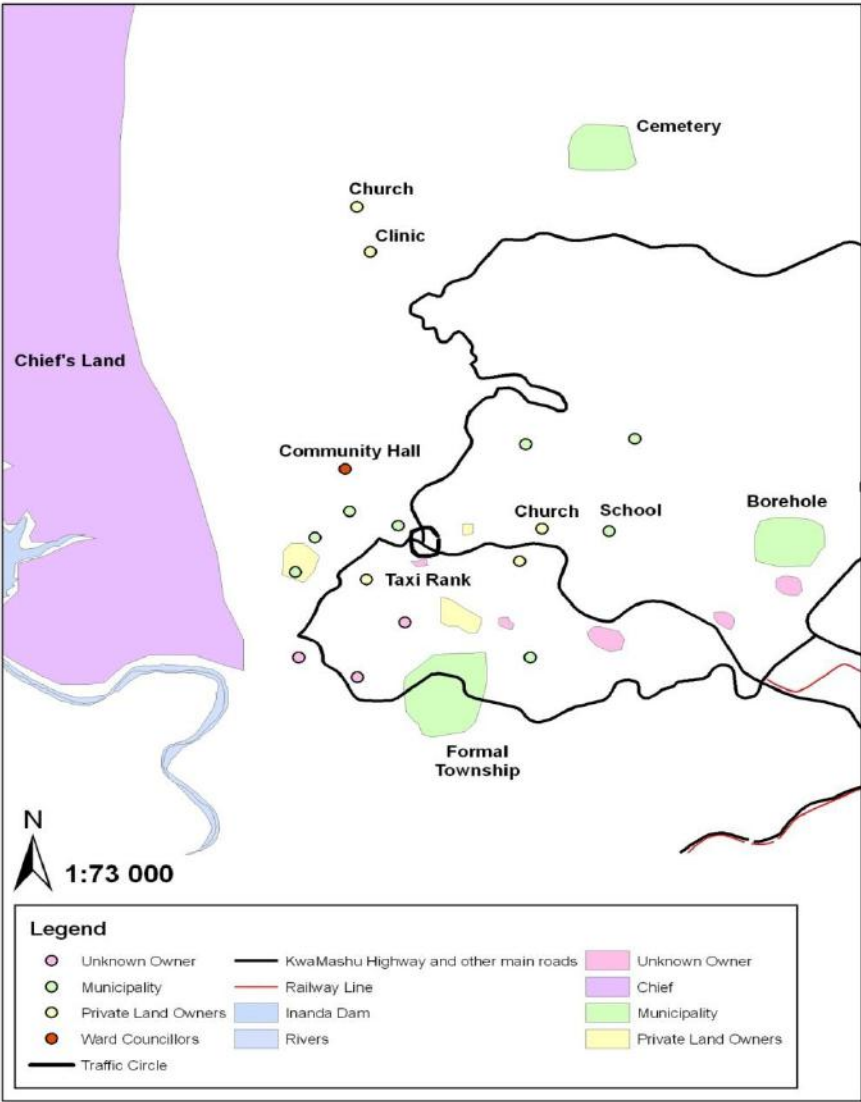


Figure 2: Perceptions of women participants of ages 18-20: ownership of land in Inanda (Only the base features are to scale)

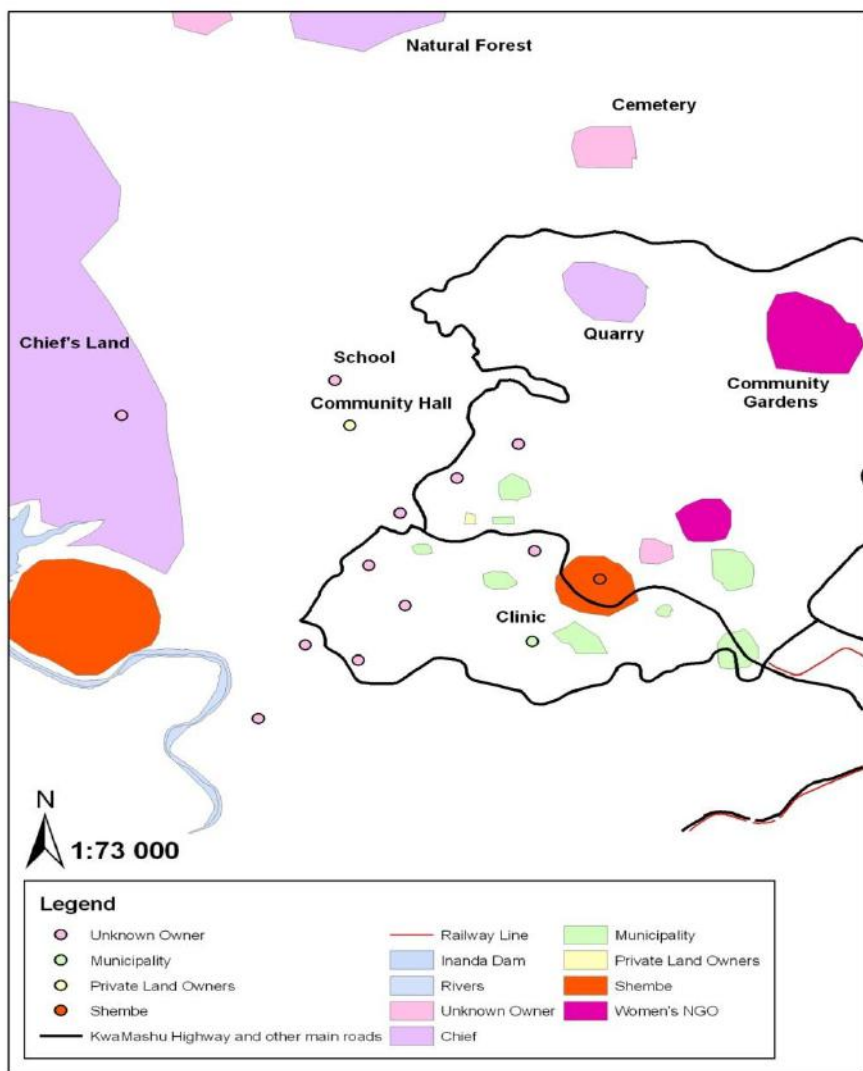
Adult women during the focus group discussions are aware of community gardens, shopping complexes, Bridge City, iDube Village, Shembe's religious site, the taxi rank, clinics, schools, the land owned by the chief as well as police stations in the region. They also classify housing settlements according to low cost housing, formal housing or informal settlements. Younger women are aware of iDube Village, Shopping Centres, the Shembe religious site, boreholes as well as churches, clinics and crèches in Inanda. Moreover, the younger women differentiate between formal townships and informal townships. However, it is critical to note that the younger women are less aware of different facilities and structures which exist in the region as compared to the adult women.

Figure 1 indicates that women view the rural or open portion of Inanda – that which is near the dam as being land which is under the chief's authority and hence, is not available for use by them. Both women's groups also perceive the owners of the facilities within the built-up section of Inanda to be the municipality, ward committees or private owners. The men's maps are illustrated next in Figures 3 and 4.

Figure 3 further indicates that the adult men are aware that community gardens are primarily for the use of women as they indicated that these gardens are run by women's groups. Furthermore, Figure 3 indicates that men perceive the land controlled by the chief as being far less than that depicted by the female participants. They indicate that much of the land which the women perceived to be owned by the chief to be owned by the Shembe Church instead. The map further indicates that municipality as well as private land owners control many of the facilities within Inanda.

Figure 4 indicates that the young men deem the extent of the land owned by the chief or other tribal authorities to be greater than the other participants. These participants indicated that the chief was not only in charge of land near the dam, but also forests and sugar cane plantations within Inanda. Their differences in perceptions could be due to their lack of knowledge of governmental institutions and structures. However, they do indicate that remaining facilities within Inanda, particularly those situated in the built-up section of the region are owned by the municipality and private owners.

Adult men in Inanda are aware of the presence of cemeteries, soccer fields, clinics, churches, schools, community gardens, forests, quarries, shopping centres as well as iDube Village and eBohleni Village in Inanda.



**Figure 3: Perceptions of men > 20 years: ownership of land in Inanda
(Only the base features are to scale)**

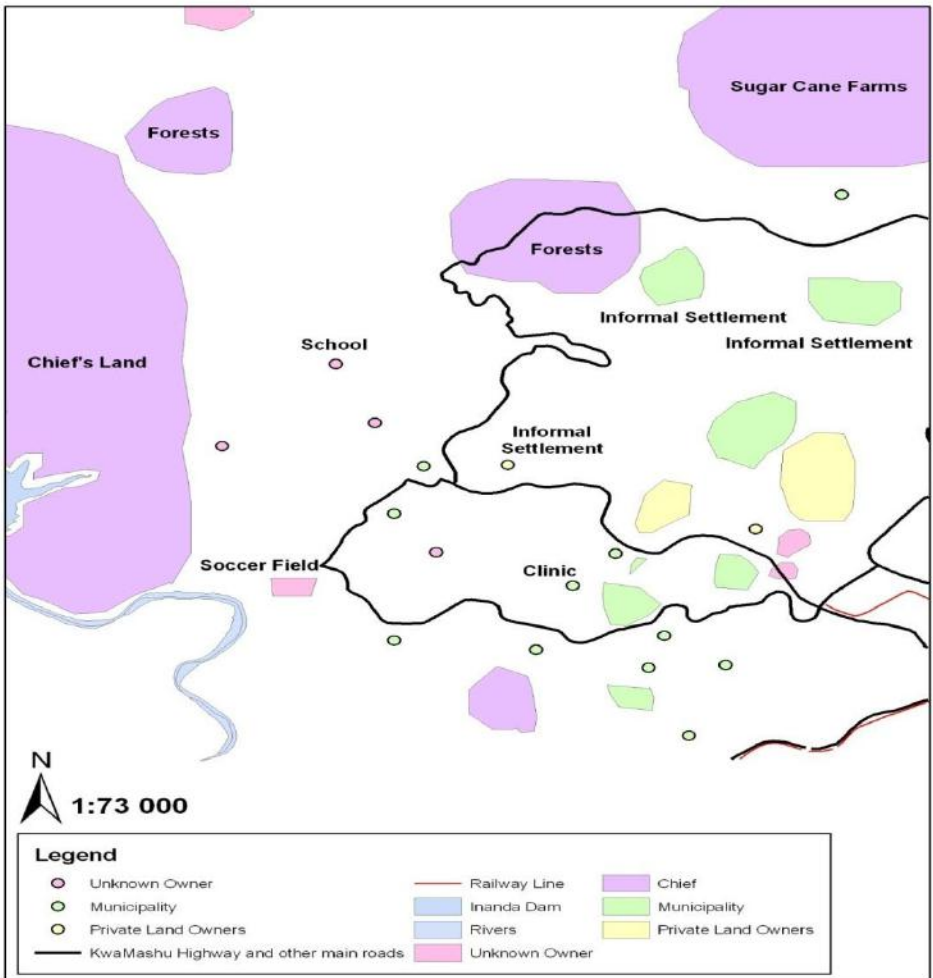


Figure 4: Perceptions of men participants of ages 18-20: ownership of land in Inanda (Only the base features are to scale)

Furthermore, the men are aware of townships, informal settlements and forests in Inanda. The adult male participants are also aware of the community gardens in Inanda and the significance of these. However, the

men's locations of these community gardens on the maps are different to the women's locations on their map. This is an interesting difference. The difference could be due to the men only being aware of these community gardens and not having actual knowledge of the gardens and their locations like the women do. The women's actual knowledge of the gardens and their location could be due to the women's groups having an active member of these community gardens in their group compared to the men's group. The adult men would like more sports fields, hospitals, libraries and municipal offices in the region in the future. These suggestions are in accordance with the suggestions made by the women participants. However, it is evident that the adult men would also like to have the development of key business nodes within Inanda, suggesting that they are more business inclined than the women.

Younger men are aware of the presence of cemeteries, churches, clinics, schools, community halls, libraries, forests, community gardens, heritage sites, shopping complexes, soccer fields, quarries as well as iDube Village and informal settlements within Inanda. It is interesting to note that the younger men are aware of the presence of community gardens within Inanda but the younger women are not. Furthermore, the younger men would like more facilities such as sports fields, schools, shopping complexes, hospitals as well as formal housing to occur in Inanda.

Conclusion

The results reveal that the nature of gendered relationships to land in Inanda is multi-dimensional with several influential factors discernible. Generally, however, it is clear that the extent of women's access to secure land tenure is minimal in Inanda. This is typical of peri-urban and rural communities generally in South Africa. Women continue to be denied access to, control over and inheritance of land which are linked to several factors including the role of the chieftaincy, social norms as well as lack of available technologies which hinder women's access to land and productive use thereof. These are linked to the persistence of patriarchy despite laudable policies in South Africa that promote women's rights, including those pertaining to land. The qualitative research, however, shows that while women in communities such as Inanda remain largely disempowered in terms of land rights, attitudes and

realities are changing. It is imperative that women need to be prioritised through the restructuring of social norms and traditions as well as through the provision of land. This implies that policies and programmes need to incorporate these aspects and simply changing laws to indicate that women are entitled to own land is inadequate. Of importance is developing appropriate mechanisms to challenge discrimination against women and translate policy into practice. Furthermore, there needs to be several support structures and programmes in place to ensure that sustainable livelihoods are generated. Land itself, while a key asset for productive activities, does not guarantee improved quality of life.

Of importance to note is that in the South African context polygamy can also impact on land rights and inheritance patterns which could be contributing to women's vulnerabilities. This was not explored in this study. However, it is recommended that this aspect be considered in future research endeavours.

The ranking and mapping exercises in particular illustrate that there are both differences and commonalities in the way in which women and men perceive and experience land within a community. The study indicates the importance of using qualitative approaches and underscores the significance of comparing findings between men and women as well as among the two groups to unpack key issues and concerns.

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