

Towards:

Urban Agriculture from a Social Perspective: A study of the Social Benefits of Urban Agriculture in Cape Town's Township Communities from 1987 to 2007.

Introduction:

In July 2008, I began to conduct my field research. During July and August, I interviewed 17 urban farmers living in the areas of Philippi, Guguletu, Nyanga and New Crossroads. When selecting my respondents, I tried to get as broad a section as possible in terms of gender, age, type of UA activity, group and individual farmers, and farmers who are and who are not supported by organisations. An overview of the farmers that I interviewed can be found in Appendix 1.

Of the farmers that I interviewed, 12 are growing vegetables, 3 are growing vegetables and herbs, one is growing flowers (mainly orchids) and herbs, and the other respondent is farming livestock, poultry and vegetables. The majority of people that I interviewed have a total monthly household income of between R600 and R2500 (with many being under R1500). While the number of people living in the respondents' households ranged quite considerably, the majority of respondents live in households of between 4 and 9 people. The largest household consists of 12 people.

The social benefits of the respondents' Urban Agriculture (UA) activities were expressed very strongly in all the interviews I conducted. All of the 17 people that I interviewed indicated that their UA activities are indeed benefiting them socially. In this paper, I will look at and discuss the various social benefits that were mentioned by the respondents in the interviews.

The main purpose of this paper is to start identifying and analysing social benefits or categories of social benefits that have been expressed in the 17 interviews that I have conducted so far. In order to do this, I will be looking at the responses to some of the open-ended questions in my survey that provide people with the chance to freely express how their UA activities benefit them. I will first look at two questions relating to the respondents' motivations for beginning and continuing their UA activities. I will then look at what the respondents do with the products of their UA activities and how they feel that this benefits them and their families. Next, I will look at the answers that were given to four open-ended questions, all relating to how the respondents feel about their farming activities and how they feel they benefit from them. The responses to these questions have enabled me to create categories of social benefits. These will be discussed under specific headings. At the end of this paper, I will mention a few other social benefits that did not come through very strongly in the questions studied in this paper, but which were mentioned in other responses in the survey. These responses will still require further analysis.

Motivations for Conducting UA Activities:

Relatively early in the survey (after asking respondents about their personal details and life histories), I ask the respondents why they began conducting their UA activities and why they continue to conduct their UA activities. Social benefits of the respondents'

UA activities can already be identified in the responses to these two early questions. The following table shows how the respondents answered these two questions:

Respondent	Why started UA?	Why continue to conduct UA?
Novatile Gova	The Councillor introduced the project to the community. He offered jobs and money.	It's better than doing nothing. I have food at the end of the day.
Angelina Skepe	The products from the garden help us at home.	For the same reason that I started.
Lizo Sibaca	Because I know how to plant, and I must make use of each and every plot I have.	For the food.
Mrs Mbovu	I joined my sister who was gardening. It was good exercise and better than staying home all day.	I can use the vegetables to add to what I have at home.
Mabel Bokolo	I noticed that I can grow my own plants and also eat them.	Because I have inherited it, so I can't stop. I enjoy it.
Nomeko Mqathazana	I was alone at home while the kids were at school. I came to the project so I could share my problems with others.	When I am here, I am glad and I always feel fresh at the garden. If I'm feeling sick, I feel better when I come to the garden.
Robina Rondo	I was encouraged by the ladies from QPC and became interested, knowing that you won't be lonely when in the garden.	I can always get vegetables, so there is nothing that I need.
Mrs Vava	I started because of poverty (when I lost my husband).	I get support from the garden that helps me in the house. I don't need to buy vegetables.
Mrs Madalana	This land was dirty and unhygienic, and I wanted to use it productively.	Food is expensive. At least I won't go to bed hungry.
Nora Sineli	I became interested when I saw the project.	Here I am exercising and moving around. My leg is damaged, but it feels better while I'm in the garden.
Mrs Puza	I like to plant. At home we were people who liked to plant.	Because I like to work. I don't want to stay still.
Mr Biko	I love animals and I was retrenched from my job.	I see it's growing. I can help my family and send my children to school.
Dumisa Dumisani Bleki	I wanted to increase the money that I earn as a gardener.	When I'm sleeping I have a feeling of fresh vegetables.
Sam Mgunuza	Because I like it – it's my hobby.	Because I like it.
Mthuthuzeli Sineli	I was unemployed and I was in favour of gardening, because of my father.	It's better than just sitting at home doing nothing. It keeps me busy.
Mrs Mvambi	Food is expensive. I wanted to use this ground and to help people to have good food.	Because of health. We all need to eat healthily.
Solomon Puza	I'm attached to gardening, from my own family. It's part of my family culture.	I'm interested in it. It's giving us fresh food.

It is interesting to note that only a few people began their UA activities, or continue to conduct their UA activities, in order to earn an income. In fact, only 5 people made any mention of earning money, or wanting to earn money, through their UA activities. While earning an income was a motivation for these 5 people to begin their UA activities, only 1 of these 5 people mentioned earning an income as a motivation for continuing to conduct their UA activity. The other 4 said that they continue to conduct their UA activities for other reasons, such as food security, occupation and love of gardening. The most common motivation for beginning and continuing to conduct UA activities seems to be food security, with 10 people mentioning food security in one or both of their answers. However, a number of other social factors are mentioned in the above answers, which demonstrates, even at this early stage of the survey, that the respondents have also experienced other social benefits through their UA activities.

The social factors (in addition to food security and nutrition) that were mentioned by the respondents in response to these questions include:

- Occupation – keeping busy during the day
- Love of farming and family culture of farming
- Exercise and health
- Interacting with others and sharing problems
- Improving the community

When reviewing the answers to the rest of the questions, we will see that these (and other) social benefits are mentioned on many occasions by the vast majority of the respondents.

How UA products are used, and how this benefits respondents and their families:

The next two questions that I ask my respondents relate to how they use the products of their UA activities and how this benefits them and their families. The table in Appendix 2 shows how the respondents answered these two questions.

With the exception of the man who is growing flowers, all of the respondents make use of some of the produce from their UA activities to provide food for their households. Of the 17 respondents, 15 are selling some of their produce, with 13 selling to people living in their area, and 10 selling to customers outside their area. These 10 are all selling their vegetables to Abalimi's Harvest for Hope project. It is also interesting to see that 5 of the respondents are growing herbs that they use for medicinal purposes, and 7 of the respondents make their products available for cultural events, such as funerals, weddings and circumcisions. All of the 17 respondents give some of their produce away to needy people in their communities. This amazing practice is discussed in more detail under the "community improvement" heading later on in this paper.

When responding to the question about how this benefits them and their families, all of the 16 respondents who are producing food (i.e. not the man who is growing flowers) say that producing food enables them to provide food for their households. In most cases, the respondents speak about "healthy food" or "fresh food". When asked directly whether their households have enough nutritious food to eat, all of the respondents answered "yes". In some cases, the respondents added, "because of my garden." When asked whether they prefer to eat their own produce, or to eat the same items from the shops, all of the respondents said that they would prefer to eat their own produce. While their answers to the question "why?" varied, they were all linked to the

quality of the food. Many said that they prefer their own produce, as it is fresh. A number of respondents also said that their products taste better than those in the shops. Some of the respondents also said that they prefer their own products, because they are healthier. We therefore see that the respondents feel that they are benefiting from growing their own food not only because they have food security, but also because they and their families are able to eat good quality food that is fresh, nutritious and healthy. Therefore, while food security must indeed be seen as a benefit of the respondents' UA activities, the quality of nutrition must also be seen as a benefit.

Of the 16 respondents who are using some of their produce to feed their households, 14 said that this enables them to "save" money that they can then use for other household items, such as electricity, rice, bread and milk. While this is linked to food security, it can also be seen as an economic benefit that helps to augment the respondents' household income. However, none of the respondents were able to give me any idea of how much money they "save" in this way.

While a large number of the respondents are selling some of their produce, it is interesting to see that only a very few are generating a regular income from this. In fact the only respondent who is making a proper living from his UA activities is Mr Biko who is farming chickens, goats, sheep, pigs and cattle. He also has a small vegetable patch. While Mr Biko conducts some of his farming activities from his home in Nyanga, (where he keeps his chickens, some goats and grows vegetables) he also makes use of land in Mamre, where he keeps most of his sheep, pigs and cattle. While he is an informal farmer, Mr Biko is running a relatively large operation and is farming at a commercial level. He is a single parent with 3 children and he supports his whole family through his farming operation. While he was unable to tell me how much he earns, as his income varies from month to month, his income enables him to look after his family and send his children to school.¹

A respondent who grows herbs and vegetables at home claims that she earns a few hundred rands a month through selling her produce. This respondent also has a job at the Abalimi centre and works as a herbalist. The money she earns through selling her UA produce is therefore not her main income.² Another home gardener estimates that she makes approximately R150 per month from selling her vegetables.³ Three of the other respondents say that selling the produce from their own private gardens helps them to earn a little extra money that they use for small household expenses.

It is interesting to see that those who are gardening in groups do not receive any of the profits from their sales until the end of the year. None of these respondents were able to tell me how much they will receive at the end of the year, as most of these groups have only recently joined the Harvest for Hope project, and are therefore unsure of how much they are making through the project. Nevertheless, these groups keep the money in a bank account, and the money is shared out in December between the members of the group. Some of the money is also kept to purchase resources for the garden. When asked how this money helps them and their families, the respondents either said that it enables them to go to the Eastern Cape in December, or they gave vague answers about buying extra things for their households at the end of the year. One of the groups does not even share out the profits at the end of the year. Their system is different, in that they invest the money and then make loans available to members of the group. Members can borrow money from the group, which they pay back with interest. The money in the account is then used to purchase inputs for the

¹ Interview with Mr Biko, 7 August 2008

² Interview with Mabel Bokolo, 29 July 2008

³ Interview with Mrs Vava, 1 August 2008

garden, and refreshments for the members to have during the day. Some of the money is also used for a feast at the end of the year.⁴

It is therefore evident that income generation is not the main benefit that the majority of the respondents gain from their UA activities. With the exception of Mr Biko (and possibly Mrs Bokolo who also uses her herbs in her herbalist practice), none of the respondents are earning a living wage through their UA activities. Those who are gardening in groups have no idea how much money they will get at the end of the year, yet they continue to be highly motivated and dedicated to their gardening activities. Some of the other respondents are not earning any money at all. One of the respondents noted how he puts all the money earned from selling back into his garden, and therefore makes no profit.⁵ While food security is indeed an important motivating factor for many of the respondents, the responses to the questions in the first section indicate that there are other important social benefits that the respondents are gaining from their UA activities. These are explored in the next section

Identified Social Benefits of UA Activities:

During the course of the survey, I ask respondents four open-ended questions that provide them with the opportunity to say how they feel about their UA activities, and how they feel that they benefit from these activities. These questions are:

- How do you feel about the fact that you are able to produce your own food?
- How do you feel when you are doing your UA activities?
- What would you say are the most important benefits that you gain from your UA activities?
- How would you feel if, for some reason, you could not continue your farming activity?

A number of social benefits were expressed very strongly in the answers to these questions. This has enabled me to create categories of social benefits that my thesis will analyse. A discussion on the respondents' responses follows under the following headings:

- Health and exercise
- Occupation
- Nutrition and food security
- Psychological benefits
- Love of farming
- Social capital
- Community improvement
- Family strengthening
- Gender

Health and Exercise:

Health and exercise were mentioned as benefits of their UA activities by 16 of the 17 respondents in the open-ended questions mentioned above. When asked directly whether their UA activities provide them with regular exercise, all of the respondents answered "yes". However, many of the respondents expanded on this, and described, in the open-ended questions, how their UA activity has had a large impact on their health. Some of the respondents suffer from major ailments, and feel that their UA

⁴ Interview with Mthuthuzeli Sineli, 14 August 2008

⁵ Interview with Sam Mgunuza, 14 August 2008

activities help them to manage these ailments. Others believe that they are healthy because of their UA activities.

One of the respondents had severe back pain, as she had problems with her spine. She now feels well and can bend down easily.⁶ Another respondent suffers from hypertension and arthritis. However, she feels much better when she is working in the garden, and feels that her gardening helps her to manage these ailments. In fact, when asked how she would feel if she could not continue her UA activity, she said that she would die of hypertension!⁷ Another respondent suffered from a major leg injury and finds that her leg is not sore while she is working in the garden.⁸ Many of the respondents stated that if they were just feeling generally unwell, they would go to their garden and would then feel a lot better.

Examples of some of the responses that demonstrate the health benefits of the respondents' UA activities are as follows:

"It gives me good exercise. You know, when I finished up my work I used to have lumber spine spondolosis in my back. I never thought I would be able to bend down like I'm bending now. Now I can bend, I can do anything."⁹

"Sometimes when I'm not feeling well, I come to the garden and then I feel alright. It's as if it's part of my family."¹⁰

"If I'm at home and I'm not feeling well, I decide to come to the garden. That's where I get the exercise, then I can feel right. Ever since I started a garden, I don't have a problem with my life. I even encourage my community, saying that if they feel they are not well, they should come to the garden. That's where they will get well."¹¹

"I always look forward to going to the garden, as it makes me happy knowing that I'll do this and that. Even if I feel my arm is sore, as soon as I pick up a tool, I exercise and I feel better."¹²

"It's very rare for me to become sick. This is from both eating healthy food and doing exercise."¹³

Occupation:

In their responses to these four open-ended questions, some of the respondents noted how it is very important for them to keep busy during the day, and how their UA activities provide them with the activity or occupation that they need. Some of the responses that demonstrate this are as follows:

"I'm feeling alright now. I'm feeling strong now, because I've got work now. I don't feel lonely now. I feel happy."¹⁴

"If I'm not working and doing nothing, what else can I do? I feel happy when I'm in the garden and I look forward to it."¹⁵

⁶ Interview with Mrs Madalana, 5 August 2008

⁷ Interview with Angelina Skepe, 22 July 2008

⁸ Interview with Nora Sineli, 5 August 2008

⁹ Interview with Mrs Madalana, 5 August 2008

¹⁰ Interview with Novatile Gova, 21 July 2008

¹¹ Interview with Angelina Skepe, 22 July 2008

¹² Interview with Robina Rondo, 31 July 2008

¹³ Interview with Mrs Vava, 1 August 2008

¹⁴ Interview with Mr Biko, 7 August 2008

¹⁵ Interview with Mrs Vava, 1 August 2008

“I don’t feel like being at home. When it’s time to come to the garden, I just want to come.”¹⁶

The need for occupation was expressed strongly by some of the respondents when they were asked how they would feel if they could not continue their UA activities. Some of the answers to this question are as follows:

“I don’t think I would be right. I think I would be an old woman that is sitting here in the chair. I like to be busy. I don’t sit down, not even in my own place. I’m very active in my life.”¹⁷

“I can die. It would kill me. I can’t just sit the whole day.”¹⁸

“No, I cannot manage if you take me away from the garden. The mere fact that I must stay home doing nothing would be terrible.”¹⁹

Nutrition / Food security:

As has been mentioned earlier, food security was mentioned very strongly in the answers to the questions about the respondents’ motivations for conducting their UA activities. Food security and nutrition were also mentioned to a very large degree in the answers to the questions about how the respondents used the produce from their UA activities. It is therefore interesting to see that while nutrition and food security were mentioned by some in the answers to these four open-ended questions, these issues were not mentioned as strongly as some of the others, such as psychological benefits and health and exercise. Nonetheless, nine of the 17 respondents mentioned food security and / or nutrition in their answers to these four questions.

In many of these answers, the respondents referred to the fact that the food that they get from the garden is healthy and fresh. This demonstrates that the quality of the food that they produce is important to the respondents. It is therefore not only about food security, but also having access to good quality food that is healthy and fresh. Some of the responses that demonstrate this are as follows:

“It helps me to get some fresh vegetables and vitamins.”²⁰

“The vegetables I get from the garden make my children very active.”²¹

“I get health. I eat healthy food. By working in the garden, I’m exercising.”²²

The need for food security was expressed quite strongly by the one respondent when he was asked how he would feel if he could not continue his UA activities. His answer to this question is as follows:

“I would have a heart attack. I would be thinking of the vegetables all the time. I would wonder how I would feed my family. I would need to generate money to get vegetables. It would be painful.”²³

Psychological Benefits:

¹⁶ Interview with Mthuthuzeli Sineli, 14 August 2008

¹⁷ Interview with Mrs Madalana, 5 August 2008

¹⁸ Interview with Mr Biko, 7 August 2008

¹⁹ Interview with Lizo Sibaca, 22 July 2008

²⁰ Interview with Dumisa Dumisani Bleki, 12 August 2008

²¹ Interview with Solomon Puza, 19 August 2008

²² Interview with Mrs Mbovu, 23 July 2008

²³ Interview with Mthuthuzeli Sineli, 14 August 2008

Two main psychological benefits were mentioned in the answers to these four open-ended questions. These benefits are self-esteem and therapeutic benefits. Both of these were mentioned quite strongly in the answers to these questions.

In response to the question about how the respondents feel about the fact that they can produce their own food, a number of respondents noted that this makes them feel proud. In fact, 8 of the respondents said that they feel very proud, with two others saying that they feel very happy. Being able to do something that is productive and worthwhile will indeed help to boost one's self-esteem and thus contribute towards one's psychological well-being. Examples of some of the responses that demonstrate how good the respondents feel about the fact that they can grow their own food are as follows:

"I'm very proud of myself. If I could, I would just show my pride to everyone who sees me."²⁴

"It makes me happy. It makes me happy, because I am doing something good. I feel motivated."²⁵

"I feel proud of myself. At least I can do something with my knowledge."²⁶

In addition to boosting the respondents' self-esteem, conducting their UA activities has produced therapeutic benefits for the respondents. This was expressed very strongly in the answers to these four questions, with 13 of the 17 respondents mentioning therapeutic benefits in their responses.

Most of these respondents said that when they have problems, they go to their garden or farm. Once they are at their garden or farm, they either forget their worries, or just feel better about their problems. Others note that they feel happy and relaxed when they are doing their UA activities. Another respondent said that she goes to her garden when she feels lonely, and then the loneliness goes away. This gardener is a home gardener, so she is not speaking about interacting with others, but rather about the therapeutic effect of gardening itself.²⁷

Examples of responses that demonstrate the therapeutic benefits that the respondents gain through their UA activities are as follows:

"I'm a person who's very stressed, but the minute I come to the garden, I take my stress off by coming to the garden."²⁸

"Sometimes when I'm not feeling well or when I've got nerves, then I come to the garden and I become alright, and then the garden heals me."²⁹

"Sometimes when I've got something very bad, I run to my farm. When I go there, I get happy. I can forget everything. Sometimes when something's terrible, I go to my cattle, I look at my sheep and goats. I feel very well there. I forget everything."³⁰

²⁴ Interview with Mabel Bokolo, 29 July 2008

²⁵ Interview with Mrs Mvambi, 19 August 2008

²⁶ Interview with Mthuthuzeli Sineli, 14 August 2008

²⁷ Interview with Mabel Bokolo, 29 July 2008

²⁸ Interview with Nora Sineli, 14 August 2008

²⁹ Interview with Novatile Gova, 21 July 2008

³⁰ Interview with Mr Biko, 7 August 2008

“I get life. All my problems and worries go when I’m in the garden. The flowers give me life.”³¹

Love of Gardening / Farming:

It is fascinating to see how many of the respondents truly love gardening or farming, and how happy it makes them to be able to garden or farm. In fact, 13 of the respondents noted how much they love to garden or farm in their responses to these four questions. Some of these respondents noted how gardening or farming is their hobby. Others said that they dream about their garden when they are at home. Mr Biko, who farms livestock and poultry, mentioned, on a few occasions, how much he loves animals and how happy he is when he is around his animals.

Some of the responses that demonstrate this are as follows:

“Even when I’m sleeping, I only think about and dream about my garden.”³²

“When I’m working in the garden, I feel I have a lot of energy. And when I look at the plants, I see something different, instead of looking to the sand or something very dry. It gives me life. It makes me happy.”³³

“Sometimes I sing (in the garden), as I am happy. It’s nice to see the vegetables growing nicely. I can see the product of my hands.”³⁴

The respondents’ love of gardening and farming is expressed very strongly in their answers to the question about how they would feel if they could not continue their UA activities. Some of these answers are as follows:

“I can die. It would kill me. I can’t just sit the whole day. I also want to see my animals.”³⁵

“I will go to the graveyard. I like this garden, it’s like my family. This garden is everything to me.”³⁶

“I would feel very bad. They did say before that the garden would have to stop and I was very sad. I love it. I spend my blood and money on it and it would kill my heart to stop. I don’t want to be away from the garden.”³⁷

“I will be sick. The garden is in me.”³⁸

Social Capital:

Social capital is a broad topic, and would include various social benefits, including trust, social interaction and networks. These benefits in turn produce other benefits, such as being able to share one’s problems and having access to physical assistance when necessary. Although social capital is a major topic that I want to explore in my thesis, issues relating to social capital did not feature very strongly in the respondents’ answers to these four questions. In fact, only two of the responses related to social capital. These are as follows:

³¹ Interview with Sam Mgunuza, 14 August 2008

³² Interview with Angelina Skepe, 22 July 2008

³³ Interview with Mrs Mvambi, 19 August 2008

³⁴ Interview with Mthuthuzeli Sineli, 14 August 2008

³⁵ Interview with Mr Biko, 7 August 2008

³⁶ Interview with Nora Sineli, 5 August 2008

³⁷ Interview with Dumisa Dumisani Bleki, 12 August 2008

³⁸ Interview with Sam Mgunuza, 14 August 2008

“If I’m at home sleeping, I dream about being in the garden and sharing my problems.”³⁹

“I also get knowledge from the older members with regards to life issues. We talk and we all give advice. I pick up and keep the advice, and I discuss it later with my wife.”⁴⁰

However, in another part of the survey, I ask a set of questions relating specifically to social capital. These questions are put mainly to the respondents who are farming in groups, in order to ascertain whether their belonging to a group has helped to develop various forms of social capital that can benefit them and help to improve their lives. Of the 17 people I interviewed, 10 belong to gardening groups, with all of these groups conducting vegetable gardening. These 10 people belong to a total of 5 groups. Another 2 respondents are responsible for institutional community gardens, which operate slightly differently to the groups, but would still have some social benefits for the respondents.

While I still need to analyse the responses to these questions in more detail, the interviews indeed revealed that social capital has been developed through these gardening groups. All of the 10 respondents have become friends with the other members of their group, and they interact with them outside of the garden. The respondents all noted that they help each other out in times of need and visit each other when they are sick. They all said that they enjoy working with the other members of their group, and 9 out of 10 said that they trust the other members of their group. All 10 respondents said that they share their problems with other members of their group, and give each other advice when necessary.

As mentioned earlier, I still need to analyse these responses more thoroughly in order to ascertain how the development of social capital has benefited the respondents, their families and their communities.

Community Development / Improvement:

While community development and improvement were not mentioned in the answers to the four open-ended questions mentioned earlier, it is fascinating to note that all of the 17 farmers interviewed give away some of their produce to needy people in their communities, such as the elderly, needy children, those suffering from TB and Aids, neighbours and relatives. These respondents’ UA activities therefore have a positive impact on their broader community, as the lives of others in the community are improved, as they are provided with nutritious food that they otherwise would not be able to afford. Helping others in need also relates to the issue of social capital and contributes towards the creation of caring communities.

By selling the produce of their UA activities to residents of their communities, the respondents are also benefiting their broader communities. In this way, the farmers are enabling residents of their communities to have access to fresh, tasty and nutritious food that is often organic and therefore healthier than the food they would buy in the shops.

The gardening activities that are being conducted also benefit the broader communities by creating green spaces that are aesthetically pleasing for all who live in that area. When asked about whether they feel that the vegetable gardens in their area help to make their area look more attractive, all of the respondents answered “yes”. When

³⁹ Interview with Robina Rondo, 31 July 2008

⁴⁰ Interview with Mthuthuzeli Sineli, 14 August 2008

asked about what others living in their area think about their vegetable gardens, most of the respondents said that other people like their gardens, and that residents of the community will often come to look at the garden and watch the respondents garden. Others said that those living near to the gardens will make comments about how nice the gardens look. By improving the environment of their areas, these gardeners have helped to improve the quality of life for all who live in their areas.

One good example of how a vegetable garden has helped to improve the area where it is situated would be the Masithandana Gardening Group, situated on Council land in Guguletu. Before the group started their vegetable garden, this land was unused, and it was dirty and unhygienic, as people were using it for dumping. Some of the community members then got together to ask their councillor if they could use the land productively by starting a vegetable garden. After lengthy negotiations, the City Council agreed and the gardening group was started. This land is now a flourishing vegetable garden that has improved the environment of the area⁴¹. As the leader of this group said,

“The environment is much better than it was. I must say it’s better. (Other people) will always comment and they will always say ‘Oh, the garden is nice, oh it’s fresh.’ Like my neighbour one day said, ‘Every time when I get up in the morning it looks so green. Every time when I open my windows, it’s so bright.’ They like the view.”⁴²

Gender:

Social benefits relating to gender were not mentioned in any of the responses to these four open-ended questions. In fact, issues of gender equality and women empowerment were not expressed very strongly in the interviews in general. However, it is interesting to note that the majority of the women interviewed are either widows or single women. It is therefore possible that their UA activities enable these women to be independent. This issue therefore requires further analysis.

Family Strengthening:

While social benefits relating to the strengthening of families were not mentioned in any of the responses to the four open-ended questions, I also asked a few questions specifically relating to this issue. In many of the interviews, it became evident that the respondents’ UA activities do indeed help to strengthen their families. This is either through family members helping the respondent in the garden or farm, and thus assisting with family bonding, or through the respondent working in a garden near to the house, and therefore being able to be present at home when children, grandchildren or sick family members need that person to be available. I still need to analyse the answers to these questions more thoroughly.

⁴¹ Interview with Mrs Madalana, 5 August 2008

⁴² Interview with Mrs Madalana, 5 August 2008

Appendix 1: Overview of respondents interviewed in July and August 2008:

Name	Age	Gender	Community	Type/s of UA	Group / Individual	Organisation supported?
Novatile Gova	59	Female	Philippi	Vegetables	Group	Yes - Abalimi
Angelina Skepe	62	Female	Philippi	Vegetables	Group	Yes - Abalimi
Lizo Sibaca	65	Male	Philippi	Vegetables	Group and individual	Yes - Abalimi
Mrs Mbovu	69	Female	Guguletu (garden) & Philippi (lives)	Vegetables	Group	Yes - Abalimi
Mabel Bokolo	52	Female	New Crossroads	Vegetables and herbs	Individual	Yes - Abalimi
Robina Rondo	64	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables	Group and individual	Yes – was QPC, now Abalimi
Nomeko Mqathazana	64	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables	Group and individual	Yes – was QPC, now Abalimi
Mrs Vava	64	Female	Nyanga	Vegetables	Individual	Yes - Abalimi
Mrs Madalana	68	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables	Group	Yes - Abalimi
Nora Sineli	58	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables	Group	Yes - Abalimi
Mrs Puza	85	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables	Group	Yes - Abalimi
Mr Biko	53	Male	Nyanga	Livestock, poultry and vegetables	Individual	No
Dumisa Dumisani Bleki	44	Male	New Crossroads	Vegetables	Individual	Not really
Sam Mgunza	80	Male	Guguletu	Flowers (mostly orchids) + herbs	Individual	No
Mthuthuzeli Sineli	48	Male	Guguletu	Vegetables	Group	Yes – was QPC, now Abalimi
Solomon Puza	54	Male	Guguletu	Vegetables and herbs	Group (institut) and individual	Yes - CWD
Mrs Mvambi	69	Female	Guguletu (garden) & Mandalay (lives)	Vegetables and herbs	Group (institut) and individual	Yes – Social Services

Appendix 2:**What respondents do with their UA produce and how this helps them and their families:**

Respondent	What do with UA produce	How this helps you and your family
Novatile Gova	Eat at home, Sell in community, Sell to H for H, Give away to TB patients and needy children	Selling veg gives money at the end of year to go to Transkei for Christmas; Eating veg helps save money and have nutritious food in family; Prefers own veg as more tasty
Angelina Skepe	Sell to H for H; Sell in community; Eat at home; Give away to old age and TB patients	Eating veg gives us food at home and saves a lot of money – family and children have enough nutritious food; Selling veg gives us money at end of year to share; Prefers own veg as better taste and fresh (community also prefers their veg)
Lizo Sibaca	Sells to H for H; Eat at home (from own garden); Give away to brother	Selling veg gives money at end of year to go to Eastern Cape; Eating veg feeds household for a week each month and saves money and has enough nutritious food; Prefers own veg as grows himself (taste the same)
Mrs Mbovu	Eat at home; Sell to H for H; Give away to old age and HIV positive people; Sometimes give veg for cultural ceremonies	Eating veg makes big difference to household food as add to what have and family has enough nutritious food; Selling gives us money at end of year; Prefers own veg as better taste
Mabel Bokolo	Sell in community; Eat at home; Give away to HIV people; Donate veggies for funerals; Use herbs in house for medicinal reasons; Use herbs for herbalist work – earn money	Selling helps make some money (few hundred a month); Eating veg saves lots of money to use when tight, and gives family enough nutritious food; Herbs keep family healthy – kids never go to clinic; Prefers own veg as more tasty and less water
Nomeko Mqathazana	Sell in community; Eat at home; Sell to H for H (starting); Gives away to the poor	Selling own veg enables her to buy small things for house; (Not sure re: H for H selling – buy things for group at year end) Eating veg helps to make interesting meals and eat healthy food, and save money, and household has enough nutritious food; Prefer own veg as fresh
Robina Rondo	Eat at home; Sell in community; Sell to H for H; Give away to TB patients and old age	Eating veg gives household good food and saves money for electricity etc, and household has enough nutritious food; Selling veg gives a little money for small things; H for H money helps group; Prefers own veg as make you full and have different aroma
Mrs Vava	Eat at home; Sell in community; Give away to elderly, Aids patients and home-based care place;	Selling veg helps to have money for small household items, help and seedlings (makes approx R150 per month); Eating veg helps a lot to give

	Sometimes sell veg for cultural events	healthy food to family, as children stay healthy, and family has enough nutritious food, and saves money; Prefers own veg as no chemicals and taste better
Mrs Madalana	Eat at home (veg and herbs); Sell some in community; Sell some to H for H; Give away to elderly, needy and crèche; Give some for funerals and cultural events	Eating veg helps with health – has high blood pressure and would be unhealthy if not eating own veg, eating also helps save money and family has enough nutritious food; Selling veg gives money at end of year to buy extra things for Christmas; Prefers own veg as organic
Nora Sineli	Sell to H for H; Sell in community; Eat at home; Give away to old age and crèche; People buy veg for cultural events	Eating veg helps a lot as don't have money to buy veg, can save money to buy rice etc, and household has enough nutritious food and children in house are healthy; Selling gives me money at end of year to buy things for the house; Prefer own veg, as more healthy and tasty
Mrs Puza	Sell to H for H; Sell in community; Eat at home; Use herbs at home for medicinal; Give away to other family members and sick people; Give veggies to others for cultural events	Eating veg gives us food at home and helps save money for other things, also helps me to be healthy; Herbs at home keeps her healthy; Selling gives a little money at end of year to help with end of year things; Prefers own veg as fresh
Mr Biko	Selling live and slaughtered to individuals; Eat at home; Gives to crèches and schools at discount; Trains others in farming; Animals used for weddings, funerals etc (tradit chickens)	Eating produce gives family healthy food – all family is healthy and strong; Selling produce supports family – regular income; Prefers own food as pure and healthy – eggs darker, better protein and milk not pasteurised
Dumisa Dumisani Bleki	Eat at home (not selling yet); Give away to teachers, staff and community	Eating veg helps bring interesting and fresh food to house, and helps save money that can use for himself or wife, and household has enough nutritious food; Prefers own veg, as fresh
Sam Mgunuza	Sell flowers and herbs in community; Give flowers away to the church; Use herbs at home for cooking and medicinal	Selling provides money for gardening activities; Herbs help in house – help to keep healthy
Mthuthuzeli Sineli	Sell to H for H; Eat at home; Sell in community; Give away to elderly, sick, Aids patients; Sell to people for cultural events, like circumcisions	Eating veg gives household healthy food, family is healthy and children are intelligent, and helps to save money; Selling veg gives money for group for garden, loans and end of year function (no money for self); Prefer own veg, as fresh
Mrs Mvambi	Eat at home; Give away to neighbours, sick and elderly;	Hungry and sick people have food – esp for medication – can see their

	Church garden - Cook food for sick and give away veg; (Don't sell); Own herbs – use in home for medicinal and give to neighbours	health improve; Eating veg saves money, which can use for bread and milk, and gives family good health, as family has enough nutritious food; Prefer veg from garden as fresh
Solomon Puza	CWD – sell in community; Workers take veg home; Give away to poor at soup kitchen; Eat at home; Home- Eat at home; Use herbs for medicinal; Sells some herbs	CWD – Selling generates money for garden project; Workers get healthy food for families, as very poor, can see their health improve; Home – Nutritious food for family, as family has enough nutritious food, and saves money to buy bread etc; Herbs help family's health; Selling herbs helps get money for small household expenses; Prefer own veg, as fresh and healthier