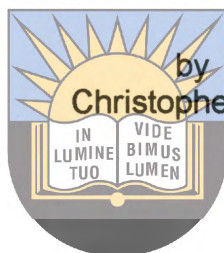


**WOMEN AND URBAN AGRICULTURE IN BUFFALO CITY: A CASE STUDY OF
MDANTSANE, DUNCAN VILLAGE AND POSTDAM**



by
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University of Fort Hare

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for a Master of Science degree in Geography
and Environmental Science at the
University of Fort Hare

Philosophy (Environmental Studies)

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January 2004

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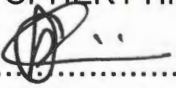
DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own original work, except where stated, and that it has not been submitted for any degree at any other university.



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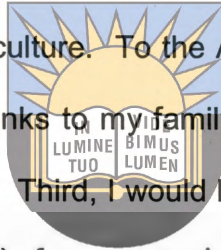
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Many individuals and institutions have assisted me in various ways so that this dissertation could be completed. First, I would like to thank God Almighty who gave me the power and knowledge to study. Second, my sincere thanks and appreciation go to my supervisor, Professor Cecil Seethal, for his tireless assistance. This dissertation would not be possible without the assistance of the Buffalo City Department of Agriculture. To the Agriculture Extension Officers go my sincere thanks. Special thanks to my family members, David, Theresa and my brothers for all their support. Third, I would like also to thank my government (the Zimbabwean government) for sponsoring me throughout the course, members of staff in the Department of Geography for their comments and suggestions on the progress of the work, and the post graduate students in the department who supported me socially and academically.



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ABSTRACT

The urban poor are striving to find strategies to alleviate poverty. In South Africa, the urban poor, including women, are practising urban agriculture to alleviate poverty. Within the context of the debates on gender and development, this study explores the extent at which the urban poor of Buffalo City in the Eastern Cape, South Africa are benefiting from urban agriculture. The study highlights the challenges and problems encountered by the urban poor in the former black townships, and how the post-apartheid South African state and the non-governmental organizations are supporting the alleviation of urban poverty. The realist research methodology was used to achieve the objectives of this study. Women dominate the practice of urban farming and are benefiting from their endeavours. The study recommends the increased participation of the urban poor in urban agriculture and the creation of more open spaces for farming.



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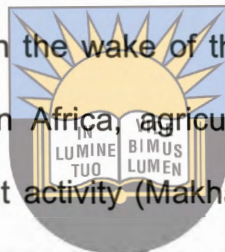


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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The high incidence of poverty in the majority of countries in southern Africa is a result of a combination of various factors, including high unemployment levels and limited access to productive resources such as land and capital (World Bank News, 1999). In the wake of the decline of formal economies and the increasing poverty in Africa, agricultural production within African cities has become a prevalent activity (Makhanya and Ngidi, 1999). This is especially so because it is estimated that by the Year 2020, two-thirds of the world's population is expected to live in cities and the number of urban dwellers will double in many developing countries (Smit, 1999).



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The urban poor are more vulnerable than the rural poor to challenges in the economic environment because they are more fully integrated in the monetized economy and often have fewer safety nets, such as home gardens (World Bank News, 1999). African urban areas and townships were shaped and designed by the colonists in a way that separated the blacks from white areas. In South Africa, for example, apartheid planning was a distinctive spatial planning strategy based on racial segregation.

During the apartheid era a technically driven process without meaningful community participation characterised local government planning. The

planning focused on regulations and control of land use through a web of restrictions aimed at entrenching racial segregations, spatially, socially and economically. The planning was largely unconcerned with poverty alleviation, social health and welfare of the urban poor. The rearing of livestock, poultry and cultivation of indigenous staple crops was not permitted by city officials. City officials destroyed any crops grown in the city, as well as animals found roaming the streets (Rogerson, 2001).

Urban farmers responsible were prosecuted for compromising city health (Webb, 1996). The new system of planning in South Africa ensures the participation of communities, addressing most urgently the citizen's basic needs and the promotion of poverty alleviation strategies such as urban agriculture.



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Urban agriculture is often viewed as an activity that arises out of obstacles that certain groups of urban dwellers have to face in their assimilation into the urban economy. Wage employment or the informal sector is unable to meet all their needs hence people turn to urban agriculture. A fundamental challenge to contemporary South African society is the rapid rate of urbanisation currently taking place. Problems associated with this process have become increasingly evident. Some of these problems are poverty, high unemployment rates and limited access to services.

The emergence of these problems has generated a proliferation of studies seeking to understand them and provide frameworks for their eradication at

local level. A number of recent developments however have brought urban agriculture into the spotlight. Without urban farming the urban poor solely depend on other household members working elsewhere. Urban agriculture is made to appear an important answer to urban poverty. Urban agriculture provides benefits to the economy, the well being of both those active in the industry and the residents of a town (Webb, 1996). The main contributions of urban agriculture include, improved food security, improved nutrition, health, cleaner environment, community solidarity, creation of jobs for both disadvantaged women and men and lessens poverty. .



In 1996, the levels of employment in South Africa indicated that 33.8% of the population was unemployed. In 2002, this figure reached 41.2%. This places the alleviation of poverty as one of the priority areas in the national planning agenda (Oelofse and Scott, 2002). Women are part of the urban poor who need to be considered in the process of poverty alleviation at national, provincial and municipal level. At the provincial level some provinces have high levels of unemployment, food insecurity and high crime rate. In the case of the Eastern Cape Province, the second largest province in South Africa, unemployment and food insecurity among the urban poor need an urgent strategy to help the poor.

The Eastern Cape Province is faced with high levels of poverty and unemployment. The situation can be turned around if municipalities can start focusing on the resources that the Eastern Cape has, and the way in which the Eastern Cape can use them effectively and efficiently (Buffalo City

Municipality, 2002). The municipalities in the Eastern Cape are developing strategies on how they can respond to the high levels of poverty in the face of a decreasing industrial growth rate.

Buffalo City Municipality, one of the municipalities in the Eastern Cape, is establishing strategies to respond to the community's pressing needs such as food security, employment and housing. One of the strategies aims at improving nutrition and creating employment through urban agriculture. The strategy of creating employment and improving nutrition through urban agriculture focuses on the urban poor in townships such as those of Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam. Agriculture plays a crucial role in addressing the needs of the urban poor. Enhancing the role of women in all aspects of urban farming, nutrition and food security is imperative. The whole question of the importance of urban agriculture in the context of poverty and the role of women in urban agriculture were the issues investigated in the study.



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Conceptual Framework

For development to benefit women, the power relations in the development process need to be critically examined. Patriarchal controls and complex sets of gendered power relations operate in particular contexts to perpetuate women's subordination. The ways in which women and men are gendered is a product of the interaction of racially defined categories, class and geographical location. If development strategies are to make a difference to individual lives and to women's lives in particular they need to take into

account the ways in which power relations are gendered (Korentajer, Burger, Fyfield, Oliver, Magagane and Malamela, 2000).

Gender as an analytical category is meant to capture a complex set of social processes that are inextricably linked with power relations, women's roles, responsibilities, and social status in relation to local cultural perceptions of masculinity and femininity that delineate access to opportunities and resources in a particular context. In reformulating gender as a theoretical category and as an analytical tool, the division of social experiences along gender lines tend to give men and women different conceptions of themselves, their activities and beliefs. Exploring gender dynamics to this depth provide some of the most comprehensive and interesting ideas in the field of urban agriculture. Urban agriculture is an adaptive strategy for women to protect household food security through direct provision of a supplemental food source (Hovorka, 2000). Development processes must recognise the complex relationship between domestic and other institutional domains.



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Development can succeed in improving the status and quality of life of women and of community if power relations are taken into consideration. Gender and development constitute the conceptual approach this study adopts so as to focus on the role of women in peri-urban agriculture. The issue of difference requires greater consideration in urban agricultural research, to highlight distinct systems that form along gender, race, ethnicity, class and age lines (Hovorka, 2000; Serote, Mager and Budlender, 2001).

Differential experiences of women urban farmers, in particular the experiences of women heads of households who tend to be amongst the poorest urban farmers and hence face significant constraints to food production, have to be emphasized. Where urban authorities are concerned with unemployment and food insecurity in urban areas, urban agriculture can be prioritised as a strategy of alleviating poverty. Gender and development strategies include lobbying for, and ensuring that, the national or local government plays a role in providing programmes to support women (Serote et al, 2001).



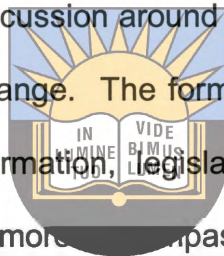
Recognising differences amongst urban agriculture practitioners also avoids the privileging of a universal experience that conflates the needs, interests, and experiences of persons into a single conceptualisation. In an alternative framework of gender and development for urban agriculture, a more appropriate way of understanding and representing women's experiences is required (Hovorka, 2000). This research attempts to understand and represent women's experiences in urban agriculture. Urban agriculture is a form of development that can succeed in a democratic and gender sensitive country.

Development and Democracy

This research adopts the critical theory of development to highlight theoretically how development can involve all interested and affected parties including women in a society. Critical theory emphasizes democracy, efficiency and normative commitments to development of an organised system (Romm, 2001). Democracy can be reduced to developing an

efficiently organized system aimed at correcting dysfunctions through the application of its administrative machinery. Efficiency and democratic goal making in society need to be highlighted.

Romm (2001) argues that modernity signifies any project of advancement and any attempt to generate progress in history. Modernity refers to the productive process of society that is geared towards a continually increasing economic growth and the state administration's efficiency. The concept of democracy requires public discussion around the development of social goals and the direction of social change. The forms of communication that confer legitimacy on political will-formation, legislation and the administration of justice appear as part of a more encompassing process in which the life worlds of modern societies are rationalized under the pressure of systemic imperatives in the systems of the state and the economy (Romm, 2001).



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Modernisation points to a social condition where economic growth and efficient state administration define the path of society's progress. Science and technology are relied upon to ensure that both the economy and the state administration increasingly adapt to the demands of an efficiently functioning system. Romm (2001) highlighted the importance of a system that is able to reconcile social conflicts and direct the processes of economic and social change in conformity with the needs of civil society. Romm (2001) stated that development implies a particular style of democratic process that is gender sensitive. What is needed is acclimatisation towards more democratic forms of existence, a gradual broadening of spaces to make decisions on

democratic, participatory and discursive actions. Participatory planning implies that individuals, groups and organisations including women should be able to access information relevant to development, and be empowered therefore to participate in decision-making processes and engage in projects for the areas in which they live. The purpose of the participatory approach is to strengthen citizens' sense of ownership of social, economic, environmental and infrastructural resources (Romm, 2001).

Attention should also be given to generating more equal forms of social participation. Any solution has to be grounded in a respect for the cognitive involvement of all those who will be affected, women and men, so that they do not merely become on-lookers in the development process. The logical consequence of accepting people as a basic economic resource is that we must devote all other resources to the development of the people (Romm, 2001). A culture of respect for the involvement of all, including women, the most vulnerable, has to be fostered. The struggle for democracy is a struggle to redefine the place where knowledge about society is both created and utilised. Many development theorists argue for the need to revitalize participatory practices in order to nurture the development process and to ensure that it is equitable, gender sensitive and meaningful to the members of the society (Romm, 2001).

In the case of the Buffalo City Municipality, its strategy of alleviating poverty shows its efficiency and democratisation in prioritising society's needs of food security and employment. Buffalo City Municipality's planning system ensures the participation of communities, addressing most urgently citizens'

basic needs and disintegrating unjust spatial or institutional patterns of privilege. Buffalo City Municipality, in its Integrated Development Plan, prioritises the participation of both men and women in the development process (Buffalo City Municipality, 2002).

In South Africa, all development-related legislation passed since 1994 requires participatory planning processes, with the most recent Municipal Systems Act (Act No. 32 of 2000), redefining the concept of a municipality to include the community itself. This reaffirms the need for inclusive and transparent setting of local development priorities at municipal level (Buffalo City Municipality, 2002)



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With the promotion of urban agriculture and the legalising of it more people, including women, are taking part in developing urban agriculture. Buffalo City's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) prioritises urban agriculture as a strategy of alleviating poverty. In this process, the larger social objective is to enable all people to live a life of dignity and to end the marginalisation and alienation of a large mass of people. The urban poor in Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam should live a life of dignity and alleviate poverty through practicing urban agriculture (Buffalo City Municipality, 2002).

Buffalo City Municipality's local economic development and its IDP aim at nurturing a development process that involves the urban poor. Integrated development planning is a mechanism to promote social equality, since the planning process is participatory and allows for all stakeholders to have a

voice in issues affecting their lives. The IDP is also intended to redress the pronounced social and economic imbalances and disadvantages experienced by the marginalized groups based on gender, race or disability. This research examines the role of women in urban agriculture in the urban areas of Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam situated in Buffalo City. Buffalo City, like other cities in Africa, is prioritising urban agriculture as a strategy of alleviating poverty.

Literature Review

According to Obosu-Mensah (1999) and Slater (2001a) urban agriculture is defined as the practice of farming within the boundaries of towns or cities. Farming in this sense involves crop cultivation, animal rearing and fish farming. Slater (2001a) argues that urban agriculture forces us to rethink a key proposition shaping economic development. Urban agriculture challenges the assumptions of economic theorists that in the course of national development there should be a structural shift in employment and people should come to live in urban places and engage in non-agricultural employment.

For urban agriculture to flourish, good governance is needed to guide the transformation of the agricultural sector in a direction beneficial to the poor (Bonilla and Robinson, 2001; Mabogunje, 2002). Urban agriculture can develop in cities and contribute to food security if the policy makers such as the municipal authorities are involved in the promotion of urban agriculture (Egal, Valstar and Meershoek, 2001; Rogerson, 2001).

Urban policy makers in developing countries face a growing problem. The sheer volume of people will compromise the ability of the cities to meet basic needs resulting in an increase in urban poverty, hunger and malnutrition. Most of the research on urban agriculture had its roots in the same objective-seeking ways of ridding urban areas of unemployment and food insecurity. Hence researchers have viewed urban agriculture as an alternative source of income for those with no access to a reliable or adequate level of formal wage income, including women (Slater, 2001b).



Urban survival strategies with regard to food production that include women urban farmers can still be regarded as a fairly unexplored field of research. One strategy for urban dwellers to improve income and food supply is to practice urban agriculture (Bonilla and Robinson, 2001; De Bon, 2002; Dongus, 2000; Engoke, 2003; Gillard, 2002; Holmer, 2002; Krige, 2002; Ngethe, 2001; Oelofse and Scott, 2002; Sharma, Norley and Bonilla, 2001). It is however important to understand who does what, who decides, who controls the resources and the income generated. Women have the responsibility for food procurement for the household. In Dar es Salaam, women grow food for their families own consumption in home gardens while men are more active in practising urban agriculture in open spaces (Dongus, 2000).

Over 650ha of open space are under cultivation in Dar es Salaam in Tanzania (Dongus, 2000). In Malawi, women do most of the work on the fields and even sell the crops, but men control all the income incurred (Egal et al, 2001;

Kiango and Nzalawashe, 2001). According to Rogerson (2001), in South Africa urban women have been farming for as long as men worked in mines and in the cities. However women's roles in securing food for the households and for generating income through urban agriculture were marginalized. Research has indicated that in countries like Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique men tend to be recognised as the major participants and owners of the projects though women do most of the work (Rogerson, 2001). In Harare and in the townships of the Cape Town Metropolitan Area, most of the urban farmers are women. In Cape Town, the urban poor have benefited economically, socially and culturally from urban agriculture. Urban agriculture is important to women of low-income households in ways less directly related to monetary gain. Women use urban agriculture in processes of empowerment, to establish social networks, to symbolize a sense of security and to encourage community development (Rogerson, 2001).



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According to Chivinge, Machakaire and Mudimu (2001), Zimbabwean urban agriculture has increased by 95% in the past three years with more than 75% of the urban poor being involved. City authorities should accept urban agriculture as a reality and then come up with policies that will create an enabling environment to train urban growers. In some countries such as China the urban poor have benefited from urban agriculture (World Bank News, 1999).

China has managed to reduce the levels of urban poverty by 21% from 1970 to 1984 because of the introduction of a reform driven agricultural sector is

the cities (World Bank News, 1999). According to Boateng (2002), urban farmers produce about 90 percent of the vegetables consumed in the Metropolitan Areas in Accra, Ghana. At a conference held in South Africa at Stellenbosch University in 2001, Baudoin and Vink (2001) argued that urban and peri-urban agriculture are hardly ever recognized as being an important subject.

Urban agriculture should be gender sensitive and relevant to each region. Ministries, local authorities and municipalities should have adequate information on the importance of urban agriculture and take part in its development. Local policies should be reoriented to improve open space management in cities and integrate urban and peri-urban agriculture into the broader context of city development and welfare policies. There should be a gender policy framework for urban agriculture in order to sufficiently recognize the gender dimensions of urban agriculture in South Africa (Baudoin and Vink, 2001).

Webb (1996) analyzed urban agriculture in the black townships of Port Elizabeth, Port Alfred and Uitenhage. Urban cultivators are benefiting economically and socially from the activity. Webb emphasizes that more research should be conducted in urban agriculture focusing on targeted groups such as women. Women farmers need to be recognized as urban farmers in the cities. Women dwellers play a pivotal role in subsistence and market gardening (Hovorka, 2000).

In Gauteng province, a number of low-income settlement areas around Johannesburg and Pretoria are being given support to promote urban agriculture by municipal authorities. In Durban, planning for urban agriculture was accepted early as an integral part of the local economic development plan in the city. In several South African localities that recently have been hit by economic restructuring, facilitation of urban agriculture by the local authority has been viewed as an important means for poverty alleviation (Rogerson, 2001).



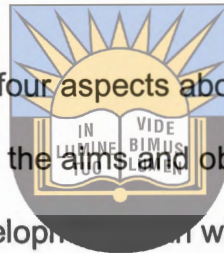
In Midrand, the local economic development framework has included urban agriculture as a legal economic activity (Rogerson, 2001). In Mamelodi, urban farmers illegally practise irrigation and use grass compost as manure instead of buying fertilizers (Kotzé et al., 2001). The illegal practice is due to lack of policies that permit urban agriculture as a legal activity. In Buffalo City Municipality, urban agriculture has been legalized and prioritized as a strategy of alleviating poverty. However there is paucity of information on urban farming and the role of women participants in Buffalo City townships.

Buffalo City Municipality needs to focus on a strategic approach based on a partnership between the municipality, the private sector and civil society in supporting urban agriculture. There is need for research to focus on the impact of urban and peri-urban agriculture on the livelihoods of the urban poor and also to focus on the role of women in urban farming. Though women have been participating in urban agriculture, research should include gender analysis and difference (Hovorka, 2000). Hovorka (2000) emphasized that

the issue of difference requires greater consideration in urban agriculture research.

Research Objectives and Questions

The study seeks to examine the role of women in urban agriculture and to analyze the benefits that the urban poor obtain from practising urban farming. This dissertation aims at addressing the issue of poverty alleviation through urban farming.



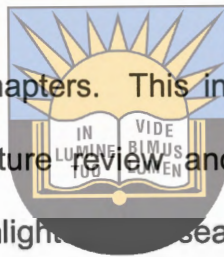
This dissertation will address four aspects about urban farming in Buffalo City Municipality. First, what were the aims and objectives of the Buffalo City Municipality's Integrated Development Plan when it introduced urban farming as a strategy of alleviating poverty? Who were the targeted groups to benefit from urban farming? How successful was the Buffalo City Municipality in implementing urban farming? Second, how were the urban poor women motivated and involved in urban farming? How are men incorporated into urban farming? What role do women play in urban farming?

Third, what support do urban farmers in Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam get from governmental and non-governmental organizations?

Fourth, what benefits do urban women farmers acquire from practising urban farming? Do they farm as individuals or together with men? What problems are women urban farmers facing in urban farming? Intensive research design was the methodology used in this research to achieve the aims and objectives of the research.

The Structure of the Thesis

This study examines the role of the Buffalo City Municipality in promoting urban farming. Urban farming as practised by disadvantaged women in Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam is prioritized as a strategy of alleviating poverty.

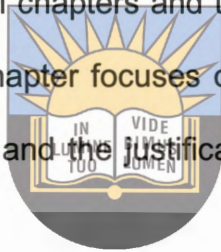


This thesis comprises five chapters. This introduction (Chapter 1) provides conceptual framework, literature review and the research objectives and questions. Chapter two highlights the research methodology used to study the objectives and the justification of choosing the study area. Chapter three discusses the background of the study area, the history of the study area, how the black townships were formed near cities to provide cheap labour under apartheid and how post-apartheid South Africa is restructuring cities to incorporate the former black townships.

The incorporation of black townships in Buffalo City Municipality and the introduction of the Integrated Development Plan bring a new sphere of social and economic change that focuses on the disadvantaged members of the society while introducing strategies of alleviating poverty that are gender sensitive such as urban farming. Chapter four analyzes the nature of urban farming in Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam, the types of farming projects, the type of the urban farmers involved, the vegetables grown and the

animals kept. This chapter also focuses on the nature of the land under cultivation, the form of support provided to the farmers and the problems faced by urban farmers.

Finally, in Chapter five the summary, synthesis, conclusion, recommendations and areas for future research on urban farming are presented. The successes and constraints of the introduction of urban farming in Buffalo City Municipality are synthesized. The theoretical concerns of Chapter one are evaluated against the empirical chapters and the findings of this research are emphasized. The following chapter focuses on the research methods used, the location of the study area and the justification of the choice of the study area.



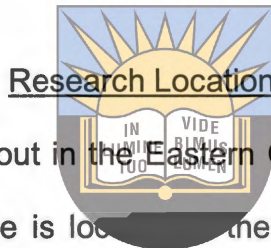
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CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH LOCATION

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to outline the research location, the reasons for selecting the study area, and the research methods used in this study.



This research was carried out in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. The Eastern Cape Province is located in the south east of the Republic of South Africa (Figure 1). The research was in three peri-urban areas in Buffalo City Municipality, namely Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam. Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam are located to the north west of East London. East London is located to the south east of Buffalo City Municipality (Figure 2). Buffalo City Municipality is located to the south east of the Eastern Cape Province in South Africa (Figure 2).

The Eastern Cape Province is bounded to the South East by a long coastline along the Indian Ocean. The boundaries of the newly established municipality include a large area characterized by very different features amalgamating two municipalities. Two cities of East London and King William's Town including certain parts of their respective hinterlands were amalgamated into one new municipality called Buffalo City, which came into effect as a result of

the municipal elections, held on the 5th of December 2000 (Buffalo City Municipality, 2002).

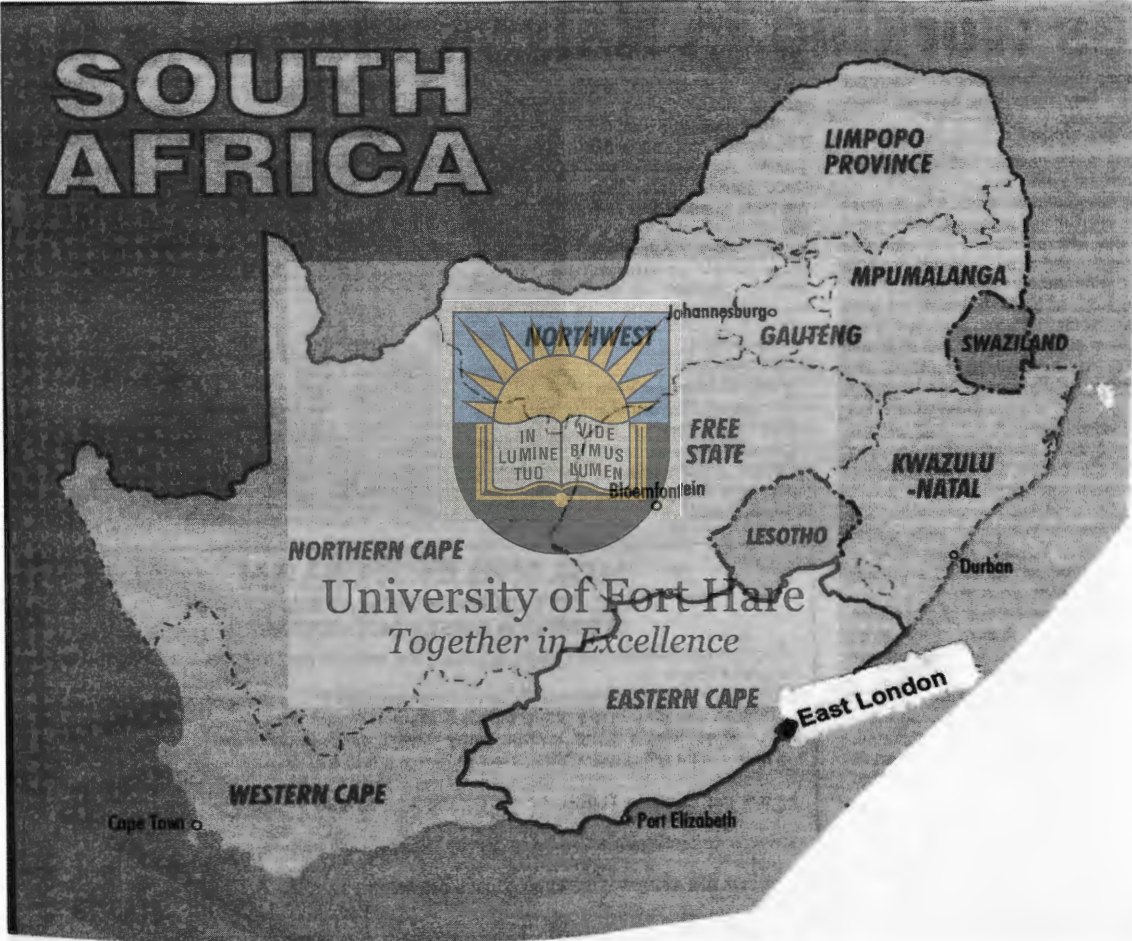


Figure 1. Eastern Cape Province, South Africa

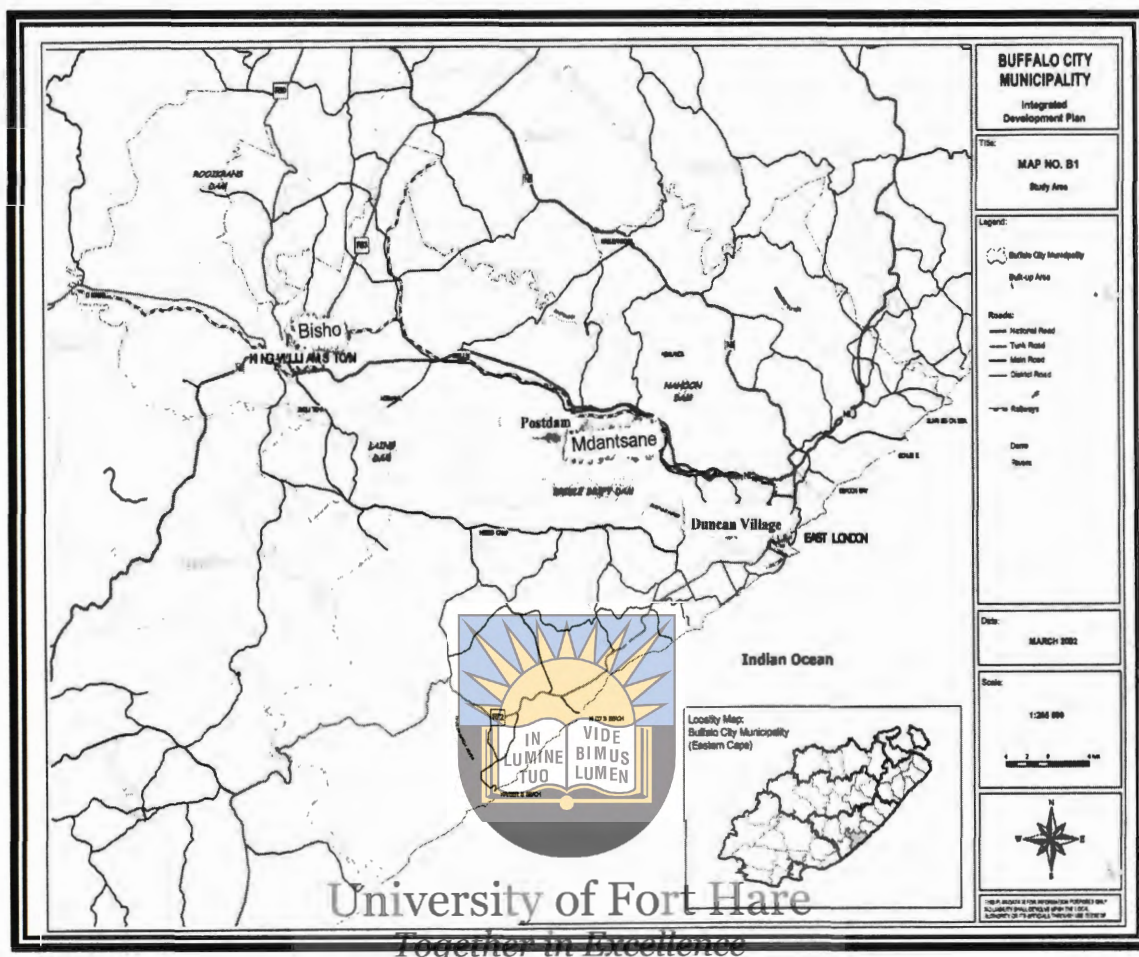


Figure 2. Buffalo City Municipality

(Source: Adapted from Buffalo City Municipality Integrated Development Plan, 2002).

Selection of the Study Areas

The Eastern Cape Province has the third largest population in South Africa, roughly 6.3 million people, which is 15.5% of South Africa's 40.5 million people. The Province is generally seen to be one of the two poorest in South Africa. Unemployment rates are the highest at 48.5% in comparison to the present national average unemployment rate of 33.9%.

The high poverty level in Buffalo City, with 71% of the municipal population earning less than the household subsistence level of +/- R1500 per month led the Buffalo City Municipality to focus on strategies to alleviate poverty through the implementation of programmes such as urban agriculture within the IDP. Another focus is on gender imbalances and social problems. Socio-economic variables show clearly that women are generally poorer with less access to resources than other groups and most of them are women heads of households (Buffalo City Municipality, 2002).



More women have been unemployed in Buffalo City Municipality than men in the past five years. Buffalo City Municipality fully subscribes to the national development priority of the advancement of population groups that previously suffered discrimination. In this respect, the Municipality believes that the consideration of gender equity as a central issue in all municipal programmes and projects is a necessary step to take towards addressing the social, economic and other inequalities that continue to pervade the municipality (Buffalo City Municipality, 2002).

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The objective of creating opportunities for all to sustain themselves through productive activities and to protect the poor and other disadvantaged groups is an integral part of all development programmes in the municipality, and projects which should enable the participation of the marginalized groups in society. The provision of access to basic services, the formulation of a poverty alleviation policy, and the development and implementation of a

poverty alleviation programme is mission statement for Buffalo City's IDP. The encouragement and support for the participation of marginalized groups in poverty alleviation programmes is one of the strategies of Buffalo City Municipality. To promote social and economic development for the community, Buffalo City Municipality established the local economic development framework (Buffalo City Municipality, 2002).

The aim of the Buffalo City is to create jobs and business growth through different programmes. One of the programmes is urban agriculture. The programme aims at improving nutrition and reducing the levels of poverty while increasing agricultural production. Urban agriculture has a network of stakeholders involved in agricultural development in which the municipality acts as a strategist to coordinate the functions of the network. The programme is assisting emerging women urban farmers and the youth (Buffalo City Municipality, 2002).



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According to the Buffalo City Municipality Integrated Development Plan (2002), urban agriculture is promoted as a strategy to alleviate urban poverty. Hence the municipality initiated research in three peri-urban areas of Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam. The aim of Buffalo City Municipality's research is to assess the development of urban agriculture in the peri-urban areas. Buffalo City Municipality organized a workshop and then contacted the University of Fort Hare to lead the research process. The discipline: Geography and Environmental Studies offered to conduct research

in the former black townships of Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam as per Buffalo City Municipality's plan.

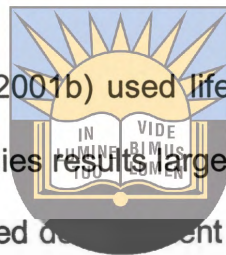
Research Methods

The research methodology chosen for this investigation is the realist's intensive single-case design. This design has become increasingly important for contemporary and theoretical social science research. It usually involves small local studies, the datum from which is generalizable to some broader theory (Seethal, 1993).



Intensive case study research design is appropriate for chronological analysis of causal connections between events over time. The research design is appropriate for obtaining an understanding of historically specific and structurally constrained situations. Intensive research design allows for a variety of methods and sources of evidence to be used (Sayer, 1992: 244). In keeping with the intensive research design chosen for this study, a variety of methods was used to collect data. These include a survey of documents, direct observation in the field, and interviews. Initially a detailed survey of secondary documents was conducted and meetings relevant to urban farming were held with the Buffalo City Municipality's agriculture extension officers. On the basis of the information gathered through meetings and survey of secondary documents, questionnaires were designed, and focus group and structured interviews conducted. Other researchers who have undertaken research on urban agriculture used focus group interviews and life history interviews.

Discussions in focus group interviews provide the opportunity for participants to share their feelings, insights and experiences about their needs and problems. The type of data sought from the interviews include the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of cultivators, farming practices, landownership, motives for cultivation and problems they face as farmers (Boateng, 2002; Dongus, 2000; Madaleno, 2000; Chivinge, Machakaire and Mudimu, 2001).



Hovorka (2000) and Slater (2001b) used life history interviews. Life history research in development studies results largely from a rejection of quantitative based research that dominated development research. Quantitative research is oversimplified and dehumanise people's lives (Hovorka, 2000; Slater, 2001b). Life history interviews enable the researcher to understand social, economic, cultural and political change by studying the dynamics of an individual (Hovorka, 2000; Slater, 2001b). A life history interview was not used in this research because most of the projects in the study area are not individual but are done in groups, so focus group interviews were conducted in this research.

Focus group interviews allow the addressing of commonalities and differences in a group. The researcher hears not only what the respondents say but also how the respondents interact. Focus group discussions offer conversation, argument and debate through interaction and they are extensive and detailed. Given that focus group interviews tend to promote discussions, researchers

are able to gain insight into the social, cultural, political, economic and personal dimensions of an issue (Fontana and Frey, 2002; Hoggart, Lees and Davies, 2002; Mouton; 2003). However focus groups cannot be generalized, the emerging group and culture may interfere with individual expression and one person may dominate the group. It is also difficult to interview groups on sensitive issues (Denzin and Lincoln, 2002; Dwyer and Limb, 2001).

The structured interview allows the researcher to focus on what has been planned, and can be applied to an individual respondent. However, the structured interview is not flexible and there is little room for variation (Fontana and Frey 2002). On the basis of the methods of research used in this study, the focus group interview was the major technique used because of its advantages that made it preferable to other techniques. To supplement the focus group interview, structured interviews were conducted to individual households involved in urban farming.

In the process of collecting data through focus group and structured interviews, photographs of the farming fields, vegetables, animals and the urban farmers were taken. The technique employed in the selection of the farming projects in the selected areas of Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam was random sampling. The actual number of farming projects in Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam were not known, hence projects were selected randomly in school premises and valley areas. The numbers of farming projects in official documents and reports had a few known projects so it was difficult to select any specific sample size. Twelve projects were

selected for the research. Six of these projects are located in Mdantsane, five in Duncan Village and one in Postdam. In analysing the data, data-coding techniques were used. Data coding makes the analysis of data to be systematic (Hoggart, Lees and Davies, 2002; Jackson, 2001). The studied black townships of Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam have a history of urban poverty that started during the colonial era and stretched into the apartheid era. In post-apartheid South Africa it is the task of the local municipalities to implement strategies that can alleviate poverty. The following chapter (Chapter three) focuses on the history of development in South Africa and the history of development of East London City. The chapter also focuses on the development of Buffalo City Municipality in the post-apartheid South Africa.

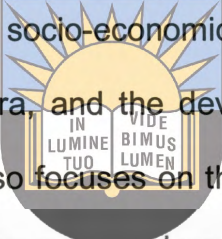


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CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

Introduction

The logo of the University of Fort Hare is a circular emblem. It features a central sun with rays, set against a background of a building with columns. The Latin motto 'IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIVMUS LUMEN' is inscribed within the emblem. Below the emblem, the text 'University of Fort Hare' and 'Together in Excellence' is visible.

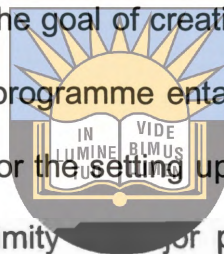
Chapter three, deals with the socio-economic and political situation in South Africa during the apartheid era, and the development in the post-apartheid South Africa. The chapter also focuses on the history of the development of the East London City during the apartheid era and the development of Buffalo City Municipality in the post-apartheid South Africa. Apartheid influenced how settlements were built and how people lived. The post-apartheid South African government had to restructure all socio-economic and political systems at national, provincial and local level to include the disadvantaged blacks into the development process.

Socio-economic Development in South Africa

The development of the mining industry was largely responsible for the emergence of the manufacturing sector in South Africa. Manufacturing was geared towards the production of various inputs for mines. Prior to 1924, South African industry remained in the phase of manufacture based on artisan and craft activities. The coming to power of the Nationalist Labour Pact government signalled a transfer of white hegemony from foreign capital to

national capital in 1924. In the 1950s South African industrial development was based on the extension of import substitution and growing markets for consumer goods and heavy industrial inputs like iron and steel. With its early apartheid measures firmly in place by 1960, the government moved towards strengthening apartheid policy by launching an industrial (border) decentralisation programme aimed at restricting the number of African labourers migrating to the urban centers (Seethal, 1993).

The programme was tied to the goal of creating a greater spatial evenness in national development. The programme entailed offering industrial relocation concessions and incentives for the setting up of labour intensive industries in growth points in close proximity to major population concentrations in the border areas of Bantustans. Since the 1970s, and more persistently over the past decade, urban planners, private developers and government bodies have been seriously engaged in a range of urban renewal programmes. In the 1980s a regional development strategy was launched and the strategy divided South Africa into nine economically functional development regions that cut across Bantustan homeland boundaries. Within these regions, metropolitan areas, decentralisation points and industrial development points were identified (Seethal, 1993).



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The apartheid doctrine was not merely normative, rather it defined the social coexistence of citizens of different colours and served simultaneously as a concrete element of spatial planning. This resulted in an all-encompassing spatial segregation of the races, which one-sidedly favoured the white

population in its choice of residential areas and workplaces. The process of transformation from apartheid towards a democratic system, which began in the early 1990s, has had far reaching effects on socio-spatial structures in South African metropolitan cities.

South Africa's democratisation and the governmental measures for affirmative action, designed to promote the social advance of blacks, have substantially altered the spatial structures created by apartheid. During the post-1994 period, the concept of integrated planning was adopted in South Africa to strengthen national socio-economic and political trends towards a holistic and more sustainable development. The concept of integrated planning was seen as an appropriate method of beginning to address the deficiencies and injustices of apartheid planning. The new system of planning ensured the participation of communities, addressing most urgently the citizen's basic needs and ensuring integrated and sustainable development. The history of the development of Buffalo City municipality which comprises of the former East London City follows the history of the development in South Africa.

The history of East London City reveals how foreigners colonised South Africa's coastal areas and the development of industries within the Cape. Blacks were recruited as workers from the surrounding rural home areas to work in the factories. A segregationist policy was introduced not to allow blacks to live in the city but to have settlements outside the East London City. In the post-1994 period the East London city area was restructured by the post-apartheid South African government incorporating the former homeland

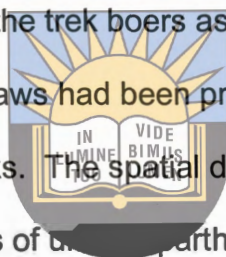


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areas and was called Buffalo City Municipality as it gained its newmunicipal status.

The Development of the East London City (1910-1990s)

The establishment of colonial settlements in Africa south of the Sahara developed from the European perception of town planning. European urban and economic patterns were superimposed on colonized areas. The nineteenth century saw the establishment of Cape colonial society in South Africa and the emergence of the trek boers as the Cape's first white frontier men. Various discriminatory laws had been proclaimed, restricting the activities and lifestyle of blacks. The spatial development of the colonial city can be perceived as the roots of apartheid. Segregationist policies such as the Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923, the Land Act of 1936, and the Natives Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945 were introduced leading to the development of former homelands such as the former Ciskei and Transkei (Bank, 2002).




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According to the Stallard Commission of 1922, blacks were only allowed to enter urban areas, when they were willing to administer to the needs of the white. The black person should depart if he/she ceases to minister. The Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923 implied stricter influx control mechanisms and forced removals of surplus blacks to the African reserves (Bank, 2002).

In 1948 the then Nationalist party came into power and introduced the apartheid policy. The Group Areas Act of 1950 enforced residential apartheid

and entailed the removal of all blacks from the white areas to specific areas, usually some distance from town. These reserved areas became known as locations, where coloureds, blacks and Asians were settled separately. In 1964 the municipal police and government bulldozers moved into what was then called the East Bank location and started demolishing the shacks in the location so that they could rebuild and replan an apartheid township.

In the planning regime of the East London City council, there was no room for dysfunctional families like single mothers and matriarchs because they were seen as anathema to order, discipline and progress. In the post-1964 period, access to housing was strictly political and only 5000 families qualified for residence in the 'white' city. The  were given four-roomed municipal homes in an orderly planned location of Durcan Village. The location also contained single-sex hostel complexes for migrant workers. These were fenced off from the rest of the location and placed under a 24-hour guard in order to prevent the migrant workers from interacting with urbanized Africans (Bank, 2002).

In the 1970s an ethnically demarcated territory was allocated to create the homeland called the Ciskei. Mdantsane, Zwelitsha, Dimbaza and Bisho fell into this territory. In the mid-1980s and 1990s about 60 000 black people from East London were relocated to Mdantsane, one of the homeland areas located around the city and 25 kilometers outside East London. The East London local state planned to keep only a small permanently urbanized African work force in the city to service the main industries.

To qualify for the right to live in the city's historic Duncan Village location, Africans had to show that they were born in the city and had no other home in the Transkei or Ciskei homelands. Ciskei gained pseudo-independence in 1981 with Bisho as capital. Dimbaza was developed into an industrial zone whilst Mdantsane mainly served as a dormitory town. Despite initial prosperity, the Ciskei remained a poor area. Over forty-five per cent of the young adults were unemployed by the mid-1990s and the rate of unemployment was growing rather than shrinking. The Ciskei ceased to exist in 1994, when it was 'reincorporated' into the Republic of South Africa following the first democratic election in South African history (Bank, 2002).



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The Development of Buffalo City Municipality (Post-1994)
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Two cities of East London and King William's Town including certain parts of their respective hinterlands including Bisho were amalgamated into one new municipality called Buffalo City, which came into effect as a result of the municipal elections, held on the 5th of December 2000. The plans and strategies of Buffalo City Municipality are to focus on the new development that deals with racial segregation, spatial, social and economical development.

The social, political and economic imbalances experienced during the apartheid era are addressed being by the new Buffalo City Municipality through the development of its Integrated Development Plan. The Buffalo City Municipality is looking into reversing the spatial imbalances, and

promoting integration of human settlements. One strategy of redressing spatial imbalances was the promotion of urban agriculture so that the disadvantaged urban poor can be involved in economic development activities of the municipality. The following chapter (Chapter four) focuses on the findings of this research, how urban poor women in Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam are practising urban farming and the benefits they acquired from urban farming.



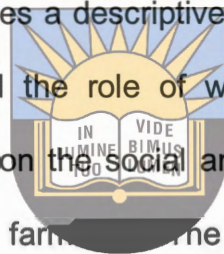
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CHAPTER IV

DATA PRESENTATION AND DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present and analyze the data collected during research. The chapter provides a descriptive analysis of urban agriculture in Buffalo City Municipality and the role of women in urban farming. The empirical findings also focus on the social and economic benefits the urban poor obtain from practising farming. The chapter also focuses on the problems that exist in developing urban farming.



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The chapter is divided into subheadings that include the location of the farming projects, types of farming projects and the type of people involved in urban farming. Other aspects include the division of labour among urban farmers, the role of women urban farmers and their responsibilities at home, production and marketing strategies, the socio-economic benefits of practising urban farming and problems experienced by women urban farmers.

Location of the Farming Projects

A farming project is defined as the growing of crops and keeping of animals by individual households, community or co-operative members (Obosu-Mensah, 1999). The farming projects are located in the black townships of Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam. The growing of vegetables and keeping of animals is done either in school grounds where the school principal gave permission to the members of the farming projects to use the open space or in the valley areas. Examples of the projects operating in school grounds include the Someleze project, the Walunga farming co-operative, and the Bambanani and Sophakama project. Some projects are operating in river valleys. Examples of projects operating in river valley areas include the Ikamvalethu project, the Hlamini project, the Sivequbheka project, the Siyapambili project and the Vuyisile project. The Mziwethemba project is operating in an old building and is specializing in poultry. The Khanyisa project is operating within the Postdam clinic's premises. Six of these projects are located in Mdantsane, five in Duncan Village and one in Postdam.

Types of Farming Projects

Farming projects comprise of household projects where a family is involved in growing crops and keeping animals in the valley's open space, or where a group of women and men came together and formed community farming

projects or a cooperative. The farming activities are operating on school grounds, in the river valley, in old buildings or in a clinic's premises.

Women urban farmers are practising farming in the valley areas that have been offered to them by the ward councillors and some are farming in the school grounds. According to the municipal agriculture extension officers, in the valley areas, the size of the land ranges from one to five hectares and in the school grounds the land is about two to four hectares.

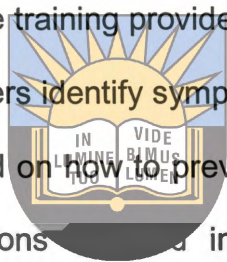


Some of the project participants to utilize the whole piece of land allocated to them because of financial constraints. Preparing the land using hoes is strenuous such that most of the land is still lying idle. The Kwalunga cooperative that is using two school grounds finds it difficult to utilize the land because they do not have a tractor. The Khanyisa and Siyapambili projects do not have enough land. The Khanyisa project is operating on a clinic premise that has limited space. Poultry projects are taking place in old buildings to facilitate the feeding process during the night and for security reasons. People in the community steal eggs and chicken when the poultry projects are operating in the valley areas.

The members initiated eight of the twelve projects visited. They motivated each other and contributed seeds, garden tools and money for their projects. The Department of Agriculture at the municipal level initiated the other four farming projects. The Department of Agriculture motivated the members and gave them starter packs. The starter packs comprised cash of up to R5000

and garden tools. A husband and a wife initiated a family project called the Vuyisile project in Mdantsane. The Buffalo City Municipality is helping, together with non-governmental organisations, to involve the urban poor in urban agriculture. However, a large proportion of the urban poor women are not yet involved in the farming projects.

Buffalo City municipality through the Department of Agriculture, is monitoring and supporting the projects by providing training, funding and garden tools to existing farming projects. The training provided the farmers with basic skills in farming. Women urban farmers identify symptoms of certain plant and animal diseases and they are trained on how to prevent and treat the diseases. The non-governmental organizations involved in assisting in the growth and development of the farming projects are the Peace Plan Organization, private stakeholders such as the Fort Jackson Cash and Carry Wholesalers, the Hlongwane supermarket and Spar supermarket.



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The Type of People Involved in Urban Farming

The types of people involved in the farming process include qualified personnel who are unemployed, retired pensioners, young men and women as well as the disabled. Generally, most of the projects have women pensioners while young ladies and gentlemen are very few. Of all the farming projects, Kwalunga co-operative is the only one that has more men than women. Table 1 below shows the number of male and female members in each of the twelve projects. Female members hold most of the positions on the projects' committees.

Table 1. Farming Projects: Members, Vegetables Grown and Animals kept

Name of project	Members In Total	Women	Men	Vegetables Grown and Animals kept
Vuyisile	2	1	1	Onions, Cabbages
Siyapambili Bambanani Mziwethemba	12	9	3	Beetroot, Spinach
Ikamvalethu Hlamini	5	4	1	Carrots, Tomatoes
Siyequbheka	13	10	3	Pepper, Peas,
Someleze Sophakama	10	8	2	Cows, Pigs
Khanyisa	24	15	9	Chickens for meat
Sompumelele	17	11	6	Eggs
Kwalunga	42	9	33	Sheep, Goats
Total number of members	125	67	58	



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Some of the projects started with large numbers of people joining as members but in the long run some decided to withdraw. The major reason for the withdrawal was that members did not get what they anticipated from the projects. Kwalunga cooperative, for example, started with 117 members but of these only 42 remained. For Kwalunga cooperative the reason for the withdrawal is that the members were working, but they were told that profits were only going to be shared at a later date.

If the members of the Kwalunga farming project wanted vegetables they had to buy them with money raised through other means. The members had to find other means to meet their basic needs such as paying water, school fees, electricity bills and clothes. In other projects, some members left because they got employed elsewhere. In all the projects where members withdrew, none of them was reported taking with him or her garden tools or claiming the money they had contributed.



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Farm Inputs used and the Farming Activities

The garden tools used by the majority of the projects are hoes, wheelbarrows, rakes, shovels, watering cans and hosepipes. Only the Ikamvalethu community project had irrigation equipment. Some of the projects are fenced but others are not, especially those in the valley areas. With the limited garden tools each project has only a few types of vegetables grown.

The twelve farming projects are involved in either growing vegetables or keeping animals, or doing both. Three of the projects are involved in mixed

farming including the keeping of animals such as cows, goats, pigs and chickens for meat and milk (see Table 1). The Vuyisile project in Mdantsane (see Figure 3) grows vegetables and keeps animals such as cows and pigs for meat and milk.



Figure 3. Vuyisile Project , Mdantsane, Buffalo City Municipality (2003)

The Sivequbheka community project (Figure 4 and Figure 5) is involved in piggery and growing vegetables. The members feed twelve pigs and eight piglets. The feeding is done in the morning, afternoon and around 18h00 in the evening.



Figure 4. Sivequbheka project, Sivequbheka Village, Butha Buthe City Municipality
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(2003)



Figure 5. Sivequbheka piggery, Duncan Village, Buffalo City Municipality
(2003)

The Siyapambili community project is involved in growing vegetables and keeping goats for meat and milk (see Figure 6).



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Figure 6. Siyapambili Project, Duncan Village, Buffalo City Municipality (2003)
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The Mziwethemba poultry project is located in Duncan Village and was formed recently. However, the Mziwethemba poultry project has one week old chicks, five weeks old chicks and ten weeks old chicken. The eight projects are involved in growing vegetables only. The types of vegetables grown include cabbages, carrots, spinach, beetroot, peas, potatoes, tomatoes, onions and pepper. The Khanyisa project in Postdam grows vegetables and the women farmers in the project also make ornaments from beads (see Figure 7 and Figure 8).



Figure 7. Khanyisa vegetable garden, Buffalo City Municipality
(2003)

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Division of Labour among Project Members

Members of the projects do not assign any duties to each other but they all work together and finish one task before looking at the next task. They all weed, prepare vegetable beds. Daily attendance of the members is not always 100%. The reasons for not turning up for work are that the members are either sick or because they have other commitments. Most of the projects do not have regulations guiding the attendance of members. However the Sivequbheka project is exceptional in that members are given duties to feed pigs and work in the garden. If a member is absent for three consecutive days he/she is automatically deregistered unless a strong reason is given for the absence.

The Mziwethemba poultry project assigns duties to feed the chicken to its members, hence they work during different hours. With the Khanyisa project, both men and women work in the garden but women do extra handcraft work of making bead products (see Figure 8).



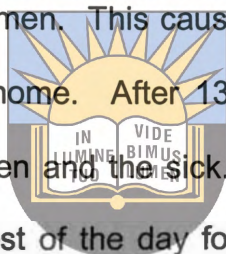
Figure 8. Khanyisa handcraft work, Postdam, Buffalo City Municipality (2003)

The members of the Vuyisile and Hlamini projects get help from their children. The children milk and herd the cows and also help in the gardens. The working hours are from 8h30 to 13h00 and members work from Monday to Saturday. One member of the group does the selling of vegetables on the roadside and in some instances customers come and buy at the garden. The Siyapambili project has members who participate in the running of the

community project in the valley areas and at the same time individual members have their own small pieces of land where they grow vegetables for their families. Urban farmers, who work in community farming projects and in their own farming projects find it difficult to undertake other responsibilities at home.

Urban Farmers and their Responsibilities at Home

Dividing time between household activities and gardening is a challenge to urban farmers, especially women. This causes some members to arrive late as they do other duties at home. After 13h00 they go home and do the cleaning, attend to the children and the sick. On Saturdays, members work up to 11h00, and use the rest of the day for other responsibilities at home.



Despite working hard, production per farming project is still low.

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Production and Marketing Strategies

Most of the projects started in 1998 and most of the farming was for consumption purposes. However, production started to increase with more support from the Department of Agriculture at the municipal level. The Department of Agriculture provided funds, fertilizers and fencing materials, and even hired a tractor to plough the land for some of the projects. In some projects, their production system has not yet changed since they started in 1998.

Members of the farming projects sell vegetables and animal products to the school staff and the community if operating on the school premises. The

members of the farming projects operating in the valleys sell their farming products to the community. The Kwalunga farming co-operative sell its products to the municipal market in Mdantsane and to the markets in the central business district of East London. However, private stakeholders have not yet shown interest in buying the products from these farming projects. The reason could be that the production or the output is still low, though the products are of quality. Some farming projects have accumulated revenue through the sale of their products, while other projects such as the Mziwethemba have not yet done so.



The revenue that has been accumulated by most of the projects' participants has been deposited in the project bank accounts. Members fear that if sharing of revenue is done early this might hinder the development of the projects. Only one project (Vuyisile) utilizes the revenue for family needs because it is a household project. However, in case of shortages of funds the members use funds from other activities they do such as welding and sewing. The issue of sharing profits is a problem that has made some members withdraw because they were expecting to get funds for their families on an ongoing basis. Generally the members of the twelve projects have not yet started sharing revenue. The Hlamini farming projects does not have any revenue because it was formed only in 2003 and has its first vegetables in the field. The Vuyisile project, the Ikamvalethu project, the Khanyisa project, the Bambanani project and the Sophakama projects started farming in 1998 and other projects started later. Most of the projects do not have revenue for 2003 because they have not yet started selling vegetable and animal products

when this research was conducted. The revenue accrued by many of the farming projects is very little, hence there are limited opportunities for increasing production (see Table 2 and Figure 9).

Table 2. Revenue Accrued by Each Project in Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam (1998-2003)

Project	1998 Revenue	1999 Revenue	2000 Revenue	2001 Revenue	2002 Revenue	2003 Revenue
Kwalunga	-	-	-	R7654	R32280	-
Vuyisile	R6578	R6997	R4658	R7213	R11090	-
Hlamini	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ikamvalethu	R1098	R3401	R9993	R10227	R10641	-
Siyequbheka	-	-	-	R4530	R56024	-
Khanyisa	R376	R590	R1960	R2529	R2319	-
Someleze	-	-	-	-	R17736	-
Bambanani	R897	R1948	R10203	R8876	R14099	-
Siyapambili	-	R4450	R2480	R4488	R16000	R1228
Mziwethemba	-	-	-	-	-	R3000
Sompumelele	-	-	-	-	R3485	R4070
Sophakama	R1050	R3766	R5570	R5998	R6650	-
Total Values	R9999	R21152	R34864	R51515	R170324	R8298

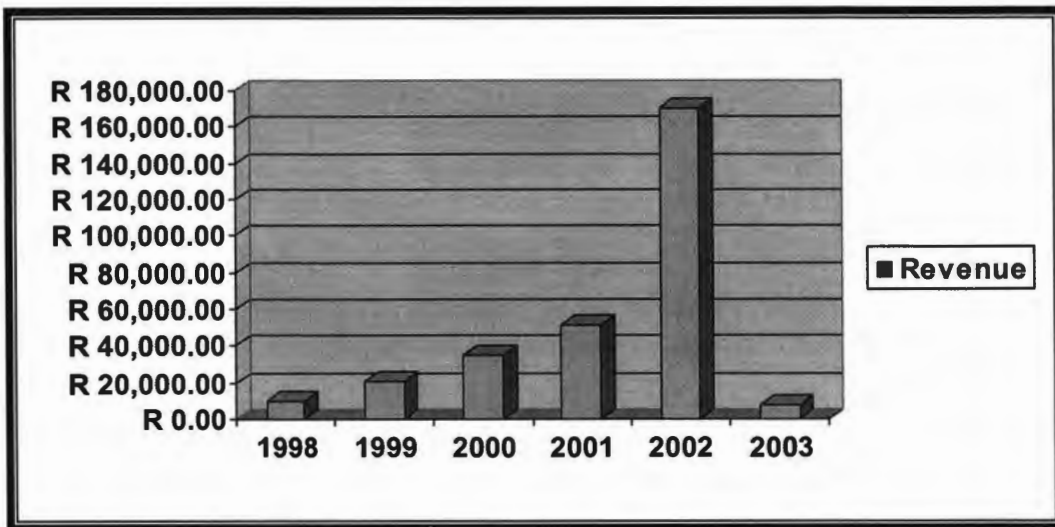
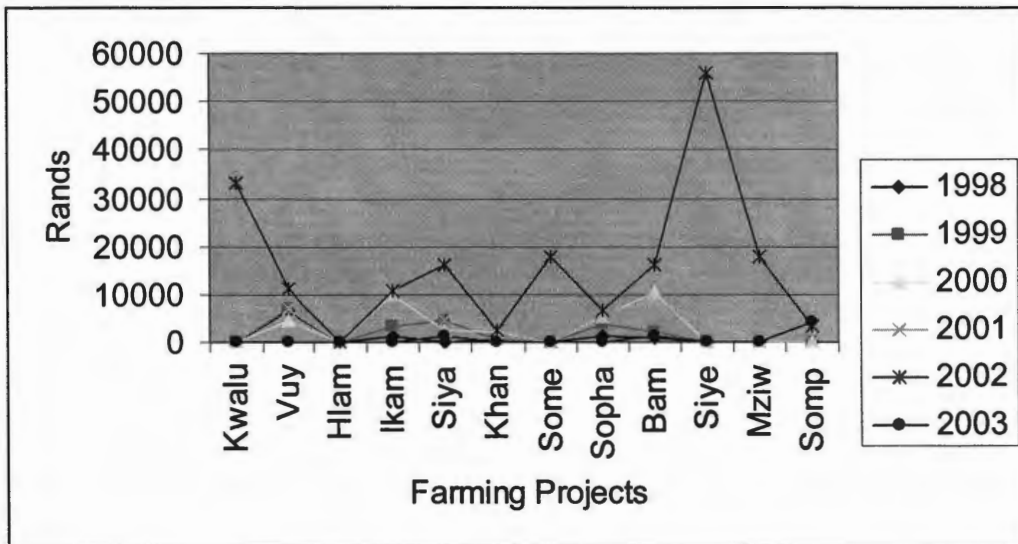


Figure 9. Total revenue for each year for the twelve projects in Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam, Buffalo City Municipality (1998-2003)

Source: Author (2003)



From 1998 up to 2002, the total revenue accrued per year by the twelve farming projects increased from R999 to R170324 (see Table 2; Figure 9). The increase was due to improved agricultural production, availability of inputs and financial support. However, the total revenue accrued in 2003 was R8298 because most of the farming projects had not yet started selling their products when the study was conducted. The majority of the farming projects that started in 1998 had a steady increase in revenue indicating that they projects were progressing as the members gained experience and more members joined the projects.



Legend

1. Kwalu...Kwalunga
2. Vuy...Vuyisile
3. Hlam...Hlamini
4. Ikam...Ikamvalethu
5. Siya...Siyapambili
6. Khan...Khanyisa
7. Some...Someleze
8. Sopha...Sophlakama
9. Bam...Bambanani
10. Siye...Siyequbheka
11. Mziw...Mziwethemba
12. Somp...Sompumelele

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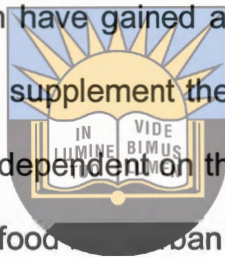
Figure 10. Annual revenue per farming project in Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam (1998-2003)

Source: author (2003)

The Socio-economic Benefits of Practising Urban Farming

The urban poor have accepted urban agriculture in Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam and have managed to employ themselves, reducing the rate of unemployment. Members in some projects, such as Sompumelele, get vegetables for free. Those members who are so poor are given more vegetables than others. If a member wants more than what he/she has been given freely, he/she could buy the extra requirements at the staff price.

The members of the Bambanani project share damaged vegetables that are not suitable for selling. However, a member can also buy fresh vegetables if he/she wants. Socially the members are benefiting a lot as they share ideas, give each other advice, share problems and console each other. Women members with problems in their marriages get advice from other members. The members of the projects are setting a good example in the community and others are now willing to start their own projects despite the fact that land is not yet available. Women have gained a sense of self-worth through the cultivation of vegetables that supplement the diets of their families. Women without formal work felt less dependent on their working husbands when they could help their families with food from urban farming.



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The members have acquired skills on how to grow vegetables from the training they received from the Municipality's Department of Agriculture and from other non-governmental organizations. The practical experience in the field is also helping those who had no skills at all to become experts in urban farming. Women in the Khanyisa project have resorted to other skills such as handcraft work and the making of bead products for sale. Although no health analysis was done in this research, the farm products that the members of the projects and the community are buying are rich in nutrients. Environmentally, the townships and the school premises where some of the projects are taking place are kept clean as the members clear the bush around the schools and valley areas. Besides the benefits that the members have acquired there are problems related to the development of the projects.

Problems Experienced by Women Urban Farmers

The women urban farmers experienced a wide range of problems. The problems range from shortage of finance, deficiency of garden tools, lack of land for some projects, the absence of fencing materials and theft. All of the twelve projects lacked funding although some got help in the form of starter packs. Though the members made contributions to initiate the projects the amount was not enough to sustain the projects. The projects in the river valley are not fenced and the local people are stealing the vegetables. The Hlamini project, for example, does not have a hosepipe and the garden is not fenced. Members of the community steal the vegetables during the night. Vegetable cultivation in the Hlamini farming project lacked fertiliser, manure and use of pesticides. The members of the Hlamini project have one watering can and they have to walk 100m to the Amalinda River to fetch water for the plants. The projects in the river valleys do not have enough water as the members use seasonal wells that dry very quickly (see Figure 11). During the dry season the farmers in the valleys ask nearby households for water. However, the households sometimes deny them access to tapped water because they pay for the water.

Land is a problem in the valley areas because people just use any piece of land they can get. The valley areas do not have enough land for farming, as many urban poor now want to get involved in farming. The members of the Khanyisa project find the clinic's premises small for sixteen members to engage in large scale production. The members of projects operating on



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school grounds have problems with the school principals because they are not fulfilling what they promised, namely, supplying vegetables for the soup kitchen for the school children. One of the school principals threatened to stop the members of Kwalunga cooperative from farming because they are not fulfilling what they promised to supply the school.

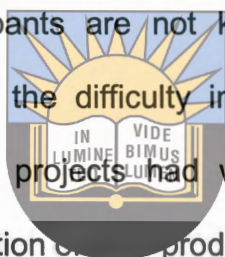


Figure 11. Source of water in valley areas, Mdanstane and Duncan Village, Buffalo City Municipality, (2003)

According to the old women urban farmers that were interviewed, the youth are not motivated to start farming, leading some of them to commit crime such as theft, violence and drug trafficking. Some members of the farming projects

withdrew because they did not get enough assistance and support on how to run an urban farming project. In some projects such as Kwalunga and Khanyisa they lack the skills on how to grow tomatoes using the green houses donated by the non-governmental organisations (NGOs), hence the low production. The farmers are using their casual clothes during the farming process because they do not have overalls and other protective clothing.

Most of the project participants are not keeping records of their urban agricultural activities, hence the difficulty in following the progress of the farming projects. Only six projects had written records while the other participants provided information on production from their memory.



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Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the findings of this research in Buffalo City Municipality. The findings indicated that the urban poor women are involved in urban farming and they initiated some projects while men also joined them in the farming process. The results have shown that most of the projects are operating in valley areas and school premises. The farming projects are supported by the Buffalo City Municipality and non-governmental organisations. Women heads of households who are involved in farming divide their time between their responsibilities at home and their farming activities. Urban agriculture has been accepted as a form of employment by women as well as men. The women urban farmers have benefited from the farming activities. They get vegetable and animal products for their families.

The women members also benefit socially as they interact amongst themselves and share their social problems. The training provided by the Department of Agriculture has given the members of the farming projects skills on how to grow vegetables and keep animals. However, there are some problems related to how the projects are operating. There are limited funds that are available to increase production; there is the lack of farming inputs and some members of the community steal vegetables. In relation to the objectives of this research, women are playing an important role in urban farming and they occupy positions in the projects' committees. Women are self employed and depend on urban farming for food and income. However, do supplement their food with income from pension benefits. Working as urban farmers has enabled women and men urban farmers to support themselves.



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CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study focused on the role of women in urban agriculture and analyzed the benefits they get from practising urban farming. Urban agriculture was the source of food, income and employment for women urban farmers. The adoption of this strategy is the brainchild of the Buffalo City Municipality and its Integrated Development Plan prioritized urban farming as a strategy for alleviating poverty. From a gender perspective, women are playing an important role in urban farming. Buffalo City Municipality is promoting urban farming through the provision of funds and farming inputs. The Department of Agriculture at the municipal level is training the women on how to grow vegetables and keep animals.

This research, conducted in Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam, indicates that urban poor women are unemployed and some of them have chosen to engage in urban farming. Focus group interviews and structured interviews were conducted to achieve the objectives of the study. Recognising the role of women in urban farming is explained in the theory of gender and development, while the role of the Buffalo City Municipality in developing urban agriculture is explained using the critical theory of development.

The notion that land in the open spaces in the valley could be utilized through cultivation fitted neatly into Buffalo City Municipality plan of promoting urban farming, and a platform for the promotion of urban farming was established. Most of the urban farmers are women. For them, urban agriculture is a means of survival. The aspects of poverty, unemployment, gender, food security and the urban environment are important aspects in this research. Instead of individual household farming at the backyard of their houses, most of the urban farmers work in groups within school grounds, open spaces in the valley areas and in old buildings where poultry projects take place. The vegetables grown are cabbages, carrots, spinach, beetroot, lettuce, tomatoes, potatoes, pepper and onions. The animals kept are goats, pigs, cows and chickens. In the Khanyisa farming project, women make beads ornaments and also work in the garden with men.

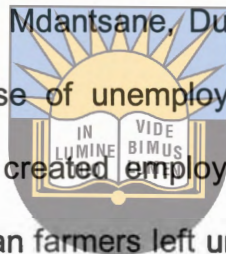


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This study reveals that in the Buffalo City Municipality, inputs used for farming are simple hoes, rakes, watering cans, hosepipes and in one project a water pumping engine for irrigation. Members contributed towards the purchasing of tools, seeds and fertilizer, and insecticides. There is lack of funding, training, motivation, availability of enough land, credit facilities, machinery and fencing materials, although some form of support comes from the Department of Agriculture at the municipal level and from some non-governmental organizations. Another problem is the up-keep of records. Most of the projects do not have written documents for future's reference. The records given by some of the urban farmers were not documented. As far as the

benefits are concerned, environmentally and ecologically the urban farmers are operating in an environmental-friendly manner especially in schools and in the valley areas where they clear the bush. The members in the farming projects have been counselling each other, sharing problems and a sense of security especially the women heads of households. Women discuss issues such as drunkenness among the youth, violence, delinquency and health.

Given that most of the youth and the working class are not employed, stealing of vegetables is very high. Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam have high rates of crime because of unemployment (Buffalo City Municipality, 2002). Urban farming has created employment for both women and men. However, some women urban farmers left urban farming to join other sectors of the economy or they just withdrew from being members of the projects.

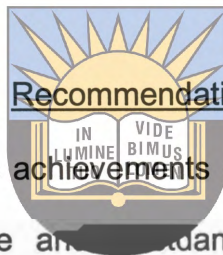


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This study reveals that because most of the projects started recently, some of the projects have not yet received any returns from cultivation in the form of financial capital. Though no information is available on the link between urban farmers and improved nutrition, urban cultivators are bound to consume more vegetables than the non-cultivators. However, is not applicable in this research because non-cultivators buy the vegetables more than the urban cultivators themselves.

Some of the vegetables lacked nutrients, and there was either a deficiency of fertilizers or manure. Also the urban farmers could not afford to buy the required insecticides and pesticides. Water is a problem especially in the

river valleys where shallow wells are used. These wells can dry up at any moment, hence the urban farmers resort to asking their neighbours for water. However, the neighbours sometimes refuse to supply water from their premises because they pay for water. The size of the population of Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam indicate that large proportions of the urban poor are not yet involved in farming (Buffalo City Municipality, 2002). These groups of people need to be motivated by the municipality and its stakeholders.



Recommendations

It is too early to assess the achievements of urban farming programmes in Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam because of the fairly recent involvement of the cultivators in farming. Urban farming was restricted during apartheid era such that the urban poor had no food security. Urban farming can be taken as part of a habitat beautification process and can be adopted together with a number of other household strategies to increase household welfare.

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The integration of agriculture in urban development planning can improve access to land through the revision of actual urban zoning by-laws and drawing up plans to indicate in which zones urban agriculture is allowed. Urban agriculture can be combined with other urban functions such as recreation and nature conservation through the promotion of multifunctional land use and the encouragement of community participation in the management of urban open spaces.

The Buffalo City Municipality should enhance the production of urban agriculture and local nutritional self-reliance. Local authorities face the challenge of implementing policies that minimize the recognized health and environmental risks that can accompany certain urban agricultural practices. There should be the imperative to improving the access of urban farmers to agricultural research, technical assistance and credit services in order to augment productivity and to reduce potential environmental or health risks. The provision of training to urban farmers, in terms of emphasizing ecological farming practices as well as improving their access to micro-credit schemes for the purposes of productive investments, is seen as a positive initiative. Improving the marketing of fresh-grown produce most importantly includes the establishment and support of either full-time or periodic markets. Small enterprises linked to urban agriculture should be developed such as plant nurseries or seed suppliers. Local stores should be encouraged to support urban farming. The introduction of standards, establishing green labels and support for local marketing initiatives of ecologically grown food may be promoted in Buffalo City. The Buffalo City Municipality can create market places for small farmers and provide incentives for operators in the markets to cater for small-scale urban farmers. Activities that include education of farmers or periodic testing of soil and water quality must be promoted.



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Useful measures should be identified in order to promote positive environmental impacts of urban agriculture in addition to mitigating negative effects on the urban environment. Establishing low cost facilities can assist

the promotion of safe re-use of urban organic wastes and wastewater. Organic farming through training can be promoted depending upon local conditions. Urban agriculture projects can be designed to maximize the integration of disadvantaged groups. The projects should be geared in such a way that participants feel enriched and empowered by having the chance to work constructively, building their community, working together and producing for the whole townships and the major city.

Programmes that integrate urban agriculture into on-going projects and activities in education, environment, food, health, housing, community development and waste management should be promoted. Urban agriculture flourishes in partnership. In isolation, it has the greatest potential to cause negative impacts. Urban agriculture should be included in the municipal data collection system. The Municipality can provide such service in cooperation with other groups. The Municipality should establish a programme and plan for achieving environmental sustainability, utilizing urban agriculture.

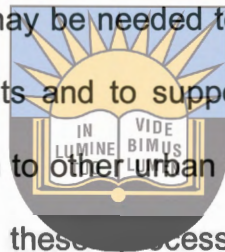


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One of the greatest obstacles for urban farmers is a lack of access to credit. Possible means of increasing the amount of credit available to urban farmers include providing a special line of credit for urban farming entrepreneurs, reserving part of an existing agricultural credit quota for urban farmers and including urban farming among the industries eligible for special small-enterprise support. Urban farmers often do not achieve maximum yield on a new site for three to five years. Support programmes, or soft loans, with possible delay of repayment during the first couple of years, may therefore be

desirable in the early years of promoting urban agriculture. Urban farmers should have access to markets and to market information. The Municipality should help the urban farmers to form marketing cooperatives. Urban agriculture requires strong links with other industries to achieve its potential.

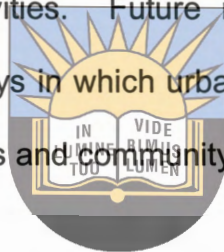
The Municipality should identify and transfer best practices, models and technologies for urban farming. The goal would then be to advance the production level of all farmers to that of the local best practice. Interventions by Buffalo City Municipality may be needed to document the best practice, to arrange farmer-to-farmer visits and to support the best practice farmers to become a teacher and coach to other urban farmers. Women urban farmers should be recognized in these processes of farmer-to-farmer visits. Interventions to support technology transfer have many successful examples in some farming systems. Support for programmes is quite urgent to increase not only yields, but also the amount of crops grown. Comparative studies will provide important input in designing alternative institutional structures needed to manage urban agriculture. The most pressing research need is to develop tools to eliminate the constraints that hinder urban agriculture's development and solve the problems associated with current practice. Information about the benefits of urban agriculture must appear regularly in the mainstream news media. Educating the next generation is critical to making urban agriculture a broadly understood and accepted industry. Primary agriculture education in schools is therefore an essential component of any action plan to educate the public. Vocational training in urban agriculture practices can also be incorporated into the secondary school curriculum. Green cities and



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healthy cities are empowered by urban agriculture. A programme of cities that feed themselves could help build political will for urban agriculture. Participants should be encouraged to practice urban farming on a full time basis. Higher institutes of learning should assist in training and promoting urban agriculture.

Support for social and urban community development can also be enhanced by the inclusion of urban agriculture in local economic regeneration initiatives and Local Agenda 21 activities. Future research support is needed in interpreting the important ways in which urban agriculture might contribute to establishing stronger relations and community networks.



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Directions for Future Research
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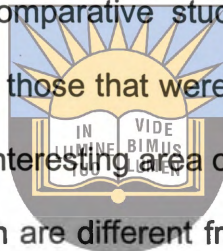
A primary aim of this research was to identify how urban agriculture can be beneficial to the urban poor women and men. The study attempted to address the problem of urban poverty created by the pre-apartheid and apartheid urban policies and how the newly demarcated municipalities in the democratic South Africa are promoting strategies that can alleviate urban poverty. In the course of this research it became evident that a number of related issues need investigation.

First, the impact of urban farming on soil fertility has not been studied. Most of the research has focused on the benefits accruing from urban farming, and not on the negative impact of urban farming. The extension of gardening into the surrounding 261 rural villages in Buffalo City Municipality can be another

important area of research. Most of the rural villages in Buffalo City are located in areas of low rainfall such that subsistence farming is practiced at a lower level and the soils are poor. Gardening in rural villages can be a strategy of alleviating poverty.

Second, a comparative study between townships in one municipality and those of another municipality can be another area of interest so as to come out with a clear picture on how municipalities differ in their IDPs and their implementation. Third, a comparative study of the services offered by a restructured municipality and those that were offered during the apartheid era in the same area can be an interesting area of study.

These new areas of research are different from the present one that focused on the role of urban poor women in urban farming in Mdantsane, Duncan Village and Postdam and how the urban poor benefited from urban farming.

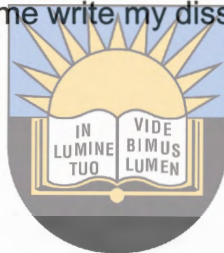


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APPENDIX

Questionnaire used for structured interviews

I am a master student at the University of Fort Hare in the Department of Geography. I would like to do research on the benefits that urban farmers get from practicing urban agriculture. The purpose of the questionnaire is to find information that will help me write my dissertation.



Section 1.

Part A. Personal details

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1.1 Name

1.2 Sex. Male Female

1.4 Number of children if any

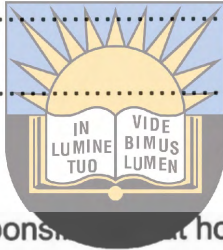
1.5 Give a brief account of your employment history.

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.....

1.6 What made you choose to engage in farming?

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.....
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Part B. Responsibilities

1.1 Outline some of your responsibilities at home besides engaging in farming.



.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

1.1.1 How many hours do you spend farming per day?.....

One hour	
Four hours	
Six hours	
Eight hours	
Other	

Section 2. Farming

Part A. Land.

1.1 Who is the owner of the land?



.....

1.2 Describe briefly how you started farming on that piece of land.

.....

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.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

1.3 What is the size of the piece of land?.....

Less than 40 square meters	
More than 40 square meters	
More than 100 square meters	
Other	

Part B,. Crops and livestock

1.1 Name the crops you grow.

.....
.....
.....

1.2 Do you grow your crops throughout the year or part of the year?

.....
.....

1.3 If only part of the year, what will you be doing during the off-season?

.....
.....
.....



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1.4 Name the type of livestock you have.

.....
.....
.....

Part C, Inputs

1.1 What are the instruments you use in your farming activities?

.....
.....
.....
.....

1.2 How did you manage to raise funds to purchase the instruments?

.....

.....

.....

Part D, Farming methods

1.1 What farming methods are you using in growing crops and keeping animals?

Growing crops.....

.....

.....



Keeping animals.....

.....

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Section 3. Management

Part A. Membership

1.1 How many members are involved in your farming project?

One	
Two	
More than three	
Other specify	

Part B. Support

1.1 What form of support do you get from farming related organisations?

.....
.....

1.2 Name the organizations that help you.

.....
.....
.....
.....



Section 4. Production

Part A., Outputs

1.1 How many kilogrammes, tonnes, bags, baskets or sacks do you get from your harvest?

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Crops	Quantity
Carrots	Boxes
Maize	Bags
Cabbages	Heads
Vegetables	Bundles
Peas	Bags (10kg)
Other specify	

1.3 What animal products do you sell?

Type of animal	Product and quantity	
Chicken (layers)	Dozens of eggs	
Chicken (Meat)	Kilograms of meat	
Goats	Litres of milk	Kilograms of meat
Sheep	Litres of milk	Kilograms of meat
Cattle	Litres of milk	Kilograms of meat
Other		



1.4 Name the sources of your home food.

From the garden	
From the markets in town	
From other sources specify	

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Part B, Marketing.

1.1 Name the major markets for your products.

.....

.....

.....

.....

1.2 Do people buy all of your products? Yes No

1.3 If yes, how do you meet the demand?

.....
.....
.....

1.4 How many times do you carry your products to the market?

Once a day	
Twice a day	
Once a week	
Twice a week	
Once a month	
Other specify	



1.5 List all the benefits you get from practicing urban farming.

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.....
.....

1.6 Do you think urban agriculture is a good strategy of alleviating poverty?

Yes No

1.7 If yes, why do you say so.....

QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE AGRICULTURE EXTENSION OFFICERS

I am a master student at the University of Fort Hare in the Geography Department and I would like to do research related to identifying how urban agriculture benefits the urban farmers. The purpose of the questionnaire is to find information that will help me write my dissertation.

Section 1

Part A. Personal details



1.1 Name.....

1.2 Working experience.....

1.3

Responsibilities..... **University of Fort Hare**
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.....

.....

.....

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.....

.....

Section 2.

Part A, Farming projects

1.1 Which of the following peri-urban areas do you supervise and how many projects exist in each peri-urban area?

Mdantsane	
Postdam	
Duncan Village	

1.2 With reference to the peri-urban areas you supervise, name at least four projects in each area.

.....

.....

.....

.....



1.3 How many members are in each of the mentioned projects?

Postdam

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Name of project	Number

Mdantsane

Name of project	Number

--	--

Duncan Village

Name of project	Number



1.4 Are women involved in these projects? If yes how many are involved in each project?

Mdantsane

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Name of project	Number of women involved

Duncan Village

Name of project	Number of women involved

Postdam

Name of project	Number of women involved



How are these women involved in the management of the projects?

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.....

.....

.....

.....

Part B, Land

1.1 How do these farmers acquire land for farming?

.....

.....

.....

.....

1.2 Do you assist them to acquire land? If yes, how do you assist?

.....
.....
.....

Part C, Capital

1.1 How do farmers get capital to run the projects?

.....
.....
.....



1.2 Name the organizations that support the projects

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....
- 4.....

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Part D, Crops and livestock

1.1 What crops do the farmers in most of the projects grow?

.....
.....
.....

1.2 How are you assisting the farmers to produce quality crop products that are on demand?

.....
.....

.....
.....

1.3 What assistance do you give to the farmers in as far as harvesting, transportation and marketing of the crops and animals is concerned?

.....
.....
.....

1.4 What animal and crop products do farmers sale?



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1.5 If there are problems in the projects and these problems are communicated to you, how does your office respond to the reported problems?

.....

.....

.....

.....

1.5 Give examples of the problems that are directed to you.

.....

.....

.....

Section 3, Evaluation



1.1 Which group of people is involved in urban agriculture?

Urban poor	
Middle income group	
High income group	

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1.2 Can you say that urban agriculture is a good strategy of alleviating poverty?

Yes No

1.3 If yes, why do you say so?

.....

.....

.....
.....
1.4 Should Buffalo City Municipality continue promoting urban agriculture?

Yes

No

1.5 If yes, why do you say so?

.....
.....
.....
.....



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QUESTIONNAIRE FOR A COOPERATIVE MEMBER

I am a Masters student at the University of Fort Hare in the Geography Department and I would like to do research related to identifying how urban agriculture benefits the urban farmers. The purpose of the questionnaire is to find information that will help me write my dissertation.

Section 1

Part A. Personal details



1.1 Name of the person.....

1.2 Sex

Male

Female

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1.1 How do you share your time between your household responsibilities and farming?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

1.4 How many hours do you spend on farming activities?

Less than three hours	
-----------------------	--

Four hours	
Six hours	
Eight hours	
Other	

Part B. Employment history

1.1 What type of employment did you use to do before you got involved in urban farming?

.....

.....

.....

.....



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1.2 For how many years have you been involved in urban agriculture with the cooperative?

.....

Section 2. Farming

Part A. History of the cooperative.

1.1 When did the cooperative start?

Early 1980s	
Early 1990s	
After 1995	
Other specify	

1.2 Who initiated the formation of the cooperative?

The government	
The local people	
The Department of Agriculture	
Buffalo City municipality	
Other specify	

1.3 What are the responsibilities of each member?

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....
- 4.....
- 5.....



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Part B, Land

1.1 Who owns the land you are using for farming?

.....
.....

1.2 How did you manage to acquire the piece of land?

.....
.....
.....

1.3 What is the size of the piece of land?

Less than 100 square meters	
More than 100 square meters	

More than 200 square meters	
Other specify	

Part C, Crops and livestock

1.1 Name the crops you grow and the animals you keep

.....

.....

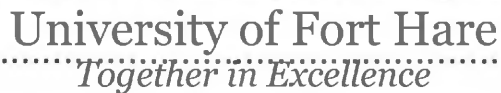
.....

1.2(a) Do you grow your crops throughout the year or part of the year?



.....

1.2(b) If only part of the year, what will you be doing during the off-season?



.....

.....

.....

.....

Part D, Inputs

1.1 What farming machinery do you use in your farming activities?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Part E, Farming methods

1.1 What farming methods are you using in growing crops and keeping animals?

Growing crops.....
.....
.....

Keeping animals.....
.....
.....



1.1 What form of support do you get from farming related organizations?
.....
.....

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1.2 Name the organizations that help you.....
.....
.....

Section 3, Production

Part A, Outputs.

1.1 How many kilograms, tonnes, bags, baskets or sacks do you get from your harvest?

Crops	Quantity
Carrots	Boxes
Maize	Bags
Cabbages	Heads
Vegetables	Bundles
Peas	Bags (10kg)
Other specify	

1.2 What animal products do you sell?



Type of animal	Product and quantity	
Chicken (layers)	Dozens of eggs	
Chicken (Meat)	Kilograms of meat	
Goats	Litres of milk	Kilograms of meat
Sheep	Litres of milk	Kilograms of meat
Cattle	Litres of milk	Kilograms of meat
Other		

1.3 Name the source of your home food.

From the cooperative garden	
From the markets in town	
Other sources from elsewhere	

Specify	
---------	--

Part B, Marketing

1.1 Name the major markets for your products.

.....

.....

.....

.....



1.2 Are your products in demand on the market? Yes No

1.2.1 If yes what do you do to meet the demand?

.....

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.....

1.2.2 If no, why are they not in demand?

.....

.....

.....

1.3 How many times do you transport your products to the market?

Once a day	
Twice a day	
Once a week	
Twice a week	
Once a month	

Other specify	
---------------	--

Section 4

Part A, Evaluation

1.1 What benefits do you get from urban farming?

.....

.....

.....

1.2 Do you think women urban farmers are the major participants in urban farming?

Yes No



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1.3 If yes, why do you say so?

.....

.....

.....

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