



**Gender and the precariousness of producing and selling  
indigenous vegetables: A case study of farmers in  
Northern KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.**

By

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## DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment / partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Development Studies, in the Graduate Programme in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was/was not used and that my Supervisor was informed of the identity and details of my editor. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters in Development Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.



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## ABSTRACT

The cultivation and consumption of indigenous vegetables in rural communities, over successive generations, has been an integral livelihood strategy of both households and communities to ensure food security and concomitantly to enable them to wield greater control over their food systems. In a concerted endeavor to ascertain and understand the intersecting dimensions of gender and precarity, on a rural community in South Africa, the production and sale of traditional leafy vegetables (*imifino/morogo/miroho*) were examined through the livelihood strategies of rural farmers. The combination of a questionnaire based survey with a qualitative research methodology was used to collect data on the dynamics and processes which animate the production and sale of these traditional leafy vegetables.

The majority of farmers, who were interviewed for this study, in rural Northern KwaZulu-Natal, were predominantly women due to the condition that the production of indigenous vegetables was predominantly a female-centered form of agricultural endeavor. Many households in the area were headed by women and they used the production of indigenous vegetables such as; *amadumbe* (taro), sweet potato and *imbuya* (amaranth), mainly for domestic consumption. However, the sale of these traditional vegetables was sparse and the income generated was used to augment family income. The significance of the different indigenous vegetables, for production and sale, differed due to the particular socio-economic circumstances of a household and was also affected by the temporal and ecological features of agricultural production.

Despite the well-known medicinal and nutritional values of indigenous vegetables, the study discovered that they were not thoroughly embraced by the youth and other vulnerable groups within the community. Thus, discernable economies of perception were at play in the valorization of western varieties of leafy vegetables to the relegation of local/indigenous vegetables and varieties, as they were perceived as 'backwards' and connoted with 'poverty'. In addition, the decline of indigenous knowledge (IK) on an about indigenous vegetables was discerned to be directly linked to the decreasing production and consumption of indigenous vegetables, and the leafy varieties, as a result of the break-down in production systems, the nascent drought, degradation of soil quality, and the shortage of seed. The seed systems and 'seed banks' for indigenous vegetables were found to be unstructured despite the sophisticated and advanced knowledge, on seed quality, possessed by a myriad of older women in the region.

Further, the structural and normative challenges faced by the farmers, notwithstanding the social-cultural milieu in a region where food sovereignty was discovered to be at best nascent, it was also discerned that through sheer determination, and a methodological selection of plants, supportive social networks, and limited state support, these farmers were able to develop some autonomy, albeit precarious.

Key words: Food Sovereignty, Gender, Precarity, Indigenous Vegetables.

**PREFACE**

The work described in this dissertation was carried out in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban, from January 2014 to August 2016, under the supervision of Mvuselelo Ngcoya.

These studies represent original work by the author and have not otherwise been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any tertiary institution. Where use has been made of the work of others it is duly acknowledged in the text.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'M. Ngcoya', written in a cursive style.

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Signature

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- ❖ My Grandmother, Ruth Sibiya, whose life has been a living testament to dedication and unyielding persistence.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

ANC	African National Congress
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSO	Community Service Organization
FS	Food Sovereignty
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SA	South Africa
DAFF	Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### INTRODUCTION

The disruptive and corrosive consequences of neoliberalism and its attendant global agro-food complex on small-scale farmers, in the global South and North, has been critiqued extensively in food studies (McMichael 1994, Popke 2001, Patsnaik and Moyo 2001). Further, these critiques have been intersected and bisected by polemics thrust forth by an emergent countermovement hailed as 'food sovereignty'. Food sovereignty calls for a paradigm shift within the agro-industrial food complex, which is presently characterized by mergers and acquisitions, and economic and resource hegemony, which a number of corporations command through market shares (Patsnaik and Moyo 2001). Instead, food sovereignty calls for a shift in which people that produce, distribute and consume food are placed at the centre of decision making on food value chains, cultivation processes and resource control, as opposed to the asymmetrical power relations which persist in the present food 'regime', that impede any pretence of peoples' self-determination. As consequence, an examination and delineation of agricultural-food relations in the twenty-first century is essential to grasp the politics and polemics of empire, sovereignty, and development in this epoch. In addition, a large body of work on the systems and networks which animate the food industry has had a predominantly overstated macro-scale focus to the relegation of embedded agricultural food relations at the local (Richardson-Ngwenya 2013). Further, an examination of the diminuendos which give life to a local market, such as Mtubatuba, will enable me to delineate and propose the best ways to empower and liberate the research participants, whilst uncovering structures which encumber their attempts at self-determination and suppress their ability to incorporate indigenous vegetables into the markets and commercial networks. In addition, McMichael (2009) stresses that the various forms and expression that food sovereignty assumes, in different locales, is not an idiosyncratic outcome but rather as a consequence of the historicity of capitalist development.



The historicity of capitalist development in Africa has preordained that the region has not been immune to programmes and tenets of western origin, such as those contained within the aims of the erstwhile ‘Green Revolution’. The central role of indigenous vegetables in Africa is greatly emphasized by the shortcomings of the ‘Green Revolution’ and its selection of ‘high-yield’ genetically modified high-input crop varieties (Shackleton, et al. 2009). The resistance of indigenous/traditional vegetables from the concerted endeavours to evanesce them from sight has permitted them to be the objects of renewed focus and interest in academic circles, in sub-Saharan Africa (Shackleton et al. 2009). In the earth’s cornucopia there are thousands of edible plants with only a minority being cultivated or collected for the nutritional needs of humans (Natarajan 2002). Accordingly, in Africa, a myriad variety of indigenous plant species have continued to be central in the dietary regimens as well as traditional agricultural cultivation practices of indigenous communities. These indigenous varieties, more specifically vegetables, are lauded for their qualities including their suitability for low-input systems which has enabled communities to preserve some semblance of control over their food systems and an exhibition of food sovereignty, albeit precarious.

The initial reconnaissance for this research revealed that the majority of the farmers and vendors who participate in the cultivation and sale of indigenous vegetables tend to be overwhelmingly women. Yet, the gendered nature of small-scale farming is often elided by research in both the developed and developing worlds. Gender is mediated and intersected by factors such as; ethnicity, class, race, among others. However, in the case of the respondents in my study, the effect of gendered practice over time has resulted in the hindered mobility of women as well as impediments to their access to opportunities and livelihood enhancing resources. This gender specific challenge along with the burden of care that is placed on women intersects to expose them to varying degrees of structural violence and concomitant precarization. Using the concept of the precarization of work (Masseroni and Sauane 2002, Standing 2011), this project explores the gendered dimensions of the commercial networks of indigenous vegetables. In the growing body of work on precarity (Neilson & Rossiter 2008; Seymour 2012; Munck 2013) the prevailing sites and case studies have had urban spaces and the global North as their mise-en-scène. Whereas, this study will examine the intersecting forces of precarity within a rural settlement, in the global south, as opposed to the urban sprawl. The novel approach and vantage

point of this study will add to the theoretical body of knowledge in the field of development studies.

## **AIM & OBJECTIVES**

The aim of this study is to ascertain the intersecting dimensions of gender and precarity on the production and sale of traditional leafy vegetables (*imifino/ morogo/ miroho*) in the livelihood strategies of rural farmers, and the degree to which it allows them to wield greater influence on their food system.

The objectives of the study are:

- To understand and examine the lived experience of small-scale female farmers and vendors of indigenous vegetables in their fields and markets.
- To understand who are the principal players, who are the benefactors, what are the networks and transport mechanisms, associations, etc. that facilitate/hinder the production and sale of indigenous vegetables by these women.
- To understand how governance structures (chiefs and municipalities in the case of rural women) impede or promote the sustenance of their livelihoods and methods of agricultural production, in increasingly resource-poor areas.

The research is premised on the assumption that the relationship between the production and sale of indigenous vegetables to local markets is underdeveloped. This underdevelopment is informed by uncertainties around the indigenous knowledge systems underpinning the production of indigenous vegetables and the prevailing fragmented legislative frameworks. I furthermore hypothesized that governance, at its various levels; plays a significant role in shaping the dynamics that farmers of indigenous leafy vegetables are exposed to by informing how policy formulation occur, and how policy is implemented. Governance dynamics under which the

cultivation and sale of indigenous vegetables occurs is not well understood. Hence the relationship between the production and sale of indigenous vegetables to local markets is underdeveloped. I further claim that due to this underdeveloped relationship, opportunities for indigenous vegetables to be integrated into the dominant food system are constrained. Here I argued, using empirical evidence, that indigenous vegetables can provide forward linkages that support livelihood strategies in low-income settlements. This can only happen in the environment where a relationship between indigenous knowledge systems and indigenous vegetables is understood and supported. As well as the underlying governance factors that shape this relationship need to be adequately understood. In order to test this hypothesis, the objectives of the research will guide the empirical process and facilitate the answering of the research questions.

### ***RESEARCH QUESTIONS***

- How has the lived experience of women in Mtubatuba influenced them into producing and selling indigenous vegetables?
- Who are the role players who facilitate the movement of indigenous produce from the farm to the market, i.e. ‘farm-to-fork’?
- What networks do the women rely on to facilitate the production and sale of their indigenous vegetables?
- What forms of support do producers and sellers of indigenous vegetables receive?
- What is the role of the local government/traditional leadership institutions in creating opportunities for women, in agricultural production of indigenous vegetables?

## STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION

In Chapter two, the critical body of knowledge available on the subjects of ‘food sovereignty’, ‘indigenous vegetables’, ‘gender’, and ‘precarity’ are outlined and critically discussed. Further, I also discuss a number of concepts and ancillary terms that relate to the aforementioned pillars of the study. Firstly, I discuss the concept of food sovereignty in relation to its origin and its expanded use in discourse across the spectrum of analysis. I also locate the concept of food sovereignty within food regime analysis, as a large body of work on food sovereignty has a world historical view. In addition, the embeddedness of a tome of literature on food sovereignty is problematized to highlight the intricacies of local particularism versus global universalities. Secondly, I discuss the concept of precarity with regard to its origin and its emergence out of the rescinding of welfare protection in states across the global North. The validity and novelty of the concept of the ‘precariat’ is questioned, and also situated within the foreground of northern political economy. In addition, I situate the study within the context of institutional theory on capitalist accumulation which looks at how countries in their endeavor for development, adopt new institutions and policies that are perceived as stimulants of development and discard other institutions perceived as archaic and ineffective. Further, a conflation of theory including post-Fordist theory, of ‘Western’ origin, is discussed in relation to the gradual erosion of distinctions between production and reproduction, which has produced conceptions of precarity in existential terms, and the significance of these to South Africa’s ‘triple transition’. Thirdly, the role of indigenous crops, and more specifically indigenous vegetables in Africa and South Africa, are discussed to illuminate their role and relationship in livelihood creation and poverty alleviation. The potential of indigenous vegetables in helping to foster physical well-being, as well as enabling producers to wield control over their food system is discussed to reveal its necessity to assuring some semblance of food sovereignty. Lastly, I discuss the omnipresent and intersecting role of Gender and how it shapes livelihood strategies and the control of natural resources, such as land. Further, I interrogate gender and the ‘economy of care’ and its attendant socio-politization. In closing, I also elucidate upon how control of natural resources such as indigenous vegetables is invariably aligned with normative values and dictates regarding gender roles, in the cultivation and sale of vegetables and other produce.

In chapter three, I expatiate on the qualitative research methodology that has been adopted for the study. This study employs the case study method and as consequence Mtubatuba, and its populace, was identified as the research area. I have interviewed 30 participants, aged between 27 and 72, for this study and they constitute different demographics in the research area. In addition, I expound on the purposive sampling methods used in identifying participants for the study. Furthermore, I also discuss the data collection tools used for this study; that employ the use of the open-ended interview formats.

Chapter four presents the analysis and interpretation of data that was collected for this study. This chapter not only reiterates what I discovered, during the course of the study, but also discusses the meaning of my findings in relation to the theoretical corpus of knowledge on my topic and discipline. In addition, the coded and analyzed transcriptions of interviews, which were collated for this study, were simplified into numerous categories and three distinct themes, which speak to the research questions.

In the concluding chapter five, which is concerned with discussing the analysis in chapters four, I articulate the lessons and meaningful insights gleaned from the study. In addition, I endeavor to rejoinder the questions I highlighted as central to the study: How has the lived experience of women in Mtubatuba influenced them into producing and selling indigenous vegetables? Who are the role players who facilitate the movement of indigenous produce from the farm to the market, i.e. 'farm-to-fork'? What networks do the women rely on to facilitate the production and sale of their indigenous vegetables? What forms of support do producers and sellers of indigenous vegetables receive? By answering the questions I therefore discuss the objectives the study intended to achieve. This chapter also presents the conclusions drawn on the nature of precarity and gender on the ability of women to produce and sell indigenous vegetables and to effect some semblance of food sovereignty.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL RATIONALE

*“Umlibo wethanga awutsitywa ngumntwana ngakumbi ochamayo”*

*A child must not jump over the vine of a pumpkin, because the plant will wilt and the child will wet its bed: You must be careful when you walk in the garden – many valuable plants grow there. – Xhosa Adage*

#### INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the major theoretical frameworks which underpin this research are evaluated along with their methods, and conclusions against what has been established in the discourse. Further, the crucible in which each theoretical framework finds its shape is outlined to reveal the schisms inherent in each. The current state of the cultivation and sale of indigenous vegetables, in South Africa, is critically evaluated through lens of ‘food sovereignty’, ‘precarity’ and ‘gender’. Further, ‘critical’ in this literature review refers to ‘conscientious judgment and appraisal’ not a tendency to ‘highlight and elucidate upon flaws and errors’. Consequently, the different theoretical frameworks are elucidated upon to bring about a greater ‘embedded’ understanding of the intersections of gender for farmers that have chosen to cultivate indigenous vegetables, which concomitantly enable them, at varying degrees, to wield greater control over their food systems, whilst adhering to a livelihood strategy which may also led them to experience increasing degrees of precarity.

#### FOOD SOVEREIGNTY

In food studies, a common theme that has permeated the discourse is the incessant awareness of the corrosive effects of neoliberalism and the dominant global food system on small-scale farmers (McMichael 1994; Popke 2001; Patnaik and Moyo 2001; Patnaik et al. 2011). Consequently, it is not a surprise that as neoliberalism’s global agricultural framework has expanded throughout the globe, over successive ‘food regimes’,<sup>1</sup> it has been met with

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<sup>1</sup> The food regime concept was ushered in by Harriet Friedmann and Phillip McMichael in 1989 in the European journal, *Sociologia Ruralis* (Friedmann and McMichael 1989; McMichael 1992, 2003). A “food regime” according to

concomitant culminations of ‘resistance’ from various forms of ‘localism’.<sup>2</sup> In the current epoch, one such ‘galvanized resistance’ to the corrosion of neoliberalism has taken the form of a concept termed ‘Food sovereignty’, and it has expanded its groundswell of support on the premise of ‘democracy, ecology and quality’ (McMichael 2009b, 142). ‘Food Sovereignty’ is postulated as “the right of nations and peoples to control their own food systems, including their own markets, production modes, food cultures and environments,...as a critical alternative to the dominant neoliberal model for agriculture and trade” (Wittman et al. 2011, 2). Furthermore, the conceptual framework which underpins the ‘corpus’ of food sovereignty has continually undergone evolution, as it jostles and chivvies with new manifestations of neoliberalism and the dominant global food regime.<sup>3</sup> However, in spite of this, the conceptual framework of food sovereignty pivots around an unswerving set of outcomes which are characterized as, “protecting community, livelihoods and social and environmental sustainability in the production, consumption and distribution of nutritious and culturally appropriate food” (Desmarais & Wittman 2013, 3). In addition, the realization of these outcomes is supported by an ‘entente’ that upholds, “respect for place and diversity; acceptance of difference; understanding the role of nature in production; human agency; equitable distribution of resources; dismantling asymmetrical power relations; and building participatory democratic institutions” (Desmarais & Wittman 2013, 3). Further, this conception is imbued with the spirit of *La Vía Campesina*<sup>4</sup> and those who espouse its precepts.

### ***ORIGINS OF THE FOOD SOVEREIGNTY CONCEPT***

The origins of food sovereignty like any term which has recently gained traction or currency in social development discourse is a term with many derivations and proffered origins. Alas,

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these scholars referred to a, “historically specific geo-political-economic organization of international agricultural and food relations” (McMichael 1996b, 25).

<sup>2</sup> The localist project is a local/regional countermovement which aims to combat transnational agrofood supply chains which undermine and destroy local markets and agroecosystems. The movement is spearheaded by the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity, which qualifies products by certification for specific cultural/natural regions (Friedmann and McNair 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Friedmann and McMichael identified two past food regimes, namely; during the epoch of British imperialism and a post-World War II food regime, and suggested that we were in the process of transitioning into a third (McMichael 2009b).

<sup>4</sup> La Vía Campesina is an international movement which brings together peasant organizations from Africa, Europe, America, Asia, it is constituted of over 148 organizations. Further, it is also credited with coining the term ‘food sovereignty’ as well as postulating the basic principles contained within food sovereignty. For further interrogation of the genesis of food sovereignty inside of La Vía Campesina explore Desmarais (2007) and Wittman et al. (2010).

‘poverty is an orphan but success has many fathers’ is an adage that rings true in this instance as many proponents vie for the credit to the concepts newfound luster. In this spirit, scholars such as Edelman (2013, 4) have endeavored to trace the tap roots of food sovereignty and have discovered its paternity in peasant movements as far back as 1960 under banners such as ‘food autonomy’ (*‘autonomía alimentaria’*). Nevertheless, a pivotal event in the course of the emergence of the concept of food sovereignty occurred in 1996, in Latin America. In 1996, at Tlaxcala Mexico, a coalition movement of peasants, farmers, rural women, indigenous peoples, among others, converged to deliberate on their common plight, in regards to the impact of an increasingly globalized and corporate-friendly agricultural food system (Wittman 2011; Desmarais & Wittman 2013). This world-order was articulated as impinging on their livelihood strategies, community structures and endowments of ecological biodiversity. Earlier in 1993, this coalition was integrated into ‘La Via Campesina’, or ‘the peasant way’, and currently it is one of the largest and most dynamic social movements in the world, covering sixty-nine countries and consolidating 148 organizations (Desmarais & Wittman 2013). At the meeting in Tlaxcala, attendees from La Via Campesina proffered an alternative paradigm termed ‘food sovereignty’, as a notion and theoretical frame that stood in opposition to the tenets of the dominant agricultural food system and its attendant ‘globalisation project’.<sup>5</sup> The members of La Via Campesina advanced a corpus that was imbued with both theoretical and practical implications, for how the current global industrial food complex should be restructured (La Via Campesina 1996a). Subsequent to the Tlaxcala conference, the corpus of food sovereignty has attained increased currency in the discourses of grass-root social movements and also amongst non-governmental organizations, as well within multi-lateral fora, such as at the 1996, 2002 & 2008 World Food Summit (Wittman 2011; Hobbelink 2012; McMichael 2013). Notably, in an international forum on food sovereignty, in 2007, attended by 500 delegates from more than eighty countries, who represented organizations of; ‘peasants/family farmers, artisanal fisher folk, indigenous peoples, landless peoples, forest communities, women, environmental and urban movements’, among others, convened in Nyéléni, Mali and they defined food sovereignty as:

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<sup>5</sup> The ‘globalisation project’ refers to ‘an emerging vision of the world and its resources as a globally organized and managed free trade/free enterprise economy pursued by a largely unaccountable political and economic elite (McMichael 1996a, 300)



The right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations. It defends the interests and inclusion of the next generation. It offers a strategy to resist and dismantle the current corporate trade and food regime, and directions for food, farming, pastoral and fisheries systems determined by local producers and users. Food sovereignty prioritizes local and national economies and markets and empowers peasant and family farmer-driven agriculture, artisanal fishing, pastoralist-led grazing, and food production, distribution and consumption based on environmental, social and economic sustainability. Food sovereignty promotes transparent trade that guarantees just incomes to all peoples as well as the rights of consumers to control their food and nutrition. It ensures that the rights to use and manage lands, territories, waters, seeds, livestock and biodiversity are in the hands of those of us who produce food. Food sovereignty implies new social relations free of oppression and inequality between men and women, peoples, racial groups, social and economic classes and generations. (Nyéléni Forum for Food Sovereignty 2007).<sup>6</sup>

### ***LITERATURE ON FOOD SOVEREIGNTY***

Since the milestone of the Nyéléni declaration there has been an increasing generation of literature, which attempts to interrogate the myriad theoretical facets and practical consequences of the food sovereignty concept. Rosset (2003); McMichael (2008); Windfuhr & Jonsén (2005); Wittman (2011) all articulate a common sentiment, that upholds that food sovereignty is an essential precondition of food security,<sup>7</sup> and that it is strongly linked to participatory democracy. Further, Windfuhr & Jonsén (2005) who approach the concept as exponents of NGOs and CSOs,

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<sup>6</sup> There are a plethora of converging conceptualizations of food sovereignty. For further examination see, [www.foodsovereignty.org](http://www.foodsovereignty.org).

<sup>7</sup> According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). Food security is defined as; “ A situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. (FAO 2001 cited in FAO 2003)

highlight the crucial differences between food sovereignty, ‘right to food’<sup>8</sup> and food security, “While food security is more of a technical concept, and the right to food a legal one, Food Sovereignty is essentially a political concept” (Windfuhr & Jonsén 2005, 15). Others such as, Roberts (2003) emphasize the role of food sovereignty in opening a dialogue within civil society about the barriers set by conglomerates, in the food system, that impede the abilities of groups to make their own resolutions on how to produce food. Whilst, other authors provide analysis on how food sovereignty transcends the right to food and food security, through its inclusion of the dimensions on; ‘what food is produced, by whom, through what means, and to what ends’ (McMichael 2009a; Patel 2009; Wittman et al. 2010; Desmarais 2007). Whereas, Claeys (2012) provides an analysis on how *Vía Campesina* has created a dialogue for the establishment of a new conception of human rights, which is inspired by Benhabib’s Kantian-inspired, ‘cosmopolitan federalism’<sup>9</sup> – which involves ‘multiple democratic attachments’. In the same vein, Patel (2009) interrogates the practical implications of this ‘rights talk’,

“[T]he power of rights-talk is that rights imply a particular burden on a specified entity – the state. In blowing apart the notion that the state has a paramount authority, by pointing to the multivalent hierarchies of power and control that exist within the world food system, food sovereignty paradoxically displaces one sovereign, but remains silent about the others” (Patel 2009, 668).

Further, Patel (2009) also points out that the introduction of ‘rights-based language’,<sup>10</sup> within food sovereignty discourse, is an attempt to reconcile the disparity in power inherent within the food system. In addition, Patel (2009, 667) asserts that ‘the political situation has never been favorable to those who produce food – its new global context merely compounds a millennia-old disenfranchisement’. Empirically, McKay et al.’s (2014) study on how state-driven food sovereignty has manifested itself within supposed ‘pink-tide’ countries of Latin America – Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia – is illuminating as it analyses the complex state-society dynamics, which arise when there is a concerted effort at redistributing power, to enable society to wield a greater control over the food system.

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<sup>8</sup> The right to food concept was enacted as a constituent of the ‘Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) created by the United Nations in 1948.

<sup>9</sup> For a thorough analysis of, ‘cosmopolitan federalism’, see Sassen (2007) and Bhattacharya (2014).

<sup>10</sup> For more on the discourse of rights, see Balakrishnan, R. and D. Elson. 2008. Auditing economic policy in the light of obligations on economic and social rights. *Essex Human Rights Review*, 5(1), 1–19.

On the other hand, Bernstein (2013, 26) refers to the relationship between state and society as, ‘the elephant in the room’ of the programmatic aspirations of FS, and one little problematised or explored”. In addition, there is no concurrence within the literature that delineates an equitable role for the state, along with an effective policy framework, to buttress food sovereignty – nonetheless this conundrum has garnered debate (Rosset 2003; Rosset 2008; McMichael 2008b; Patel 2009). However, McKay et al.’s (2014) case study, reveals that the ‘frameworks’ provided by the legal and constitutional tiers of governance cannot, by themselves, provide satisfactory circumstances for food sovereignty. Further, it also highlights the assertion that laws and rights must be accompanied by normative change, as Patel (2009, 669) affirms, ‘it is insufficient to consider only the structures that might guarantee the rights that constitute food sovereignty – it is also vital to consider the substantive policies, process, and politics that go to make up food sovereignty’. It is in this spirit that Patel (2009) contends that, even though rights-based ‘incursions’ from food sovereignty may not result in progressive change, straight-away, they directly facilitate transformation of both social and political contexts. Consequently, they are a ‘vehicle’ rather than a destination for food sovereignty, and they signify a groundswell demand for a “right to a right.”

Justifiably, a large body of work on food sovereignty has concerned itself with social movements, regional and national coalitions, as well as peasant movements worldwide. However, it has not been espoused in all places. In Honduras, due to the ponderable sway of existing discourses on food security, as well as the politically charged sentiments of food sovereignty, on the role and position of the state, the movement has failed to take root (Boyer 2010). Correspondingly, in Indonesia, a study by Tania Li (2015) contends that the appearance of the ecologically conscientious indigenous farmer should not be taken for granted, as a natural happenstance, as survivalist imperatives spurred farmers in her study to turn to cultivating cacao using monoculture methods, as opposed to polyculture, because of the small marginal lands at their disposal. The relevance of the aforementioned studies to South Africa is pertinent as the food sovereignty movement is still nascent and has yet to take root (Ngcoya and Kumarakulasingam 2016).<sup>11</sup> Isakson’s (2009) study in Guatemala reveals profound insights on

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<sup>11</sup> In February 2015, over 50 organizations came together for the first Food Sovereignty Assembly in Johannesburg, South Africa, and subsequently tabled a declaration (see SAFSC 2015)

‘wildlife-friendly farming’,<sup>12</sup> which is depicted as being devoid of contaminants from ‘agrochemicals’, and extolled for its linkages to ‘agroecological’ practices, that improve soil-fertility, along with concomitant social benefits, that promote biodiversity conservation, and bolster the cause of food sovereignty. Whilst, Perfecto et al. (2009) gather that the aforementioned model of agriculture is contingent on the establishment and management of a ‘matrix’ which interconnects ‘agroecological’ production with salient policy and the normative practices of biodiversity protection. Further, a progressive perception of agroecology, notwithstanding the perpetuation of the inherent ‘logic’ of man-made agroecosystems, recognizes the integral role of preserving, promoting and realizing the utility value of local and indigenous seeds and plant varieties (Roht-Arriaza 1996; Martiniello 2015), organic agriculture (Badgley et al. 2006), and indigenous food systems (Kuhnlein & Receveur 1996; Johns & Bhuwon 2004). Furthermore, within this model, industrial agriculture is exposed as having no vested interest in maintaining and contributing to the matrix of indigenous food systems and practices, unless it is to secure the endowment of a patent. Thus, ‘plant life’ and the concomitant knowledge which abound about its cultivation remains the primary concern of indigenous food sovereignty. As a result, literature and programmes, within the umbrella of food sovereignty, have paid extensive attention to ‘seed sovereignty’,<sup>13</sup> control of indigenous knowledge on agriculture systems and its attendant technology and genetic resources (LaVia Campesina 2001; Alker & Heidhues 2002; Kloppenburg 2010; Peschard 2013). Whereas, there is also a concentration on other facets such as agrarian reform (La Via Campesina 1996b; Akram-Lodhi 2007; Wittman 2011) and labour migration (Rigg 2006; Isakson 2009; White 2011).

A great proportion of the recent literature on food sovereignty approaches the concept from a ‘world-historical’ and ‘food regime’ perspective (Desmarais 2007; Ploeg 2008; McMichael 2009b), in an attempt to historically understand its implications, for addressing the calamity inherent in the global food system, from the beginning. Further, the plethora of literature available on food sovereignty is difficult to coalesce as it is increasingly ‘embedded’ and, grounded in; “the experience and knowledge of community groups, small farmers’ organizations, and those working directly with them” (Ishii-Eiteman 2009: 691), as well being written and

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<sup>12</sup> For more on; ‘wildlife-friendly farming’, see (Mattison and Norris 2005; Zimmerer 2006).

<sup>13</sup> Seed sovereignty refers to the right of farmer’s to ‘save, breed and exchange seeds’ and also to have access to varied ‘non-transgenic seeds’ that can be kept - and which are not under a patent, nor genetically modified, and not controlled by seed conglomerates, such as Monsanto (See Shiva et al. 2000 titled "Seeds of suicide.")

published in local languages for a diverse audience . Furthermore, “the scientific and academic representation of food sovereignty and all this implies remains fragmented among numerous journals that are not widely read beyond the source discipline” (Ishii-Eiteman 2009: 691) and within Master’s and PhD theses, with tomes of their findings not reaching print. Consequently, it is congruent that many scholars do not regard food sovereignty as an established paradigm, but rather as an ‘emergent science’<sup>14</sup> originating from multivalent nodes of knowledge production, and encompassing diverse ontologies and epistemological approaches. However, in spite of this, all scholars recognize the potential of food sovereignty and its importance, “its proponents and practitioners—both in theory and practice—challenge conventional wisdom and policy...and emphasize the importance of acknowledging communities of practitioners and indigenous knowledge” (Wittman 2011, 88-89). Food Sovereignty is poised to be one of the most formidable opponents to the hegemony of the dominant food industrial complex, and its emergence is touted as the product of a cumulative discontent and resistance to the injustice and inadequacies of the present food ‘regime’.

### ***SITUATING FOOD SOVEREIGNTY WITHIN FOOD REGIME ANALYSIS***

To historicize food sovereignty is to situate it: first, as a strategic countermovement in/of ‘food regime’ analysis; and second, by historicizing the food regime itself is to identify the shifting terrain of food sovereignty politics. In an article which provides synthesis about agrarian studies at the end of the twentieth century, Frederick Buttel (2001) proposed that a convergence within the disciplines of Sociology, Agriculture and Food Studies, and Development Studies were occurring due to the emergence of globalization. Further, he bemoaned that a greater proportion of sociologists within the disciplines of Agriculture and Development Studies were predominately concerned with, and specialized in, developed ‘world’ or ‘Euro-centric’ and ‘U.S.A-centric’ global agricultural food systems: “Little groundwork has been laid for a sociology of agriculture that addresses simultaneously the agrarian change issues of both North and South” (Buttel 2001, 30). The intellectual ferment that occurred at the end of the 20th century, in the sociology of agriculture, gave rise to new conceptions of the politics within

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<sup>14</sup> Kassam, KA. 2009. “Viewing Change through the Prism of Indigenous Human Ecology: Findings from the Afghan and Tajik Pamirs.” *Human Ecology* 37 (6): 677–690

agricultural food systems. Further, the most enduring concepts within this nascent discourse were ushered in by Harriet Friedmann and Phillip McMichael (Friedmann and McMichael 1989; McMichael 1992, 2003). A ‘food regime’ according to these scholars referred to a, “historically specific geo-political-economic organization of international agricultural and food relations” (McMichael 1996b, 25). Further, it could be characterized by rules of consumption and production which are contingent on specific institutional structures, norms and mores that are geographically and historically determined. An integral facet of this geographical and historical specificity is the relatively durable rapport which develops, in trade relations, betwixt unequal nations. Consequently, these subtleties intertwine to bring about a ‘regime’ with stylized features in how it accumulates capital, within agricultural food systems. Further, Frederick Buttel attested that the regime-type conceptualization by Friedmann–McMichael has proven to be one of the most enduring theorizations in agrarian studies, since the close of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, ‘in large part because it is synthetic and nuanced’ (Buttel 2001, 24). The world-system logic which this synthetic conceptualization proffers is rooted in an assertion that the ‘globally-influential’ food regime is not simply a framework of economic exchange, but also one of political hegemony: “it reflects periodic shifts in hegemonic regimes which are anchored in the politics of how commodity chains and production systems come to be constructed and coordinated over borders and boundaries” (Buttel 2001, 24). Friedmann and McMichael identified two past food regimes, namely; during the epoch of British imperialism<sup>15</sup> and a post-World War II<sup>16</sup> food regime, and suggested that we were in the process of transitioning into a third. The characteristics of this third regime were still coming to fruition. However, it was most frequently articulated as; a corporate-friendly international regulatory regime accompanied by large transnational conglomerates, which are articulated as undermining any pretense of state autonomy. Further, there are postulations that the regulatory regime which would govern these conglomerates would be integrated into a global system, where corporate rights of transnational corporations would be administered by the state, have proven to be enduring. Consequently, in contrast with the

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<sup>15</sup> The first food regime, which occurred 1870 – 1930s, ‘combined colonial tropical imports to Europe with basic grains and livestock imports from settler colonies, provisioning emerging European industrial classes, and underwriting the British ‘workshop’ of the world (McMichael 2009b, 141).

<sup>16</sup> The second food regime, which occurred 1950- 1970s, ‘re-routed flows of (surplus) food from the United States to its informal empire of postcolonial states on strategic perimeters of the Cold War. Food aid subsidised wages, encouraging selective Third World industrialisation, and securing loyalty against communism and to imperial markets” (McMichael 2009b, 141).

brimming confidence of the proponents of the free-market, the neoliberal regime is poised to broaden and cement current disparities among nation–states. Food sovereignty arises as a counter-movement, in response to the aforesaid emergent ‘global food/fuel agricultural complex,’ and attempts to thrust renewed emphasis on ‘local particularism’, as opposed to ‘global universalities’.

### ***LOCAL PARTICULARISM VERSUS GLOBAL UNIVERSALITIES***

Social theory has vacillated incessantly, for a long time, betwixt two nodes, placing emphasis on either ‘local particularism’ or ‘global universalities’. The locution ‘social theory’ encompasses notions of ‘how societies change and develop, about methods of explaining social behaviour, about power and social structure, gender and ethnicity, modernity and ‘civilisation’, revolutions and utopias’ (Harrington 2005, 1). There have been protracted contestations in the discourse of social theory between endowing explanatory pre-eminence to either structure or agency. Consequently, this has been mirrored in thinking within the discourse of development. In the past, even in rural development studies, the pre-eminent source of explanations was the macro-economic structures of the ‘global economy’. Consequently, particularities within the ‘local’ were overlooked and relegated to insignificance. Poststructural/postmodern writings within the discourse of social theory have recently thrust renewed emphasis upon ‘agency, specificity, adaptation, transformation’, as opposed to the durability of the structure. At various tiers of academia, scholars and theorists of development – with social scientists at the forefront – have been avidly ‘rediscovering diversity’ (Booth 1993) at both global and local points. Booth (1993) contends that ‘development’ warrants a ‘new research agenda’ centered upon scholars and academics carrying out research which attempts to uncover and explain the different ‘embedded’ experiences at the local, and exploring “the embeddedness of agro-food relations in place” (Richardson-Ngwenya 2013:191). Consequently, an investigation of the structures, relationships, and commercial networks which farmers of indigenous vegetables, in Northern KwaZulu-Natal, are enmeshed in are indispensable in understanding the diverse forms of ‘localism’. Localism which facilitates the ability of farmers to exert control over their own ‘food systems, including their own markets, modes of production, food cultures and environments’ to create livelihoods, within an increasingly globally-integrated food system that fosters a condition of precarity.

## ***THE ROLE OF THE MARKET IN FOOD SOVEREIGNTY***

One of the corrosive effects of neoliberalism and its attendant value relations perspective is that it views food as an exchange-value, first, and only thereafter as anything else of use. Further, this pervasive corrosion has proven to be a consequence of the ubiquitous nature of markets. Markets are economic institutions that are ubiquitous in the lives of communities throughout the world, as concomitant commoditization has accompanied globalization in its expansion throughout the globe. In 1944, a Hungarian-American political economist named Karl Polanyi observed the social and political upheavals that took place in England, during the rise of the market economy, and suggested that this process amounted to a ‘great transformation’. Further, Polanyi (2001, 71) suggested that it was a result of this ‘great transformation’ that economic life became ‘disembedded’ from the social, “the change from regulated to self-regulating markets at the end of the eighteenth century represented a complete transformation in the structure of society” (Polanyi 2001, 71). However, such a ‘transformation’ or ‘divorce’ remains an unfinished process because economic institutions do not arise spontaneously in reaction to economic needs. Rather, they are formed by persons whose activity is both enabled and stifled by the structure, and the means which are accessible from within the social networks in which they are embedded (Granovetter 1991). In summary, all markets are ‘embedded’. This seemingly simple declaration unlocks a treasure trove of local diversity which entreats investigation, and which is also accompanied by concomitant practical implications. An investigation of markets, and in this instance an agrarian market in the global south, should be undertaken to enable an understanding of the politics and agrofood relations of that place. Indeed, an investigation of an embedded market in Northern KwaZulu-Natal will never be adequately told from a singular “Punctum Archimedis” or vantage point. However, the dearth of research and scholarly work on the people, structures, institutions and relations which animate commercial networks of indigenous vegetables in this area warrants investigation.

## ***FOOD SOVEREIGNTY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA***

The Farm Workers’ strike in South Africa, in 2012, was a pertinent demonstration of radical agrarian protest and organization on the continent, and in the region, and it exemplified itself by



being endogenous contrived, and lead by people who labour on the land. Further, this approach is echoed in the earlier ‘Right to Agrarian Reform for Food Sovereignty Campaign’, which was created in 2008, and was organized by a broad constituent of farm workers, both urban and rural (Food Sovereignty Campaign, 2011). This campaign called for the dissolving of misleading divisions between small-scale farmers and farm workers and also the divisions between urban and rural workers – citing that these divisions had stifled the progression of many movements in Africa (Food Sovereignty Campaign, 2011). Moreover, the 2012 Western Cape Farm Workers’ strike embodied the conception echoed by the Agrarian Reform Campaign because it was ‘organic’, and it exemplified horizontal organization through its structures, which were also constituted of urban-rural farm workers (Webb 2012). This single wave of strikes by farm workers’ revealed that food sovereignty is not merely a rural preoccupation and endeavor but it is similarly also an urban one. The Western Cape Farm Workers’ strike shares many parallels with the Zimbabwe peasant land occupation, 1998 – 2002, which embodies the only redistributive land reform movement, from below, since the conclusion of the 20th Century (Moyo 2011; Moyo and Chambati, 2012; Jacobs 2013).

## **PRECARITY**

The 20<sup>th</sup> Century has been a period characterized by the strengthening of the mechanism of ‘Globalization’<sup>17</sup> which has been accompanied by a continual drive by governments and state apparatuses, at the behest of corporations and capital, to make labour relations more flexible (Mitropoulos 2004; Precarias a la Deriva 2005; Seymour 2012; Casas-Cortés 2014). Consequently, the aggregate of people in precarious forms of labour has increased exponentially. The policy changes and structural adjustments<sup>18</sup> which bureaucrats espoused, in the name of the globalizing market economy, were accompanied by patterns of labour relations that both the neo-liberals and politicians had not anticipated (Standing 2011; Casas-Cortés 2014). As a result,

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<sup>17</sup> “Globalization can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens, 1990: 64).

<sup>18</sup> “The neoliberal structural changes entail drastically rolling back the state by radically reducing government expenditure (especially welfare expenditure), privatizing state enterprises, eliminating subsidies and protectionism, and liberalising markets, as well as switching from inward-oriented to outward-oriented development strategies (Cristobal 1993, 693)

multitudes of people, in developed and developing market economies, entered into the ‘precariat’, a nascent phenomenon of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The term ‘precariat’ is formed by the combination of ‘precarity’ and the ‘proletariat’, but the precariat belongs to neither the ‘working class’ nor the ‘proletariat’ (Standing 2011, 6). According to Shukaitis (2013) the precariat is essentially a class in its infancy, “In perhaps more familiar Marxist terms it is a class in-itself but not yet one for-itself” (Shukaitis 2013, 643). Further, a defining characteristic of the precariat is that it lacks any job-related security. Furthermore, Standing (2011, 645) articulates that precarity is not simply an issue of job conditions or structures, but it speaks to a wider question of, “the intensification of labour through technological means and communication changes the very nature of the social fabric such that it is increasingly difficult to feel secure in any position”. Consequently, precarity changes from an outlying concern sitting on the fringes of the economy to one of its defining features. A persistent criticism of the ‘politics of precarity’, as well as its ‘post-autonomist’ dialectic, is that they are excessively ‘Euro-centric’ and ‘U.S.A-centric’, taking these two sites as the ‘mise-en-scène’ and scaffold for their theorizations. Whereas, the global South, or ‘developing world,’ experiences conditions of far greater precarity, amongst its populace. Therefore, an investigation of the ways that the work of farmers of indigenous vegetables, in South Africa, turns them into the precariat is essential.

### ***ORIGINS OF PRECARITY***

The emergence of the term ‘precarity’ in the 1990s, in Europe and the USA, was as a result of the prevalence and generalization of contracts of employment, which were usually associated with lowly skilled, lowly remunerated forms of employment, that had fewer avenues of recourse if one was dismissed (Casas-Cortés 2014). Further, amongst social welfare states, precarity initially referred to the waning of labour rights, and then the diminishing of welfare and protection, which had been institutionalized into policy through the efforts of workers’ unions (Foti, 2004). Consequently, a foremost understanding of precarity in Europe related to social citizenship, and the transformations that were occurring to it, manifested through the erosion of welfare protections such as, “health insurance, the reforming of pensions, and the increasing privatization of the public sector” (Casas-Cortés 2014, 209). The Paris-established, ‘Assemblée de Jussieu’, (1998) and the French network ‘AC!’ were amongst the first and most ingenious of

the early precarity movements, and they were characterized as ‘assemblies of unemployed’ (Foti, 2004; Casas-Cortés 2014). These movements were at the forefront of an effort to shun the return of full employment, as it was known, and they advocated for a new ‘social imaginary’<sup>19</sup> in which other forms of economic exchange would augment wage labour, such as ‘gratuite’<sup>20</sup> and ‘reappropriation’<sup>21</sup> (Casas-Cortés 2014). Successively, various movements across Europe, such as the ‘EuroMayDay’ networks, aligned their plight within the rubrics of ‘precarity’ and ‘precariousness’. Consequently, the concept of precarity began to bisect various plights traversing class, gender, race and nationality, no longer was precarity the concern of the urban poor nor the so-called ‘sans-papiers’<sup>22</sup> (Foti, 2004). This rhizomatic development, transformed the meaning of precarity to a certain ambiguity as it girded together multiple and often opposing meanings, “Precarity has developed as a proposition that does not order the real into precise and static identities but that realigns multiple realities into unstable formations that, while not absolute or rigid, are still practical and have material effects” (Casas-Cortés 2014, 207)

Virno’s (1996) thesis on ‘counter-revolution’, which delineates ‘immaterial labour’, asserts that there has been an intensified utilization of ‘cognitive’, ‘communicative’ and ‘affective skills’, in the post-Fordist process of capitalist accumulation. Further, it articulates that this evolution of capitalism encompass not only the exploitation of labour, but also the specific exploitation of, “knowledge, culture, free time, the relational resources of individuals (such as communication, sex, socialization), living material, imaginaries” , amongst others (Casas-Cortés 2014, 214). The ‘flexible’ and ‘immaterial’ constituents of this new process, of capitalist accumulation, are proposed to have been introduced in response to the concomitant changes presented by globalization, which bespeak the introduction of ‘just-in-time-production’ and the ‘zero-stock’ phenomena, along with a demand by labour for the removal of the Fordist assembly-line model, with more mentally stimulating work that aligned with personal interests and desires (Virno 1996). However, from a feminist perspective, immaterial labour arguments are too parochial due

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<sup>19</sup> The social imaginary is the set of patterned convocations, values, institutions, laws and symbols shared by a society, along with the corresponding representations of how they conceive of their collective existence.

<sup>20</sup> ‘Gratuite’ refers to a concept that proposes that “not all relationships and needs must be monetized but that some could be based on no price” (Casas-Cortés 2014, 209).

<sup>21</sup> ‘Réappropriation’ refers to, “the taking over and reuse of private goods and services” (Casas-Cortés 2014, 209).

<sup>22</sup> ‘Sans papiers’ is a term that denotes illegal immigrants (without papers), and it emerged out of France, which has around 200, 00 to 400, 000 illegal immigrants within its population (The Guardian 2010).

to their exclusive focus on production. Whilst, ‘precarity’, in its evolution, has become cognizant of the elimination of distinctions between production and reproduction. Consequently, Precarias a la Deriva (2005), asserts that there are multifarious connections between the ‘social’ and ‘economic’, that must be given greater prominence, in order to dismantle the dichotomies of ‘public/private’ and ‘production/reproduction’, that abound within an exclusively waged labour vantage point. As a result, they define ‘precarity’ as: ‘the set of material and symbolic conditions that determine a vital uncertainty with respect to the sustained access to the essential resources for the full development of the life of a subject’ (Precarias a la Deriva 2005). Within this conception, by Precarious a la Deriva, production and reproduction are so infinitely intertwined, such that it becomes impossible to merely speak of precarious labour, instead one is obliged to conceive of a precarious life. As a result, from such a vantage point or ‘punctum archimedis’, one may conceive of precarity as a ‘process’ as opposed to a ‘sociological category’ or identity (Casas-Cortes, 2014).

“Notwithstanding, in the present context it is not possible to speak of precarity as a differentiated state (and, as such, to distinguish neatly between a precarious population and another guaranteed one), but rather that it is more fitting to detect a tendency to the precarization of life that affects society as a whole as a threat” (Precarias a la Deriva 2005).

It is at this point, that Precarias a la Deriva’s conception of ‘precarity of existence’ produces a novel assertion that attempts to come to grips with precarity and reconceiving of; marginality, mobility, vulnerability and social exclusion, beyond the parameters of labour and wage.

### ***OPPONENTS TO THE VALIDITY OF PRECARITY***

Beneath the ‘aegis’ of the hegemony of capitalist development and ‘flexible capital accumulation’, the process of globalization has created a nascent class of workers through its accelerated expansion (Munck 2013). Further, in the aftermath of the 2008-09 global financial crises, which preceded the global economic recession, there has been increased precariousness and insecurity in most forms of work. As a result, many scholars, (Neilson & Rossiter 2008;

Seymour 2012; Munck 2013), have problematized what they perceive as an ‘audacious hypothesis’, by Northern academics, who suggest that a unique subject in society has appeared: a ‘precariat’, which now forms a ‘dangerous class’<sup>23</sup> similar to the urban poor, delineated by Charles Dickens as ‘cutthroats’, in Victorian Britain. One such detractor is Munck (2013) who stresses that the term ‘precariat’ coagulates and articulates the sentiments of ‘casualisation’ that many Northern academics have themselves become subject to as job security has rescinded. Further, Munck (2013) questions the relevance of the term, beyond its novelty, for multitudes of workers and urban poor, in the global South, for whom precariousness has constantly remained a natural condition of existence. Munck (2013, 748) proposes that there must be a ‘political genealogy’ of the concept of a ‘precariat’, which would involve its examination and juxtaposition with, “earlier notions of marginality, informality and social exclusion to situate it and thus understand its possible conceptual benefits but also its weaknesses”. In the same vein, Seymour (2012), in an insightful critique of the notable work of Guy Standing,<sup>24</sup> declares that: “The precariat is not a dangerous, exotic, alien thing, not an incipient class to be patronised into existence. It is all of us. Every one of us who is not a member of the CBI, not a financial capitalist, not a government minister or senior civil servant, not a top cop ... in other words, of the ‘power bloc’ ... We are all the precariat”. However, in a direct and concise manner, as Neilson and Rossiter (2008, 54) elucidate, “The discourse of precarity does not translate on a global scale as a descriptor of contemporary labour” since it is merely an optic that allows analysis for the socio-economic transformations concomitant with the waning of ‘Fordism’<sup>25</sup> and the ‘welfare state’<sup>26</sup> in the global North. These authors fervently dismiss the thesis of ‘precarity’ and question its relevance on a global scale, merely because it is an analytical framework used by European movements, in reaction to the rescinding of the protection(s) of the welfare state.

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<sup>23</sup> The conception of the ‘precariat’ as the new ‘dangerous class’, emanates from the work of Guy Standing: Standing, G. 2011. *The precariat: The new dangerous class*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

<sup>24</sup> Standing, G. 2011. *The precariat: The new dangerous class*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

<sup>25</sup> “Fordism was a system of production based on the assembly line, which was capable of high industrial productivity”. (Neilson & Rossiter 2008, 55)

<sup>26</sup> Welfare state refer to “any state that ‘concerns’ itself in any manner with problems other than those of the maintenance of law and order” (von Hayek 2006, 90). Further, it encompasses a concerted effort by the state at ‘social justice’ vis a vis. Income redistribution.

## ***PRECARITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA***

The work place in democratic South Africa is undergoing a ‘triple transition’, which refers to a transition toward; political democracy, economic liberalization, and racial equity, which has created complex and contradictory sets of responses within the labour system, and at the work place level (von Holdt 2002; Webster and Omar 2003; Buhlungu and Webster 2006; Barchiesi 2008). There are three distinct features which have accompanied the restructuring of the post-apartheid South African work-place; firstly, due to the integration of the South African economy into the global economic system, there has been a reduction in autonomy in the domestic market, which is no longer protected, from the progressively more competitive cost/value conscious global market. (Buhlungu and Webster 2006; Barchiesi 2008). Secondly, there has been a reordering of work along what Buhlungu and Webster (2006, 251) term the ‘three zones’ in the labour market, which refer to a stratification of labour between; ‘the core’, ‘non-core’ and the ‘periphery’. The ‘core’ according to these authors is constituted of skilled permanent-workers who receive benefits, high wages, and good working conditions. Whereas, the ‘non-core’ is constituted of semi-skilled and non-skilled workers who enjoy no job security - in precarious jobs, which are lowly remunerated, without the standard benefits nor the acceptable working conditions. Lastly, there is the ‘periphery’, which is constituted of people in informal trade as well as the unemployed.

Thirdly, the workplace itself is undergoing transformation and there are now new ‘sites’ in which employment takes place, outside of traditional zones or geographical locations. For instance, women engaged in the cultivation of indigenous vegetables in the informal economy are a manifestation of these new sites of employment. However, (Buhlungu and Webster 2006) assert that this transformation in ‘work-spaces’ has profound implications for organized and unorganized working people. Further, these implications are not uniform in nature but are rather a multifarious *mélange* that has elicited various managerial approaches, which manifest continuities and discontinuities with past practices and ideology (Webster and Omar 2003).

In several of the case studies by Buhlungu and Webster (2006, 263), the authors assert that restoration and reproduction of a racialized and authoritarian managerial structure has been achieved through innovatory and systemic strategies – most visibly thorough, “the large-scale

introduction of more precarious forms of employment that disempower and divide workers, new pay systems based on piecework, and new technological forms of control.” Further, the shrinking of the core and the expansion of non-core and periphery forms of work has fractured solidarity within labour movements and concomitantly weakened the trade-unions, which are the central apparatus in demanding for better workplace conditions, as well as advocating for workers’ rights (Theron 2004; Buhlungu and Webster 2006). In addition, the high rate of unemployment, which is constituted of millions of structurally unemployed youth, in South Africa, is creating a complex dynamic in the labour market and politics. South Africa’s integration into the global market has resulted in the significant decline of ‘formal’ employment, as a result of exposure to volatility in international markets, as well as insurmountable competition, which has resulted in the large-scale retrenchments in major industries, such as manufacturing and mining (Webster and Omar 2003). Consequently, factories in manufacturing hubs, such as Pietermaritzburg, have either been closed or relocated (Bezuidenhout, 2000).

Unemployment in South Africa, in the first quarter of 2015, was at its highest since 2003 at an estimated 26.4% (Statistics SAa, 2014). However, the most recent employment analysis from Statistics South Africa indicates that, in 1994, South Africa had 8 896 million employed citizens which has grown to 15 055 million in 2014. Whereas, the labour force, in the same period, has grown from: 11 386 million to 20 122 million (Statistics SAa, 2014). Significantly, the unemployment rate is at an estimated 25% - 28% based on the strict definition, up from 22% in 1994 (Statistics SAa, 2014). According to some observers (Webster and Omar 2003; Buhlungu and Webster 2006; Barchiesi 2008) the employment relationship itself is changing and a large portion of the accrued, 6.1 million employed since 1994, have been from outsourced and contractual labour. Furthermore, an estimated one third of South Africa’s working populace is currently employed or obtains their livelihood through the informal sector (Statistics SAb, 2014). Informal employment according to Statistics SA (2014, 24) refers to, “persons who are in precarious employment situations irrespective of whether or not the entity for which they work is in the formal or informal sector”.

The case studies by Webster and Omar (2003) and Buhlungu and Webster (2006) point to the changing dynamics of the workplace which reveal that the demography and constituents of

unionized workers represents a gradually diminishing cross-section of the working population, which is increasingly older, skilled and better educated. Furthermore, the biggest federation union in South Africa, COSATU,<sup>27</sup> is making negligible progress in organizing workers in the ever-growing strata of precarious forms of work, i.e. casuals, part-time, contract and outsourced workers (Buhlungu and Webster 2006). As a result, millions of South Africans, mostly black and predominately youth, are not being integrated into working society and are being systematically marginalised and exposed to increasing degrees of precarity and uncertainty without recourse nor a voice.

## INDIGENOUS CROPS

With the advent of the ‘Green Revolution’<sup>28</sup> and its emphasis on a selected ‘high-yielding’ variety of crops, for the nutritional needs of the world’s population, many indigenous varieties have been displaced (Thies, 2000). There are approximately 30 000 edible plants on the earth, but only 7 000 are cultivated or collected as food (Natarajan 2002). In addition, the contribution of the ‘Green Revolution’ to the reduction of hunger and poverty in many parts of Asia and, to a lesser extent, in Latin America is well documented (Clifton & Wharton 1969; Chakravarti 1973; Farmer 1981; Huke 1985). However, it is also widely documented that the technologies and crop varieties that the ‘Green Revolution’ proffered were either too expensive or inappropriate for large parts of Africa, as many of these crops required either a lot of irrigation or implements (IFPRI, 2002; Buhr and Sinclair 1998; Shackleton, et al. 2009). Consequently, in Africa, many types of indigenous plant varieties continued to hold a central place in traditional agricultural systems. Over the last twenty years, there has been a renewal of awareness about; the multifarious connections between agriculture and the environment, a concern about ‘food miles’,<sup>29</sup> the onset of climate change, reduction in biodiversity, along with the deficiencies of the Green Revolution (Metress 1976; Evenson and Gollin 2003). Further, the excessive emphasis in

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<sup>27</sup> The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is a trade union Federation which was formed in 1985, as a part of the Tri-partite Alliance with the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP). Presently, COSATU is the single most powerful civil society organization in South Africa.

<sup>28</sup> The Green Revolution refers to a series of initiatives in Agriculture, occurring between 1940 & 1960, which used the transfer of research, development, and technology to boost agricultural production globally, most markedly in the ‘Developing World’ (Hazell, 2009)

<sup>29</sup> ‘Food Mile’, refers to the distance over which food items are transported between producer and the end consumer, as a unit of fuel consumption used to transport it.



food studies on the importance of a varied diet, abundant with vegetables and fruit, for human health and vitality, along with a paradigm shift in development discourse towards a ‘grassroots approach’, has brought the overlooked and underutilized species of indigenous crops to greater prominence (Shackleton et al. 2009; Faber et al. 2010). This interest has been spurred by the multifaceted features of indigenous crops in respect of; high nutritional value and food security, income generation potential, medicinal properties, appropriateness for organic/low-input systems and for ‘marginal lands’ (Stepp and Moerman 2001; Shackleton, et al. 2009). In the last decade, there has been renewal in interest, amongst a number of researchers and academics in sub-Saharan Africa, on one specific overlooked crop commodity group; traditional/indigenous vegetables (Shackleton et al. 2009).

### ***INDIGENOUS VEGETABLES***

The large biodiversity of indigenous plants in South Africa provides an invaluable source for an investigation into indigenous vegetables. Further, the role of indigenous vegetables, more specifically ‘leafy vegetables’, have a long history in the region and these plants were first gathered by the Khoisan people and later the Bantu-speaking tribes, who settled into Southern Africa about 2000 years ago (Parsons 1993; Jansen van Rensburg et al. 2007a; Ntuli et al. 2012). In addition, what constitutes a vegetable is very culture specific and is often determined by food selection, preparation, as well as the edible parts of a plant. However, amongst cultures within Southern African, leafy vegetables refer to species of plants whose ‘leafy’ constituents are used as a vegetable, this may include; flower buds, leaf sheaths, “succulent stems, flowers and very young fruit” (Jansen van Rensburg et al. 2007a, 317; Tumwet et al. 2014). Further, according to Wehmeyer and Rose (1983, 613), “there are over 100 different plants that are cooked as spinach with mealie meal ... 21 types of leaf are used as condiments, 23 roots and bulbs and 83 fruits”. The different Nguni cultures in South Africa refer to this collection of plant species as; ‘imfino’ (isiZulu and Xhosa), ‘morogo’ (Sesotho and isiPedi), however, these terms are ‘dynamic’ and are of high utility especially when concerning Indigenous leafy vegetables, which are intricately linked with indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) (Jansen van Rensburg et al. 2007b; Kepe

2008; Faber et al. 2010).<sup>30</sup> Consequently, indigenous knowledge systems inform practice which in turn is influenced by spatial and temporal variability. What plant species are considered as ‘Indigenous leafy vegetables’ is then also subject to; local ecology (spatial), seasonal availability (temporal), as well as the gastronomic traditions of the region (Jansen van Rensburg et al. 2007a; Kepe 2008; Faber et al. 2010). Further, African communities harvest leafy vegetables in numerous ways; some are foraged from the wild, were they may be ‘endemic plants’ or recently introduced alien species, whilst some, both indigenous and indigenized, may be cultivated using traditional practices and knowledge, or recent innovation (Voster et al. 2007). As a result, there has been a pronounced focus in literature, (Jansen van Rensburg et al. 2007a; Voster et al. 2007; Kepe 2008; Ntuli et al. 2012), towards emphasis on usage and consumption as opposed to the origins of plant species, that are considered as ‘Indigenous Leafy vegetables’. The term ‘Indigenous Leafy Vegetables’, or ‘imifino/morogo’ embraces indigenous and indigenized plant species that have, over time, formed part of a regions farming and gastronomical tradition and practice.

### ***INDIGENOUS LEAFY VEGETABLES IN SOUTH AFRICA***

A contradictory pattern has appeared in the production, trade and consumption of indigenous leafy vegetables in South Africa, over the last twenty years. Whilst on the African continent, in its entirety, the growth and cultivation of indigenous leafy vegetables has grown steadily, in South Africa there has been a discernable decline amongst the youth and urbanized populations, who associate these plants with ‘poverty’, ‘backwardness’, and ‘old knowledge’ (Scheppers 2000; Abukutsa-Onyango, 2003, 2007; Jansen van Rensburg et al. 2007a). Whereas, there has been an opposing trend, within the academic fraternity, where there has been renewed emphasis on the value of indigenous and indigenized African leafy vegetables, which has overflowed into policy creation at both region and national tiers of government (Voster et al. 2007). The negative labels and connotations amongst the youth and urbanized populaces has ricocheted onto inhabitants of rural settlements, who are increasingly purchasing vegetables from the

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<sup>30</sup> Indigenous knowledge systems are conceived to mark out a “cognitive structure in which theories and perceptions of nature and culture are conceptualized” (Brouwer 2000, 2). Further, they also include; “...definitions, classifications and concepts of the physical, natural, social, economic and ideational environments” (Brouwer 2000, 2).

supermarket and opting for ‘exotic’/‘superior’ crops as opposed to harvesting wild indigenous leafy vegetables. The aforementioned, is encapsulated in a recent case study by Vorster et al. (2008) in three different rural settlements in South Africa, which indicate that there has been a decline in the consumption and production of indigenous leafy vegetables in all three research sites over the past decade. However, while contributing to the understanding of the production systems of indigenous leafy vegetables, unfortunately Vorster et al.’s (2008) work, along with researchers such as Jansen van Rensburg et al. (2007a, 2007b) do not take cognizance of how indigenous leafy vegetables are integrated as livelihood strategies amongst the inhabitants of rural settlements.

### ***INDIGENOUS VEGETABLES AND LIVELIHOODS***

The relationship between livelihoods and poverty alleviation, through the use of natural resources, is not a well-covered area of investigation by academia in South Africa. Livelihoods refer to, “assemblages or structures of activities through which people (individuals or groups) attempt to make a living” (Kepe 2008, 532). Intrinsically, a person’s livelihood is the means through which they secure the necessities of life, i.e. food, water, shelter and clothing. Livelihoods also encompass the resources, both social and material as well as capabilities,<sup>31</sup> that are the ability to perform a human function, which are interceded by the socio-economic, institutional and political circumstances (Kepe 2008). The integral role that natural resources can play, in an effort to ameliorate poverty, is widely acknowledged in both the global North and South. However, there is no clear consensus on the meaningful contribution of indigenous leafy vegetables for rural communities in South Africa. Instead, the contribution of these natural resources, in many recent studies, focuses on indigenous knowledge (Hart & Vorster, 2007; Dweba and Mearns 2011; Ntuli et al. 2012); conservation (Jansen van Rensburg et al. 2007b); Nutrition (Wehmeyer and Rose 1983; Steyn et al. 2001; Odhav et al. 2007; Nesamvuni et al. 2001); and Food Security (Sithole and Thamaga-Chitja 2011). As a result, the knowledge produced on indigenous leafy vegetables has been increasingly discipline specific, with little cognizance taken of the heterogeneity of people and the diverse ecological endowments of

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<sup>31</sup> The capability approach is a theoretical framework by Amartya Sen, which pertains to welfare economics. Sen’s theory proffers an approach which asserts that at the core of welfare is a focus on what individuals are able to do (i.e. capable of) (Sen 1985).

regions, within the country. Currently, there is a dearth of understanding on how gendered practice over time, especially in rural settlements, has interceded or exacerbated the conditions of precarity for people (or groups), who cultivate indigenous leafy vegetables (imifino/morogo) as a livelihood, as they strive incessantly to wielding greater control over their food systems.

## **GENDER**

The social constructions of gender roles and power relations play a significant role in many countries in Africa, as they do in other countries around the world, and these have important implications, not only for domestic policies but also for livelihood strategies in sub-Saharan Africa. The concept of 'Gender' refers to, "socially constructed and learned male and female behaviours that shape the opportunities that one is offered in life, the roles one may play and the kinds of relationships that one has" (Gupta 2000, 2). Further, 'Gender' intersects with other social modalities such as; class, race, ethnicity, age, religion, and sexual orientation on many and often simultaneous levels. Gender is a culture-specific construct, however - a predominant phenomenon across cultures is that there are distinct disparities between the roles which are occupied by women and men. These disparities usually manifest in the, access to productive resources, and decision-making authority (Gupta 2000).

Gender roles are writ large on the social-cultural landscape of South Africa and because indigenous leafy vegetables occupy such a central role in the livelihood strategies of some communities, in the country, it is essential to examine and interrogate the ways in which gendered norms and practices influence one's ability to secure the necessities of life. The cultivation of indigenous leafy vegetables is aligned with indigenous knowledge systems, which are invariably tied to socio-cultural practices, which are imbued with normative values and dictates regarding gender roles in the cultivation of vegetables and other produce (Hart and Vorster 2006). Consequently, it is prudent to interrogate the inherent gender issues which may stifle or promote the access and control of these essential natural resources. In addition, in order to understand cultivation and harvesting practices, as well as its concomitant behaviours, it is essential to investigate gender roles and its attendant norms 'in situ'.

In the management and conservation of regional and local plant genomic resources, Howard-Borjas (2001) observed that voluminous studies are unconscious and willfully ignorant of gender, despite there being a widely recognized understanding that the usage of plants is influenced by gender. Further, it is also widely acknowledged that families and communities structure production, conservation and management of natural resources around gender norms and socio-cultural practices (Machakaire 2001). These practices have their foundation in a societal history of gender-division amongst hunter and gather societies, which followed a gender based division of labour, men as hunters and women as gathers. In a recent study by Hart and Vorster (2006, 23), these researchers observed that gender typologies transcend practice and are inflected into the way in which plant based dishes were consumed, “in the Eastern Cape the Xhosa consider leafy vegetables to be ‘women’s food’ that is mixed into porridge made from maize... The Zulu, Shangaan, Swazi, Pedi, and Ndebele groups tend to eat the leafy vegetables as relish with porridge.” In this light, it becomes increasingly evident that the dynamics of gender deserve careful consideration and interrogation, when practices and systems underpinning the cultivation and harvesting indigenous leafy vegetables are examined. The paucity of research in this area, especially the gendered dimensions of small-scale farming, deserves conscientious investigation in order to add to the academic debate

The interrogation of agricultural and food relations is integral to an understanding of the politics of empire and development in the twenty-first century. Further, interrogation of the dynamics which animate this local market will enable one to delineate and propose the best avenues to empower and liberate the research participants, whilst exposing structures which hinder their attempts at self-determination and stifle their ability to integrate indigenous vegetables into the markets and commercial networks.

### ***GENDER AND THE ECONOMY OF CARE***

Economic development in its various patterns and formations is buttressed by, remunerated and/or unremunerated, ‘care’<sup>32</sup> as an indispensable feature of human well-being and social

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<sup>32</sup> Care refers to work involving: ‘preparation of meals, laundry, cleaning and shopping; care of children, the elderly, the sick and people with disabilities within the household’ (Razavi 2007b, 5). Care generally refers to work

reproduction. In addition, care is valorized in terms of its broader function of ensuring social development and as an integral component of the ‘fabric of society’ (Razavi 2007b). In the literature on the ‘economy of care’, scholars such as Nobuko Hara (2007) touch on the significance of care in economic dynamism and proffer notions such as the ‘gender budget’<sup>33</sup> as an instrumental device in the process of gender mainstreaming.<sup>34</sup> In addition, how the intricacies and implications of care are dealt with has been discerned to have a profound impact on the realization of gender equality, through either expanding the capabilities and alternatives available to women and men, or by restricting women to traditional roles connoted with ‘motherhood and femininity’ (Razavi 2007b). Furthermore, Budlender and Lund (2011) assert that the language through which care is engaged in is concomitantly intimately intertwined with other structures of inequality, such as race, ethnicity and social strata. Historically, women from subjugated racial and ethnic groups, across the world, have had the imposition of taking on care duties to satisfy the needs of the dominant social groups, while their own needs for care have been ‘downplayed’ and disregarded (Razavi 2007b; Budlender & Lund 2011). Consequently, analyses of care that misleadingly provide a homogeneous representation of women’s interests are thus immensely problematic.

### ***THE SOCIO-POLITIZATION OF CARE***

A great quantity of the seminal work on the economy of care lamentably has western/industrial countries as the focus of its analysis. However, the analyses provided by much of this work are parochial but nevertheless illuminating. One such work by (Esping-Andersen 1999) is indispensable in advancing an understanding that the relationship which manifests betwixt ‘family’ and the market is of immense significance. The significance of this relationship, for an embedded site in the global south, is the parallels which are discerned in the patterns of the ‘socio-politization’ of care. Despite a large portion of the married population of women, many

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done within families and communities, mainly by women, which is uncounted, mainly for subsistence purposes, and whose output is intended for self-consumption.

<sup>33</sup> The ‘gender budget’ is a concept that has a macro-level focus, such that it is concerned with political economy mainly from a structural viewpoint. Thus, this macro-level concern connects with an analysis that is able to, “engage directly with the concerns of macroeconomics, that is the branch of economics which analyses money, goods and services” (Hara 2007, 22).

<sup>34</sup> Gender mainstreaming is intended to, “introduce a gender perspective into the theory [of macro-economic analysis] and its core concepts, and into the analysis of practice” (Hara 2007, 22).

with young children, in 'welfare states' engaging in gainful employment, the vast majority of them, like their compatriots in the developing world, selected jobs which accommodated rather than challenged their domestic responsibilities (Hara 2007; Budlender & Meena 2009). Consequently, Hara (2007, 18) asserts that, "the growth of part-time work for women can be seen an example of the relatively stable gender norm". Accordingly, the family and its relationship with the market is a crucial social and political site in both theory and policy-making. "Time is divided not between paid work and leisure, namely... but between paid work, leisure and unpaid care (and more widely domestic) work" (Hara 2007, 26). Characteristically, the standard and quality of life, in both the developed and developing worlds, is predicated not only on the level of incomes and the cost of living, but correspondingly also on the dispensation of unremunerated care-giving work.

The impending prospect of social and care-giving work has profound consequences for human well-being and socio-economic development. Whereas, in the past, analyses of such work may have been considered as prosaic and intellectually sterile, because it was 'naturally' and bountifully in supply, the remarkable modifications taking place in gender norms and typologies, in this epoch, severely question the prudence of persistently overlooking this area of study.

## **SUMMARY**

In this chapter, the major theoretical frameworks which underpin this study were evaluated alongside their methods, and conclusions against what has been established in the discourse. Further, the crucible in which each theoretical framework is delineated within was outlined and interrogated to reveal the schisms and assumptions contained within each discourse. The prevailing state of the cultivation and sale of indigenous vegetables, in South Africa, was critically evaluated through lens of 'food sovereignty', 'precarity' and 'gender'. Further, the different theoretical frameworks were explained to allow a greater 'embedded' understanding of the intersections of gender for farmers that have chosen to produce and sell indigenous vegetables, which concurrently empower them, at varying degrees, to exert greater control over their food systems, whilst abiding by a livelihood strategy that may also expose them to varying incursions of deprivation and precarity.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter, I expound upon the qualitative methodological approach which I used to select, gather and analyze findings. Further, the philosophy and rationale underpinning the study will be explained, under its eponymous heading, to reveal the assumptions and ontology and epistemological pursuit of this study. In addition, the optic used for this study, a qualitative research methodology, was chosen to collect data on the dynamics and processes which animate the production and sale of indigenous vegetables. Under the heading ‘Data collection and procedure’ the appropriateness of this methodology will also be covered. Lastly, the methods I used to analyze the data in this study are also covered in this chapter in and these analyses are also located within a body of literature about the methods. The penultimate section focuses on ‘Limitations’ and these are brought to the fore to give a balanced view on the research endeavor in its entirety.

#### **THE RESEARCH AREA**

The study was conducted in Mtubatuba, a small town north of Richards Bay close to the entrance of the iSimangaliso Wetland Park (previously Greater St Lucia Wetland Park) in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The town has a population of around 175,000 and 34,000 households (Mtubatuba Municipality 2013). Mtubatuba (or Mtuba as it is also affectionately known) is traversed by the N2, the 2,255km long highway running from Cape Town to Ermelo. In Addition, according to Statistics South Africa (2013a), unemployment sits at 39 per cent in Mtubatuba, 51 per cent of the households are not economically active, and there is a 78 per cent dependency ratio. Other noteworthy statistics include: access to electricity for lighting (65 per cent), piped water in the dwelling (22 per cent), flush toilets (17 per cent), and a population density (89 per cent). Further, the socio-economic context of Mtubatuba may be characterised as predominantly a large rural population, who are agrarian, with low levels of tertiary education



amongst its inhabitants. Most of the industries are spin offs from the agricultural and tourism sector. Only 0.01% of the District land is under commercial / industrial use (Mtubatuba IDP, 2012). Further, commercial forestry takes up approximately 2.15% of the total land and is found in clusters in Mtubatuba (Mtubatuba IDP, 2002). Consequently, the entrenched predominance of small-scale farming among the populace of Mtubatuba makes it a site rich in data on and about the women, who participate in the farming of indigenous vegetables as a livelihood.

## **THE QUALITATIVE APPROACH**

The study is concerned with an investigation into social variables, learnt and accumulated experience and their contextual relationship. Consequently, the qualitative methodology was used as a primary research method. According to Creswell (2012, 18) a qualitative approach is;

*“a qualitative approach is one in which the inquirer often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives (i.e. the multiple meanings of individual experiences, meanings socially and historically constructed, with the intent of developing a theory or pattern) ... The researcher collects open-ended, emerging data with the primary intent of developing themes from the data”.*

The research utilised life histories, historically embedded narratives, participant observation and key informant interviews as a source primary data. Further, the research used purposive sampling; the reason for selecting this sampling method was informed by the framework of the research and the nature of the research subject. Schatzman & Strauss (1973, 39) state that purposeful sampling is a practical necessity that is “shaped by the time the researcher has available to him, by his framework, by his reflect starting and developing interests, and by any restrictions placed upon his observations by his hosts.” Patton (1990) defines purposive sampling as one of the most common sampling strategies, and it groups participants according to preselected criteria relevant to a particular research question. Further, the strength of purposeful sampling is its selection of ‘information-rich’ cases for in-depth study. Information-rich cases are those which a researcher can glean in-depth information about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus termed ‘purposeful sampling’ (Patton 1990, 169). Key informants

in this study included government officials from the local sphere of government, community leadership and municipal officials.

### ***SELECTION OF QUALITATIVE TECHNIQUES***

The sale and production of indigenous vegetables occur within contested political, geographical, institutional and policy spaces. Therefore, the identified informants are at the forefront of engaging with the manifold dynamics and inter-relationships which occur within these spaces. In addition, they also determine or are influenced by the relationships between indigenous vegetables and the local food systems. Semi-structured interviews were used for collection of data from agricultural extension officers and traditional leadership representatives, on their involvement in policy development and their influence on the forms of support their constituency receive. The purpose of these interviews were to glean an understanding of the relationship between indigenous vegetables and indigenous knowledge systems, along with the development of sustainable livelihood strategies at institutional and policy level. Further, their perception of their decision-making role in shaping the relationship between indigenous vegetable production and sale was assessed.

In addition, life histories were also conducted to glean the ‘lived experience’ of the respondents and to ascertain perceptions and strategies that guide the production and sale of indigenous vegetables as a livelihood. Lived experience refers to the knowledge and consciousness which is accrued through situated experience of individuals, and in this instance, it refers to the knowledge that farmers and sellers of indigenous vegetables have embodied as members of a marginalized section of society, at some distance from, or different from the hegemonic accounts and attendant consciousness (Throop 2003, 228; Knibbe & Versteeg 2008). Lived experience as a heuristic tool is understood as a form of consciousness that is incomplete and limited, thus the lived experiences of individuals are illuminating as they approximate the whole. Consequently, lived experience thrusts forward the significance of the subjectivity which coalesces within subaltern voices and narratives, as it reinforces the understanding that subjectivity must also be perceived as the result of the constrained choices on the agency of individuals, rather than the outright rebellion or evasion of the coercive forces of hegemony (Kruks 2014).

For that reason, to gain a firmer grasp of the constraints which individuals face, I interviewed respondents from different tiers on the vertical chain of production, of indigenous vegetables. In addition, I used multiple data collection methods, to improve the confidence in the data collected through ‘data triangulation’ and ‘methodological triangulation’, and to ensure reliability of findings (Patton 1990).<sup>35</sup> This allowed for a comparative balance between responses of various subjects and thus limiting subjectivity in data behaviour.

The research uses purposive selection of case study and research subjects because of the specific character of this research project, other methods of case study selection would not be appropriate. The research dictates that a case study be located in a low-income settlement where there are people have undertaken the production and sale of indigenous vegetables as a livelihood strategy, hence purposive case selection is appropriate.

### **AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESIS OF STUDY**

The area identified for this study is Mtubatuba which is located within the UMkhanyakude District Municipality, in KwaZulu-Natal Province. The aim of this study is to ascertain the intersecting dimensions of gender and precarity on the production and sale of traditional leafy vegetables (*imifino/ morogo/ miroho*) in the livelihood strategies of rural farmers, and the degree to which it allows them to wield greater influence on their food system. This analysis is necessary to draw on the diverging scholarly views on the dynamics which animate small scale agriculture and the intersecting features of indigenous vegetables and gender. It is imperative then to ascertain how such dynamics are reflected on the ground.

The objectives of the study involve a concerted effort to understand and examine the lived experience of small-scale, predominantly female, farmers and vendors of indigenous vegetables, in their fields and markets. Further, the study aims to ascertain who are the principal players, who are the benefactors, what are the networks and transport mechanisms, associations, and the like., that facilitate/hinder the production and sale of indigenous vegetables by these women. Lastly, this study endeavors to understand how governance structures (chiefs and municipalities

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<sup>35</sup> Data triangulation refers to the use of a variety of data sources in a study. Whereas, methodological triangulation; refers to the use of ‘multiple methods to study a single problem of program’ (Patton 1990, 187).

in the case of rural women) do impede or promote the sustenance of their livelihoods and methods of agricultural production, in increasingly resource-poor areas. In achieving the above aim the study asks the question: How has the lived experience of women in Mtubatuba influenced them into producing and selling indigenous vegetables? In addition to this main question, the following secondary research questions are central: Who are the role players who facilitate the movement of indigenous produce from the farm to the market, i.e. ‘farm-to-fork’? What networks do the women rely on to facilitate the production and sale of their indigenous vegetables? What forms of support do producers and sellers of indigenous vegetables receive? What is the role of the local government/traditional leadership institutions in creating opportunities for women, in agricultural production of indigenous vegetables? All the above questions are addressed in the study through the analysis of data collected during fieldwork in the area. 35 Data triangulation refers to the use of a variety of data sources in a study. Whereas, methodological triangulation; refers to the use of ‘multiple methods to study a single problem of program’ (Patton 1990, 187).

## **PHILOSOPHY AND RATIONALE OF STUDY**

It is axiomatic that when a researcher embarks on a study, in this instance a qualitative study, they are implicitly grounding their observations in specific philosophical assumptions. These philosophical assumptions influence the shape and direction of the research, whilst it attempts to examine phenomena at the research site. Consequently, philosophical assumptions (i.e. ontology, epistemology) are inherent in the interpretive frameworks that a researcher may apply. Further, interpretive frameworks may be regarded as the fundamental beliefs which direct the study, Creswell (2012, 6) asserts that: “*philosophically, researchers make claims about what is knowledge (ontology), how we know it (epistemology), what value goes into it (axiology), how we write about it (rhetoric), and the process of studying it (methodology)*”. Furthermore, Creswell claims that interpretive frameworks may be grounded in schools of thought, namely; post-positivism, constructivism, advocacy/participatory, pragmatism, among others. According to Levy (2003), access to reality (given or socially constructed) is only through social constructions such as language, consciousness and shared meanings. Such interpretive research does not predefine dependent and independent variables, but focuses on the full capacity of

human sense making as the situation emerges. An enquiry into the indigenous vegetables and the multiple intersections of gender and precarity which animate the livelihood strategies of rural farmers who cultivate and sell these natural resources requires an understanding of social and political reality under which these variables interact. Consequently, the rationale in which the research was situated within is the Critical/Emancipatory paradigm because its goal is to challenge dominant social structures or meaning systems, and the facilitation of empowerment or liberalization for research participants (Guba & Lincoln 1994, 133). Further, its critical realist ontology and epistemology hold that a discernible reality exists, but that this reality reflects the oppressive influences of social, gender, political, and historical factors, among other things. The researcher role within this paradigm is both interactive and proactive, with the explicit goal of facilitating change and emancipation from restrictive social conditions (Guba & Lincoln 1994, 133). Additionally, values are an explicit component of the research endeavor and are based in a sociocultural critique. As the study is concerned with an investigation into social variables and their contextual relationship

Further, this research is imbued with the lens of structural violence. According to Farmer (2005, 6) structural violence refers to:

*“suffering is ‘structured’ by historically given (and often economically driven) processes and forces that conspire—whether through routine, ritual, or, as is more commonly the case, the hard surfaces of life—to constrain agency. For many, including most of my patients and informants, choices both large and small are limited by racism, sexism, political violence, and grinding poverty”.*

This research is underpinned by an optic of structural violence which proposes that structural disparities cause some people to be systematically denied their basic human needs. In advocating this view, structural violence theory characterizes violence as a preventable inconsistency between the ability to potentially meet basic needs and their actual fulfilment. Further, the theory indicates that unequal distribution of power, over who decides on the distribution of resources, is a central causal factor which results in avoidable structural inequalities. Consequently, this research is guided by a fundamental belief that the challenges and chasm which exist between

farmers of indigenous vegetables, and the actual fulfilment of 'self-development' and 'self-determination' within their own food systems is as a result of unjust structures on their individual agency.

### **UNIT OF ANALYSIS**

In relation to the research problems identified, the level of investigation where the data collection will focus must be specified e.g. the entire organization, department, individuals or objects (Allison et al. 1996). The unit of analysis in this research study is the individual; the farmer, the seller, transport intermediary, municipal official, traditional leader, or agricultural extension officer.

### ***SAMPLE***

The Participants of this study consisted of six sample groups.

- Sample one: Farmers who cultivate indigenous leafy vegetables small in the informal sector, in Mtubatuba.
- Sample two: Sellers of indigenous leafy vegetables in the local market in Mtubatuba.
- Sample three: Agricultural extension officers who are charged with promoting the growth and establishment of indigenous leafy vegetables, in Durban.
- Sample four: Municipal official/Ward Councillors, who are appointed by the local municipality to foster conditions that promote well-being and dialogue about the needs and challenges faced by their constituents.
- Sample five: Traditional leaders, who represent the indigenous structures of leadership and are trustees of cultural practices and indigenous knowledge.

- Sample six: Transport intermediaries, who are involved in the transporting of indigenous leafy vegetables from the farm to the market, i.e. ‘from farm to fork’

As mentioned above, respondents of all six samples of the study were chosen using ‘purposeful sampling’. However, participants in categories one, three, four and five were chosen using a “snowball or chain sampling” strategy, which uses referrals from key sources to obtain information rich cases or good interview subjects (Patton 1990, 182). Further, this method often referred to as chain referral sampling uses respondents who have already been contacted to enlist their social networks to recruit future participants, who may richly contribute to the study. However, transport intermediaries participants six were chosen using, ‘opportunistic sampling’ strategy’. The opportunistic sampling strategy according to Patton (1990, 179) involves flexibility about sampling decisions in order to take advantage of new opportunities during field work.

As with all purposive samples, there can be some certainty that study participants’ perspective or life circumstances approximate to those who do not participate. Likewise, as with all studies based on a small sample size, generalisations must be viewed conservatively.

### ***DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS***

The study was constituted of two representatives from traditional authority, ten farmers, ten sellers, three Transport intermediaries, two Agricultural extension officers, three Municipal councillors.

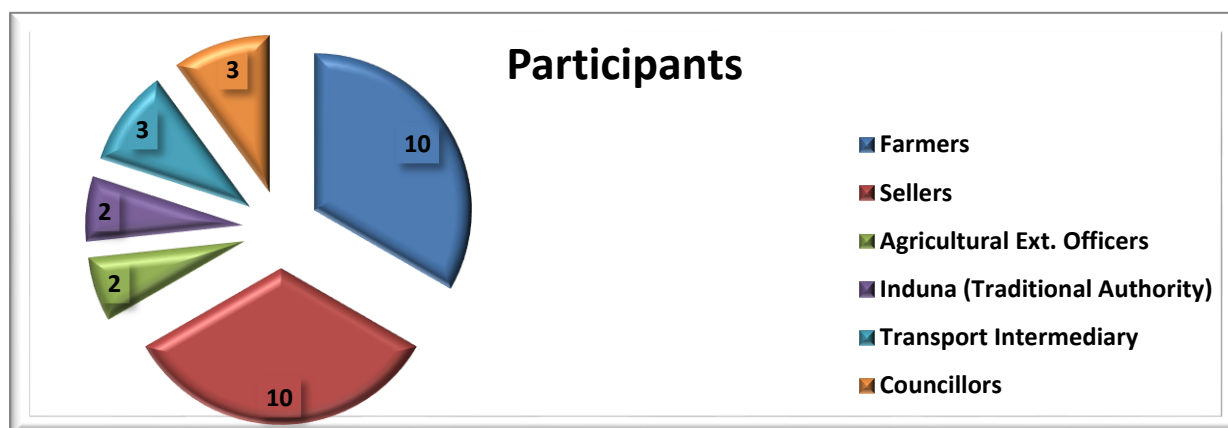


Figure 1; Graph showing participants of Study

*Gender*

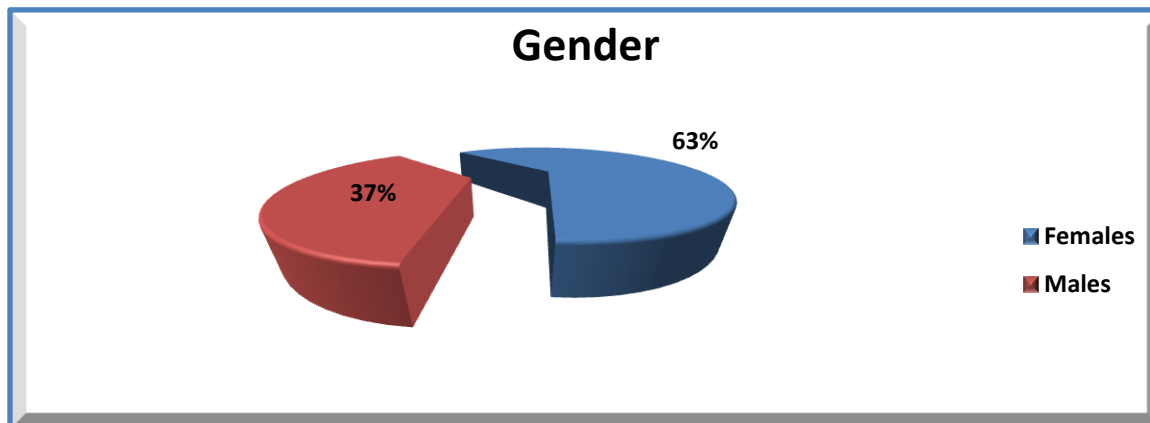


Figure Two; Pie Chart showing Gender distribution

The Study consisted of nineteen women: eight farmers; nine sellers; two Agricultural Ext. Officers and eleven men: two farmers; one seller; three councillors; three transport intermediaries; two Induna (traditional authority). Consequently, a majority of the participants were women, 63 per cent, which is indicative of the dominance of women in small-scale agriculture.

*Age*

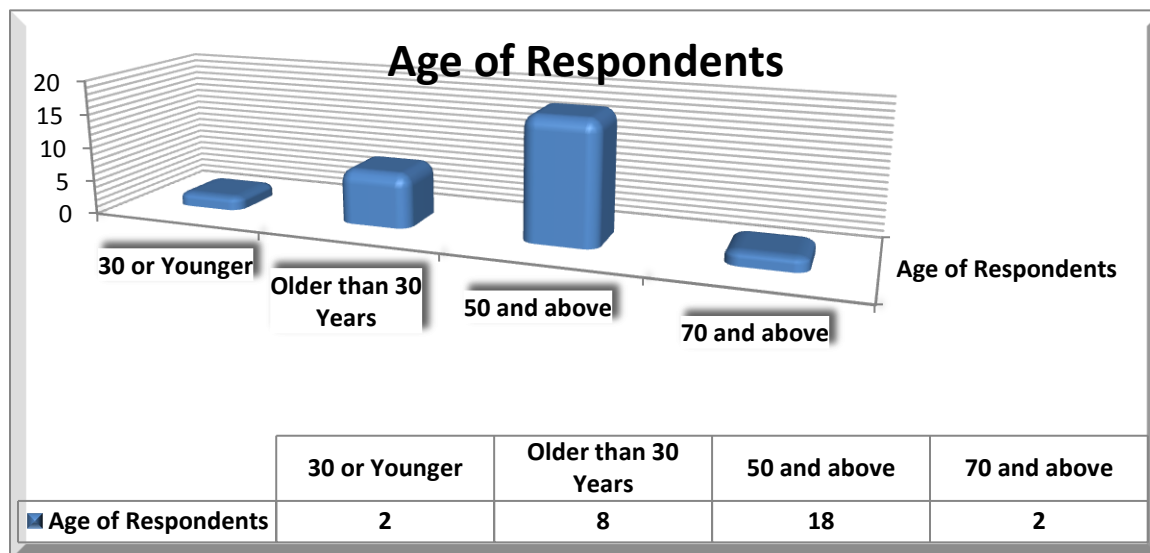


Figure Three: Chart showing Age of Respondents



The study involved thirty respondents, all resident in Mtubatuba. The mean age of the respondents was 36 years, with the age range between 27 and 72 years. Of the thirty respondents, 11 were men and 19 were women, all of whom are demographically referred to as 'Black Africans'. Furthermore, 20 of the respondents (comprising 60 percent of the total) are 50 years or older; 8 respondents are older than 30 years.

### *Educational Qualifications*

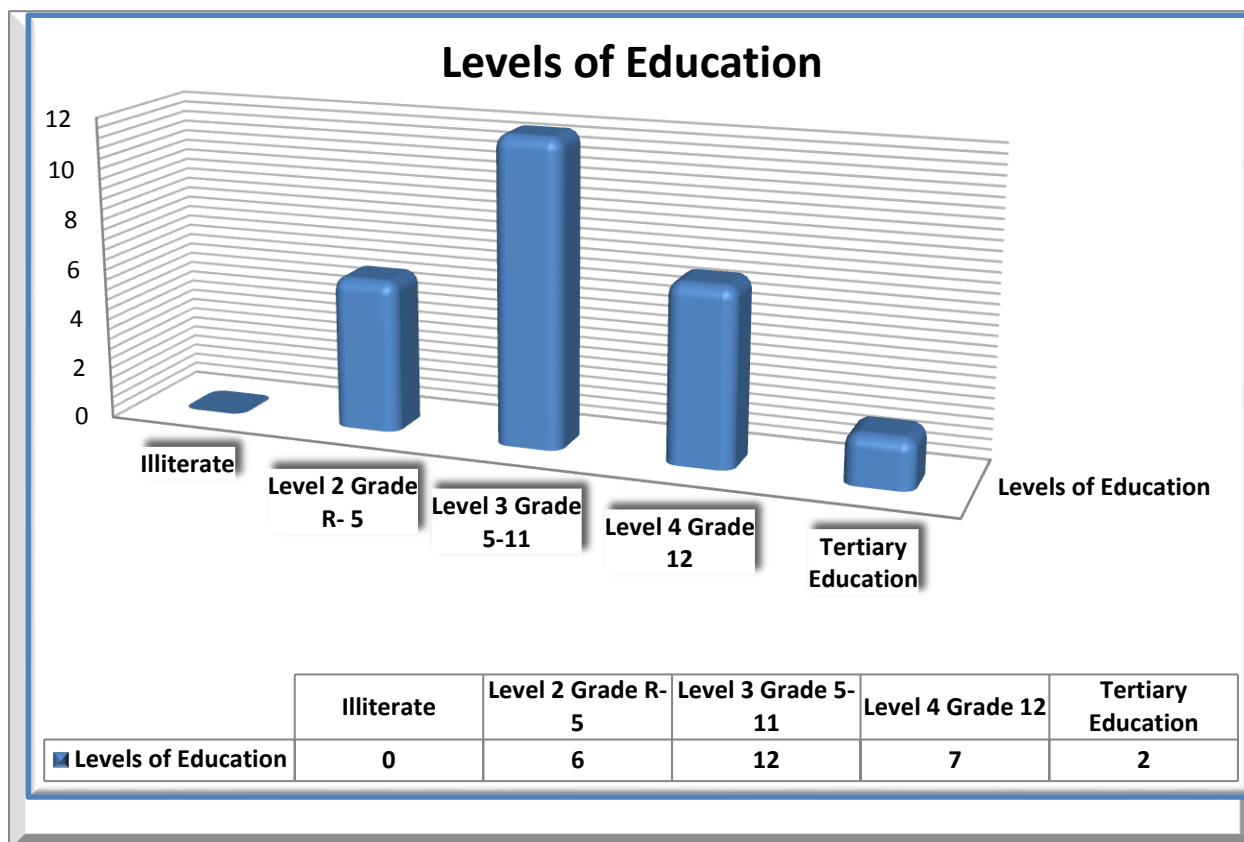


Chart showing respondent's Levels of Education

It is clear that the respondents in my study are mostly literate, as most of the respondents have some form of education. However, a majority of the respondents in my sample possess low levels of education, namely; only 2 respondents had an education qualification above secondary level.

## **DATA COLLECTION METHODS**

In this study, I made use of a population that was accessible in order to glean insights that approximate and represent other participants who are engaged in the production and sale of indigenous vegetables, as a livelihood strategy in the region. Consequently, in order to achieve these ends I used purposive sampling to select the respondents of the study. Further, I used snowball or chain sampling strategy for sample; one, two, three, four and five. Whereas, ‘opportunistic sampling’ strategy was used for sample six. These sampling methods were chosen to ensure the acquisition of the most relevant information, and to allow informational adequacy and appropriateness of data. The participants for the snowball sample were drawn from participants of an indigenous food exposition, which I participated in as an event ethnographer, earlier in September 2014. The event was hosted by the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) to encourage local farmers of indigenous crops. During the exposition, I interviewed all participants to inquire how they sourced or produced their indigenous fruits and vegetables, and this is where I identified the first participants for my study. In addition, the participants of the opportunistic sample were drawn from my intermittent visits to the local market in Mtubatuba, where I was directed by sellers to intermediaries whom they relied upon to aid in the transportation of their indigenous produce. Furthermore, a predominantly rural and agrarian site was chosen to ensure that information rich sources were enlisted. Lastly, the interview instrument utilized the open-ended interview format to glean a rich bevy of qualitative data.

## ***DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENT AND PROCEDURE***

The data was collected through 30 open-ended in-depth interviews with women and men between, 27 and 72 years old. As aforementioned, in-depth interviews were used as the central research tool to enable an exploration of multiple facets and intersecting dynamics, repertoires and factors that influence opinions, perspectives, and accumulated experiences of respondents who are involved in the production, sale and advancement of indigenous vegetables in the area of Mtubatuba.

The study instrument was designed to examine the lived experience of producers and sellers of indigenous vegetables, to ascertain the factors which shaped and influenced their agency in selecting this livelihood strategy. Further, the instrument was also designed to examine proximal factors which shape the networks which develop around these natural resources, and the role players which are present in this value-chain. In addition, the research instrument examines the attitudes, opinions and perspectives of local authority and leadership in their purported role as trustees of governance imperatives, in the context of South African society. An informed consent form was signed by each and every participant prior to the interview to assure confidentiality, and to provide elucidation upon the general overview of the study (see appendix C).

Each interview, with the exception of transport intermediaries, traditional authorities/ward councilors, began by assessing the demographic profile and life history of each participant.

<b>Question</b>	<b>Evidence needed</b>	<b>Method to collect evidence</b>
How has the lived experience of women in Mtubatuba influenced them into producing and selling indigenous vegetables?	Narratives on the lives and upbringing of the farmers, their memories and recollections of the past	a) Life Histories from farmers b)Historically embedded narratives by the farms c)In-depth interviews with farmers
Who are the role players who facilitate the movement of indigenous produce from ‘farm-to-fork’?	Structures and people who are part of the indigenous produce value chain.	a) Interviews with farmers and sellers b) Transport intermediaries c) Key informant interviews (agric extension officer)
What networks do the women rely on to facilitate the production and sale of their indigenous vegetables?	Associations, relationships, co-operatives that the women rely on to assist in growing and selling their crops	a) Interviews with farmers b)Key informant interviews (agric extension officer)

What kind of support do farmers receive?	Opportunities provided for women to gain knowledge about farming systems, market opportunities, etc.	a) Key informant interviews (agric. extension officer) b) In-depth interviews with the women farmers c) Interview with municipal and Traditional Authority
How governance structures impede or enhance women's work	Types of laws, bylaws, structures, processes that enhance or impede women's work	a) Interviews with municipal and traditional authority representatives and law enforcers b) Key informant interviews (agric. extension officer) c) Interviews with farmers and sellers

Table 1. Summary of specific questions, evidence required and methods for meeting research objectives.

The interviews primarily involved the open-ended, interview format. In this study, an open-ended interview format was used in which the interviewer asked the same questions to all the participants, but the order of the questions, the precise wording, and the subsequent questions varied considerably. In open-ended interviews, the respondents are able to express their distinctive way of looking at the phenomena and the interview situation is flexible and dynamic. Consequently, an open-ended interview can also reveal unexpected data (Leedy and Ormrod 2001, 37). In addition, the interview included 'contingency questions' which are predicated on the respondent giving a particular response to a prior question. Moreover, the interviews consisted of 'closed ended questions' in which answers are limited to a fixed range of responses. Lastly, all of the interviews of farmers and traditional authorities/ward councilors took place at their homes. Whereas, those of sellers and transport intermediaries occurred at the Mtubatuba market, and those of agricultural extension officers within their offices in the CBD of Mtubatuba. The duration of each interview ranged from 40 minutes to one and a half hours. All interviews were digitally recorded because of the obvious advantage of preserving the entire verbal component of the interview for manual transcription and analysis at a later stage.

## **DATA ANALYSIS**

The following data analysis methods were used; content analysis and thematic analysis. Initially, content analysis were used to analyse the in-depth interviews. Allison et al. (1996, 215) indicate that content analysis involves identification of characteristics and distinct themes in the data through observation and systematic analysis. The second data analysis method is thematic analysis and it involves “identifying, analysing, and recording patterns” (Allison et al 1996, 216). Further, thematic analysis follows a process which Allison et al (1996, 216) articulate as;

*“thematic analysis is performed through the process of coding in six discrete phases to create established, meaningful patterns. These phases are: familiarization with data, generating initial codes, searching for themes among codes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the final report”.*

Additionally, in keeping with this process, the transcripts were coded into broad themes which emerged from the statements of participants. Moreover, each broad theme went through a detailed manual analysis which led to the formation of higher order themes within each theme. This hierarchical coding allowed the researcher to analyse texts at different levels of abstraction. Thus, higher-order codes could facilitate a broad overview of the trend of the interview, while exhaustive lower order codes enabled minute differences to be established, both within and between cases. The aforementioned methods of analysis are borne out of deductive reasoning, which uses data to confirm or nullify the initial premise.

## **SUMMARY**

The research methodology for this study was covered extensively to reveal the appropriateness of the chosen approach. Further, the selection of qualitative techniques was contrasted with the specific units of analysis and the aims and objectives of the study. Lastly, the philosophy and rationale underpinning research were elucidated upon to ground the study in a body of knowledge. Furthermore, the method through which the collected data was analyzed was also connected with literature which justified chosen analysis methods and techniques.

## CHAPTER 4

### FINDINGS

#### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to examine the intersecting dynamics of gender and precarity in the production and sale of traditional leafy vegetables by farmers in Northern KwaZulu-Natal, and to ascertain the extent to which they are able to wield greater control over their food system. Further, the study examined whether the lived experience of these small-scale farmers and vendors of indigenous vegetables had predisposed them to pursuing this livelihood strategy. I also assessed the networks and transport mechanisms, associations, principal players etc. that facilitate or hinder the production and sale of indigenous vegetables by these farmers. Lastly, this study examined how governance structures (chiefs and municipalities in the case of rural women) impede or promote the sustenance of their livelihoods and methods of agricultural production, in increasingly resource-poor areas.

The methodology outlined in the preceding chapter provided the model for data-gathering. However, this chapter will be concerned with analysis and interpretation of the data that was collected for this study. According to research theory, analysis involves simplifying data into constituent portions, which lead to categories (known as codes or themes), in order to gain a firmer grasp of the answers which emerge, and to also begin to test the hypotheses, which one had formulated (De Vos 1998, 203). As a result, the analysis of research data does not in itself provide the answers to research questions. In contrast, the purpose of interpretation is to render the data intelligible and discernible, in order for meanings and implications to be related to research problems, so that they may be studied and tested, and conclusions drawn (De Vos 1998, 203). This chapter outlines the three themes, and subthemes, that emerged out of the research for this study namely; ‘life opportunities’, ‘social networks’ and ‘local governance’.

## DATA DISPLAY

During the process of data collation each transcribed interview was coded, re-analyzed and simplified into categories and themes. Consequently, during data analysis three themes and their subcategories emerged from the interviews (see table 4).

**Table 2: Themes associated with the respondents' perspectives and experiences on the production, promotion and sale of indigenous vegetables in Mtubatuba**

Theme	Categories
Life Opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Family background               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Small-scale farming                   <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Diversification of rural livelihoods</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Traditionalist upbringing</li> </ul> </li> <li>➤ Gendered roles               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women and Social Reproduction</li> <li>• Gender and Land</li> <li>• The Economic Role of Women</li> <li>• The Mobility of Women</li> </ul> </li> <li>➤ Inadequate education               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Poverty &amp; filial obligations</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Social networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Neighbours and Relatives</li> <li>➤ Other Farmers               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Seed Networks</li> </ul> </li> <li>➤ Transport Intermediaries</li> </ul>
Local Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Traditional Leadership</li> <li>➤ Municipal and Provincial Government</li> </ul>

Three themes emerged from the analysis of data. Consequently, I identified categories and subcategories of themes. The themes deal with the respondents' perspectives and experiences on the production, promotion and sale of indigenous vegetables in Mtubatuba

## **Life Opportunities**

The lived experience articulated by farmers and sellers who were interviewed in this study, who were predominantly women, indicated that there were multivalent dynamics which had influenced their life opportunities and concomitantly their decision to produce and sell indigenous vegetables, in the informal economy in Mtubatuba. Life opportunities or life chances as articulated in the social science theory introduced by Max Weber, states there are 'probabilistic' outcomes, given certain factors that a person's life will turn out a particular way (Weber et al. 1994). In this theory, 'access to life chances' are positively co-related with one's social, cultural and economic status as well as; gender, race, and ethnicity. The respondents in coherence with the aforesaid theory also indicated that they perceived that their life opportunities were channeled and delineated by; Family background, Gendered roles, and Lack of education.

## **Family background**

The most common influence which farmers and sellers linked to their participation in the production and sale of indigenous vegetables was their family's agrarian history. Patnaik et al. (2011) assert that a patent injustice of colonial, and in this instance Apartheid laws of dispossession,<sup>36</sup> on small-scale family agriculture is manifested through the disruption and erosion of traditional food systems, of families in indigenous communities. Nevertheless, the participants identify a ubiquitous immersion in agricultural productivity, in their youth, as an instrumental process of enculturation and memetic knowledge transfer that has conditioned their relationship with the land, and the attendant production of indigenous vegetables. Further, this familial relationship with the cultivation of indigenous crops along with their accumulated experience, during youth, in the fields and fallow lands, with relatives and erstwhile members of their community, is a thread that permeated all interviews.

*"... I learnt about traditional vegetables from my mother, when I was a child. She would bring mealie meal and other grains along with a three legged pot when we went weeding, once there, we would collect indigenous vegetables and prepare them for lunch." (Dolly)*

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<sup>36</sup> The 'Group Areas Act' and the 'Land Act' of 1913 are definitive laws of dispossession which were a culmination of a century old dispossession which had been taking place since the arrival of European settlers since 1652 (Pienaar and von Fintel 2014).



*“Growing up in my family, the only foods that we had access to were indigenous vegetables, which were planted in the nearby fields, meat was eaten on occasion.” (Neh)*

Many respondents associated this agrarian history and unencumbered food sovereignty with their present well-being, and vitality, and attributed being raised on the fields as endowing them with strength, independence and resourcefulness, which they felt they still embody presently:

*“...we were raised eating natural food, as a result we are still healthy now and we can do things for ourselves and feed ourselves, because we grew up cultivating our own food” (Khanyisile)*

In contrast with the life histories of numerous participants, the present ‘mise en scène’ is animated by a global agricultural food system which is defined by Desmarais & Wittman (2013) as socially and environmental unsustainability because of its production methods, as well as its distribution of culturally inappropriate food, which has had a purposively corrosive effect on the breakdown of small-scale family agriculture.

In addition, the majority of farmers and sellers depicted the neighborhoods in which they grew up in as homesteads, under the administration of a local *inkosi* (traditional leader). Within these homesteads, land was plentiful and families within the community were heavily involved in ploughing the land and cultivating indigenous vegetables for sustenance, and to also ensure their communal food security. Moore (1996) found that land relations in pre-colonial African society were defined by the easy access to land and natural resources, as people were linked to the land through their membership of a particular group. In addition, Moore (1996) affirms that one of the moral injunctions of African culture was the ‘presupposition’ that every person had an inalienable right to the use of a lot of arable land. In the same vein, these African precepts are in consonance with the principles of food sovereignty which advocate for the equitable distribution of land and the dismantling of asymmetrical resource distribution. Further, a majority of the respondents indicated that the abundance of land and the normative immersion in agricultural productivity created an affinity between themselves and the land.

*“...here in KwaSomkhele there were no shops or any schools; people grew their food. In the mornings women would move from field with picks and hoes, in communion. We grew up playing in the fields and eating whatever fruits we stumbled upon.” (Gcinaphi)*

*“...being in the fields all day was a natural thing, the boys would be afar herding cows, whilst we would be with our mothers and grandmothers, in the fields learning, working and playing.” (Nontsikelelo)*

*“...in my neighborhood as children we would walk about in groups, either carrying out an assigned task or playing with clay in nearby fields. I understood how bountiful and alive the land was, and I could not imagine myself apart from it.” (Nxephu)*

In their recollections, many respondents stated that agricultural activity, through the cultivation of indigenous crops, was a central function in traditional Zulu communities. This outlook on the phantasmagoric role of agricultural productivity in the lives of indigenous African communities is also echoed with numerous parallels in the work of Natarajan (2002). Further, in decades past, Natarajan (2002) echoes that a ponderable emphasis was ascribed to working on the land, and preserving its bounty, through indigenously interpreted agricultural cycles that were instilled through activities at the home, and within the community.

In the social sciences the family unit has long been understood as the primary mechanism of enculturation and indoctrination in society (Thompson 2006). However, it is also understood that much of the theory on society has the ‘West’ as its ‘mise en scène’, whereas, in this instance the responses of the respondents were inflected with a palpable afrocentricity as they all indicated the central role of the community as the unit of society, as opposed to the nucleus family. The central role of community in African society is a thoroughly researched phenomenon which has been tied to cultural mores and value systems that do not espouse the notion of individuality as the ‘raison d’être’ of society (Asante 1980, Naidoo 2000, Duncan 2004).

*“At home there were always people whom we didn’t know, even a white man who later became a policeman lived at our home for months, no one asked when these people would leave, it was normal...” (Ntombifuthi)*

*“When I was young you could walk into any home here in KwaNkombose and get food and drink, if you wanted a chicken people wouldn’t ask you to pay for it, they just gave it to you, not to even mention eggs, things were plentiful.” (Gogo Masondo)*

*“In our area we walked around with little covering, you would never hear of anyone getting raped. The whole community was a family and we were all its children.” (Gcinaphi)*

Many women felt that this overarching communal ethic, which encompassed daily life in their youth, was a distinctive quality that was sorely lacking presently and this had resulted in the lack of mutual respect amongst people in society, as whole. Further, a testament to the enduring effect of this tear in the fabric of society, which is being exacerbated by exigencies of neoliberalism and its attendant globalisation project, is the local populaces increasing disconnection from the land, despite there being ample arable land in rural settlements, such as Mtubatuba.

This estrangement is echoed in the sentiments of respondents as they expressed that many of their peers had lost their zest for productive agricultural labour and had adopted sedentary lifestyles, concomitant with the modern diet. As a result, many of their peers were now suffering from chronic diseases such as diabetes, high blood pressure, gout, amongst other diseases, which they attribute to food consumed in the present agricultural-food complex.

*“Women who I grew up with here KwaMsane don’t even have a vegetable garden at the back of their homes, they buy everything from the shops and because of that they have things like gout and BP [high blood pressure], people eat meat every day and those vegetables from the shops.” (Gogo Trifina)*

*“...People have strayed from how they were raised, they don’t even go out to the fields to grow their own vegetables... all they want to do is buy, buy buy and many have sugar [diabetes] now, some look like grannies yet they are my age, eating pills everyday like a rainbow chicken” (MaMdletshe)*

Many of the farmers and sellers echoed that the present pandemics of chronic and cardiovascular diseases were a phenomenon that had bolstered their resolve to remain steadfast in the indigenous cultivation practices, which they have been entrusted with during their youth. The corrosion of neoliberalism’s ‘food chains’, on people at the local, is well articulated by Wittman et al (2011, 2). This phenomenon was also observed and lamented by the participants in my study as they perceived themselves as truly standing in defiance against this ‘regime’ of consumption. Consequently, the participants draw great symbolic and cognitive value from the food sovereignty that they experienced in their youth, which has enabled them to thrust forward a critical alternative to the dominant model of agriculture, trade, and consumption, that they attest has permeated post-apartheid South Africa. Further, the perceived inadequacies of the ‘modern lifestyle’, to provide moral and physical well-being, was a feature cited by respondents as a motivation to invest more of their efforts into the production and sale of indigenous vegetables.

### *Small-Scale farming*

The respondents reported reoccurringly about the centrality of small-scale farming, as a livelihood strategy, in their lived experience. Similar to other rural areas, the majority of these small-scale producers refer to the following reasons for participating in agriculture: to supplement their food sources, to increase their incomes, or as a recreational activity (Lahiff and Cousins 2005). Only a negligible 8 percent of small-scale farmers in South Africa engage in agriculture as a primary or supplementary source of income (Cousins 2013, 123; Aliber and Hall 2012). In addition, participants in my study cited enculturation as a strong reason as they had been raised, from birth, through the toils and exploits of their kin on the fields and nearby forests.

*“I can remember as a child following my mother into the fields, there was always something she picking for us to eat.... we never wanted for food.” (Dolly)*

*“...every season there was something to harvest and eat; I cannot remember going to sleep hungry or feeling hunger pangs.” (Sinenhlanhla)*

This naturalness and amity which the respondents expressed towards small-scale farming, as a livelihood strategy, is in contrast to the connotations which it is presently associated with, such as poverty, food insecurity and precariousness.

*“...there used to be a huge basket that was in one of the houses, you would eat throughout the day whenever you were hungry; there were not set eating times, nor were we ever wanting for food.” (Gogo Qhophu)*

The robustness of this system of agriculture in the minds of the respondents was palpable and their advocacy of its precepts was intermingled with nostalgia and tinged with melancholy. In their upbringing, the participants expressed to have experienced total food sovereignty, which they identify with indigenous crops such as *izinkobe* (legumes) which they characterize as filling, nutritious and metabolized slower by their bodies. Further, in consonance with these observations Stepp and Moerman (2001) as well as Shackleton, et al. (2009), bespeak the properties of these indigenous crops including their high nutritional value and food security, income generation potential, medicinal properties, and appropriateness for organic/low-input systems.

#### *Diversification of rural livelihoods*

Aside from sugar and gum tree production, the most prevalent crops in Mtubatuba are: maize, *imbumba* (cowpea), *umdumbula* (cassava), sweet potatoes, *amadumbe* (taro), beans, potatoes, cabbage, onion, spinach, and *izintanga* (pumpkin leaves). Nonetheless, Kirsten and Van Zyl (1998, 554) state that as a result of a number of structural and systemic constraints (for instance, lack of markets and prohibitive transaction costs) a paltry amount of this produce is able to be sold in local or other ancillary markets (see also Lahiff and Cousins 2005, 127). A distinct feature of small-scale farming in Mtubatuba, and South Africa at large, is the paucity of reliable and comprehensive empirical data on the records of this trade, as well as the volume and value of its produce (Lahiff and Cousins 2005; Cousins 2013). In reality, this pronounced uncertainty about the realm of small-scale farming has led scholars such as Kirsten and Van Zyl (1998)<sup>37</sup> to question the validity of the term ‘small-scale farming’, in its description of this form of agricultural production. To compound the ambiguity tied to small-scale farming, its ‘unprofitability’ necessitates that there is a great ‘diversification of rural livelihoods’ (O’Laughlin 1996; Neves and du Toit 2013) and households consequently accrue their incomes

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<sup>37</sup> Even though small-scale farming is usually connoted with rural, black, non-commercial subsistence forms of agriculture, there is ambiguity in the literature whether small-scale refers to the size of land under cultivation, or output or some combination of the two. Undeniably, there are a plethora of white commercial farmers (about 25 per cent) who operate farms smaller than 200 hectares (see Kirsten and Van Zyl 1998, 552).

from a variety of sources, including but not limited to; remittances, *stokvels*,<sup>38</sup> and government social grants. In concurrence, many of the respondents articulated how familiar and natural this *mélange* of the sources of sustenance was to them. Farmers interviewed in this study also articulated that they were not purists per se, but that they themselves augmented their small-scale agriculture by selling some of their produce to supplement their income and would also purchase certain food items using the government pension grant and remittances from their children or relatives, who were working in the city and towns.

*“This is not my only source of income; I get money from my daughter, who works in Durban, and I use the money from what I sell to supplement.” (Thangithini)*

*“No, I also get money from my son who works at the railways and I use that money to run my household and feed and clothe his children.” (Malumekazi)*

*“We haven’t had rain since November... I use the money I get from my grandchildren to buy a few items to ensure that there is enough food for the younger ones. (MaMkhwanazi)*

The increasing significance of social grants and remittances in rural settlements around the world is a concerning trend, as it highlights the increasing urban and rural divide (Muzvidziwa 2001; Neves et al 2009; Ojong 2009; Ojong 2010). However, in this instance, the instrumentalist or functionalist approach that it enables is echoed in the responses of most respondents as they convey that they amalgamate and interweave both conventional food stuffs and indigenous produce. This livelihood strategy is adopted to balance the weaknesses inherent in each mode and to ensure that their families survive, even during times of severe environmental shocks; such as the drought which was being experienced during the time of this study.

### *Traditionalist Upbringing*

Many respondents placed considerable emphasis on the role of their upbringing in influencing their present life decisions, and they ascribed much value to the traditional practices and beliefs systems, which they view as animating their psyche and that they also consider as being intricately linked to their actions.

*“I chose this work because at home we are members of the Nazareth Church, and throughout the years, our congregation has up-held that we must continue our traditional and cultural practices and the cultivation of food, which is indigenous, is a big part of that heritage.” (Babu’Xaba)*

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<sup>38</sup> ‘Stokvels’ are invitation clubs which serve as a saving scheme’s in South Africa, where members make fixed contributions, monthly or fortnightly. Each month a different member or constituent groups receive money or endowments, which were accrued during a specified period.

*“.. as a Zulu woman I was raised in a particular way, and now as a mother I recognize that there is a greater role that us woman must play as protectors of tradition; as many of the men are in the cities and it is left to us to carry on the practices of our people.”*  
(Nontsikelelo)

The desire to uphold traditional family values was expressed thoroughly by many respondents. The migrancy of men into the cities has left a vacuum in rural settlements, such as Mtubatuba, and women increasingly have to act as guardians and trustees of tradition. James (1999) in his study of migrancy and its effect on women in the Eastern Cape also highlights the integral role that women have to play, in the absence of men, in the performance of tradition and ritual, through the retention of mores and garb, an exemplification he ascribes to the increasing role of women in rural communities as guardians of tradition. In consonance, one farmer articulated that when she first decided to undertake the cultivation of indigenous vegetables; her family encouraged her to take up the torch and carrying on the traditional practice, and even allotted her some land nearby.

*“An important success in my life was deciding to go back to agriculture... after my relatives heard of my plight, they spoke on my behalf to the chief and they set aside this land for me”. (MaMdletshe)*

The onslaught of modernity on many rural communities, including Mtubatuba, has resulted in the youth straying from traditional practices and eschewing traditional foods, which many associate with the past and poverty (Giddens 1990). Pasquini and Young (2009) identify the perception of city dwellers to indigenous crops and, they discovered that, many of them viewed these crops as “old fashioned or poor man’s food.” Equally, in the rural settlement of Mtubatuba, the study identified an ‘economy of perception’ which affected how certain vegetables are valorized and others relegated (Ngcoya and Kumarakulasingam 2016). The direct influence of the modernization project,<sup>39</sup> that is incipient in South Africa, which has resulted in people, in both rural and urban settlements, attempting to associate themselves with progressive lifestyles and upward mobility, and thus eschewing traditional gastronomic traditions, in favor of their western counterparts. This somewhat dramatic performance by the country’s poor and middle classes around issues of food is tied intricately to ‘economies of perception’, which are compounded by the loss of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS). The performance is a display of one’s upward climb in the social world which is manifest in where and how much one consumes. In this performance, the further one moves away from what are considered indigenous (or poor peoples’ food) the upper one is on the imagined social ladder. However, an opposite effect has also emerged; there are pockets of resistance, such as the respondents from my study in Mtubatuba, who are constituted of elders who intend to uphold indigenous heritage and its

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<sup>39</sup> The modernization projects is a parallel of the ‘globalisation project’ which refers to ‘an emerging vision of the world and its resources as a globally organized and managed free trade/free enterprise economy pursued by a largely unaccountable political and economic elite (McMichael 1996, 300)

food systems, in order to bring it across into modernity. Thus, the ‘superior’ crops advocated by proponents of the green revolution and its attendant consumption patterns are questioned and vehemently castigated by the participants of my research.

### *Gendered Roles*

In the past decade, despite women becoming progressively more mobile and attaining greater economic empowerment, they still persist to be exceedingly constrained by social relations and domestic obligations, which are buttressed by patriarchy (Dobson 1998; Budlender and Meena 2009). The interviews which I conducted for this study revealed that traditional roles ascribed to women and men still persist and prevail exceedingly in sites such as Mtubatuba. These traditional roles, which define relations between men and women, are prevalently constituted of: a disparity in roles and status; a disparity in the division of labour; a disparity in the access to and control of resources; and a disparity in power between the genders (O’Laughlin 2009). Throughout the interviews it became apparent that there were embodied or latent conventions that respondents were ascribing to which they themselves may not have been able to articulate or deconstruct, a Foucauldian ‘regimes of practice’ (Foucault et al. 2010). Women in the study spoke about the various duties and roles which they undertake in terms of equivalence or in surrogate terms, in addition to their function as farmers of indigenous vegetables. Thus, an interrogation of gender and how the participants see themselves and the social reality of precarity, which many have absorbed as a natural state of being, was pivotal in understanding how the intersecting features of race, gender and class affected the women in my study.

### *Women and Social Reproduction*

Many of the farmers who were interviewed, who were predominantly women, outlined the care duties that they undertake for members of their household.

*“In my home, in addition to the work that I usually do in the fields, in the mornings, I also ensure that I clean the house and do the washing for the children in my care.”*  
(MaMkhwanazi)

*“My husband has been ill for the past few years, and I take care of him at home, I make him food in the morning and make sure that our home is tidy.”* (Nontsikelelo)

The responsibility for support and care of family members is invariably thrust on to the shoulders of women, literature on gender (Razavi 2007a; Hara 2007) refers to this role as forming part of a broader ‘economy of care’. This economy is defined as involving: ‘preparation of meals, laundry, cleaning and shopping; care of children, the elderly, the sick and people with disabilities within the household’ (Razavi 2007b, 5). Care in this ‘economy’ generally refers to work done within

families and communities, mainly by women, which is unremunerated, mainly for subsistence purposes, and whose production is intended for self-consumption. The responses of the farmers shared parallels with observations by Budlender and Meena (2009), in their case study in Tanzania, where they identified that there was a connection between the gendered role that women occupy which necessitated that they undertake the role of primary care giver, and this social reproduction imperative was invariably accommodated by the work they undertook in society.

*“... I live with my grandchildren, whom I take care of, and wash their clothes when they are away at school...during this drought I have also been collecting water for the home which takes hours because of the ques.” (Ntombifuthi)*

In feminist literature the social reproductive role that women undertake has been defined as the ‘double shift’ (Razavi 2007a), and this has been identified as the unaccounted cost in the machinery of social reproduction. In addition, the institutionalized migration of black men into the city, to fulfil demands for labour by the mines and cities, compounded by an unprecedented massacre of a generation due to the onslaught of HIV/AIDS in South Africa, have dramatically increased the number of female-headed households in the country (Schatz et al 2011). In Mtubatuba, a large proportion of households, 53 per cent, belong to this ever-increasingly strata of society (Statistics South Africa 2013b). In other words, the illusive lines between productive and social reproductive labour are not merely a result of the exigencies of some cultural norm, but are intricately concomitant with the political economy of South Africa. Neves and du Toit (2013) in their work on rural livelihoods in South Africa discovered that grandmothers, in rural households, assume a disparate burden of the care responsibilities. In addition, rural areas were identified as performing the function of a buffer: “A common sense response to urban employment crises and other urban shocks such as illness or retrenchment is to send non-economically active household members, such as children, back to rural homes where they are often cared for in ‘skipped generation’ homes of grandchildren and grandmothers” (Neves et al. 2009, 34). Consequently, the respondents’ pursuit of food sovereignty is interceded by domestic and social reproductive exigencies that weigh onerously upon them, augmented by impediments inextricably linked to the farming of indigenous vegetables.

*“It is not easy to live in the rural areas; we have to contend with water shortages as well as, trying to create a livelihood for our children, whilst we also look after the home and families.” (Khanyisile)*

*“...when my mother passed away, I had to take on the responsibility of looking after my deceased brother’s children, in addition to my selling activities and upkeep of the home.”(Dolly)*

The double shift which the participants in my study referred to in terms of equivalence, often has to concomitantly expand into subsistence activities as well as social networking. Normatively,



men are assigned the role of the breadwinner, and often take up employment at a distance from the homestead, which involves frequent migration to urban centers. Those men who reside close to the homestead are often self-employed or are involved in lucrative higher-status activities, such as animal husbandry (Neves and du Toit 2013). Whereas, women, such as those interviewed in this study, are drawn increasingly into lower-status economic activities, particularly informal trading.

### *Gender and Land*

The renascent focus on land in general parlance, two decades after the democratic dispensation, has long been foreshadowed by its significant resurgence in scholarly literature (Robins 2003; Bank and Minkley 2005; Akram-Lodhi 2007). Further, the growing body of literature on ‘land-grabbing’ which is being perpetrated by domestic and international conglomerates,<sup>40</sup> in Africa and in Latin America, thrusts forth the multi-faceted importance of land for agricultural production, politics of place and identity, energy, sovereignty, and financialisation (Van der Ploeg 2009; Russi 2013; Fairbairn 2014).<sup>41</sup> McMichael (2013) articulates that this resurgent focus on land coincides with an identified capitalization project aimed to; “feed the world a new deceit by converting smallholders into value-chain ‘outgrowers’ for world markets”.<sup>42</sup> The flagrant encouragement of land grabbing through the fetishization of agriculture by means of speculation in land, as a financial derivative, has also subordinated agricultural land to the financial markets. Further, ‘the central agro-exporting principle of the food regime has served to displace producers by violent processes of land grabbing on the one hand,<sup>43</sup> and market dumping on the other” (McMichael 2013, 3).<sup>44</sup> The implications of agricultural financialisation have far reaching effects for peasant counter movements such as, Via Campesina as well as the farmers in my study. My research also echoes and reaffirms the fundamental significance of land in rural development and the importance of ‘embedded’ producers at the local. However, if land is indeed at the forefront of debates about reform of the global agro-industrial complex, for women

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<sup>40</sup> Consortium of South African farmers have recently acquired 88,000 hectares of agricultural land in Congo-Brazzaville, whilst another consortium of 800 South African farmers have also acquired a million hectares in a southern province of Mozambique (see The Guardian 01 May 2011).

<sup>41</sup> Financialisation refers the process through which financial institutions, markets, among others, expand and permeate an economy at the expense of other sectors of the economy such as agriculture (Russi 2013).

<sup>42</sup> The Gates foundation are advocating for a system of agricultural development, in Africa and Latin America, which calls for ‘land mobility’, which is removing small-scale farmers for larger industrial farmers by means of a different rhetoric (George 2013).

<sup>43</sup> Colonial land grabbing vis-a-vis dispossession included requisitioning of the grain reserves possessed by ‘natives’ (Davis 2001).

<sup>44</sup> The persistent dumping of subsidised northern food surpluses, in markets in the global south, characterized the 1980s-90s, and this feature has extended into the twenty-first century, highlighted by a recent fracas between the USA and South Africa regarding America’s intention to dump chicken and pork surpluses into the South African market (see The Economist 2015).

in small-scale informal production in rural Mtubatuba, it is resurgent in complex and dynamic ways.

Gender in agrarian studies has not received debate and analysis as intensely as class, politics, and capitalization (O’Laughlin 2009). Although it is intertwined in every facet of the agrarian question, “the twenty-first agrarian question inverts the classical agrarian question with its theoretical focus on proletarian political opportunity, converting the question of capital’s reproduction to a question of the reproduction of the food producer (McMichael, 2013). The ‘food producers’ in South Africa’s agriculture are predominantly women, “women make up 61% of all those involved in farming”, as a result the conspicuous omission of gender in the discipline is particularly egregious, and some proponents have ascribed this incongruity to the presumed mores and dictates of ‘traditional’ culture (Altman et al. 2009, 357). In isiZulu culture Men and women “control” and inhabit different spaces in the agricultural ‘production’.

*“Men concern themselves with goats and cows [animal husbandry]... we plough the fields and cultivate the crops... that we can use to eat and feed our families.”*  
(Mam’Sibongile)

*“I’m different, men usually accumulate livestock and sell ...I have committed myself to cultivating traditional vegetables and there a very few of us [men] doing that ....”*(Babu’Mathontsi)

*“...very few men cultivate indigenous crops, most are sugar cane and gum tree farmers... in our culture women cultivate the land and men tend the livestock.”* (Daphney)

Women and men, as a result of gendered practice over time, ‘control’ different crops and spaces in the agricultural value-chain. As consequence, the responsibility for selling or otherwise utilizing animal and plant resources is differential, such that what is valorized is oft assimilated by men. For instance, when it is traded at the market, maize is perceived as a ‘male crop’, since men are tasked with selling it, even if women may have provided the bulk of the labour for its production (Farnworth et al. 2013, 7). However, once “female crops” come to be sought after in the market, akin to cash crops, ownership frequently shifts to men. Consequently, even men who cultivate crops in Mtubatuba ascribe normatively to the gendered nature of agricultural production, and the majority of them pursue cash crops, namely; sugar cane and gum tree.

*“Men usually go to the cities and work for a number of years... the money they are able to save is used, upon their return, to buy livestock or the tools to aid in intensive forms of farming.”* (Mam’khulu)

In the face of land being historically the concern of men, and married women the small-scale farmers, who participated in my study, depict a system of land tenure in which they have to navigate and contend with traditional ideologies, and their attendant regimes of control, which bolster patriarchy and male privilege. Among the participants of my study, a handful of them,

only 6 out of 20, declared to have uninterrupted tenure on the land which they used to cultivate their produce, and as a result proclaimed to have no apprehensions about their land tenure. The rest of the participants articulated a far more tenuous and cumbersome circumstance of land tenure.

*“No, the land is not mine... it is my neighbor’s, uGogo uMakhoba, who passed away many years ago...I’ve been using the land since it’s been abandoned by her children who live eVryheid...they haven’t returned since, since.” (Gcinaphi)*

*“The land that I use belongs to my sister, she is the home next to us... if she passed away I don’t know what shall be, maybe I will also be no more, I don’t know” (Gogo Qhophu)*

*“The land is not ours... we have permission to use it from Induna [chief] and we have been using it even before uPhenius [the incumbent chief’s late father] passed away... Yes, we worry a lot, especially since some of his relatives have been asking for the land.” (Malumekazi)*

A large proportion of the women in my study cited similar shaky and tentative tenure statuses. A representative of a group of women from eMgwazeni, who are in the throes of forming a co-operative, alluded to the jostle which they are engaged in, as they were trying to secure the use of land, adjacent to a reservoir, for the cultivation of *utyuthu* (amaranth), spinach, cabbage and *umdumbula* (cassava). Land is evidently a ‘sine qua non’ in agricultural production, yet in Mtubatuba, very few women have a statutory land title, neither were the women in this study uproariously demanding it. A vast number of women across the African continent continue to access land through their male kinfolk in customary land tenure structures, as a result their livelihoods are inextricably tied to their ability to remain in good accord with their *induna*, fathers, husbands, sons and other male relations. When these relationships find discordance – due, for instance, to widowhood or divorce – often women are compelled to relinquish ownership and ‘control’ of land to their husband’s clan (Farnworth et al. 2013, 76). It is true that, women’s deprivation is a culmination of factors, including the patriarchal ideologies buttressing customary law, but perceiving women as passive beings and incapable of exerting agency and creating spaces of independence is misleading. The women in my study exhibit conscious ways of navigating and negotiating the structure in their favor and have been able to use land, albeit precariously, for their purposes. In addition, work by other scholars such as, Ntsebeza (2004); Mnisi (2010) and Budlender et al. (2011) are in consonance with the assertion that women in rural areas are able to exert agency and wield influence, whilst others such as Kabane (2013) feel in these societies women are being ‘short-changed’. As consequence, conceiving of women and similarly small-scale farmers as a homogenous category obfuscates the myriad embedded and nuanced differences in the significance of land. Similarly, those who advocate for the precepts of food sovereignty must be aware of the differences in access to land, particularly were it pertains to gender. Thus, elevating the level of access that women have to resources is a mammoth

undertaking which demands a conscientious, planned and radical transformation in gender relations.

### *The Economic Role of Women*

The responsibility of ensuring economic security is a function that has been increasingly undertaken by rural women, on behalf of their households, and it is continually drawing them into productive endeavors (Dobson 1998). Engaging in gainful employment, the vast majority of women in Mtubatuba, like their compatriots in the ‘developed world’, select jobs which accommodate rather than challenge their domestic responsibilities (Hara 2007; Budlender & Meena 2009). Consequently, Hara (2007, 18) asserts that, “the growth of part-time work for women can be seen as an example of the relatively stable gender norm”. Correspondingly, the entrepreneurial endeavors undertaken by small-scale farmers in Mtubatuba are characteristically distinct from those that men undertake. A distinguishing feature in this study is that informal production and trade of indigenous vegetables is an activity dominated by women.

*“I chose this work because I need to ensure that everything goes accordingly at home and that there is also money and food to meet our needs.” (Gogo Trifina)*

*“...In addition of selling indigenous vegetables, I often sell crafts. I do this so I can increase the money that I can make for my family...I’ve got grandchildren that rely on me.” (Sinenhlanhla)*

*“...I’m the only adult in my household and I must make sure that there is food on the table and money to ensure that the kids go to school.” (Thangithini)*

In this rural context, women continue to experience unequal gender relations. Significant patterns emerging from this study point to an increasing numbers of women, especially younger women, become more mobile. Young women in general, with the advent of modernity, have perceived themselves to be deprived of opportunity in rural areas, and as a result move away (James 1999). Thus, many women at pivotal junctures in their lives invariably have to migrate to the towns and cities to find work.

### *The Mobility of Women*

Women’s mobility is categorized by two discernible patterns over time, both of which are motivated by women’s need to advance their economic and social well-being, as well as those of their immediate families. The women in my study outlined that some women undertake semi-permanent migrations to towns and cities. These predominantly younger women usually migrate

from their communities and follow their kinsfolk or partners into urban areas, and are far away for prolonged periods of the year, and even in some instances years. Whereas, other women usually older, commute regularly between their homes to urban areas that are in proximity to provide services or participate in economic activities, such as the sale of indigenous vegetables.

*“When I was younger I used to work in the city as a maid, but as I got older I have made a life for myself closer to home. Growing and selling my own indigenous vegetables has made it [staying at home] easier.” (Malumekazi)*

*“It’s been some years since I left [migrated] for work... It’s easier when you’re younger but now that I’m older I prefer to stay closer to home and sell nearby.” (Mamkhwanzazi)*

*“I used to work in the city when I was younger... but now that I’m older my family needs me closer to home...the younger ones [younger siblings] are now all grown up and working in the city.” (Neh)*

The movement patters of women who participate in trade, in the informal sector, represent a conscientious decision by them to secure markets in distant areas and also their attempt to source goods, for their household’s consumption. Although, many women have made a dependable livelihood out of informal trading, in indigenous vegetables, this is characteristically a survivalist endeavor amongst women.

*“I don’t sell any day, I sell closer to month end... and when there are people with grants.” (Gogo Masondo)*

*“...transport is too expensive... I come on days that I know there will be people willing to buy, when people have been paid, and even when I need to buy,” (Sinenhlanhla)*

*“...I also sell sweet potato [amakhasi kabhatata] when people are receiving pension, as well as mielie seeds [izinkobe], and I use the money along with my pension to buy things that are needed in my home for the month.” (Thangithini)*

A prevalent stratagem amongst women who sell indigenous vegetables is to combine the sale of produce with commutes to purchase goods and services for their households. Further, their strategy also involves focusing their selling activities during times of high demand, such as during pay-days or towards the month-end. Furthermore, location is also an important feature to sellers, as they flock to ranks and transport interchanges during these peak times. In addition, to maintain proximity with the domestic sphere, women’s enterprises in the sale and productions of indigenous vegetables remain small so that they may accomplish their social reproductive responsibilities within their households. However, being free of these responsibilities, men are able to engage in more time-intense and lucrative enterprises.

### *Inadequate Education*

Many of the respondents indicated that one of the challenges that they faced, in their youth, was securing the opportunity to undertake adequate formal education. All the respondents, farmers and sellers, indicated that they did not have a tertiary education nor had the majority completed secondary education. This is a striking feature as there is a considerable co-relation between the types of work people undertake and their level of education (Weber et al. 1994).

*“One of the challenges which I faced in my life was finding a way to further my education...when I was younger; no one in my family had the ability to put me through high school.” (Khanyisile)*

*“... A big challenge in my life was finding the means to go to school... I always wanted to be a teacher.” (Mam 'khulu)*

*“I only have a standard three... my parents weren't educated and they saw no need for me to go to school.” (Gogo Masondo)*

The lack of education amongst women in rural settlements is predicated by a number of constraints, such being the head of a household, which impinge upon their life opportunities and lend a hand in ensuring that their life choices are relegated to precarious endeavors in the informal economy. The obligations which women have, especially in youth, in assisting with household responsibilities are an onerous yoke, that many cannot flourish under. In addition, schools in rural settlements are often remote and invariably in inadequate condition to provide sound education (Gardiner 2008).

### *Poverty and familial obligations*

The lack of material and monetary resources amongst families in rural settlements, such as Mtubatuba, is a feature that is associated with the low educational advancement of its youth. Poorer households often have very low levels of formal education and the older members of those families are every so often illiterate (Gardiner 2008, 20). The traditionalist roots of these communities along with historical geo-politics of the region predicated that some areas in proximity to Mtubatuba were better equipped, by historical happenstance, with the endowment of both primary and secondary schools brought by missionaries, which enabled nearby communities to have access to education provided on these mission schools.

*“... I completed my primary education at Ophaphasi [primary school], but there was no money at home to enable me to travel and pursue secondary education at a nearby high school.” (Babu' Xaba)*

*“I have a standard three [fifth grade] ... I had to stop my schooling because I was needed at home, my mom was selling ‘isiqatha’ [fermented beer] in town and no one was at home to watch over.” (MaMdletshe)*

*“I have standard five [seventh grade] ... I was withdrawn from school because my father needed someone to herd and look after our livestock.” (Babu Mathontsi)*

In the past, and to a greater extent presently, children of ‘better-off’ families travelled to areas in KwaZulu-Natal to attend secondary schools, or to pursue education at tertiary education institutions. Frequently, the decision on where to send children for education was predicated on the location of relatives. However, poorer households, lacking the wherewithal to provide for their children’s mobility, by consequence, deprived them of vital skills that would have enabled them to attain higher levels of education, and increase their household’s human capital.

*“One of my biggest challenges was finding money for school [secondary]... I had relatives eNkandla who were willing to take me under their care but there was not enough money at home to pay for me and my siblings, who were still in school [primary].” (Gogo Trifina)*

The majority of farmers and sellers of indigenous vegetables, who were interviewed in this study, represent members of poorer households, who were deprived of the opportunity and access to secondary and tertiary education, due to a dearth of monetary and material means. Further, this lack was compounded by the ‘necessities’ of their respective households, where their labour was frequently required to maintain their household’s well-being.

*“... my parents were uneducated and they saw no need in advancing our education beyond primary school...there were a lot of things that needed to be done at home and they felt that we needed to invest our time there.” (Ntombifuthi)*

As consequence, many of the respondents, in their lived experience, have been faced with limited formal employment prospects and have thus perused less stable means of securing a livelihood, within the informal sector. Scholars such as Ngonini (2004); Zafar (2004) and Gardiner (2008, 28), decry the gauntlet that youth in rural settlements continue to face; “they are the worst off in terms of their physical conditions, infrastructure, access to services and teaching resources”. Further, the dilapidated facilities and lack of infrastructure, necessitates that the young continue to fulfil responsibilities that their urban counterparts are spared from. In addition, deplorable learning conditions, compounded by substandard teaching, as well as poverty and filial obligations ‘stack the odds’ against rural youth and prevent them from attaining a quality education and thus securing formal employment, in adulthood.

## Social Networks

The significance of social networks and structures in the livelihood strategies of small-scale farmers in a rural settlement, such as Mtubatuba, is inextricably tied to their abilities to realize food sovereignty. Social networks thence refer to relationships and interpersonal ties, which these farmers enmesh themselves in, through all kinds of institutions such as; kinship, associations, and clubs which provide “social, financial and political support in order to facilitate social development of their members” (Amisi 2006, 208). Further, intimately entwined to social networks are ‘livelihoods’ which, by definition, transcend income accrued through agriculture but also encompass activities such as maintaining and retaining access to, “resources and opportunities, dealing with risk, negotiating social relationships within the household and managing social networks and institutions within communities” (Beall and Kanji 1999, 1). Consequently, social networks are intimately intertwined in the livelihood strategies that farmers in Mtubatuba engage in as both; a resource, and as means to expand their ‘capabilities’.<sup>45</sup> In Mtubatuba, access to, and accumulation of resources through social networks, is underpinned by trust,<sup>46</sup> that is augmented by the principle and practice of reciprocity and mutual support, which cumulatively has been termed ‘social capital’ (Robbins 2003b).<sup>47</sup>

### *Neighbours and Relatives*

Social networks in Mtubatuba, like other urban and rural areas across the world, are based on kinship, geopolitical affinities, and friendship empathies that hold a significant sway on how members of communities align themselves and the nature of relationships that they chose to enter into (Amisi 2006). Networks consisting of neighbors and relatives, formed within this crucible, for small-scale farmers and sellers of indigenous vegetables not only provide livelihood enhancing information but are also sources of assistance, intercession, and emotional support, especially for moderate external risks and shocks.

*“My relatives are here eGunjaneni... Yes, they help me whenever I ask for assistance... Often I request one of the children to help carry my produce, in order for me to sell on the pension collection days.” (Mam 'Sibongile)*

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<sup>45</sup>‘Capabilities’ refer to the ability to perform a particular human function, ‘doings and beings’ and the corresponding capabilities, such as, ‘the ability to be well-nourished and well-sheltered, the capability of escaping avoidable morbidity and premature mortality and so forth.’ (see Sen 1989 ,46)

<sup>46</sup> Trust is a vital component in societies where there are no formal written agreements, but rather ascription to a ‘moral contract’. Thus, these situations require the cementing of relations of trust in terms of ‘generalised norms of morality and more personalised sources embedded in social networks’ (see Lyon 2000: 664).

<sup>47</sup> A large corpus of research on social capital in Sub-Saharan Africa is focused on the increasing significance of social networks, normative behaviour and trust in creating co-operation and co-ordination between producers and traders (see Widnery & Mundt 1998).



*“Yes, my neighbours have been of immense help in this water crisis...they bring me drums of water from the waterholes.” (Khanyisile)*

*“I have many relatives here KwaSomkhele... the land I use to farm was apportioned to me, many years ago, by my relative and this endowment has helped me in my farming.” (Babu Mathontsi)*

*“No, I don’t have relatives nearby... my neighbours have become my relatives we’ve co-existed amicably for soo, soo long... they help me with ploughing whenever my leg becomes swollen.” (Gogo Trifina)*

The participants in my study hailed the central role that neighbours and relatives play within their social networks, which are pillars in facilitating the production of their indigenous vegetables. One of the farmers in my study uttered the elocution, ‘better a friend that is near than a relative that is far’ a seemingly obvious assertion, that upon closer examination, is imbued with deep meaning. The majority of the participants in my study have lived in their current home in excess of 20 years, and as a result have been able to develop strong relationships with their neighbours, over successive decades. Thus, in the face of increasing levels of precarity, induced by structural and historical particularism, social networks act as ‘safety nets’ that participants in my study rely on to mitigate shocks, such as drought. In addition, they are a form of social protecting,<sup>48</sup> akin to the benefits of the welfare state which have rescinded in recent years (Devereux and Wheeler 2004).

### ***Other Farmers***

The informal networks that farmers in Mtubatuba have developed, among themselves, are a vital aorta and ventricle that provide; helpful information, livelihood enriching knowledge, along with meaningful support and encouragement. Informal networks, by their nature, depend heavily on individual efforts, to network, as opposed to organizational mandates or initiatives. Thus, informal networks rely on personal contact among the constituents of its ‘organization’ and have a tendency to be determined by necessity, and are established when required (Vorley 2013). To sustain agricultural production small-scale farmers, who are reservoirs of knowledge on a variety of diverse indigenous crops, enter into relationships of co-operation and mutual accommodation, which interweave into resilient informal networks. For example, through the informal networks that respondents in this study have formed, they disseminate knowledge on which indigenous plant species are suitable to be used for medicinal purposes or for fodder. In addition, many respondents, through the guidance of their network, practice the traditional practice of intercropping as a strategy of both; improving soil quality, as well as for differentiating harvests,

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<sup>48</sup> Social protection refers to; “all public and private initiatives that provide income or consumption transfers to the poor, protect the vulnerable against livelihood risks, and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalised (Devereux and Wheeler 2004, iii).

to ensure food security. In many parts of the world, agricultural extension officials denigrated this practice, until they recognized its benefits and advocated for its reintroduction (Klerkx, Aarts, and Leeuwis, 2010).

*“I receive support from other farmers...they empower me with knowledge on how to cultivate some wild varieties of indigenous vegetables.” (Sinenhlanhla)*

*“I was first introduced to the cultivation of indigenous vegetables by another farmer... here KwaHhohho, and she, as well as other women in the area, have over the years taught me new ways of cultivation.” (Nontsikelelo)*

*“The only support that I receive consistently is from fellow farmers...we’ve banded together in pursuit of improving our lives, and our cultivation methods.”(Khanyisile)*

Within these informal networks, consisting of farmers, the development of technology through trial-and-error experiments is encouraged as well as the novel integration of established knowledge. Consequently, externally and locally produced innovation and technology are transferred through farmer-to-farmer contact. The informal networks which farmers form transcend the mere exchange of information into the sharing of agricultural implements, seeds, inputs to mitigate ‘upstream challenges’<sup>49</sup>, as well as access to facilities such as; transportation for market bound agricultural produce. In Mtubatuba, farmer-to-farmer informal networks revealed a tendency to be most resilient and lignified among farmers with commonalities such as; age-based groups, religious denomination, locale, as well as common interests and agendas.

### *Seed Networks*

There is an implicit challenge in attempting to secure a firm grasp of the complex networks of seed circulation, contained within the embedded seed systems of farmers in Mtubatuba, which are entwined within social and institutional relations of place. These relations of place bespeak the social, economic and political ‘mise-en-scène’ of Mtubatuba; that no single discipline can adequately encompass from a singular ‘punctum archimedis’. In spite of this, scholars such as Kloppenburg (2010) and, Wynberg and Pereira (2013), among others, have advocated for closer attention to be given to farmer-controlled seed systems, in the formation of national as well as international seed policy, as well as the interface of ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ seed provision modes. However, there is much permeability that occurs between ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ seed systems; many farmers in Mtubatuba are simultaneously members of co-operatives and informal networks. Thus, notwithstanding the modes in which seeds can be provided, this study contends

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<sup>49</sup> Upstream challenges refer to essential conditions for agricultural production that must be obtained before actual farming can commence, these include; land, seeds, machinery/labour, but they also include ‘non-physical or service inputs such as finance and advisory services that are essential to managing increasingly complex production processes at the farm level’ (Blandford 2013, 7).

that the nexus between various modes of circulation are social networks that develop with the establishment of relations through seed transfer events.

*“I buy some of my seeds from the shops, like spinach.... Farmers in Mtubatuba are not organized, I haven’t heard of any seed facilities for farmers... Instead, I save seed.”*  
(Daphney)

*“I keep seed and I also exchange it with other farmers...Unfortunately, farmers in Mtubatuba don’t have any seed facilities, we organize and disburse seeds amongst ourselves.”* (Gogo Qhophu)

Indigenous institutions that have been invaluable in facilitating seed sovereignty amongst farmers in Mtubatuba are the seed blessing ceremonies. Alas, these ceremonies are now rare, although there have been attempts by traditional leadership in KwaZulu-Natal to revive these ceremonies<sup>50</sup>. Consequently, seed networks in Mtubatuba are not formally organized but rather are interweaved into the social networks that farmers have established amongst themselves. Within the food sovereignty discourse, seeds have also become a terrain of increased concern and focus. ‘Seed sovereignty’, has become a term of currency in food sovereignty debates, as there has been a realization that it is fundamental to the actualization of the precepts contained within the countermovement (Shiva et al. 2000; Hobbelink 2012). Regrettably, the precepts of food sovereignty have been systematically undermined, within the current agro-industrial ‘regime’, through the extension of intellectual property rights, on biological material, to the biotechnology industry, and this has been strengthened by the enactment of international treaties that advocate for the rights of corporate plant breeders at the expense of farmers (Roht-Arriaza 1996; Alker & Heidhues 2002; Kloppenburg 2010).

### ***Transport Intermediaries***

Transport is a fundamental component in the supply chain of agricultural food production. Transportation alone may be the difference between; entrepreneurial success and profits, or losses and failure for farmers at any scale of operation. Indeed, in the agricultural food chain transport is often the most onerous and expensive operation, and it is invariably reflected in the final price of produce. Over the last two decades, there has been a renewal of awareness about; the multifarious connections between agriculture and the environment, a concern about increasing ‘food miles<sup>51</sup>’, rapid climate change, reduction in bio-diversity, along with the

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<sup>50</sup> In August 2014, local women in Mtubatuba, under the banner of Zimele Rural Women’s Empowerment, organized a seed ritual and blessing ceremony at Kwahhohho, near Mtubatuba. (for more see, <http://www.biowatch.org.za/docs/reports/2014/ZRWE0%20Seed%20Blessing%20Ceremony,%20Kwahhohho,%20August%202014.pdf>)

<sup>51</sup> Food Miles refers to the distance that food has to travel from the producer to the consumer, i.e. ‘Farm to fork’ (see Weber and Matthews 2008)

deficiencies of the Green Revolution. This renewed cognizance has been the locus of strategic counter movements, such as the ‘localist project’, which are dedicated to combat transnational agrofood supply chains, which undermine and destroy local markets and agroecosystems. As consequence, proponents of localism and food sovereignty have spearheaded the ‘slow food’<sup>52</sup> movement which vehemently advocates for a reduction of food miles. In the same vein, in a plethora of developing countries the concern of rural transport transcends mere ‘food miles’ and also encompasses the mileage of essentials such as; water, firewood, individual mobility, and persons access to social services—— such as; schools and health facilities (León and de León et al. 2008). The farmers and sellers of indigenous produce, who were interviewed for this study, were asked about the mode and cost of the transport system that they used, and the majority identified public transport<sup>53</sup> such as; the taxi/micro-bus (costing between R11- R16) or the cost of a ‘bakkie’-load (R40 - R60). Alas, none of the respondents kept an inventory of produce or of actual transport costs, and were consequently unaware of the unit cost of transport.

*“In the morning, I wait for a van owned by father Nxumalo... other sellers also use it because it’s spacious and punctual.” (Nxephu)*

*“It depends on how much I have to sell...sometimes I use taxis, but mostly I use vans because I can load many buckets.” (Neh)*

*“My neighbour has a double-cab... when I have vegetables to sell I come with him to town, in the morning.” (MaMdletshe)*

In Mtubatuba, all of the farmers and sellers of indigenous vegetables, who participated in this study, do not possess the wherewithal to secure their own means of transporting produce to the market. Further, those who reside at distance from the market often band together to shoulder the cost of transporting their produce to the market or consumption centers. Consequently, transport and the selection of an intermediary are important as the costs incurred due to bad driving (bruising of produce) or delayed delivery may deprive sellers of prime locations and favorable selling opportunities at consumption centers, such as pension points. In developing countries, the inadequacy of transport infrastructure combined with the large distances between areas of production and centers of consumption has meant that agriculture is often characterized by the presence of intermediaries. Intermediaries invariably exploit their transportation cost advantage, over farmers, and are able in some instances to, “impose interlinked contracts and are free to choose a spatial pricing policy” (Lefèvre and Tharakanz 2014, 1). In Mtubatuba the majority of transport intermediaries are merely conveyors of farmers and their produce, and do not enter into

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<sup>52</sup> The ‘slow food’ movement is spearheaded by the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity and it also advocates for the consumption of food produced using sustainable ecological processes, in contrast with the production and supply chains of ‘fast-food’ (Friedmann and McNair 2008).

<sup>53</sup> In South Africa the means of transport available to the majority of the public, esp. in rural areas, are privately owned vehicles such as taxi’s (Micro-buses) and bakkies (Vans) that are privately owned.

contracts with farmers. However, like their counterparts in the rest of the developing world, they also enjoy the freedom to choose their spatial pricing policy.

*“The fee I charge for transport is not only determined by distance, if the terrain is bad I charge more... my shocks and tyres have to endure more wear and tear.” (Babu’ Nkosikhona)*

*“If the passenger wants to go beyond the main roads and car stops I charge them more, but generally I have a flat rate... if the roads are not good I have to use my discretion” (Babu’ Manqele)*

In Mtubatuba, small-scale farmers and sellers of indigenous vegetables, whose income is predominantly used in the purchase of food, are particularly sensitive to transportation costs, as their income is inelastic to the ‘discretionary’ fluctuations in transport costs. Lefèvre and Tharakanz (2014, 13) in their work on intermediaries in; Kenya, Mozambique and Malawi cite a concerning trend in the developing world where small-scale farmers are increasingly producing on contract for agro-industrial firms, “evidence suggests that in interlinked contracts the input is sold at a discount”. This is a concerning trend as this means that there is ‘leakage’ of desperately needed income by rural farmers, who oft constitute the lowest quantile in their respective countries.

## **Local Governance**

Rural communities in South Africa are distinguished by the existence of dual systems of governance, which are a testament to the regions history and colonial influences. In former Bantustans such as Mtubatuba, where the majority of small-scale farmers are located, the populaces are governed by two structures of authority; traditional leadership and municipal structures. There are debates in academia on the effectiveness of this dual governance, because of the perceived bifurcation between these two structures (Bentley 2005; Koelble 2005; Kyed and Buur 2006; Logan 2008). However, the aforementioned debates have tended to elide the beneficiaries who are the subjects of these often disparate structures of governance. The social choices of small-scale farmers of indigenous vegetables and their acceptance of various structures of governance options is influenced by their relationship with traditional leadership structures, as well as the local state processes. Thus, acting collectively or individually, communities reify/ratify and shape the local governance ‘mise-en-scène’ by how and to whom they communicate their ideas and frustrations with service delivery. In that way they contribute to the governance processes of the various organs of state at different tiers. Furthermore, it is also imperative to be cognizant that service delivery takes place in a political context imbued with, often bifurcating and competing, democratic theories that guide how governance is practiced (Diamond 1999; Przeworski and Stokes 1999; Mainwaring and Scully 1995; Shugart and Carey 1992). Service delivery takes place within a dynamic matrix of spatial, policy, and institutional

topographies which are inflected with the politics of place. Consequently, in places such as Mtubatuba, these dynamics are directed by specific rules, rapports, ethics and attitudes that coagulate into a governance discourse.

In addition, governance as concept has gained traction and currency in development policy discourse, together with increased research within the discipline of social science (Olowu and Sako 2002). Despite this effervescence, there has been ambiguity and a lack of consensus on the definition of governance as both a practical instrument and as a development theory (Pieterse 2000). Consequently, there are a variety of definitions pertaining to governance that are modulated by the different perspectives and ideological positions. Olowu and Sako. (2002) contends that the focal ideological divergence that has influenced how governance is defined has been the bifurcation between governance as an ‘activity’ or as a ‘process’. Proponents of governance as an activity have been influenced by a palpable concern for how actors and institutions interrelate to negotiate their particular activities and endeavors (Malena, 2009). Whereas, proponents of governance as a process contend that the management of public affairs is no longer restricted to traditional jurisdictions, but is also influenced by processes that transcend such parochial demarcations (Olowu and Sako 2002; Piper and Nadvi 2007). One alternative position that perceives governance as both an activity and a process emanates from Kooiman (1993) who contends that governance is a purposeful and concerted act to guide, steer, and control society. Remarkably dissimilar to other analysts, Kooiman (1993) is cognizant that these purposeful and concerted acts cannot be accomplished or adequately effected in a single measure but are entangled and enmeshed in a process that takes time and comprises of multiple stakeholders and actors.

### ***Traditional leadership***

The matter of traditional governance and its significance in the modern epoch is entangled in an economy of perception, a dichotomy of perceived progressive and regressive systems. These perceptions are intersected by a perceived perennial allegiance by traditional systems to patriarchy, in an epoch which is permeated by increasingly robust consciousness and debates on gender relations (Sithole 2009). These debates are characterized by a constant jostling and chivvying between opposing proponents as they attempt to define the parameters between archaic and oppressive traditional systems on one side, and the progressive and emancipatory modern system on the other (Sithole and Mbele 2008, 6). Nonetheless as Sithole (2010, 58) contends, this bifurcation conceals more than it reveals: “The links between the rural base of localized governance systems and the urban citizens is also not fully explored – both politically and economically. Yet there is an analytical surprise as to why traditional leadership is resilient even in states that have long attained independence.” My interviews with the farmers and sellers of indigenous vegetables in Mtubatuba revealed that traditional structures remained robust and resilient because people endow them with the meaning and legitimacy in a multiplicity of ways.

*“My iNduna is of great help to me, if there is a challenge that I am facing I make him aware, be it my production of vegetables or other things...recently there was a death in my family and he ensured we were provisioned water for the burial ceremony.”*  
(MaMkhwanazi)

*“There is no assistance that I receive from iNduna in the production of my vegetables... but if animals forage on my fields I send my complaints to him to seek compensation from the owners of the cattle.”* (Mam’Sibongile)

*“When I decided to take up the production of indigenous vegetables I was apportioned land by the chief, through the intercession of my relatives... I also consult uMkhwanazi [iNduna] when I have had an incident such as cattle eating my crops or theft of crops.”*  
(MaMdletshe)

A great proportion of the respondents articulated that they directed most their grievances; such as: provision of resources— land, water, along with disputes such as, damage to crops from wandering hordes of cattle to the *induna*, and not the ward councilor. Despite *induna* having no allocated budget to cater to the broader service delivery problems in their jurisdiction, such as refuse collection, the respondents in my study perceived them, and the traditional structures which they represent, as potential allies in their throes against increasing levels of precarity and low service delivery.

*“As traditional leaders in this democratic South Africa we are not given access to municipal resources... yet members of our homesteads come to us in challenging times or in calamity and we assist them...I have in past years allotted land to women to grow crops including indigenous vegetables.* (Petros)

*“We are custodians of our people’s way of life and we try by all means to assist those who are attempting to preserve our culture, values and indigenous vegetables...in disputes I ask the aggrieved farmer to calculate the market value of their crop and I seek restitution of money close to that value.* (Thelumusa)

The local *izinduna* are known by the community over successive decades and this endears and entrenches their role in the lives of farmers, at different intersecting dimensions; be it a protector, an arbiter of conflict, or as provisioner of resources, among others. Further, if the *induna* is resourceful and an astute problem solver they wield greater influence and respect in the communities that they administer to. These features among others demonstrate the complexity of governance structures in Mtubatuba, and revealed the limited role that traditional leadership structures play in providing opportunities for producers of indigenous vegetables, in the fields and in the marketplace.

### ***Municipal and Provincial Government***

There are a number of dimensions and streams of governance within the discourse of development. These include; participatory governance, transformative governance, technical governance and experimental governance (Sunderland et al. 2013; Edwards 2008; Lovan et al 2004; Osmani 2007; Bond et al 2007). The political system which underpins and guides the South African government is imbued with democratic principles that promote collective participation in the decision making process of the state, at all tiers. Consequently, participatory governance is what the South African state aspires towards. Accordingly, the development of policy and the processes which are used for its implementation are guided by this aspiration. As a result, every 5 years local government elections are held within the country to allow residents of ‘wards’ to elect their representatives or councilors. Despite this inclusionary and participatory form of governance, which is espoused through the electoral apparatus of the South African political system, many respondents in my study decry the lack of opportunities and assistance from the ‘elected’ local municipality and the ‘appointed’ provincial government department. The ineffectiveness of the local municipality, and its elected ward councilors, along with the chasms between small-scale agricultural producers and the provincial agricultural department has cultivated an insidious apathy. This attitude has seeped into the zeitgeist of the populace in Mtubatuba and has calcified relations that should otherwise be sources of assistance to local farmers, in their endeavor reduce the levels of precarity that they are exposed to.

*“There are no opportunities which the municipality has provided us, nor have we participated in any training from the municipality...we only see the councilors when its elections.”(Babu’Xaba)*

*“As we speak we have no water because the councilors have stolen money for pipes...they are of no help to us as a community, much less for us as growers of indigenous vegetables.”(Gogo Trifina)*

*“The Municipal leadership doesn’t live here in Mtuba, some live at St. Lucia where there is water and no shortages...the municipality could provide us with water to enable us to better irrigate our plots...No, there is no training that I have heard is provided by the municipality...Yes, I have participated in umbukiso [indigenous food expo].”  
(Ntombifuthi)*

A select number of farmers in Mtubatuba have been able to make allegiances within the Value Addition unit of the provincial Department of Agriculture and Rural Development and have been able to benefit from the provision of farming implements and participation in annual food expositions, which has enabled them to interact with other producers. This interaction has been an invaluable opportunity to strengthening their social networks and concomitantly bolstering their endeavor of securing some autonomy, no matter how precarious.



*“As an official within the Department of Agriculture, I am limited by budgetary and time constraints... me and other officials cannot engage with farmers individually in order to understand their needs...our support is limited.” (Mrs. Lukhozi)*

The limited and ambivalent role of formal governance structures in assisting farmers in Mtubatuba to secure their livelihoods, through the production of indigenous vegetables, is encapsulated by poignant sentiments by Bernstein (2013, 26) as he refers to the relationship between state and society as, “the elephant in the room” in securing programmatic food sovereignty in its broadest sense. In addition, to the peril of small-scale farmers in Mtubatuba and elsewhere there is no concurrence within the literature that outlines an equitable role for the state, along with an effective policy framework, to buttress food sovereignty. On the other hand, the negligible data on small-scale agriculture and the value of its trade is a likely culprit in its elision and desertion within the mandates of elected and appointed officials. McKay et al.’s (2014) case study in Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia, reveals that the ‘frameworks’ provided by the legal and constitutional tiers of governance cannot, by themselves, provide satisfactory circumstances for small-scale farmers to secure programmatic food sovereignty. Thus, in consonance with Patel (2009, 669), it is evident that in the sphere of governance, ‘it is insufficient to consider only the structures that might guarantee the rights that constitute food sovereignty – it is also vital to consider the substantive policies, process, and politics that go to make up food sovereignty’.

## **SUMMARY**

The purpose of this chapter was not merely to reiterate what I had discovered, but instead to discuss and locate the findings of the study in relation to the theoretical body of knowledge, within the discipline. As a result, analysis and interpretation of data, which was collected for this study, revealed that there are historical and spatial dynamics of gender and precarity that intersect in the production and sale of traditional leafy vegetables. Further, in consonance with analysis by McMichael (2009), the findings of my study revealed that the forms of food sovereignty that were exemplified by producers of indigenous vegetables in Mtubatuba, were not as a result of an idiosyncratic outcome but as a result of the historicity of capitalist development in the region. In addition, the findings of my study revealed that the challenges and success that farmers and sellers faced were mediated by social networks. Social Networks interweave themselves into every facet of livelihood promotion and play an integral role in facilitating the production, transportation, and sale of indigenous vegetables. Lastly, the reified roles of traditional leadership structures were discovered to be valorized and legitimized in considerable contrast to the vilified and ineffective structures of the local and provincial government. These revelations were significant because Government has a legally and morally binding responsibility to support and buttress the livelihoods strategies of the poor, especially in rural settlements, and to extend its structures to integrate the disadvantaged, especially marginalised groups such as women, into the social and economic fabric.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **Discussion and Conclusions**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter encompasses the main concerns and pursuits of the study and endeavors to demonstrate the unique contribution of this study to the existing body of knowledge. Further, this chapter will highlight the interesting, relevant, and unexpected findings which did not emerge in the literature review. Lastly, I will discuss what my results and analysis reveal about my participants and also how they contrast or intersect with other researchers or similar studies.

#### **LIFE OPPORTUNITIES AND SOCIAL NETWORKS**

The intersecting aspects and shifting facets within the lived experience of farmers, who were predominantly women, had a direct influence in their life opportunities and concomitantly had an effect of channeling the flow of decisions, which they had recourse to, including their decision to produce and sell indigenous vegetables in the informal economy. The features of family background, gendered roles, and lack of education were discovered by this study to be significant mediating factors in the respondents' pursuit of this livelihood strategy, which despite its endless precarity, was imbued with symbolic and existential significance. The historicity of capitalist development in South Africa, and in the area of Mtubatuba, bespeaks the forms of food sovereignty which have manifest and may take root. In addition, the life opportunities which growers and sellers of indigenous vegetables reveal to have had access to were typical to those delineated by Neves and du Toit (2012, 1). They argued that, "rural African poor have long been characterized by diverse activities, and intertwined with urban opportunities".

These opportunities, in Mtubatuba, were decidedly mediated by gender, education, race, and family background. The interweaving of these mediating factors in a rural settlement, such as Mtubatuba, has produced pockets of autonomy which are vulnerable to shocks and are often buffered by social networks. Social Networks, in Mtubatuba, which are constituted of neighbours, relatives, friends, church solidarity associations, fellow farmers, among others, share

a corollary with ‘social institutions’ outlined in the noteworthy work by Kepe and Scoones (1999). The Social institutions outlined by Kepe and Scoones (1999, 46) transcend instrumentalist ‘safety net’ conceptions of social networks and also encompass resource management and protection of grasslands, as they aptly outline;

*“Usually such a patch is managed and used by a small group of homes, often bound together by strong kinship or friendship ties. These management systems are supported by wider authorities- including interestingly both ‘traditional’ authorities and civic organisation leaders”.*

In addition, the buffer provided by social networks, and the institutions they may give rise to, were discovered in Mtubatuba to be further augmented by income that is derived from; government old age pension, child support grant, and remittances. Consequently, one of the surprising discoveries of this study was the functionalist and integrative approach of these producers of indigenous vegetables as they interweaved foodstuffs produced in the industrial food complex along with locally sourced produce; exemplifying what I contend is a form of food sovereignty albeit precarious. In addition, the autonomy which many of these women experience is facilitated by their determination, knowledge, and networks<sup>54</sup>; it is nonetheless a precarious one.

## **LOCAL GOVERNANCE**

The challenge for local government and specifically the Mtubatuba municipality, going forward, is to establish a balance between involving a broad range of stakeholders in the development of indigenous food markets, while still maintaining the role as a leader and a facilitator. What has become evident throughout this study is the need for the municipality to act as a consistent and reliable actor in the field of governance. In addition, in order for this to be realized, the division of labour amongst the three tiers of government in agriculture, must be changed as municipalities play a marginal role. Presently, in Mtubatuba, like other rural settlements, the local municipality

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<sup>54</sup> The pivotal role of social networks in rural communities across the global south is articulated expansively in seminal works such as Hossain (2003) and Sobel (2002), among others.

is tasked with local development but agricultural support, like the Value-Addition Unit, are ensconced in provincial units, not in the municipality

## **RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

In retrospect, areas of interest, that I would have liked to explore, which were outside the scope of this study encompass; interviewing sellers of indigenous vegetables at pension points and engaging with them along with the transport intermediaries, whom they rely on, to better grasp the relationships and dynamics which animate such a central activity in the rural economy. In addition, I would have also liked to interview neighbours and relatives of those who produce indigenous vegetables in Mtubatuba, to glean their perspectives and enable me to better illuminate aspects of the respondents which were only merely revealed. Furthermore, in light of my findings, I would also relish the opportunity to conduct follow-up studies that encompass the examination of national policy on small-scale agriculture and the various dynamics which result in shortcomings at the local level, interspersed with engagement on provision for indigenous produce. In addition, if the parameters of this study could have been extended, I would have liked to juxtapose Mtubatuba and another urban settlement close to the metropolis, such as Verulam, which has a large community which engage in small-scale agriculture and specifically the production and sale of indigenous vegetables, as a livelihood strategy.

In regards, to the purported impact of the findings of this study for professionals in my field I contend that my findings will: firstly, add to the debate on the significance of indigenous vegetables; secondly, elucidate on the need for comprehensive policy and robust mechanisms within local and provincial tiers of government, to bolster programmes aimed at encouraging and strengthening these livelihood strategies; thirdly, highlight the centrality of gender in the varying degrees of precarity that women who are engaged in small-scale agriculture endure in their attempt to secure a livelihood; fourthly, highlight that the shortcomings of local government add to the woes of small-scale farmers, as it compounds their up/down stream challenges. In light of the above, I would recommend that the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries enact a comprehensive programme, with an allocated budget, to bolster the activities of small-scale farmers of indigenous vegetables.

## **LIMITATIONS**

The case study is limited firstly in the sampling technique. While snowball sampling was used to find a sample of farmers who would be good interview subjects with a wealth of experience, it also limits the sample to particular social networks. In addition, at the time of research, the province of KwaZulu-Natal, and the country at large, was experiencing a historically unprecedented drought and many farmers and sellers have been prevented from participating in the production and sale of indigenous vegetables, which has temporally precluded them from inclusion into this study. Other limitations lie in the method of analysis, thematic analysis is a method that is dependent on the interpretation of the researcher and may possibly lead to partialities. However the analysis was conducted methodically according to codes in order to extrapolate major themes and use them in the context in which they were articulated. Further, the results contained herein cannot be generalized nationally, although they provide a good case study of the networks, socio-economic dynamics, role players and factors which impede or promote the inclusion of indigenous vegetables and its attendant agricultural model into the dominant food system. In addition, it could be argued, that the results are only applicable to a specific milieu within the setting that the research took place, however it still stands as a case study that could be applied to a broader spectrum of rural settlements in South Africa. The results have the potential to be useful to inform policy and practice.

## **CONCLUSION**

The implications of my findings have been outlined in this section along with concluding reflections on my research. In addition, I have put forth my recommendations for future research along with the perceived limitations on this research endeavour. The livelihood strategies which farmers of indigenous vegetables enlist in their constant struggle, with the vicissitudes brought forth by poverty is an amazing feat in itself. In addition, their resilience and relentlessness is a conspicuous indictment on the lack of support from local governance and other elected stakeholders, a recurrent theme for women across sub-Saharan.

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## Appendix 1

### Interview schedule

#### Section 1: FARMERS AND SELLERS - Life History Questions

1. How old are you?
2. Where were you born?
3. Can you describe the neighborhood you grew up in?
4. About your family?
  - a. What is your marital status?
  - b. Do you have children?
  - c. If so, where are they?
  - d. If yes to b) how old are they?
  - e. Where is the extended family?
  - f. Who do you live with?
  - g. What was it like to grow up in a family like yours?
  - h. How did your family make a living?
  - i. What's different about growing up today from when you were growing up?
  - j. What responsibilities did you have at home when you were young
5. About Mtuba:
  - a. Were you born and raised in Mtuba?
  - b. If no to a), when did you move to Mtuba?
  - c. Do you permanently live in Mtuba?
  - d. Where else have you lived?
6. Was money important at all in your family when you were growing up?
  - a. If yes, what kinds of things did your family spend money on?
  - b. If no, can you elaborate?
7. About work:
  - a. How long have you been a farmer or seller?
  - b. What made you choose this line of work?
  - c. Do you do anything else?
  - d. If yes, what else?
  - e. Do you ever migrate to look for work?
8. About your relatives:
  - a. Are there many of them in the Mtuba area?
  - b. Where is your ancestral home?
  - c. How close are you to your relatives?
  - d. Do they help in your work at all?
  - e. If so, how?
9. Of indigenous vegetables:
  - a. What makes crops indigenous?

- b. Do you remember any edible indigenous crops that you ate when you were growing up?
  - c. Do you remember any edible indigenous crops that were grown when you were young?
  - d. Are there some crops that were common then, that you don't see today?
  - e. If yes, which ones?
  - f. Are indigenous crops popular today?
  - g. If not, why do you think that is the case?
  - h. Do you consume any indigenous crops?
  - i. If yes, which ones?
  - j. If yes to h), what kinds of feelings or emotions are evoked when eating them?
  - k. If yes to h), what is the benefit of eating these indigenous vegetables?
10. What levels of formal education have you received?
  11. How did you decide what you wanted to do with your life?
  12. Can you list the types of jobs or work you have done in your life?
  13. What do you feel have been the important successes in your life?
  14. And challenges?

## Section 2: FARMERS

1. What types of crops do you grow?
2. How long have you been engaged in the growing indigenous vegetables?
3. On care:
  - a. Are you the main breadwinner?
  - b. What are your care duties for children or adults that you may be looking after?
  - c. When you work, who looks after your children or any dependent (i.e. sick person)?
4. On inputs?
  - a. Where do you get your seeds?
  - b. What types of implements do you use?
  - c. Where did you get these implements?
  - d. Do you use fertilizer?
  - e. If so, what type?
  - f. From where do you get the fertilizer?
  - g. Is the land you use yours?
  - h. If not, what is the land use agreement with the owner?
  - i. How did you obtain the land?
  - j. If yes to g, how long have you had it?
  - k. Do you worry about your tenure on the land at all?
  - l. What is the size of the land?
  - m. Where do you get your water?
  - n. Is your water source reliable?
5. Do you work alone?
  - a. If not, who helps?

- b. How often?
  - c. Do you pay them?
  - d. If yes to c), how much and how often?
6. On the produce:
    - a. Do you produce for family consumption?
    - b. Do you sell any of your produce?
    - c. If yes, how do you decide what to sell and what to keep at home?
    - d. Of the crops you cultivate, which are the most popular?
    - e. Do you process any of your produce (e.g. make juices, cakes, creams, etc).
    - f. If yes to e, where did you learn to do so?
    - g. If yes to e, why do you process them?
  7. On time use. On a busy week, how much do you spend on the following activities:
    - a. Working in the garden
    - b. Selling your produce
    - c. Talking to other people about your farming successes or challenges
    - d. Doing domestic work
    - e. Transporting your produce
    - f. Other? (please elaborate)
  8. In the area of Mtubatuba, are famers of indigenous vegetables organised? Please explain
  9. How were you first introduced to the farming of indigenous vegetables?
  10. What kind of support do you receive, to enable you to grow indigenous vegetables?
  11. Does your gender affect your ability to secure support?
  12. What role has local government played in creating opportunities for the production of indigenous vegetables?
  13. What role has traditional leadership institutions played in creating opportunities for the production of indigenous vegetables
  14. What more could municipal/traditional leadership institutions do to create more opportunities for the production of indigenous vegetables?
  15. Is there anything else you would like to add?

### Section 3: SELLERS

1. Where do you sell indigenous your vegetables?
  - a. If in the market, how do you transport the vegetables which you have grown to the market?
  - b. What challenges do you face in order to get your vegetables to the market?
  - c. When you attempt to access the market, does your gender have an influence in providing opportunities or limitations?
  - d. If at home, who do you sell to?
2. On indigenous vegetables:
  - a. What types of vegetables do you sell?
  - b. Why do you sell those particular vegetables?

- c. Does your gender affect your ability to secure support?
  - d. Where do you get them from?
  - e. How do you get them from your source to the market?
  - f. What challenges do you face in order to source vegetables to sell at the market?
3. On the market:
  - a. What role does your gender play in facilitating or hindering your access to the market?
  - b. In the area of Mtubatuba, are sellers of indigenous vegetables organised? Please explain
  - c. In what ways do the sellers of Mtubatuba work in co-operation, to sell their vegetables?
  - d. What facilities do you use to store your products?
  - e. How is the market in which indigenous vegetables are sold, run and organised?
  - f. Do you need a permit to sell? If so,
  - g. How did you obtain it?
  - h. How much does it cost?
  - i. How long have you had it?
  - j. What difference does it make?
  - k. If you are unable to come to the market, can you give it to someone else?
  - l. What challenges do you face that pertain to the permit?
4. Are you a member of any sellers association?
  - a. If no, why not?
  - b. If yes, which one?
  - c. How long have you been a member?
  - d. What are the membership fees?
  - e. Why did you join?
5. On income:
  - a. On a good day, how much money do you make per day selling these vegetables?
  - b. On a bad day?
  - c. Is this your only source of income?
  - d. If not, how do you supplement it?
  - e. What amount of money do you make from selling these vegetables
6. Do you work alone?
  - a. If not, who helps?
  - b. How often?
  - c. Do you pay them?
  - d. If yes to c), how much and how often?
7. About local government:
  - a. Do you know your ward councilor?
  - b. Has he/she offered any help?
  - c. What opportunities has the municipality offered you?
  - d. Have the police ever confiscated your products?

- e. If so, can you describe what happened?
  - f. How often has this happened in the last year?
  - g. Have you participated in any training organized by municipality?
8. About traditional authorities?
    - a. Do you know your induna or inkosi?
    - b. What role has traditional leadership institutions played in creating opportunities for the sale of indigenous vegetables?
    - c. Have you participated in the umbukiso (indigenous food expo?)
    - d. If yes, how often?
    - e. If yes, why?
    - f. If not, why not?
  9. What more could municipal/traditional leadership institutions do to create more opportunities for the production of indigenous vegetables?
  10. What kind of support do you receive, to enable you to sell indigenous vegetables?
  11. Is there anything else you would like to add?

#### **Section 4: Agricultural Extension Officers**

1. What crops are cultivated in your area?
2. Do you know any farmers who cultivate indigenous crops?
3. What types of opportunities are there for these farmers?
4. What challenges do they face?
5. Those who sell the indigenous vegetables, how do they get the vegetables which they have grown to the market?
6. What challenges do farmers face in order to get their vegetables to the market?
7. What role does the gender of the farmers' play in facilitating or hindering their access to the market?
8. Training:
  - a. In your training as an agricultural extension officer, did you get any training on the cultivation of indigenous crops?
  - b. What training services do you provide farmers of indigenous crops?
  - c. What training services do you provide for sellers of indigenous crops?
  - d. If there are training opportunities, who decides who participates?
  - e. If there are training opportunities, how often are they held?
  - f. What, in your opinion, has been the impact of training on indigenous vegetable production that you provided for the farmers?
9. In the area of Mtubatuba, are farmers of indigenous vegetables organised? Please explain
10. In what ways do the farmers of Mtubatuba work in co-operation, to grow or sell their vegetables?

11. Do farmers in Mtubatuba have facilities such as seed banks, etc. which are organised to facilitate the production of vegetables?
12. Are there any distinct relationships that farmers can call upon to assist with the production and sale of their vegetables
13. What kind of support do farmers receive, to enable them to grow and sell indigenous vegetables?
14. What role has local government played in creating opportunities for the production and sale of indigenous vegetables?
15. What role has traditional leadership institutions played in creating opportunities for the production and sale of indigenous vegetables
16. What more could municipal/traditional leadership institutions do to create more opportunities for the production and sale of indigenous vegetables?

### **Section 5: Transport Intermediaries**

1. How do farmers get the vegetables which they have grown to the market?
2. What challenges do farmers of indigenous vegetables face in order to get their vegetables to the market?
3. Does the gender of the farmers' play any role in facilitating or hindering their access to the market?
4. What channels do farmers and sellers of indigenous vegetables have to follow to secure transport for their produce?
5. How is the fee for transport of produce calculated?
6. How far is your longest trip, when transporting these vegetables?
7. And your shortest?

### **Section 6: Traditional Leader**

1. What types of indigenous crops grow in your area?
2. What role has traditional leadership institutions played in creating opportunities for the production and sale of indigenous vegetables
3. In the view of traditional leadership, is the production and sale of indigenous vegetables a gender specific activity?
4. What more could traditional leadership institutions do to create more opportunities for the production and sale of indigenous vegetables?
5. What types of challenges do the cultivators of indigenous crops face, in your opinion?
6. Do you think the people in your area have enough land to grow crops?
7. What processes are followed when the following people seek land for cultivating crops?
  - a. A married man
  - b. A widow
  - c. An unmarried man
  - d. An unmarried woman
  - e. A widower
8. When cattle have damaged crops, what are the processes that the affected parties have to go through to obtain justice?

**Section 7: Municipal Official or Ward Councilor**

1. What types of indigenous crops are grown in your ward or Mtuba in general?
2. What role has the municipality played in creating opportunities for the production and sale of indigenous vegetables
3. How does the gender of farmers or sellers inhibit or enhance their opportunities?
4. What types of challenges do the cultivators of indigenous crops face, in your opinion?
5. What opportunities has the municipality provided for growers and sellers of indigenous crops?
6. What more could the municipality do to create more opportunities for the production and sale of indigenous vegetables?



**Incwadi yesivulelwano socwaningo**

Igama lami ngingu **Menzi Bhengu**, ngingumfundi waseNyuvesi yakwaZulu Natali (inombolo yokuba umfundi ithi: **209528939**). Ngenza ucwaningo ukuqonda ukuthi yini ubu'hlelwane bobulili nokwe'ntuleka phakathi lengakahleleki umkhakha wokulima imifino yesintu : Indaba eyimpumelelo ukutadisha abalimi besifazane eMtubatuba, KwaZulu.

Ngiyabonga ukuthi uvume ukuba yinxenye yalolu cwaningo. Imibuzo izoba inkulumo nje kunokuba kube imibuzo ebhalwe phansi. Inhloso yemibuzo ukuthi kube nengxoxo phakathi kwethu, ngizocela ukhululeke ukuzwakalisa imibono yakho ngokuphelele. Imibuzo izothatha isikhathi esingange mizuzu engu 45. Ngicela invumo yokuba ngiqophe inkulumo ephakathi kwethu. Engikutholayo kulolu daba esikhuluma ngalo ngizokusebenzisa ukubhala umbiko.

Lolucwaningo lizobhekwa **Dekotela uMvuselelo Ngcoya** ngaphansi kwesikole Built Environment and development Studies eNyuvesi yakwaZulu Natali. Yimi ozobe enza ucwaningo, uma unemibuzo ungabuza:

Isikole sakwa Built Environment and development Studies, eNyuvesi yakwaZulu Natali, Howard College, eThekwini. Imininigwane yami ukuze ngithinteki ungathumela umyalezo wombani kuleli kheli: [mrbhengu@gmail.com](mailto:mrbhengu@gmail.com) noma [209528939@stu.ukzn.ac.za](mailto:209528939@stu.ukzn.ac.za).

Uma udinga ulwazi oludlulele ungathinta **uDokotela uMvuselelo Ngcoya** kuleli kheli: [Ngcoyam2@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:Ngcoyam2@ukzn.ac.za). Inombolo yocingo: (+27) 31 260 2917. Noma ungathintana nehhovisi lakwa **HSSREC Research Office**: Ms. P. Ximba. Tel: [+27312603587](tel:+27312603587)/ [ximbap@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:ximbap@ukzn.ac.za)

Ngaphambi kokuba siqale ngithanda ukugcizelela ukuthi ukuvuma kwakho ube igxenye yocwaningo kuku wena. Esikukhulumayo kuphakathi kwethu, igama neminingwane yakho ngeke idalulwe. Ayikho

inkokhelo noma ubungozi ekubeni inxenye yalolu cwaningo. Ungahoxa noma inini futhi uvumelekile ukungaphenduli enye yemibuzo. Ungabuza noma imiphi imibuzo noma inini.

Ngicela usayine isivumelwano ngenzansi.

Mina .....(igama) ngiyakuqinikisekisa ukuthi ngifundile ngayiqondisisa imibandela ethulwa ngu**Menzi Bhengu** mayelana nocwaningo. Nginalo ithuba lokubuza imibuzo futhi ngiyagculiseka ngezimpundo ezibekiwe. Nginalo ulwazi lokukhetha ukuba inkulumo iqoshwe.

- Nginalo ulwazi ukuthi ngingahoxa noma inini
- Ngियाqonda ukuthi awukho umnikelo engizowuthola kulolu cwaningo

YEBO

CHA

Ngineminyaka engaphezulu kuka-18 futhi ngivumelekile

Ukuzibandakanya kulolu cwaningo

Ngiyavuma ukuzibandakanya kulolu cwaningo

Ngiyavuma ukuba inkulumo iqoshwe

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Igama \_\_\_\_\_

Isiginesha \_\_\_\_\_

Usuku \_\_\_\_\_

