



Institute for Social Development, University of the Western Cape

DVS 804: Mini Thesis

Title: Access to land and productive resources among female farmers in Stellenbosch: implications for women's empowerment and household food security

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Fulfilment of the requirement for a Master's Degree in Development Studies

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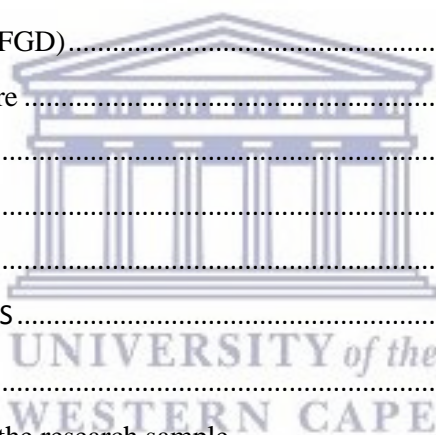
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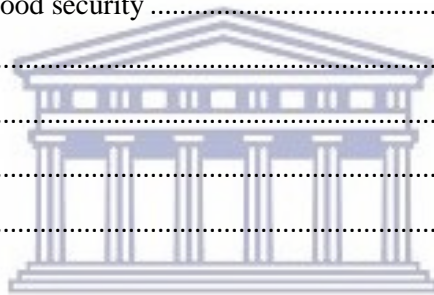
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Key words

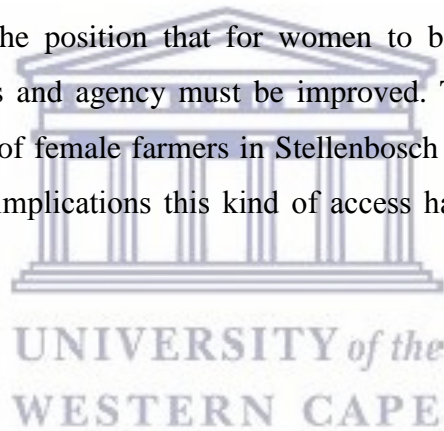
Access to land, productive resources, food security, women empowerment, subsistence farming



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ABSTRACT

Women play an important role in food security. Growing, processing, purchasing, preparing and serving food to their families is a common and distinctive relationship they have to food in most societies in the world. They also play a critical role in food security. Yet, studies show that women are the most vulnerable to household food insecurity. At the heart of women's differential vulnerability to household food insecurity is their lack of ownership of the means of food production, mainly land. Food is grown on land and access to land for productive purposes is vital for food security, especially for women who have little other means of securing food aside from performing subsistence farming for household food security. Thus, analyzing women experiences of accessing land and productive resources, and the manner in which such access shapes their empowerment and ability to achieve household food security is important. In this dissertation, women's empowerment refers to a process where women gain the ability to make strategic life choices; I take the position that for women to be empowered, their access to resources, individual capacities and agency must be improved. Thus, this dissertation aims to examine the lived experiences of female farmers in Stellenbosch in terms of access to land and productive resources, and the implications this kind of access has for women's empowerment and household food security.



Declaration

I declare that “Access to land and productive resources among female farmers in Stellenbosch: implications for women’s empowerment and household food security” is my own work. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university. All the sources that I have used have been duly acknowledged and fully referenced.

Full name: Tulile Ngwexana

Date:

Signed: _____



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Acknowledgements

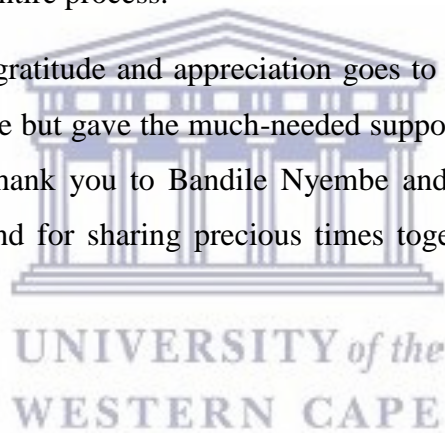
First and foremost, I wish to thank God for His gracious goodness and love throughout my journey to complete my studies; who bestows me with continuous and much needed strength.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

BER	Bureau for Economic Research
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DoA	Department of Agriculture
DRD	Department of Rural Development
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GBV	Gender Based Violence
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
LED	Local Economic Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPC	National Planning Commission
SM	Stellenbosch Municipality
TRANSCRAA	Transformation of Certain Rural Areas Act
UA	Urban agriculture
WFP	Women on Farms Project

1. CHAPTER 1: INTRODOCUTION

1.1. Introduction

Women play a pivotal role in food security. Growing, processing, purchasing, preparing and serving food to their families is a common and distinctive relationship they have to food in most societies in the world (Goldblatt and McLean, 2011). According to Karl (2009), a large part of the world's food is produced by women and even though data proving this statement is difficult to find. The Food Agriculture Organization (FAO, 2011), estimate that women are the main producers of the world's staple foods, namely, maize, wheat and rice. Karl (2009), further highlights that the contributions of women vary from country to country; for example, in South East Asia 90% of women provide labor for rice cultivation, in Columbia and Peru 25% to 45% of women perform agricultural field tasks and in Egypt they account for 53% of the agricultural labor. In sub-Saharan Africa, 60 to 80% of women provide food for their households, primarily as unpaid laborers on family plots (Karl, 2009). Thus, the agricultural sphere is an important sector for women, especially those who perform agricultural activities.

Despite the substantial role women play in the production and preparation of food, studies show that women are the most vulnerable to household food insecurity (Kallman, 2015). At the heart of women's differential vulnerability to household food insecurity is their lack of ownership of the means of food production, mainly land. Food is grown on land and access to land for productive purposes is vital for food security, especially for women who have little other means of securing food aside from performing subsistence farming for household food security.

Nowhere is women's food security and their access to and ownership of land more precarious than in South Africa, owing to the country's history of land dispossession, which along with other socio-political processes, set in motion the present state of the world's highest levels of income inequality and some of the highest levels of absolute poverty among middle income countries (Altman, Hart, and Jacobs, 2009). Between 2004 and 2014, the South African government committed to halving poverty and one way of achieving this objective is ensuring household food security (Altman, Hart, and Jacobs, 2009). The challenge that South Africa is faced with is a structural household food insecurity problem and the root causes are extensive chronic poverty and unemployment (HSRC, 2007 cited in Altman et al, 2009). Smallholder

agriculture is an important sector for which the problem of food insecurity at the household level may be addressed (Lahiff and Cousins 2005). It is estimated that 4 million people in South Africa engage in smallholder agriculture as the main source of food or for subsistence. Given this large number of people involved in this kind of production, they need adequate support (Du Toit 2011). “Subsistence production not only contributes directly to household food security as a supply of food but also enables households to divert income to meet other requirements” (Du Toit 2011:13). Women are found mainly in smallholder agriculture in a wide range of locations such as the deep rural areas of former homelands, townships and cities, and on noncommercial farms (Lahiff and Cousins 2005). This kind of farming primarily consists of the production of staple foods for household consumption and production usually takes place in gardens, and demarcated fields on open rangelands (Lahiff and Cousins, 2005). Race, class and gender distinguish this arena of farming, where poor Black women produce food mainly for household consumption (Lahiff and Cousins, 2005). Thus, smallholder agriculture is a key contributor to food security but South Africa has invested very little in this area, which makes it deserving of an exploration.

A recent move in the arena of land ownership in South Africa is the call for changes to the constitution to allow for land expropriation without compensation (Coetzee, 2018). This call comes in response to the lack of changes in terms of Black people’s ownership of land, especially urban land. In the debates taking place all over the country, there is scarcely any mention of the need for a gendered approach when it comes to distributing the land that may be expropriated without compensation (Hall, 2018). There is also no reliable data on women and planning to make sure women gain land equitably (Hall, 2018). It has been argued that expropriation of land is not the solution if women are not going to be targeted as priority groups who should benefit (Hall, 2018). This then makes it crucially important to define the needs of both rural and urban women, the implications for social justice and the envisaged consequences of land access by women.

1.2. Historical background

South Africa’s need for land reform stems from the country’s historical, colonial project, which largely dispossessed Black farmers of their land as they stood in the way of White settler interests (Hall, 2003). Land dispossessions were particularly harsh to Black people, because

coupled with other systemic processes of disenfranchisement that prevailed at the time, such as the migrant labor system, which removed productive members of households from their families, many rural homes were left with no means of engaging in smallholder or subsistence farming (Taylor and Changunda, 2016). What formalized the land dispossession of Black South Africans is the Natives Land Act 27 of 1913, which is also known as the Black Land Act (Fukudu-Parr and Taylor, 2015: 133). This piece of legislation significantly destroyed agricultural activities for subsistence farming (Fukudu-Parr and Taylor, 2015: 133). Between Black and non-Black landholding, the Act ensured territorial separation, it disabled natives from entering any agreement or transaction for the purchase or acquisition of land or property from a person who is non-native (Kloppers and Pienaar, 2014 cited in Tjale, Mwale, and Kilonzo, 2017: 108). As a consequence, Black farmers were unable to produce food for subsistence because it was illegal to own and cultivate land in most parts of the country especially where land was arable (Natives Land Act, 1913 cited in Fukudu-Parr and Taylor, 2015: 133). During this epoch, commercial farmlands grew and laws and taxes designed to stamp Black farmers out flourished, resulting in tenancy in commercial farms becoming the only way for Black farmers to access land. By the end of apartheid, a large majority of the South African population was living in rural or semi-rural areas and access to land on the part of Black people was limited to 13 per cent, characterized by overcrowded homelands not suitable for agriculture (Hall, 2003). The new government has done very little to address this problem. Anusan and Kgotleng (2015) highlight that poverty and unemployment have widened and its effects are still largely rife, particularly in rural South Africa, because post-apartheid policies adopted by the democratic government aimed at developing the small-holder sector have done very little to improve this situation.

1.2.1. A gender-blind post-apartheid agrarian reform

Land and Agrarian reform is the belief that redistribution of farmland, together with other rural development programs can make a significant contribution to poverty alleviation (Anusan and Kgotleng, 2015: 4). According to Taylor and Chagunda (2016), in South Africa by 1997, ownership of land by White people was 87% and by 2012 Black Africans owned only 7.5% through transfers. PLAAS, (cited in Taylor and Chagunda, 2016) highlight that, by 2014, there was little change in the ownership of land. Whites owned 67% of the land, Blacks 15%, the state 10% and 8% were owned by 8 metropolitan areas (Taylor and Chagunda, 2006). These minimal changes have yielded even smaller changes for women's ownership of land. The argument is that

women remain excluded from land ownership because reform is largely biased toward men. Furthermore, the land reform policies that are in place in South Africa largely drive a land restitution agenda that is only claimable by those who can prove historic rights and previous occupation. Not only has this rendered many South African's unable to own land to cultivate and sustain their livelihoods (PLAAS, 2014), it has advanced the marginalization of women, because since they do not have a history of owning or occupying land in their own right, they are precluded from claiming land through the restitution process.

South African women constitute three-quarters of the workforce in food production and processing which makes their claims to land and credit justifiable (Amusan and Kgotleng, 2015). However, despite their noted contributions in this sector, the country's policies aimed at reforming the agrarian structure have failed to successfully target women for land ownership. According to Goldblatt and McLean (2011), post-apartheid's first phase of land reforms somewhat targeted women and female-headed household for inclusion in beneficiary lists from 1994 up until 1999 and quotas were set for women's representation on community land committees (with a target set at 30%). In 2000 the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) quotas were directed towards ensuring Black female farmers were represented. The DLA 2005/06 strategic plan targeted 30% of land reform projects to be owned by women with the proportion upped to 40% in 2007/08 and maintained through 2009/10 (Goldblatt and McLean, 2011). However, there is no clear categorical evidence that these targets have been met. Lahiff and Cousins (2005) provide some account of this, noting that since 1999 policies shifted away from providing land for the rural poor and landless for subsistence purposes and moved toward creating a class of Black commercial farmers on substantial holdings. Lahiff and Cousins (2005), further highlight that marginalized groups such as women have been ignored, instead emerging farmers who have access to credit and farming resources are progressively dominating the land redistribution program which the government is promoting.

1.3. Study setting: Stellenbosch

This study was conducted in Kayamandi which is situated in Stellenbosch. Stellenbosch is an area with a diverse community, its demography constitutes a population of over 155 773 people (Census, 2011 cited in Bureau for Economic Research (BER), 2013). The urban edge comprises 22 wards that include, Stellenbosch, Franschhoek, Kayamandi, Raithby, Jamestown, Kylemore,

Idas Valley, Pniel and Cloetesville (BER, 2013:4). It also consists of highly affluent areas and poor informal settlements (BER, 2013: 4). According to (Haysom, (2011) the agricultural sector in Stellenbosch is strong in grape and fruit production and they account for 80 per cent of the total production volume in Stellenbosch. The Stellenbosch municipality controls most of the arable land in Stellenbosch (Stellenbosch Municipality, 2015). The land is leased to farmers on a long-term basis and land is also allocated to emerging farmers (Stellenbosch Municipality, 2015). Eighty percent (80%) of the land (about 2 000 ha of land) is occupied by established farmers while 10 % is occupied by small-scale farmers, located in various widely spread sites (Stellenbosch Municipality, 2015: 13). Although the disaggregation by gender of these figures is not available, it is assumed that poor Black women feature are neither in the category of established farmers nor among small-scale ones, owing to the history of racial and gender inequalities for which the Cape Winelands region in which Stellenbosch is located, is known.

Kayamandi, which means a “pleasant home”, is an urban township in the outskirts of Stellenbosch. This township is the primary area in which the study was conducted. It is estimated that the population of Kayamandi has over 24 645 people, consisting of 8 568 households (Census, 2011 cited in BER, 2013). The population growth in the community is 10%, annually and the unemployment rate is estimated at 40% (Petzer, 2015). Kayamandi is overcrowded with many informal settlements (approximately 60% of the population) (Rock, 2011). It is also divided into different zones. People who settled during the 1940’s live in the ‘old location’ where houses are built from bricks, and newcomers settled during the 1980’s onwards and they occupy informal settlements or zone sections, where houses are made of corrugated iron sheets (Osman, 2003). The average monthly income per working household is estimated at R 1000 and on average the household size is 7 adults, children included (Census, 2011). The Kayamandi Township is predominantly a Black African community. It is estimated that 95% of Black African people occupy the area and 85% of the population speak isiXhosa (Census, 2011). According to Petzer (2015), some people were evicted from farmland illegally in Stellenbosch into Kayamandi and neighboring communities in Stellenbosch and land reform in Kayamandi is a major challenge, as seen in the growth of informal settlements.

The above paragraphs are indicative of the risks and vulnerabilities that Kayamandi dwellers are exposed to and the failure of the state and government to meet some of the needs of the

population, as stipulated in policies, which made it a suitable site to conduct the study. The choice of the study area was also influenced by the researcher's close relationship she shares with it. Lastly, due to time constraints, the researcher chose the area because of its accessibility which made it even more appropriate to conduct the study.

Study area: Kayamandi Township, Stellenbosch



Figure 1: Study site (Source: Google maps, 2013)

1.3. Problem statement, Research questions, Research Aim, and Objectives of the study

1.3.1. Problem statement

The problem is that many women have little access, power and control over resources such as land and productive resources such as water, seeds, and extension services needed to achieve household food security. They may also be constrained in their decision-making capabilities within the household and beyond. One of the fundamental objectives of South Africa's land redistribution programme is to enable women's access to sufficient food on a sustainable basis (Buthelezi, 2008). One way of achieving this objective is by empowering women with access to land and other productive resources needed for food production, especially for women who have

expressed the need for it (Buthelezi, 2008). Food is grown on land and access to land for productive purposes is vital for food security, especially for women who have an interest in performing small-scale farming for household food security. Without access to productive resources such as land and other inputs such as water, credit and fertilizers, women's economic independence and the ability to feed themselves are limited (Goldblatt and McLean, 2011). There is, therefore, an important and vital link between access to land and food security. This cannot be ignored, especially for women whose interest and goals in food production are to achieve household food security. Importantly, the lack of household-level food security has devastating consequences on the mental and physical development of children and the general well-being of the household (Buthelezi, 2008).

1.3.2. Research questions

Given the research problem identified above, the study will address the following questions:

1. What are the lived experiences of women in Stellenbosch with regards to accessing land and productive resources for the purposes of strengthening household food security?
2. What happens once women gain access to land and productive resources? Specifically, how does ownership of these commodities shape and change their access to and relationship with power, at the personal, inter-relational and household levels?
3. What are women able to do and achieve once they have access to land, productive resources, and new forms of power in their households?
4. How does the empowerment of women through access to land and productive resources affect household food security?

1.3.3. Research aim

The aim of this research is to examine the lived experiences of female farmers in Stellenbosch in terms of access to land and productive resources, and the implications this kind of access has for women's empowerment and household food security.

1.3.4. Research objectives:

1. To examine and describe women's lived experiences of accessing land and productive resources, for the purposes of strengthening household food security

2. To explore the changes that happen once women gain access to land and productive resources; specifically, how ownership of these commodities shapes and changes their access to and relationship with power, at the personal, inter-relational and household levels
3. To examine what women are able to do and achieve once they have access to land, productive resources, and new forms of power in their households
4. To critically assess how the empowerment of women through access to land and productive resources affects household food security



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2. CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

As specified in Chapter 1, the aim of the study is to examine the lived experiences of female farmers in Stellenbosch in terms of access to land and productive resources and the implications this kind of access has on women's empowerment and household food security. Keeping with this aim, this chapter reviews a broad body of literature regarding the key concepts concerning the research aim, namely: food security, access to land and productive resources, and women's empowerment. The review process also set to discuss the various ways in which these concepts are conceptualized and systematically presents the links between them. It also explores previous studies regarding women's access to land and productive resources, with the aim of identifying gaps in the literature in order to meaningfully contribute to the body of knowledge that exists regarding the lived experiences of female farmers. The last section presents the theoretical framework from which the study is guided and analysed. It involves a discussion of the Capability Approach and presents an operational framework and concludes with the application of the framework to the collected evidence.

2.2. Food security

Food security, as defined by the 1996 World Food Summit Plan of Action, is "when people, at all times have access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life" (World Food Summit, 1996:1). This definition recognizes four important components of food security: "physical availability of food, economic and physical access to food, the adequacy of nutritional food accessibility and food utilization, as well as the stability of these dimensions over time" (Fukudu-Parr and Taylor, 2015: 7). The role of women in food security is not only important for the overall supply of food to the household but is also vital that there is dietary diversity within the household (Kallman, 2015: 212). Households may be considered as food secure when their "physical and economic access to sufficient and nutritious food meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (Shackleton, Pasquini and Drescher, 2009:57). Dietary diversity is the number of different foods or food groups consumed over a given reference period (Hoddinott and Yohannes 2002: 4). According to Swindale and Bilinsky (2006), the number of different food groups consumed rather than the number of different foods consumed reflects better quality of food. For, Kallman (2012) a diverse diet

provides a wide range of nutrients and thus ensures dietary sufficiency. Thus, food security is not merely about access to food, but also about the dietary quality and diversity of the food that is consumed.

2.2.1 Food security in South Africa

Food security is enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa (1996), Article 27 and 28 (1) (c), which affirms the right of every South African to sufficient food, water and social security (Anusan and Kgotleng, 2015). Even with this constitutional right, many South African households are vulnerable to food insecurity. South Africa at present has adequate food supply at the national level (National Planning Commission (NPC), 2011). The country's trade surplus which is earned from agricultural exports is enough to cover the cost of food imports from what it exports (NPC, 2011). According to Shisana, Labadarios, Rehle, Simbayi and Zuma (2014), although South Africa is food secure on a national scale, it has not yielded the same results in terms of food security at the household level.

Statistics reveal that 45.6% of South Africans are food secure, 28.3% are at risk of hunger and 26% are food insecure, and experience hunger (Shisana et al., 2014). Even though South Africa may appear as a food secure country, a great amount of households remain food insecure. Despairingly, a large amount of those households are Black. 70% of Black children live in low-income households whereas only 4.4% of their White counterparts live in poor households (Altman and Jacobs, 2009). The impact of gender disparity on food security is worth stating. 57% of female-headed households are categorized as poor and vulnerable whilst 36% of male-headed households live within the same state (Battersby, 2012).

To better understand this phenomenon, it is important to look at how gender, race and low-income households in South Africa contribute to food insecurity. This link is important, because the marginalized (people of color) South Africans are at a structural disadvantage (Altman and Jacob, 2009). In light of the above figures, the state that which many South African household live under, particularly women and children in low income households, only further perpetuates poverty and increases the level of food insecurity in the country. "The majority of unemployed are Black African women often those living in rural areas" (Altman, Hart and Jacobs, 2009: 23). Moreover, "working women tend to earn less than their male counterparts, so the depth of their working poverty tends to be greater" (Altman, Hart and Jacobs, 2009: 23). These structural

disadvantages pose a threat household food security and women's ability to secure feed their children. Thus, the supply and availability of food at the national level is not a guarantee that women will have sufficient access to it (Taylor and Chagunda 2016)

2.3. Urban agriculture and food security

Urban agriculture (UA) is defined as the production of crops and livestock goods in and around cities and towns (Zezza and Tasciotti, 2010). The relationship between UA and food security is well documented in South Africa. Government agencies and non-government organizations (NGO'S) recognize the significant contribution it can make to food production and improvement of the livelihoods of urban farmers. For instance, the Durban city council promoted various kinds of community gardening projects and UA is central to the planning and development in the City of Cape Town (Beall and Todes, 2004). Urban Agriculture may have a vital role to play in addressing the challenge of food (in) security for the urban poor households. The literature on UA largely discusses how UA contributes to the food security and nutrition of urban cities and towns in general, as well as households that engage in production within these borders (Zezza and Tasciotti, 2010). A key argument that has been made is that UA contributes to "increased food availability, stability and, to some extent, accessibility" (Egal *et al* 2001: 149 cited in Rogerson, 2003). Urban households produce at a small-scale level of production. However small the total access to food from the production is for urban household, UA allows women to make a meaningful difference in difficult times when there is insufficient income for food purchases in the household (Rogerson, 2003). According to Zezza and Tasciot (2010), UA can function as a source of income. It can provide access to a larger quantity of nutritionally rich foods (vegetables, fruit, and meat) and a more varied diet (Zezza and Tasciott, 2010: 266). It can increase the stability of household food consumption against seasonality or other temporary shortages, and can increase the time mothers spend caring for their children, as opposed to non-agricultural activities that are more likely to be located further away from home (Zezza and Tasciott, 2010: 266). However, some have argued that marginalized people such as women and youth benefit less from cultivation in urban areas (Roberson, 2011), due to lack of land and productive resources. In like manner, Rogerson (2003) argues that access to secure land, crop security and access to water for urban farmers is a major constraint to urban cultivation. These resource constraints concerning access to land and water are widely recognized crucial issues that should be confronted in order to execute any successful agricultural projects (Rogerson,

2003). The following section discusses the state of food security in Stellenbosch and potential contributions urban agriculture could make in the town.

2.3.1. Urban farming and food security in Stellenbosch

According to Schulschenk (2009) communities within the Stellenbosch municipal areas are facing poor nutrition, poverty and poor food choices due to the lack of buying power of households (SM, 2014). The demand for biofuels leads to the increase in the price of maize and other traditional staple food which subsequently affects the buying power of Stellenbosch households. The food system of Stellenbosch further perpetuates food insecurity by relying heavily on food imports for its food security rather than producing locally (Van Vuuren, 2016). A significant 71% of food is bought through supermarkets or retail markets (Haysom, 2010). The Stellenbosch Municipality (SM) is a perfect urban environment through which women can engage in household production to strengthen household food security. Stellenbosch Municipality could potentially play a huge role in creating that space for low-income households and marginalized group such as women. “It has been argued that there is a need for policy-makers to intervene and address the needs of urban cultivators, the largest group of whom are primarily women-headed households dependent on either remittance or welfare” (Rogerson, 2003: 135). According to Haysom (2010), the municipality has a great potential to create a sustainable food system that is pro-local production to benefit the demand affecting low-income households rather than depending on imported food outside the town. One way of achieving this milestone is by making land and productive resources accessible to marginalized groups such as women for productive purposes and for the purpose of strengthening household food security.

2.4. Access to land and productive resources

Given the crucial role women play in household food security, it is important to look at access to land and the implications it has on women’s roles as producers and providers of food. Food insecurity at times occurs within a context of land scarcity and inaccessibility of arable land for sustainable agricultural production. Access to land and the control of it has manifold values for women (Anusan and Kgotleng, 2015). It not only enhances the status of individuals within the household but in the wider community and it creates personal autonomy (Anusan and Kgotleng, 2015). A study conducted between October 2003 and 2005 in the Namaqualand region of the Northern Cape Province by Kleinbooi (2013), reveals how difficult it is for women to access

land. In this study, it is clear that despite the significant role women play in reproductive and productive activities, their position is subordinate to the males in their lives; husbands or other male relatives (Kleinbooi, 2013). In this patriarchal setup, the study reveals that daughters do not inherit the land. Land is passed on to younger sons or male relatives. Although widows usually inherit land in the event of their husbands' passing, theirs is merely a caretaker role, and that means that they look after the land until the son is grown enough to take over. Furthermore, the study highlights the specific needs of women in agriculture. Many of those needs are centered upon land for poultry, vegetables and livestock production, and particularly small-scale production. Regardless of this identification, the land reform process in Namaqualand and particularly the Transformation of Certain Rural Areas Act (Act No. 94 of 1998) (TRANSCRAA) and municipal commonage program do not address these needs. The study suggests that women are not benefiting from the land reform policies in Namaqualand and if they were to benefit they would have to have strong independent access to land to place them in a better position to contribute to their livelihoods and that of their families. The findings of this study are not unique to Namaqualand. It is the position of this thesis that everywhere in South Africa. Women have difficulty accessing land and productive resources.

2.5. Women's access to land and food (in) security: challenges and constraints

The effect of land dispossessions on agricultural production among the Black African population and particularly on women has far-reaching implications on women's capacity to ensure household food security in the present. Due to land struggles and limited work opportunities, South Africa has been confronted with a high rate of rural-urban migration, which has exposed poor women to further challenges such as lack of housing, energy, clean water and poor sanitation in urban areas, but more so in inner cities (van der Merwe, 2011). Nonetheless, the biggest development and social challenge have been the government's inability to ensure food for all in urban areas (van der Merwe, 2011). Not only is ensuring food a problem for all people within urban households, there is a heavy reliance or dependence on market purchases by households (Baiphethi and Jacobs, 2009). Most poor urban households cannot afford to buy food from food suppliers due to low levels of income and lack of opportunities, which place women and children at a greater risk of food insecurity and vulnerability (van der Merwe, 2011). In such a context, Rogerson (2003) suggests that urban agriculture is the best alternative to address food insecurity and to strengthen the asset base of the urban poor. However, Van der Merwe (2001)

notes that access to land with secure tenure remains one major problem local government needs to deal with in order to address these challenges.

Moreover, women are also under-recognized when it comes to agricultural support in small-holder farming in South Africa. South Africa's public agricultural service largely transfers agricultural technologies such as spillover technologies to well-resourced, large-scale farmers and disregards a gender-oriented form of support (Hart and Aliber, 2012). This bias presents a challenge to women, especially those with little other means of ensuring food security for their households aside from agricultural enterprise. It means that even for women who have access to land for subsistence farming purposes, they may not have the means to maximise the potential of the land to yield adequate food for their households due to the lack of technological support (Hart and Aliber, 2012).

Another difficult challenge is water supply-droughts that pose a serious threat to agricultural production in South Africa, even in coastal provinces due to climate conditions (Botai, Botai, Dlamini, Zwane and Phaduli, 2016). People no longer rely on rain-fed agriculture (Botai et al., 2016). This may have serious implications for poor women who cannot afford good irrigation systems or irrigation equipment. A study in Northern Provinces (Botai et al, 2016), reveals that many households drop out of food security cultivation due to the cost of transported water for irrigation purposes.

In most parts of the country the government has approached this challenge of non-access to productive land and food insecurity through social transfers. Recipients are located mainly in homelands where small-scale farming largely dominates (Fintel and Pienaar, 2016). Within this context, evidence suggests that old age pension supports most women in land-based agriculture for many households but as for the young generation there is not much interest in farming activities (Lewis et al., 2011 cited in Fintel and Pienaar, 2016). Other evidence suggests the youth are able to enter the urban labor markets because of the social grants available to the household. But, in spite of this evidence, the gap exists in assessing the role these grants play in improving rural household farming activity and food security (von Fintel and Pienaar, 2016). A study conducted by Chagunda (2014), notes that social transfers have played a significant role in ensuring resilience for poor households. Such social policy instruments may limit poor women's-households' exposure to risk and vulnerability, "but address neither the structural issue of land

dispossessions of the Black majority nor the status of women when it comes to ownership of productive assets such as land and access to economic resources” (Taylor and Changunda, 2016: 135). According to Taylor and Changunda (2016), government policies need to proactively respond to this issue of access to land and particularly on women’s unequal access. Inequities need to be corrected by implementing changes in policies on land restitution and land redistribution. This is crucial for gender equality, women’s rights and more importantly for empowering women to improve subsistence farming for household food security.

2.6. Women empowerment

Empowering women is important in achieving access to land and food security. According to Strandburg (2001), empowerment taken as a whole can be defined as all processes developed and implemented to facilitate that women take control and ownership of their lives. In order for women to be able to take control and ownership of their lives, they must have a range or set of opportunities to choose from and this process is known as human development, which is defined as “a process of enlarging people’s choices” (Strandburg, 2001). While human development speaks to issues concerning the enlarging of choices, empowerment speaks to the process of obtaining the ability to choose from an array of enlarged choices (Bartlett, 2004: 59 cited in Strandburg). Moreover, empowerment exists within an underlying concept of power. According to Kabeer (1999) power can be understood as the ability to make choices and when one is denied such ability, they may be considered as disempowered. So, empowerment in this sense means the process through which those who have been denied choice acquire the ability to make choices (choices imply the possibility of alternatives) (Kabeer, 1999:437). Thus, power shapes the kinds of freedoms people have, and power also raises questions about the varying social limits to human action on people’s capacities to participate in shaping their own lives (Haward, 1998: 32). Women empowerment in this dissertation is further conceptualized using three interrelated dimensions namely: agency, resources and achievements. Central to the concept of empowerment is agency which is the process by which choices are made and implemented (Kabeer, 2005: 13). Resources stand for the means through which that agency is put into effect; and the outcomes of agency is the achievements (Kabeer, 2005: 13). The operational form of power which is therefore of crucial importance is the *power to*, this form of power, in essence, means a person’s power (enlarged choices) to achieve the desired end(s) is increased without limiting other persons from what is achievable on their part (Mosedale, 2005: 250). According to

Twala (2014) often times, women's "power to" may be undermined by a lack of information or community support, even when there are supportive programmes and services to help women in their communities. Furthermore, women are excluded from decision-making processes within the community and local governance mechanisms. Twala (2014) notes the following:

Groups and leaders that represent community interests do not understand women's needs and do not believe that women can articulate problems or assist in developing solutions. As a result, women farmers are excluded from most programmes and institutional arrangements designed to improve the livelihoods of farmers (Twala. 2014: 20).

To address the above problem, Sibanda (2007:4 cited in Twala) submits three steps that could be adopted. Firstly is for women to represent themselves, to express their needs and concerns and to actively participate in coming up with a solution and develop appropriate programmes and services. Secondly, researchers and policymakers are to collect hands-on and practical data that would be more responsive to their needs. Thirdly, the appropriate policymakers and promoters "should be sensitised to the special needs of women farmers, thus creating an environment that is conducive to them." Thus, the lack of empowerment of women, particularly women who engage in farming, is one of the major root causes of food insecurity and global hunger (Mwaniki 2006). Patalsa, Schreinemachers and Begum, (2015) in their study highlight that when women are empowered to have greater control over their lives, especially control of and access to resources such as land, credit and farming inputs; through these means, they realize positive achievements and outcomes on household food security.

Another study, noteworthy in terms of empowerment was conducted by Slater (2001a, 2001b) who investigated the social effects of urban agriculture on women in the Langa, Khayelitsha and Crossroad townships of Metropolitan Cape Town. It revealed that the poor women of these communities became empowered through gardening in several ways (Slater 2001 a, 2001b). According to Slater (2001: 648), women who cultivated land in their backyards to provide regular food for their household regarded it as an important aspect of their roles as mother's and wives. Urban Agriculture was also seen as an "expression of women's greater sense of stability and urban dwellers" because they lived separately from their families due to apartheid segregationally laws, "the opportunity to live as families was one to which many women aspired" and "to have a garden is symbolic of women's important role in society as wives and

mothers” (Slater 2001a: 648). Power relations within the household were also a significant element to the research. The study revealed that in households where husbands were the main income earners, “women gained a sense of self-worth through the cultivation of vegetables that could supplement the diet of their families” (Slater, 2001b: 18). In the same way, unemployed women felt “less dependent on their working husbands when they could contribute in a tangible way to the sustenance of the household” (Slater 2001b: 18). Furthermore, it was found that through gardening activities social networks became stronger and fostered a sense of community. Women who practised gardening, be it as groups or individuals, the evidence strongly pointed out that women become empowered in their household and wider communities through agricultural activities Slater (2001b: 18). Moreover, the study suggested that women who farmed in groups’ became empowered beyond their households and took it upon themselves to tackle social and political issues that affected them and their communities.

2.7. Patriarchy

Patriarchy is defined as a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women (Hartman, 1979:11). Patriarchy is hierarchical; it consists of different men of different classes, races and ethnic groups who are differentially located in the patriarchal system. Despite these differences, patriarchal men are united and share a common relationship of dominance over women and they are dependent on each other to maintain this domination (Hartman, 1979:11). Moreover, patriarchy keeps women away from power systems; this is achieved through the construction of private and public realms for women and men respectively. Although all men do not enjoy equal patriarchal privileges, they do to a certain extent contribute one way or the other in maintaining the status quo in the private or public performances of patriarchy (Dery, 2015: 32). Kabeer states that “cultural norms, coupled with other forms of social capital – marriages, the patriarchal system of inheritance, the sexual division of labour, social class, and decision making all serve as rules for men and/or the prerogative of men to appropriate power over women” (Kabeer cited in Dery, 2015: 32).

Within patriarchal societies, communities and households, it is difficult for women to gain access to land, as patriarchy prescribes that men are heads of families and thus the only legitimate owners of assets with high symbolic capital such as land. As such, in such settings, women who

do gain access to land, do so through marriages, family ties or inheritance (Ngomane, 2016). Access is agreed upon through kinship which may be in the form of marriage, father or male relatives (Ngomane, 2016). Ngomane argues that unmarried women, widows, childless women or those who cannot bear male children experience the most difficulty in accessing land since they have no one to veto for them. Furthermore, in some patriarchal relations permission to access land or inherit land is bias toward sons or male relatives as they are preferred over women (FAO, 2002: 21) According to Walker and Unies (2002), because of the socially endorsed discrimination of women when it comes to land ownership in patriarchal societies, “land hunger and land need are experienced in gendered ways” (Walker, 2002: 28; Cross, 1997). For Cross and Friedman this is expressed in the different roles assigned to both men and women as explained below:

Research highlights the real differences between women are economic and home-based perspectives on land. Women generally want smaller, conveniently located landholdings, while men want larger parcels of land that will support grazing and livestock accumulation. The differing perceptions relating to land have to do with women’s and men’s concerns with regards to production. Men generally see themselves as managers of strategies that relate the family to the community in a micro-political context, but also as providers of savings and cash income. Women are seen as the managers of the internal resources of the household, and as providers of food, though many provide income as well (Cross and Friedman, 1997:27).

Cross and Friedman argue as a result:

Men tend to be negative and fearful in assessing women’s land priorities. They are concerned that if women are allowed to transact land they will treat it irresponsibly in relation to dominant social and political priorities. That is, men think that women will dispose of land rapidly and frivolously, instead of using it judiciously for long-term goals of a political character. Men, therefore, tend to see the suppression of women as attempts to dispose of land as an urgent moral concern, part of their legitimate role in guarding society...and as an issue for contested power (ibid.:27-28)

Thus, this suggests that patriarchy not only restricts women in their access to land but also their decision-making power is suppressed, making their control over land resources and the benefits

of such, limited. If women's substantial role in the growing, processing, preparing and serving of food is to be matched with an equal access to secure food, then the role of patriarchal power when it comes to women's access to land and productive resources should be examined, and understood.

2.8. Conclusion of literature review

The role of women in food security is in no doubt an extremely important issue. Central to women's challenges to achieving the state of being food secure is access to land and productive resources. The literature review implicitly and explicitly revealed that the government has a crucial role to play in ensuring that women have access to land and productive resources for productive purposes. This can be done by setting clear policy guidelines for the implementation and management of agricultural projects aimed at empowering female farmers. The review clearly shows the links between access to land and productive resources, women's empowerment and household food security. In that, the lack of control to resources such as land and productive resources by women has a negative impact not only on their ability to provide food for their households but also on women's ability to make decisions within the households. The review further highlighted the positive contributions urban agriculture has on the empowerment of women which strengthens social networks and enables them to improve socio-political issues affecting them, the household and communities at large. Lastly, the review revealed that patriarchy which is a system of domination that grants power to men over women, undermine women's freedoms and limits their decision-making power, and thus contributes to women's difficulty to access land and productive resources. It is therefore in this regard that the study seeks to explore the lived experience of female farmers in Stellenbosch in terms of access to land and productive resources, and the implications this kind of access has on women's empowerment and household food security.

2.9. Conceptual framework

2.9.1. What is a conceptual framework?

A conceptual framework is defined as an end result of bringing together a number of related concepts to explain or predict a given event or give a broader understanding of the phenomenon of interest – or simply, of a research problem (Imenda, 2014:189). According to Jabareen (2009), each concept plays an essential role in the explaining or understanding the research problem. It

provides not a causal/analytical setting but, rather, an interpretative approach to social reality (Jabareen, 2009: 51). The following section presents the Capability Approach. The Capability Approach is the conceptual framework through which the study is guided and interpreted; it is the lens through which the research problem is explained.

2.9.2. The Capability Approach

The capability approach was developed by Amartya Sen in the 1980's and more recently has been advanced by Martha Nussbaum (Robeyns, 2003:5). Sen's dissatisfaction with the subjective nature of states and their command over resources and how states used this as a tool to measure well-being or advantage, propelled him to pioneer a concept that would present people as reasoning agents who have rights and are able to make choices (Gasper, 2007). The approach is a broad normative framework which can be used to evaluate and assess individual well-being and social arrangements (Robeyns, 2005). It thus presents an alternative way of understanding human well-being outside traditional measures such as income utility or primary goods (Bisiaux, 2013:1). The capability approach has also been used to assess poverty, inequality and the general well-being of members of a group. It also serves as a framework for policy design and analysis. Moreover, governments and NGO's in developing countries that use this approach are able to assess what people are well able to do and to be (Robeyns, 2005). With this said, let us, therefore, consider some of the basic concepts of the capability approach and how they can be contextualized within the boundaries of this study.

2.9.3. Basic Concepts of the Capability Approach

2.9.4. Capabilities and capability sets

Capabilities have been discussed in a number of ways by different authors. For Wells, (2015), capabilities are a set of functionings that a person has effective access to. Clark (2005:4) points to the individual's ability to achieve a functioning (s). Sen (cited in Robeyns, 2003:11) provides an example to clarify the concept, two individuals who are both unable to achieve the functioning of being well nourished. The one individual is a famine victim from Ethiopia and the other is on a hunger strike in Washington. The example shows what a capability is; the starving person does not have the opportunity to get food, therefore does not have the capability, while the fasting person has both. Sen's presents also the concept of freedoms and argues that capabilities must be understood as notions of freedoms which is the real opportunities that one

has to lead the life in which they value (Sen 1987:36). So, the set of attainable functioning n-tuples that an individual can achieve is described by Sen as a capability set. The following paragraph will present the concept of functioning (s) further.

2.9.5. Functionings

Functionings, according to Sen is the state of being and doing (Sen, 1992: 39). For instance, having shelter or being nourished (Wells, 2015). Sen cautions that, a clear distinction needs to be made between goods/commodities used to achieve functionings (Clark, 2005:3). Functionings are distinguished from capabilities which are the real opportunities that one has to achieve their valued functionings (Robeyns, 2005:104). The capability approach notes that development should be conceptualized in terms of people's capability to function; that is, the effective opportunities that one has to undertake the activities that they want to engage in and be who they want to be (Robeyns, 2005:95). Therefore, a functioning is the achievement of a person (Sen, 1985:10 cited in Clark, 2005:4). Commodities (e.g. bread or rice) help one to achieve a functioning (e.g. being adequately nourished). However, the achievement of a functioning is dependent on an array of factors that could be personal like body size or metabolic rates or social like having nutritional knowledge (Clark, 2005). In light of this, therefore, development is understood as the expansion of people's capabilities to achieve their valued functionings (Ibrahim, 2006:297). Which bring me to the next paragraph of agency and freedom.

2.9.6. Agency and freedom

Another important element of the capability approach is the concept of agency. This refers to an individual's ability to pursue goals that he or she values (Deneulin & Shahani, 2009:32). Robeyns (2005:102) discusses agency in relation to the concepts of well-being and standard of living. A person's standard of living relates to the wellbeing of their individual life. Well-being is achieved when we combine standard of living with actions by individual directed at others that make an individual feel better off. Agency refers to actions done by an individual that are not necessarily beneficial to self. It can be understood as one's role as a member of society (Robeyns, 2003:15). Individual or groups exercise agency when they make purposeful choices (Samman and Santos, 2009). Samman and Santos (2009) further discuss the concept, noting that the agency is strongly determined by the individual assets people own (such as land, housing, livestock, savings) and various types of capabilities (good, health and education), social (social

belonging, a sense of identity, leadership relations) and psychological (self-esteem, self-confidence, the ability to imagine and desire a better future), and people's collective assets and capabilities such as voice, organization, representation and identity.

In further interrogating the concept of freedoms, Robeyns (2003:14), points out that it is important to note that despite possessing the same capability sets, two people may end up with different types and levels of achieved functionings. This, he attributes this to the freedom to make different choices from effective options. In a practical sense, most people are likely to choose different commodity bundles and different utilizations of these bundles. The capability set is a resultant factor of feasible utilization of all attainable commodity bundles (Sen, 1985; Saith, 2001 cited in Clark (2005:4). This essentially means that the idea of a good life is relative and subjective. The capability approach acknowledges this and hence advocates for the political goal of capability enhancement as opposed to achieved functionings (Clark 2005:4). Alkire (2014), adds that a good life is one of genuine choice and not one in which one is forced into, even though it may be considered rich in some aspects. Sen (1988:272 cited in Alexander, 2008:149) posits that capabilities are best seen as positive freedoms; the ability to choose what to do and achieve. This can be contrasted with negative freedom which is the absence of interference with one's freedoms. Sen argues that the focus of the capability approach is not merely to promote freedom in the negative sense but to enhance positive freedoms (Claassen, 2009: 428). Robeyns (2003:14), remarks that the extent of freedom that one has is however questionable. This is so in the sense that family, tribal and religious backgrounds profoundly mould our ideas of what constitutes a good life. As such, choices are in some sense constrained. She concludes that only so much can be done to address these constraints as they are more often than not interwoven with one's history, emotions, values and their personality.

2.9.7. Conversion factors (personal, social and environmental)

Robeyns, (2005:99) describes what conversion factors are, he describes the first category as personal conversion factors such as sex, physical condition age, reading skills among others. These result in variations among individual abilities to realize their functionings. Second are social conversion factors. These include social norms such as norms on gender roles, public policy and power relations. For example, if there are laws that prohibit women from cycling, the bicycle cannot be considered to be a source of mobility to women within this context. Lastly,

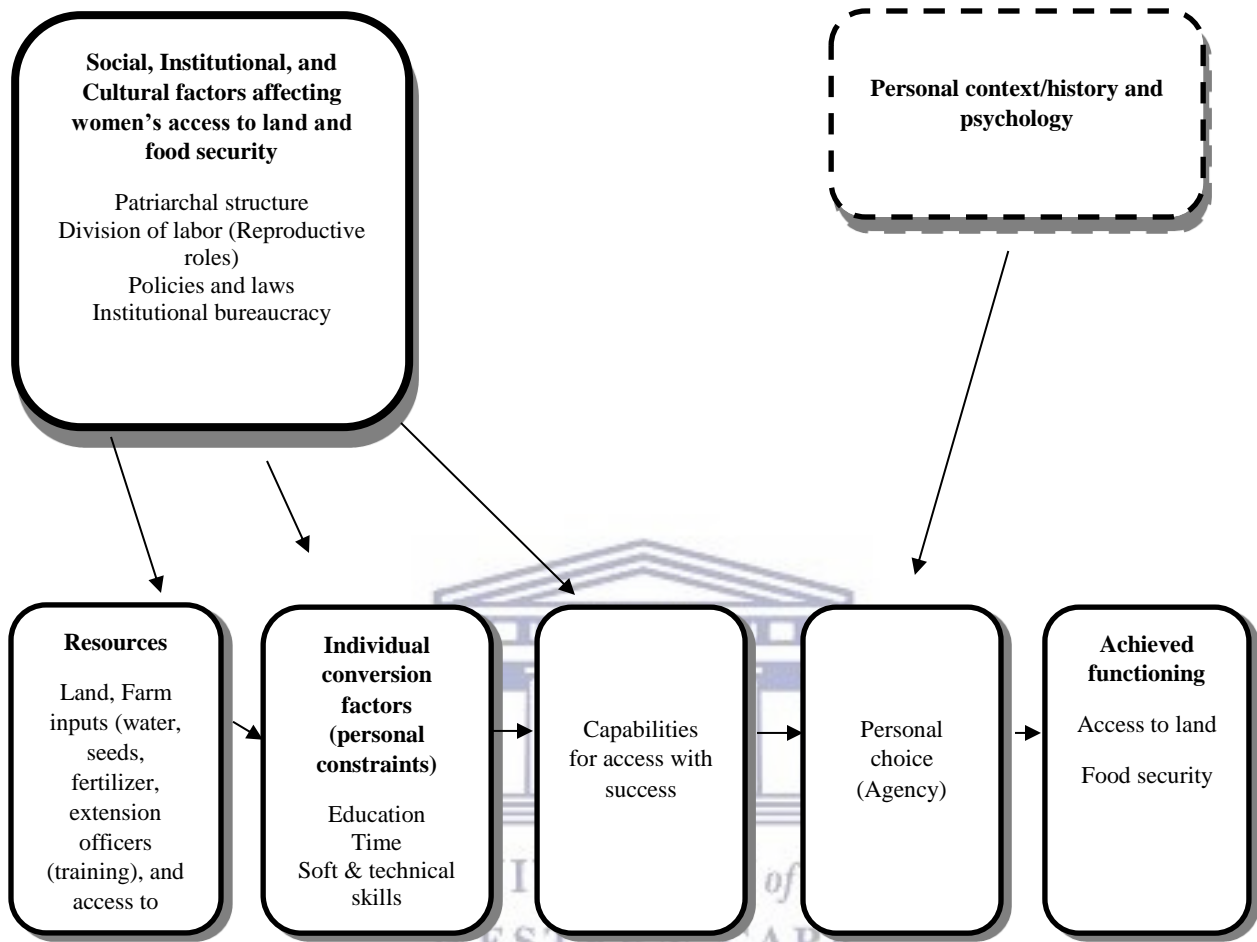
Robeyns talks about environmental conversion factors such as climate or geographical location that play a role in the conversion of the characteristics of a functioning. He gives the example of a country with no paved roads. This poor infrastructure makes it impossible or difficult for a bicycle to enable the mobility functioning.

2.9.8. Opportunity structures

The opportunity structure is important when evaluating women's empowerment since the opportunity structure forms the basis of what enables or prohibits actors to become effective. The opportunity structure consists of the broader institutional, social and political context premised on formal rules and informal rules and norms from within actors pursue their interest (Samman and Santos, 2009). It is important to put into consideration these structures because they allow people to convert their asset base into effective agency, by means of equitable rules, and expansion of entitlements which is a requirement for empowerment. Below is a framework to which this study operates; the lens through which women's empowerment shall be explored.



Figure 2: Capabilities: Resource-agency-outcome empowerment framework



Source: Adapted from Robeyns (2005)

2.9.9. Application of the capability approach to the study

In this study, women are identified as the primary focus of the empowerment process, access to resources such as land resources to achieve their desired functioning's is central to this dissertation and is of critical importance; the rallying assumption is that the achieved functioning may be access to land and/or food security. Sen (Cited in Deneulin and Shahani, 2009:30) notes that development should aim to enhance people's agency, meaning people should be seen as being active agents-vested with the opportunity to shape their own destiny. They ought not to be seen as passive recipients of development programs. The major themes incorporated in the above figure (figure 1) as preconditions are access to land for productive purposes and other inputs

such as water, credit, fertilizers and training. These may enable women to expand their capabilities. This is the lens to which the research project is analyzed, and these are the kinds of processes employed in the analysis. Sen calls them, the real opportunities that you provide somebody to enable them to convert a resource into a functioning (s) (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009).

As discussed, functionings may be constrained by factors that lie outside an individual's capability set, which may be institutional, social and personal factors. For example, if a government organization provides a woman with land but she does not have seeds, money, water and other necessary inputs she cannot convert land into food. In another case, a woman may be given land but the husband might not allow her to use the land resource to produce food or the husband might take the land from her for his own personal use that constitutes a social conversation factor. An example of a personal conversion factor would be granting a woman access land for agricultural production who is physically disabled, what much can she do with it? Though hypothetical, these are the kinds of things that emerge as constraints on women from achieving the desired functioning. Many factors need to be considered when assessing women's empowerment. Nonetheless, empowerment generally entails that one considers, firstly, whether an opportunity exists to make a choice; secondly, whether the individual or group makes use of the opportunity to choose; and lastly whether the choice brings about the desired outcomes (achievement of choice). The operational form of power in this study is 'power to' which refers to people's ability to make and act on their choices (Kabeer, 2005: 14). This form of power speaks directly to human agency. Therefore, this study is much more concerned with the human agency of women and the opportunities they have in order to improve the quality of their lives (Dreze and Sen cited in Robeyns, 2003). Women's agency is of critical importance and equally social opportunities and structures are crucially important as they play a pivotal role in the realm of the expansion of human agency and freedoms. Social opportunities then direct us to the insightful understanding that people and their opportunities should not be looked at in isolation but rather should be looked at in relation to other entities such as the state and other institutions (Drèze and Sen 2002: 6). Of particular interest to this study are those opportunities that are influenced by social circumstances and/or public policy.

3. CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research design

A research design arranges and sets out the conditions for which the data will be collected and analyzed, to bring together relevance to the research purpose using a set of procedures (Kathari, 2004:31). It is a blueprint for collecting data, measuring data and analyzing data (Kathari, 2004: 31). This study adopted a qualitative approach. The qualitative approach is a technique to research that involves a process of acquiring information on how people understand and perceive phenomena (Berg, 2004: 6). It explores the substantive information that structures and provide meaning to people's lived experiences (Berg, 2004: 6). The study also adopted an interpretivist approach to qualitative research which pays priority to people's constructions of their lived experiences and subjectivities (Orlikowski and Baroudi, 1991). It is for these reasons the study undertook qualitative research methods. The objective was to capture meaningful and in-depth information and to keep in line with the aim of the research which seeks to examine the lived experiences of female farmers in Stellenbosch in terms of access to land and productive resources, and the implications this kind of access has for women's empowerment and household food security.

3.3. Sampling and selection of study units

The study population relevant to this research are female farmers in Kayamandi Township. Since this is a qualitative study that provides an in-depth understanding to the lived experiences of such women in Stellenbosch, the sampling process aimed to draw cases which would fundamentally provide insights to the research questions of this dissertation. For this reason, a purposive sampling technique was employed. Purposive sampling is a form of non-random sampling where the researcher deliberately chooses an informant based on the qualities, knowledge and experiences that the informant possesses and sets out to find participants who can, and are willing to provide information (Tongco, 2007: 147). The study participants were purposively drawn from female farmers in Kayamandi. One key informant was drawn from Women on Farms Project, which is a South African registered non- government organization (NGO) that works with women in commercial and subsistence agriculture in Stellenbosch. The second key informant was drawn from Love 2 Give, a non-government organisation in Kayamandi. The third and final key informant was chosen from Stellenbosch municipality which services the

whole of Stellenbosch including Kayamandi. Careful consideration was taken into the selection process to ensure that the appropriate participants were selected in line with the aim of this study. The study sample comprised of eight (8) in-depth individual interviews, three (3) key informant interviews and one (1) focus group discussion.

3.4. Data collection instruments

The study collected primary data and secondary data using qualitative tools, namely in-depth individual interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation. At the start of every interview/focus group discussion, socio-demographic information on the study area and respondents were collected and captured to enable the description of the sample discussed in chapter 4. The following qualitative tools were used to collect the data:

3.4.1. Un-structured individual interviews

Individual interviews were conducted with female farmers in Kayamandi some of which were members of a non-government organization in Kayamandi known as Love 2 Give. Others were stand-alone women, who are not members of any organization within the community. The interviews were unstructured in-depth interviews. The unstructured interviews were carried out in a way that created a relaxed atmosphere to make the interviewee feel relaxed and not interrogated, where participants could speak freely as they shaped their narratives (Hannibus cited in Qu and Dumay, 2011: 245).

3.4.2. Key informant interviews

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the Key Informants. According to Sandy and John Dumay (2011: 246), semi-structured interviews consist of prepared interview questions based on the themes. The interviews were carried out in a systematic fashion with probes used to prompt more elaborate responses. The themes shaped the kind of interview questions that were posed and directed the researcher to topics and issues for which the researcher wanted to learn. Semi-structured interviews were designed for the stakeholders. Three (3) key informants were interviewed, one from Women on Farms Project (WFP), one from Love 2 Give and one from the Stellenbosch Municipality.

3.4.3. Focus groups discussion (FGD)

One focus group discussion was held with women from Kayamandi. According to Vaughn (cited in Puchta and Potter, 2004:6), a focus group has two main elements, (1) a moderator who sets the

stage with prepared questions with the (2) objective of bringing about the feelings, attitudes and perceptions of those participating on a selected topic. The focus group approach allows us to solicit an understanding of shared meanings on the themes that will be discussed. For the purpose of this study, the focus group helped provide a richness of data, by supplementing individual-level data with a social/community perspective on the issues which were under examination. One focus group was completed with 6 women. The questions were designed so that the respondents would share their perspectives with one another openly and to elicit their feelings, attitudes and perceptions concerning the research topic. Broadly the respondents were asked to discuss themes regarding access to land and productive, issues of power and household food security.

3.4.4. Demographic questionnaire

A demographic questionnaire was completed by all of the participants who participated in the study. The demographical data that was captured included variables such as the age, source of income, monthly income, and household size among others.

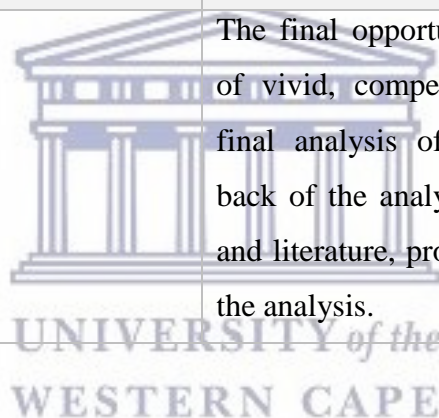
3.6. Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis encompasses a range of procedures and processes which a researcher undertakes to provide meaning from the collected data and to provide an understanding or interpretation of the subject(s), people or situations investigated, (Gibbs, 2001, Chowdhury, 2015). This is done through methods such as observations, interviews, participation, and prewritten discourse (Chowdhury, 2015: 1136). A thematic analysis approach was adopted to analyse the data. According to Braun and Clarke (2006: 79) “thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data.” Braun and Clarke (2006: 87) identifies 6 phases in Thematic Data Analysis as presented in the table below;

Table 1: Phases of Thematic Analysis

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set,

	collating data relevant to each code.
3. Constructing themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic map“ of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, the final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.



The above steps were taken by the researcher in the process of thematically analysing the data. During the first step, the researcher familiarized herself with the data by listening and re-listening to the audio-recordings in the process of transcribing. This was accompanied by reading the transcripts and noting down ideas. In this research, codes were created using Open Code version 4.6, computer software used for qualitative data analysis. The codes were then grouped into categories and then themes. The themes and categories were reviewed thoroughly and quotations were coded to make sure that the themes developed were pertinent to the research topic. For the purpose of this research, the themes were grouped according to the research questions the study seeks to answer to allow for the development of a coherent story of the findings presented in Chapter 4. Lastly, the drafting of the findings section involved the construction of a detailed description of what was shared with me, built upon the themes identified.

4. Limitations

There were not many limitations as I had anticipated. One limitation that I thought would be a major challenge was travelling from Bellville to Stellenbosch which is 32 Kilometers away but that didn't become a limitation because during the data collection period, I stayed in Kayamandi, where my mother and her grandchildren reside. There was one limitation worth noting, which was the fact that all the individual interviews and focus group discussion were conducted in the native language which is isiXhosa. Thus transcribing the audio-recordings to English was a bit challenging as some of the essence or meaning of the responses may have been somewhat jeopardized, resulting in some loss of meaning, thus affecting the accuracy of the data. But, to prevent this from happening the researcher transcribed the data word for word and tried to translate the data in a manner that sticks closely to what was initially being said. Thereafter, both Xhosa and English transcripts were peer-reviewed by another native Xhosa speaker before the data analysis.

5. Ethical considerations

Research ethics has to do with being sensitive to human regards. It has to do with moral issues and good practice of research so as to prevent any abuses (Punch, 2013). Research should not violate anyone's individual rights and legal rights (Punch, 2013). This research was only undertaken upon approval from the University of the Western Cape Senate, the Economics and Management Faculty and the Institute for Social Development. Permission was also requested from Women on Farms Project (WFP), Love 2 Give and Stellenbosch Municipality's Local Economic Development (LED) office. The study posed minimal risks to participants because sensitive participants were not asked sensitive questions that may place them at risk of physical, psychological or emotional trauma. During the interviews and FGDs no participant names were mentioned. The study was explained to the respondents and all relevant copies explaining the purpose of the research study was provided to all participants and most importantly interviews were not done without the written consent of the respondents.

4. CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a description and discussion of the findings which were gathered through one focus group discussion with 6 women, 8 individual interviews and 3 key informant interviews. The chapter commences with a brief presentation of the demographic profile of the study participants. This is then followed by a presentation of the research findings emanating from the research questions, which the research project set to answer and a conclusion.

4.2. Demographics summary of the research sample

Table 2: Summary of demographics

Variables	Characteristics	Frequency
		N=13
Migration History	Born in Kayamandi	1
	Migrated from another town	0
	Migrated from a rural area	12
Duration of stay in Kayamandi	1-3 years	2
	4-6 years	0
	7-9 years	1
	10+	10
Age	18-24 years	1
	32-28 years	2
	46-52 years	4
	53-59 years	2
	60+ years	4
Marital Status	Single	6
	Married	2
	Widowed	5
Highest level of Education	No formal education	3
	Completed primary	4
	Completed secondary level	3
	Completed Matric	3
Current employment status	Not employed	8
	Self-employed	0
	Employed	4
	Part time-employed	1
Main source of income	Pension	1
	Disability grant	1

	Employment	5
	Daughters	1
	Stipend	1
	No source	4
Main economic activity	Domestic work	2
	Creche work	2
	Feeding scheme work	1
	No economic activity	8
Monthly income	Between R0-R500	3
	Between R500-R1000	1
	Between R1000-R3000	8
	Between R3000-R6000	1
	Above R6000+	0
	Average household size	5
	Average number of children	3
Social grant	Yes	9
	No	4
Type of grant(s) & dependents	Disability grant	1
Type of grant(s) & dependents	Child Support Grant	14
	Old Age Pension	3

4.2.1. Summary of participants' demographic characteristics

The above table captures the demographics of the women who participated in the FGD and individual interviews. Fourteen women were interviewed during the data collection process; however, the summary of demographics indicates only thirteen. This is because one of the respondents who was interviewed in the FGD, also participated in the individual interviews, therefore, their demographical data remains the same, hence n=13. Nevertheless, the results of this demographic survey as evidenced above, show that most of the women migrated from rural areas to reside in Kayamandi with only one woman born in Stellenbosch. Ten of the 13 women that were interviewed lived in Kayamandi for more than 10 years. The demographic survey also indicates that most of the women were above the age of 46. A large portion of the women were either single or widowed. Moreover, the women had no formal education beyond matric, in fact most women left school before matric. Most of the women were unemployed, and many of them had no source of income. Eight of the 13 women were not involved in any economic activity, and of those who did have an income, they derived it from domestic work, working at a crèche,

or at a feeding scheme. The majority of the women interviewed secured a monthly income of between R1000 to R3000. This is far less than the minimum wage in South Africa, which is R3 500. The household average size of all participants was 5 members, with participants reporting an average of three children each. Lastly, many of the women indicated that they were receiving at least one social grant. Of that number, 41% of the dependents received the child support grant and some women received the old age grant.

4.3. Research findings

The research findings herein described were gathered to respond to the following questions:

1. What are the lived experiences of women in Stellenbosch with regards to accessing land and productive resources for the purposes of strengthening household food security?
2. What happens once women gain access to land and productive resources? Specifically, how does ownership of these commodities shape and change their access to and relationship with power, at the personal, inter-relational and household levels?
3. What are women able to do and achieve once they have access to land, productive resources, and new forms of power in their households?
4. How does the empowerment of women through access to land and productive resources affect household food security?

The section that is to follow is a thematic presentation of the research findings based on the above-mentioned questions.

4.3.1. The lived experiences of women in Stellenbosch with regards to accessing land and productive resources for the purposes of strengthening household food security

Access to land and productive resources is an important subject within the household, community and among national-decision making powers (FAO, 2002). According to Raihan, Fatehin and Haque (2009: 5), “access to land refers to the ability to use land, to control the resources and to transfer the rights to the land and take advantage of other opportunities.” In a similar manner, access to productive resources is defined as “the opportunity to use, manage and control resources” (India, 2010:1). The commonly known practices of land holdings are private residential and agricultural holdings, common grazing rights and state-owned land (FAO, 2002). Access to and control over a resource such as land is governed by a land tenure system of rights and institutions that govern and administrate the use of and access to land (Maxwell and Wiebe

1998). Land tenure is basically the relationships among people which may be either legally or customary defined in respect of land (FAO, 2002). Productive resources refer to crucial instruments for all livelihood activities (India, 2010). The term “resources” may be economic such as land and credit, political, such as participation and decision-making at the community level, and social, such as education, skills building and training (India, 2010). With this said, the following section will present the lived experiences of women in terms of access to land and productive resources for the purpose of strengthening household food security. The study found that the main channels of accessing land by women in Stellenbosch were either formal or informal. Formal access was found to be through the local government and local NGOs. Informal access was through peripheral means such as land invasion, wheel farming and bucket farming. These themes have been explained further in the discussion below

4.3.1.1 Formal institutional access to land and productive resources

Formal institutions, simply put, are institutions that are backed by the law, this implies the enforcement of rules by the state (Cousins, 1997). Local government is a formal institution of government. A local municipality is a distinct entity of government that forms part of local government. Local government is appropriately defined “as a sphere of government located within communities and well-placed to appropriately respond to local needs, interests and expectations of communities” (Koma, 2010: 113). “All municipal entities in South Africa make up a collective sphere, known as local government (Roux, 2005:64 cited in Koma, 2010). The White Paper on Local Government (South Africa, 1998) states that municipalities should be committed to working with citizens, groups and communities to build sustainable human settlements, provide an acceptable quality of life and meet the social, economic and material needs of communities. Other key issues addressed in this section are, communication challenges between the municipality and women attempting to access land and hopelessness among the women of Kayamandi attempting to access land and productive assets through the local municipality.

A) Access to land and productive resources through the municipality

The municipality of Stellenbosch owns the majority of land in Stellenbosch and services the following areas: Stellenbosch, Franschhoek, Kaalmel, Peniel, Lyntiedoch, Cloetesville, Idas Valley, Lyndoch, Reitvlei Jamestown, Vlottenburg and Kayamandi. Agricultural land is accessed

through the local municipality by commercial farmers and small-scale farmers. During an interview with a senior official of the municipality of Stellenbosch, it was brought to light that the land is only provided on lease agreement, which is nine (9) years and eleven (11) months, and no private land is given out. With this said, all the women who participated in the study expressed a keen interest in farming for the purpose of strengthening household food security. The women all had farming experience, which they largely gained from their natal homes. They all shared common experiences of different types of farming activities at the small-scale level of production such as vegetation farming, livestock farming, chicken farming and other gardening activities. Despite this interest and experience, the research found that there is not a single woman in Kayamandi who has access to land by means of ownership. Since the municipality only leases the land, it is rather more accurate to say that they had never accessed land by means of a lease agreement from the municipality. This finding was expressed by all the participants. For example, one participant during the focus group discussion when asked about how land is accessed by women in the community, said:

There has never been a woman who acquired land here in Kayamandi... not even one! We can't even talk about that because it has never happened... You can walk around this entire community you will not find even one! (FGD, 2017).

This fact was also confirmed during an interview with a senior official of the municipality, as can be seen in the following statement:

If you look at our area, there's basically... there are some female farmers, but we are talking about the big farmers in our area...but there's no system that's only run by women. So, I know we've got some Women on Farm Organizations, but they don't farm. There are farmers from different farms and it will be a great project if we can get one of the municipal farms to be strictly [run by] women, from plants to selling the crops...everything, to maintain the farm, even to be the farmer in charge. So, that will be a very nice story to have (Senior official, LED, 2017).

Of the women interviewed in Kayamandi, the study found that there was no agricultural enterprise run by women from this area on a lease agreement and there were no women who had access to land. To be precise, there were only 10 small-scale farmers in the whole of Stellenbosch of which, 2 were women and none of them were from Kayamandi, they were from Lyndoch. These two women had access to municipal land for productive purposes, as specified by the senior official below:

“The current small farmers that we have, we have 10 small farmers and 2 of them are women” (Senior official, Stellenbosch municipality 2017).

Another way to access land is through the government redistribution programme. The senior representative of WFP explained how redistribution programmes across the Cape Winelands fail to include female farmers. It was found that there was a particular case where government bought land from farmers, land which they would distribute in small bits for farm workers to utilize, for example instead of 50 hectares or 100 hectares they would give 20 hectares. This is what the senior representative had to say about this programme:

But from this programme very few [are women] ... not that many are in Stellenbosch... That's more in the Ceres area, there's some in Roosenvillle, there's some in De-Doorns but we are not aware of these schemes in the Stellenbosch area (Senior representative, WFP, 2017).

The senior representative further explained why this might be the case:

...in the commercial farming areas in the Western Cape, which are very lucrative farms, the value of the farms is very expensive, and farmers are not prepared to sell to the government. Even if they want to sell they sell to... partners in the area. So, there is this concentration of farmland and there's very little land available for... for redistribution to farm workers. There's not been a specific process or policy to make sure women have access to land (Senior representative, WFP, 2017).

Even where such programmes exist, it was found that such schemes are not visible nor are they known in Stellenbosch. Women's lack of access to land as evidenced above is due to a lack of process or policy implementation that ensures women gain access to land.

i. Participatory Communication

This section discusses communication that exists between the local municipality and the women of Kayamandi. The local municipality is the closest organ of government to the people. Central to the core objectives of local government is to ensure the participation and active involvement of community members in local government projects or initiatives. This is known as, participatory communication. Participatory communication promotes a communication process that “allows for knowledge sharing on an equal basis rather than a top-down transmission of information and persuasion” (Melkote, 1991: 270). This necessitates for transparency and for the continuous flow of information from local government to the people it serves, and the active involvement of community members. Among the women who participated in the study, quite a significant number spoke about the lack of communication between the municipality and them. This lack of communication became evident in women's lack of knowledge regarding how land is accessed in Stellenbosch. Most of the women did not know how land and productive resources are accessed and what processes they would need to follow in order to acquire land. The women felt that the municipality was not sharing information with them regarding how land is accessed. During the FGD, one participant expounded on this as follows:

There is no awareness because what happens... even now we are sitting in the dark. There is no information that we are receiving that is coming from people who are.... like the municipality, that says when you are faced with certain situations go here or there, or information of where we should go, of how we can access land... we would like to know what is happening.... will our situation ever change? We are going to die! Will it be like this even for our children? There is no information coming to us (FGD, P.1, 2017).

Lack of knowledge and lack of access to information became a strong element in the findings, stressed by many participants. The issue was also emphasised by a senior representative of Love

2 Give (an NGO which represents women in Kayamandi), who when asked what women go through in the course of trying to access land and productive resources, said:

There are a lot of women I work with here, there are women that I see have interest in things that have to do with farming but what beats them is lack of information... Yes! There are women who want land, if they would get it they would be productive because I see them in the garden, the way that they are so dedicated and the way that they love plants... So, they don't have that kind of knowledge, or for example, if there would be people who will come and say to them "beloved women when you want land you start here and you go there ... they don't have that information, I am certain that's the primary challenge. They don't have access to information (Senior representative, Love 2 Give, 2017)

Another challenge with regard to communication that was highlighted by a number of participants is the government gazette, which the local municipality distributes to the local communities including Kayamandi. The participants complained that the Gazette is written in English and Afrikaans and is not translated into Xhosa, which it makes it difficult for the women to understand what is being communicated. This finding was confirmed by the municipality representative. It was also found that the local economic development office, where the small farmer project and agricultural land unit rests, relies heavily on ward committees and councillors, to disseminate information. They do so largely by word of mouth to the people of Kayamandi. Moreover, there is no system in place that closely monitors the effectiveness of this form of information sharing.

Furthermore, the study found that there are currently 207 hectares of available land in Stellenbosch. During an interview with a senior official at the municipality, it was expressed that small farmers and particularly previously disadvantaged women, would be a preferred category for this land which is available. Candidates who qualify must be persons who have been living in Stellenbosch for over 10 years as per the Stellenbosch municipality policy guide. However, it is worth noting that at the time the data was collected, the municipality was not distributing any

information regarding the land that was available and how it can be accessed, due to internal issues and pending processes. This is what the senior official said in this regard:

... Part of the process is still stuck with our political leader, the mayor, where an advisory leader needs to be appointed. [And] That advisory committee consists of several role players within the agricultural sector, like the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Rural Development (DRD), 'CASIDRA' the agricultural society, the University of Stellenbosch and a few...department of water affairs... So, the process is with the mayor so [that] the only thing that is holding it a bit back at the moment... (Senior official, Stellenbosch municipality, 2017)

Clearly, there is a process underway. It should be emphasised, however, that the access the municipality claims to hope to see happening for women, has never been realised, largely because there was no program of action underlying such hopes. It is only now that the municipality seeks to provide this kind of access to small-scale farmers and particularly women. This is what the senior official of Stellenbosch municipality had to say about this:

In the past, agricultural land, the function of it actually didn't fall in this department, it was just given to a person in another department and all of it was given to White, big commercial farmers. So, small farmers never benefitted from agricultural land. Even if you look at all the leases that are currently on [municipal] land, you will see it's big White commercial farmers that have got lease agreements on municipal land and they are on the land and you can't remove them because they pay their accounts. So that is why we got a small amount that, 10 small farmers that we have we cling on to and we can only expand when... with our policy that is now a year old... That the agricultural management moved to us as Local Economic Development, and only now we will be able to promote small farmers, so in the past, they were not being promoted (Senior official, Stellenbosch municipality, 2017).

The above quote not only indicates exclusion from land ownership on the basis of gender in Stellenbosch; it is also clearly a race and class driven marginalization of poor/working class

Black women. Moreover, most of the participants who had previous encounters with the municipality expressed their feelings of neglect and the lack of attention they received from the municipality when they had gone to seek land. They noted that all that the municipal officials tell them is “there is no land.” This suggests a breakdown of communication between the municipality and the women of Kayamandi.

ii. Hopelessness to land access land and productive by women of Kayamandi

This section discusses the failed attempts by women of Kayamandi to access land and productive resources, which resulted in feelings of hopelessness. Evidence of this hopelessness is the fact that in my research there were only a handful of women who had actual experiences of seeking land through the municipality; the majority were simply too demoralized to try. The women expressed feelings of apathy as a result of several failed attempts in their quest for land. Moreover, women’s attempts to access land from the municipality were largely undertaken as a collective, rather than as individuals:

We requested land until we gave up from the Municipality of Stellenbosch. You know, let me tell you... We were a group of women, we had an organization called Imbadu, and we wanted to farm, we wanted to remember our heritage.... we were enthusiastic and showed commitment but the Municipality blocked us like this... (FGD, 2017)

One particular case that stood out was shared by a woman who was born and bred in Stellenbosch. She narrated events of how her father’s land was dispossessed in 1922, and how her family was eventually moved to Kayamandi. She described the small space her father farmed on in Kayamandi like the “Garden of Eden”, with all kinds of fruits and vegetables. However, sadly, that land was dispossessed as well. She then described how her late brother in 1986 tried to fight for the land but was allegedly murdered in his efforts. This is what she had to say:

Mzwandile during the time the land was dispossessed, he tried to fight for it, it was not even a month trying to fight for it when his head was cut off like a goat and his body was dumped in a place called “Isibonda” where the securities of the municipality were located...It was like a message of warning for frequently hounding the municipality. His

head was cut off; he was the first person in the history of Kayamandi and the last to die a painful death like that with his head cut off (P.8, 2018).

This painful narrative described by the participant above instilled fear when it came to fighting for land among her siblings. The participant described how this silenced many people in Kayamandi as many feared for their lives. To this day, she is the only one fighting for land in her family, but she is reaching a point of giving up as she has failed at many several attempts. Another woman expressed her feelings of hopelessness to access land just by observing her surroundings in Stellenbosch:

Everything I think of is unsuccessful. So, my dreams are dying, even what I think does not happen when I think of farming and other things, those thoughts vanish in the air because you know that.... I've not seen even one person here in Stellenbosch who is Black who has land to farm, that is big and enough. So that kills my dreams because I don't see even one Black person, I just see White people who have big land for productive purposes (P.1, 2017).

This feeling of hopelessness was prevalent among many women especially those who had taken active steps to seek land for productive purposes. Some women went as far as thinking that the municipality was biased and favored Whites and Coloreds over Blacks. They held the view that all projects running in Kayamandi were owned by White people and all of their proposals concerning agricultural projects in Kayamandi through the municipality, have always been turned down, with opportunities exclusively given to White people. One particular woman narrated her experience of requesting the land that was previously known as Mtayilane's, which was farmland surrounded by housing developments. She followed the application process for land through the municipality and this was her experience:

Yes! We requested it because that farm was taken and houses were built around it. So, there were still houses that Mtayilane previously owned. So, when we planned to do projects, we thought we would be able to use those rooms for project work and that land

to farm on but no! We never got it. So, it means there is no hope of ever getting land (FGD, 2017)

This hopelessness among the women of Kayamandi is evidently, as a result of many failed attempts, which some of the women made in pursuit of land for productive purposes. One participant described how the failed endeavours to access land not only made her lose hope but also affected her health:

As a result, I got anxiety attacks. I remember collapsing near Pick and Pay. Then I received medical attention in Stellenbosch hospital, the doctor who was examining me, said: “you don’t have a heart problem”... Stellenbosch hospital was quick to respond, they thought I was having a heart attack, a heart doctor arrived, they called a specialist and examined me using those equipment and said: “no your heart can beat for more than 100 years, you had an anxiety attack, I don’t know what is troubling you, learn to calm down” that’s what the doctor said to me (P.8, 2017).

B) Access to land and productive resources through NGOs

It was found that a significant number of the women during the process of this study belonged to NGOs or had some connection to the local NGOs in Kayamandi. There are three NGOs in Kayamandi, namely, Kuyasa, the Legacy and Love 2 Give. In the previous paragraphs, lack of knowledge and access to information were found to be major factors that contributed to the women’s lack of access to land for productive purposes. As a result, many women turned to NGOs to access land and productive resources. In an attempt to seek land through an NGO, one participant narrated the following experience:

I kept thinking of this, wishing that I would get a place [land] or else get a land with a group of women and go plant there. But, I was unable to. I met other people in some project at Kuyasa, they promised us... the people who were there, that they would give us a piece... they said they would speak on our behalf to the Municipality for us to get a small plot of land for us to plant as women but that was unsuccessful (P.1, 2017).

Another participant had gone through a similar experience as the participant in the above quote. She too had approached the same organization in her quest for land with four (4) other persons. This is what she said:

We have not accessed land yet but we have been promised it here in Kuyasa because we requested it, we wrote a letter requesting land since we are students who are doing organic farming. So, we asked to be given land so that what we are studying, we don't stop at just studying, so that we can create our own garden and experience what we have been taught in our garden but we are still waiting. They told us to wait maybe they will call us then we will access land... we have not accessed land... we are still struggling at the present moment. (P.7, 2017)

The above quotes represent two cases of stand-alone women, who are not necessarily members of Kuyasa but who thought approaching the NGO would help them gain access to land for productive purposes. The NGO's evidently had little or no power to facilitate this kind of access to land for the women, as it never fulfilled their promise to facilitate access land on their behalf nor get back to them with feedback. Both participants felt that perhaps the reason why feedback never came back to them was due to their lack of commitment to continuously follow up with the NGO or lack of enthusiasm to seek assistance elsewhere. It is thus important to highlight that the NGOs in Kayamandi serve different functions within the community, and do not have the power or authority to ensure women gain access to land and productive resources. However, there is an organization such as Love 2 Give, which provides women with space to practice urban agriculture and gives them food parcels each month. The organization gained land space to operate through the primary schools in Kayamandi and they function within these parameters. Therefore, the only access to land and productive resources women have, among participants who are part of an NGO is through Love 2 Give. This access it just mere access to the organization to practice urban agriculture on the vegetation gardens made available by the school principals in Kayamandi.

4.3.1.2. Informal access to land

i. Peripheral mechanisms to grow crops by women of Kayamandi

This section discusses the peripheral mechanisms women of Kayamandi undertake to grow their crops. Although there is no access to land and productive resources by women in Kayamandi from the local municipality, all the women practice farming one way or the other. It has been mentioned already that there are those who practice urban agriculture in the community gardens provided by Love 2 Give. There are also women who practice home gardening but there are very few who have land space in their yards, and of those who do have space, it was very small. Most of the women who do not have space live in informal settlements where hence there is no space to grow food. Many also said the environment in which they live is not conducive to grow food due to overpopulation, and extremely filthy and unhygienic surroundings. As a result of this, a couple of women resorted to invading open land in a place quite distant from where they resided. This is what one participant had to say about this:

This one occasion, I saw a place that had land, and I went to plant there but it became clear that since I was far from the place, the children would go there and make a mess of everything when they play. So, I ended up stopping because the area was not fenced. So, I just saw a place and thought I could farm here, I bought seeds and planted. When the things grew, the children plucked them out (P.1, 2017).

This proved to be a failure for a number of reasons as expressed by the above participant. Firstly, the distance was a factor; secondly, the produce was not secure where she had planted because children had invaded the space which resulted in the plucking out of the crops. This was a common challenge among the women. Many had yards that were not fenced, and since they were not fenced their produced was always exposed to damage or theft by people. Nevertheless, of the women who had no space to grow crops, they had other ways of improvising up their sleeves. Some practised bucket farming, others would grow their crops on a wheel, and others grew crops on crates. See for example:

I don't have land where I stay because I live in Zone O [Informal settlement]. So, I would take a wheel and pour soil and place it on top of the shack... I will plant seeds in there and take 2 litres of water and water the seeds in that wheel (P.6, 2017).

While I was still living at my shack, where I would plant on a small piece this small ... [hand demonstration/] ... and I would plant even on wash buckets because I really wanted this (P.1, 2017)

There is no land... Even where I stay, the landlord doesn't want us to plant here. We must plant on crates. We put soil in them and plant vegetables but now I can't because I don't have seeds (P.5, 2017).

These are the measures some of the women undertook to grow food for the purpose of strengthening household food security. However, most of the women also stated that they did not receive any form of support for productive resources from government or elsewhere. A few women received support from Love 2 Give. The women mainly produced vegetables, such as spinach, carrots, onions, and beetroot, just to name a few. Many of the women who did not form part of Luv 2 Give sourced their own productive resources. They sourced things such as seeds, compost, water and basic tools such as a spade and fork spades. Below is an example of how women secured productive resources:

The water, when it rains I take pales and place them on the ground to gather rainwater for the purpose of watering the plants... the fertilizer, I usually make compost of peeled things on the side to enrich the soil... for example, the spinach if it bursts I wait for it to produce the seeds in itself when it comes out, I dry it, and then I plant it again (P.2, 2017)

This practice was common among many of the women. However, for all the women it was difficult to access these and other productive resources because they mainly lacked the money to procure them. This limited them from growing food by means of these mechanisms and made it even more difficult to secure food for their household.

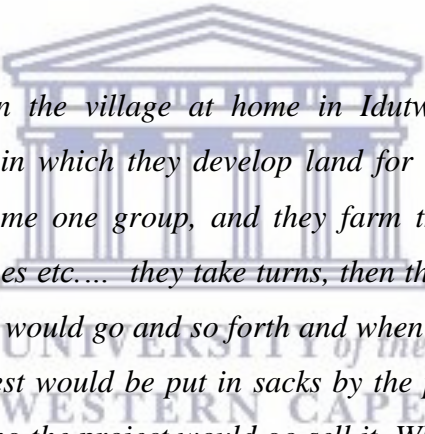
4.3.2. How ownership of land and productive resources shapes and changes women's access to and relationship with power

The operational definition of power denotes the process where those who had previously limited or no choice acquire the ability to make choices, and the possibility of alternatives (Kabeer, 1999). It shapes the kinds of freedoms people have, and power relates to human action and people's capacities to participate in shaping their own lives (Haward, 1998). The study found that there is very little that the women of Kayamandi are able to do and achieve with the means they currently have at their disposal. Although none of the women owned land or had access to land on a lease term basis, they claimed to know and understand how this kind of access might change women's lives and how it might shape their access to, and relationship with power at the personal, international and household level. In some cases, women's perspectives were based on their previous experiences with land in their native homes in the Eastern Cape where there are people who previously or presently have access to land. In other instances, the women spoke based on observed changes where other women have access to land and productive resources in places other than Stellenbosch. Some accounts were based on the little changes that manifest from the peripheral agricultural practices by women, which were discussed in the previous section. Thus, the following section discusses four dimensions that women in the study perceived to be shaped by women's access to land and productive resources, namely: economic power; psychological well-being, agency and social capital.

4.3.2.1. Economic power

Economic power can be defined as a state of having adequate productive resources that bestows the capacity to make and apply economic decisions and resources regarding how the productive resources are utilized (Blumberg, 2005). In other words, economic power is control over income and other important economic resources such as land (Blumberg, 2005). Many of the participants who participated in the study placed emphasis on how access to land and productive resources is crucial to attaining economic power. Most of the women stressed the importance of being productive and independent; for most of them, access to land and productive resources was crucial to achieving this state of being. Many of these women as presented in the demographics were unemployed and there were very few who engaged in economic activities. Of the few that did work, they stressed how their salaries did very little for them and their households. All the

women, including those who worked, those who did not work and those who depended on social grants, emphasized how difficult it was to get through the month because they never had sufficient money to secure food amid other expenses. Therefore, many perceived that acquiring land and productive resources would enable them to generate additional income so as to meet their subsistence needs and those of the household. None of the women were generating an income from their peripheral, small scale subsistence farming, but most of them expressed the desire to own or access land on a sustainable basis. For most of the women, they perceived such income generating agricultural activities in the context of collective farming, where they would access and make use of land and productive resources as a group of women, rather than as individuals. Many said they had seen this system work in the Eastern Cape, where such collective farming projects are run and have proven to be beneficial to all the women who are involved. This is what one participant had to say:



In the Eastern Cape, in the village at home in Idutwya, there are projects... The municipality has places in which they develop land for women to farm. Those women come together and become one group, and they farm that place. For example, plant cabbage, spinach, potatoes etc.... they take turns, then the next day other women would go, in the evening others would go and so forth and when the harvest is ripe, it would be harvested and that harvest would be put in sacks by the people. The cars would arrive, and then someone heading the project would go sell it. When the money comes, it will be deposited inside the bank and when you are about to start planting again, then the money would be divided among the women (FGD, 2017)

Although the prevailing perception among the women was that the Eastern Cape has better access to land and productive resources, many women felt that there were better work opportunities in the Western Cape, as well as better schools, and healthcare facilities and this propelled them to move to Stellenbosch. But, despite having moved to Stellenbosch, most of them for many years, they felt that their lives had not improved much due to unemployment and the lack of resources such as land and productive resources. Many said they had never been employed since they moved to Stellenbosch. Their children despite being educated were struggling to find employment. Even so, the women still believed that since there is easier

access to facilities such as the library and schools, their children stood a better chance of achieving their goals in the Western Cape than in the Eastern Cape. With regards to access to land in the Western Cape, Stellenbosch in particular, most of the women desired to have opportunities to engage in farming activities in Stellenbosch:

My wish is for the Municipality to give us a certain place to plant; enough land that is big for us to cultivate as women, and for each person to plant their own section because I know many women like me who are struggling to secure food. So, if we would get a place to cultivate... like for example, we see the Afrikaans who own plaas [commercial farms], they have their own plaas, which is big and they farm. Therefore, we wish we could get land as big as that so that we can plant for ourselves and develop it ourselves (P.1, 2017).

This desire was prevalent in most of the participants who participated in the study. The need for land and productive resources was stressed:

What makes us want land is that our satisfaction as women... we don't have husbands; we are raising children on our own. So, we wish to have something like a garden so that you can plant to raise these children. Pick vegetation and sell it and buy these children everything they need for school and educate the children (FGD, 2017)

This above quote is just but one example of the kinds of capabilities that women perceived would be realized if they had land that accrued them sufficient economic power. Some thought access to land and productive resources would open up spaces for the communities and rural towns to gain access to organic produce, which people currently have very little access to. Some women expressed that transportation is expensive, vegetables are expensive in grocery stores, which are sometimes not fresh, and if they owned organic produce farms, they would sell them cheaper within the communities, thereby making fresh vegetables easily accessible.

4.3.2.2. Psychological well-being

Psychological well-being refers to positive affective states such as happiness and operating with the best efficacy in individual and social life (Deci and Ryan, 2008). Huppert (2009: 137), summarize psychological well-being as “lives going well”. It is a combination of feeling good and functioning effectively. The study found that, among the women of Kayamandi, being productive on land for economic gain would have a powerful effect on women’s psychological well-being. Since most of the women were unemployed and those who depended on small salaries, they felt that access to land and productive resources would at least make them productive instead of sitting idly at home doing nothing. One woman stressed the importance of being productive on land. This is what she had to say:

Farming takes you away from a lot of things because you become busy. For example, at home, since we grew up planting, we never had time to wander around. We would have our own plots and you would see that we enjoy doing this thing. And you would see that the other person is jealous over the other, they would become rivals. So, there was no time to walk up and down on the streets doing naughty things. You would be busy with the garden, wake up in the morning, carry water, water the plants or whatever because you want your plot to be more beautiful than the next person’s, and the next person’s to be more beautiful than next person. In the end everyone benefits, we take those things and go sell them (P.3, 2017)

Having access to land and productive resources for the purpose of being productive became an important subject across all participants including senior representatives. Important views were shared by the senior representatives. This is what WFP had to say concerning the matter:

Access to land and productive resources gives women independence, economic independence. From our work we see that because women are dependent on their male partners, who are the main income earners, it opens them up to Gender-Based Violence (GBV). It makes them more vulnerable to gender-based violence because they will remain in that relationship because “I don’t have any other means”, “I’m a seasonal worker”. “I might not get other work”. “You’ve got permanent income”. So, if women

have access to land where they know that is their land, that is their house on that land and they can generate an income it gives them economic independence, it makes them less susceptible to gender-based violence and it's just...it gives them that sense of ownership... just brings a different level of confidence (Senior representative, WFP, 2017).

The relationship that women perceived to exist between economic independence and psychological well-being became a theme of great importance in the study. As can be seen from the quote above, this perspective was shared by both the women as well as some of the senior officials interviewed for the study. Many felt that their lack of land and productive resources, as well as their lack of money made them and their households vulnerable to social ills. This made them feel powerless, hopeless and their households become an unpleasant place to be:

Amid all this thing of being landless, our kids are being abused. In all of this the reason why we do not have power... Our children when they stand on the streets they are accused you will see the child running into the house.... All of this comes to the surface because there is no happiness in our households. Although you hear we don't have husbands but we do have children and grandchildren. So, we do not have power. We have lost power! This doesn't mean we lost the power to farm, we lost power! We've lost hope! (FGD, 2017)

These women also expressed a deep sense of anxiety; they feared for their children's lives because of the economic condition that they found themselves in. Since they did not have money and lacked other means to provide for the children, they fear their children would end up getting involved in criminal activities. Most of the participants believed this situation would change if they gained economic independence and were able to transform their homes into happy homes. Another woman felt that she would no longer have to stress if she had land and productive resources:

With my land, I wouldn't have any stress because should I want to plant whatever I want for my children and me, I plant it. I sell tomatoes and other vegetables and from the

profit, I can get the things I need for myself. So, with that, I get the power of my land (P.5, 2017)

The women believed that indeed access to and relationship with power would change, as seen in the example that is to follow of a real situation, which was observed by a senior official of the two female farmers that have access to leased land. The following changes were observed:

You can see the changes in the person's self-first, that self-esteem that's been boosted and that... you can see that look of independence...empowerment, I want to call it, yeah empowerment. [And] Also the energy, now they must work for themselves and they are determined and they are energetic and up for it. Motivated is another word. So, I think it a lot for one's self-image as well and that reflects down to the rest of the household. (Senior official, Stellenbosch Municipality, 2017)

The above quote is an example of what most of the female farmers in Kayamandi longed for in my study; they longed for a sense of independence, and a kind of power that would enable them to transform their personal lives and those of their children and households.

Despite the sense of despair that prevailed in many of our discussions about women's landlessness and economic disempowerment, the story was not altogether gloomy regarding the women of Kayamandi. Some of the women expressed positive feelings regarding land access and productive resources. They shared sentiments regarding how the small spaces they have in their yards and/or through means of improvisation, such as the wheel farming and bucket farming, shaped and changed their feelings of power. Most of the women felt that power rests in the state of feeling happy. The following is an example of how even the smallest access to land has a powerful effect on women's emotion- well-being:

You feel very good because things are there. You feel very good. Do you realize when you have something.... There is nothing fulfilling as helping another person... And think "even I Lord, I am important" ... I have this one thing; I can also share with another person and enable them to go cook [something for their families]. You feel really good

like something nice was poured through you because they are also eating because of your labor... the other family will eat because of your efforts, a wise woman! (P.3, 2017)

Below are examples of what women had to say about the access and aid they were receiving from Love 2 Give and the Legacy, which provides gardening space for women to grow crops:

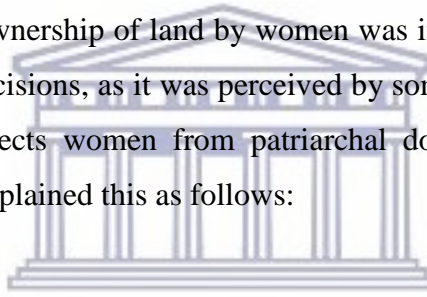
I sleep with the hope that I will wake up and go to the garden. When I get there, I will grab a few things and bring it back home. I make pap with my child and add a few potatoes, make relish and eat. We sleep having eaten. During the time I was not working for the NGO I didn't know when I wake up where I would go because I am not getting a job here in Kayamandi (FGD, 2017)

I felt good here [Legacy], I'd wake up in the morning at 6am and water the plants. That was something to me... You will feel good because that is in your heart and you are committed to eat. You are patient with it and you are dedicated. It will work out, you will feel happy because... you see with me when this place had plenty of spinach, and there would be a line of people queuing to buy spinach. I would feel good. I would feel good because the other person loves what I plant in the garden (P.6, 2017).

These examples above show the close relationship women of Kayamandi had with farming despite not having the kind of access to land and productive resources, which they desired in Stellenbosch. Among the women of Kayamandi, power was realized through feelings of happiness and their happiness was in farming, many said farming was close to their heart and brought them satisfaction as women. The women found fulfilment in producing food and seeing others within their households, neighbors and communities benefiting from what the work of their hands. The little that they did in their homes to produce crops and the access that they gained through the NGOs made them feel good, it gave them a sense of hope. It made them feel important in their relationships with others, with those whom they shared and those they fed in their households. The following section discusses agency as a form of power that is instrumental in women's lives.

4.3.2.3. Agency

Women's access to land and productive resources may not only have a positive effect on their psychological power, but may positively affect their agency as well. During the key informant interviews, it was found that land and productive resources shaped women's ability to exercise agency within the household and community. Central to this agency was the ability to make decisions. Women made a link between their agency and decision-making power. According to Kabeer (2005) agency signifies the processes by which individuals are able to make choices and put them into effect (Kabeer, 2005). It not only involves the ability to make decisions, but also encompasses "the meaning, motivation, and purpose that individuals bring to their actions; that is their sense of agency (Kabeer, 2005: 13). "Agency is a composite of access, capabilities and actions that shape whether women have influence over the polity or decisions about their private life and having influence with, over and through people" (Neil and Domingo, 2015). In the study, it became evident that ownership of land by women was important in order for women to exercise the agency to make decisions, as it was perceived by some that ownership of land was a powerful commodity that protects women from patriarchal domination in the household. A senior representative at WFP explained this as follows:



We've had men control... they dominate, but when women ... [pause] because of the type of training, we make them aware of patriarchal domination that they must resist where it's oppressing [them]. So, just by deciding what they can plant, we've heard numerous times where men want to decide what to plant and so and so, and then women will say, but this is my garden... because they are not dependent on the men for their seeds. So, I will decide what I plant, how I plant it and when I plant it (Senior representative, 2017).

Thus, a sense of ownership or tenure security was evidently perceived as giving women the power to make decisions in the household and made them more assertive regarding their control over resources such as land and productive resources. During the FGD with the women of Kayamandi, the women felt that ownership of land and productive resources would enable them to improve community life by tackling issues such as crime. However, the participants felt their

power to attend community meetings to tackle issues of crime and to make decisions concerning community life was undermined by hunger. This is what one participant had to say:

How can you go and talk about crime when you are hungry in your stomach? The moment when we are able to be food secure, we would be able to even fix the living situation because we would be food secure. We would even have monies to look for people who can help... but we can't... when you are a pauper that doesn't even have land you are stripped even of the right to make decisions. We can't make decisions about anything because we just see the sunset and wish that it never rises again (FGD, 2017).

The women felt if they would have gained access to land and productive resources, their quality of life, and that of family members and children would improve and they would be able to actively participate to effect positive change in the community of Kayamandi to fight drug abuse and crime, among other issues. The ability to make decisions within the household and community was closely linked to ownership of land and productive resources by the women of Kayamandi. As expressed by the senior representative of WFP, on the one hand, women's lack of these resources meant that they might be subjected to unhealthy patriarchal relations, where men make all the decisions even when it is not in the interest of the household. On the other hand, women may lack the power to make decisions regarding issues faced by the community due to hunger, which is a result of not having the means of production. The following section discusses how access to land and productive resources shaped and changed women's social capital within the household and community.

4.3.2.4. Social capital

According to Brehm and Rahm (1997: 999) "social capital is the web of cooperative relationships between citizens that facilitates resolution of collection action problems; although normally conceived as a property of communities, the reciprocal relationships between community involvement and trust in others is a demonstration of social capital in individual behaviour and attitudes" (1997: 999). What was common among all of the women of Kayamandi was the aspect of sharing produce with family, neighbors and people of the community. Most of

the participants shared the little that they produced for their households with others within the community. This sharing fostered good relationships with those with whom they shared. When the women were asked to share how they thought the people with whom they interacted within their households and community would treat them if they owned land; some expressed great frustration, which was evident in the tone and facial expression. This frustration was due to the failed attempts to access land and productive resources. As a result, some participants expressed sharply their unwillingness to engage this topic, as they felt access to land and productive resources land was just a dream that will never materialize in Stellenbosch:

The problem is you are talking about something that will never happen because we don't have any land, and we don't want to try and think about what would happen because ... we would be able to answer that question if we had land! (FGD, 2017).

Although there was this sense of deep frustration and reluctance to respond to the question at hand, most women did share their views concerning the matter. Many strongly believed that they would gain a lot of support, especially from their family members if they owned/ accessed land and productive resources. They also believed that people would treat them well. This perception was premised on the women's limited farming experiences, and what they had already observed happening in areas such as the Eastern Cape, where some of the women had access to land and productive resources. Most women said they had seen the way women's farming activities in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape aroused interest and attracted neighbors and people within the community. This is what one woman had to say in this regard:

People in the village become very happy. Because you will till the land, they will send young men to come and help you until your thing is stable. They become interested when you are going to have a land as well (P.6, 2017).

Ownership of land and productive resources for women was deeply understood as a resource that would attract other women, and people within the community to become productive as well. Another important aspect that was touched upon was unity and information sharing by women. The participants thought that having control and ownership of such resources unites women,

creating opportunities for them to work together and a platform for women to share ideas and experiences:

When we come together as women we share experiences and knowledge because as we share the experience we give each other advice and share ideas of how to make a living (FGD, 2017).

I think if we had access to this land we would work together and it would not just be of help to me and them only, it would be of aid to others. There are homes which I see are struggling, so I would be able to say to a woman “here is help this side, let’s go work in the garden and see if we can put things on the market and sell”, to ensure that our children are receiving proper development. (P.1, 2017).

Having access to resources such as land was regarded as a powerful instrument that would unite women, to give them some sort of economic power which they could utilize to improve their household living and the development of their children. However, many also felt that jealousy and envy was a major factor that hampered on this desirable and good progress such as the one described in the above excerpt. During the FGD most women felt that their dignity had been stripped away by hunger and poverty. Some women explained that hunger made people selfish, jealous and envious and that this impeded their potential to progress, both as individuals and as a collective within the community. In other words, the women perceived that their landlessness, poverty and deprivation eroded social capital in their communities. Thus, many believe that when women become united in their efforts to eradicate hunger, when they own land and farm as a collective that would build a relationship of trust among people:

When you farm all alone that’s when people will be jealous of you, but if we would unite in everything we do, there would be no jealousy in that; If we are selling things and sharing the money, and not the person to sell for themselves (FGD, 2017).

Framing it like that.... It makes people trust you... no one hungers in the village and other people can come to you for encouragement and you advise them and say, "when you do this way you will be successful" (P.3, 2017).

For others ownership of land and productive resources meant the return of their dignity as Black people and as women. The women also held a strong view that selfishness is a result of poverty and landlessness. They were certain that when people had land there never used to be this kind of jealousy and envy among Black people. These views were expressed in the following way:

Wow! We would come back to our roots, the old-fashioned way... It would be too good to be true! We would come back to our roots! Look at our people, even when they become thugs, poor people, and when they resort to robbery it is because of hunger. But we are still decent people. There is nothing decent as a Xhosa person and Black people. Those people are decent!! Our people's dignity would return. What we are fighting for is the dignity of our people! (P.8, 2017).

To give you an example my child, during the old times when our fathers had land when they were food secure, they would call even a person walking from afar and say "we are eating here come join us!" We were never jealous or selfish because you knew there is plenty of food even in the cellars. So, the reason things are like this is because of poverty/hunger.... You would invite people if you are eating, and go call the neighbors to share the cabbage; spinach etc.... All of this is caused by hunger (FGD, 2017).

Women further expanded on this notion of dignity by intimating that if they owned land, they would gain respect among those whom they serve in their household and within the community. Some women felt that they would have a voice and be able to rise above stereotypes about single mothers and women who are considered insignificant in society. Some felt ownership of land and productive resources would make them feel important and recognized in society, and others felt that they would make friends in high places and build networks with other farmers elsewhere by doing business.

4.3.3. New forms of power and the expansion of women's capabilities and achievements once they have access to land and productive resources

This section will be brief due to the fact that the women in my study did not have access to land and productive resources, nor did they know of other Black women who did in Kayamandi. Thus, in this section, I only discuss what the participants informed me they were able to do and achieve in the small spaces that they utilized in their yards, from the aid they received from NGOs and by means of improvising. Moreover, in some instances, I report on women's aspirations, including what they wished and hoped to do and achieve should they have access to land and productive resources. This section also draws a few insights from the senior representative of WFP and the senior official of Stellenbosch municipality.

In the capability approach, functionings refer to the state of being and doing; this is what people are able to do and achieve (Sen, 1992: 39). They are the various things one may value doing and being (Sen, 1999: 75). In the capability approach, Sen emphasizes people's capability to achieve valued functionings and the judgement of opportunity and one achieves what they have reason to value (Sen, 1993 cited in Gasper, 2007: 3410). The study found that most of the women of Kayamandi produced vegetable crops. The common vegetables they produced were: spinach, onions, carrots, cabbage and beetroot, among others.

i. Consumption power

All the women grew the crops for household consumption, and to share with their neighbors. Beyond consumption, there was very little that women could do with what they produced, since they lacked access to adequate land and productive resources. Many of the women wished they had other means of support such as employment and/or land and productive resources so that they would be able to fulfil the needs of the household. But, because many were unemployed and others earned small salaries where they worked, they found it rather difficult to get through each month. See for example this participant:

When I got the RDP house... So now I plant in front of it. I am doing it for myself, my objective is to get something to eat because the work that we do pays us very little money. So now you cannot achieve everything, I wish there was something else to support me.

So, by that planting, I am doing it to ensure that something comes in so that I have food to eat. I do not sell the produce but when I need vegetables I go to the garden; pick vegetables and we eat (P.1, 2017).

This was the case for many women of Kayamandi who participated in the study; they all produced for consumption but wished they produced enough to generate an income from their farming activities, so they would have an additional source of income. As previously mentioned, almost all of the women shared the produce that they harvested with their neighbors, family members and people in the community who sometimes came and asked for some. It is also important to note that a few women were completely unable to grow crops due to lack of space where they lived; these women were not able to alleviate hunger and food insecurity in their homes. These were interesting cases because, one woman was unable to farm because she had to sacrifice the small space she had, which was approximately 2 meters by 1 in size to extend a room at the shack where she stayed with her three children. Subsequently, that put an end to her gardening activities. Another woman was unable to produce because since she was a back-yard dweller; she was not permitted to grow crops on the space next to the Wendy house where she resided.

Similarly, another woman was confronted with a space problem, which meant that she had a little space for gardening and an equally inadequate space for housing her family. She contended though that she appreciated having her small vegetable patch, because she would not know how else to feed her children since she depended heavily on the garden for food. Nevertheless, all the women highlighted that the land they grow food from, whether in the yard, by improvisation or through NGOs, allowed them to use less of money on food and enabled them to direct resources to meet other needs of the household. This is what one woman had to say about this:

If you have a garden you know that you don't buy many things ... You only buy cooking oil, electricity and paraffin, things you just can't plant. Other things such as tomatoes if you can plant them you won't need anything. You will not need anything (P.3, 2017).

ii. **Balanced diet**

Some women said that in the Eastern Cape, in a situation where there was no money in the household to buy meat, for example, the vegetable crops they grew there, enabled them to barter with their neighbors in exchange for the meat they desired. Thus, some of the women believed that they would be able to do such a thing in Kayamandi if they had access to land and productive resources to produce sufficient crops for this purpose. The research also found that the women interviewed heavily relied on food parcels given by NGOs in the community, especially Love 2 Give. At Love 2 Give women received food parcels and fresh produce such as spinach, carrots, and beetroot among others. Many of the participants felt this aid was not enough and that it limited them as they needed greater quantities of food to be able to satisfy the needs of the household. Land and productive resources once again came up as key resources that would enable the women to achieve their desires. This is what the women thought land would enable them to do and achieve:

When you own land, you are able to farm, you are able to have a way to eat properly, you have power which when you have cooked at home your children will live and eat healthy food (FGD, 2017).



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All the women believed that ownership/access to land and productive resources would enable them to feed their families healthier meals and would enable them to serve their families a balanced diet.

iii. **Income security**

Many others confidently said that ownership/access to land and productive resources would generate an income for them, noting that they would sell the produce they made to secure an income. See for instance the example below:

I would farm, and after that sell the produce. Now, I can't sell from the small piece of land... If the land was big I would farm then afterwards sell the produce. Then there would be an income (P.1, 2017).

Many women believed that access to land and productive resources would open up opportunities for them to do business and trade, thus attracting tourists who might be interested in knowing Black people's heritage. Take for example what this participant said:

We are able to do livestock farming, we are able to do vegetation farming and.... If we would access land we would be able to invite people from foreign places... You see on those farms [/Stellenbosch/] they produce wine, isn't it? and tourist goes there to taste wine... We would also do something similar if we had large land there would be a lot we could do to attract people who want to see the beauty of our culture (FGD, 2017)

Power, in essence, means a person's power (enlarged choices) to achieve the desired end(s) is increased without limiting other persons from what is achievable on their part (Mosedale, 2005). The women saw many possibilities opening up, such as the one described by the participant above. Others said it would enable them to give back to the community in the following way:

It would make me very happy, and that would enable me to perhaps help disadvantaged children. To take them out of this thing of making up and down, I would place them in the farmland for us to work, and there be no person who will say I am hungry, who will say I don't have a job, a person who would be hungry is a person who would have chosen to because a person is given hands, here is farmland, no one will sleep hungry (P.2, 2017)

Many also said that with the produce that they would be producing and selling at the markets they would be able to further their children's education. Presently they cannot do that because they do not have money. The lack of money restricts women, for example in the following ways:

I don't have money to educate this child further to go to University or go to whatever place they want to go. I don't have money! (FGD, 2017).

We don't even go back home in December; we don't even go to the beach. We are stuck here. We just stop at peeping on the window when people go to the beach (FDG, 2017).

Access to economic opportunities would open other capabilities such as access to education. The women would be able to put their children through school, buy them proper school uniform and make sure that they visited their families during the school holidays, and also enable them to entertain them. Lack of money had devastating consequences for some of these women. One particular woman with tears in her eyes expressed her deep distress regarding her Grade 11 daughter who she discontinued at school because she was in arrears with her school fees. This is what she had to say:

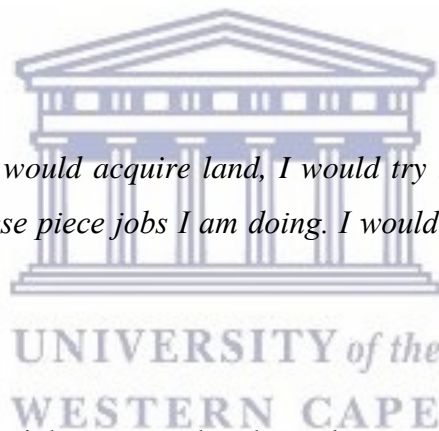
Even my child she stopped attending school this year because I have a debt of three years at the school, which was so high. I couldn't cover that amount. So, we decided to discontinue because I won't be able to pay it (P.1, 2017).

The desperation and need for access to land and productive resources were expressed across all the interviews by the women who participated in the study. All expressed their enthusiasm, deep passion and love for farming and they felt that they had a great responsibility towards their families, children and grandchildren. Others had uncertainties about their children's future who grow up in towns and cities. They wished they would have land and productive resources so that they would transfer the knowledge and skill to them. This would empower them to know how food is grown on land, but because they are in a township setting, where there have little or no access to land they are unable to do this. To prove this is an important point, a senior official at the municipality expressed the belief that if women had access to land and productive resources the knowledge would reflect down to the rest of the household and would be like a chain reaction. This is what the official had to say:

That would be like the whole new world I think if it can be that chain reaction. But it will be a positive reflection if I can call it that because if you take your knowledge and you spread it down to the people around you they'll be more aware of food security and the importance thereof on how to do it... (Senior official, Stellenbosch Municipality, 2017)

Most of the women were concerned that they would not have the opportunity to transfer this knowledge to their families and children. Others felt that if they had access to land and productive resources they would seek to increase and improve their knowledge of farming and get further experience other than what they currently knew. Take for example this one participant:

I would be ecstatic if I would acquire land, I would try to increase my knowledge and know more. I'd stop these piece jobs I am doing. I would try to cultivate/develop what I am doing (P.1, 2017)



The above shows that women might even undertake to learn more about farming and increase their skills to improve their farming activity. The following section discusses the new forms of power that emerge from women when they have access to land and productive resources.

4.3.4. How the empowerment of women through access to land and productive resources affects household food security

It is again important to note here that the women interviewed did not have access to land. As such, from the sample, the study cannot determine the effect of empowerment through access to land and productive resources on food security. Rather, the findings in this section document how the lack of access to land and productive resources further worsened the problem of food insecurity among the women in Kayamandi. This section describes how lack of land and productive resources affects access to food, affordability of food and food diversity.

4.3.4.1. Access to food

The women of Kayamandi described their struggle to secure food in different ways. The study found that female farmers in Stellenbosch, including their children and those whom they care for, experienced hunger one way or the other. Based on her experience with female farm workers, the senior representative at the WFP shared the following insight:

When we sit in the workshops women will share they don't have any food, they come to workshops, they leave their homes, leave their children and there's no food. [And] We did a survey in Roosenville and we found that 57% of household's experience hunger and the people most affected are the women because they will give...they will go without food to make sure the male partner because he works, he must eat. The children because they go to school and they are children, so they must eat so the mother will often go without food. (Senior representative, WFP, 2017)

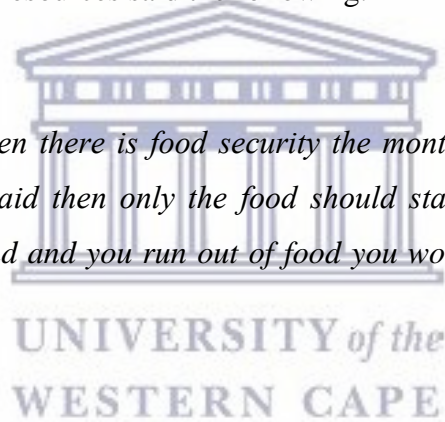
In the same way, a significant number of the women of Kayamandi described how the hunger affected their households. Most of the women referred to their children more than they did to themselves when talking about hunger. Food insecurity had devastating consequences on the children of some of these women. Recalling the woman whose child was discontinued at school, due to non-payment; she described the reasons her child expressed to her for no longer wanting to continue at the school she attended as follows:

The child would say, "I would starve the whole day and I would see other children going to buy everything, and I would have nothing, it's painful!". So, I decided if the child is saying "mama I am discontinuing I will look for a contract job". I said, "do as you see best but I was saying study, go to school". But I thought if she is going to study... a hungry mind can't grasp anything because you are hungry. Even the grade levels were dropping (P.1, 2017)

This finding further exposes the limitations of the National School Feeding Scheme which presently does not at all cater to poor children in secondary school.

Most of the women demonstrated a deep concern for their children's well-being and feared what they could possibly resort to, crime for instance, as a result of the hunger they experienced under their care. Although NGOs such as Love 2 Give provided food parcels to such women in an attempt to alleviate the food insecurity they experienced in their household's, many said they still struggled to feed their families and children. For those who did not form part of NGOs, who practiced home gardening, and who did wheel farming and so forth, they said it did very little to improve the food security of their households. The study also found that, for the women who were employed, their salaries were not enough to ensure that there was enough food in the household. For instance, one participant when asked about the state of food security in the absence of land and productive resources said the following:

There isn't because when there is food security the month must end with food... When you are about to get paid then only the food should start depleting.... Now when the month is nearing the end and you run out of food you would be already under immense strain. (P.3, 2017)



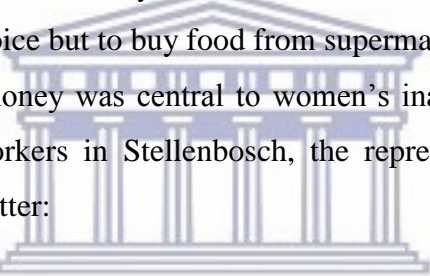
Many believed their struggle to secure food was due to lack of land and productive resources. The small plots in which some women lived provided little means of subsistence. The women felt if they had better access to land they would be able to grow more food. See for instance this participant:

Not accessing land makes it difficult because you are unable to do what you are thinking of. Small land is as good as nothing. Because it is difficult to always search your pocket to buy, even something that is useless, you were supposed to be doing it with your own hands (P.4, 2017)

The above quote is representative of the sentiments which most of the participants who sought to access land and productive resources for the purpose of strengthening household food security shared. Many believed if they would have access to land and productive resources the state of food security in their households would improve, and they would not have to dig in deep in their pockets for money they did not have, to secure food for their families. The following section discusses the aspect of not having enough money to secure food by the women of Kayamandi.

4.3.4.2. Affordability of food

Defra (2008) describes affordability as food that is available to people at a price that they can afford to pay and where even if low-income consumers can afford adequate nutritious food. The study found that all the women could not afford to buy food from supermarkets and local markets. Many said, food was expensive and they could not afford to buy food in town amid other costs such as travelling. Because they did not have land and productive resources, others said, they did not have much choice but to buy food from supermarkets and local markets despite having little income. Lack of money was central to women's inability to secure food for their families. Representing farm workers in Stellenbosch, the representative of WFP, shared the following view regarding the matter:



During off-season time, there's very little food in the houses of farm workers, seasonal farm workers and they are dependent on child support grants to provide for food. (Senior representative, WFP, 2017)

This captures the essence of what the women of Kayamandi go through. In like manner, though not farm workers, many depend on the child support grant, some on the old age grant to buy food. Some women earn very little income and many others have no source of income to provide food for their households. It is in view of this that the women believed that access to land could reduce food insecurity and would at least enable them to feed their families healthier meals that are fresh: This is what one participant said during the FGD:

We would feed our families food that's fresh, that comes out of the garden because we don't even have these monies to buy immune boosters. But when you eat these green things that come from the garden with its strength in it, it means immune boosters are there and your immune system becomes strong... we can't... to tell you the truth we can't! (FGD, 2017)

4.3.4.3. Dietary diversity of food

Dietary diversity is an important component of food security. Dietary diversity refers to the different food groups consumed by people in a given time (Yoannes, 2002). The number of different food groups consumed reflects better quality of food and provides a wide range of nutrients, therefore, ensures dietary sufficiency (Swindale and Bilinsky 2006; Kallman 2012). For, Kallman (2012) a diverse diet provides a wide range of nutrients and thus ensures dietary sufficiency. All the participants were asked to describe their ideal plate for breakfast, lunch and supper if they were to afford anything they wanted. There were similarities in the ideal plates that were described by the different participants. For breakfast, for example, most women mentioned; corn-flakes, eggs and bacon or sausages, and juice or coffee. Lunch consisted of lamb or beef, with salads or vegetables, and supper consisted of lamb or beef, with vegetables. However, most, if not all the women expressed that there was a huge gap between the ideal plates and the actual plates that they were currently consuming in their households, especially when it came to meat products. Most of the women said, on many occasions, they consumed whatever was available in the house, and they did not have much of a choice in terms of what they consumed. One participant during a Focus Group Discussion explained:

You eat what you can get! If they say here's animal's intestines it's R5 you run and go get it. We don't have decision making power of I feel like eating eggs or I feel like eating livers because livers are healthy. No! We just run to get intestines for at least the aroma and to have something with fat, so it can go down the throat. We don't have a choice of better food (FGD, 2017).

Some women described the state of food in their household in the following ways:

Even if you arrive and give me bread... You will not give me everything that my heart desires. When you hunger, you crave everything. But you can't afford it. You eat bread and drink water you will be full but the heart will remain to yearn. The stomach is not the problem it will keep whatever it is fed (FGD, 2017).

Its far {the gap} because we are like vegetarians at home while we are not! ... Sunday, I wake up while everyone is sleeping and cook rice and go to the garden, pick vegetables and cook, eat and go to church. So, we are like vegetarians. We do it just to have something in the stomach ... you see because I have this spinach because it is the only proper relish I have. So, it is extremely difficult because you constantly eat the same thing every day! (P.1, 2017)

While others felt there was little or no improvement in the state of food security in their household and what was being consumed, some recognized the difference a bit of land space in their yards made in terms of what they consumed in the household, especially women who moved from informal settlements to RDP houses. One participant said:

There were times where there would be no food. For example, there is this other time where I was staying with my daughter who is as old as you. Her job had expired where she worked. So at that time, we had nothing to cook until another Christian lady gave us some samp. After, giving us the samp it was difficult to get fats to pour in the samp. We boiled the samp on the stove and after that, we looked at each other and wondered what we would have with it. There was the samp in front of us, white as pap! So, I would say, in that piece of land [in the yard] we got to plant this spinach, although we depend on it at least it makes the plate look greenish... (P.1, 2017)

The above quote is indicative of the notable difference a small yard space can make, in that it provided a solution to what would be consumed with the samp. The spinach at least brought some color to their meal, as the participant described. But, even there, there was still food

insecurity and minimal food diversity in the household. Many attributed this food insecurity, to a few factors, mainly; lack of money, unemployment and lack of land and productive resources. However, many felt that access to land and productive resources would be the chief solution to this problem of food insecurity and they would not have to worry about income either as they would be generating it for themselves.

4.4. Conclusion

In conclusion, this study found that the major challenges affecting female farmers of Kayamandi from achieving household food security were lack of land and productive resources. This was attached to other challenges such as lack of awareness and knowledge regarding how land is accessed in Stellenbosch. Failure in attempt to access land from the local municipality resulted in participants experiencing feelings of hopelessness and apathy. Moreover, the breakdown in communication between the municipality of Stellenbosch and the women was found to be a major challenge that contributed to women's lack of access to land and productive resources. Despite the lack of land and productive resources, the women undertook other mechanisms to grow food; some practiced home gardening, wheel and bucket farming and crate farming. Others practised farming in community gardens made available by an NGO called Love 2 Give for women to grow crops. The study found that many women were able to feed their families from the little that they were able to produce, but it did not improve the state of food security in their households, as many women experienced hunger in their households. Lack of land and productive resources, and lack of money was found to be a major factor that undermined women's power to achieve their desired ends, and limited their agency to transform their desires into the outcomes they wanted to see in their lives, households and beyond.

5. CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Introduction

This study aimed to empirically examine the lived experiences of female farmers in Stellenbosch in terms of access to land and productive resources, and the implications this kind of access has on women's empowerment and household food security. The findings of this research suggest that land is an extremely important resource for women as it is closely linked to livelihoods and food security. Despite this importance, none of the women interviewed in this study had access to land. Importantly, the findings suggest that government has a crucial role to play to ensure that women gain access to the means of production, mainly land. Presently, the majority of the land in Stellenbosch is in the hands of White commercial farmers. The findings also suggest that subsistence farming where many women are largely found is less prioritized by local government. Local government processes and/or policy implementation have failed to ensure that women access land and productive resources in Stellenbosch.

Amid the challenges of access to land and productive resources was poor communication between the Stellenbosch municipality and the women of Kayamandi. This resulted in the lack of knowledge among women of Kayamandi regarding the processes of accessing land through the local government institutions. Consequently, some women turned to NGOs, where they received little or no help as NGOs proved to have no power to facilitate such access to land for the women of Kayamandi. The findings also suggest that NGOs such as Love 2 Give play a vital role in the empowerment of women in Kayamandi. Love 2 Give supported many women through their school gardening programme and distribution of food parcels in an attempt to combat hunger and food insecurity affecting women and children of Kayamandi. Women who did not form part of NGOs resorted to peripheral mechanism of growing crops such as wheel farming, bucket and crate farming. Despite these methods of support, many women experienced food insecurity in their households. In essence, the major contributing factors that were found to contribute to food insecurity experienced by women of Kayamandi were lack of land, lack of money and unemployment.

This chapter will provide an in-depth analysis and interpretation of the research findings presented in Chapter 4. It will explore the findings within the context of the capabilities approach

and other themes explored in the literature review. The final sections will then draw conclusions and provide recommendations.

5.2. Access to land and productive resources by female farmers in Stellenbosch

In the previous chapter, access to land was defined as the ability to utilize land and control resources, transfer rights to the land and take advantage of other opportunities (Haque 2009). Likewise, access to productive resources means “the opportunity to use, manage and control resources” (India, 2010:1). The findings of this study established that female farmers in Stellenbosch and particularly of Kayamandi had no access to land for productive purpose either by means of ownership or lease agreement. Some women made several attempts to access land through the municipality but failed in their attempts due to the failure of the municipality to provide land. This led to feelings of hopelessness and apathy to access land through the municipality among the women of Kayamandi. The findings of this research coincide with Anusan and Kgotleng’s (2015) argument that women are not benefiting from land policies that should facilitate access to land by women in South Africa. It is the position of this thesis that everywhere in South Africa, women have difficulty accessing land and productive resources. Stellenbosch is one clear case of the difficulties women undergo in their endeavors to access land. These difficulties are evidenced by the poor representation of women who have access to land in the whole of Stellenbosch, where only 2 of 10 smallholder farmers are women and not even a single woman is from Kayamandi. Government policies and practices lack targeting policies to ensure women gain access to land and productive resources.

In this study, women’s lack of access to land was also influenced by poor communication between the Stellenbosch municipality and the women of Kayamandi regarding the processes of accessing land. This finding is line with Twala’s (2014) argument, that, often times, women’s “*power to*” act may be undermined by a lack of information or community support, even when there are supportive programmes and services to help women in their communities. Lack of access to information was a strong subject in this study. Many women did not know what processes they could possibly follow and where they could receive assistance regarding access to land and productive resources. As a result, many women turned to Love 2 Give for support, where they practised urban agriculture in school gardens. Others resorted to informal methods to grow crops, mainly on open land, wheel, crates and buckets to provide food to their families.

However, women had many challenges regarding the maintenance of this kind of production because they could not often procure farming inputs such as compost, seeds, and fertilizers. Many of the women lived in unfenced houses or informal settlements. Thus, often times, they would not reap the fruits of their production due to theft and vandalism. The findings of this study suggest that even in light of government's unresponsiveness to provide access to land and resources support, the poor women of Kayamandi are not passive but rather seek and undertake other ways to grow food to feed their families despite all the odds.

Land and productive resources were found to be owned and leased largely by White- male owned commercial farms within Stellenbosch. The findings suggested clearly that there is huge interest in farming and a profound need for land by the women of Kayamandi as many made attempts to access land and productive resources through formal and informal means. These findings are consistent with Hart and Aliber's (2012) argument that women are less prioritized when it comes to agricultural support in small-holder farming in South Africa and that access to agricultural support largely favors well-resources large-scale farmers and neglects a gender-oriented form of support.

In light of the capabilities approach, opportunity structures form the basis of what enables or prohibits actors to become effective (Samman and Santos, 2009). The opportunity structure consists of the broader institutional, social and political context premised on formal rules and informal rules and norms from within which actors pursue their interests (Samman and Santos, 2009). These structures are important as they allow people to convert their asset base into effective agency, by means of equitable rules, and expansion of entitlements, which is a requirement for empowerment. Local government is one such example of an opportunity structure, best positioned within communities and well-placed to respond to local needs, interests and expectations of communities (Koma, 2010). However, the finding of this study suggests that Stellenbosch municipality has been unresponsive to the needs of women of Kayamandi in terms of access to land and productive resource. Women's productivity and ability to produce food for the purpose of strengthening household food security is hampered by the fact that they lack access to land and productive resources.

The findings of this study are unique in terms of patriarchy. Literature regarding patriarchy posits that within patriarchal societies, communities and households, it is difficult for women to gain access to land, as patriarchy prescribes that men are heads of families and thus the only legitimate owners of assets with high symbolic capital such as land. As such, in such settings, women who do gain access to land, do so through marriages, family ties or inheritance (Ngomane, 2016). Access is agreed upon through kinship which may be in the form of marriage, father or male relatives (Ngomane, 2016). These findings of this study differ in some respects for a couple of reasons. Firstly, Stellenbosch municipality owns the majority of land and therefore the land is accessed through the state institution. Secondly, the majority of women sampled in the study headed their households' singlehandedly and all of the responsibilities of the household rested upon the women in the absence of male figures. Thus, in this context patriarchy arguably is mediated within the institutional body of government, and necessarily within the community or household, bearing in mind that this case is situated within an urban setting rather than a rural one, where men may gain such privileges over women as described by Ngomane (2016). The problem of lack of access to land and productive resources in this study is rather structural in nature and is facilitated by institutions such as Stellenbosch municipality. Structural inequalities posit a major challenge for women to access land and productive resource as small-scale farmers. This bias in the land restitution and retribution continues to favour White farmers who produce at a large scale for a surplus, placing little or no priority on the women who practise subsistence farming for household food security. This challenge was recognised in Taylor and Chagunda's (2016) study, who stressed the need for government institutions to proactively respond to issues of access to land, and particularly on women's unequal access by implementing changes in policies on land restitution and redistribution. This is especially important given the growing number of female-headed households in South Africa, as evidenced in the study, where the majority of women were heading their households with little means to provide for their families.

5.3. Implications for women's empowerment

The study adopted Kabeer (2005:13) conceptualization of women's empowerment using three interrelated dimensions namely: agency, resources and achievements. Agency stands for the process by which choices are made and implemented. Resources stand for the means through which that agency is put into effect; and the outcomes of agency is the achievements (Kabear,

2005: 13). Empowerment generally entails that one considers, firstly, whether an opportunity exists to make a choice; secondly, whether the individual or group makes use of the opportunity to choose; and lastly whether the choice brings about the desired outcomes (achievement of choice). The operational form of power in this study is 'power to' which refers to people's ability to make and act on their choices (Kabeer, 2005: 14). The findings of this study revealed that lack of land and productive resources undermined women's empowerment to exercise agency and achieve desires. Land is an economic resource that all the women of Kayamandi lacked. As a result, many women lacked the capability to be productive on land to achieve household food security and income security.

According to Samman and Santos (2009) agency is strongly determined by the individual assets people own (such as land, housing, livestock, savings) and various types of capabilities (good, health and education), social (social belonging, a sense of identity, leadership relations) and psychological (self-esteem, self-confidence, the ability to imagine and desire a better future), and people's collective assets and capabilities such as voice, organization, representation and identity. The findings of study suggest that many women of Kayamandi desire improved livelihoods and a sense of stability, which they believed land and productive resources would provide. However, besides women's lack of land and productive resources, many were unemployed and had no source of income that would enable them to achieve improved quality of life and household food security.

All women in the study loved farming; they possessed the practical skill and experience in farming. However, the findings also revealed that many had low levels of education and this contributed to lack of work opportunities and inability to secure steady incomes. This also suggests that the women are limited in the kinds of economic activities they could possibly engage in. Of the women who were employed in the study, they mainly engaged in child care work or feeding schemes which paid them very little money. These factors perpetuate food insecurity experienced by these women and children under their care. The findings established that due to hunger amid other factors such as unemployment, children resort to crime such as theft and robbery and women become vulnerable to GBV and unhealthy patriarchal relations.

Based on what the women reported about their aspirations, the findings of the study suggest that women's access to land and productive resources may contribute to strengthening women's economic independence, self-reliance, social status and power. Moreover, the study suggests a link between access to land and the psychological well-being of women, in that women's access to land and productive resources was perceived to contribute to happiness and self-efficacy in their individual and social life. Based on the key informants' experiences and their observations, access to land and productive resources was thought to increase the confidence of women and personal autonomy. One of the two women who had access to land and productive resources was able to exercise her agency and made decisions regarding how the land would be utilized within the family setup. This shows that land is instrumental to women's ability to exercise agency within the household and community.

In addition, the study suggests that the practice of farming builds social capital and fosters a sense of community among women. When this happens, people may be more able to engage in discussions and activism aimed at building healthy and safe communities. These findings are consistent with Slaters (2001) study, which found that through gardening activities, women's social networks became stronger and fostered a sense of community. It was also found that women who cultivated land gained a sense of stability through urban agriculture in the form of urban gardens. In terms of power relations, women through the cultivation of vegetables, gained a sense of self-worth as they were able to feed and nourish their families. Unemployed women felt "less dependent on their working husbands when they could contribute in a tangible way to the sustenance of the household" (Slater 2001b: 18). Among women who practised gardening, be it in groups or as individuals, the evidence strongly pointed out that through these agricultural activities, they became empowered in their households and in the wider community (Slater 2001b). Moreover, the study suggested that women who farmed as groups become empowered beyond their households and took it upon themselves to tackle social and political issues that affected them and their communities.

5.4. Implications on household food security

One of the thesis project's main objectives was to understand how access to land and productive resources may shape household food security. The link between women's access to land and productive resources and household food security was clearly discussed in Chapter 1. It was

shown that women utilize land for productive purposes mainly to secure food for the household. In this study, since women of Kayamandi did not have access to land and productive resources, many depended on NGO support, mostly on Love 2 Give, an organisation that provides women with food parcels and access to school gardens to grow vegetable crops. The crops are shared among the women during harvest time and are used to supplement the diets of the respective families. The findings of this study have shown that the NGO Love 2 Give, through involving women in this type of farming, contributed to the improved diets of the women, even though it did not guarantee them adequate food supply for their households.

In addition, many women in the study relied on social grants, namely, the child support grant, disability grant and the old age grant. They also relied on remittances for their survival. Others relied on what they described as “small salaries” which they received from their employers. The social grants and small salaries evidently did not provide enough food to ensure food security in the households. The women also reported struggling to meet other expenses such as transportation fees, school supplies for the children, and electricity. These findings attest to Van der Merwe’s argument (2011) that poor urban households over and above the lack of land, cannot afford to buy food from food suppliers. This is due to the low levels of income and lack of opportunities, and places women and children at a greater risk of food insecurity and vulnerability (van der Merwe, 2011).

In the capability approach, one of the fundamental concepts that is key in order to achieve desired ends by individuals or groups is conversion factors. According to Robeyns (2005) conversion factors are personal, social and environmental variables that prohibit people from realizing their functionings (what people are able to do and achieve). The findings of this study suggest that apart from access to land and productive resources, lack of space within women’s yards was a factor that prevented women from functioning. Very few women were able to practice home gardening for the purpose of providing food for their households. For those who were able to grow crops, it was difficult for them to maintain this practice as they lacked money and support to procure resources such as seeds, compost fertilisers just to name a few. For women who lived in informal settlements, one of the major obstacles that prevented them from cultivation was the environment. It was described as filthy and not conducive to food production. Even if they were to have some space or improvisational methods, the unhygienic environment

within and around the informal settlements would likely undermine their ability to successfully grow food.

In addition, the study revealed that the majority of women of Kayamandi earn between R1000-3500 per month, which is below South Africa's living wage. This finding, coupled with the factors highlighted above that prevented women from engaging in cultivation, was said to have devastating consequences for women and children's nutrition. Families were said to go without food, and when they did eat, the food was not always nutritious or good in taste. Children were said to starve in some homes and go to school without anything to eat. One of the participants shared about a child who discontinued school because she lacked food and money to settle outstanding fees. The parent described the child's disdain for school, because of the pain of going to school on an empty stomach and seeing others eating while s/he had nothing. The threat of hunger was thought to be far-reaching for many households. It was perceived that hunger increased the likelihood of children resorting to criminal activities and abuse of drugs. Women become affected by this psychologically; they experienced emotional trauma when they witnessed the suffering of their children.

5.5. Limitations of the study

The results of this study may be limited in their representation of the female-farmers in Stellenbosch who practice subsistence farming for household food security, as I have only presented perceptions and lived experiences of a small sample of women, mainly from Kayamandi. Perspectives from key-informants from the local municipality, WFP and Love 2 Give were very useful in terms of providing an organisational and institutional point of view. They provided important insights regarding initiatives, processes, challenges, policies and programmes that exist concerning this topic in Stellenbosch. However, the study was limited in terms of representation of other key institutions such as the Department of Agriculture.

The study was also limited regarding representation of the male voices in relation to the topic. Male respondents were deliberately not included because the study only sought to report on women's experiences. This limited perhaps a very important gender contrast between lived experiences of males and females within Stellenbosch. Future studies could possibly strive to

gain a more rounded understanding of male and female experiences of accessing land and productive resources, and perhaps also do a comparison between urban and rural cases.

5. 6. Conclusion

This study has been motivated by the need to understand the lived experiences of female-farmers in terms of access to land and productive resources, and the implications this kind of access has on women's empowerment and household food security. The study showed that access to land and productive resources is vital to achieve household food security and improve women's economic dependence. It is worth noting that although access to land and productive resources may not exclusively be the only way to improve women's food security and economic situation, it can serve as a starting point to securing food and possibly generating incomes for poor women of urban households.

Women have difficulty accessing land and productive resources. The government has a crucial role to play in ensuring that women gain access to land and productive resources for productive purposes. Communication and access to information regarding the process and procedures of acquiring land and other resources and support services need to be improved in order to enhance participation by women at all levels.

Women are still excluded from decision-making structures of society and often become alienated from this kind of power in the household. The fundamental problem is structural inequalities between men and women, evidenced in the uneven access to resources, mainly land, which translates into uneven power relations between men and women in the household and in the market place. The unevenness is perpetuated by local authorities, state institutions, and by the failure of policies to redress the imbalance.

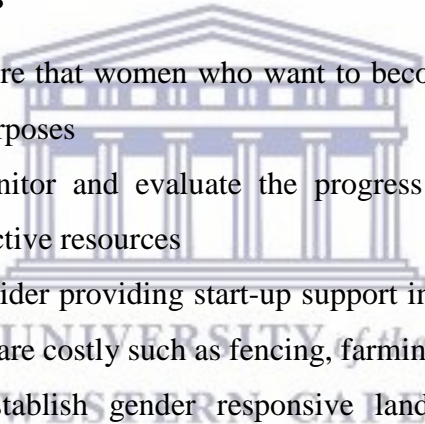
The study also showed that empowerment can be explored using three interrelated dimensions; agency, resources and achievements (Kabeer, 2005). These dimensions are critical to examine women's empowerment and household food security. In addition, there are other socioeconomic factors that also determine the food security statutes, mainly women's incomes, social grants and remittances.

In order for women to be able to take control and ownership of their lives, they must have a range or set of opportunities to choose from and this process is known as human development, which is defined as “a process of enlarging people’s choices” (Strandburg, 2001). Secure access to land is essential when considering the question about women’s empowerment and household food security. Women’s capabilities and ability to make choices when choosing livelihood strategies would be increased by secure access to land and productive resources. Moreover, women’s access to land and productive resources may promote activism within communities, increase their social status and possibilities in income generating strategies.

5.8. Recommendations:

The following recommendations are suggested based on the findings of the study:

Government recommendations

- 
- Government should ensure that women who want to become farmers gain secure access to land for productive purposes
 - Government should monitor and evaluate the progress made in enhancing women's access to land and productive resources
 - Government should consider providing start-up support in terms of productive resources especially resources that are costly such as fencing, farming equipment and tools.
 - Governments should establish gender responsive land administration systems that enhance women’s participation at all levels and mainstream gender in land administration system

Women’s empowerment:

- Agencies seeking to empower subsistence farmers should consider targeted interventions for empowering female farmers, and women who are interested in farming within poor urban communities, based on their socio-economic statuses and food security
- Improving women’s agency should be considered by empowerment agencies, in order to strengthen women’s ‘inner drive’ needed to pursue independent livelihoods and attain food security.
- Empowerment agencies should deliver training designed to enable female farmers who farm individually or in groups, to acquire management and financial management skills.

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7. APPENDICES

7.1. APPENDIX 1: Demographic questionnaire

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE FOR KEY INFORMANT

Name (Optional).....

Organisation.....

Age of participant.....

Position held

Years in office.....



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7.2. APPENDIX 2: Demographic questionnaire

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FGD/INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW

SECTION ONE: BACKGROUND INFORMATION				
S/N	Question	Reponses Categories	√	Codes
1	Migration History	Born in Kayamandi Settlement		1
		Migrated from another town		2
		Migrated from a rural area		3
		Other Specify.....		4
2	How long have you lived in Kayamandi?	Less than one year		1
		1-3 years		2
		4-6 years		3
		7-9 years		4
		10+ Years		5
3	What is your gender?	Male		1
		Female		2
4	What is your age?	Less than 18 years		1
		18-24 years		2
		25-31 years		3
		32-38 years		4
		39-45 years		5
		46-52 years		6
		53-59 years		7
		60+ years		8
5	What is your marital status?	Single		1
		Married		2
		Widowed		3
		Separated or Divorced		4
6	What is your highest level of education?	No formal education		1
		Completed Primary		2
		Completed Secondary Level		3
		Completed Matric		5
		Completed Vocational Education		6
		Completed University		7
7	What is your current employment status?	Not employed		1
		Self-employed		2
		Employed		3
		Part- time employed		4
8	What is your main source of income?			
9	Main economic activity?			
10	What is your monthly Income?	Between R0-500		1
		Between R500-1000		2

		Between R1000-3000		3
		Between R3000-6000		4
		Above R6000+		5
		Other Specify:.....		6
	Including yourself, how many people are in your household?			
	How many children?			
	How many of these children are your own?			
10	Including yourself, does anyone in your household receive a social grant or government relief?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes		1
		<input type="checkbox"/> No		2
		<input type="checkbox"/> Do not know		3
11	If the answer to Q10 is yes, please specify the number and type of grant(s)			



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7.3. APPENDIX 3: Individual interview guide

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW DISCUSSION GUIDE

Study topic: Access to land and productive resources among female farmers in Stellenbosch: implications for women's empowerment and household food security

Instructions for conducting the in-depth individual interview

- 1. Introduction of the study to the interviewee:** Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. This research project is being conducted as part of my course requirements for the completion of a Master's degree in Development Studies. This research intends to explore the lived experiences of female farmers in Stellenbosch in terms of access to land and productive resources, and the implications this kind of access has for women's empowerment and household food security. The interview shall take between 45 minutes to one hour.
- 2. Interviewee Consent:** The interviewee will be provided with a copy of the information sheet on the study. The researcher will go through and explain to the interviewee all the items on the information sheet and the informed consent form in the native language. The interviewee will be asked to sign a consent form to participate in the interview. One copy of the informed consent form will be given to interviewee and a second copy will be kept by the researcher. Permission will be sought from the interviewee to audio-tape the interview; only if the interviewee grants permission will the interview be audio-taped.
- 3. Demographic data:** Anonymous demographic data from the interviewee shall be collected. The interviewee shall be asked to complete a brief questionnaire prepared for this purpose. If the interviewee is unable to read and write, the researcher shall assist her in filling in the demographic data form.
- 4. Rules:**
 - There are no right or wrong answers
 - Feel free to ask me a question to clarify anything that you do not understand

Discussion guide

Theme One: Access to land

1. Tell me about yourself, how did you become a female farmer and how has that experience been for you?
 - 1.1. Tell me about your experiences of acquiring land and productive resources: How did you go about it?

- 1.2. What were the barriers and challenges that you experienced in the course of trying to acquire land for productive purposes?
- 1.3. Tell me about the type of land tenure that you have and the size of the land
- 1.4. What are you able to do now that you have land that you were not able to do before? Why?
- 1.5. What opportunities and possibilities have opened up since you acquired land? Why?
- 1.6. How has it changed your life to acquire & own land as an individual and as a woman?
- 1.7. Tell me about your life here at home: what has changed since you became a land owner?
- 1.8. How has your relationship with the other members of your household, for instance husband/partner, parents, siblings, children, in-laws, been since you acquired land?
- 1.9. What has changed in terms of how you feel about yourself and how you view yourself?
- 1.10. What is your experience of power in your life right now and how does it compare to when you did not have land or productive resources?

Theme Two: Productive resource for household production

2. As a female farmer; tell me what do you grow on your land?
 - 2.1. What access do you have to productive resources such seeds, fertilizers, water, and extension training or any other extension service? How do you access these productive resources and how often are you able to access them?
 - 2.2. What do you do with the produce you harvest?
 - 2.3. What are your other sources of livelihood?

Theme Three: Household Food Security

3. Imagine you could afford anything; what would be your ideal plate for breakfast, lunch and supper? What would you have on your plate?
 - 3.1. How close is your ideal to the actual plate that is consumed by you and your household? If there are major gaps between the ideal and the actual, how do you account for those gaps?
 - 3.2. In terms of the groups of food that are consumed by your household, what would you say is the difference between what you consumed before you acquired land and now that you have land?
 - 3.3. In terms of the food that is consumed in the household, what decision-making power do you have?
 - 3.4. Thinking about the access to land and the productive resource currently at your disposal, how would you say they have improved food security in your household?
 - 3.5. Before you had access to land and productive resources what was the level of food security in your household and how is it now?

Closing questions:

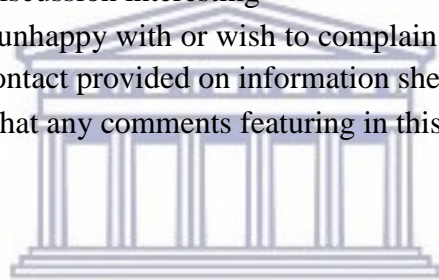
- When was the last time you felt powerful? Why?
- When was the last time you felt least powerful? Why?
- To what extent are your feelings of power shaped by your experience of owning or failing to own land?
- What do you think can be done by government to improve the food security of female famers and their household who engage in household production?

Probes for discussion

- Asset acquisition?
- Social barriers?
- Structural barriers?
- Access to productive resources?

Thank you for participating. This has been a very successful discussion

- Your opinions will be a valuable asset to the study
- I hope you have found the discussion interesting
- If there is anything you are unhappy with or wish to complain about, please speak to me later or contact my supervisor (contact provided on information sheet)
- I would like to remind you that any comments featuring in this research will be anonymous



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7.4. APPENDIX 4: Focus group discussion guide

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Study topic: Access to land and productive resources among female farmers in Stellenbosch: implications for women's empowerment and household food security

Instructions for conducting the focus group discussion

5. **Introduction of the study to the participant:** Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. This research project is being conducted as part of my course requirements for the completion of a Masters degree in Development Studies. This research intends to explore the lived experiences of female farmers in Stellenbosch in terms of access to land and productive resources, and the implications this kind of access has on women's empowerment and household food security. The focus group discussion shall take between 45 minutes to one hour.
6. **Participant Consent:** Participants will be provided with a copy of the information sheet on the study. The researcher shall go through and explain to the participants all the items on the information sheet and the informed consent form in the native language of the participants. Participants shall be asked to sign a consent form before taking part in the focus group discussion. One copy of the informed consent form shall be given to participants and a second copy shall be kept by the researcher. Consent will be sought from participants to audio-tape the focus group discussion, and the voluntary nature of the study will be emphasized.
7. **Demographic data:** Anonymous demographic data from focus group participants shall be collected. Simple questionnaires prepared for this purpose will be handed out and then collected at the end of the focus group discussion. For participants who are unable to read and write, the researcher shall assist them in filling in the demographic data.
8. **Ground rules:** Ground rules will be negotiated with participants at the start of each focus group discussion, where the researcher and participants will give inputs on the rules they want to govern the discussion. The researcher will give the following input:
 - The most important rule is that only one person speaks at a time. There may be a temptation to jump in when someone is talking but please wait until they have finished.
 - There are no right or wrong answers
 - You do not have to speak in any particular order
 - When you do have something to say, please do so. There are many of you in the group and it is important that I obtain the views of each of you

- You do not have to agree with the views of other people in the group

Discussion guide

Warm up question

2. First, I'd like everyone to introduce themselves. Can you tell us your name and one interesting thing about yourself?

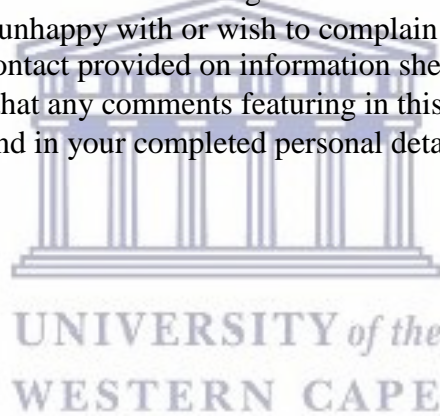
Brief guide:

3. Tell me about your community; how is it like to live in this community?
 - What do you like and not like about this community?
4. How is farming making a difference in your community or household?
5. What do you do with your farming produce?
6. Let's talk about land, how do women access land and productive resources for productive purposes in your community?
7. What are the challenges faced by this community in terms of access to land for farming purposes?
8. What kind of support are you receiving from the local government and NGOs?
9. What challenges do you face as female farmers?
10. To what extent do the community leaders and community members mobilize to ensure that farming activity is improved in this community?
11. What changes are women likely to experience in their personal life, in their household and in the community once they become land owners in their individual capacity?
 - How do they feel about themselves? Why?
 - What are such women able to do now that they were not able to do previously? Why?
 - How are they treated by their family members (husband/boyfriend/partner, parents, siblings, children)? Why?
 - How are they treated by their neighbors and people in the community? Why?
 - What new possibilities and opportunities open up for them once they own land? Why?
 - What new challenges and struggles do they experience once they own land? Why?
12. What changes are women likely to experience in terms of their access to and choice of food once they become landowners and owners of productive resources to help them with farming?
 - How meaningful is this change?
 - How does it change a woman's ability to make decisions about what to eat herself and what to feed her children when she owns land?

- How does it change the food that is eaten in the household? Please give me a before and after example.
13. Please comment about your relationship to power; what does power mean to you?
- How powerful would you say you are in your life as women?
 - When is a woman most likely to feel powerful?
 - What strengthens that power? What weakens or undermines it?
14. What would you like to see improved in terms of the processes that women undergo to access land and productive resources? What would make ownership of land and productive resources meaningful for women, both in terms of what such ownership allows them to do and be and also in terms of food security in the household?

Conclusion

- Thank you for participating. This has been a very successful discussion
- Your opinions will be a valuable asset to the study
- I hope you have found the discussion interesting
- If there is anything you are unhappy with or wish to complain about, please speak to me later or contact my supervisor (contact provided on information sheet)
- I would like to remind you that any comments featuring in this study will be anonymous
- Before you leave, please hand in your completed personal details questionnaire



7.5. APPENDIX 5: Key Informant Interview guide



KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Study topic: Access to land and productive resources among female farmers in Stellenbosch: implications for women's empowerment and household food security

Instructions for conducting the individual interview

- 9. Introduction of the study to the interviewee:** Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. This research project is being conducted as part of my course requirements for the completion of a Masters Degree in Development Studies. This research intends to explore the lived experiences of female farmers in Stellenbosch in terms of access to land and productive resources for productive purposes and the implications of this kind of access for women's empowerment and household food security. The interview shall take between 45 minutes to one hour.
- 10. Interviewee Consent:** The interviewee will be provided with a copy of the information sheet on the study. The researcher will go through and explain to the interviewee all the items on the information sheet and the informed consent form in the native language. The interviewee will be asked to sign a consent form to participate in the interview. One copy of the informed consent form will be given to interviewee and a second copy will be kept by the researcher. Permission will be sought from the interviewee to audio-tape the interview.
- 11. Demographic data:** Anonymous demographic data from the interviewee shall be collected. The interviewee shall be asked to complete a brief questionnaire prepared for this purpose.

Discussion guide

Theme One: Access to land

15. Tell me about yourself; what role do you play in this organization?

- 3.6. Tell me about your experiences with women who have acquired land or who are pursuing land for productive purposes: What do they go through in the course of trying to access and own land?
- 3.7. What process do they need to follow to acquire land for productive resources?
- 3.8. In your experience, how common is it for women who embark on this process to succeed and end up owning land?
 - 3.8.1. What barriers and challenges are women likely to experience on this path to land access and ownership?
 - 3.8.2. What helps women overcome these barriers?
- 3.9. Which forms of land ownership are most common?
 - 3.9.1. Individual or collective/communal land ownership?
 - 3.9.2. What are the benefits and downfalls of each type of ownership?
 - 3.9.3. Which form of ownership matters most for women's empowerment? Why?
 - 3.9.4. Which form of ownership matters most for household food security? Why?
- 3.10. In your opinion, what systemic changes need to take place so that we see an increase in women's access to and ownership of land?
- 3.11. What kind of support are you offering to women who need access to land for productive purposes?

Theme Two: The extent to which women have access to productive resource for household production

4. When women have acquired land or gained access to land as individuals or as a collective what further assistance is being provided by this organization/department?
 - 4.1. What kinds of productive resources do women have access to? How do they obtain these resources?
 - 4.2. What developments are put in place to ensure that women have enough support for their farming activities? How is that put into effect?

Theme Three: Women's empowerment and household food security

5. Based on your knowledge and experiences with female farmers in Stellenbosch; what is the state of food (in) security in their households?
 - 5.1. What observable or shared changes do you see in women's livelihoods when they have gained access to land and productive resources?
 - 5.2. How do these changes affect their household food security?
 - 5.3. What is your understanding of empowerment and based on your experiences; how do you think women become empowered by access to land and productive resources?

- 5.3.1. In your experience, what opportunities and possibilities open up to women once they have access to land and productive resources?
- 5.3.2. In your experience, what have you seen happening to a woman once she acquires land and productive resources?
- 5.3.3. What changes have you observed occurring at an individual level?
- 5.3.4. What changes have you observed occurring in women's interpersonal relationships with people in their lives (husband/partner, parents, siblings, children, in-laws), and with those in the community?
- 5.3.5. What are they able to do and achieve once they have land compared to when they didn't?
- 5.3.6. How do you think women's personal and relational power is changed by their access to land and productive resources?
- 5.3.7. How much do these changes and new forms of power directly impact and change their ability to secure adequate food for themselves and their households?

Thank you for participating. This has been a very successful discussion

- Your opinions will be a valuable asset to the study
- I hope you have found the discussion interesting
- If there is anything you are unhappy with or wish to complain about, please speak to me later or contact my supervisor (contact provided on information sheet)
- I would like to remind you that any comments featuring in this research will be anonymous



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7.6. APPENDIX 6: Letter to conduct research in WFP

Ms Solomon
Director
32 Four Oaks Building
Cnr of Bird & Molteno Streets
Stellenbosch 7600

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN WOMEN ON FARMS PROJECT (WFP)

Dear Ms Solomon

My name is Tulile Ngwexana, and I am a Masters Development studies student at the University of the Western Cape. The research I wish to conduct is titled: “access to land and productive resources among female farmers in Stellenbosch: implications for women’s empowerment and household food security” for my Master’s dissertation, it seeks to explore the lived experiences of female farmers in Stellenbosch in terms of access to land and productive resources, and the implications this kind of access has for women’s empowerment and household food security. This project will be conducted under the supervision of Professor Yanga Zembe at the Institute for Social Development (ISD), University of the Western Cape

I am hereby seeking your consent to approach WFP to provide a key informant participant for this project.

I have provided you with a copy of my thesis proposal which includes copies of the consent forms and information sheet to be used in the research process, as well as a copy of the approval letter which I received from the University of the Western Cape Research Ethics Committee.

Upon completion of the study, I undertake to provide the University of the Western Cape with a bound copy of the full Master’s thesis. If you require any further information, please do not hesitate to contact me on 082 868 3697 or email: 3016649@myuwc.ac.za, alternatively you may contact Prof Yanga Zembe, her email address is: yzembe@uwc.ac.za. Thank you for your time and consideration in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Tulile Ngwexana

7.7. APPENDIX 7: Participant letter of consent



Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535, Cape Town, South Africa
Telephone : (021) 959 3858/6 Fax: (021) 959 3865
E-mail: pkippie@uwc.ac.za or spenderis@uwc.ac.za

Letter of consent: To participate in a Focus group discussion, Individual Interview and Key Informant Interview

I....., have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, and received satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I agree to take part in this research.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary. I am free not to participate and have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to explain myself.

I am aware that the information I provide in the focus group discussion/ Individual interview might result in research which may be published, but my name may be/ not be used (circle appropriate).

I understand that my signature on this form indicates that I understand the information on the information sheet regarding the structure of the questions.

I have read the information regarding this research study on “access to land and productive resources: implications for women’s empowerment and household food security”

I agree to answer the questions to the best of my ability.

I understand that if I don’t want my name to be used that this will be ensured by the researcher.

I may also refuse to answer any questions that I don’t want to answer.

By signing this letter, I give free and informed consent to participate in this research study.

Date:.....

Participant Name:.....

Participant Signature:.....

Interviewer name: Tulile Ngwexana

Interviewer Signature:.....

7.8. APPENDIX 8: Participant Information sheet



Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535, Cape Town, South Africa
Telephone : (021) 959 3858/6 Fax: (021) 959 3865
E-mail: pkippie@uwc.ac.za or spenderis@uwc.ac.za

INFORMATION SHEET FOR INTERVIEWEES FOCUS GROUP **DISCUSSION/INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW**

Project Title: Access to land and productive resources among female farmers in Stellenbosch: implications for women's empowerment and household food security

What is this study about?

This research project is being conducted by Tulile Ngwexana, a student at the University of the Western Cape. You are invited to participate in this project as a female farmer. The aim of this research is to explore the lived experiences of female farmers in Stellenbosch in terms of access to land and productive resources, and the implications this kind of access has for women's empowerment and household food security.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

You will be asked to share information about accessing land and productive resources for household food security a focus group discussion with 5 other women. If you belong to an organization/ a women's collective/association; you will be asked how these structures have helped you. The focus group discussion will take about 45 min to an hour and it will take place within the community. I will ask your permission to audio-record the interview/focus group discussion. This will help me capture everything that you share with me accurately.

Will my participation in this study be kept confidential?

All your personal information will be kept confidential and will remain anonymous if that is your choice. You will be required to sign a consent form to protect your privacy and confidentiality while participating in this study. The researcher shall not reveal the identity of the participants and will safeguard the confidential information obtained in the course of the study. The researcher will ask all of the participants in the focus group discussion to keep everything that is shared in the discussion confidential.

What are the risks of this research?

There are no risks involved in participating in this research project. From the beginning, aims and objectives will be clear.

What are the benefits of this research?

There are no material benefits for you, but your participation will create awareness and understanding of women's lived experiences pertaining to access to land and productive resources and how that affects household food security.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to participate and to stop participating at any time you want. If you stop or decide not to participate, you will not lose anything.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

There are no negative effects that could happen from participating in this study.

Do I need to bring anything to the interview?

You may bring any useful information that you feel free to share with the interviewer. These may be useful in recalling some details about the process you've undergone in your experiences as a female farmer.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by Tulile Ngwexana a student at the University of the Western Cape. Her contact number is +27 82 868 3697.

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Prof Yanga Zembe at The Institute for Social Development (ISD), University of the Western Cape, her email address is: yzembe@uwc.ac.za

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Dr Sharon Penderis
Acting Director
Institute for Social Development
School of Government
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535

This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee. To be confirmed.