

Deliberative or instrumental participation? Perceptions of households on the development and implementation of the One Home One Garden Programme in KwaMashu Township, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

by

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DECLARATION

I, Michelle Tendai Chihambakwe, declare that

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ABSTRACT

Home gardening has great potential to enhance urban food security. This has led to the mushrooming of food security interventions to reduce food insecurity. In South Africa, community gardens have been touted as significant strategies for the urban poor to augment their diets and livelihoods. Yet the degree of participation in such schemes remains opaque and the success of these projects under examined. This dissertation examines participation in a township garden project. In light of heightened claims of participation in institution-led projects, this study explores participatory processes through a critical lens. While it is widely acknowledged that observing ‘meaningful’ citizen participation enshrined in the South African Constitution is imperative, evidence suggests that interventions embrace top-down instead of bottom-up approaches to participation. This suggests that literature on home gardening interventions that exclusively focuses on structural power dynamics of participation is relatively thin. My study therefore, explores participatory processes of the One Home One Garden Programme (OHOG) in KwaMashu Township, KwaZulu-Natal.

Consequently, to deepen our understanding of the gardeners’ experiences, I employ the Food Sovereignty Framework and buttress it with Cornwall’s concept of ‘invited’ and ‘invented’ spaces of participation. I conducted 25 in-depth interviews with One Home One Garden programme participants and key informants. Further, I also used participant observation to assess the progress of the gardens. Results show that there was no involvement of participants in decision-making processes. However, contrary to my initial expectations I discovered that rather than merely attributing the success or failure of the gardens to citizen participation, gardening apathy was a critical factor. The findings demonstrate that gardeners who embraced principles of food sovereignty by carving out their own participatory spaces not only managed to feed their families but stood apart from most gardeners. This is because they were empowered to govern their gardens independent of state support. Ultimately, grounding interventions with the principles of food sovereignty is fundamental to buttressing household food security.

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ACRONYMS

AEC	Anti- Eviction Campaign
AREX	Agricultural Extension
CASP	Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
DAEA	Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GHS	General Household Survey
GGLN	Good Governance Learning Network
IDPs	Integrated Development Plans
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MEDPT	Masifunde Education and Development Project Trust
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPC	National Planning Commission
OHOG	One Home One Garden
OSS	Operation Sukuma Sakhe
PGDP	Provincial Growth and Development Plan
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation
WB	World Bank
ZAR	South African Rand

ZEP Zingisa Educational Project

ZHP Zero Hunger Programme

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Map 1: MAP SHOWING THE STUDY LOCATION



Source: www.places.co.za

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

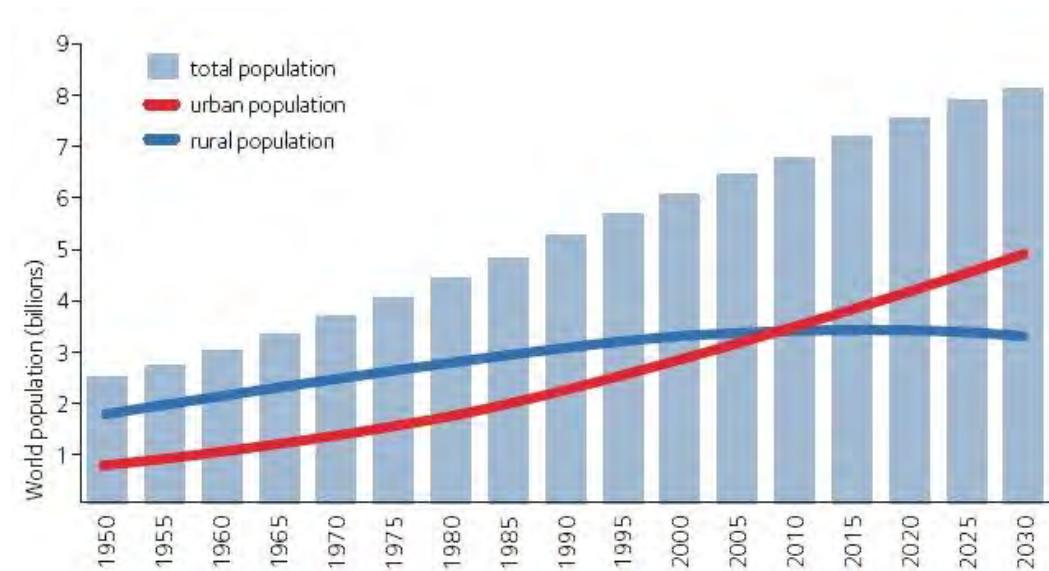
1.1 Urbanisation and poverty in sub-Saharan Africa

One of the distinguishing demographic features of societal evolution over the last seven decades has been a rapid rise in urbanisation. According to the United Nations Population Division (2011) in 1950, 70 percent of the world's population lived in rural areas; five decades later, the same body reported this figure to have shrunk to 53 percent. More recently, the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT) (2010:1) reported that the percentage of urban residents in sub-Saharan Africa is expected to rise to 60 percent of the total population by 2050. The Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) and the World Health Organisation (WHO), project this figure to rise to 70 percent over the same period (WHO, 2014; FAO, 2009). Fig 1 illustrates the growing rate of urbanisation; in direct contrast, the rural population growth rate is plateauing. The burgeoning of urban populations has been supported by a number of scholars (Stewart et al, 2013; Economist, 2011:83; Crush and Frayne, 2010; and Satterthwaite et al, 2010:2809), compelling Stewart to label the current era as "the first urban century" (2013:1). This increase has dire consequences for urban food security, particularly in Africa. According to United Nations (UN) in 2008 just under a third of the continent were undernourished compared to the average of less than one fifth for other countries in the global South (UN, 2009:11).

The increase in urbanisation has led to the rise in poverty in urban areas. This is particularly true for sub-Saharan Africa, which experienced unmatched urbanisation and urban poverty levels at the close of the 20th century (de Zeeuw and Dubbeling, 2009:5; Armar-Klemesu, 2000:100; Maxwell et al, 2000). What is particularly striking about the population groups that migrate to the urban areas is that the majority are of low socio-economic standing. Inevitably, the search for income earning opportunities in the cities has led to transference of poverty from the rural to the urban areas (Amar-Klemesu 2000:101). Harris and Todaro's two-sector model of rural-urban migration demonstrates that in spite of the hardships faced in urban areas, rural dwellers continued to migrate to urban areas. This is explained by the fact that perceived potential opportunities in urban areas outweigh the prospects of not coping in the urban settings, as well as continuing to be poor in rural settings (1970:126). Therefore, while

urban centres do provide opportunities for employment, these are limited. Inevitably, this results in an increase in the number of food insecure households in urban areas, reducing the state’s ability to cope with food insecurity.

Figure 1 World urban and rural populations, 1950 to 2030



Source: United Nations 2006

Although South Africa is considered food secure nationally (Africa Health, Human and Social Development Information Service, 2014), it has fundamental food security challenges at the household level (du Toit, 2011:4). This is reiterated by UN-HABITAT (2010:101) which argues that national food security does not automatically reflect household food security. This can be attributed to the high levels of inequality that continue to plague the country long after the attainment of democracy (Pellicer et al, 2011:2; Borat and van der Westhuizen, 2008:31).

1.1.2 Urbanisation and its implications for food security in South Africa

South Africa’s urban population is estimated to be over 63 percent of the total population (World Bank, 2011) and is projected to be 73 percent in 2030 (Crush and Frayne, 2010:24; this has presented challenges for the government to adequately address the consumption needs of the population (National Planning Commission [NPC], 2011:28). In comparison to other African countries, the South African context is both unique and complex as a

consequence of “influx control”¹ prescribed under the apartheid policy. After 1994, this urban drift led to the swelling of the urban population and found expression in dynamic pressures in the form of poverty and unemployment. This trend has resulted in serious concerns about food security in urban areas. Relics of the apartheid period are townships, where most of the urban poor are resident. Naturally, as urbanisation continues to unfurl, the plight of the urban poor and the ability of governments to adequately deal with the consumption needs of this group diminishes over time.

Despite growing evidence that urban areas are turning into sites of poverty, interventions continue to focus on rural areas. This paradox reflects a situation where poverty and food security programmes have a rural bias, yet the landscape of poverty is changing, as discussed above (Maxwell, 1998:52; Haddad et al, 1999:1900 and Ruel et al, 2010:171S). Maxwell et al (2000:1) note that research on urban food security has been shelved off, notwithstanding evidence of heightened poverty as a result of urbanisation. This is also echoed by Battersby (2012:141), who notes that in South Africa urban food security remains “under-researched and under-theorised” Consequently, the under-estimation of the sweltering poor urban population exacerbates the food insecurity (Frayne et al, 2009:9).

While some scholars argue against an ‘urban bias’ that favours the development of urban centres, Satterthwaite et al (2010:2815) argue that it is distorted to label this as urban bias if it favours only a fraction of the total population. Although rural poverty should remain a priority, the fact that only a third of the population in Southern Africa reside in the rural areas (Crush and Frayne, 2010:24), means that giving less attention to urban food security defies logic. Crush and Frayne highlight the urgency of the food security issue by pointing out that 14 million, which amounts to almost a third of the population, are susceptible to food insecurity (2010:29). A survey by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) reported that an estimated that 20 percent of all households have inadequate or severely inadequate food access (Stats SA, 2012).

The transposition of poverty is worsened by two related factors: 1) lack of land in urban areas and 2) over-dependence on remunerated work (Armar-Klemesu, 2001:101). The urban poor do not have sufficient space to practice agriculture unlike their rural counterparts. Food is

¹ A mechanism designed to inhibit the movement of poor rural based blacks from homelands to the cities Tomlinson (1990:5).

produced “seasonally” meaning that for the most part of the year they buy produce (Ruel et al 2010:171S; Cohen and Garret 2009:469). Against a background of high unemployment the urban poor experience “decreasing purchasing power and rising food prices” (de Zeeuw and Dubbeling, 2009:3). The global food crisis in 2008/09 heightened the vulnerability of poor households, particularly the urban poor, who as highlighted above depend on the cash economy. Therefore, the plight of the urban poor cannot be overlooked. To illustrate, Ruel et al (2010:171S) note that in urban spaces in Mozambique and Peru residents purchased nine tenths of their food, whereas their rural counterparts spent one third and three fifths respectively. While the poorest households in South African spend less on food than aforementioned countries, Stats SA notes that in 2011 the average yearly expenditure on food and non-alcoholic beverages doubled from 15% in 2006 to 34% in 2011. Conversely, annual expenditure on food by non-poor households increased by two fifths from 4% in 2006 to a mere 10% in 2011 (2014:53). This corresponds with results from the 2008 General Household Survey (GHS) which reported that the almost one fifth of the people in province of KwaZulu-Natal were food insecure based on the percentage of households with access or lack of access to food (Stats SA, 2012:42).

The combination of the growing poverty and unemployment highlighted above created socio-economic conditions that impelled the provincial government of KwaZulu-Natal to introduce the One Home One Garden (OHOG) programme in 2009. This is in adherence with Galhena et al (2013:9) who point out how exposure to the financial crisis re-ignited the importance of urban home gardening. In response to the growing need to cushion poor households against food insecurity individual households were provided with seeds, gardening implements and training to start food gardens in designated open spaces, schools and on home plots by the South African government. Prior to this, the government embarked on programmes such as the Letsema Principle 1996; Xoshindlala Campaign (Chase Away Hunger) 1998; Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme 2005; Letsema Principle in 2008; Zero Hunger Campaign 2010/11 and Siyazondla. Despite concerted efforts by the South African government to address food security, all programmes have somewhat failed to adequately address food insecurity (Ruysenaar, 2013:243). Ruysenaar advances the argument that “instrumentalist approaches” (2013:244) reinforce dependency; and this reduces the ability of citizens to become self-reliant producers.

From a practical outlook, it is clear that the goal of these interventions is to buttress food security in households. Nonetheless, such interventions fail or partially address questions of

food security including; how the participatory process unfolded, the approaches employed to facilitate inclusion, how the participants' views were incorporated and the impact of participatory processes. While it is commendable that unlike the majority of the previous programmes, the OHOG programme caters to both rural and urban households, the programme, according to the former Premier of KwaZulu-Natal has been "met with various degrees of success" (Mkhize, 2013:54). This shows that the programme has not been as successful as envisaged. Despite various legislative and official development strategies reinforcing active citizen participation, programmes have not been entirely responsive to the consumptive needs of poor households.

1.1.3 Citizen participation in South Africa

Citizen participation is an essential ingredient of democratic processes. And yet, despite its importance, it is seldom put into practice, particularly in development programmes. Buccus and Hicks (2011:101) underline the elusiveness of the concept and how many governments continue to struggle to live up to the democratic principles upheld by participation. For example, after 20 years of democracy in South Africa, people-centred development remains elusive in practice (GGLN, 2012:5). According to Esau (2007:1) the South African government upholds citizen participation as a right and laces its official documents with citizen participation, yet there seems to be ambivalence in citizen participation at the local level. This claim is supported by the Global Governance Learning Network (GGLN) (2012:123) which states that local governments frame projects as participatory to adhere to organisational procedures and principles enshrined in legislation. This paints a grim picture on meaningful participation.

There is a gap between mechanisms promoting participation and their application on the ground. For instance, clauses in the Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996) and Municipal Systems Act 32 (RSA, 2000) state the importance of integrating citizen involvement in development initiatives (GGLN 2008:10). In particular Section 27 (1) (b) of the Constitution, declares that "Everyone has the right to have access to ... sufficient food and water ..." Also, the sixth strategic goal of the 2030 KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Growth and Development Plan and policies such as the National Framework for Public Participation of 2007 and eThekweni Community Participation Framework of 2007 are redolent concepts such as involvement and participation yet there are discrepancies in extent of their application. This brings to question

the legitimacy of programmes labelled as “successful” if the outcome of those deliberations do not reflect the voices of the people. In light of this, Gaventa (2006:10) reasons that since democratic principles inform practice “the critical challenge now is how to deepen their inclusiveness and substance.” In the context of development programmes, deliberative participation therefore plays a critical role in creating a platform for all stakeholders to identify problems and solutions. This process entails “negotiation rather than the dominance of an externally set project agenda” (Cornwall, 2002:37).

Participatory processes which are void of dialogue between all stakeholders thwart the principles of democracy which the South African government lamented in 1994. The statement above sheds light on the highly bureaucratic nature of the government and places the prospect of a people centred society an elusive ideal. Given the government’s continued efforts to spearhead household food security programme, there is a need to engrave food security projects with ‘genuine’ citizen participation because failure to do so perpetuates food insecurity. In light of the above, this study takes a critical stance towards viewing of participation as “a ‘Hurrah’ word, bringing a warm glow to its users and hearers” (White, 1996:7).

1.2 Unpacking deliberative and instrumental participation

Deliberative participation in this study is defined as a process whereby all stakeholders are involved in interactive discussions regarding the programme prior to its implementation. Implicit in this definition is a two way communication channel whereby views and ideas are exchanged by all individuals regardless of social status. It also acknowledges that people have diverse views, hence the need to express those views. Bohman defines deliberation as “a dialogical process of exchanging reasons for the purpose of resolving situations that cannot be settled with interpersonal co-ordination and co-operation” (2000:27). Deliberation therefore, does not embrace consensus in the conventional sense but acknowledges the heterogeneity of individuals. Deliberative participation is not used in the purest sense in this dissertation because “communicative inequalities” that arise out of unequal power relations (to a limited extent) also exist within such engagements (Bohman, 2000:123).

Another important concept worth defining is instrumental participation. While at face value it might be construed in the positive sense as employed by Roberts (2004), in this study it is defined as one directional communication which lacks meaningful dialogue. This definition

resonates with White's (1996:7) application of the term in her typology of the practice and purpose of participation. In direct contrast to deliberative participation, instrumental participation lends itself to an "empty ritual" (Arnstein, 1969:216) or a "function of display" (White, 1996:145). Here, participants might be rendered incompetent to make sound decisions or idle regardless of their capabilities. Hence, even though an exchange of ideas occurs, input from citizens will not be reflected in the programme plans.

The KwaZulu-Natal 2030 Provincial Growth and Development Plan (PGDP) (2012:113) which is rooted in the National Development Plan (NDP) acknowledges that frequently, government consultation is done to legitimise programmes closely resembling instrumental participation instead of upholding the ideals of the Constitution through deliberative participation (2012:113). This can be expressed using the ideology of colonialism. Colonisers have a tendency to dominate and oppress those that are deemed weaker than themselves. Prescribing local processes has potentially disempowering effects on those whom are prescribed to. A question critical to the study is how participants were involved in the programme, for example if they had input in the selection of seeds and the farming implements. The use of these concepts in the study is important on two grounds, firstly it allows me to make a distinction between meaningful and 'tokenistic' participation. Secondly the two concepts are easily transferable to the Food Sovereignty Framework and Cornwall's 'invited' and 'invented' spaces. Invited spaces refer to programmes proposed by the government on important development issues (Piper, 2011:32). Invented spaces refer to programmes that have been engineered by citizens themselves to address development issues affecting them. So while invented spaces are drawn from the top in the hierarchical sense, invited spaces originate from the bottom (Piper, 2011:32).

In seeking to explore the nature of participatory processes in the OHOG programme in KwaMashu my purview extends beyond understanding whether participants actively participated in the programme. It also focuses on whether the decisions made by programme participants are reflected in the programme and the implications for their participation or lack thereof.

1.3 Overview of the One Home One Garden Programme

The One Home One Garden programme was inaugurated in 2009 by then Premier Zweli Mkhize in Nkandla, KwaZulu-Natal. In response to the fact that over a third of the population

in the province were food insecure, the Department of Agriculture implemented the programme. They declared it as one of the key mechanisms through which household food security and poverty would be tackled (Johnson, 2010:3). In 2010 the Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs (DAEA) had established 11 530 household gardens 30 community gardens and 88 institutional gardens. By 2014 the number of community gardens increased more than tenfold, institutional gardens almost tripled while homestead gardens increased by a mere twelfth to 12 512 (Mchunu, 2014:18). Households participating in the programme received a free “food production pack” each containing a range of seeds (predominately vegetables) and farming implements. Further, households received training to become self-reliant and thus reduce the number of individuals dependent on state grants. In emphasising this, Mkhize (2011) underscores that the programme’s goal is to ensure that each household has a viable garden to supplement their diet. In essence, support would be provided for a minimum of 18 to 24 months from the period an individual joins the programme.

While this programme is mainly driven by the DAEA, Mthembu (2009) notes that it is an “inter-departmental” strategy. The South African government, private institutions amalgamated efforts to build foundation for the programme. The rationale behind involving different departments was to respond to the “multi-dimensionality of poverty” (Anand and Sen, 1997:4). In 2011 the OHOG programme was also launched under the broader poverty alleviation programme called Operation Sukuma Sakhe (OSS).² The OSS programme adopted a war room approach where community profiling of vulnerable households was done using the Multiple Deprivation Index (Mkhize, 2010:15) in a chosen venue within each ward.

According to Marsh, home gardening is one of the most cost effective means to fight poverty (1998:5). Thus, by providing households with seeds, they are placed in a better position to fight off poverty. While the main goal of the programme is to alleviate poverty through crop production, another component is reforestation, which is aimed at addressing the problem of climate change. As highlighted by Johnson (2010:3) planting of indigenous trees in the community is also an important element of the programme, hence the full title “One Home One Garden, One Fruit Tree and One Indigenous Tree”. Despite the initial rural focus of the

²OSS has its roots in the phrase ‘Masikusume Sakhe’ which is the motto for the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial government meaning “Let Us Stand Up and Build!” This phrase alludes to the combined efforts of citizens and the state in combating poverty (KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government, 2011).

programme, it also encompassed urban areas in light of the growing food insecurity in urban centres.

Given the inadequacy of previous food security programmes to address growing food insecurity the purpose of this study is to understand the nature and extent of citizen participation in the implementation and development of the OHOG programme in KwaMashu Township.

1.4 Rationale and relevance of the study

The chosen research area stems out of personal interest in discourses of food security and participation. The research problem, concerns itself with a pertinent issue that is global but more prominent in the African context. Increasing poverty and unemployment in South Africa, facilitated by rapid urbanisation, the history of restrictive apartheid policies and the global food price hikes, have worsened the food security situation (de Zeeuw and Dubbeling, 2009:3; Altman et al, 2010:349).

According to Satterthwaite et al (2010:2809) mounting evidence shows that urban centres will be shrouded by food insecurity if the problem is not adequately addressed. Thus, the focus on food sovereignty, which concerns itself with issues of control and the active involvement of individuals in decision-making processes materialises at an opportune time. Although home gardening has become an important mechanism through which poverty can be alleviated (Galhena et al, 2013), this study avoids simply submitting to claims of ‘genuine’ participation in food security programmes. While I acknowledge that urban food security is a problematic concept in South Africa (Rogerson, 1993:24), the careful application of participatory processes will enhance food security. By extension, it will improve the ability of programmes to reduce poverty.

Given the rise in urbanisation, consequent increase food prices and the unceasing battle between citizens and government over the decision-making processes (Pimbert and Wakeford, 2001:28) the need to scrutinise participation cannot be stressed enough. The inability of citizens to acquire food as a result of lack of participation infringes the twin rights of participation and attainment of food. This study, therefore, draws on two bodies of literature, which are food sovereignty and citizen participation. By combining the two literature sets, it assesses the nature of participation in the OHOG programme. Participation is

of paramount importance in urban areas, particularly townships where the low socio-economic status is low and residents are vulnerable to food price increases (de Zeeuw and Dubbeling, 2009:3). Growing food for themselves is one of the avenues through which they can escape poverty.

As highlighted in the previous section, the South African Constitution regards food as a basic human right; this means that every citizen is entitled to attain food. Further, the Constitution together with legislation and various provincial policies and frameworks underscore the importance of the involvement of citizens in decision-making. However, the extent to which participatory processes are deliberative and transform into action are questionable (Penderis, 2012:4). While it is commendable that the OHOG programme is the only food security programme in KwaZulu-Natal that also has an urban focus; to the best of my knowledge, no studies have been carried out on the participatory processes of the programme. Further, the only study that focuses on the programme (Khanyile, 2012) was conducted in a rural setting. Moreover, as will be highlighted in Chapter Two, studies on home gardening interventions (Khanyile, 2012 and Noble, 2010) have focused on participation among programme participants themselves rather than reflect on the structural power relations. This makes it difficult to know how the participants shaped the programme and the extent to which their contributions influenced the outcome. This study, therefore aims to explore the participatory processes undergirding the OHOG programme since it is one of the mechanisms through which families can attain household food security.

I envisage that the findings of the study will contribute to framing decisions made by policy makers and government departments prior to crafting food security interventions. This way, the capital injected into such programmes will not be put to waste as a result of failed programmes that do not reflect the voices on citizens. Also, the study will heighten the awareness of programme participants on the importance of their participation in shaping the programme. It will also re-conscientise local government staff on how to reinforce people-centred development, particularly how they engage with citizens in 'invited spaces'. By so doing, this will lead to an aversion from advancing solely top-down programmes. In essence, food sovereignty, which is concerned with issues of participation and democracy in food systems, provides a foundation within which food security can be attained. Therefore, if the OHOG programme participants were actively involved in shaping the programme, this is likely to reflect positively on their food security status. This follows from Roseland

(2012:306) who argues for decision-making which grows from the contributions from the community based on the rationale that they possess invaluable solutions to the problem.

Also Galhena et al (2013:1) relate the failure of food security programmes to the lack of assets and capital. While this assertion goes without question, the continued injection of both capital and energy on interventions that lack input programme participants is likely to disempower them. In view of the dearth in research on participatory process in food security interventions, this study provides a fresh perspective into the OHOG programme. This is done by unearthing the role played by stakeholders in the initial phases of the programme using the Food Sovereignty Framework buttressed with Cornwall's 'invited' or 'invited' spaces concept. In the words of Benassey-Quere et al (2010:x) this study recognises the importance of aligning "elegant theoretical constructs" of participation with their application in the OHOG programme in KwaMashu Township.

1.5 The Food Sovereignty Framework

In view of the theories and concepts discussed in Chapter Two, I selected the Food Sovereignty Framework based on of fact that food sovereignty falls neatly within the ambit of participation and democracy. Since the central research question aims to understand the role OHOG participants played in shaping the programme, this framework provides an entry point through which decision-making will be discussed. A striking feature of the Food Sovereignty Framework is that it was 'seeded' by farmers' critical appraisal of the food security model which does not pay attention to the right to control ones' agricultural productive space (Wittman et al, 2010:11; Pimbert, 2009:5). Secondly, unlike food security which has a long rural focus, food sovereignty embraces "all territorial spaces" (Via Campesina, 2008:5).

The Food Sovereignty Framework, which acknowledges that individuals have the ability to control their own food systems, was also employed as an analytical tool for the study in Chapter Five, to gain an understanding on the role of programme participants in shaping the OHOG programme. Positioning Cornwall's dichotomy discussed above creates a platform within which decision-making within the programme can be understood. It will also aid in establishing whether the views of participants were valued.

The framework's critical approach to participatory processes allows for a deep understanding of the nature and implications for role individuals play in decision-making. Further, it takes

cognisance of structural power dynamics in development programmes through issues of control (Via Campesina, 2008). Food security interventions such as the OHOG are pivotal in containing poverty levels through engagement in gardening activities. However, the nature of the decision-making processes has major ramifications on the success or failure of the project. As such, the involvement of programme participants is pivotal to improving their food security status.

In the context of the OHOG, the voices of the cultivators in the planning of the programme are of key importance because: a) government officials are not well attuned to the food security status of the individuals b) planning the programme without prior engagement with the locals is likely to lead to mismatched remedies and c) giving programme participants the platform to give ‘substantive’ input is likely to have a positive impact on their food security status. This study’s framework will provide a good understanding of how participants informed the functioning of the gardens, since illusory forms of ‘participation’ have pervaded development practice (White, 1996; Kapoor, 2005; and Cooke and Kothari, 2001).

While criticisms have been levelled against this framework (Bernstein 2013; Edelman, 2014), it is invaluable because it deciphers whether participation in the OHOG programme was deliberative or instrumental. Further, its marriage with Cornwall’s ‘invited’ and ‘invented’ concept allows for an in-depth understanding of the nature of citizen participation and the resultant implications.

1.6 Research objectives and questions

The overall objective of the study is to explore the experiences and perceptions of the urban households in KwaMashu on their role in the development and implementation of the OHOG programme. This will be achieved through the following specific objectives:

- 1) To examine the rationale behind the participatory approaches employed by the provincial government in the implementation of the OHOG programme.
- 2) To establish the extent to which households in KwaMashu participated in the implementation and development of the OHOG programme.
- 3) To understand whether the households’ participation in the OHOG programme has a continuing impact on the functioning of the gardens.

Drawn from the objectives, the following research questions were employed in order to address the main research question;

- 1) Was there a pilot study done prior to the intervention? If so, which targeting methods were employed?
- 2) What participatory approaches did the programme develop to ensure sustainable food security?
- 3) What are the perceptions constructed regarding the participatory process prior to the implementation of the intervention?
- 4) How do the programme participants define their relationship with the government and agricultural extension services?
- 5) What are indicators which show that programme participants have a keen interest in growing their own food?
- 6) In what ways has the intervention addressed the needs of the households?

1.7 Methodology

The intent of the proposed study was to understand the perceptions of the OHOG programme participants in three sections within Ward 40 of KwaMashu Township. For this purpose, qualitative research was employed. I conducted 25 in-depth interviews, 4 of which were with key informants who work closely with the participants and are knowledgeable of the participatory processes of the programme (see Appendix 5 for a full profile).

In exploring the experiences of the respondents, I employed participant observation. This method enabled me to draw information which would otherwise remain concealed if I only employed in-depth interviews (Denscombe, 2007:217). All transcripts were translated by an IsiZulu to English translator. Ensuing translation, I combed through each transcript several times to code the data using NVivo 10 qualitative data analysis package and interpreted my findings against the Food Sovereignty Framework and related theories. Chapter Four discusses the research methods in more detail.

1.8 Outline of the thesis

This dissertation is composed of six chapters including this introductory section. In this chapter, I provided the context of the study through a broad overview of the research

problem, relevance of the study, conceptual framework, research objectives and methodology. In Chapter Two, I provide the context of my study by exploring previous studies on citizen participation and food security with a particular focus on government-led poverty alleviation interventions. This chapter critically examines the importance of citizen participation at the onset of development programmes as well as the related implications through the use of case studies and supporting theories. Furthermore, I attempt to fill a lacuna in previous literature.

Using theories and concepts drawn from Chapter Two, I outline the framework I used to approach my study in Chapter Three. These include participatory democracy, empowerment, citizen participation, all of which fall within the ambit food sovereignty which is the conceptual point of departure for the study. I then discuss the Food Sovereignty Framework buttressed with Cornwall's 'invented' and 'invited' spaces. This chapter frames the context of the methodology.

The research methodology is discussed in the fourth chapter. Here, I outline the rationale for employing the qualitative research design and describe how I selected participants for the study. Further, I discuss how I attained entry into the field, the data collection process, and analysis procedures. In concluding the chapter, I discuss problems encountered in the field.

The findings and analysis of the data are documented in Chapter Five. Using the Food Security Framework as a tool for analysis, I explore the participatory process of the OHOG programme in relation to the research questions listed above. In the final chapter, I provide a brief conclusion of the dissertation, laying particular emphasis on the data collection process and the key findings of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review scholarship on participatory processes in government-led food security programmes in order to understand the implications of citizen participation on the OHOG programme in KwaMashu. Thus, I will draw on two bodies of knowledge, which are citizen participation and food sovereignty, both of which highlight the importance of inclusive decision-making processes. Firstly, I chart the path of participation in development programmes. In the next section I explore the relationship between citizens and government in South Africa. Then I discuss how grassroots movements have created a platform for citizens to carve out of alternative spaces for citizens to control decision-making processes. This section will also review the key legislations and policies underpinned by the Constitution of South Africa and their implications on household food security. An analysis of the link between legislation/policy and food security raises important questions about the feasibility of attaining satisfactory amounts of food in the household. In the last section, I foray into literature on urban home gardening as a strategy for food security. In particular, the literature will distinguish between inclusive and non-inclusive participatory practices.

2.2 Development of the discourse of participation in development

The first serious discussions and analyses of power relations and the importance of people's agency in development projects emerged during the 1970s (Guimaraes, 2009:5). In Guimaraes' view, participatory methods used in rural and community development did little to address poverty. In Hickey and Mohan's (2004:7) analysis of approaches to citizenship in the 1980s, the emphasis was on deliberation in decision-making, an element largely absent in the 1960s and 70s. This era was largely characterised by modernisation theory. One of the key assumptions of this theory is that tradition is a condition that needs to be remedied by pulling the 'regressive' into 'development'. Similarly, experts presume that they have

superior knowledge to people in communities as echoed in Arnstein's (1969:216) classical analogy of citizen participation.³

In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature on the gulf between theory and practice in participatory processes. Top-down approaches continue to inform participatory processes. In explaining the relationship between citizens and the government participatory practices, Muraleedharan (2006:25) avers that past practices of the modernisation era where participants were "marginally involved in the development drama" mirror current practices. The same criticism on the mere re-packaging of top-down in the guise of bottom-up approaches is also echoed by Arnstein (1969) and Escobar (1995). It is therefore useful to draw a distinction between participation that is tokenistic and participation that translates into action.

In Gaventa's analysis of power, he highlights the intrinsic link between citizenship and participation and reframes participation as a right (2004:29). Citizenship, however, was only considered as a right from the late 1990s (Hickey and Mohan, 2004:6-8). This conscious shift meant that citizens and government would collaborate in all decisions affecting the development needs of society. Lister reiterates this by defining citizen participation as "representing an expression of human agency in the political arena, broadly defined; citizenship as rights enables people to act as agents" (1998:228). Notwithstanding wide proclamations of the importance of 'genuine' citizen participation there appears to be minimal progress in embracing the involvement of citizens in development projects.

2.3 The rhetoric of participation

Although there is consensus among scholars that participation should meaningfully involve citizens, the concept is vulnerable to abuse. This has provoked a chain of authors (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Mohan and Stokke, 2000 and; White et al, 1994) motivated by the post-structuralist theory, to critique participation. Participation according to White et al is a highly problematic concept, which can be viewed as "kaleidoscopic; it changes its colour and shape at the will of the hands in which it is held" (1994:16). This interpretation illustrates how participation can easily be manipulated to suit the needs of those who wield power. Naturally,

³ According to Arnstein's typology forms of citizen participation can fall under any eight rungs of the ladder, with the lowest being manipulation and the highest being citizen control. For her, it is of paramount importance to be critical of participation especially if it involves any directive from experts.

failure to attach a concrete definition to the concept leads to a gulf between theory and practice.

While Paul concedes that there is disagreement in literature over the definition of participation, he defines the concept as:

An active process by which beneficiary or client groups influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish (1987:2).

Jacobson and Servaes (1999:32) concur by stating that participatory ideology is people-centred. They extend their understanding of the concept by highlighting the importance of using “social change” to avert oppression. In writing about the transformative nature of decolonisation in the Algerian-French revolution in his book *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon affirms the need for a change in power relations. He argues that omitting the most vulnerable violates the basic fundamentals of democracy (1963). Notably, Chambers, advocates for “re-orientation” (1997:211) by placing citizens at the centre of decision-making processes. He identifies three different ways in which participation can be applied; “cosmetic label”, “co-opting practice” or “empowering process” (1997:30) which range from top-down to bottom-up approaches.

2.4 Empowerment and participation

Empowerment has theoretical roots in Paulo Freire’s theory of conscientisation which is linked to participation (Cleaver et al, 2001:37). Wallerstein (1992) defines empowerment as:

a social action process that promotes participation of people, organisations and communities towards the goals of increased individual and community control, political efficacy, improved quality of life, and social justice.

This definition is ambiguous because it gives the impression that power originates from a foreign source. This reinforces the disempowerment of locals because they feel that they need approval or direction from the ‘expert’. From this, it is clear how empowerment can be a catchphrase used by development professionals to mislead participants into thinking that they have the power to influence decisions, yet they are excluded in the decision-making processes that affect their well-being. Ultimately, a change in power relations is critical to this shift.

While this study acknowledges that all ideas cannot be conceived from locals alone, it does not necessarily demonise institution-led projects but stresses that participation should transcend mere invitation. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three. Also, more participation could be reduced to window dressing exercises that give participants the impression that their input actually counts in the final outcome of the programme.

Romanticising participation by homogenising individuals is one of the barriers to authentic participation. Mohan and Stokke (2000:258) point out the most glaring assumption made by post-development theorists is that there are no divisions along gender, class or race. In the context of this study, participants in the OHOG programme have different needs; therefore, foreign engineered blanket approaches are of little value because they overlook diversity among group members. Therefore, in the context of the study, homogenising the needs of participants reduces them to passive participants because they have different preferences for example, gardening practices and the type of seeds.

Having studied literature on the evolution of participation in development from a global perspective it is important to look at the citizen participation in the South African context. This will assist in gaining a critical understanding of participation in state-led food security interventions.

2.5 The ambivalence of citizen participation in South Africa

The relationship between citizens and local government spans centuries, yet the age-old question regarding the role of citizens in decision-making remains. Consequently, there are a several studies (Yetano et al, 2010; Royo et al., 2011 and Gaventa, 2004) in both developed and developing countries on the shift towards participatory local governance. Koma defines local government as “a sphere of government located within communities and well-placed to appropriately respond to local needs, interests and expectations of communities” (2010:113). In essence, its proximity to citizen renders it crucial to bridging the communication gap between government and citizens. Success in bridging this gap has however been limited (Nickson, 2011:3).

Nonetheless, there are illuminating examples of attempts to bridge this communication gap in India (Franke and Chasin, 2004), Bolivia (Holston, 1998; Kohl and Farthing, 2008) and South Africa (Miraftab, 2009; Friedman, 2006; Ballard et al, 2006). The latter studies,

illustrate how grassroots movements have carved participatory spaces in the landscape of post-apartheid South Africa. In discussing the struggles endured by social movements, Ballard et al (2006:10) highlight the patent creation of avenues for citizens to meaningfully engage with government by grassroots movements since independence. Such movements are exemplified in Holston's concept of "insurgent citizenship" which is antithetical to the "modernist agenda" which places citizens into plans pre-packaged by government (Holston 1998:39).

In writing about the struggles of the urban poor in Cape Town, South Africa, Miraftab (2009:33) sheds light on the efforts made by the grassroots movement Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign (AEC) to realise "counter-hegemonic planning practices." In framing her article, she employs "insurgent urbanism and active citizenship" to highlight how citizens can evade representative forms of participation which do not provide ample spaces participation. Twenty years after the end of apartheid, its legacy is still ingrained in the lives of poor blacks in South Africa. According to Edigheji (2007:10) inequalities that existed during apartheid continue to present themselves in various forms. As a result of this, South Africa has high levels of inequality which, according to Keeton (2014) have barely improved despite introducing social protection in the form of government grants.

Miraftab's study shows the Western Cape AEC's role in "creating spaces of resistance" for poor township residents in Delft and the Joe Slovo between 2001 and 2006 (2009:38). Instead of conforming to pre-set agendas by the state, the campaign enabled residents to exercise their constitutional rights. This was done by directly challenging forced evictions by the government and banks related to non-payment of basic amenities (Miraftab, 2009:38). Through a similar process, Bond (2002:300) writes about how the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee fought against power cuts by Eskom in Soweto, Johannesburg. As discussed in Chapter One, both examples confirm how the presence of legislation does not guarantee that those rights will be fully exercised (Buccus et al, 2007:22; Miraftab, 2005:208) making it necessary to challenge dominant structures that threaten the livelihoods of citizens. In light of this, it is important to explore the dynamics of power between citizens and local government within the context of the OHOG programme to understand the role played by the gardeners.

As highlighted above, nowadays all governments purport to pursue opportunities for citizen engagement. Whilst it is generally agreed that citizen participation is critical, there are minimal attempts by governments to enhance citizen participation at the local level such that

the voices of citizens are both heard and put into action (Yetano et al, 2010:786; Mirafteb 2005:207). The institutional theory provides an understanding of the continued existence of the top-down approach to participation. Driven by the institutional theory, which is drawn from the public policy discipline, governments espouse participation from the information and consultation forms in order to maintain the status quo (Yetano et al, 2010:785). This sentiment points to the use of participation is used as a window dressing mechanism to fulfil set obligations.

This is echoed in Winkler's (2011) investigation into the "participatory spaces" of the Johannesburg municipality. His three case studies converge on the idea that "legislated participation is little more than an administrative tool, explicitly used to generate confidence in the local state" (2011:267). As highlighted in his study citizens had minimal influence over the policy decisions made, pointing to Chomsky's concept of "manufactured consent" (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). This explains how government control decisions and render the input from citizens' inconsequential. In a section on governance and policy issues, the KwaZulu-Natal 2030 PGDP (2012:113) confirms this:

Consultation is done mere rubber stamping exercise rather than in the belief that stakeholders and communities are an important pillar of government and should be meaningfully included in the planning and implementation processes.

In a study on participatory democracy in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, Buccus et al (2007) make two interesting findings which furnish the above excerpt and Chomsky's concept. Firstly, there were indications of co-optation of citizens into participating, lack of feedback and their omission from the process. This sense of exclusion results from the use of a one-way as opposed to two-way information exchange. Secondly, there was a concern over the practice of inviting citizens to participate when the plans and possibly solutions had already been tabled (2007:105). Both findings highlight the dangers of accepting the claims of active participation without substantive evidence (Rowe and Frewer, 2005:253) showing how input from citizens was integrated in the design, implementation and development of programmes. In essence, although citizens provide input, the final decision rests with those in control. This mirrors participatory processes in the colonial era, where the colonised were excluded from processes in principally top-down approaches.

2.5.1 Legislation and policy in the South African context

The Constitution of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) dedicates sections to participation and calls for all its citizens to be actively involved in governance issues. In particular, Section 195(1) (e) with reference to public participation in the civil service states that “people’s needs must be responded to, and the public must be encouraged to participate in policy-making.” At local governance level, Section 151(1) (e), 152 compels municipalities and local government to engage citizens in issues of local government. The use of phrases such as actively involved, responding to the needs of people and engagement suggest going beyond mere consultation (Buccus and Hicks, 2011:7). Key legislation such as Act 117 of Municipal Structures Act (RSA, 1998) and Act 32 of the Municipal Systems Act (RSA, 2000), framed by the constitution also outline the importance of citizen participation. The Municipal Structures Act dedicates Chapter 4, Part 4 Section 72 to the function of Ward Committees which focuses on developing conditions that are favourable to participation in local government. In addition, the acute tone of the National Framework for Public Participation (2007) and eThekweni Community Participation Policy (2006) reflect bottom-up and inclusive participation in policy-making.

While this litany of documents depicts dedicated effort to not only adopt but also practice participatory democracy, reality is complex. A question worth asking is what does citizen involvement, public participation and community participation really mean? Despite having formal rules that guide participatory practices the inclination towards fraudulent participatory practices is real. This is confirmed by Buccus et al (2007:9) who state that the presence of laws does not provide assurance that they will be translated into action. Further, this translation occurs at varying degrees, most of which resemble top-down approaches.

2.5.2 Mechanisms for participatory planning

Since the end of apartheid, Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) have informed participatory processes in local government. According to Harrison (2006:190) an IDP is a tool used by the local governments to amalgamate the planning efforts of all departments. These feed into the central planning processes of the state. Within these processes, various mechanisms have been put in place to facilitate public participatory practices. Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) (2007:15) defines public participation “as a democratic process

of engaging people in thinking, deciding, planning and playing an active part in the development and operation of services that affect their lives.” According to Cronin (2006:1) consultation in the policy-making is practised in the form of an *imbizo*⁴ usually takes place in

...church halls and township meeting places in which the president or ministers listen to community concerns and engage with their interlocutors, explaining policies, promising interventions and assigning officials to effect follow-up Cronin.

Buccus et al's study on the perceptions of South Africans on public participation in three district municipalities shows that although citizens had experienced some form of public participation exercise, it was in the form of an *imbizo* which is the closest form of active participation in comparison to public hearings and petitions (2007:20). Despite the popularity of this method in policy-making processes, it has been criticised because it leans towards a top-down approach where individuals are merely consulted. Further the volumes of individuals render deliberation impractical because there is need for one on one interaction (Buccus et al, 2007 cited by GGLN, 2008:29; Olivier, 2004:18). This prompted Friedman to label *izimbizo* as tools for “testing grassroots opinion, not mechanisms for participation” (2006:7).

In a biting critique of such participatory practices in the global South (South Africa and Brazil in particular) Miraftab (2009:40) states that the broadening of “political citizenship and abstract formal rights” is occurring concurrently with the narrowing of socio-economic statuses. She brings to the surface a core concern of this study by pointing out that ‘citizens have gained rights they cannot eat!’ Participatory processes therefore, need to be scrutinised to ensure they engage citizens in meaningful ways as enshrined in the legislative and policy documents.

Having discussed the relationship of citizens and local government and the South African policy context, the next section focuses on participatory spaces in development programmes. These enhance our understanding of the participatory practices in interventions related to food security.

⁴ According to GGLN an *imbizo* (or plural *izimbizo*) is a large scale community meeting. Matshediso extends this definition by highlighting that the term, originating from isiZulu/isiXhosa language or *kgotla* in Sesotho refers to a ‘gathering’ in the form of a community meeting designed to directly involve citizens in the government policy-making process. This practice, rooted in African traditions “to ensure participation of members in the process of conceptualising, making and executing decisions” (2008:1). http://www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/Knowledge_Rajohane_Matshediso.pdf (Accessed 28 August 2014)

2.6 Decision-making in food security projects

Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) projects uphold the active participation of communities. In the last 20 years there has been a shift from government to people-centred control through decentralisation. In a dissenting statement, Muraleedharan (2006:23) points out that state obligation to devolve power to locals has been peripheral. Shackleton et al's study on devolution in Asian and Southern African contexts demonstrates that "devolution policies have often had disappointing impacts on local livelihoods and the space that communities enjoy to make their own management decisions", particularly in cases where there was no influence from a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO). (2002:5). This confirms the ambivalence of citizen participation by local government as presented in the second section of this chapter. Although Shackleton et al's (2002) study specifically addresses CBNRM and is not related to urban agriculture; it falls within the ambit of food security. The authors' desire to understand whether the devolution of power is community centred or remains an extension of the state and the discussion linking local empowerment and sustainable CBNRM is particularly pertinent.

In another example of an agricultural programme implemented by the Ugandan National Resistance Movement government to enhance productivity in rural farming, Kateshumbwa's (2012:5) findings reveal the same pattern of top-down participation. While the focus of his study was on improving agricultural extension services, specific findings are significant to this study. Firstly, most of the government officials involved in the programme stated that citizen participation was observed, confirming the argument mounted by Adichie⁵ about the danger of accepting a narrative from a single source. Therefore, claims of "full participation" where all members are actively involved need to be questioned (Cornwall, 2008:276) given the pervasive power imbalances. A further, finding from the study suggest that the officials were concerned with following procedure as opposed to genuinely embracing the voices of citizens (2012:14). However, Kateshumbwa's study does not give detail of the extent to which citizens participated in all stages of the programme. This makes it difficult to understand if the implications of participation on the food security status of the farmers. In

⁵ In advocating for a dynamic understanding of phenomena, Adichie's (2009) reflective piece on the dangers of relying on linear narratives titled notes that "how they (stories) are told, who tells them, when they're told, how many stories are told, are really dependent on power."
http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story?language=en
(Accessed 16 February 2013).

light of the importance of citizen participation in food security programmes, the next section will discuss the importance of urban agriculture in sub-Saharan Africa.

2.7 Urban agriculture in sub-Saharan Africa

Urban agriculture has been practised since time immemorial. According to Maxwell and Zziwa the practice is “as old as African cities themselves” (1992:13). Also, its importance as a strategy to curb food insecurity has been well documented in literature (Rogerson, 1993:21). As highlighted in Chapter One, urbanisation, coupled with poverty and unemployment makes agriculture one of the key survival strategies employed by the urban poor. Its importance is reflected in the different types of agricultural activities in Africa that include but are not limited to cultivation in vacant spaces and in backyards (Drechsel and Dongus, 2010:70). Among a myriad of definitions, Zezza and Tasciotti define urban agriculture “as the production of crop and livestock goods within cities and towns” (2010:1). Despite the recognition of urban agriculture as a livelihood strategy among the urban poor, little attention is paid to urban agriculture (Crush and Frayne, 2010:6).

Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), which were neoliberal economic policy instruments crafted by the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) led to the withdrawal of the state and the subsequent privatisation of services in developing countries. These policies negatively affected poor households in Africa. Scholars (Tevera, 1996; Bowyer-Bower and Drakakis-Smith, 1996) link the negative impact of these neoliberal policies to the rise in agricultural activity as a result of the erosion of disposable incomes. Tevera (1996) shows how the effect of SAPs on food prices spurred poor urban consumers in Harare to get access to food outside market channels through home production or bartering. In the same year, a study by Bowyer-Bower and Drakakis-Smith (1996) confirmed that 60% of food consumed by low-income groups in Harare was self-produced. This shows how issues surrounding food security have become increasingly critical, as the rate of poverty in Africa rises. This is also reflected in the proliferation of donor sponsored community gardens in urban areas based on their potential contribution to the alleviation of food security and improvement of standards of living. (Crush and Frayne, 2011:531).

South Africa is no exception, notwithstanding the fact it was not exposed to the aforementioned WB and IMF policies. Impacts similar to those created by SAPs presented themselves through “home-grown structural adjustment” policies such as the Growth Equity

and Redistribution Strategy in 1996 (Bond, 2000:146). The second principle of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994 was rooted in upholding people-centred as opposed to expert-centred processes. However, critics such as Bond (2000), Terreblanche (2003) and McKinley (1997) concede that rather than addressing challenges faced by the poor through bottom-up approaches both policies leaned towards the top-down approach. These policies reinforced socio-economic problems among the poor blacks leading to an increase in urban agriculture, as had occurred in other African countries a decade earlier (Rogerson, 1993:24)

2.7.1 Urban agriculture in South Africa

The scale of urban cultivation practised in South Africa three decades ago was relatively small compared to other developing countries, especially in Africa (Rogerson, 1993:27). According to the South African GHS the number of individuals practising agriculture are less than a quarter of the total population (Stats SA, 2012:4). Drawing on the discussion above about South Africa being a food secure state; food insecurity is a challenge many poor South Africans grapple with. Using the first South African National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (SANHANES-1) (2012) Shisana et al (2013:145) confirmed this by stating that 28.3 and 26% of South Africans were at risk of experiencing hunger or food insecure respectively. Social safety nets such as the state grants have played a role in buttressing the livelihoods of poor South Africans. However, National Agricultural Marketing Council (2013:iii) points out that these are not sufficient to cover the average cost of the food basket which increased by 14% in 2010 to ZAR451.08 in 2012. Given the poverty and unemployment that exists within urban poor communities increases in the cost of living puts a dent in their livelihoods. This therefore, reinforces the importance genuine participation in agricultural programmes aimed at buttressing household food insecurity.

Several important findings emerged in a study by Nxumalo and Oladele (2013) on farmers' attitudes towards participation in agricultural projects in the Zululand District, KwaZulu-Natal. Two thirds of the participants agreed that the projects were farmer-oriented and over 80% stated that they had a direct bearing on the programme. While both findings align with the second and third objectives of my study, which aim to understand how participants perceive their participation in the OHOG programme and the impact of their participation on the programme, Nxumalo and Oladele's study is quantitative in nature. It does not provide an

in-depth understanding of the methods employed in the participatory process and at which stages the farmers provided their input. In one of the findings, more than half of the respondents agreed that projects were bureaucratic while 42% were uncertain (2013:87). This finding, in light of the Food Sovereignty Framework, warrants further interrogation because it alludes to the inability of farmers to control their agricultural production in the development programme. The following two sections discuss community gardening and home gardening respectively, which both fall within the ambit of urban agriculture.

2.8 Community gardening in KwaZulu-Natal

The province of KwaZulu-Natal is seen to be actively involved in farming activities. For example, the Empowerment for Food Security Programme (2005-2009) and the CASP (2005) and the OHOG programme (2009) are some of the interventions directed at addressing food insecurity. Urban agriculture, through community gardening, has been promoted in townships by both governments and NGO's in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal (Oelofse and de Neergard, 2007:14). Community gardening is defined as an open space "maintained by a group of households, who decide as a group what to grow, when to grow and to harvest" Maroyi (2009:2). Unlike home gardening, there is collective effort in crop production. The KwaZulu-Natal DAEA (1999) states community gardening constitutes a minimum number of five people and the "land is controlled by either a traditional, a communal or state authority."

Several studies on community gardening projects have been conducted in KwaZulu-Natal (Ndoró, 2011; Shisanya, 2011; Mpanza, 2008 and Dlamini, 2005). Among these studies, Dlamini's study based in rural KwaZulu-Natal focuses on the role played by participants in shaping the programme. She investigates the type and the level of participation in the uMsinga food security program funded by the National Development Agency. Her findings suggest that a significant proportion of the participants were informed about the programme at implementation level (2005:96). This type of participation is instrumental and falls within Arnstein's lower rungs of citizen participation where citizens are merely informed about a programme (Arnstein, 1969:217). Here the community's needs are viewed as homogenous. Labelling their needs as similar undermines notions of democracy which is implicit in the definition of citizen participation.

2.9 Participation in home gardening interventions

Home gardening is not a new form of agricultural practice. It is a long-standing practice used by families to cushion them against household food insecurity (Marsh, 1998:4; Pudup, 2008:1229). Pudup traces home gardens to the 1890s during the economic depression (2008:1229). Subsequently, home gardening gained importance in global discussions on food security from the 1950s (Midmore et al, 1991:5). Despite its long lineage there is a dearth in literature about home gardening as a strategy for urban food security. In the literature, home gardens are also known as mixed, backyard, kitchen, farmyard, rooftop, compound or homestead gardens (Marsh, 1998:4). Marsh groups these into traditional or promoted gardens (1998:7). The difference between the two forms is that in traditional gardening, is self-supported and promoted gardening involves the provision of implements or funds from an external body. Brownrigg defines it as “a system of agricultural production largely conducted by the household members at or near their residence” (1985:2).

Quite recently, considerable attention has been paid to home gardening given the rise in food prices and the global recession. While these reflect efforts by government to address food security at the household level, they do not focus on the nature of citizen participation at the initial stages of programme design. This glaring omission has two related consequences, which are the reinforcement of food insecurity and the disempowerment of participants as a result of the use of the top-down approach, particularly at the design stage as highlighted above.

There are few studies that focus on home gardens and food sovereignty. One such study though is Boone’s (2012) exploration of home gardens as a strategy for food sovereignty in northern Nicaragua. While her study is based in a rural setting, it is significant to the study on two accounts. Her study addresses the first and second objectives which aim to find out the rationale behind the participatory methods employed by the government and the perceptions of participants on their role in decision-making processes. Firstly, using participant observation, she established that a “patron-client” (Cornwall, 2002:52) relationship between farmers and government defined the project. Further, Boone’s interviewees report that there was no reference made to ownership of their food system, instead, they requested for support (2012:113). Secondly, meetings between the agricultural experts and programme participants lacked depth and were done hastily in order to meet the bi-annual report deadline (2012:118).

This contradicts the principles of food sovereignty which value engagement and places gardeners in control of their productive spaces (Via Campesina, 2008).

However, there are examples of transparent participatory processes but these are not common. Ghosh and Maharjan explore the extent of household participation in a kitchen gardening project under the One House One Farm project implemented by the local government in rural Bangladesh (2013:109). Unlike most studies which make vague statements on how input made by households was incorporated into the programme, participants in this study selected their crop preferences. In addition, key informant interviews and focus group discussions and weekly meetings were held with stakeholders. The level of engagement by households in the decision-making processes reflected positively through enhanced crop yields and food security. (2013:110). This example highlights how invited spaces which allow for the transformation into invented have a lasting impact on the programme creating spaces for the ideas and concerns of all individuals to be incorporated in the final plan.

2.9.1 The South African context

In the South African context, studies on urban home gardens have also attracted little attention in recent research, leaving a significant gap in our understanding of urban food security (Crush and Frayne, 2010:20). Most studies on home gardening are preoccupied with benefits such as nutritional and economic importance (Mthethwa, 2012; Mpanza, 2008; Faber and Benade, 2002). As a result, literature that takes an exclusive focus on participation into account is relatively thin. Although Faber and Benade's study does not directly focus on participation, the findings suggest that participants were heavily dependent on 'experts' for the continued functioning of the gardens (2002:29). Rather than explaining the methods used and how participants were involved, Faber and Benade's study glosses over participation. In his seminal book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (1970) warns against such oppressive tendencies which hinder self-reliance.

In 1996, the South African government introduced the Integrated Food Security Strategy to improve household production and alleviate food insecurity (DAEA, 2002). As highlighted in the sections above, South African food policy is grounded in food security which is silent about ownership and local control. Crush and Frayne also critique the strategy by stating that there is a "disjuncture between the strategy and the complexity of food security" (2010:17).

One of these is the frameworks emphasis on rural areas and rural food security instead of encapsulating a broader view. Food security, when discussed, is generally not regarded as an urban problem.

In assessing the impact of agriculture in Edendale, rural KwaZulu-Natal, Ghebremicael (2000:56) highlighted how vegetable gardens played an important role in supplementing the income of poor urban farmers. Other studies in KwaZulu-Natal explore reasons for people engaging in urban agriculture. For example, Mthethwa's study is of relevance because he focuses on an urban community and home gardens in KwaMsane Township which are a product of *Xoshindlala* which was launched in May 1998 (KZN DAEA, 1999). The focus of his study, however, limited to profiling individuals who practice urban agriculture in the township and their motivation.

In a study on barriers to food sovereignty in the four villages in the Eastern Cape, Masifunde Education and Development Project Trust (MEDPT) and Zingisa Educational Project (ZEP) (2010) noted that the top-down approach is one of the major causes of failed agricultural projects. They report that small scale farmers mentioned that the Genetically Modified (GM) cash crops such as chillies, paprika and cotton provided by the state were not addressing the farmers' needs or improving their food security status. This points to the need to document ways in which the contributions of gardeners are incorporated into the OHOG programme.

2.9.2 Unearthing the role of citizens in One Home One Garden programme

The man who wears the shoe knows best that it pinches and where it pinches, even if the expert shoemaker is the best judge of how the trouble is to be remedied

Dewey (1993)

Although there are no official documents on the OHOG programme, strategies and plans such as the KwaZulu-Natal PGDP 2030; NDP 2012; Budget Policy Speech 2010/11 and 2013/14 highlight the importance of the programme in buttressing food security. While communities were given seeds, gardening tools and taught how to plant vegetables in their homes, there is an omission of how recipients participated in crafting decisions about the home gardens. This sentiment is also reflected in work of Dewey, who reinforces the importance of citizen agency in development programmes. The crux of Dewey's argument is that without input

from the wearer the shoemaker will not have sufficient information to address the problem (Rogers, 2010:81). Hence, the decision-making processes should revolve round programme participants to avoid a situation where participants are merely invited to participate in intervention that deviates from their needs.

Although many studies focus on the agriculture in KwaZulu-Natal as highlighted above, Khanyile's (2012) study in eQhudeni, rural KwaZulu-Natal is to the best of my knowledge, the only study which focuses on the OHOG programme. While Mthethwa's (2012) study mentions the OHOG, it focuses on broader agricultural practice within the township of KwaMsane. Khanyile's study found that households were passively involved in their gardens in spite of continued food insecurity (2012:56). She mounts the argument that the provision of the Child Support Grant potentially reinforces a culture of dependency (2012:54). Khanyile's study draws our attention to some of the impacts of the OHOG programme on poverty in and does not focus on structural power relations. This weakness stems from her use of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) as a conceptual framework. Her study provides insights on the participation at the community level but does not delve into the role participants played in the development of the programme.

Although the SLA identifies the poor as active decision-makers, in shaping their own livelihoods (Ashley and Carney, 1999:1) it fails to identify power imbalances between locals and experts. This study, therefore, addresses this gap by closely examining the participatory space of the OHOG programme in the township of KwaMashu. Given Khanyile's silence on citizen participation in the OHOG programme, it is critical to understand from the perspectives of households, if their participation in the programme has a continuing impact in the functioning of the gardens. Other studies (Dlamini, 2005 and Khanyile, 2012) which are closely related to the focus of this study are based in rural settings. In view of the gradual shift of the locus of poverty, this study will contribute to this geographical gap.

2.10 Conclusion

Citizen participation is a highly complex concept prone to abuse due to its lack of clear definition. To compound this, literature has shown how the ambivalence of governments to citizen participation poses a challenge to the active participation of citizens (Roberts, 2004:3). While legislation and policy guide participatory processes and uphold the involvement of citizens, these objectives have rarely been realised in practice. Notwithstanding, there are

examples of case studies which approximate genuine citizen involvement but these are far and wide. Further, the neglect of urban food security in both policy and programme formulation worsen the plight of the urban poor. This chapter has discussed how the rural bias coupled with the dynamics of power between citizens and government raises questions on the ability of households to adequately feed their families through their involvement in food security programmes.

While recent studies have shown that participation alone is not enough, there is continued employment of participatory practices that are not grounded in deliberative participation. This chapter has illustrated how such practices are detrimental to attempts made by households to feed their families. Ultimately, the mere re-packaging of top-down participatory practices as bottom-up as evidenced above should challenge governments to create effective participatory platforms. That way, participating households will be both food secure and empowered. In the next chapter I use insights from the literature reviewed here to build a conceptual framework for examining participation in OHOG in KwaMashu.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this Chapter is to explore concepts and theories drawn from the literature review. These interlace into the theoretical fabric of the Food Sovereignty Framework, which is the conceptual point of departure for this study. Thus, the first section will discuss citizen participation in the South African context. This will feed into Section 3.3, which makes a comparison between deliberative and instrumental forms of participation. Given that the OHOG programme is a state led initiative, Section 3.4 discusses Cornwall's analogy of participatory spaces, providing the context within which the programme is nested. In Section 3.5, I make distinction between food security and food sovereignty in light of participatory processes. The final Section introduces the Food Sovereignty Framework buttressed with Cornwall's concept of 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of participation. This combination is critical to understanding of the participatory processes of the OHOG programme in KwaMashu and more specifically, determine whether the programme reflects the voices of the participants.

3.2 Citizen participation in South Africa

Prior to 1994, the South African government was biased in favour of the white population. Further, while the dawn of democracy inevitably led to the endorsement of participatory democracy, participation has remained largely representative. In representative democracy, government officials make decisions on behalf of citizens. This has led to questions surrounding the value of this model in responding to the concerns of the poor, blacks in particular (Buccus and Hicks, 2011:102). In light of this, I have selected the Food Sovereignty Framework because it problematises unequal power relations and envisages participatory processes that give citizens the platform to shape their development. It is vital in establishing the extent to which OHOG programme participants control their food system. Also, the framework leans towards "transformative" participation by asking how people participate (McMichael, 2010:168). By asking such questions, food sovereignty transcends "setting the goal" for attaining food security, it "defines the way to realise it" (Global Policy Institute, 2011:1). By interrogating participatory processes in farming interventions, the Food

Sovereignty Framework enhances citizen ability to own their livelihoods and thus feed their families.

Participation, whose definition is attached to a large body of normative theory branches from participatory democracy and deliberative democracy. Cohen and Fung (2004:24) critique radical democrats for using participation and deliberation interchangeably by arguing that the concepts are developed from different democratic doctrines. They further propose that the two concepts may even be antagonistic. The same sentiments are shared by Vitale (2006) who questions the concurrent use of the term in literature. In particular, participatory democracy concerns itself with engagement in decision-making, while deliberative democracy highlights the importance of discourse, which leads to the reflection of ideas (2006:746). Hence, one of the aims of this study is to not only understand whether OHOG programme participants were involved in the development of the programme but more importantly whether participation was deliberative; and, moreover, what impact such deliberation or non-deliberation had on the end outcomes of the project.

3. 3 Deliberative versus instrumental participation

The contrast between the notions of representative and participatory democracy is central to the conceptualisation of participation. In her chapter on *Democracy in the Industry*, Pateman (1980) also notes the dual connotations of the concept ‘participation’ in literature. On one hand, it refers to the decision-making procedure and on the other it describes the manufacture of consensus (Hodgson, 2004), which is a condition where supposed ‘participation’ is cloaked by the mandate of elites and therefore does not reflect the needs of the people (Pateman,1980:68). Given the diversion of representative democracy from “genuine” democracy, Hirst (1990:2) questions the oxymoron’s place in participatory democracy. Hirst’s insight confirms that an uncritical view of representative democratic processes poses a threat to people’s agency. As such, the present study acknowledges the drawbacks of the representative system which is instrumental in the sense that citizens are excluded or involved to a limited degree in decision-making processes. The Food Sovereignty Framework therefore, takes a critical stance towards participatory spaces within institution-led projects where participation is likely to be reduced to a non-democratic form.

A significant number of authors (Pateman, 1980; Hirst, 1990 and Cohen and Fung, 2004) are pessimistic about the attainment of democracy through the representative form.

Representation overshadows the voices of ordinary individuals, reducing opportunities for active involvement in decision-making. This is antithetical to the fourth principle of the Food Sovereignty Framework which ‘puts control locally’ (Via Campesina, 2008). The importance of the framework lies in its emphasis on the ability of citizens to govern the spaces where they carve out their livelihoods. In light of the effects of the legacy of apartheid which disadvantaged black, most of whom reside in townships such as KwaMashu; this framework is linked to the first objective of the study. This objective was to examine the methods employed by the local government to facilitate participation within the programme.

Drawing on the work of Durkheim (1957), Hirst argues that representative democracy does not root itself in the importance of discourse (1990:33). The engagement of individuals in any decision is of central importance as highlighted in Durkheim’s theoretical conceptions. In making a case for deliberative democracy, Dryzek (2002:55) cements the above argument:

[...] ordinary opinion polls are pointless because they register only unreflective preferences. The idea of a deliberative poll is to assemble a random sample of members of the public, have them deliberate about the key issues of the election, poll them on their positions on the issue, and publicise the results. The intent here is to model the distribution of opinions that the general public would hold if they were able to engage in genuine deliberation, a far cry indeed from the unreflective preferences which ordinary opinion polls register.

Deliberation is therefore an overt way to decipher power dynamics in participatory processes (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2002:39). In juxtaposing ordinary and deliberative polls, Dryzek highlights the importance of reflection in the electoral process. While this example seems distant from the local development perspective that the present study locates itself in, it resonates with most development practices as highlighted in the introductory chapter. Within the same subject of deliberative polling, Fishkin (2009:33-34) established five characteristics that facilitate the creation of an enabling environment for the dialogue that is rooted in democracy. These are information, substantive balance, diversity, conscientiousness and equal consideration (2009:33-34).

The characteristics above involve elements of a two-way interaction between individuals by placing all stakeholders on the same level in terms of power. Deliberation is of key importance because it safeguards against none or partial participation. As articulated by Kateshumbwa (2012:26) “participation is one matter, ability to influence another”.

Paralleling Mirafteb and Willis' (2005:211) "insurgent alternative mode of planning", the Food Sovereignty Framework not only questions the role of citizens in decision-making processes, it also ensures the rights inscribed in policy documents are reflected in practice. It addresses this by 'valuing food providers' (Via Campesina, 2008). By examining whether the contributions of the OHOG programme participants were enforced, this principle unearths existing power dynamics and the impact of participants' role in shaping the programme which speaks to the third objective of the study.

Power is a critical factor in participatory democracy as articulated by Foucault (1980) and Gaventa (2006). It is therefore not practical to discuss participation without discussing power dynamics. Directly related to Fishkin's model is Brownhill and Carpenter's (2007) model of the Operation of Power, which differentiates between deliberative and instrumental forms. Instrumental participation mirrors the representative form of democracy where consultation takes place which is distant from the bottom-up deliberative form as highlighted by Fishkin (2009). Instrumental participation or top-down approaches to participation hinder the ability of individuals to transform into self-reliant individuals. One of the key factors that allow for this transformation is a broadened understanding of participation through citizenship (Hickey and Mohan, 2005:238).

3.4 Spaces for citizen participation

Since this study takes cognisance of the view that in order for government-led home gardening programmes to be responsive to the needs of poor households, the spaces within which citizens engage with government is important. The concept of citizenship stems from political science literature, which is concerned with the broader views on the implications of structure on the involvement and agency of the citizens (Christens and Speer 2006:n.p.). Such a holistic perspective moves beyond participation and empowerment within the community to one that interrogates structural relations. Whilst it is generally agreed that there should be equal participation, Foucauldian analysis points to the skewed nature of power dynamics (Foucault, 1980). By the same token, the Food Sovereignty Framework takes cognisance of participatory processes that hinder active citizen participation.

To put the matter curtly these spaces can either be deliberative or instrumental as discussed above. Thus, participation is subject to reflect the "ideology, motivations, and practical orientations" of individuals in control (Wengert, 1976:23). This is well articulated in

Cornwall's (2002) use of spatial metaphors to analyse participation. Concepts of 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of citizenship point out the need to unearth the role of individuals in any participatory space especially in terms of food security interventions. In this context, citizen participation is pivotal to addressing the issue of food sovereignty which is aligned to the objectives of the study.

In a critical observation of the relationship between sense of ownership by the locals and participation, Cornwall suggests that

..invited spaces and opportunities to participate that are made available are often structured and owned by those who provide them, no matter how participatory they may seek to be. (2002: 22).

Therefore the concept of invited spaces provides an understanding of whether the implementation and development of the OHOG programme was informed by the voices of the 'cultivators'. In this context, exploring participatory spaces of poor urban households is pivotal to addressing food sovereignty, which is aligned to the objectives of the study.

Building on Cornwall's (2002) analysis of participatory spaces, Gaventa identified a three-type continuum of spaces ranging from closed, invited and lastly claimed/created spaces (2006:26-27). He defines these 'spaces' as prospects and avenues where citizens can be actively engaged and have an impact on the decisions and policies that affect them (2006:26). It is important to note that even within invited spaces deliberation can facilitate the shift from invited to invented spaces where individuals gain control of decision-making. His analogy entails a shift from viewing invited and invented spaces in distinct silos. However, this shift is hardly visible in the South African participatory landscape, where the most popular mechanism used to communicate with citizens is consultation (Friedman 2006:7); where there is no guarantee that community input is valued and feedback is seldom given to participating citizens (Buccus and Hicks, 2011). Rowe and Frewer (2005:255) define consultation as a process that involves the "flow of information from the public to the government". In essence, consultation occurs when a decision has already been made, the opinions of others are only meant to influence set goals this is characteristic of spaces led by institutions.

Not all scholars embrace the notion of citizen participation. MacPherson and MacPherson (1977:92 cited by Hoffman 2004:100) argue that democracy flourishes where there is

minimal citizen input. Under this assumption, citizens are reduced to objects that have limited capacity to give substantive contributions. This linear view reinforces the modernist tradition, where experts make decisions on behalf of the others. It is defective because ordinary citizens should be included in the planning, which is a crucial stage in participatory processes. McPherson and McPherson's view parallels Gaventa's 'closed spaces' discussed in Chapter Two where decision-making rests on those who occupy government positions (2006:26).

Participation is nested in the ambit of human rights and therefore, reinforces the need to create spaces that promote self-reliance (Hickey and Mohan 2005:257). Participation as a right requires that the relevant information is relayed to citizens timeously so that they make informed decisions. However, there is an inconsistency in the inclusion of citizens in development programmes. This reinforces the need to create spaces that promote the self-reliance of individuals. In my view, as long as the power relations between participants and governments remain intact, buttressing food security through gardening interventions will remain a challenge. This is because participants will not be empowered to make their own decisions. This sentiment is also echoed in the Food Sovereignty Framework which envisages a fundamental shift in the dominant forms of participatory practices (Via Campesina, 2008). In essence, if individuals are provided with a platform to control decision-making it will enhance ownership of the programme and is likely to reflect positively on their livelihoods.

3.5 Food sovereignty versus food security

A considerable number of scholars (Nyeleni, 2013; Trang, 2012; Wittman et al, 2010; Windfuhr and Jonsen, 2005) have written on the distinction between food security and food sovereignty. However, before delving into the distinction between the two concepts it is necessary to define them.

Food security is a situation where all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO, 2014).

On the other hand food sovereignty is:

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 those who produce, distribute and consume food at the

heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations (Via Campesina, 2008).

From the definitions above it is evident that both concepts converge on the importance of attaining food security. The distinction according to Nyeleni is rooted in both “approach and politics” (2013). Food sovereignty anchors itself on a “bottom-up process” by focusing on the rights of ordinary citizens (Trang, 2012:70). In essence the food system should be framed and governed by citizens. This comparison is guided by three of the six principles of food sovereignty drafted at the Nyeleni⁶ Declaration on Food Sovereignty held in Mali in 2007 which: a) focused on food for people food for all; and b) values food providers localises the food system and c) puts control locally (Via Campesina, 2008). These three principles have been selected because they are relevant to the objectives of the study.

Initial international discussions on food sovereignty were held in 1996 at the World Food Summit in Rome organised by Via Campesina (Wittman, 2011:87) at a conference for farmers. Since then food sovereignty has gained wide currency among analysts of issues surrounding agriculture and democracy (Akram-Lodi 2013:1). For Edelman, it has surfaced as a “powerful mobilising frame for social movements” (2014:1). McMichael (2013:1) draws on the work of Tomich (2004) to show how the concept materialised in the Caribbean island of Martinique when slaves battled “for the right to have and maintain garden plots for subsistence.” Similarly, the proponents of food sovereignty campaign address the struggles of poor farmers to gain oversight over their productivity.

Governments of Venezuela, Mali, Bolivia, Ecuador, Nepal, Senegal (Wittman et al, 2010:8) and Nicaragua (Nyeleni, 2013:6) have integrated food sovereignty into their national constitutions and laws. In comparison, South Africa’s constitution and food policies are food security centred. Accordingly, all state led programmes are framed by food security discourse (e.g. ZHP (2010/11); OHOG (2009); and CASP (2005) among others. This impedes the ability of citizens to achieve food security because food sovereignty is a critical ingredient to achieving sustainable agriculture (Via Campesina, 1996:n.p). This study lays emphasis on food sovereignty since it embraces the principles of democracy. Food sovereignty not only concerns itself with independence, by extension creates conditions that bring positive impacts on interventions since it is grounded in the preferences of citizens. As suggested by Cornwall,

⁶ The conference was named after a renowned female farmer from Mali who personified principles of food sovereignty Forum for New World Governance (undated) <http://www.world-governance.org/article72.html>

instead of being mere beneficiaries citizens should become “makers and shapers of their lives” (2002:3). The nature of citizen participation in development programmes therefore becomes critical considering the fact that spaces for them to actively engage could still be controlled by officials or experts.

As highlighted above food sovereignty enhances food security. Firstly, food sovereignty places people at the centre of local food production. According to Figueroa (2013:6) the concept interrogates the link between “space, power, and meaning” in the community food production based contexts. Since citizens do not exist in a vacuum it is necessary to make the connection at the political level. While agency in food security may prompt one to associate it with independence, Rocha (2008 cited by Lang and Barling, 2012:320) explains that it refers to the ability of experts to meet the food security on behalf of citizens. This highlights that the notion of citizen participation is not significant and reinforces dependency of citizens on experts. Proponents of food sovereignty point out that there is an exclusion of direct involvement which is related to issues of democracy and local production in the food security model (Schanbacher, 2010:74). This, according to Patel makes it “entirely possible for people to be food secure in prison or under a dictatorship” (2009:655).

A related strength of food sovereignty is that it encapsulates discourses of democracy, rights and participation (Schanbacher, 2010:74; Patel, 2009:666). While both food security and food sovereignty view food as indeed a right, food sovereignty addresses the notion that people have a right to inform and control decisions regarding farming methods and choice of seed preferences. Conversely, the rights-based language in food security focuses on broader levels of food security. This could present difficulties in practice because it fails to take in to account the rights of individuals who produce food as well as “the long-term sustainability of farming systems” (Desmarais et al, 2011:4). Wittman (2011:92) cements this by adding that the “elaborate legal architecture” of rights through food security is yet to address poverty, making food sovereignty a potential mechanism through which this can be achieved.

Thirdly, food security, which frames most agricultural practices, fails to tackle issues of power dynamics and participation which are central to democracy. Fairbairn highlights how in the 1980s food security was “framed as a problem of individual choices at a micro-economic level in the context of the free market rather than as an issue concerning governments’ policy choices” (2012:221). Conversely, food sovereignty is holistic; it takes into account the cultural, social, political, geographical and environmental context of the

community in order to develop an appropriate plan of action to address the community's particular problems and needs. Guided by the concept of food sovereignty which assumes that every citizen is competent and reasonable enough to participate in their own food production; this study will attempt to assess the degree to which households are shaping their food production within the programme.

Another important element is that food sovereignty also encapsulates urban food production, it thus moves away from the rural bias that has been characterised by a number of food security interventions. While original protests against undemocratic means of food production originated in rural environments, the wide adoption of the concept has resulted in its application in urban contexts (McMichael, 2013:3). Urban residents are vulnerable to food insecurity largely because of the high unemployment rates and they have to purchase most of their food due to lack of space as highlighted in the introductory chapter (de Zeeuw and Dubbeling, 2009:3). However, because the continued increase of the aforementioned neoliberal barriers Mares and Alkon (2011) are not overly optimistic about the embracement of food sovereignty in urban context. In writing on food security in South Africa, Frayne et al (2010:38) report that social welfare in the form of grants form a significant part of household income. This means that the absence of a consistent and adequate source of income makes these households vulnerable to food insecurity. The Food Sovereignty Framework is therefore useful because it argues for the control of citizens productive spaces so that they can effectively address their household consumption needs.

3.6 Carving out spaces of citizen participation in agricultural practices

As stated earlier, the conceptual framework for this study is drawn from the Food Sovereignty Framework and Cornwall's 'invited' and 'invented' spaces dichotomy. Described by Desmarais (2007) as an "alternative modernity", food sovereignty is the new paradigm that links local food systems to local consumers. The importance of linking local food systems to urban consumers who recognise and demand access to local and nutritious food was clearly expressed in the Via Campesina International Forum on Food Sovereignty held in Mali in 2007. Three of the six pillars of food sovereignty which couch themselves in the rights discourse and emphasise ownership and local control are suitable for my study. These are a) focuses on food for people b) values food providers and c) puts control locally (Via Campesina, 2008:5).

As discussed above, the concept of food sovereignty was borne out of the need to modify the landscape of agricultural policies by placing farmers at the centre of the food system. This aligns with the epistemological orientation of the study which is the constructivist paradigm. In this paradigm, individuals are actively involved in creating meaning of their experiences (Crotty, 1998). Similarly, the Food Sovereignty Framework maintains that individuals experiencing food insecurity should shape decisions surrounding agricultural policy (Via Campesina, 2008). As highlighted in Chapter One, a question critical to the study is how participants were involved in the programme. This is a key concern of food sovereignty which in the context of this study will enhance understanding on whether programme participants were given the platform to inform and control decisions regarding garden practices which include seed preferences and methods of planting.

Patel (2009:655) weaves the food sovereignty concept into the fabric of human rights. In pursuing this argument, Seed (2011:70 citing Welsh and MacRae 1998:238-239) suggests that active citizenship and democracy facilitates the shift from viewing people as inactive to self-reliant consumers. As Freire (1993:68) notes, “only valid transformation in a community is one in which people are not just liberated from hunger but made free, or enabled, to create, construct, and produce”. By extension this means that liberation cannot originate solely from an external body without determination from the individual (Freire, 1972:42). In essence, these interrelated concepts demonstrate how failure to provide individuals with space to actively participate in agricultural production is a double pronged violation, that is, the right to food and participation. In the South African Constitution these rights are reflected in Section 27 and Section 152; Section 195(e) respectively. The Food Sovereignty Framework therefore offers an alternative approach to the continued violation of the rights of citizens in the context of food production. It is a tool that helps citizens “strive to practice their constitutional right beyond those formal spaces that often exclude their needs and priorities” (Miraftab and Willis, 2005: 201).

This study lays emphasis on food sovereignty since it embraces the agency of citizens and principles of democracy. Food sovereignty not only concerns itself with the independence, by extension it has created conditions that bring positive ramifications on the outcome of any intervention because it is grounded in the preferences of citizens. Food sovereignty therefore resonates with the second objective of this thesis which aims to unearth the extent to which households participated in the design of the programme. It provides a lens through which we

can understand whether participants were given space to select the types of crops to grow or methods of crop production. Further, an appealing feature of the framework is its holistic nature in focusing on both rural and urban context (Desmarais and Wittman, 2013; Wittman et al, 2010) making it an ideal tool which I can use to analyse my findings.

Critically, food security which frames most agricultural practices, fails to tackle issues of power dynamics and participation, which are central to democracy. Drawing on the analysis above, the boundary between tokenism and genuine participation is blurred. This makes it necessary to assess the nature of participation and promote development practitioners may to eschew repressive practices that resemble non-participation or tokenism. Guided by the Food Sovereignty Framework and the ‘invited’ and ‘invented’ spaces, this study will attempt to locate the role of households shaping their food production within the programme.

Finally, it is important to discuss some criticisms that have been levelled against the Food Sovereignty Framework. For instance, Windfuhr and Jonsen state that scholars have critiqued the use of the term sovereignty as out-dated and “quasi-romantic” (2005). Also, Edelman (2014:10) questions the meaning of sovereignty and the usefulness of the framework in the context of globalisation. While these critiques may be true, in my view, they are framed within wider political discussions, further, it is possible to speak of sovereignty of individuals over their means of production because it is the only way they can have direct control over their food security.

3.7 Conclusion

Using the Food Sovereignty Framework buttressed by the ‘invited’ and ‘invented’ spaces concept this chapter mapped out the relationship between concepts and theories that provide an understanding of the decision-making process of the OHOG programme. Firstly, I discussed the concept of citizen participation within the South African context. Following this, I demonstrated how deliberative participation is starkly contrasted to instrumental participation which reinforces the top-down approach. The use of spatial metaphors through the ‘invited’ and ‘invented’ spaces was then discussed within the context of development programmes. This analogy reveals the ambivalence of local governments in creating germane participatory spaces within invited spaces is incongruent with the concept of food sovereignty. By weaving the concept of food sovereignty, I underscore its significance in guiding food security programmes such as the OHOG programme which is an “invited”

space. Lastly, I demonstrate how the Food Sovereignty Framework together with the invited/invented concept allows for an in-depth understanding of the nature of citizen participation and the resultant implications. Moreover, it provided a means to substantiate evidence provided in Chapter Two. The framework also provides the context for framing the methodology which will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an account of the steps I took in order to collect data for the study. In light of the statement of the problem section in Chapter One, I describe the rationale for the selecting the research design, the location of the study and the criteria employed to identify participants. Further, I discuss the research instruments and augment this by stating reasons for employing them. Subsequently, I explain how I administered the research instruments in order to answer the research questions presented in the introductory chapter. Finally, I outline the strategy used analysing the data and the challenges encountered throughout the data collection process.

4.2 Research design

As highlighted in previous chapters, the intent of this study was to explore the experiences and views of participants in KwaMashu Township on their role in shaping the OHOG programme. To address the research questions listed in the background chapter, this study employed a case study approach. A dearth in literature on the participatory process of the programme made it necessary to adopt an exploratory orientation to the study. This allowed me to draw on the experiences of the participants through in-depth discussions. For this purpose, I chose a qualitative approach rather than the quantitative approach. This decision was guided by the fact that the quantitative approach, establishes a stunted understanding of the perceptions by accentuating quantities rather than processes of communication (Creswell, 2013:24; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011:8; and Patton, 2002:14).

The paradigm adopted by the study was constructivist.⁷ Following this tradition, my main concern was gleaning the experiences of the participants in the participatory processes of the OHOG programme. I reasoned that OHOG participants would have diverse experiences and interpretations of the participatory process. This decision was grounded on the idea that experiences are “the product of complicated discursive practices” and that reality evolves

⁷ This paradigms based on the premise that individuals who experience a given phenomenon are best suited to create an account of that experience. These are moulded from the ideology and context within which the individual exists Guba (1990:25).

over time (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:236). In essence, we can only understand the research problem by unearthing the experiences as created by the programme participants (Suter, 2012:344).

According to Yin (1984:23) a case study is “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.” Flyvbjerg (2006:235) highlights that the advantage of the case study is that it “can ‘close in’ on real life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold.” Given this strength, focusing on a single community provided me with a rich understanding of complex issues of participation in the OHOG. Another advantage is that it bounded the focus of the study. While participants from different sections were used, they were all within the Ward 40 boundary of the township. This meant that besides being involved in the programme they shared the same Ward Councillor, interacted with similar staff from the different departments involved in the OHOG programme.

In order to enrich the credibility and confirmability (Guba, 1981:80) of the study, methodological and data triangulation (Denzin, 1978, cited by Patton, 2002:248) were built into the study. Methodological triangulation was employed through the use of in-depth interviews, participant observations and document review. Collecting data from a variety of sources was done in order to check for uniformity. For data triangulation purposes, the study included interviews with the following: 21 OHOG programme participants from KwaMashu; one Ward councillor, two Agricultural Advisors and one Agricultural Extension (Arex) Assistant, from the DAEA and, as discussed in Chapter Two, accounts provided by stakeholders may differ as a result of varied interests.

Participant observation allowed me to review responses from the interview sessions; conversely, the interviews transcended actions and the visual appearance of the gardens through in-depth explanations. Therefore, using a single method or homogenous informants would not have enabled me to capture responses from multiple angles in answering the research questions. Shenton (2004:66) advocated for this strategy because it allows for verification of information, “a rich picture of the attitudes, needs or behaviour of those under scrutiny may be constructed based on the contributions of a range of people.”

4.3 Study area and population

4.3.1 *Location of the Study*

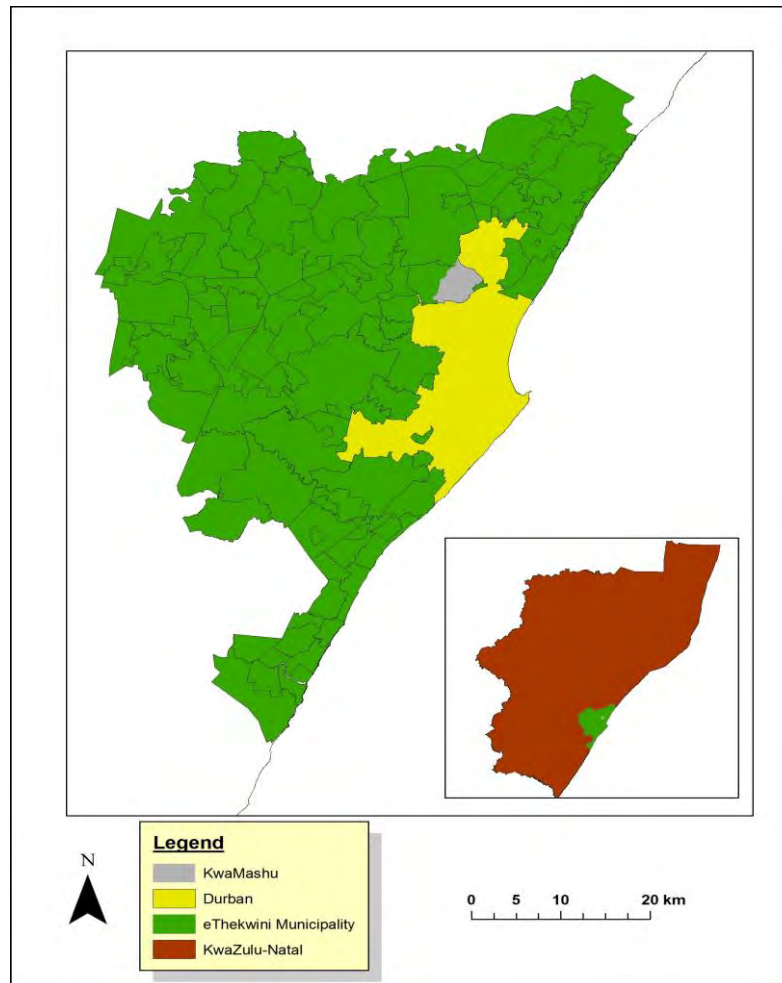
The location of the study was Ward 40 of KwaMashu which is one of the largest high density suburbs in Durban, South Africa (Godehaart, 2006:81). Formerly a sugarcane plantation in the 19th century, KwaMashu is 25km north of the city of Durban and covers an area of 21.47 km² (see Map 4a) and has a population of approximately 175 663 (Stats SA, 2011). The township is a product of the apartheid policies such as the Group Areas Act which led to the compulsory eviction of black urban residents from Cator Manor in the 1950s, (Marx and Charlton, 2003:3). The township is demarcated into ten sections consisting of predominately formal and informal housing which is also called *imijondolo* (Marx and Charlton, 2003:8).

I selected KwaMashu in particular based on the following factors; firstly, it is one of the areas in which the OHOG programme was implemented and currently practised. Secondly, the only study on the OHOG programme that I am aware of was conducted in the eQhudeneni (Nkandla) which is a rural area. Therefore, there is no assessment of the programme in an urban setting. Conducting this study in an urban setting is exceptional since most studies on community gardening have been conducted in rural areas (NPC, 2011; Frayne et al, 2009:5). This study, together with Khanyile's study on the OHOG programme in eQhudeneni, will therefore inform the programme from both a rural and urban context.

The urban context has unique dimensions such as high rental rates and shortage of space for growing food, both of which reinforce food insecurity. Unlike those residing in the rural areas urban residents have to purchase most of the food. (Van der Merwe, 2011:2). Having realised the lack of arable land for residents to plant their vegetables the government made available small swaths of land and arable land within school premises (see Plate 5a) that are used by households to guard against food insecurity.

Typical of many black African townships, KwaMashu has high levels of poverty and unemployment (Everatt, 2007:42) which translates to high incidences of food insecurity. According to the Census 2011 out of a population of 175 663 in KwaMashu, 128 745 individuals (or 73 per cent) earn below R28 000 per annum in 2011, which according to the Bureau of Market Research (2011) is the national minimum for those who fall within the low

Map 4a: KwaMashu Township in relation to the eThekweni Municipality boundary



Source: eThekweni Municipality, 2014

income bracket. Of these, approximately 45% do not have an income (Stats SA, 2011). This means that a substantial proportion of households experience poverty. Against this backdrop there are high incidences of food insecurity in KwaMashu. All the respondents who took part in this study were unemployed except Themba Ndlela who was vending for a living. This is also reflected in the Census 2011 statistics which show that a mere 27% of the KwaMashu residents are employed. Although their low socio-economic status would, arguably, incline participants to engage in community gardening, I found it interesting to assess whether they influenced the implementation and development of the programme.

4.3.2 Population sample

Subsequent to identifying the research design and the study area I recruited participants for the study using purposive sampling. Marshall (1996:523) defines purposive sampling as the

selection of “the most productive sample”. Using referrals from the Arex Assistant, I selected individuals involved in the OHOG programme, that is, OHOG programme participants residing in Ward 40, Section B, C and D in KwaMashu. The rationale for the choice of sections was premised on their close proximity to one another; they were walking distance from each other (see Map 4a). In-depth responses on the nature and extent of participation by the households could only be provided by the aforementioned groups because of their direct involvement in the programme (Patton, 2002:41; Denscombe, 2010:35). Therefore, KwaMashu residents who practice gardening but did not receive seeds or implements or training from the DAEA were excluded from the study.

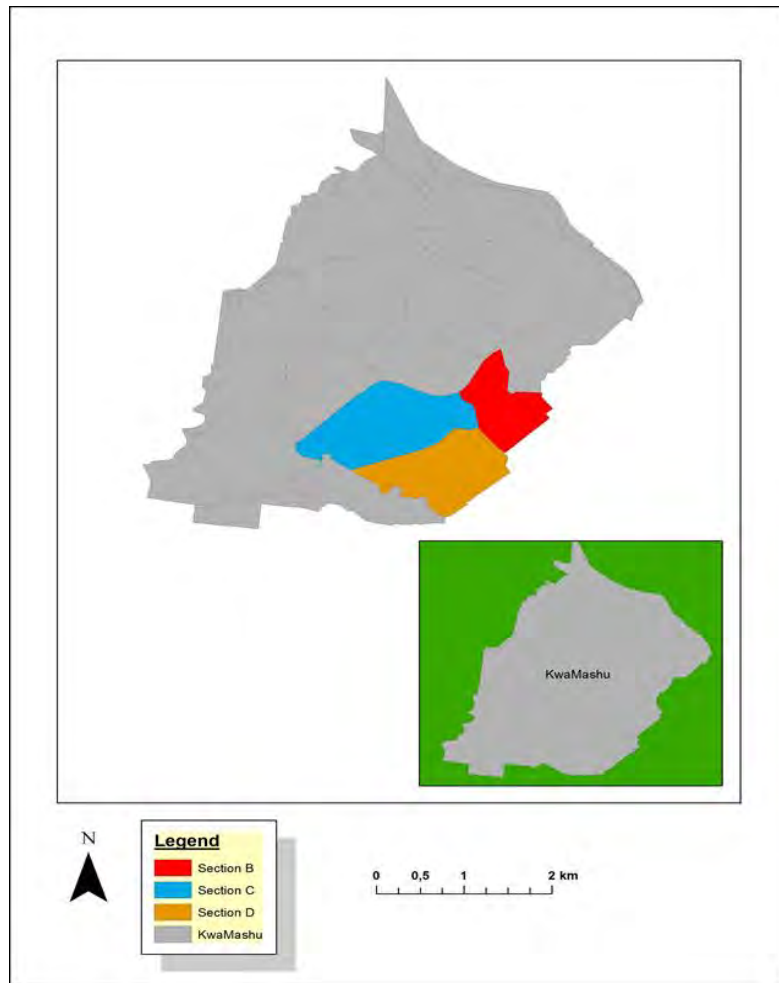
I selected individuals who I anticipated had the capacity to provide sufficient information which was also relevant to the study. The sample selection was premised on the unique experiences of the programme participants (Patton, 2002:254). This was appropriate because this study concerns itself with understanding the participants’ experience of the food programme in broad terms, and their level of consultative involvement in the programme. It is therefore clear why generalisability is not a concern of the study.

It is important to note that prior to visiting the field, I had envisaged focusing on one section within KwaMashu. After noticing that there was a discrepancy in the productivity in gardens in the three sections, I decided to focus on all of them. I reasoned that a comparison of citizen participation across the sections would provide rich insights into how their role of in decision-making impacted the success or failure of the gardens. I therefore, had an eye to pick out both ‘successful’ and ‘unsuccessful’ cases in order to find out the reasons for their differing performances and in turn whether their participation in the programme had a lasting impact on their gardens. Marshall (1996:523) notes that purposive sampling can also extend itself to “maximum variation” where there is a discrepancy between participants allowing for comparison. In addition to understanding the role played by the participants in the programme, I found it necessary to obtain a balance between all three sections in KwaMashu.

4.4 Entry into the field

The process of gaining entry into the field was divided into three stages. According to Marshall and Rossman (2011:97) “to enter a setting to collect data requires an organisation’s gatekeepers”. In the initial stage, I approached the DAEA in order to request permission to conduct the study through the Ward Councillor of Ward 40 in KwaMashu. I submitted an

Map 4b: Location of Section B, C and D in KwaMashu



Source: eThekweni Municipality, 2014

application letter and an endorsement letter from my supervisor requesting for permission to undertake the research. Upon receiving written consent from the gatekeeper, I gained full ethical clearance from my university (Appendix 1).

In the second stage, I made a preliminary visit to all three community gardens which also have small allotment spaces where individuals without sufficient space to grow vegetables within their homesteads can make use of this space. This was done to determine the section from which I would draw my sample. In the third stage, I made household visits with a research assistant and an Arex Assistant from the DAEA in order to schedule interview sessions and home garden visits. As highlighted in the forgoing sections, the main aim of this study warranted an in-depth interaction with the participants. So, I ensured that I built a relationship with all participants by building rapport through general discussions before commencing any of the interviews. It is important to note that building rapport was

maintained in all stages of the data collection process in order to maintain the trust between the respondents and myself.

In adhering to research ethics, I disclosed the purpose of the research and what the information gathered would be used for in isiZulu, particularly for the respondents in KwaMashu unless they preferred the English language. Also, I assured the respondents that I did not desire to know the full identity of any of the participants; in order to maintain confidentiality I informed them that they could use pseudo-names if they wished (Denscombe 2010:8). In observing this ethical protocol, the names of the respondents used in the study are fictional. This was done to maintain their anonymity. All participants in this study took part voluntarily; I informed them that they were free to withdraw from the study at any point (O’Leary 2010:41). I also sought permission to audio record interviews. Thereafter, I shared an informed consent form (Appendix 2 and 2.1) detailing the aforementioned to each participant, which they read and signed upon agreeing to participate in the study.

4.5 Research instruments

Before detailing my experiences in the field, I will describe and provide the rationale selection of interviews and participant observation as data collection tools.

Studies that are centred on “individual life experiences” frequently rely on a strategy that involves in-depth interviews (Marshall and Rossman, 2011). I conducted 25 in-depth interviews with both programme participants and key informants. Accordingly, I developed two different interview guides for the two groups of respondents (Appendix 3 and 4). Both interview guides were translated into isiZulu by a translator and reviewed by an independent reviewer for accuracy. Patton defines an interview guide as a lineup of questions examining relevant phenomena. Furthermore, he adds that the interview guide guarantees “that the same basic lines of inquiry are pursued with each person interviewed” (2002:343). It therefore served as a tool to streamline and maintain consistency of the key questions asked; allowing me to intermittently glance over the interview guide during the interview session. It helped me to have a quick reference and follow the interview well.

Informed by the objectives of the study, the interview guide consisted of semi-structured questions. The semi-structured approach was chosen because it allows the respondent to give as much information as possible about their experiences in the development of the OHOG

programme and the contributions they made (Turner, 2010:756). For example, the question on the relationship between extension staff and programme participants elicited rich responses on the agency of the respondents with regards to the running of their gardens. Also the question on positive or negative aspects of the programme elicited particularly interesting responses. One of the reasons why I was attracted to this instrument is that it provides the opportunity for a conversation which “moves beyond surface talk to a rich discussion of thoughts and feelings” (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994:80). Hence, while the interview guide provided me with a frame which guided the flow of the discussion, I would build on issues raised by the respondent. This strategy helped me to “establish conversational style” (Patton, 2002:283) and to attain in-depth information of participants experiences of the food programme.

The interview guides were divided into three sections. The first section consisted of questions on decision-making processes prior to the implementation of the programme. The next section focused on support and the communication channels between programme participants and DAEA staff after the implementation of the programme. The final section dealt with the overall impact of the programme on the food security status of gardeners as a result of their participation. It also focuses on how challenges they faced in decision-making processes should be addressed. In order to enhance the credibility of the study, I explained certain concepts to avoid misinterpretation of the questions, particularly in the interviews conducted in isiZulu, an example is, what do you understand by citizen participation?

4.6 Data collection

The data was collected between the 24 March 2014 and 16 April 2014. A total of 25 interviews were carried out (see Appendix 5 for the demographic details of participants). Twenty one interviews were conducted with the OHOG programme participants and the remaining four were with key informants directly involved in the programme. Disaggregated by gender the respondents were made up of 17 females and four males. The research team consisted of a research assistant and myself. Considering that I am not a fluent Zulu speaker, I sought the assistance of a research assistant to carry out the translation. Additionally, the translator has been a resident of KwaMashu since birth. Given the difficulty we faced in identifying some of the participants for the study, her knowledge of the culture and neighbourhood area facilitated the building of rapport. Prior to collecting data, I conducted

de-briefing sessions with the research assistant and Arex Assistant. The purpose of these sessions was to illuminate the aims and objectives of the study, review the interview guide and the data collection procedure.

The data collection process was divided into three phases. In the preliminary visit to the field, we were accompanied by the Arex Assistant, who introduced us to the OHOG households. The purpose of this visit was to make observations of the study area and establish a relationship with prospective participants so that they could share their experiences of the programme. Moreover, it was also suitable to conduct preliminary interviews with a few OHOG participants in order to assess the effectiveness of the planned questions. I made use of a research assistant who was a native isiZulu. I also ensured credibility in my study by choosing an assistant who was knowledgeable of the field and had research experience, given that the quality of the interviews rests primarily on the skills of the interviewer (Patton, 2002:341).

4.6.1 Interviews

In the initial phase I acquainted myself with all the households participating in the OHOG. I was accompanied by an Arex Assistant from the DAEA to all the gardening study sites. The presence of a DAEA employee eased my entry into the field and facilitated rapport building with prospective participants. I took advantage of this opportunity to make a preliminary visit to the home gardens in order to identify functional gardens prior to conducting the interviews. While I was aware that more participation does not necessarily entail that genuine inclusion of participants as discussed in Chapter Three, I found it interesting to compare the development of their gardens. I reasoned that focusing on one section would not provide a holistic understanding of the OHOG programme.

In the second phase, I interviewed the OHOG programme participants. IsiZulu, the predominant language in KwaZulu-Natal (Stats SA, 2011) was used to interview all participants from KwaMashu. A voice recorder was used to record all interviews, with the consent of the interviewees. Punch (2000:75) emphasises that, “all social research involves consent, access and associated ethical issues, since it is based on data from people about people.” Backup of all audio recordings was made so as to safe guard against the corruption of files. Making use of a voice recorder allowed me to capture the responses verbatim rather than taking rushed notes during the interviews (De Vos et al, 2002). In undertaking the

interviews, I adopted Rubin and Rubin's (2005) recommendation that one should lighten up the mood by making conversation before the session. I found that this was useful; it made the respondents feel at ease and share their past and present experiences. According to White and Drew (2011) semi-structured interviews are best conceptualised as a "third space" where interviewer and interviewee work together to develop understanding. Borrowing from this useful tip, I tried to avoid a situation where I felt like I was excavating for data. I encouraged respondents to be open by showing interest in their responses and trying to make them comfortable.

I also used probes to gain deeper meaning and clarify issues. I employed the three types of probes identified by Patton (2002:373), which are detail oriented, elaboration, silent and clarification probes. For instance, since most of the respondents were between the ages of 60-80 years (see Appendix 5). I used silent probes to give them sufficient time to reflect on the events that took place almost four years ago in order to recall their participatory experiences of programme. The utility of these probes also enabled me ensure that all responses remained relevant to the questions in the interview guide.

In the third phase of data collection I interviewed the key informants. These comprised of two Agricultural Advisors and an Arex Assistant from the DAEA and a Ward Councillor from KwaMashu. I had also envisaged interviewing managerial staff within the DAEA but I could not get hold of them during this period. Instead, I replaced them with senior staff from the DAEA. These officials were selected based on their direct involvement in the programme. The key informant interviews elicited in-depth responses on the rationale behind the selection of the participatory approaches used in the OHOG programme.

At the end of each interview, I asked the respondent, if they had anything they would like to add with regards to their participation in the programme or the programme in general. I found this particularly useful because this gave respondents the freedom to speak extensively on any related subject I had omitted. I gleaned useful information from this exercise by enquiring further through probes. I concluded the data collection exercise when there were no significant differences in the responses I received from the respondents, a process called "data saturation" (O'Leary, 2010:114).

4.6.2 Participant observation

After carrying interviews with the OHOG participants, I asked for permission to visit their gardens in order to observe the status of their garden. While assisting them with anything that needed to be done in their gardens, I also observed their attitude towards the programme. Participant observation allowed me to gain deeper insight into the lives of participants, “live in their frames” Guba and Lincoln (1981:193). As highlighted in the research design, this study espouses the constructivist approach, which for Guba and Lincoln (1989:143) cited by Denzin and Lincoln (1998:243) warrants a connection between the enquirer and the respondents. The approach therefore, aligns itself with participant observation. Emerson et al (1995:1) suggests that establishing a connection;

minimally requires physical and social proximity to the daily rounds of people’s lives and activities; the field researcher must be able to take up positions in the midst of key sites and scenes of other’s lives in order to observe and understand them.

Following from this, I also reasoned that there is a tendency for people to exaggerate reality or omit interesting information that they may not be conscious of (Patton, 2002:262). This method therefore, enabled me to draw information which would otherwise remain unearthed if I only employed in-depth interviews (Denscombe, 2007:217). This method not only allowed me to capture participants’ attitudes to the programme as we tended to their gardens but also experience their daily activities. Engaging in conversation while gardening, helped me to validate the participants’ responses from the interviews (Jorgensen, 1989:69). Through this exercise, I gleaned out whether the role of participants in the programme’s development had a bearing on the sustainability of the programme.

Components that I observed were the attitude of participants towards their participation in the programme as well as the state of their garden; these were recorded in the form of field notes. Field notes according to Marshall and Rossman (2011:126) are “non-judgmental, concrete descriptions of what has been observed”. I kept a journal where I wrote down my own perceptions after each field visit. Also, I made notes on site, during and in between sessions to ensure that all observations were captured; I wrote them out in detail before the end of day. While some of the gardens were unkempt, bare or showed little signs of activity, most gardens were functional. If the gardens were lying fallow and they were indeed actively

involved in implementation and development of the programme, it would be interesting to discover other factors that might have led to the situation.

I was actively involved in tending to their gardens. For instance, I assisted Goodness Dlomo⁸ with making raised rows in her allotment garden in order to plant sweet potato vine cuttings in raised rows (see fig 4b). I experienced first-hand, the daily activities of the gardeners such as weeding, watering plants and transplanting seedlings from the nursery bed to the field. They also kept seedling trays under the sheds or underneath trees within their homesteads. At the end of the day, I took home with me a pocket of large sweet potatoes which she harvested from her garden. Also, I assisted Gertrude Khupe and Dorothy Nxumalo to water their gardens using watering cans provided by the Municipality (see fig 4b).

Plate 4c: Gardeners tending to the allotment gardens in Section B and C



Photo credit: Michelle Chihambakwe and the research assistant, March 2014

While I found this exercise exhausting, particularly because temperatures were high during this period, this contact with programme participants proved to be critical. I was able to draw on this experience during the data analysis process (Patton, 2011:263). Since there was no activity in the allotment gardens in Section D, I simply observed the gardens and had

⁸ Names of the participants have been changed throughout the chapter in order to maintain the anonymity of their identities.

informal discussions with the respondents. One striking feature was that there was no water tank in Section D. While one had been mounted in Section C, it had fallen months before and was yet to be re-mounted. Section B on the other hand had a good water tank as well, from which they drew water for gardening.

4.7 Data analysis

I ensured timely transcription of the interviews. For the isiZulu interviews, a student fluent in isiZulu assisted with the transcription of all the scripts. A fluent speaker further reviewed them, checking for the correct transcription of the recording. This was done to guard against misinterpretation of the data collected. Thereafter, a verbatim translation from isiZulu to English was made for each of the interviews and informal conversations with the assistance of a translator. Subsequent to this exercise, I sought the expertise of a trained translator to translate the transcribed scripts to English so that I could commence data analysis.

Data was analysed using thematic analysis. It is important to highlight that I did not leave data analysis until the last stages of the research process. Through note-taking I identified patterns in between field visits. Subsequent to the translation of the interview scripts and transcription of interviews conducted in English, I uploaded all transcripts to NVivo 10 qualitative analysis package. NVivo aided in enhancing the “efficiency and effectiveness” (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013:2) by helping me organising my data into parent nodes and child nodes. As the data collection process progressed, I combed through each interview script as well as the field notes. I highlighted recurrent words and phrases in order to locate key patterns and themes.

NVivo helped me to organise my data into themes and categories by coding extracts from the interview scripts by highlighting them in different colours. Initially I was guided by themes highlighted in the conceptual framework and used them if there was sufficient related data from the interview scripts. I identified salient themes using “constant comparison analysis” Marshall and Rossman (2011:220) where I compared the responses by grouping them into their relevant themes through an iterative process. In making the comparisons, I tried to extract meaning from the text I highlighted. I repeatedly combed through the transcripts and recordings in order to gain a deeper understanding of the responses. I then generated categories by identifying patterns, examining the language, highlighting phrase repetitions

and metaphors. I highlighted each of the responses from the interviews in different colours in order to clearly visualise the relationship between the responses.

Throughout this process, I teased out patterns and meanings from the data and analysed the findings analysed based on the themes that emerged. I concluded the data analysis process when no new themes could be gleaned from the data. Dey (1999:257) calls this process “theoretical sufficiency”. Since I employed the Food Sovereignty Framework buttressed with the “invited” “invented” spaces as the conceptual framework, I used comparative analysis of the findings against this model. Responses from the key informants were compared to those provided by the OHOG to ascertain the consistencies and inconsistencies. Finally, in order to ensure the credibility of the translated interview transcripts, I shared these with the research assistant. I engaged a colleague to give a critical appraisal of the analysis chapter (Johnson, 1997:283).

4.8 Limitations

While the data collected was sufficient to draw concrete conclusions, I encountered some methodological and personal limitations as a researcher. However, I consider these minimal compared to the positive aspects of the entire study. The first limitation is methodological. This study was anchored on self-reported data, which is prone to bias. Since elections were due to occur in the less than a month following the data collection exercise, it is possible that some respondents could have given ‘safe’ answers rather than their genuine experiences of the programme. I found that some of the OHOG participants were inhibited and withheld information, particularly the ones who were successful. One respondent was a bit shaky during the interview even though we insisted that she was free to stop the interview if she was not comfortable. One of the key informants found nothing negative about the programme. Indeed, as highlighted in Chapter Two, no participatory process is flawless especially within invited spaces.

My second limitation was language barrier. Given the fact that I am not fluent in isiZulu, I sought the assistance of a translator in order to obviate the language barrier. However, allowances should be made for small omissions in between the transcription and the translation of the interviews. Despite the fact that I asked colleagues fluent to double check all transcribed and translated scripts, I feel that if I was fluent in isiZulu, familiar with the cultural norms and other nuances the study would have been more thorough. In addition, the

fact that I was an ‘outsider’ could have affected responses. The presence of a research assistant from KwaMashu aided in reducing any inhibitions gardeners had or their reluctance to participate.

Finally, from my own experiences with issues of participation in development projects, I might have had my own preconceived notions of the experiences of the gardener. Borrowing the advice from Corbin and Strauss (2008:80) I channeled prior experiences into probes during the interview sessions or informal discussions. Also, at the end of each interview session, I reflected on the interview process and jotted down my thoughts in a small journal and filed them out at the end of each day. I also made use of ‘low inference descriptors by keeping my analyses close to the accounts provided by the respondents through the use of direct quotations (Johnson, 1997:283). By including the exact voices from the field the audience can have a direct experience of their reality. Given the possibility of researcher bias in the data analysis procedure, noting down my own thoughts and feelings helped me to differentiate the perceptions of the respondents from my own

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has documented the steps I took in order to demonstrate whether the participatory process of the OHOG programme was deliberative or instrumental from the perspective of the participants. I detailed the motivation for the selection of the research design, participants, and methods of data collection as well as the data analysis procedure. I concluded the chapter by indicating the limitations I faced throughout the data collection process and how I handled them. Throughout the data collection phase, I can safely say that my research experience in KwaMashu helped to hone my field-research skills.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

To explore the experiences of gardeners in the decision-making processes prior to and after the implementation of the OHOG programme, I drew on data collected from 25 in-depth interviews and participant observation as highlighted in the previous chapter. Drawing on the coded interview transcripts which are aligned to the objectives of the study, I will explore the rationale behind the participatory approaches employed in the first section. Having established an understanding of the participatory processes, I will discuss the experiences of the OHOG programme participants in decision-making as the programme developed. Accordingly, the third section will discuss the implications of citizen participation on the functioning of the gardens. Further, as highlighted in the previous chapters, I will match the findings against the conceptual framework to establish whether there was a platform for programme participants to exercise control over their productive spaces. Since the case study is composed of three sub-cases, I will analyse across cases in the second and third sections of the chapter order to tease out discrepancies in the participatory experiences of the gardeners. Subsequently, I will combine these in order to weave a holistic picture of the participatory experiences KwaMashu OHOG participants.

5.2 Development of the OHOG programme

As pointed out in the literature, the OHOG was a government initiative and therefore, an ‘invited’ space for the gardeners involved in the programme. While all respondents concurred that the programme originated from the Premier’s Office, they alluded to the fact that none of them, including Ward Committee representatives, were involved in discussions of the programme prior to its implementation. However, some Key Informants mentioned that gardeners participated indirectly through a community profiling exercise. Nonetheless, this parallels the top-down approach where citizens are informed of the intended programme using various sources.

5.2.1 Seeding participation into the programme

Section 195(1)(e) of the South African Constitution, National Framework for Public Participation (2007) and the eThekweni Community Participation Policy (2006) embrace the notion of citizens being actively involved in all policy-making processes that have a direct bearing on their livelihoods. However, as shown in Chapter Three, involving citizens in decision-making at the advanced stages is prevalent in South Africa's participatory landscape (Buccus and Hicks, 2011:13). While law and legislation place citizens at the centre of decision-making processes these are seldom observed. The question on whether the OHOG programme was "invited" or "invented" produced unequivocal responses from both Key Informants and the OHOG participants. Also, a review on the limited literature available on the programme unveiled programme participants were only informed about the programme at the implementation stage (see Appendix 6, which displays a matrix of the respondents' experiences of participation in the programme). The excerpt below shows that the OHOG programme was a state-led initiative and therefore an 'invited' space.

Researcher: Please can you explain the origin and the main goals of the OHOG programme?

Key Informant two: The programme was a top-down approach as I said; initially it started with the Premier to get rid of the poverty (*ehhh*) [...] within the community. Instead of the people growing flowers in their yards, they rather start growing vegetables that will feed their stomachs. Yes, so the aim was to alleviate poverty.

Researcher: So, while I understand that it was started by the Premier, were any of the OHOG participants involved in the decision-making processes prior to its implementation?

Key Informant two: Umm (pause) no, it was announced on the radio, we heard it on the radio, even ourselves we were not involved when the programme started. There is no way that this [involving citizens prior to implementation] will be done. They [Premier's Office] just told them about the programme via media. Sometimes we as the Officers are told [about the event] after we have heard it from the media. And then we go out and address the people, particularly those that did not know about it (Interview with Key Informant two, 03/04/2014).

This transcript is insightful on three grounds. Firstly, it highlights the gap in communication between not only citizens and government but also between hierarchy within government and local government staff. Since Agricultural Advisors and Arex Assistants work closely with the community, they are enlightened to a certain extent on the challenges faced by households in terms of their food security. Making use of DAEA staff to conduct in-depth

interviews or focus group discussions could have been one of the ways of involving gardeners in decision-making. Secondly, the programme purports to embrace “active participation” (Mkhize, 2011), yet citizens were only informed about the programme at the implementation stage. This was echoed in an interview with Key Informant four, who stated that the citizens were meant to “*buy into*” the programme (16/04/2014). This phrase resonates with Hodgson's (2004) manufacture of consensus concept where participants are persuaded to accept a project engineered by experts. The danger in this is that gardeners might “buy into” the programme but this potentially result in failure embrace the programme because it does not reflect any of their ideas. The use of the top-down approach where citizens are not involved in decision-making was also reported in Kateshumbwa's (2012:5) as well as MEDPT and ZEP's (2010) studies. The latter study identifies this as one of the contributing factors of unsuccessful food security interventions.

Thirdly, the lack of involvement of the gardeners in the initial stages of the programme confirms Nickson's assertion that the extent to which government involves citizens in decision-making processes is limited (2011:3) particularly in ‘invited’ spaces. A possible explanation is that the local government attempts to “cure” citizens by providing them with ideas they have crafted (Arnstein, 1969:217). When asked about the involvement of citizens in the programme, other key informants confirmed that only senior management was involved in designing the programme and there was no direct citizen input. On the other hand, as highlighted in Chapter Two, the fact that a programme is ‘invented’ by experts is not inherently negative because citizens can take ownership and control of the programme over time (Elster, 1998:11).

5.2.2 Criteria for selection of participants

In order to select participants in the programme, all the key informants stated that they drew on data from a community profiling exercise. Selection was therefore, based on vulnerability to food insecurity. For most of the key informants, this was an indirect form of participation for citizens in the OHOG programme. This raises questions on acceptability of defining participation as providing of one's socio-economic details. Also, informing the citizens of the programmes was viewed as one of the ways in which the gardeners participated, yet Arnstein (1969:217) describes this as ‘tokenism’ because there is no guarantee that their ‘participation’ leads to significant transformation. Thus, this is a plausible explanation for why calls for

more participation have been dispelled in the literature (Pimbert, 2009:12). Key informants also added that given the low socioeconomic conditions of KwaMashu residents this programme would help address the *War on Poverty*⁹ approach where representatives from different departments and Ward Committee members would meet to table issues under the umbrella programme OSS. Guided by the need to create sustainable communities, the War on Poverty approach was designed to address the “multidimensionality of poverty” (Anand and Sen, 1997:4).

Against a background of high unemployment and the global food crisis (de Zeeuw and Dubbeling, 2009:3) which have a detrimental effect on the plight of poor urban township dwellers, the government selected citizens that were vulnerable to food insecurity. This was evident in the interviews because all programme participants had no steady source of income. The interview with Key informant four confirms this: *“There are destitute families, families that live even below the poverty line. We therefore thought that it is crucial for them to take part in this project. We selected them using community caregivers these people profile our community”* (Interview with Key Informant four, 16/04/2014). This illustrates that the government viewed the programme as a strategy poor urban households could employ in order to curb food insecurity. However, the critical question is whether the approaches used to inform citizens created conditions that facilitated active involvement in ‘their’ *War on Poverty*.

5.2.3 Methods used to inform residents of KwaMashu

Consistent with findings by Boone (2012) and Dlamini (2005), this study affirms that citizen participation was non-existent prior to the implementation of the programme. This was evident in all the interviews. As highlighted in the conversation with Key Informant two, media, the radio in particular was the main method used to notify citizens about the programme. This was also one of the common methods cited by OHOG participants in response to the question on how they learnt about the programme. Other methods included the television, newspaper, loudspeaker announcements and word of mouth from the DAEA staff. While one of the Key Informants mentioned that flyers were also used to communicate the programme to participants, none of the respondents from KwaMashu made reference to it.

⁹ An approach adopted by the OSS campaign initiated by the government to deal with multiple social ills such as poverty, diseases, unemployment, crime and poverty through the IDPs

Nonetheless, I would categorise all the methods listed above as instrumental because they do not facilitate the two-way dialogue enshrined in the South African Constitution and various policy documents. Depriving citizens of their right to meaningfully participate through dialogic processes presents a challenge for them to make a meaningful change to their livelihood status (Via Campesina, 2013). Further, using methods that are one-directional means that the gardeners are reduced to recipients who have a limited capacity to inform their gardening practices (Arnstein, 1969:217).

While the OHOG programme clearly upholds the fundamentals of active participation and supports poverty alleviation through gardening, its failure to meaningfully involve citizens in decision-making processes erodes their ability to control their food system. This is encapsulated in the second principle of the Food Sovereignty Framework which postulates that the opinions and contributions of gardeners are valuable (Via Campesina, 2008:5). This therefore, calls for the involvement in decision-making processes as opposed to consuming pre-ordained ideas. This is apparent in the lack of understanding over the kind of support that the government would provide to gardeners. While key informants stated that only individuals working in allotment gardens would be provided with fencing and planting implements, some respondents involved in home gardening were under the impression that the government would also provide fencing and tools. If gardeners had been adequately informed such issues would have been clear to them that tools would only be provided to gardeners in allotment gardens.

5.3 Meaning of citizen participation in the OHOG

Citizen participation is pivotal to a democracy. It is a mechanism through which the voices of citizens inform the policy and practice of government. However, as discussed in Chapter Two, literature spanning decades demonstrates the gap between theory and practice of participation (White et al, 1994; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Mohan and Stokke, 2003; and Cornwall, 2002). What emerged from the responses provided by KwaMashu gardeners is that the presence of law and legislation guiding participatory practice has not made a significant change to their livelihoods as highlighted above. In this way, citizen participation does not necessarily mean that views will be accepted or that there will be notable improvements in household food security.

Significantly, all the gardeners acknowledged the importance of citizen participation (see Appendix 6). They stated that sharing of ideas is key to understanding the needs of the community. Placing citizen participation in the context of the programme some gardeners underscored the importance of working together with the government in their goal towards attaining food security. While a few respondents were positive about the impact of citizen participation, respondents like Theresa Ntombela, critiqued the concept:

Citizen participation is very important, we all know that! But we do not know if our suggestions are really important to them, the government. I go to the hall, they usually call us for meetings they tell us about water [...] or tell us about the houses that are going to be built or even about voting. I was telling the Arex Assistant that even though she works there I am not going to vote (*folds arms and looks away*). (Interview with Theresa Ntombela, Section D, 26/03/2014)

In her narrative, Theresa acknowledges the importance of citizen participation but also expresses her frustration with the wider political participatory processes. Most participants concurred by stating that their participation did not automatically mean that their contributions would be incorporated into the final plan. From my observations, Theresa's bitterness was linked to the pending elections, scheduled approximately one month after the data collection process. Her reluctance to vote stems from her previous experiences. It also reconfirms the widely held perception of the ambivalence of governments to citizen participation (Roberts, 2004:3) and the dual meaning of participation (White et al, 1994:16). One respondent echoes this duality; "*I think that citizen participation is important if it is something that really involves the community*" (Interview with Dorothy Nxumalo, Section B, 24/03/2014). This statement confirms Kateshumbwa's contention that participating and having capacity to influence decisions are two separate facts (2012:26).

One striking observation was their understanding of citizen participation. Most of the gardeners concluded with emphasis on receiving assistance in the form of seeds and gardening implements. This suggests a "patron-client" relationship (Cornwall, 2002:52) where participants depend on Agricultural Advisors and Arex Assistants for seeds, information or gardening implements. The prominence of phrases such as "*we want them to provide*" and "*more assistance*" "*we heard that there were going to be assisted*" highlights how participants are accustomed to the receiving assistance from the government. While there is something positive in expecting the government to provide gardeners with tools and seeds. It becomes problematic when programme participants' gardens ability to function is strongly determined by the presence/absence of government support. This finding is mirrored

in Boone's (2012:113) and Faber and Benade's (2002:29) study where farmers involved in the food security programme continually requested support.

Dependency is antithetical to the Food Sovereignty Framework because it entails consumption of products (both tangible and intangible) from "colonisers" as opposed to using one's agency in pursuit of independence (Via Campesina, 2008:5). Principle 2 in particular, of the Food Sovereignty Framework stipulates that farmers should play an active role in decision-making related to their productive spaces. A few respondents pointed to the importance of being actively involved in decision-making processes:

But truly speaking the participation of citizens is important. From my point of view it is important because, the government is us and we are the government, so we also need to give them our opinions. I know that it is important! (Interview with Rebecca Cele, Section D, 26/03/2014)

Communication between us and the government is very important because us ourselves we are the government we trust in the government so it must be closer to us and also we should be closer to it. (Interview with Thoko Nzimande, Section C, 02/04/2014)

For Rebecca and Thoko, citizen participation is a right that they should enjoy; this is reflected in their definition of themselves as the government. Participation through citizenship therefore gives individuals the opportunity to determine and control their livelihoods (Hickey and Mohan, 2005:238). The discourse of participation as a right is illuminated in Gaventa's analysis of power (2004:29) and is framed as a critical facet in the Food Sovereignty Framework (Schanbacher, 2010:74; Patel, 2009:666). Thoko goes a step further by pointing out that filling out the gap between citizens and government is critical to enhancing the livelihoods of citizens. This reinforces the statement above made by Key Informant two on the communication gap between citizens and the government.

5.3.1 Relationship of the participants to the DAEA staff

Agricultural Advisors and Arex Assistants play a critical role in food security projects. The government not only provides farming implements but also provides technical advice through the Arex Assistants from the department of agriculture. Respondents mentioned that they attended formal trainings at the community hall in Section C which is a central location for all three sections. These formal trainings are pre-arranged by the DAEA and conducted twice or thrice a year. Informal training involved one-on-one sessions with the Arex Assistant and

was conducted at gardening sites. All respondents described the trainings as useful because they learnt how to plant different crops, prevent or control pests and harvest.

Findings from both the OHOG participants and the key informants suggest that gardeners have a good working relationship with Arex Officers. However, participants in section C and D pointed out that the visits from the Arex Assistant were inconsistent. Conversely, all respondents from Section B stated that they were satisfied with the level of communication and enjoyed frequent visits from the Arex Assistant. This is possibly one of the reasons why the garden in Section B is doing well compared to the other Sections (see Plate 5a). In Section B most of the land within the allotment garden was cultivated. The beds had spinach, beans and king onion. Dry maize stalks from last year's harvest were also heaped in one corner.

In Section C, almost two thirds of the allotment garden was cultivated. Gardeners had planted cabbages, sweet potatoes and a small section of dry dwarf maize stalks with underdeveloped cobs (see Plate 5a). During one of the data collection exercises women were transplanting spinach seedlings from the nursery bed to their respective gardens. Conversely, there was no sign of activity in Section D. A big tract of land in the front section of the school had broken up the soil into clods by a tractor provided by the eThekweni Municipality and the field at the back section had overgrown grass (see Plate 5a). This corroborates observations made by of all key informants and programme participants. Explaining this discrepancy Key Informant one stated that:

They [Section B community gardeners] are sustaining themselves. They are using the implements and they are always there, to take their project, their work forward. So it's not like maybe there was some kind of discrimination, no. It's just that, they are focused, they are driven. So it is easier to help someone who is motivated. So you know that when you give them, they would use it definitely. (Interview with Key Informant one, 26/03/2014).

After further enquiry, Key Informant one mentioned that the gardeners in Section B receive support from the municipality in the form of equipment. The fact that gardeners in this section had all the resources on site and meant that their gardens were able to sustain them. It however would be an unfair assessment of the OHOG if one does not also take into consideration the fact that Section C and D did not have access to water. Gardeners in Section B had a 2 000 litre water tank in addition to a permanent source of water from the well. While Section C was provided with a water tank, it had collapsed the year before and was yet to be

remounted. Most participants in Section C and D mentioned that water was one of their main challenges (see Appendix 6). Those who stayed far away from the community garden had to find ways in which they could get access to water for their gardens. This means that both Section C and D did not have access to their 2 000 litre water allowance per month as stated by Key Informant four. Some noted that this meant paying a weekly water fee to residents in close proximity to the gardens.

Plate 5a: One Home One Garden Allotment gardens



Photo credit: Michelle Chihambakwe

Key: **a**- Section B- Women watering gardens; **b** Section C -Newly planted rows of cabbage; **c** and **d** Section D- Front and back of the arable land in the school premises

5.3.2 Nature of participation: deliberative or instrumental?

Apart from trainings conducted by the Arex Assistant, no meetings were held to exclusively discuss the progress of the gardens since the inception of the programme. The only forms of meetings related to the programme were *izimbizo*, where citizens were consulted on matters concerning them. However, scholars like Friedman dismiss an *izimbizo* as a participatory tool because it provides limited space for deliberation. (2006:7). In their categorisation of citizen

participation, Rowe and Frewer (2005) define consultation as a process that involves the “flow of information from the public to the government.” In the context of this study, consultation did not take place but people were informed when the decision to introduce the programme had already been made. In essence, the opinions of gardeners were not regarded as important and therefore, did not influence set goals. According to principles guiding the Food Sovereignty Framework the gardeners should select seeds of their choice. Providing gardeners with seeds prescribed by experts automatically lends itself to instrumental participation which does not stimulate the agency of gardeners (Elster, 1998:11).

The Food Sovereignty Framework assumes that every citizen is competent and reasonable enough to participate in democratic politics. The framework therefore lays emphasis on deliberative participation because it calls for the involvement of participants in shaping the programme through dialogue with the local government. Proponents of the Food Sovereignty Framework maintain that all participants are experts, meaning that drawing on input from gardeners is essential (Via Campesina, 2008). Therefore, while gardeners played a critical role in the functioning of their gardens, extension officers and other experts contributed invaluablely to creating awareness of different gardening skills.

In terms of receiving feedback from participatory processes, the findings reveal that they were indeed given feedback on questions but mostly during the course of the trainings or *izimbizo*. This corroborates with Buccus and Hicks’ (2011:102) finding that in the South African context the shift to inclusive forms of participation since apartheid is not clear and timeous feedback to citizens is rare. In relation to this, respondents clearly stated that:

They listen to what you are saying that they write it down, when they get here they write and write and they structure it well but they never come back to us. When they write things they are only blinding us, just to give you hope but they never get back to us. They tell us they will come back, they end up not coming back. You cannot report to anyone that they never came back, but they do take notes. (Interview with Msizi Mayekiso, Section D, 03/04/2014)

The idea of people participating is good although we don’t know how we get helped. But we do go because they call us and they tell us whatever they like but nothing materialises. This is because there are those that are in charge, for example, if there is something, it goes through the hands of those who are in the charge. The recipients end up getting things that are of no use to them. (Interview with Goodness Dlomo, Section C, 03/04/2014)

Mmmh yes, at times you notice that our suggestions/views end up nowhere (*frowns*). I would say they are not important because they do not come back exactly as we suggested. At times I tell myself that it's not every suggestion that will come from me that will be right. Then they usually put all the suggestions together and they see which one the majority goes with. At times they do take my suggestions. (Interview with Maria Shabangu, Section C, 26/03/2014)

The three excerpts highlight deliberative deficit in the communication between the DAEA staff and the gardeners. Remarking on his experiences with the Arex Assistant, Msizi asserts they are more concerned with note taking rather than actively listening to what the gardeners have to say. He describes the writing “exercise” as meaningless because it does not translate to action. This fixation on the note taking rather than genuinely seeking to understand parallels Arnstein’s “empty ritual” (1969:216). In this context, deliberative participation which is one of the key tenants of the Food Sovereignty Framework is non-existent. Msizi’s account also reflects that he does not have an alternative avenue to communicate his concerns. This is also alluded to by Goodness and Maria who view the outcome of their efforts as somewhat futile because their input seldom translates into action.

The experiences above mirror instrumental participation where citizens under the direction of experts and might end up furthering agendas that are far from what they envisaged. As a consequence, the sense of ownership of the programme may be affected negatively. One of the indicators of the lack of ownership was some of the respondents’ reference to the programme as their [the government’s] programme. This is a stark reflection of a significant number of the gardeners who are comfortable with the Arex Officers to help them make decisions instead of constructing their own knowledge. As discussed in Chapter Three deliberative participation entails a discussion and the reflection of ideas (Vitale, 2006:746). Naturally, to cultivate a mutual understanding there is need for both parties to both listen and respond. Most the respondents in Section C and D maintained that the time DAEA staff dedicated to home visits was limited to a quick review of progress made by the gardener followed by the distribution of seeds if they were available. In essence, there was no room for action and reflection on the part of the OHOG participants from these sections. One respondent stated:

Firstly, when she comes here she comes in a rush and with no time. She finds us gardening here and says what she wants to say and leave, she has never sat down and discussed with us about what we need to do and how to do it. (Joyce Mbokazi, Section D, 26/03/2014)

This account reflects the sentiments of some of the programme participants from Section C and D. In Boone's study of food sovereignty in Lesotho she reported that field visits made by extension staff were brief and the discussions were shallow. She attributed this 'briefness' to meeting project deadlines (2012:118). This claim is also supported by the institutional theory, where experts adhere to organisational procedure at the expense of participatory procedure in order to "maintain the status quo" (Yetano et al, 2010:785). However, from my observations as well as those from programme participants, the idea of one Arex Assistant Officer overseeing three Sections, with occasional help from her Supervisor was not practical. One of the participants expressed that if the DAEA had more Arex Assistants the training sessions would be more in-depth.

Nevertheless, when I asked participants to describe the participatory process during the training they mentioned that they received training from the Arex Assistant then, a question and answer session would follow. This approach lends itself to instrumental participation which entails citizens listening to 'experts' and occasionally asking questions. One, however, needs to look at the picture holistically. While the communication channel between the gardeners and the programme participants was flawed respondents like Some, like Dorothy and Ntombi expressed that they were comfortable with other people making decisions for them:

I never give any suggestions myself; I have never suggested a thing. Other gardeners do contribute though; it is by choice that I do not participate. I am happy with the answers that they provide during the trainings. (Interview with Dorothy Nxumalo, Section B, 24/03/2014)

I then thought since I had the land to cultivate I should just do as the government says. It was in 2009. (Interview with Ntombi Sibiyi, Section B, 24/03/2014)

These excerpts are critical on two levels. Firstly, both respondents are from the Section B allotment garden which is flourishing, yet they display a lack of interest in participating. Their statements cement the notion that citizen participation cannot be attributed to positive food security status. Other factors, such as dedication and the availability of all gardening implements can be attributed to the success of the gardens. Secondly, they did not make reference to their role in the development of their gardens. The excerpts above show that despite the fact their gardens are doing well there is a sense of lack of control. While there is change in the food security status of households in Section B it cannot be attributed to citizen participation but to dedication and support from the municipality. The lack of sense of

ownerships can be traced to one of the common motivations for joining the programme, which is that they would receive assistance.

5.4 A reflection of citizen participation in the gardens

As highlighted in Chapter One, the problem of poverty and unemployment in KwaMashu is rife and this translates to a high prevalence of food insecurity (Everatt, 2007:42). Although all households interviewed stayed in standard four roomed houses, the makeshift dwellings dotted the residential area was a clear sign of poverty. All respondents attested to the idea of gardening as a key to survival. For most, particularly those involved in allotment gardening it was the main means of income generation. Nonetheless, a few gardeners carved out their own spaces of participation by taking an initiative to shape their productive spaces.

5.4.1 *Voices from the field: interest in growing one's food*

Apart from the dissatisfaction expressed by the gardeners on the infrequent visits by the DAEA staff, Key Informants also expressed the lack of initiative from the gardeners. While all respondents expressed interest in the programme because of the cost effectiveness of producing one's food as opposed to purchasing everything from the supermarket, an interesting finding was that some stated that they joined because the government would provide them with support. From Key Informant two's perspective there was lack of interest in participation; this was reflected through the gardeners' sense of apathy. As such, a lack of initiative from the gardeners would reinforce the instrumental form of participation. In reinforcing the lack of initiative from the gardeners, Key Informant two further explained that:

If they [the gardeners] want training the community must come to us and let's say they need to grow in a certain area. They can ask, please train us so that we can grow, to be successful, so now it's a top-down approach. The top managers - they come and tell us, we go and train. Mind you we are going to train people who are not interested (*laughs*). As we are going to train we issue them starter pack seeds and training so that they start their gardens, by the way they did not say that they want the gardens. So it's like we are imposing on them. (Interview with Key Informant two, 03/04/2014).

One of the dangers of lack of citizen participation is pursuing an agenda that the prospective participants have no genuine interest in. From the statement above, the respondent senses a lack of enthusiasm from the gardeners. Since the participants own the gardens, she anticipated requests for training instead of waiting for the DAEA initiate. Indeed, the DAEA

embraces the principles food sovereignty by valuing engagement and placing gardeners in control of their productive spaces (Via Campesina, 2008). As reflected in the above the response, a platform was provided for gardeners govern to their food systems. The DAEA staff embrace the need to create self-reliant gardeners by creating platforms for them to enhance their gardening skills (Hickey and Mohan, 2005:257).

However, the gardeners have not taken advantage of the opportunities provided for them by the DAEA. As highlighted by Freire, the act of emancipation is a product of deliberation which cannot be attained on behalf of individuals (Freire, 1972:42). Individuals need to take it upon themselves to govern their spaces because doing so is critical to attaining food security (Via Campesina, 1996:n.p). Thus, if programme participants do not display any indications of taking control, the chances of enhancing their food security status is reduced.

Gardening was not a new practice for all participants; they reported that they were involved in some form of agriculture prior to enrolling into the programme. They referred to subsistence agriculture as a historic practice that is part of their heritage. This cements the notion that subsistence agriculture has been practised for centuries (Marsh, 1998:4; Pudup, 2008:1229). Some mentioned that they used to farm in their rural homes while others made use of the spaces within their households. In a study on the impact of agriculture in Edendale, rural KwaZulu-Natal, Ghebremicael (2000:56) shows how vegetable gardens played an important role in supplementing the income poor urban farmers in particular. All respondents from KwaMashu stated that the programme was indeed valuable and made a significant difference to their household food security status. Excerpts below show the testimony of one respondent;

We are making use of everything, the government assisted us with, we use them and there is nothing we do not use. They supplied us with seeds, hoes, spades and rakes as you can see. We use everything. All the tools that we were given are here. (Dorothy Nxumalo, Section B, 24/03/2014)

While Dorothy's statement corroborates with observations (See Plate 5a) the extent to which their participation reflects on the gardens is not evident because all respondents in Section B made no reference to ownership of the programme despite its flourishing status. A key figure in participatory discourses, Freire suggested that genuine change transcends attaining food security; it should also encompass one's ability to become a self-reliant knowledge producer (1993:68). By doing so, this reinforces gardeners' ability to claim ownership of their food system and this has a positive implication on their food security (Via Campesina, 1996:n.p).

Despite the fact that the women in Section B allotment garden were always in their gardens throughout the duration of the data collection process, they failed to take ownership of the programme. While their households might have enough to eat and gardening is a source of income, they have failed to carve out participatory spaces.

While all participants referred to the remarkable changes they had experienced since joining programme, from my observations, some participants might have inflated the extent to which the programme addressed their dietary needs. This mainly applies to those who practised home gardening only. I noted that most of the home gardens that were functioning had sparsely spaced crops that could barely feed two people, let alone an average family of four.¹⁰ As a result, I developed mixed feelings about their ability to produce enough vegetables to consistently supply the family with vegetables throughout the year. Insufficient space at homesteads was highlighted as a challenge to attaining food security by some of the households. This is because of insufficient space to plant crops that would sustain the household for a long period. This is cemented by Armar-Klemesu (2001:101) who points out that the shortage of space for growing food in urban centres reinforces food insecurity.

While most practising home gardening had barely enough space to produce vegetables there were households with sufficient space to plant a variety of vegetables. Most however, there were little or no signs of gardening activity (Plate 5b). The few that were involved in the allotment gardens had the capacity to plant much more as well as a wider variety of crops (See Plate 5a) but some did not make sufficient use of the space they had.

Plate 5b: Some of the OHOG Gardens that are barely functioning or lying fallow



Photo credit: Michelle Chihambakwe

¹⁰ Estimated average size of households interviewed for the study.

5.4.2 Cultivation of participation in the OHOG programme

While literature demonstrates that in the face of democratic deficit, citizens can create their own participatory spaces by challenging top-down approaches to participation (Miraftab, 2009; Miraftab and Wills, 2005 and Bond, 2002) findings from this study demonstrate that a significant number of participants were not inclined to take control of their productive spaces (see Appendix 6). They failed to challenge the instrumental forms of participation that impinge on their right to fully enjoy their constitutional rights. As highlighted in Chapter Two, there is nothing inherently negative about ‘invited’ spaces because they can be transformed into ‘invented’ spaces. This can be achieved through a process where citizens take ownership by shape ideas to suit their own needs and preferences. Despite the instrumental nature of participation there are few exceptional cases where citizens embraced the notion of food sovereignty by taking ownership of their productive space. Similarly Boone’s study shows there were a few farmers that mentioned expressed the need to control of their food system. In this study, gardeners like Theresa allude to Holston’s ‘insurgent planning’: *“Then we called the Extension Officer she started beating around the bush and then I told them to leave it at that and go and purchase our own seeds in town”* (Interview with Theresa Ntombela, Section D 26/03/2014)

Instead of waiting in vain to receive hand-outs from the government, Theresa takes it upon herself to purchase her own seeds so that she can plant and feed her household. Even though the Food Sovereignty Framework stipulates that farmers should desist from purchasing seeds from multinational organisations because it fuels a market driven type of farming. The framework “puts control locally” (Via Campesina, 1998:5) even when it comes to seeds. Theresa’s attitude is capsuled in the Food Sovereignty Framework because she places herself at the centre of her food system by taking the initiative to buy her own seeds. Another respondent also echoed the same sentiments but also emphasised the need for gardeners to desist from being over-reliant on the government: *“When it comes to most issues we always turn to the government. We take everything and push it all to the government but we also need to do things for ourselves”* (Interview with Thoko Nzimande, Section C, 02/04/2014).

In an informal discussion with Thoko, she stated that even though she was not happy with the frequency of visits by the Arex Assistant the garden belonged to her. Therefore, she would not allow the delay in receiving seeds to retard her ability to feed her family. Further, despite

the programme being an invited space, Thoko carved her own participatory space by defining what she planted in her garden. While most gardeners had uniform crops in their gardens, for example, spinach, cabbage, onion and carrots, Thoko had a variety of the crops in her garden e.g. spinach, potatoes, taro (*amadumbe*¹¹) groundnuts, green pepper, and red pepper (see Plate 5.3). In a follow-up question, she stated that she had established a trading system with her neighbour in times when one did not have a certain vegetable they would trade.

Also, Themba Ndela from Section D demonstrates that he has taken control of this food security status by exchanging vegetables with his neighbour in order to feed his family. Doing so, according to both responses enhances the family's dietary diversity and enables them to have something to eat in financially difficult periods. Food sovereignty, therefore not only concerns itself with independence, by extension creates conditions that bring positive impacts because it is grounded in the preferences of citizens.

The accounts discussed above contradict Cornwall's assertion that invited spaces can never fully be transformed into invented spaces (2002, 22). My perception is that it largely depends on the context because gardeners have the liberty to adopt their own gardening systems as long as it can sustain the household livelihood and help to stave off food insecurity. While some gardeners embraced the programme as their own, others gardeners viewed the programme as belonging to the government:

It is good, really good, this programme of yours is really good because you get inspired to engage in gardening in order to survive, we did not know that, initially we have been just sitting doing nothing. Also, we are getting old what should we do to keep active? (Interview with Joyce Mbokazi, Section D, 24/03/2014)

By labelling the programme as '*yours*' Joyce fails to claim ownership of the programme. This could stem from the fact that the programme participants did not play a role in defining the programme and crafting potential solutions to addressing their household food security needs. Her frame of mind demonstrates that there is need for some of the gardeners to decolonise their minds from thinking that the programme belongs to the government. While the government might have 'seeded' it, failure to embrace it as their own has potential negative effects on their ability to address food insecurity: "*What the government can do is to encourage people to stand up, for all of us to stand up. They must come and set up meetings and tell us what to do*" (Interview with Dorothy Nxumalo, Section B, 24/03/2014).

¹¹ The isiZulu name for the small traditional tuber (or taro) shaped like a sweet potato. However, these have a bland taste in comparison to sweet potatoes.

The instrumental nature of the programme's participatory process is evident in the types of vegetables grown by respondents. A significant number of respondents did not extend themselves by planting vegetables they preferred. When I enquired about who made decisions about the types of vegetables she planted, Joyce responded; *"It is those Arex Officers from agriculture who tell us what crops to plant and the particular time"* (Interview with Joyce Mbokazi, Section D, 26/03/2014). As noted earlier, all the gardeners have previous knowledge about gardening, yet most waited to be informed. Also given that a significant number have been involved in the programme for more than four years, they have garnered some knowledge over the years.

The Food Sovereignty Framework values local knowledge (Nyeleni, 2013), the responses from the participants show that during the trainings participants shared their knowledge amongst each other and their contributions were embraced by the DAEA staff. A pattern I observed from the interviews was that all gardeners stated that their knowledge was valued. Key Informant one disputed Arnstein's assertion that professionals assume that their knowledge is more valuable than that of the locals (1969:216):

Obviously, I have the theoretical knowledge, I have the diploma but they have wisdom of which that you can't get anywhere, So if I can't answer as best as I can from my knowledge from school I'd give it to them and promise two out of three will always have an answer be it for cabbage be it for onion. They will always have an answer; even though I come there as a teacher I respect them for being older and wiser. (Interview with Key Informant one, 26/03/2014)

While the word teacher leans more towards the instrumental form of participation where locals do not engage at the same level as the expert, her argument shows that the gardeners' contributions are valued. This was confirmed by the majority of the responses who asserting that the Arex Assistant gave them a platform to share ideas and concerns regarding gardening. By distancing herself from her professional status, she creates a platform in which the gardeners can also share their various experiences and learn from both each other and the Arex Officer.

A question critical to the study is how participants were involved in the programme; for example, did they have input in the selection of seeds and the farming implements? The OHOG programme participants had no input in the type of seeds selected; a few as stated above added their own preferences to those provided by the government. Conversely, participants in gardening project under the One House One Farm programme in Bangladesh

were given the platform to choose the type of crops they wanted to plant (Ghosh and Maharjan, 2013:109). The appropriateness of crops planted to the gardeners is a key facet of the Food Sovereignty Framework, yet gardeners sometimes planted crops which they did not prefer:

Angithi (Right), I mentioned spinach, cabbage, carrots, beans and squash/butternut. Those are the main food crops that people use and sell regularly. Because, we all like butternut we all like, umm, spinach, beetroot. If they could deliver these constantly, consistently then this programme will be way above where it is now because what they actually provide a lot is beetroot and when you come and visit people they ask, what you have got for me, I say I only have beetroot. They are like, arghh again! And I'm like that's all they have. Then they say, "No I want spinach, I want cabbage." If there was constant supply they would grow (Interview with Key Informant one, 26/03/2014).

From my conversation with the Key Informant one, seed preference is critical to buttressing food security. However, while the Arex Officer was distributing cabbage and spinach seeds some of the gardeners expressed that they wanted a break in the monotony since they had an abundant supply of spinach seedlings. The programme would be more sustainable if individuals were provided with seeds that they preferred. She added that if the programme supplied gardeners with the seeds that were on high demand then the programme would be more sustainable. She added that there would be more people enrolled in the programme. By restricting themselves to planting seeds provided by the government gardeners showed lack of control of their gardens. Judith's case illuminates the impact of this on one's consumptive needs:

People may say pumpkin leaves are not wanted [in the allotment garden], if we do not plant those pumpkins where can we get the pumpkin leaves? We shouldn't have removed them because we didn't have a problem with since we needed the tractor to cultivate our fields. Just have a look as how the tractor has [...] (*silence, looks down*) yes the garden stays clean but that is where we got our food (Interview with Judith Gazu, Section D, 28/03/2014).

This excerpt is critical to the study on several fronts; it reflects lack of control of the gardeners' productive space. This lack of agency from the gardeners is reflected in the attitude of the majority of the participants. Borrowing Cornwall's concept, the gardeners failed to 'invent' spaces within the invited space by bringing forward their own ideas or planting what they themselves preferred in order to address development issues affecting them. For Judith, the unkempt garden provided a source of pumpkin leaves that are

traditionally nutritional but because the municipality officials cleared the land so that they could start cultivating. However, on closer examination, the municipality's intentions were good because it had been about six months since the land had been cultivated. Therefore claims made by participants of consuming self-produced vegetables were contradictory because most home gardens within this section lying fallow for a long period of time.

The reason provided by respondents with gardens which were lying fallow was that they were waiting for the DAEA to provide them with seeds. While the reason that the land had to be prepared for planting is a reasonable one, gardeners like Theresa have abandoned crops they were used to growing merely because the seeds are not provided by the government.

At my rural home we used to plant and sell pumpkins (*pause*) back home we would eat both the pumpkins and the pumpkin leaves too. Emm... beetroot, shallots and other things are new to me; I just started planting because of the programme (Interview with Theresa Ntombela, Section D, 26/03/2014).

The above excerpt encapsulates a 'self-imposed' barrier to attaining food security. Theresa insinuates a shift from planting a type of vegetable to which she was accustomed to 'new' vegetables. While "new" food might not necessarily mean less-preferred, failure to maintain *izintanga* (pumpkin leaves) as one of her staple vegetables raises questions about her ability to govern her food system. Instead of incorporating foods that she not only enjoyed but were also culturally appropriate for her household, Theresa's account reflects how she allowed her food system to be dictated by the types of seeds that she receives from the DAEA. By excluding pumpkins from her garden Theresa denies herself the right to enjoy *izintanga* because she is receiving a free supply of seeds from the government. She fails to define both her food and consumption model both of which are key elements of the Food Sovereignty Framework (Windfuhr and Jonsen, 2005:15). Her ability to enhance her diet is reduced because she has allowed her garden to be 'colonised'. This describes what Patel meant by "decolonising food systems" (2009:655) because even though she has enough to eat, she allows the kinds of foods that she plants in her garden to be dictated by what she obtains from the DAEA.

While a significant number of participants failed to take control of what they plant and when they plant it, they seemed to be totally against the use of commercial fertiliser in their gardens. Despite the fact that fertiliser was provided by the DAEA, gardeners mentioned that they preferred using the natural method of mixing ash and soap. Participants reported fertilised produce had a distinct bitter taste, especially leafy vegetables. This was a traditional

method they used prior to joining the programme some mentioned that they learnt it from others during the training. Participants noted that they could easily differentiate organic vegetables from the in-organic ones widely sold in the local supermarkets. Evidence of this was unused dusty bags of commercial fertiliser heaped in the corner of the tool shed in Section B. This shows that gardeners have control over some gardening practices. It also shows some knowledge is shared amongst each other and the Arex Assistant one.

5.4.3 Apathy to gardening

The apathy of OHOG participants towards gardening was a salient theme across all the key informant interviews. They mentioned that most gardeners were prone to adopt a culture of dependency on social welfare grants. In response to a question on the active participation of the OHOG participants, one key informant mentioned; *“Yahh (sigh) they do respond (pause) some, very few respond, very few respond. I think most people don’t because of the grants. We have so many grants in South Africa, so they rely too much on grants rather than working for themselves”* (Interview with Key Informant two, 03/04/2014). This corroborates with the findings from Khanyile’s study on the OHOG in eQhudeni, rural KwaZulu-Natal. Firstly she reports that households were not actively involved in their gardens despite the fact that some households were food insecure (2011:56). The second reason she advances is the impact of government grants. She supports this evidence by stating that the provision of the Child Support Grant veiled the gardeners’ interest in gardening (2012:54). Similarly, Thornton’s findings on agricultural practice among poor urban households in the Eastern Cape, grants fuelled apathy for gardening among the urban poor (2008:258). From these examples, state grants forms a significant part of household income.

From the interviews with Key Informants, apathy presented itself in several forms such as participants asking the Extension Officers plant for them, selling seeds instead of planting or storing the seeds in the house. Key Informants expressed these cases as both challenging and disappointing because some do not seem ready to assist themselves. This leaves room for the experts to take a lead role in shaping the gardeners’ food systems. However, a significant number of respondents mentioned that while they found it cost saving and worthwhile to practice gardening, they were financially crippled. In expressing their financial challenges, three quarters of the respondents mentioned that it was unfair for them to use their pension to buy seeds, one pensioner stated that:

When I look into my own funds, (*pause*) I sometimes get profit from beetroot and spinach but you need to buy seeds. They don't always give us enough seeds to plant in our gardens but one needs to buy seeds for him/herself. Last year they never provided us with seeds but we had to buy it for ourselves. (Interview with Judith Gazu, Section D, 28/03/2014)

As highlighted above challenges posed by unemployment and the increase in food prices on the urban poor present themselves in the gardeners' inability to cope financially. However, the fact that some participants receive grants and continue to practice agriculture dismisses the claim that grants fuel a sense of apathy among the gardeners. While it was evident that gardeners expected the government to provide them with seeds, interest in growing one's own food was evident from the KwaMashu respondents despite receiving the monthly grant of ZAR1350.

Notwithstanding, the continued supply of seeds to gardeners by the government not only contradicts the principles of food sovereignty but also contradicts the original goals of the programme as highlighted by Key Informant four; "*The culture of just wanting the government to assist all the time*". (Interview with Key Informant four, 16/04/2014). Gardeners complained about how they needed more help from the DAEA because they had insufficient funds to purchase their own seeds. This explains why some of the allotment garden in Section D and some of the home gardens were lying fallow (see Plate 5.3). "*We want them to come and provide us with the things we have requested. See, I just bought a bush knife using my own money. I don't have money; I haven't even received my pension but a grant for a child that is disabled*" (Interview with Joyce Mbokazi, Section D, 26/03/2014).

While I did acknowledge the fact that some vegetables are grown seasonally (Ruel et al, 2010:171S; Cohen and Garret, 2009:469) and could be one of the reasons why some gardens were lying fallow, this reason was dismissed by the fact that other gardens were thriving. Joyce Mbokazi's account dismisses the perception held by the Key Informants about the close relationship between gardening apathy and the provision of government grants. Instead, reasons brought forward by participants who had barren or barely functioning mentioned that they had not planted because they had not received seeds from the Arex Assistant and the money that they received from the government in the form of grants was too little. Even though they enjoy gardening lack of adequate funds was the main barrier presented by the respondents.

On the contrary there are gardeners who embraced the programme as their own. While these respondents mentioned that they wanted seeds from the DAEA, they underscored that if they not available they turned to their neighbours or purchased but this was seldom. Further, their gardens had different vegetable varieties (see Plate 5.3). This shows that they embraced the concept of food sovereignty by governing which types of foods they would like to grow instead of limiting themselves to seeds provided by the DAEA.

Plate 5c: An example of two of the few flourishing home gardens



Photo credit: Michelle Chihambakwe

5.4.4 One Home One Garden: A seed for change?

As discussed in Chapter One the main goals of the programme were to alleviate poverty and create sustainable communities. The alleviation of poverty entails change in the lives of citizens. Therefore, the lived experiences of the programme participants and state of gardens are critical to understanding whether change has indeed occurred in their lives.

The Food Sovereignty Framework envisages participatory processes that give citizens the platform to shape their own development. It therefore leans towards “transformative” aspect of the programme (Cornwall, 2002:23). A significant number of OHOG programme participants indicated that there were many benefits associated with the programme. For example, some participants stated that gardening was an income generating mechanism that helped sustain their livelihood. In addition, some mentioned that the benefits were double pronged. They not only produced fresh organic vegetables that they described as healthy but also the physical activity involved in gardening helped them to keep fit as most of them were

old. However, the most important change that they mentioned was that of enhancing their food security status:

Now there is a difference, now there is a difference, there is change compared to when I was not under the programme. My situation is better now, it is better. As you can see I produce a lot of vegetables and other things. I get lots and lots of food, it is not the same as when I am doing it alone (Interview with Section B, Dorothy Nxumalo, Section B, 24/03/2014).

There is so much change because before joining my situation was not as good because I did not have enough food to eat especially vegetables. In order to survive we took out money from our pockets to go and buy everything that we needed but if you have a garden there is no hunger. You do not find yourself eating pap only since there is a garden (Interview with Sithile Mhlongo, Section C, 26/03/2014).

From this excerpt it is clear that Dorothy and Sithile show that the programme has helped them to addressing their household's consumptive needs. In addition, other gardeners mentioned that they managed to save money from this programme and were able to pay their water and electricity bills. In describing the positive change that gardening has brought to her household Sithile mentioned that, "*I get excited when they [my children] ask, 'Mother is there some pepper? And I say yes there is pepper, please can you get us some'*" (Interview with Sithile Mhlongo, Section C, 26/03/2014). Drawing on Sithile's response, growing one's own food cultivates a sense of ownership of one's productive space. This means that one is motivated, most gardeners made reference to foods that supplemented their diets as opposed to staving off hunger. This pointed to the fact that from the household's interviewed none of them were food insecure.

Other gardeners attested to the fact that their involvement in the programme had enhanced their food security status and found the training that they were receiving valuable. Of these, some stated that they had faced financial challenges because they had to spend more money purchasing vegetables from the supermarket. In my interview with Maria, she explained how she had resigned from her formal job to take up full time gardening upon realisation it was more lucrative and also catered to her household consumptive needs. This shows how the programme is not only addressing the household's food security status but also generating income for the household:

Gardening helps a lot because we don't eat *uphuthu*¹² alone, we have fresh veggies, see the cabbage I have is better than the one I buy from the supermarket there is a difference. It tastes better than the one bought at the local shop. I love to eat my food from the garden; it tastes different. I don't go to sleep hungry. Life's better I tell you, we have pumpkins, you just take pumpkin, you cook and eat and you sleep (Interview with Joyce Mbokazi, Section D, 26/03/2014).

For Joyce, her involvement in the programme has helped her to supplement her family's diet with fresh vegetables. Other than saving money, gardening enabled her to enjoy nutritious and better tasting food from her garden. I can attest to the fact that the sweet potatoes that I received from one of the participants were not only big but were tastier than any that I have purchased from the supermarket (see Plate 5a).

Even though most of the respondents mentioned that their diet had improved, there were few gardens that corroborated with their accounts with the exception of one respondent. The dimensions of Msizi's garden were approximately half a metre by two metres. He expressed nostalgia when he described how there was extensive land in the rural areas where villagers establish groups for allotment gardens. This corroborates with Battersby's assertion that people residing in the urban centres are forced to resort to purchasing most of their food as a result of the lack of space (Battersby, 2011:547). Despite land being one of the challenges to gardening, most gardeners did not make use of the little land that they had efficiently. It is therefore, not surprising that Msizi reported no change in diet as a result of his involvement in the programme:

No, I can't say there is any change that I am seeing because I already had it [the garden]. I was planting before and there is nothing that has changed. Maybe I can say that it would be better if they give me seedlings but I always bought seeds for myself. Because of this, I can't say there is any good thing that I have seen. Maybe some people can say that they have seen change (*pause*) maybe those that have not been planting, not me (*shaking head*) who has been doing this even before. (Interview with Msizi Mayekiso. Section D, 03/04/2014)

The tone of the statement above shows disappointment. For him there is no real change that he noticed as a result of his participation in the programme. Msizi's sentiments contradict Key Informant four's impression that the programme had "greatly improved the dietary needs of households" and was an "*agricultural revolution*" (16/04/2014). He maintained that he did not receive visits from the Arex Assistant, bought his own seeds and the little space that

¹² A South African traditional food with a crumbly texture prepared by steaming maize-meal

surrounded his homestead was too small. In addition, he stated that fencing his garden was not possible because he was planting on 'borrowed land'. He therefore wanted the municipality to help him with the fencing to prevent neighbours chickens from eating his vegetables. One possible solution provided by Key Informant one was to make a makeshift fence using sacks to prevent chickens from pecking at his vegetables. From my observations in the field, there were more gardens that had barely enough vegetables to sustain a household or had been lying fallow (see plate 5.3) than fully functioning gardens that have the potential to enhance the household food security. In responding to the question on how the government was addressing some of the challenges the DAEA staff faced in the field, one key informant expressed disappointment:

Maybe they are not aware of the problem because (*emm*) the platform hasn't been made yet where we sit and address our seniors about the programme. That it's not practical down there. I will say that it's not a success. I am not saying completely but take for instance with training umm in my understanding (Interview with Key Informant two, 03/04/2014).

This account provides an in-depth understanding of why the programme has not led to the kind of transformation envisaged by the Premier in 1999. It implies that the envisaged aim to buttress food security and by extension alleviate poverty through the programme remains a distant ideal. This is so because a significant number of gardens under the programme resemble those displayed in Plate 5.3. A finding that resonated in all interviews was that no meeting had been conducted since the inception of the programme. Her sentiments reflect that if an evaluation of the programme had been carried out, then the challenges pointed out by the DAEA staff would be addressed, one of the challenges she mentioned was the apathy she sensed from the gardeners and their inability to take initiative. As a result of this she is cynical about the effectiveness of the programme in KwaMashu.

Even though respondents reported changes in their diets, some of which were observable in their gardens, none of them reported a significant increase in yield as reflected in Ghosh and Maharajan's study on the household participation in a kitchen garden project (2013:110). Also, as highlighted in Chapter Four, getting some of the respondents was a bit challenging because a significant number had dropped out of the programme since it began as confirmed by the key informants.

While all key informants stated that the programme was a tool in the 'War against Poverty'. One key informant stated that number of residents in KwaMashu that were initially part of

the programme had dwindled over the years. This explains why it was difficult to find participants that were still involved in the programme during the data collection exercise for this study. From the discussions above, one can conclude that while there has been some change reported in most of the households in the study, very few households can attest to enhancing their food security status significantly through the programme.

The participatory processes observed in this study are inconsistent with the findings of Ghosh and Maharjan's (2013) study. In their study the gardeners were involved in all stages of the decision-making processes and this reflected positively on their food security status (2013:110). This confirms Freire's assertion that dialogue is critical because it stimulates active and creative thinking, both of which lead to social change (2005:92). Conversely, in this study participants were marginally involved in the implementation of the programme, prior to implementation, participation was non-existent. This example highlights how 'invited' spaces which allow for the transformation into 'invented' have a lasting impact on the programme creating spaces for the ideas and concerns of all individuals to be incorporated in the final plan. From my findings, even though home gardeners in all sections experienced instrumental forms of participation, some carved out their own spaces of participation. This resulted in their gardens doing better than to those who 'waited' for the government to inform them and provide them with seeds to plant.

5.5 Conclusion

In this Chapter I analysed the experiences of the OHOG programme participants in the participatory processes of the OHOG programme. It highlights the importance of involving citizens from the very inception of the programme. What emerged from the findings is that gardeners were only informed after the implementation level. Further, the modes of participation adopted to notify the participants of the programme were instrumental. This means that there was limited space for a meaningful exchange of ideas between Arex Officers and programme participants. While all participants acknowledged the importance of growing their own food and how this enabled them to spend less on food, they mentioned that citizen participation was a critical mechanism through which they could communicate their needs to the government. Importantly they acknowledged the ambivalence of local government to citizen participation as one of the barriers that retard them from fully attaining food security.

Regardless of the instrumental nature of participation in the initial stages of the programme, the majority of gardeners were comfortable with being marginally involved in the development of their gardens. This is evidenced in their failure to cultivate their own spaces for participation within the invited spaces. As the findings of this study indicate the Food Sovereignty Framework played a critical role in highlighting the importance of people-centred participation. As discussed above there are discrepancies in the development of the gardens in the different sections and the fact that none of the gardeners meaningfully participated in the decision-making processes at the onset of the programme. Thus, rather than attributing the success of the gardens to citizen participation there are other factors such as interest, gardening apathy to gardening and lack of institutional support (see Appendix 6). Results of the analysis also suggest that despite the fact that the space was invited there was room for gardeners to take ownership of the programme but they did not. The Food Sovereignty Framework as well as Cornwall's 'invited' and 'invented' concept formed a critical foundation from which I drew out the importance of governing ones food system in terms of both physical and knowledge production.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter serves to assimilate the key findings, methodology and the study's conceptual framework. The combination of Food Sovereignty Framework and Cornwall's invited and invented spaces dovetail into the methodology and analysis chapters, this demonstrates its viability as a tool to discern whether the participation was deliberative or instrumental. To establish this, I conducted 25 semi-structured interviews with programme participants and key informants. Methodological and data triangulation gave the study a holistic account of the participatory processes that transpired prior to the implementation of the programme. In the first section of this chapter, I will discuss the key findings. By doing so, I can ascertain whether they correspond with the objectives listed in Chapter One. Following this, I will revisit the conceptual framework in order to place the study into perspective. Drawing on the entire study, I will also tease out areas for possible future research in the last section of the chapter.

6.2 Reflection on the objectives of the study

The purpose of this study was to establish an understanding of the experiences of the participants in KwaMashu on their role in shaping the OHOG programme. To accomplish this, I defined three objectives. I addressed the first objective by exploring the participatory methods employed prior to the programme's inception in order to determine whether they were deliberative or instrumental. Informed by this objective, I attempted to establish the role participants played in developing the programme in the second objective. The last objective was addressed by unearthing whether the citizen participation has a lasting impact on the status of OHOG participants' gardens.

6.2.1 Approaches used to seed the programme

As highlighted in Chapter One and Two, the importance of curbing food insecurity is a key priority for the South African government. This is reflected in its number of food security programmes that have been implemented in the democratic dispensation since 1994. These confirm Kapoor's (2005:1203) assertion that there is minimal change in current participatory

practices because they continue to be informed by top-down practices pre-dating colonisation. Given the dearth of studies that focus on citizen participation in food security programmes, I attempted to address this gap by exploring the concept in the OHOG programme in KwaZulu-Natal. From the interviews I conducted, there was an unequivocal response from both OHOG participants and key informants that the programme originated from the Premier's Office in 2009; making it an "invited" space (Cornwall, 2002). While this was evident in the literature (Mkhize 2011), what was not so apparent was that none of the gardeners or Ward Committee representatives was involved in decision-making. Consistent with previous studies (Boone, 2012; Dlamini, 2005; Kateshumbwa, 2012; Masifunde and Zingisa, 2010), this study affirms that participation of programme participants was non-existent prior to the implementation of the programme.

An equally intriguing finding was that DAEA staff reported that they learnt about the programme through the media. Both examples show a democratic deficit at both the local and institutional level. Akin to most participatory processes in South Africa, participants were notified at the advanced stages of the programme (Buccus and Hicks, 2011:13). Therefore, participants adopted foreign engineered ideas through a process similar to Hodgson's (2004) "manufacture of consensus".

In light of the democratic deficit prior to the implementation of the programme, the study unearthed that the methods used to notify citizens about the programme were instrumental. On close reflection, these methods are one-directional and do not facilitate deliberative participation. This cements Nickson's assertion that approaches used by the government leave little room for citizens to participate (1998:10). In the same vein, Nyeleni states that denying individuals the right to meaningfully participate through dialogic processes presents a challenge for locals to make a meaningful change to their livelihood status (2013:n.p.). This forecast is echoed in responses such as "*this programme of yours*" (Interview with Joyce, 26/03/2014) suggesting that some gardeners failed to embrace their own. From this, it is possible to conclude that failure to involve the gardeners in the initial stages had a negative impact on their ability to take ownership of the programme.

6.2.2 Participation 'the peasant way'?

OHOG participants demonstrated awareness of the importance of citizen participation. While a few of these participants displayed a linear understanding of the concept, most described it

as having dual connotations as demonstrated in the literature (White et al, 1994; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; and Cornwall 2002). In expressing their dismay with most participatory processes some respondents connected these to the wider political processes which reflect ambivalence to citizen participation (Roberts, 2004:3). The relevance of data triangulation proved to be critical in understanding the extent to which households participated in the programme. In contrast to some reports in the literature that invited spaces seldom open up spaces to meaningfully participate (Cornwall, 2002: 22), findings from both the key informants and the OHOG participants contravened this assertion. Findings corroborated with Gaventa's proposition that the spaces for citizen participation resemble a "continuum" where the participatory space gradually opens up for individuals to take control (2006:26-27).

Regardless, the prevalence of expressions requesting assistance suggests that gardeners were not ready to be weaned from government assistance. A similar finding is also depicted in studies by Boone (2012:113) and Faber and Benade (2002:29). The study also unearthed a discrepancy in the development of the gardens; hence I found it necessary to dissect the participatory experiences of the gardeners in the development of their gardens according to their respective sections. This elucidated the importance of meaningful participation in the programme. While all gardeners generally had a good working relationship with the Arex Assistant DAEA staff, gardeners from Section B enjoyed more visits compared to gardeners in Section C and D. From the interviews and informal discussions with key informants, gardeners in Section B had a strong work ethic and therefore received more support from the DAEA and the eThekweni municipality.

Most respondents noted that the visits from the Arex Assistant were abrupt and lacked depth. This was also reported in Boone's (2012:118) study. Spending little time with the gardeners meant that there was no time devoted to reflection. While all gardeners mentioned that they had a good working relationship with the DAEA staff, it was clear that the gardeners from Section B provided uncritical responses of their experiences in the programme. This could possibly be explained by the fact that they enjoyed more institutional support compared to the other two sections based on their hard work ethic.

6.2.3 Reflection of participation in the gardens

One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is that although most gardeners attested to the fact that gardening was critical to their survival and most of the vegetables they consumed were from their gardens, the status of their gardens did not reflect this. In light of high unemployment and increasing food prices (de Zeeuw and Dubbeling, 2009:3) the food security status of the OHOG participants remained unchanged because they still had to buy vegetables at the vegetable market or supermarket. One of the major reasons provided by OHOG respondents for not gardening was that they had not been provided with seeds. This not only shows the culture of dependency nested among the gardeners but also casts a dark shadow over their ability to become self-reliant food producers. Thus rather than attributing the development of the gardens to citizen participation, a further finding pointed out by the key informants was that the provision of government grants was one of the major hindrances to creating self-reliant gardeners and by extension, sustainable gardens.

Evidence suggests that the programme is embroiled in a paradox because in an attempt to reduce the number of individuals reliant on state grants some participants are not ready to be weaned off the programme. Five years after its implementation, most of the participants continue to demand their right to free seeds, despite having the capacity to buy their own. Another challenge noted by participants was insufficient space for vegetable production, particularly for those who practised home gardening only. While this reason seems valid, most of those who stated that they did not have enough space, did not utilise significant spaces both within their home gardens and allotment gardens. The picture painted above is a distant goal from the original envisaged goals.

This study also identifies a few examples of self-reliant gardeners carving out participatory spaces by governing their gardens. Reinforcing the importance of placing the gardener at the centre of decision-making, the gardens of individuals who embraced the principles of food sovereignty produced a variety of fresh vegetables in their gardens. While there are some gardeners who did not carve out participatory spaces, they produced enough to both feed their families and sell surplus to their communities. These starkly contrast the former because although they managed to feed their families they voluntarily yoked themselves under the DAEA's directive. This raises questions about the ability of these households to function independently of the DAEA. Taken together, these results suggest that it is

imperative that gardeners be treated as co-producers because it creates a sense of ownership among them.

6.3 The Relevance of the Food Sovereignty Framework

The key findings from the constructed experiences of the OHOG participants from KwaMashu confirm the relevance of the theory. The applicability of this framework to the study is demonstrated by its weight on issues of citizen control and how citizens should control their productive spaces and all decision-making processes that involve them. The constructivist paradigm employed in Chapter Four, places respondents at the centre of the research process (Guba and Lincoln, 1989:143). I noted the latter in all three principles selected from the overall framework. All define how to attain food security from the viewpoint of the “gardener” in the context of this study.

The first principle of the framework centres on “food for the people” (Via Campesina, 2008:5). As highlighted in Chapter One, the programme was spearheaded in order to address food insecurity among households and more broadly tackle poverty in both urban and rural contexts. Evidence from all respondents shows that gardening is one of the mechanisms that can be used to stave off hunger, particularly in the urban setting where residents grapple with high rental rates, electricity costs and have to purchase most of their food due to lack of ample space to practice agriculture (Altman et al, 2010: 349; de Zeeuw and Dubbeling, 2009:3). This is amplified by the continued swelling of the urban population since the end of apartheid in 1994. The programme, however, failed to place people at the centre of their food system in the initial stages reinforcing a top-down approach to participation informed by the modernist practices.

My findings, consistent with those of MirafTAB (2009), MirafTAB and Wills (2005) and Bond (2002), demonstrate how a few of the gardeners did not let failure or delays by the Arex Assistants to provide seeds to derail their progress. This example shows that these gardeners epitomised Holston’s (1998) “insurgent spaces” discussed in Chapter 2 within the “invited” space. This transition from an ‘invited’ to an ‘invented’ space meant that gardeners gained control of their productive spaces. More importantly, the results of this were that they are able to feed their families without any directive from the DAEA. This endorses the significance of control in ones productive space as articulated in the Food Sovereignty Framework.

The second principle alludes to the gravity that should be placed on the contributions made by the gardeners. Therefore, communication should not be one way through deliberation there is an exchange of ideas and reflection on the issues discussed (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2002:39). While I acknowledged that participation is a malleable concept, embracing the Food Sovereignty Framework which sprouts from the viewpoint of the gardener heightens the chances of individuals taking control of their livelihoods. The fourth principle highlights the importance of governing one's productive space. While most gardeners mentioned that their involvement in the programme had brought significant changes in their households compared to prior the programme started, few of these gardeners had the evidence to show for it in their gardens. On close reflection, gardeners who took control of both their knowledge production and physical production had lush gardens.

On the contrary, some gardeners particularly from the Section B community garden also managed to produce but were not in control of decisions regarding which crops to plant and when. This is antithetical to the Food Sovereignty Framework which stipulates that control should go beyond food to producing knowledge because this has wide ramifications on one's ability to maintain a sustainable garden. Drawing on the works of Freire, true freedom should go beyond freedom from hunger (1972:42). Therefore, taking control of one's productive space is the only path to sustainability.

6.3.1 Implications for policy and practice

This research has implications for citizen participation in food security interventions in South Africa. This study unearthed participatory processes in the OHOG programme. Firstly, this study has demonstrated that the Food Sovereignty Framework is a useful mechanism through which sustainable food security programmes can be realised. In view of the fact that food security interventions in South Africa have largely been informed by the food security model which is silent about issues of control; it leans towards the instrumental as opposed to deliberative participation. Based on the findings of the study, the combination of Food Sovereignty Framework and Cornwall's 'invited' and 'invented' spaces is a critical tool capable of informing policy and creating sustainability in gardening interventions in government-led spaces. Unless the government frames gardening interventions using the principles of the food sovereignty framework, achieving food security in urban centres will remain a grave challenge. Given that the OHOG programme was top-down in its inception,

engraving the Food Sovereignty Framework in agricultural interventions will place the government in a better position to address household food security because 1) the framework underscores the need for food systems to be framed by the gardeners themselves, this reinforces a sense of ownership of their gardens. 2) raising awareness on the importance of food sovereignty will help gardeners advocate for a meaningful engagement from the onset of any externally-led intervention. This, related to the aforementioned point will not only enhance ownership but be a mechanism through which gardeners can reconstruct the power dynamics to suit their needs.

Secondly, having framed interventions using the Food Sovereignty Framework, institutions will be better equipped to facilitate projects that are moulded by participants. As highlighted above, the principles of the Food Sovereignty Framework are rooted in the narratives of the ‘peasants’ as opposed to the experts. By so doing, gardeners will become empowered to take control of their productive spaces even in spaces which are difficult to ‘invent’ their own spaces. Thirdly, the understanding of importance of food sovereignty by the gardeners is enhanced. By learning that dependency on the DAFA is detrimental to creating sustainable gardens, this cultivates a sense of responsibility and pride among the gardeners to own their livelihoods and thus feed their families.

6.4 Suggestions for further research

While this study has addressed many questions related the participatory processes of the OHOG in KwaMashu, it unearthed some that remain unanswered. Drawing on the study’s limitations, the identification of participants towards the end of the data collection exercise was challenging because a significant number of participants had gradually withdrawn from the programme over the years. An intriguing question that re-emerged from the conclusion was what demotivated them from pursuing the project? This question can be gainfully explored in further research because it may lead to new findings which may enhance the programme’s approach.

Building on the finding that no stakeholder meeting had been held since the inception of the programme it is imperative to understand the reasons for this. An evaluative exercise would have been useful in finding out whether the objectives of the programme are being realised. Linked to this, I did not get the opportunity to interview senior management on the participatory methods used prior to the implementation of the programme. While the key

informants provided insightful responses, research that is informed by those who engineered the programme is critical as it will provide richer responses on the rationale behind those methods and why an evaluation exercise remains to be carried out in spite of the “mixed” progress in the development of the gardens.

Lastly, because of the limited time-frame, I did not get the opportunity to attend any of the trainings. It would be interesting for future research to conduct a longitudinal study which focuses on participation in training sessions in order to understand their implication on the programme. This could be done through the use of focus group discussions could be a useful data collection method in which one can garner an in-depth variety of experiences of the participatory processes in a group setting.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1-Ethical clearance



26 February 2014

Ms Michelle Chihambakwe (212561086)
School of Built Environment & Development Studies
Howard College Campus

Protocol reference number: HSS/1479/013M
Project title: Deliberative or instrumental participation? Perceptions of households on the development and implementation of the One Home One Garden Programme in KwaMashu Township, KwaZulu-Natal

Dear Ms Chihambakwe,

Full Approval – Expedited

In response to your application dated 04 November 2013, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.


Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully


.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
/ms

cc Supervisor: Dr Mvuselelo Ngcoya
cc Academic Leader Research: Dr MP Sithole
cc School Administrator: Ms Meera Dalthaman

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee


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Funding (composer):  Edgewood  Howard College  Medical School  Pietermaritzburg  Wentzile

Appendix 2 - Informed consent –English

School of Development Studies
Memorial Tower Building
Howard College Campus
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Durban
4041
South Africa

---/---/-----

Dear Participant

REF: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

My name is Michelle Chihambakwe and am currently enrolled in the School of Development Studies at Howard College, University of KwaZulu-Natal (student number 212561086). I was referred to you by officials from the Department of Agriculture, the Arex Officers in particular. I am in the process of collecting data for my dissertation entitled “*Deliberative or instrumental participation? Perceptions of households on the development and implementation of the One Home One Garden Programme in KwaMashu, KwaZulu-Natal*”. Through this study, I would like to gain an understanding of the role programme participants played in the implementation and development of the programme. Your opinions regarding the participatory processes of the programme are therefore important for the completion of the study. I would like to carry out an interview which will last approximately 45min to 1 hour. During the process, I will ask questions related to your role in shaping the OHOG programme prior to its implementation as well as your present experiences in the programme. The aim of this study is, therefore to inform food security programmes in light of the participatory processes in the design stages of the programme.

This project is supervised by Dr. Mvuleselo Ngcoya, Academic Co-ordinator of Development Studies in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies (SBEDS). If you have any questions regarding this study please feel free to contact me or my supervisor at the above address. You can also email me on 212561086@stu.ukzn.ac.za; Mobile number: 0781826039 or contact the research office directly: HSSREC Research Office (Ms Ximba, Tel: 031 260 3587, Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za).

- Your participation in this study is voluntary.
- If any of the questions asked make you feel uncomfortable you are free to ask the researcher to skip to the next question.
- Any information discussed and form of identification that may be traced back to you will not be used in order to protect you from possible harm; all information will be kept confidential and kept locked away in a safe place.
- After a period of five years all transcripts will be shredded and audio recordings will be deleted.
- You are free to refuse any conversations to be audio recorded.

Appendix 2.1- Informed consent- IsiZulu

School of Development Studies
Memorial Tower Building
Howard College Campus
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Durban
4041
South Africa

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REF: INCWADI YESIVUMELWANO

Sawubona mlekeli,

Igama lami nguMichelle Chihambakwe. Ngingumfundi esikhungweni semfundo ephakeme iNyuvesi yaKwaZulu Natal, Howard College ngaphansi komnyango wezokuthuthukiswa komphakathi. Ngithunyelwe kini abaphathi zomnyango kahulumeni iDepartment of Agriculture ezaziwa ngokuthi ama Agritex Officers. Njengamanje ngisemsebenzini wokuhlanganisa ulwazi engizolusebenzisa ukubhala ngesihloko esithi *“Deliberative or instrumental participation? Perceptions of households on the development and implementation of the One Home One Garden Programme in KwaMashu, KwaZulu-Natal”*. Inhloso yalolu cwaningo ukuqondisisa indima edlalwe (ababamba iqhaza) ekuqinisekiseni ukusebenza kanye nokuthuthukisa lolu hlelo. Imibon yenu mayelan neqhaza lenu kuloluhlelo ibaluleke kakhulu ukuze ngiphothule ucwaningo lwami. Ngizobuza imibuzo lokho okungathatha isikhathi esiphakathi kwemizuzu enagamashumi amane nanhlanu kuya ehoreni. Imibuzo engizoyibuza izosiza ekuqondisiseni indima oyidlalile kulolu hlelo, ngaphambi kokuba luqale namanje, kanye nezivivinyo enihlangabezana nazo.

Lolu cwaningo ngilwenza ngaphansi kuka Dokotela Mvuselelo Ngcoya oyi Academic Co-ordinator kuwo umnyango wezokuthuthukiswa komphakathi. Uma unemibuzo mayelana nalolu cwaningo ungaxhumana nami noma umphathi wami kuleli kheli elingaphezulu. Ungangithumelela iemail:212561086@stu.ukzn.ac.za noma ungishayele ucingo: 0781826039 okanye uxhumane nomnyango wezocwaningo kule mininingwane: HSSREC Research Office (Ms Ximba, Tel: 031 260 3587, Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za).

- Ukubamba kwakho iqhaza kulolu cwaningo akuphoqelekile.
- Ukhululekile ukuthi ungawuphenduli umbuzo uma ungazimisele ukuwuphendula. Ungacela kudlulelwe embuzweni olandelayo.
- Yonkeimininingane esikuluma ngayo izogcina iyimfihlo kanti futhi izogcinwa endaweni evikelekile.
- Emva kweminyaka emihlanu amaphepha aphaathelene nalolu cwaningo azodatshulwa. Izinkulumo ezoqoshiwe nazo zizo cekelwa phansi.
- Uma ungakhululekile ukuthi ziqoshwe izinkulumo unelungelo lokuba ungavumi.

Ungakhetha okukodwa phakathi kwalokhu okulandelayo: ngiyavuma/angivumi ukuba ingxoxo yethu iqoshwe.

Uma kwenzeka idinga ukubona/ ukufunda lolucwaningo ungalithola ngokombhalo noma lithunyelwe kuwe ngo-computer.

Ngiyavuma ukuba ngiyayiqondisisa imibandela yalolu cwaningo kanti nokubamba iqhaza ngikwenza ngoba kusuka kimi. Lokhu kusho ukuthi ngingayeka noma inini ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo.

----- (Isayini kamlekeleli)

----- (Igama eligcweleyo) -----/-----/----- (Usuku)

----- (Isayini kamcwaningi)

----- (Igama eligcweleyo) -----/-----/----- (Usuku)

Appendix 3-Interview guide for Key Informants- English

- (1) How long have you been working on the OHOG programme
- (2) What were the main goals of the OHOG programme?
- (3) Was there a pilot study done prior to the intervention? Why/ why not? If so, which targeting methods were employed?
- (4) Were households involved in decision-making prior to the implementation of the OHOG programme? If so how? If not or why?
- (5) In what ways did the provincial government create opportunities for communication with households prior to the implementation of the programme?
- (6) Please describe how the extension staff and the local government have worked with households? How would you describe your relationship?
- (7) What kind of support did the government provide towards the running of the gardens?
- (8) How has the government ensured the participation of households since the inception of the programme?
- (9) In what ways has the intervention addressed the needs of the households?
- (10) What have been the challenges in ensuring the active participation of households in the OHOG programme?
- (11) How has the provincial government attempted to address these?

Appendix 3.1- Interview guide for Key Informants

- (1) Usunesikhathi esingakanani usebenza ohlelweni lwe OHOG?
- (2) Kwakuyiziphi izinjongo zohlelo lwe OHOG?
- (3) Ingabe lukhona ucwaningo olwenziwa ngaphambi kokuqala loluhlelo? Yinindaba? Noma kungani lingabanga khona? Umalabakhona, iziphi izindlela ezasetshenziswa ekuqaleni loluhlelo?
- (4) Ingabe nayi bandakanya imindeni ekuthathweni izinqumo ngaphambi kokuqala loluhlelo lwe OHOG? Umakunjalo, ingabe nayibandakanya kanjani? Umakungenjalo, kungani?
- (5) Iziphi izindlela ezisetshenziswa uHulumeni wesifundazwe ekwenzeni amathuba okuxhumana nemindeni ngaphambi kokuqala loluhlelo?
- (6) Bengicela ungichazele ukuthi abasebenzi sebesebenze kanjani nemindeni behlangene noHulumeni wasekhaya? Ungabuchaza kanjani ubudlelwane benu?
- (7) Ingabe iluphi usizo lwa Hulumeni ekuxhaseni labo abanemisimu noma izingadi?
- (8) Usezame kangakanani uHulumeni ukunikeza abantu ithuba lokuthi baphawule ngezidingo zabo kulokhe kwaqala loluhlelo?
- (9) Kuyisize ngaziphi izindlela lokhu imindeni ezidingweni zayo?
- (10) Iziphi izinkinga esenike nabhekana nazo ngenxa yokubandakanya abantu kuloluhlelo lwe OHOG?
- (11) Usezame kangakanani uHulumeni Wesifundazwe ukuqoba lezi zinkinga?

Appendix 4- Interview guide for households- English version

- (1) Please tell me how you got involved in the OHOG programme?
- (2) What methods did the government employ to convey information to you about the programme?
- (3) Were you as a household given opportunities to become involved in the decision-making process prior to the implementation of the programme?
- (4) Do you feel that any suggestions you gave were considered each time you gave a contribution? Why or why not?
- (5) What do you understand by citizen participation and do you think it is important?
- (6) Have you been using the land, farming implements that you received from the government? If yes, how? If no, why?
- (7) Please describe how the extension staff has worked with you or other members of the household? How would you describe your relationship?
- (8) Have you or anyone from your household ever actively engaged in any training or meetings related to the programme?
- (9) Do you feel that you are given a platform to actively participate in the meetings? Can you please provide an example?
- (10) What changes have you noticed, if any, in your household as a result of your participation in the programme?
- (11) In your opinion, has your participation in the OHOG enhanced food security within your household?
- (12) What do you think are the positive and negative aspects of the OHOG programme?
- (13) How do you think the government can improve in the way that it involves citizens in home gardening programmes?

Appendix 4.1- Interview guide for households- IsiZulu version

- (1) Bengicela ungitshela ukuthi wangena kanjani kuloluhlelo lwe OHOG?
- (2) Iziphi izindlela ezasetshenziswa uHulumeni ekusabalaliseni ulwazi ngaloluhlelo?
- (3) Ingabe nina njengomndeni nalitholayini ithuba lokuba ingxenye ekuthatheni izinqumo ngaphambi kokuqala kwaloluhlelo?
- (4) Ucabanga ukuthi imibono yakho yathathwa njengebalulekile ngekathi uyiveza? Yinindaba? Okanye Kungani ingathathwanga njengebalulekile?
- (5) Iluphi ulwazi onalo ngezi mbizo zomphakathi futhi ucabanga ukuthi lokhu kubalulekile?
- (6) Benizisebenzisa izinsiza zolimo noma ezokutshala ebezivela kuHulumeni? Umakunjalo, benizisebenzisa kanjani? Uma beningazisebenzisi, Kungani?
- (7) Ngicela ungichazele ukuthi benisebenzisana kanjani nabasebenzi okanye namanye amalunga omndeni? Ungabuchaza kanjani ubudlelwane beno?
- (8) Ingabe wena noma ukhona omunye womundeni oseke wathola uqeqesho noma wazibandakanya nemihlangano emayelana naloluhlelo?
- (9) Ucabanga ukuthi uyanikezwa ithuba lokusho izidingo zakho? Ungangipha nje isibonelo noma umzekelo?
- (10) Iluphi ushintsho olibonayo emndeni wakho? Umalukhona, ingabe lenzeke ngenxa yokuba yingxenye yaloluhlelo?
- (11) Ngokubona kwakho, ingabe igalelo lakho ohlelweni lwe OHOG libe nomthelela umuhle ekwandiseni izitshalo eziphephile emndenini wakho?
- (12) Ikuphi ocabanga ukuthi kuhle okanye kumbi kuloluhlelo lwe OHOG?
- (13) Ucabanga ukuthi iyiphi indlela engenza abantu basizakale kakhulu ohlelweni lukaHulumeni oluphathelele nezokutshala kanye nolimo.

Appendix 5- Demographic profile of the participants by gender, age and location

Name	Gender	Age	Section	Duration of interview
Dorothy Nxumalo	Female	70s	B	24 min
Ntombi Ntombela	Female	60s	B	21 min
Sibongile Malinga	Female	70s	B	18 min
Thokozile Zulu	Female	70s	B	23 min
Zinzile Mchunu	Female	60s	B	19 min
Gertrude Khupe	Female	60s	B	25 min
Thoko Nzimande	Female	60s	C	31 min
Margaret Zondi	Female	40s	C	22 min
Goodness Dlomo	Female	60s	C	19 min
Ndumiso Dlamini	Male	70s	C	30 min
Sithile Mhlongo	Female	60	C	33 min
Maria Shabangu	Female	60s	C	19 min
Joyce Mbokazi	Female	60s	D	40 min
Hlengiwe Baloyi	Female	50s	D	31 min
Regina Mahlinza	Female	70s	D	24 min
Msizi Mayekiso	Male	30s	D	18 min
Themba Ndlela	Male	40s	D	19 min
Rebecca Cele	Female	40s	D	16 min
Judith Gazu	Female	60s	D	24 min
Paul Dlamuka	Male	40s	D	34 min
Theresa Ntombela	Female	60s	D	22 min

Designation	Organisation	Duration of the interview
Ward Councillor	eThekweni Municipality	35 min
Agricultural Advisor	Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs	20 min
Agricultural Advisor	Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs	24 min
Research Assistant	Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs	37 min

Appendix 6- Table displaying prominent themes that emerged from Section B, C and D

Theme		Section B	Section C	Section D
Lack of involvement in decision-making prior to the development of the programme		*****	*** ***	***** ****
Participation	Deliberative	****	**	
	Instrumental	**	****	**** *****
Importance of citizen participation		*****	*** ***	**** *****
Gardening challenges	Gardening tools		**	**** ****
	Seeds	**	*****	*** ***
	Access to water		*** **	*** ****
	Lack of space	*	***	**
	Training		****	*** **
Elements of creating invented spaces			***	*
Gardening apathy			***	*** ***
Government dependency		**	****	*** ***
Relationship between gardeners and extension staff	Positive	*** ***	**	***
	Negative		****	**** ***
Impact of participation on the functioning of the gardens	Significant change	*** ***	****	**** ***
	Limited change		**	***