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**Urban Agriculture in Cape Town:  
An investigation into the history and impact of small-  
scale urban agriculture in the Cape Flats townships  
with a special focus on the social benefits of urban  
farming**

by

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DNNSHI002

*A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of  
the degree of Master of Arts in Historical Studies*

Faculty of the Humanities

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## DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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## Abstract

Urban agriculture (UA), defined in this study as the cultivation of crops and the farming of poultry and livestock within city boundaries, is not a new phenomenon. Urban agriculture has been conducted in cities around the world for centuries and continues to be practised widely in both the North and South. However, UA is still a relatively new topic of study and, while a substantial amount of research has been conducted on the subject, a number of gaps can be found in the existing body of UA literature. In respect of Cape Town, the most noticeable gaps are the lack of information on the history of this practice and the relative lack of information on the social benefits of urban farming.

This study attempts to fill these gaps by exploring the history of UA in Cape Town and investigating the social impact of this phenomenon. Documentary and oral sources have been used to trace the origins of UA in Cape Town and identify where and how agriculture was practised prior to the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Oral history methodology has been used to explore the life histories of those currently involved in urban farming in order to ascertain how these farmers have benefited, and continue to benefit, from their UA activities. Extensive field research was conducted, with 30 urban vegetable, livestock and poultry farmers participating in this study. Qualitative, life history interviews were conducted with these 30 farmers, with a questionnaire containing mostly open-ended questions being used to guide in-depth discussions regarding the farmers' life histories and their UA activities. These farmers live and farm in the Cape Flats areas of Guguletu, Philippi, Nyanga, KTC and New Crossroads and this study focused mainly on small-scale, informal UA activities operating in these townships.

This study found that agriculture has been an important feature of Cape Town's landscape since the 1600s, and that small-scale agriculture has been practised in Cape Town throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Urban livestock, poultry and vegetable farming have been practised in various parts of the Cape Flats since the early

20<sup>th</sup> century. Cape Flats farmers have derived, and continue to derive, a variety of benefits from both the products and processes of their UA activities. While benefits derived from the products have mostly been related to food security, health and, to a lesser extent, income generation, the processes of urban farming have produced many significant social benefits. It is therefore concluded that UA in the Cape Flats has had, and continues to have, a profound social impact on farmers, their families and their broader neighbourhoods. It is also found that a strong relationship exists between social and economic benefits and that through its social benefits, UA has the potential to benefit farmers and their families both socially and economically.

University of Cape Town

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## Chapter One: Introduction

“Cities have a long history of being defined as non-agricultural. This urban-rural dichotomy is a convenient yet over-simplified division of human activities. For millennia people have raised livestock or planted vegetable gardens in cities.”<sup>1</sup>

While the term urban agriculture (UA) may appear to be a paradox, agricultural activities have in fact been conducted in cities around the world for centuries, and urban farming continues to be practised widely in both the North and South.<sup>2</sup> Despite the fact this is not a new phenomenon, it is still a relatively new topic of study, with interest in UA as a subject for research only beginning in the 1980s.<sup>3</sup> A large amount of literature has since been produced on the subject, with research having been conducted in various cities around the globe. However, a number of gaps can be found in the existing body of UA literature, internationally, nationally and locally.

The most noticeable gap in the existing literature on urban agriculture is the relative lack of information on the social benefits of urban farming. This gap is particularly evident in literature pertaining to UA in Africa and South Africa.<sup>4</sup> As a result, UA activities have been, and continue to be, viewed by the vast majority of policy-makers and stakeholders in terms of economic impact. The majority of the existing literature on urban agriculture views UA from an economic perspective, focusing on economic benefits and motivations, and thus ignoring the social benefits. While it is possible that UA activities have produced, and continue to produce, a large number of social benefits for participants and their families, very little research has been conducted in order to justify this claim.

Although some recent Northern studies have started to pay attention to the social benefits of UA activities,<sup>5</sup> literature on urban agriculture in the South continues to view UA in economic terms, with most studies assessing the potential of urban farming to create employment, generate income or assist with food security. Role-players in the urban agriculture field have become aware of the gap that exists in the available

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<sup>1</sup> C. Boone and A. Modares, *City and Environment* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 88.

<sup>2</sup> For statistics relating to UA activities around the world, please refer to the “Brief history and overview of urban agriculture” section later in this chapter.

<sup>3</sup> K. Lynch, *Rural-Urban Interaction in the Developing World* (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2005).

<sup>4</sup> Please refer to the literature review later in this chapter for more information in this regard.

<sup>5</sup> M. Marshak, ‘Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture: Social Benefits and Transformations’ (Honours thesis: Environmental and Geographical Science, University of Cape Town, 2008). The Northern UA studies cited that highlight social benefits include Pudup (2007 & 2008), Jamison (2000) and Armstrong (2000).

literature and the existing research on urban agriculture. In a 2007 edition of the *Urban Agriculture Magazine*<sup>6</sup> that is produced by an international UA organisation, RUAF (Resource Centres on Urban Agriculture and Food Security), examples of the social impact of urban agriculture in various cities around the world are explored, and the need for further research is highlighted. Development practitioners and community workers involved in UA projects are therefore noticing that urban farming has the potential to benefit individuals, families and broader communities in ways that go beyond the economic, and are thus calling for research to be conducted into the potential social benefits of urban agriculture. In response to this call, researchers in Cape Town are starting to consider the social impact of UA projects, and a few case studies were conducted recently that considered the social benefits of identified urban vegetable farming projects. While these studies have started to fill part of the gap in the existing literature on UA in Cape Town,<sup>7</sup> there is still a great need to broaden this research in order to thoroughly understand the social impact of urban agriculture activities in Cape Town.

The other gap in the existing literature on urban agriculture in Cape Town is the lack of information on the history of this practice. While UA has been studied by researchers from various disciplines including geographers, town planners, development practitioners and anthropologists, it has yet to be tackled by historians. In order to understand current UA practices in Cape Town, it is important to have an understanding of the general history of urban agriculture in Cape Town, the history of existing UA projects and the life histories of current urban farmers. An historical approach would therefore add immense value to the existing body of knowledge, and would bring us closer to understanding if, and how, people's lives have changed through their involvement in UA activities.

This study will attempt to fill both of these gaps by exploring the history of urban agriculture in Cape Town and investigating the social benefits of this phenomenon. A combination of documentary sources and oral sources have been used to trace the origins of UA in Cape Town and identify where and how this practice was conducted throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Oral history methodology has been used to explore the life histories of those currently involved in urban farming in order to ascertain how these farmers have benefited, and continue to benefit, from their UA activities.

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<sup>6</sup> *Urban Agriculture Magazine*, 18 (July 2007), produced by RUAF.

<sup>7</sup> Details of these recent studies and information on the gaps that still exist in the research on UA in Cape Town can be found in the literature review later in this chapter.

Extensive field research was conducted with 30 urban farmers living and farming in the Cape Flats areas of Guguletu, Philippi, Nyanga, KTC and New Crossroads. Research participants included vegetable gardeners, poultry farmers and livestock farmers, with their life histories, current situations and UA activities being thoroughly explored. This study therefore approaches the topic of urban agriculture from an historical perspective, inter weaving historical research with development theory, in order to assess the social impact of urban farming in the Cape Flats townships.

Social benefits have also been defined in this study,<sup>8</sup> with potential social benefits being identified from a range of sources, including existing case studies on UA, observations from role-players in the field, and oral histories on the forced removals in Cape Town. This last source was used to identify important social elements that were lost through the forced removals and were therefore lacking in the areas where those who had been removed were forced to live. It is important to note that, while this study will focus mainly on the social impact of urban farming, the relationship between social and economic cannot be ignored. While many of the existing studies of urban agriculture ignore the social motivations and benefits of UA, a thorough study of the social impact of urban agriculture cannot ignore economic motivations and benefits. The relationship between social and economic has therefore been explored in this study.

Existing definitions of urban agriculture differ quite considerably. While some definitions are very broad, such as “farming in town”,<sup>9</sup> others are more specific. In some of the existing literature, urban agriculture is seen to refer specifically to cultivation. For example, in his book on urban farming in Nairobi, Freeman defines urban agriculture as the “cultivation of urban lands”,<sup>10</sup> and the “informal cultivation of open spaces”.<sup>11</sup> However, many of the other researchers have included the farming of livestock in their definitions. In his study of urban farming in Zimbabwe, Mbiba defines urban agriculture as “the production of crops and / or livestock on land which is administratively and legally zoned for urban uses.”<sup>12</sup> The City of Cape Town’s urban agriculture policy includes a number of farming activities in their understanding of urban agriculture. These activities

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<sup>8</sup> While detailed information regarding the potential social benefits that have been identified can be found in Chapter Two, examples of such benefits include health and nutritional benefits, personal psychological and therapeutic benefits, family unification, women empowerment, environmental benefits and broader “community” benefits such as community cohesion, community development and the strengthening of social networks and social capital.

<sup>9</sup> D. Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income: Urban Farming in an East African Town* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 2.

<sup>10</sup> D. Freeman, *A City of Farmers: Informal Urban Agriculture in the Open Spaces of Nairobi, Kenya* (Montreal: McGill–Queen’s University Press, 1991), 111.

<sup>11</sup> Freeman, *A City of Farmers*, 44.

<sup>12</sup> B. Mbiba, *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe* (Aldershot: Avebury Brookfield, 1995), 15.

include vegetable and herb production, fruit growing, flower growing, forestry, livestock production (including cattle, goats, sheep, poultry, horses and rabbits), bee-keeping and fish farming.<sup>13</sup> If one were to incorporate all of these activities into one's understanding of UA, a definition such as "the production of food within the city or town limits"<sup>14</sup> would be too narrow. By limiting the definition of urban agriculture to the production of food, one is excluding UA practices that produce non-food products, such as medicinal herbs, fuel, ornamental flowers or animal fodder.

The International Development Research Centre (IDRC) defines Urban Agriculture as "...a practice located within or on the fringe of a town, a city or a metropolis, which uses human and material resources to grow, process, and distribute a diversity of food and non-food products to those intra and peri-urban areas on a daily basis."<sup>15</sup>

While this definition appears to be all encompassing, not all urban farming activities operate on a daily basis. This would apply especially to many small-scale informal UA activities. Mbiba's definition of urban agriculture that was quoted in the paragraph above and the City of Cape Town's definition, which sees urban agriculture as "any form and scale of agricultural activity that happens within the boundaries and fringes of the urban environment",<sup>16</sup> would agree best with the way in which urban agriculture is being viewed in this study. A suitable definition needs to include a reference to the city or urban environment and reference to both cultivation and livestock farming. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, urban agriculture will be defined as: Any agricultural activity, including the cultivation of crops and the farming of poultry and livestock, conducted within the city's municipal boundaries. This study will focus specifically on small-scale urban agricultural activities operating in the informal sector.

It is important that a bottom-line of what qualifies as an urban agriculture activity is established for the purpose of this study. In his research on urban agriculture in Nakuru, Morogoro and Mbeya, Foeken uses the following as his bottom-line: For cultivation, the minimum plot size is one square metre and for livestock farming, the minimum number of animals is one head of cattle or five goats or ten small animals. He notes that while one square metre may seem small, plots of this size can yield a surprisingly large

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<sup>13</sup> G. Visser, 'Baseline document for the development of an Urban Agriculture policy for the City of Cape Town', Directorate of Economic and Human Development, City of Cape Town (2006).

<sup>14</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*, 2.

<sup>15</sup> IDRC (International Development Research Centre) (2003) quoted in Boone and Modares, *City and Environment*, 89.

<sup>16</sup> Visser, 'Baseline document', 5.

amount of produce.<sup>17</sup> While the bottom-line that I established for this study is similar to Foeken's, I have reduced the minimum number of poultry to six, due to space constraints in many of the areas where the farmers that I interviewed live and farm. All of the vegetable farmers interviewed for this study are cultivating plots that are larger than one square metre, with some being only slightly larger and many being considerably larger. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the bottom-line for a suitable urban agriculture activity is a minimum plot size of one square metre, or a minimum of one head of cattle, five goats, sheep or pigs, or six chickens.

The central research question that this study will attempt to answer is:

When did urban agriculture emerge in Cape Town's Cape Flats townships, how has this practice evolved and grown, and what is the social impact that these UA activities have had, and continue to have, on farmers, their families and their neighbourhoods?

In addition, this study will explore the following sub-questions:

- What has the Cape Town Municipality's attitude been towards UA activities during the past 150 years and has this attitude changed since 1994?
- Are the social benefits of urban agriculture different for crop farmers than for livestock and poultry farmers?
- Does communal vegetable farming produce more social benefits than home vegetable gardening?
- Are urban farmers in Cape Town very recent, or even recent, migrants to the city?<sup>18</sup>

This last question ties in with an existing debate amongst UA researchers both nationally and internationally. This study will contribute towards this debate by using data gathered through life history interviews with urban farmers to provide insight into this issue with regards to farmers in the Cape Flats.

This study finds that agriculture has been part of Cape Town's landscape since 1652, and that small-scale individual farming activities were practised in various parts of Cape Town throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Oral and written sources have revealed that small-scale urban vegetable gardening, poultry farming and livestock

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<sup>17</sup> D. Foeken, 'Urban Agriculture and the urban poor in East Africa: Does policy matter?'. in M. Rutten, A. Leliveld and D. Foeken, eds, *Inside Poverty and Development in Africa* (London and Boston: Brill, 2008).

<sup>18</sup> This study sees a recent migrant as being a person who has moved to Cape Town from a rural area during the past ten years and a very recent migrant being someone who has moved to Cape Town during the past five years. This is based on how recent migrants are defined in other UA studies (such as Freeman (1991), Foeken (2006) and Fermont *et al.* (1998)).

farming have been conducted in settlements and townships in the Cape Flats since the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Through extensive oral research, this study finds that small-scale urban farmers in the Cape Flats have derived, and continue to derive, a number of important social benefits from their UA activities. While many farmers have also derived certain direct economic benefits from their farming activities, in many cases the social benefits have been found to be more significant. After presenting and analysing a substantial amount of data obtained from 30 Cape Flats farmers in five different townships, this study argues that urban farming in the Cape Flats has had (and continues to have) a profound social impact on farmers, their families and, in many cases, their broader neighbourhoods. In addition, based on existing theories that link social capital to poverty alleviation,<sup>19</sup> this study argues that by helping to create and strengthen social capital, urban farming has the potential to improve the lives of farmers and their families both socially and economically.

The subject of urban agriculture also raises questions regarding urbanity<sup>20</sup> and challenges conventional, modernist views that have defined cities as being non agricultural. Traditionally, the urban and the rural have been seen as entirely separate, and very different, domains. In 1925, Louis Wirth of the influential Chicago school of urban sociology wrote: "The city and the country represent two opposite poles in modern civilisation."<sup>21</sup> Modernist thinking, which had an immense influence on urban planning and architecture during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, believed that progress could be achieved through technology. Modernist plans for the city included the erection of high-rise buildings and the development of highly efficient transport systems.<sup>22</sup> Other than establishing parks in residential areas, modernist planners would not have included agricultural activities in their vision for the city. In a 1993 article that looks at some examples of urban agriculture around the world, Rogerson notes that the prevalence of UA and the government support that UA receives in certain Asian cities "reflects a reconsideration of the age-old concept of the city as a non-agricultural entity".<sup>23</sup> While issues regarding urbanity and defining the city cannot be discussed in great detail in this thesis, the information presented in this study will nonetheless encourage urban

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<sup>19</sup> Authors who have explored the link between social networks or social capital and poverty alleviation include Iliffe (1987), May (2000), May *et al.* (2000) and Jacobs (2009). Putnam (2000) also highlights the economic benefits of social capital. These theories are all discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two.

<sup>20</sup> The term "urbanity" is used in this study to mean the nature of the urban, and is used in discussions regarding how the city has been viewed and defined.

<sup>21</sup> L. Wirth, 'A Bibliography of the Urban Community', in R. Park, E. Burgess and R. McKenzie, eds, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), 222.

<sup>22</sup> M Gottdiener and R. Hutchison, *The New Urban Sociology: Third Edition* (United States of America: Westview Press, 2006) 328.

<sup>23</sup> C. Rogerson, 'Urban Agriculture in South Africa: Scope, Issues and Potential', *GeoJournal*, 30, 1 (1993), 22.

theorists to reconsider traditional notions of what constitutes a city. In addition, this study looks at municipal regulations regarding the keeping of livestock and poultry in Cape Town, revealing that from the early 1900s, municipal authorities attempted to restrict these practices. This suggests that until recently, local authorities in Cape Town entertained modernist, non-agricultural notions of the city.

## **Brief history and overview of urban agriculture around the world**

Urban agriculture is not a new phenomenon and has indeed been practised around the world for centuries. Literature on UA reveals that urban agriculture was practised in China as far back as the 6<sup>th</sup> Century BC and that UA was also practised in pre-colonial Africa.<sup>24</sup> Urban agriculture has existed in Europe in the form of allotment gardens for approximately 150 years, with the earliest examples of allotment gardens being found in Britain and Germany.<sup>25</sup>

In Germany, the allotment gardens were born out of increased industrialisation and urbanisation, which had resulted in poor living conditions for the lower classes. Some municipalities allocated pieces of land to the poor for gardening, with the first such garden being established in the city of Kiel. By 1869, the allotment gardening movement in Germany had been born, with 100 allotment gardens having been established. The allotment gardening movement in Germany continued to grow during the first half of the twentieth century and by the early 1930s, there were 450 000 allotment gardens in Germany. The movement grew even more during the Second World War and by the end of WW2, there were 800 000 allotment gardens in Germany. Today, approximately 4 million people in Germany make use of 1.4 million allotment gardens.<sup>26</sup>

From Germany, the allotment movement spread to other European countries that were experiencing urbanisation, overcrowding and loss of traditional culture. The movement spread to the Netherlands and then to Denmark, Norway and Sweden. In Sweden, the allotment gardening movement thrived during times of social and economic crisis when alternative sources of food were needed, such as during the two World Wars and the Great Depression of the 1930s. During the depression, 10% of all garden products in

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<sup>24</sup> N. Webb, 'Urban Agriculture, Advocacy and Discourse: A Discursive Study with Particular Reference to Three Eastern Cape Centres' (PHD thesis, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 1996).

<sup>25</sup> J. Parker, 'The Rise of the Allotment Movement in Europe: An Historical Overview with Theoretical Implications', Internal Discussion Paper, Department of Systems Ecology, Stockholm University, Sweden (2003).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

Sweden came from 130 000 allotment gardens.<sup>27</sup> Livestock and urban dairies, situated near beer breweries, were important features of 19<sup>th</sup> century Copenhagen.<sup>28</sup> The French allotment gardening movement was established in 1896, with the movement promoting family gardens for urban workers. However, the French government only passed legislation that provided for allotments in 1941. Owing to food shortages, the allotment gardening movement thrived in France during the Second World War and during that time there were 600 000 allotment gardens in France.<sup>29</sup>

In Britain, the allotment gardening movement originated during the early to mid 1800s in response to the Great Enclosure Movement that occurred during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Farming had become more commercial and landlords enclosed vast amounts of land that had previously been used as common lands for food production. As a result, the poor suffered great hardships and the government passed a series of Acts throughout the 1800s requiring landlords to allocate areas for the poor to use for subsistence farming. The Small Holding and Allotment Acts of 1907 and 1908 made allotment gardening an urban issue, with borough councils and urban districts also having to provide land for allotment gardens. During the First World War, allotment gardens played a large role in supplying food for the British people, and the number of allotments grew from 600 000 to 1.5 million, with gardens being established in private gardens, parks, sports fields and even at Buckingham Palace. By 1918, allotment gardens had provided the British with two million tons of vegetables. While the number of allotment gardens decreased after the First World War, there was a new revival of gardening during the Second World War, as British citizens were encouraged to “dig for Victory”. The number of allotment gardens rose from 800 000 to 1.4 million and allotment gardeners produced 1.3 million tons of food.<sup>30</sup>

In the United States, allotment gardening began as a result of the 1893 financial crisis. The Mayor of Detroit organised garden plots on public and private land as relief for the poor and this model spread to other cities. During the First World War, allotment gardening increased as the government encouraged the “Liberty Gardens” to address the problem of food shortages. Allotment gardening also thrived during the Great Depression and the Second World War. During WW2, the United States government promoted gardening through its National Victory Gardening Programme, which resulted

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<sup>27</sup> Parker, 'The Rise of the Allotment Movement'.

<sup>28</sup> Visser, 'Baseline document', 23.

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<sup>29</sup> Parker, ‘The Rise of the Allotment Movement’.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

in 20 million gardens producing 40% of the country's vegetables.<sup>31</sup> In addition to providing food, the Victory Gardens in the United States, Canada and Britain helped to raise morale and create a sense of freedom through self-sufficiency.<sup>32</sup> Efforts to develop and maintain community vegetable gardens in the developed world increased during the 1970s due to environmental factors.<sup>33</sup> By the 1980s, UA was being practised widely in both Europe and in the United States, with allotment gardens becoming an important feature in German cities. In 1982, vegetables worth R19.5 billion were produced by home gardens in the United States.<sup>34</sup>

More recent information can be found regarding the practice of UA activities in the developing world. During the economic crisis in Cuba that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, Cubans living in Havana were forced to practise urban agriculture in order to survive. As a result, urban farms are now wide-spread across Havana and this city has been praised for its sustainability.<sup>35</sup> Urban Agriculture is also widely practised in many sub-Saharan African countries and is particularly prevalent in countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe and Tanzania. Statistics included in a report from 1998 revealed that one third of all urban households in Kenya and Uganda produce their own food, with this figure being as high as 65% in Zimbabwe and Tanzania.<sup>36</sup> Another study showed that in 1990, 40% of Africa's urban population was involved in some form of urban agriculture.<sup>37</sup> UA is also very prevalent in cities in China, with statistics from 1981 revealing that 85% of the vegetables consumed by China's city dwellers are produced within urban areas.<sup>38</sup>

Urban farming continues to be practised widely throughout the world. According to United Nations Development Programme statistics from 1996, 800 million people world wide practise urban agriculture. International Development Research Centre statistics from 2003 revealed that UA contributes 15% of the world's food supply and estimated that this figure could reach 33% by 2005.<sup>39</sup> UA researchers feel that urban agriculture is

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<sup>31</sup> Parker, 'The Rise of the Allotment Movement'.

<sup>32</sup> Boone and Modares, *City and Environment*.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> R. Eberhard, 'Urban Agriculture: The Potential in Cape Town', Working Paper 89/E1, Summary Report, Town Planning Branch, City Planner's Office: Cape Town (1989), 3.

<sup>35</sup> Boone and Modares, *City and Environment*.

<sup>36</sup> A. Fermont, P. van Asten, K. Keet and E. van Boom, 'Urban Vegetable Production in Khayelitsha: A Case Study of Management Options to Improve the Feasibility of Vegetable Gardening in Deprived Communities of the Cape Flats, South Africa, with an Emphasis on Agroforestry', Occasional Publication Series, 1, School of Environmental Studies, University of the Western Cape (1998).

<sup>37</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*, 2.

<sup>38</sup> Wade, (1981), cited in J. Beaumont, 'Urban Agriculture: A Study in Town 2, Khayelitsha' (Honours thesis: Environmental and Geographical Science, University of Cape Town, 1990).

<sup>39</sup> Boone and Modares, *City and Environment*.

increasing in Africa, due to the economic crises that are currently affecting most African countries.<sup>40</sup>

Detailed statistics on the prevalence of urban farming in South Africa seem to be quite scarce. In an article written in 1993, Rogerson notes that until the late 1980s, very little was known about the extent and nature of UA activities in South Africa. However, food issues attracted growing concern and resulted in researchers starting to look into urban agriculture. Rogerson notes that UA is not a new practice in South Africa. Cattle were kept in Johannesburg in backyard dairies during the early 1900s, and Johannesburg health inspectors' records from the 1940s show that township residents were keeping chickens and cattle at that time. He also notes that home vegetable gardens can be found in many informal settlements around South Africa and that a number of food garden initiatives have been started and encouraged by government agencies and NGOs since the 1980s. Examples of such initiatives in Durban, Cape Town, Montague and Ashton are provided. Nevertheless, Rogerson claims that urban agriculture is not conducted on as large a scale in South Africa as it is in other developing countries. The suggested reason for this is that greater returns can be earned from renting out backyard shacks or using available space for other informal income generation activities.<sup>41</sup> While this may indeed be true, this reasoning does not take into account UA activities that are conducted on public land. It is also possible that UA activities have increased in South Africa since 1993 due to rising food prices.

In a later article, co-authored by Rogerson and May in 1995, some statistics are provided regarding the prevalence of UA in certain South African urban and peri-urban areas. Statistics from a previous study, conducted by Cross et al in 1992, revealed that between 0 and 50% of households in various settlements on the fringes of Durban were involved in some form of cultivation. A larger sample survey of areas on the fringe of metropolitan Durban, found that 25% of households were cultivating gardens, of whom 10% were selling the produce. May and Rogerson's own research, conducted in Groutville, Tembisa, Umtata, KwaMashu and Inanda, revealed that up to 50% of households in peri-urban areas were involved in some form of agriculture, while the number of urban households involved in UA activities was found to be considerably less.<sup>42</sup> A more recent study states that urban agriculture is currently practised in all South African cities as well as in some small rural towns. This study says that

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<sup>40</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

<sup>41</sup> Rogerson, 'Urban Agriculture in South Africa', 21 – 28.

<sup>42</sup> J. May and C. Rogerson, 'Poverty and Sustainable Cities in South Africa: The Role of Urban Cultivation', *Habitat International*, 19, 2 (1995), 165 – 181.

authorities in South Africa are becoming more aware of the potential benefits of urban farming and are therefore becoming more accepting of this practice. As a result, more UA projects are being initiated in various South African cities.<sup>43</sup>

Both large-scale formal farming and small-scale informal urban agriculture can be found in Cape Town. Statistics from the Agricultural Census of 2002 reveal that 3635 hectares of land are being used for vegetable farming within four Cape Town districts.<sup>44</sup> The Philippi Horticultural Area (PHA), which contains a number of vegetable farms as well as equestrian stud farms and racing stables, makes up 26.7% of the 3635 hectares of vegetable producing land in Cape Town. While the PHA comprises 3037 hectares, not all of the potentially productive land is being cultivated.<sup>45</sup>

The City of Cape Town's baseline survey on urban agriculture states that numerous people and institutions are currently involved in informal UA activities around the city, with vegetable cultivation being the most prevalent form of UA in Cape Town. A survey conducted in July 2002 by the City of Cape Town showed that the City was directly involved in 35 UA projects, NGOs were involved in 33 projects and national and provincial government departments were involved in a number of others.<sup>46</sup> It is safe to assume that the large majority of these were vegetable farming projects and it is important to remember that there are also a number of individuals farming without organisational support. The City's baseline survey notes that there is little information available on other UA activities, such as livestock farming, but that livestock farming is indeed taking place in many Cape Town neighbourhoods. A survey conducted by the Centre for Integrated Rural Development in Khayelitsha in 2000, revealed that there were 166 cattle, 342 goats, 24 sheep, 5 pigs, 4 horses and 620 chickens in Khayelitsha at that time.<sup>47</sup> A survey conducted for the Municipal Development Partnership (MDP) in the informal areas of Philippi, found that while UA is not practised on a very large scale in these areas, there are a number of individuals and organisations involved in home vegetable gardens, community vegetable gardens, institutional vegetable gardens and the farming of various livestock including cattle, horses, goats, chickens and turkeys.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Visser, 'Baseline document'.

<sup>44</sup> Municipal Development Partnership (MDP), 'Situational Analysis for MDP/Philippi Urban Agriculture Project', First Draft, (2008).

<sup>45</sup> MDP, Situational Analysis for MDP'.

<sup>46</sup> Visser, 'Baseline document'.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> MDP, Situational Analysis for MDP'.

The City of Cape Town has recently developed and adopted an urban agriculture policy, which aims to support and promote urban farming activities within the city.<sup>49</sup> The policy recognises that urban agriculture has the potential to play a large role in poverty alleviation and economic development. Through this policy, the City aims to promote co-ordination and integration of all UA development efforts taking place within the city in order to develop a “prosperous urban agricultural sector”<sup>50</sup> that will create household food security for the poor, sustainable economic opportunities and facilitate human resource development. It is possible that the enabling environment created by the municipal authorities could result in an increase in UA activities in Cape Town in the near future.

## Literature Review

Since the 1980s, there has been a large amount of literature produced on urban agriculture by researchers from various disciplines, including geographers, anthropologists, town planners and development theorists and practitioners. Interest in UA as a topic of research is increasing around the world, especially at major learning centres.<sup>51</sup> However, despite increasing interest in UA as a topic of research, this phenomenon is not always included in urban studies literature. For example, a collection of articles published in 2005 that explores survival strategies in African cities, does not mention urban agriculture at all.<sup>52</sup> A chapter on food security in a book that looks at urban vulnerability in Southern Africa only mentions UA briefly and does not consider urban agriculture when providing recommendations to address the problems of food security.<sup>53</sup>

On the other hand, urban agriculture is starting to receive some attention in recent urban studies that focus on environmental issues and rural-urban relationships. In Boone and Modares’s book on urban environmental issues,<sup>54</sup> UA is seen as a tool to help cities to become more sustainable. Boone and Modares argue that cities and nature do not need to be mutually exclusive concepts and they devote a chapter of their book to agriculture,

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<sup>49</sup> City of Cape Town, Urban Agriculture Policy, passed in February 2007 and based on Visser’s ‘Baseline document for the development of an Urban Agriculture policy for the City of Cape Town’ (2006).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, 24.

<sup>51</sup> R. Obudho and D. Foeken, *Urban Agriculture in Africa: A Bibliographical Survey* (The Netherlands: African Studies Centre, 1999).

<sup>52</sup> A. Simone and A. Abouhany, eds, *Urban Africa: Changing Contours of Survival in the City* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2005).

<sup>53</sup> C. Ismael and S. Meershoek, ‘Food Security and Nutrition’; in C. Nomdo and E. Coetzee, eds, *Urban Vulnerability: Perspectives from Southern Africa* (Rondebosch: Peri-Peri Publications, 2002).

<sup>54</sup> Boone and Modares, *City and Environment*.

in which they discuss UA practices world wide. Both economic and social benefits of urban farming are mentioned, although no in-depth study of social benefits is included. Lynch's work on rural-urban relationships in the developing world also discusses urban agriculture in great detail.<sup>55</sup> Lynch notes that one of the most important interactions between urban and rural areas is the provision of food. He states that one aspect of the blurring of the urban-rural divide is the increasing production and cultivation of food within urban and peri-urban areas. Lynch looks at both the concerns and benefits of UA and provides a balanced overview of urban agriculture in the developing world.

Therefore, while urban agriculture has not always been included in general urban studies literature, it is starting to receive attention in studies focusing on environmental issues and rural-urban relationships, especially those focusing on the developing world. As a topic of its own, urban agriculture is indeed receiving increasing attention throughout the world. While literature on UA has been produced in both the North and South, studies emanating from the latter have mostly been narrow and quantitative, focusing on the economic potential of urban agriculture. UA studies from the North, however, have started to show the potential of UA to produce social and community benefits that help to address various urban problems. Northern studies have shown that creating green spaces in unfriendly, dangerous areas can encourage social upliftment, cohesion and community development.<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately, very few studies on UA in Africa have looked at these and other potential social benefits of urban farming.

#### ***Literature on Urban Agriculture in Africa and South Africa:***

Urban agriculture has been studied extensively throughout sub-Saharan Africa, with this topic having been particularly well researched in countries such as Zimbabwe, Kenya and Tanzania, where UA is widely practised. The fact that a bibliographical survey on UA in Africa was published in 1999, demonstrates that there is indeed a fair amount of literature available on UA in Africa.<sup>57</sup> However, a number of gaps can be found in the existing literature and even the authors of the bibliographical survey note that the available literature is lacking certain in-depth investigations and comparative studies. These authors call for further research to be conducted that analyses the various aspects and effects of urban agriculture.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Lynch, *Rural-Urban Interaction*.

<sup>56</sup> Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture'.

<sup>57</sup> Obudho and Foeken, *Urban Agriculture in Africa*.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*.

One of the most well-known works on UA in Africa is Freeman's study of urban farming in Nairobi, Kenya.<sup>59</sup> Freeman sees urban agriculture as an important, yet largely ignored, part of Nairobi's informal sector, and looks at the significance of UA in terms of economic, socio-political and environmental issues. When discussing the motives for, and benefits of UA activities, Freeman focuses mainly on economic issues. While a few social benefits are mentioned, they are not explored, and are seen to be less important than the economic issues. A more recent work on urban agriculture in Kenya is Foeken's study of urban farming in Nakuru.<sup>60</sup> Foeken looks at vegetable, livestock and poultry farming and investigates the farmers themselves, the support that they receive, the benefits their UA activities produce and the environmental impact of their farming activities. When looking at the benefits of farming activities in Nakuru, Foeken focuses mainly on economic and food security motivations and benefits, finding that UA contributes towards town and household food supply, improved household nutrition, income generation and urban employment. However, Foeken notes that UA cannot be seen solely in economic terms and that urban farming can also be a cultural phenomenon. His research revealed that some farm for social and cultural reasons, such as enjoyment, to keep themselves busy and because farming is part of their custom and their identity. Nevertheless, these social and cultural aspects are not analysed in much detail, with this study looking at UA mainly in terms of economic benefits, food security and environmental impact.

An even more recent work by Foeken looks at UA in Morogoro and Mbeya in Tanzania, as well as urban farming in Nakuru, Kenya.<sup>61</sup> While this study looks mainly at urban policy and legislation and how this affects urban farmers, Foeken briefly discusses the main benefits that the farmers derive from their UA activities. Benefits that are mentioned include food and nutritional security, job creation, income diversification and environmental sustainability. Other social benefits of urban agriculture are not discussed. Foeken argues that the poor are under represented among urban farmers in these cities and that where the poor are farming, they perform worse than richer farmers. Another well-known work on UA in Africa is Mbiba's book on urban agriculture in Zimbabwe.<sup>62</sup> In this study of urban farming in Zimbabwe in the 1990s, Mbiba focuses very much on the economic impact of these activities. While nutrition, gender and environment are mentioned, they are not studied in great detail and no other social benefits are mentioned. Mbiba argues that urban agriculture does not benefit the urban

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<sup>59</sup> Freeman, *A City of Farmers*.

<sup>60</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

<sup>61</sup> Foeken, 'Urban Agriculture and the urban poor in East Africa'.

<sup>62</sup> Mbiba, *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe*.

poorest and he in fact found that some well-off residents conduct urban farming as a commercial venture.

Other case studies that have been conducted on urban agriculture in Southern Africa include a Geography thesis on UA in Manzini, Swaziland,<sup>63</sup> and a Public and Development Management thesis on UA in Maputo.<sup>64</sup> While both of these studies provide an interesting overview of UA in these particular towns, they are mostly descriptive and do not present any strong arguments or raise any new issues. Neither of these studies discusses the social benefits of urban agriculture in any detail, with the authors focusing on the economic impact of urban farming in these towns.

While some literature on urban agriculture in South Africa has been produced, the amount of literature available on UA in South Africa is modest compared to that which has been produced on urban farming in other African countries, such as Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Kenya. One of the main writers on urban agriculture in South Africa is Rogerson who has published a number of articles on UA and its potential in South Africa. In an article written in 1993,<sup>65</sup> Rogerson looks at the state of urban agriculture in South Africa and analyses its potential for poverty alleviation. He notes that interest in UA as a topic of study in South Africa began in the late 1980s because of food issues that were attracting growing concern. Rogerson points out that urban agriculture is not as prevalent in South Africa as it is in other developing countries. Through a review of existing research and policy initiatives, Rogerson concludes that urban cultivation in South Africa is mainly conducted as a survival strategy by the most marginalised and vulnerable groups in urban areas. However, in a later article, written with May in 1995,<sup>66</sup> Rogerson finds that urban agriculture is in fact not only conducted by the poor and marginalised and that on the whole it is not an important survival strategy adopted by marginalised households. In his 1993 article, Rogerson concludes that although UA has limited prospects as a means for resolving immediate urban poverty issues, limited employment opportunities in urban areas and the need to develop sustainable cities both provide good reasons to continue efforts to extend urban farming prospects in South Africa.<sup>67</sup> Apart from referring to environmental, food security and psychological benefits

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<sup>63</sup> G. Peter, 'Urban Agriculture in Manzini, Swaziland' (MA thesis, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2003).

<sup>64</sup> F. Christie, 'Urban Agriculture in Maputo' (Masters thesis: Public and Development Management, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1996).

<sup>65</sup> Rogerson, 'Urban Agriculture in South Africa', 21 – 28.

<sup>66</sup> May and Rogerson, 'Poverty and Sustainable Cities in South Africa', 165 – 181.

<sup>67</sup> Rogerson, 'Urban Agriculture in South Africa'.

observed in previous UA studies, Rogerson focuses mainly on the economic potential of urban agriculture.

In their 1995 article, May and Rogerson explore the potential of urban agriculture in South Africa, analysing UA in the context of post-apartheid reconstruction.<sup>68</sup> Through household surveys conducted in the urban and peri-urban areas of Groutville, Tembisa, KwaMashu, Inanda and Umtata, the authors investigate the nature, methods and problems of urban and peri-urban farming. While a number of obstacles to successful urban farming in South Africa are noted, the authors conclude that urban and peri-urban agriculture do indeed have a potentially important role to play in post-apartheid reconstruction and development initiatives. May and Rogerson also note that very little substantive work has been done on the condition of informal urban and peri-urban agricultural activities in South Africa and call for further research to be conducted into the changing role of UA in this country. This article focuses very much on the economic potential and impact of urban farming and makes very little mention of any social benefits and motivations.

Another work on UA in South Africa that is often referred to, is Webb's Geography PHD thesis that looks at urban farming in the Eastern Cape.<sup>69</sup> Unlike most other UA researchers, Webb does not set out to promote urban agriculture. Rather, he aims to explain the advocacy of UA in literature, despite what he sees as its modest role in practice. Webb's study looks at urban cultivation in Port Elizabeth, Port Alfred and Uitenhage and finds that the environmental, social, psychological, financial and nutritional benefits of UA are at a low level in these areas. Webb argues that literature claiming that urban farming produces these benefits, leaves many important questions unanswered and contains very little evidence to back up these claims. He feels that psychological and social benefits have been the most over rated in literature on urban agriculture. Webb concludes that urban farming is taking place despite a lack of empirical evidence to show that it produces any substantial benefits for its participants and states that "research has yet to demonstrate the benefits of cultivation to the poor urban household in general."<sup>70</sup> Webb questions whether or not UA benefits the poor and feels that urban agriculture does not provide a significant strategy for the most marginalised and vulnerable groups.

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<sup>68</sup> May and Rogerson, 'Poverty and Sustainable Cities in South Africa', 165 – 181.

<sup>69</sup> Webb, 'Urban Agriculture, Advocacy and Discourse'.

<sup>70</sup> Webb, 'Urban Agriculture, Advocacy and Discourse', 278.

Webb's argument that UA only produces modest social benefits is open to debate and will in fact be disputed in this study. Webb does, however, make a valuable point when he says that there is very little evidence available to prove that UA activities produce social benefits. Many authors mention social benefits but provide very little evidence to justify their claims. This study analyses a large amount of data regarding UA activities in the Cape Flats and finds a substantial amount of evidence that demonstrates that urban farming in the Cape Flats is indeed producing a number of social benefits for farmers and their families. This evidence is presented and discussed in this study.

### ***Literature on Urban Agriculture in Cape Town:***

The first significant work on urban agriculture in Cape Town was produced in 1989 by Eberhard of the Cape Town City Planner's Department.<sup>71</sup> In this study, Eberhard set out to investigate whether or not urban vegetable cultivation in Cape Town could make a significant contribution towards the household budget in low-income areas. Interestingly enough, Eberhard's research revealed that the value of food produced at that time by the average home gardener in Cape Town was "economically insignificant", being less than 1% of the low-income household's monthly budget. However, in his research, Eberhard discovered that UA could produce many other, non-economic benefits, which he mentions, but does not investigate or discuss in much detail. Eberhard concludes by recommending that UA be promoted and encouraged in Cape Town, but not for economic reasons. Eberhard's study was followed closely by a Geography Honours thesis on urban agriculture in Khayelitsha.<sup>72</sup> This thesis, written by Beaumont in 1990, assesses the findings of Eberhard's research through an investigation into vegetable gardening in Town 2, Khayelitsha. Through her research, Beaumont discovers that Eberhard's findings are indeed accurate and that UA does not make a very significant contribution towards the household budget. However, like Eberhard, Beaumont identifies a number of important social benefits that are obtained through urban gardening.

During the late 1990s, studies on urban vegetable production in the Cape Flats areas of Khayelitsha, Nyanga and Philippi were conducted by Karaan and Mohamed<sup>73</sup> and Fermont et al.<sup>74</sup> In the article written by Karaan and Mohamed, the authors discuss the

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<sup>71</sup> Eberhard, 'Urban Agriculture: The Potential in Cape Town'.

<sup>72</sup> Beaumont, 'Urban Agriculture: A Study in Town 2'.

<sup>73</sup> A. Karaan and N. Mohamed, 'The Performance of Food Gardens in some Townships of the Cape Metropolitan Area: An Evaluation of Abalimi Bezekhaya', *Development Southern Africa*, 15, 1 (1998), 67 - 83

<sup>74</sup> Fermont et al., *Urban Vegetable Production in Khayelitsha*.

reasons why people garden, with one of their findings being that UA provides gardeners with the opportunity to become involved in a powerful development strategy that could become an entrepreneurial activity. The authors also observe the potential that UA has, to build capacity and enhance community cohesion. A section of the paper written by Fermont et al looks at the socio-economic aspects of communal vegetable gardening, with a number of social benefits being mentioned in addition to many economic benefits. While none of these early studies intended to study the social benefits of urban agriculture, such benefits were indeed observed by these researchers. However the social benefits noted were not studied or discussed in any great detail.

The first researcher to focus on social benefits of UA activities in Cape Town was Rachel Slater who published a paper in 2000 entitled "Urban Agriculture, Gender and Empowerment: An Alternative View".<sup>75</sup> This paper was based on research that Slater conducted in various Cape Town townships between 1995 and 2000. Slater highlights the fact that very little research has been conducted into the social aspects of UA and that existing literature has resulted in a model of UA that is both economic and utilitarian. Through her research, Slater found that women involved in UA activities have become empowered through their involvement in these activities. Slater's research therefore demonstrated that UA does not only have to be viewed from an economic perspective and that there is a large gap in the existing research and literature on UA. However, Slater looked only at gender-related benefits<sup>76</sup> and therefore filled only part of the gap. Further research into the social benefits of UA activities in Cape Town was therefore necessary.

During the past two years, three theses on UA were completed by postgraduate students at the University of Cape Town,<sup>77</sup> showing that a keen interest in this subject is developing. In addition, a student from Stellenbosch University recently completed a thesis on the role of social capital in a vegetable gardening project in Khayelitsha.<sup>78</sup> Three of these four theses focus largely on social aspects and benefits of urban farming activities. These studies are therefore starting to fill the gap in the existing body of literature on UA in Cape Town that was highlighted by Slater in 2000.

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<sup>75</sup> R. Slater, 'Urban Agriculture, Gender and Empowerment: An Alternative View', Institute for Development Policy and Management Discussion Paper Series, Paper 60, University of Manchester (2000).

<sup>76</sup> The benefits identified by Slater were only looked at in so far as they relate to women and include solace from trauma, sense of safety and stability, control over household food consumption, access to social networks and involvement in community development initiatives.

<sup>77</sup> These three theses (by Bourne, Marshak and Kirkland) are all discussed in more detail in this section.

<sup>78</sup> C. Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital in the Creation of Sustainable Livelihoods: A Case Study of the Siyazama Community Allotment Gardening Association (SCAGA)' (MPhil thesis: Community and Development, Stellenbosch University, 2009).

Amanda Bourne's Social Anthropology thesis<sup>79</sup> focuses on three community vegetable gardens in Guguletu and Philippi and investigates the motivations that the members have for participating in these gardening projects. All three of the gardens studied by Bourne are collectively managed gardens that receive support from Abalimi Bezekhaya, an urban agriculture NGO operating in various Cape Flats areas. After analysing a number of social factors that motivate members to participate in these gardening projects, Bourne concludes that the vast majority of members are motivated by social factors and that the material benefits gained from participation are very limited. In her conclusion, Bourne argues that these urban agriculture projects are not vehicles of job creation or income generation. While material benefits might have initially motivated people to join these projects, Bourne found that it was the social factors that motivated them to remain in the gardening projects.

Maya Marshak's thesis on UA activities in the low-income areas of Seawinds and Vrygrond<sup>80</sup> also found that the economic benefits of these UA activities were minimal and that the projects produced more social benefits for the participants. Marshak's study looks at urban vegetable gardening projects supported by Soil for Life, another urban agriculture NGO operating in the Cape Flats. Through her research, Marshak identifies and discusses a number of social benefits that these gardening activities produce for the participants and their families. She notes that social benefits are important for socio-spatial transformation, which is particularly necessary in a city such as Cape Town which is attempting to address the imbalances created by apartheid. Marshak therefore believes that UA has the potential to create new, positive socio-spatial relations in low-income, marginalised areas in Cape Town.

In her Community and Development thesis,<sup>81</sup> Cindy Jacobs uses the Siyazama Community Allotment Gardening Association (SCAGA) project in Khayelitsha as a case study to explore the role that social capital plays in creating sustainable livelihoods. SCAGA is supported by Abalimi Bezekhaya and comprises two vegetable gardening projects. In her study, Jacobs investigates the impact of bonding, bridging and linking social capital on the livelihoods of the project participants. Through her research, Jacobs found that all three forms of social capital are present in varying degrees throughout the SCAGA network. Her study revealed that membership of the SCAGA

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<sup>79</sup> A. Bourne, 'Masimbambane, Let's Stick Together: Contentions on the Role of Urban Vegetable Gardens in the Cape Flats' (Masters thesis: Social Science, University of Cape Town, 2007)

<sup>80</sup> Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture'.

<sup>81</sup> Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital'.

network grants the project participants access to resources that would be inaccessible to them as individuals, thus enabling them to improve their livelihoods. The fact that Jacobs found that social benefits (such as access to networks and social support systems) had this effect, demonstrates that social and economic benefits cannot be separated from each other entirely.

The focus of Dawn Kirkland's thesis is slightly different, as she examines Harvest of Hope, an organic vegetable-box scheme that Abalimi Bezekhaya has been operating since early 2008.<sup>82</sup> Kirkland investigates how this initiative, which provides small-scale township-based UA projects with an alternative market, has impacted on the UA projects belonging to this scheme. Her study focuses on the impact that this initiative has had on the five capitals assets (namely natural, physical, human, social and financial) of these projects. Kirkland finds that Harvest of Hope has indeed impacted positively on the five capital assets of the UA projects involved. While the social aspect of urban farming is not ignored and social benefits of some of the UA projects are mentioned, this work does not discuss the social benefits of urban farming in any detail.

Therefore, while a number of studies have indeed been conducted on urban agriculture in Cape Town, and more specifically on UA activities in various Cape Flats townships, there are still some gaps in the existing body of literature. Before Slater's paper was published in 2000, the obvious gap was the lack of research into the social benefits of urban agriculture. While researchers had identified certain social benefits of the UA activities that they studied, these benefits were not discussed or analysed in any detail, and no evidence was provided to demonstrate how UA was producing these social benefits for the participants and their families.<sup>83</sup> Slater highlighted this gap and attempted to fill part of it. However, she only explored gender-related social benefits, requiring more research to be conducted into the many other potential social benefits of UA activities. The studies that have been conducted subsequently have played a role in helping to fill this gap, with three of these recent studies paying particular attention to social benefits. It is exciting to see that the importance of the social benefits of urban farming is being acknowledged, and that researchers from various disciplines are not only identifying social benefits, but are starting to investigate them and study them in greater detail.

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<sup>82</sup> D. Kirkland, 'Harvest of Hope: A Case Study: The Sustainable Development of Urban Agriculture Projects in Cape Town, South Africa' (MPhil thesis: Environmental and Geographical Science, University of Cape Town, 2008).

<sup>83</sup> Such researchers include Eberhard (1989), Beaumont (1990), Fermont *et al.* (1998) and Karaan and Mohammed (1998).

However, there are further gaps in the existing research on urban agriculture in Cape Town and in the Cape Flats. All of the well-known studies on UA in Cape Town focus on urban vegetable farming, whereas none of them pay any notable attention to poultry and livestock farming. While vegetable farming may be the most prevalent form of UA in Cape Town, there are indeed many people involved in small-scale poultry and livestock farming in the Cape Flats. There is therefore a great need for research to be conducted into these types of UA and for such studies to investigate the social benefits that these farming activities produce for the participants and their families.

Most of the research to date on the social benefits of UA activities in Cape Town has been conducted in the form of case studies that focus on a few specific urban vegetable farming projects. All of the recent studies have focused on a project, or a few projects, supported by one specific organisation. Research has therefore not yet been done on the social benefits of UA activities that are being conducted by individuals or groups who are not receiving support from any organisations. Existing studies have also been restricted to very specific geographical areas. Therefore, while these studies are indeed very valuable and provide an excellent basis for broader research, further research on UA activities in Cape Town and the social benefits of these activities does indeed need to be conducted.

It is also important to note that none of the available literature on urban agriculture in Cape Town has been produced by historians. Existing studies have been conducted by researchers from various other disciplines, including geographers, anthropologists, town planners and development practitioners. Notwithstanding that UA is an important feature of the urban environment, and therefore very relevant to the study of urban history, the subject has yet to be tackled by historians.<sup>84</sup> Research using an historical perspective would add immense value to the existing body of UA literature. Historical methodology would place urban farming activities into their broader historical context and enable one to ascertain how the farmers' lives have changed through their involvement in UA activities. In addition, there is no literature available on the history of urban agriculture in Cape Town. A study that sources information on both the history of

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<sup>84</sup> A possible reason as to why the topic of urban agriculture has not received much attention by South African urban historians, is that revisionist historiography of the 1970s was concerned with demonstrating the proletarian nature of the black working class. Evidence of urban agriculture activities would therefore not have suited their model. It is possible that revisionist historians did not want to investigate issues that could suggest that members of the urban black population were involved in activities perceived to be rural, as this may have been seen to support apartheid ideology.

UA in Cape Town and on current practices and benefits would indeed be a valuable contribution towards the available literature on urban agriculture in Cape Town.

### ***Livelihood Approach in UA Literature:***

The livelihood approach has been used by some researchers to tackle the topic of urban agriculture. Existing livelihood theory sees a livelihood as comprising the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. The livelihood approach identifies five vital resources, namely natural resources, physical resources, financial resources, human resources and social resources or social capital.<sup>85</sup> These are all important assets required for the creation of sustainable livelihoods.<sup>86</sup> A central component of the livelihood approach is the belief that people should not be seen as passive victims of adverse circumstances, but rather that they develop various strategies aimed at preserving a certain livelihood level.<sup>87</sup> A sustainable livelihood is seen as one that can cope with, and recover from, stress and shocks, maintain and enhance its assets and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation. Sustainable livelihood approaches, place people and their livelihoods at the centre of any livelihood strategy and are used to address multi-dimensional poverty.<sup>88</sup>

The livelihood approach was used by Martin et al in their 2000 study on urban agriculture and the poor in Southern Africa and by Owuor and Foeken in their 2006 study on survival in the neighbourhoods of Nakuru. These studies investigated the overall livelihoods of households in their study areas, with UA being seen as one element of these households' livelihoods.<sup>89</sup> Foeken's 2006 book on UA in Nakuru also fits into the livelihood approach, although this study does not deal with the overall livelihood of households. In this book, Foeken notes that many of the five resources in the livelihood theory (required for the creation of sustainable livelihoods) form a necessary condition for an individual or household to be able to engage in urban farming.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*, 14 – 15.

<sup>86</sup> Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital', 2.

<sup>87</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*, 14.

<sup>88</sup> Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital', 2.

<sup>89</sup> A. Martin, N. Oudwater and K. Meadows, 'Urban Agriculture and the Livelihoods of the Poor in Southern Africa' (2000); S. Owuor and D. Foeken, 'Surviving in the Neighbourhoods of Nakuru Town, Kenya' (2006); Both cited in Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*, 15.

<sup>90</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

Jacobs made use of the livelihood approach in her Cape Town UA study that explored the role that social capital plays in creating sustainable livelihoods.<sup>91</sup> In addition to finding that social capital is indeed vital to the creation of sustainable livelihoods, Jacobs noted that the City of Cape Town has a Sustainable Livelihoods and Greening Unit that has undertaken to promote co-operation and partnership in the field of sustainable development. This Unit's outcomes, which include policy, projects, partnerships and research, inform and help to improve the City's poverty alleviation strategies. Jacobs also noted that Abalimi Bezekhaya makes use of a sustainable livelihood approach in its work to support UA and help alleviate poverty.<sup>92</sup> Another Cape Town UA study that used the livelihood approach is Kirkland's thesis on the Abalimi Harvest of Hope project.<sup>93</sup> In this study, Kirkland looked at the importance of access to markets to the success of small UA projects and assessed how this can influence the capital assets of these projects. While Kirkland's study did not investigate the livelihood strategies of the individual farmers, it did indeed make use of livelihood theory as the five capital assets were used to evaluate the impact of Harvest of Hope on the UA projects participating in this initiative.

#### ***Literature on the Role of NGOs in UA:***

A substantial amount of information regarding the role of NGOs<sup>94</sup> in urban farming initiatives in both the North and South can be found in the various editions of RUAF's<sup>95</sup> *Urban Agriculture Magazine*. Issues 18 to 24, published from July 2007 to September 2010, include articles on NGOs in Uganda, France, Ethiopia, Brazil, Vietnam, Toronto, Istanbul, Massachusetts, Bogotá, Rome, Casablanca, Chicago and Cape Town.<sup>96</sup> These articles are mostly short case studies of specific organisations that are implementing innovative or successful UA initiatives. The literature on urban farming in Africa that has been reviewed in this chapter does not focus much on the role of NGOs in the support and encouragement of UA in those countries. However, Foeken included a chapter in his book on urban farming in Nakuru that was based on a masters-level study that looked at the support that some Nakuru farmers were receiving from two NGOs, namely the Agriculture and Rural Development Programme (ARDP) of the

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<sup>91</sup> Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital'.

<sup>92</sup> Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital', 5 – 8.

<sup>93</sup> Kirkland, 'Harvest of Hope: A Case Study'.

<sup>94</sup> NGO stands for non-governmental organisation. This term, however, is seen by many organisations to be problematic. Such organisations prefer to be called Development Organisations or Civil Society Organisations.

<sup>95</sup> RUAF stands for Resource Centres on Urban Agriculture and Food Security.

<sup>96</sup> *Urban Agriculture Magazine*, Issues 18 to 24 (July 2007; December 2007; September 2008; January 2009; June 2009; April 2010; September 2010), produced by RUAF.

Catholic Diocese of Nakuru and the Ecumenical Church Loan Fund (ECLOF Kenya). These organisations provide a variety of services and appear to have benefited livestock farmers quite substantially in terms of inputs, skills, performance, environmental awareness and income generation.<sup>97</sup> Rogerson's 1993 article on urban agriculture in South Africa<sup>98</sup> identified some of the main UA NGOs that were operating in the country at that time, namely The African Tree Centre in Pietermaritzburg, Catholic Welfare Bureau in Cape Town (this project is now Abalimi Bezekhaya), a smaller NGO operating in Ashton and Montagu and the Food Gardens Foundation operating in several locations around South Africa.

The literature on UA in Cape Town is a lot more focused on the role of NGOs. The two early studies by Eberhard and Beaumont both described the NGOs that were active in their study areas at that time. Eberhard mentioned Catholic Welfare Bureau's Farming in the City (now Abalimi Bezekhaya), the New World Foundation and some smaller NGOs. He also included an evaluation of the services provided by Farming in the City.<sup>99</sup> Beaumont's study identified the main NGOs operating in Khayelitsha at that time, namely Operation Hunger, Khayelitsha Food Gardens, Lumla and Abalimi Bezekhaya.<sup>100</sup> Karaan and Mohamed's 1998 article on food gardens in Cape Town included an evaluation of Abalimi Bezekhaya<sup>101</sup> and Rachel Slater looked at a home gardening group that was supported by Abalimi and described the services that they were receiving from the organisation.<sup>102</sup> The four theses that were recently completed on urban agriculture in Cape Town are all case studies of UA initiatives that are supported by NGOs. Bourne looked at three Abalimi-supported community vegetable gardens in Guguletu and Philippi,<sup>103</sup> Marshak studied the UA activities conducted by Soil for Life in Seawinds and Vrygrond,<sup>104</sup> Jacobs investigated social capital in the Abalimi-supported SCAGA gardening groups in Khayelitsha,<sup>105</sup> and Kirkland examined Abalimi's Harvest of Hope project.<sup>106</sup>

The available literature suggests that NGOs have indeed played a large role in the support and encouragement of urban farming in Cape Town. While this research project

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<sup>97</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*, 95 – 102.

<sup>98</sup> Rogerson, 'Urban Agriculture in South Africa', 21 – 28.

<sup>99</sup> Eberhard, 'Urban Agriculture: The Potential in Cape Town'.

<sup>100</sup> Beaumont, 'Urban Agriculture: A Study in Town 2'.

<sup>101</sup> Karaan and Mohamed, 'The Performance of Food Gardens in some Townships of the Cape Metropolitan Area'.

<sup>102</sup> Slater, 'Urban Agriculture, Gender and Empowerment'.

<sup>103</sup> Bourne, 'Masimbambane, Let's Stick Together'.

<sup>104</sup> Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture'.

<sup>105</sup> Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital'.

<sup>106</sup> Kirkland, 'Harvest of Hope: A Case Study'.

is not a case study of any particular NGO, farmers supported by both Abalimi and Soil for Life have been included in this study. The important role that these organisations have played in the growth and support of UA in Cape Town is therefore acknowledged in this study, through information provided on the establishment, growth and impact of these organisations, and through the stories of the farmers who have benefited from their interventions.

## **Methodology**

### ***Historical Approach:***

This study has made use of an historical approach to explore the origins, growth and benefits of small-scale urban agriculture in the Cape Flats townships. In order to properly understand current small-scale UA activities in the Cape Flats, it is necessary to know the origins of urban farming in these areas and to understand how it has grown and evolved over the years. In order to determine how urban farming has benefited individuals, families and broader communities, it is necessary to have some sense of the farmers' life histories, and to understand the contexts in which the farmers began to conduct their UA activities. Life history information will reveal whether, and if so how, the farmers' lives have changed since they began to conduct their urban agriculture activities.

In terms of the practical use of an historical approach, this study has made use of historical research methodology and a large amount of relevant historical information has been gathered and presented in this study. Oral history research was used to source a large amount of the data used for this study, with in-depth life history interviews being conducted with urban farmers living and farming in various Cape Flats townships. Many historical written sources, both primary and secondary, were also used for this study.<sup>107</sup> These historical sources were used to gather information relating to UA activities conducted in the past, to understand the history of the areas where the interviewed farmers currently live and farm, and to identify potential social benefits of urban agriculture.<sup>108</sup> In addition to providing information on current UA practices and the benefits they produce, this study presents information on the history of urban farming in Cape Town, the history of the areas in which the farmers currently live, life histories of

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<sup>107</sup> In addition to the numerous historical sources used, a number of non-historical written sources were also used for this study. These include existing studies and articles on urban agriculture, as well as literature on social capital and other potential social benefits.

<sup>108</sup> The historical sources used for this purpose were studies on the forced removals in Cape Town.

the farmers interviewed for this study, the contexts in which the farmers started their UA activities, and the benefits that they have gained through their UA activities over the years.

In his book on urban-rural relations, Kenneth Lynch<sup>109</sup> discusses the different approaches used to study the subject of food systems.<sup>110</sup> He notes that, due its great importance, this subject has been tackled by researchers from various disciplines. Researchers have used economic, ethno-geographic, sociological, spatial and historical approaches to study this subject. Lynch assesses these approaches and finds that the historical approach is essential as it contextualises problems and asks the necessary questions. The historical approach also incorporates elements of the other approaches, and therefore helps to develop an integrated approach. Researchers using the historical approach raise relevant questions, suggest ways to seek the answers and identify any further research required. Lynch highlights this in his statement: "The historical approach provides a good starting point, contextualising the problem of food supply by setting in place the cultural and institutional legacy of the society."<sup>111</sup>

#### **Oral History Methodology:**

As was mentioned previously, oral history research was used to gather a large amount of the information used for this study. This took the form of qualitative life history interviews conducted with 30 urban farmers in order to understand the farmers' life histories, the origins of their UA activities and the benefits that they have gained through urban farming. In the editorial of the July 2007 edition of *Urban Agriculture Magazine*, Bailkey et al note that certain social benefits of UA can be difficult to measure. They say that qualitative data gathering is therefore essential to determine the outcomes of community-based urban farming. Through qualitative techniques, one can assess how the farmers' lives have changed through their involvement in UA activities. Qualitative data gathering also provides urban farmers with an opportunity to tell their stories to a wider audience.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Lynch, *Rural-Urban Interaction*.

<sup>110</sup> Urban agriculture is seen as a topic within the broader subject of food systems.

<sup>111</sup> Lynch, *Rural-Urban Interaction*, 48.

<sup>112</sup> M. Bailkey, J. Wilbers and R. van Veenhuizen, 'Building Communities through Urban Agriculture', in *Urban Agriculture Magazine*, 18 (2007)

The difference between oral and written sources, and the value of the former, are highlighted in an article entitled "What Makes Oral History Different",<sup>113</sup> where well-known oral historian, Alessandro Portelli, notes that oral history often tells us more about the meaning of events than just about the events themselves. Portelli explains that while oral history has factual validity, it is also subjective and in that way very valuable and unique. Oral histories therefore do not just tell us what people did, they also tell us about what people thought and how they felt while they were doing it. Portelli feels that what respondents believe, and how they believe it, is as much an historical fact as what they did.<sup>114</sup> In her practical guide to recording oral history, Valarie Yow notes that oral history interviewing is effective in obtaining life histories, as it enables researchers to find out not only about events, but also about people's reflections, interpretations, motivations and feelings. Oral history techniques are therefore very valuable ways of obtaining information regarding how people see themselves and the interpretation that they have given to life's events.<sup>115</sup> Writing about life history methodology, Ken Plummer<sup>116</sup> notes that life histories enable researchers to understand more about the way that people view and understand the world in which they live. "If the subjective story is what the researcher is after, the life history approach becomes the most valid method."<sup>117</sup>

It is for these reasons that oral sources, and oral life history methodology, are the best sources and methodology to use to investigate how people have benefited from their urban farming activities. Oral sources, specifically life history sources, enable us to learn about the farmers' motivations and feelings, thus revealing why they began their UA activities and how they feel about these activities. Through memories of what their UA activities have meant to them, respondents reveal how farming has affected their lives. This is particularly the case with psychological and therapeutic benefits as these can only be properly understood through farmers' memories and perceptions of their lives before and after beginning their UA activities, as well as their recollections of how they felt while they were conducting their farming activities.

In his article on the uniqueness of oral history, Portelli also notes that oral sources contain a number of important speech elements that can only be perceived through listening. These elements, which include volume, tone and speech rhythms, carry

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<sup>113</sup> Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', in R. Peaks and A. Thompson, eds, *The Oral History Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).

<sup>114</sup> Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different'.

<sup>115</sup> V. Yow, *Recording Oral History, A Practical Guide for Social Scientists* (London: SAGE, 1994).

<sup>116</sup> K. Plummer, *Documents of Life 2, An Invitation to Critical Humanism* (London: SAGE, 2001).

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

implicit meanings and social connotations that reveal the narrators' emotions, their participation in the story and the way the story affected them.<sup>118</sup> Listening to farmers' stories about their lives and their UA activities provides valuable insight into how events in their lives have affected them and how they feel about their urban farming activities. In order to capture the interviews in such a way that these speech elements were not lost, most of the interviews conducted for this study were recorded. While these interviews have also been transcribed, the original recordings will be housed at the Centre for Popular Memory at the University of Cape Town and can therefore be made available to other researchers.

Sean Field has written extensively about oral history in South Africa and notes that international oral historians, such as Michael Frisch and Alessandro Portelli,<sup>119</sup> have made breakthroughs by arguing that oral history is made up of dialogues about memory.<sup>120</sup> Portelli feels that it is important to remember that memory is not a passive repository of facts, but an active process of creating meanings. Therefore, in every oral history interview, one is dealing with what people remember.<sup>121</sup> Field notes that oral histories are not collected, but are created through dialogues between the interviewer and interviewee. Therefore, the way in which researchers relate to and present themselves to interviewees impacts on how the interviewees tell their stories and how the dialogues unfold.<sup>122</sup> Portelli notes that oral sources are the products of a shared project, which is the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. The final result of the interview is therefore the product of both the narrator and the interviewer.<sup>123</sup> Yow also highlights the role that the interviewer plays in the creation of life histories and states that "the final product of a life history is the result of a collaboration".<sup>124</sup>

Portelli, Yow and Field therefore feel that oral sources depend largely on how the researcher approaches and conducts the interview. Yow notes that it is important for interviewers to allow respondents to discuss topics that they want to discuss and not to limit the interview to the prepared questions.<sup>125</sup> Portelli feels that interviews that are too rigidly structured can result in important elements being excluded. It is therefore essential for the interviewer to give priority to what the respondent wants to tell, not just

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<sup>118</sup> Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different'.

<sup>119</sup> The term "dialogues about memory" was first developed by Michael Frisch (1990). Other oral historians, such as Portelli, have since contributed towards this argument.

<sup>120</sup> S. Field, 'Turning up the Volume: Dialogues about Memory Create Oral Histories', *South African Historical Journal*, 60, 2 (2008).

<sup>121</sup> Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different'.

<sup>122</sup> Field, 'Turning up the Volume'.

<sup>123</sup> Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different'.

<sup>124</sup> Yow, *Recording Oral History*, 169.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

what the interviewer wants to hear. If necessary, one could save any unanswered questions for another interview.<sup>126</sup> Field points out that the mark of a good oral history interviewer is the extent to which she or he patiently allows narrators to explore the memories they want to narrate. When interviewed in this manner, narrators become a lot more open to the interviewer's central questions.<sup>127</sup> While I had prepared a questionnaire before conducting the interviews for this study, I enabled each interview to take its own shape, guided by the interviewees and the stories that they wanted to share. Many of the questions that I asked were of an open-ended nature and at various points during the interview, I asked interviewees if they had any other stories or information that they wanted to share. In a few cases, I was not able to ask all my central questions during the first interview, and I therefore asked these during later, follow-up interviews.

Portelli notes that the data extracted during an interview is a result of a selection process produced by the relationship between the researcher and the narrator.<sup>128</sup> Similarly, Field explains that what the narrator remembers and what she or he actually discloses is a result of a process of selection and exclusion, which is created in the dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee. The interview is thus a dialogue where the interviewee considers what can or cannot be said to a particular interviewer and the audiences that she or he represents. Field therefore feels that it is essential that trust exists between the interviewer and interviewee.<sup>129</sup> Writing about life history research, Plummer notes that the interviewer needs to help the respondent to feel at ease, in order to facilitate his/her willingness and motivation to talk. It is thus important for a good relationship to be established with the respondent. The interviewer also needs to be attentive and responsive, expressing interest in the respondent.<sup>130</sup> In order to develop a personal, trustful relationship with the urban farmers interviewed for this study, I chatted informally with the farmers before and after the interviews. I also took a genuine interest in their UA activities and spent time looking at and admiring their gardens and/or their animals. This gave the farmers an opportunity to proudly show me what they have achieved and to receive admiration for these achievements. In some cases, farmers would ask me for advice on issues regarding their UA activities and my interpreter and I would either pass on information learnt from other farmers or offer them ideas regarding accessing certain resources. Building a personal relationship with the farmers enabled

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<sup>126</sup> Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different'.

<sup>127</sup> Field, 'Turning up the Volume'.

<sup>128</sup> Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different'.

<sup>129</sup> Field, 'Turning up the Volume'.

<sup>130</sup> Plummer, *Documents of Life 2*.

them to trust me and to feel safe and relaxed. This resulted in most of the farmers being open and forthcoming during the interviews, and in their being co-operative when I returned to conduct follow-up interviews. Some of the farmers offered us refreshments during the interviews and other gave us items from their gardens. This also demonstrated that they trusted us and were pleased to participate in the interviews.

### ***Research Process:***

A large amount of the information needed for this study was gathered through oral history research. Oral research was used to learn about present and past urban agriculture activities in Cape Town, the contexts in which urban farmers began to conduct their UA activities, and the ways in which farmers have benefited and continued to benefit from their urban farming activities. For this purpose, 30 urban farmers living and farming in the Cape Flats areas of Guguletu, Philippi, Nyanga, KTC<sup>131</sup> and New Crossroads were interviewed.<sup>132</sup> One of the main reasons for the selection of these townships was that both Abalimi Bezekhaya and Soil for Life (two well-known urban agriculture organisations) are active in these areas. The close proximity of these townships to each other also allowed me easy access to them. A long, semi-structured life history interview was conducted with each of the 30 farmers.<sup>133</sup> In addition, follow-up interviews were conducted where necessary. During the long interviews, farmers were able to speak about their personal history, their early days in Cape Town, their current home and work situation, when and why they started their urban agriculture activities, and how they feel they have benefited, and continue to benefit, from these activities.

My initial point of entry into the field was through Abalimi Bezekhaya, an urban agriculture organisation operating in the Nyanga, Philippi, Guguletu and Khayelitsha areas. Abalimi has been operating since 1982 and is a well-known UA role-player in Cape Town. Abalimi currently provides training and support to groups and individuals conducting urban vegetable farming in these township areas. Before embarking on this project, I had worked for Abalimi for four and a half years, and I therefore knew the organisation and its staff very well. I was also familiar with the organisation's activities and with some of its projects. My previous association with Abalimi facilitated my entry into the field to some degree and ensured that I was trusted by the Abalimi fieldworkers, who introduced me to the farmers and encouraged them to trust me. However, it is

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<sup>131</sup> KTC is a largely informal settlement situated near Nyanga and close to Guguletu and New Crossroads.

<sup>132</sup> Please refer to Appendix 1 for a map of the study area.

<sup>133</sup> The average length of each interview was approximately one hour.

important to note that I had stopped working for Abalimi six months prior to embarking on this project (and 18 months prior to conducting my field research) and that my previous association with Abalimi did not affect my ability to conduct this study objectively. This study did not aim to evaluate Abalimi or its interventions, but to engage with individual farmers, some of whom are supported by Abalimi.

While this research project does not only look at Abalimi-supported UA projects and activities, Abalimi Bezekhaya was the natural entry point. After submitting a field research proposal to Abalimi Bezekhaya and attending a field-team meeting in June 2008, my interpreter and I were granted access to some of their projects. One of the Abalimi fieldworkers introduced us to the project members, giving us a certain level of legitimacy. Many of the members have been interviewed in the past by researchers and journalists who have made promises that they have not kept. As a result, the members are suspicious of researchers and only feel comfortable with those that Abalimi has approved. The Abalimi fieldworker also introduced us to two home gardeners whom they were supporting.

In order to make a significant contribution towards the existing body of literature on UA activities in the Cape Flats, it was important for this research project not only to include farmers supported by Abalimi, but also to interview some farmers operating on their own and some being supported by other UA organisations. It was also necessary to interview a combination of individual farmers and group members and very important to include a number of poultry and livestock farmers. Before conducting my fieldwork, I calculated the minimum number of farmers belonging to various categories (regarding gender, type of UA activity, group or individual, and receiving or not receiving organisational support) that I needed to interview in order for my sample to be diverse and to include as many different types of Cape Flats farmers as possible. Through some of the interviews, I learnt about other farmers in the identified areas who were either farming on their own or were being supported by other organisations, such as Soil for Life. Some of the farmers that I interviewed also informed us about livestock and poultry farmers living in their areas. In addition, my interpreter lives in Guguletu and therefore knew of some urban farmers in her area. These leads, together with the assistance received from Abalimi Bezekhaya, enabled us to source a selection of farmers belonging to the various categories that I had established before embarking on my field research.

All of the farmers that I interviewed were happy to participate in the interview and had no objection to my recording the interviews or using their names in my thesis.<sup>134</sup> The respondents could choose the language in which they preferred the interview to be conducted. While the majority chose for the interviews to be conducted in Xhosa, some chose to speak English and others spoke a combination of the two languages. My interpreter was present at all the interviews and translated whenever necessary. She understood the importance of translating the questions and answers as accurately as possible and including all information, no matter how relevant or irrelevant it might seem at the time. As my interpreter lives in Guguletu and is familiar with most of the areas where we conducted our research, her presence often helped to give me some credibility and helped the respondents to feel more relaxed. Her use of the vernacular also helped to put the respondents at ease.

I drew up a comprehensive questionnaire before embarking on my field research, which included questions about the respondents' personal history, their current work and home situations, their UA activities and the benefits of these activities.<sup>135</sup> While I constructed my questions based on the information I needed to gather to answer my research questions, I also consulted a few sources to establish the types of questions that have been asked by other researchers and to see how these questions have been structured. The sources that were the most helpful in this regard were the UK-based New Economics Foundation's handbook on measuring the effect of neighbourhood renewal on target communities<sup>136</sup> and an analysis of a study on forms of social capital in Soweto.<sup>137</sup> After conducting my first interview (during which I tested my questionnaire), I made a few adjustments to some of the questions. While the questionnaire helped to guide the sequence of the questions, the interviews were not restricted to the format or the content of the questionnaires. Each interview was able to take its own shape, guided by the life stories of the respondents.

A total of 30 farmers were interviewed for this study. I conducted interviews with the first 17 farmers during July and August 2008. Whilst I was processing the data from these

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<sup>134</sup> Before the interviews began, I asked respondents if I could record the interviews. At the end of the interviews, respondents were asked if I could use their names in my thesis.

<sup>135</sup> A copy of the questionnaire used for this study can be found in Appendix 8. While the interviews did not all follow the same format, the attached questionnaire provides a sense of the types of questions that were asked.

<sup>136</sup> P. Walker, J. Lewis, S. Lingayali and F. Sommer (of the New Economics Foundation), 'Prove It! Measuring the effect of neighbourhood renewal on local people' Groundwork, The New Economics Foundation and Barkleys PLC (2000).

<sup>137</sup> B. Piazza-Georgi, "Forms of Social Capital in Present-Day Soweto: A Factor Analysis of Household Survey Data", *Econometric Research Southern Africa Policy Paper 18*, University of the Witwatersrand (2001).

interviews, I recognised that there was additional information that I needed to obtain. I therefore went back to these farmers to ask them some additional questions. During December 2008, and March and April 2009, I was able to conduct follow-up interviews with 16 of the 17 farmers. All 16 farmers were pleased to see us again and were happy to answer the additional questions. I added these additional questions to the main questionnaire before conducting the long interviews with the other 13 farmers during March and April 2009. Twenty-six of the 30 long interviews were recorded and have been transcribed,<sup>138</sup> and written notes were taken during all of the interviews. All of the follow-up interviews were also recorded and they too have been transcribed. The full collection of transcripts, together with the original sound recordings, will be housed at the Centre for Popular Memory at the University of Cape Town.

No obstacles or challenges were met during the field research process. Through the interviews, a large amount of valuable information was produced regarding the farmers' life histories, their current situations, their urban agriculture activities and the benefits that they gain and have gained from these activities. Two minor points of concern, however, need to be mentioned regarding some of the information that was provided during a few of the interviews. The first concern is that some of the farmers had difficulty remembering dates accurately. While some openly admitted that they could not remember a date, a few provided dates that were clearly inaccurate, as they did not correspond accurately either to historical events or to other events discussed by those farmers. While this needed to be kept in mind when processing the data from the interviews, it was not a major concern as did not affect the main body of information used for this study.

The second concern is that some of the farmers struggled to remember or articulate the benefits that they gained from their UA activities in the past. The questions that I posed guided farmers to consider and speak about the benefits gained from both the process and the products of their farming activities. Some economic benefits were mentioned and all of the farmers spoke at length about the social benefits that they currently gain through their UA activities. However, some of the farmers were not able to speak much about how their urban farming activities benefited them in the past. Asking whether their lives had changed when they started farming and, if so how, helped some of these farmers to remember and articulate ways that they had benefited from their UA activities. However, there were still a few farmers who, despite saying that their lives had indeed

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<sup>138</sup> In fact, another two of the long interviews had been recorded, but the sound quality was too poor for them to be transcribed.

changed, could not explain in what way and thus how their UA activities had benefited them. In some cases these farmers continued to speak about the benefits they are currently experiencing. Therefore, while those interviews still provided useful information regarding the farmers' life histories, their UA activities and the current benefits of these activities, I was not able to extract information regarding past benefits from those interviews.

Due to the nature of memory, silences and absences are not uncommon in oral testimony. Slim and Thompson note that all memory is stored through a process of selection and interpretation and that memory is therefore a continuing process of editing and selection.<sup>139</sup> Yow points out that in addition to the fact that oral testimony is selective, there is the problem of forgetting, as we cannot possibly remember everything.<sup>140</sup> According to Passerini, acknowledging silences is central to recognising the fragmented and complex nature of memory. She notes that silences, memories and forgetting are aspects of the same process, as the art of memory is also an art of forgetting.<sup>141</sup> Slim and Thompson point out that the depth and detail of individual memory varies, and this reflects personal interest and experience.<sup>142</sup> Given the complexities of memory and the ways in which individual memory varies, it is thus very difficult to interpret absences and silences. Passerini observes that silences are not all equal and that they therefore cannot be treated in the same way. She notes that each silence is the result of a unique process and therefore the ways to deconstruct silences will vary accordingly. She acknowledges that researchers might feel frustrated by losses of memory that cannot be interpreted.<sup>143</sup>

It is therefore only possible to speculate why some of the farmers interviewed for this study struggled to remember benefits that they gained in the past from their UA activities. Age could be a possible factor for this absence. Slim and Thompson note that when interviewing older people, it is important to bear in mind the additional effect that age has on memory. While age can revitalise long-term memory on one hand, it can also result in one's memory becoming less agile and unable to jump from one theme to the next. Oral testimonies from older people are therefore often made up of strands of memory from particular mental associations, rather than historical sequences of

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<sup>139</sup> H. Slim and P. Thompson, *Listening for a Change, Oral Testimony and Development* (London: Panos, 1993), 140 – 141.

<sup>140</sup> Yow, *Recording Oral History*, 172.

<sup>141</sup> L. Passerini, 'Memories between Silence and Oblivion'; in K. Hodgkin and S. Radstone, eds, *Contested Pasts, the Politics of Memory* (London: Routledge, 2003).

<sup>142</sup> Slim and Thompson, *Listening for a Change*.

<sup>143</sup> Passerini, 'Memories between Silence and Oblivion'.

events.<sup>144</sup> As most of the farmers who struggled to remember past benefits are indeed older people, it is possible that their memories could not jump from conversations about present UA activities to those regarding past benefits.

Another possible explanation for these absences and silences could be the fact that the concept of social benefits is rather abstract. Vansina observes that people cannot remember lists of abstract items.<sup>145</sup> This may explain why some farmers could remember the concrete products that they gained from their UA activities in the past but could not remember or articulate the more abstract benefits that these activities produced. It is also likely that these farmers had never thought about social benefits as a concept and that while they were indeed deriving social benefits from their UA activities, they took these for granted. When things (such as benefits) are assumed or taken for granted, people struggle to articulate them or to discuss them in any detail.

While these possible reasons may help to explain the absences and silences experienced during this study, it is important to note that they are merely suggestions and speculations and not complete interpretations. Fortunately, however, the information furnished by the other farmers provided me with sufficient information for this study regarding the past benefits of farmers' UA activities.

While oral research was used to collect a large amount of the data necessary for this study, a substantial amount of documentary research was also conducted. Written sources, including books, articles and theses, were used to gather information on existing research and case studies on urban agriculture activities and information on the history of the townships where I conducted my research. I also searched for references to UA activities in a number of general histories on Cape Town and in reports on social studies conducted in Cape Town in order to gather information regarding the history of urban agriculture in Cape Town. In addition, documentary research was used to identify potential social benefits. Written sources that were used for this purpose include existing literature on urban agriculture, books and articles on social capital, poverty and related topics, and literature on forced removals in Cape Town. Forced removal literature enabled me to identify important social elements that were lost through the forced removals and were thus lacking in the communities where those who had been moved were forced to live. This literature enabled me to identify independent social

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<sup>144</sup> Slim and Thompson, *Listening for a Change*, 140 – 141.

<sup>145</sup> J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (London: James Currey, 1985), 9.

benefits based on historical, non-UA sources. This independent control helped to ensure that the findings of this study were accurate and objective.

### ***Overview of research participants:***

The 30 urban farmers that I interviewed live and farm in the Cape Flats areas of Guguletu, Philippi, New Crossroads, Nyanga and KTC. The large majority of those interviewed farm in the same area where they live.<sup>146</sup> These 30 research participants consisted of 18 women, 11 men and one couple who farm together. The ages of these farmers range between 44 and 91, with the majority being between the ages of 51 and 65. Of the 30 farmers interviewed, nine are farming in groups, 15 are farming as individuals and six are farming both in groups and as individuals, i.e. they belong to groups where they do some of their UA activities and they also have their own individual UA activities that they conduct elsewhere. While the majority of the farmers interviewed are growing vegetables, I also interviewed some poultry and livestock farmers, with some farming both poultry and vegetables. Of the 30 farmers, 23 are growing vegetables (with some of them also growing herbs and fruit), two are farming both chickens and vegetables (with one also growing fruit), one is farming poultry, two are livestock farmers, one is farming livestock, poultry and vegetables, and one is growing orchids and herbs.

Of the 30 farmers that were interviewed, 19 currently receive support from an organisation, five do not currently receive any support, but used to receive support in the past, and six have never received any form of support for their UA activities from an organisation. Of those currently receiving some form of organisational support, 12 receive support from Abalimi Bezkehaya, three are supported by Soil for Life and the other four each receive support from different organisations, namely the Mfuleni Small Farmers' Association, Catholic Welfare and Development, the Empolweni Small Farmers' Association, the Department of Social Services and the Amy Biehl Foundation.<sup>147</sup> It is important to note, however, that the level of support received varies quite considerably amongst these 19 farmers. While some farmers are receiving tools, resources and training from an organisation, others are supported in terms of training

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<sup>146</sup> There are a few exceptions to this: One farmer lives in Guguletu but farms her pigs in Mfuleni (she used to have them with her in Guguletu, but the neighbours complained); one vegetable farmer lives in Mandalay, but runs a garden in Guguletu and also has a garden at home; one vegetable farmer lives in Philippi, but farms in a group garden in Guguletu; two livestock farmers keep some of their livestock with them at their homes and also have land in Mamre where they keep more animals.

<sup>147</sup> One farmer receives support from both the Department of Social Services and the Amy Biehl Foundation.

and assistance with the selling of vegetables, while others are only being provided with to access to land.

The farmers' household incomes vary quite considerably, with one household earning less than R600 per month and two households earning more than R4000 per month.<sup>148</sup> The majority of the farmers' households are earning between R600 and R4000 per month, with the largest number of households (i.e. 12) falling into the R600 to R1500 category. Eight households are earning between R1500 and R2500 per month and seven are earning between R2500 and R4000 per month. These figures become a lot more meaningful when one considers the size of the farmers' households. Household sizes range from two members to 12 members, with more than half of the farmers (i.e. 17) living in households comprising more than five members. Sadly, the larger household incomes are not always earned by the larger households. For instance, the household with 11 members has a monthly income of between R600 and R1500, while one of the households with only two members is earning more than R4000 per month. The household that is earning under R600 has eight members. The monthly income per capita therefore varies considerably amongst the households of the interviewed farmers. Monthly per capita incomes range from less than R75 to more than R2000. The vast majority of households (i.e. 22) are living on an income of less than R600 per capita per month.<sup>149</sup>

An on-going debate exists amongst urban agriculture researchers regarding whether or not UA activities are practised by, and benefit, the poorest households and individuals in urban areas.<sup>150</sup> To participate fully in this debate, this study would need to include a detailed analysis of poverty and an investigation into who would be classified as being Cape Town's poorest. Due to the many other issues that this study aims to address, it is not possible to include detailed discussions on these issues. Nevertheless, the data gathered for this study regarding the farmers' household incomes and household sizes reveal that the majority of the interviewed farmers are living on extremely low monthly

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<sup>148</sup> This information was obtained by asking farmers for an estimation of their total monthly household income, as well as questions regarding how many people in their household were working or receiving pensions or grants.

<sup>149</sup> The per capita calculations have taken all household members into account, including children and babies.

<sup>150</sup> Researchers who argue that UA does not benefit the urban poorest include Mbiba (1995), Peter (2003), Webb (1996) and Bourne (2007). While Rogerson (1993) originally argued that UA is conducted by the most marginalised and vulnerable groups, his later research found that UA is not very prevalent amongst marginalised households (May and Rogerson (1995)). While Foeken (2006) found the poorest households to be under represented among the farmers in his study, he still found that there were a large number of low-income households farming. Fermont *et al.* (1998) found that 50% of the farmers they interviewed were living either at or below the poverty line and Freeman (1991) found most of the farmers in his study to be in low and very low income groups.

household and per capita incomes, and therefore can indeed be considered to be poor. Even if they are not considered to be part of the most marginalised or vulnerable groups in the city, the majority of the farmers live in poor conditions and struggle on a regular basis to provide their households with basic items.

Table 1 in Appendix 2 provides a list of the farmers that were interviewed for this study. This table provides information regarding the farmers' ages, the types of farming activities that they conduct, the areas where they live and farm, whether they farm as individuals or in groups, and whether or not they receive any organisational support. Tables 2.1 and 2.2 in Appendix 3 relate to the income and size of the farmers' households, showing the monthly household income, size, and per capita income of each household.

## **Overview of Chapters**

In this first chapter, the subject of urban agriculture has been introduced and a suitable definition of UA has been found for this purpose of this study. The questions that this study will aim to answer have been posed and it has been demonstrated why this research is necessary and important. A brief overview of past and present urban agriculture practices around the world has been given, with this overview revealing that UA is not a new phenomenon and in fact has been, and continues to be, practised in a number of cities around the world. This chapter also includes a review of existing literature on urban agriculture, focusing specifically on studies conducted in Africa, South Africa and Cape Town. This literature review has revealed that there are gaps in the current body of UA literature, with the main gaps being with regards to the social benefits of urban agriculture and the history of urban farming in Cape Town. The methodology used for this study has been discussed, noting that oral history research was used to gather a large amount of the information required. The importance of an historical approach has also been demonstrated and a brief overview has been provided of the farmers who were interviewed for this study.

Before investigating the social benefits that urban agriculture in the Cape Flats has produced and continues to produce, it is necessary to analyse what is meant by social benefits and to identify potential social benefits of urban agriculture. This subject is explored in Chapter Two, using a variety urban agriculture, historical and sociological sources to identify potential social benefits of urban farming. This chapter also examines the relationship between social and economic benefits and analyses whether

the social benefits of urban agriculture can help to improve the economic situation of participants and their families.

Chapters Three to Six are arranged chronologically, with each chapter focusing on a specific time period from before 1948 to the present. The chronology that has been used, relates to significant events and occurrences in South African and Cape Town history, in order to ensure that the evidence presented in this study is seen within its broader context. The year 1948 is significant for South Africa as a whole and for Cape Town specifically, as the city changed dramatically after 1948, with the apartheid government imposing a rigidly racial segregationist policy on the city.<sup>151</sup> Many of the farmers interviewed for this study were affected by the forced removals that resulted from this segregationist policy. Chapter Four therefore covers the period from 1948 to 1979 in order to incorporate all of the forced removals that affected these farmers. The period 1980 to 1994 covers the last 14 years of apartheid and is also a period during which researchers and organisations in Cape Town began to show an interest in urban agriculture. The advent of democracy during the post-1994 period, encouraged a change of attitude amongst local authorities and township residents that contributed towards the growth of UA in the Cape Flats.

Certain themes cut across these chapters, with all chapters looking broadly at the history of UA and of the target townships during that period, as well as specifically at the lives of the farmers and the UA activities that they were conducting at that time. The farmers' life histories<sup>152</sup> and the histories of the townships where they live and farm combine to provide a clear understanding of the context in which the farmers conducted their UA activities. Reasons why some of the farmers did not conduct any UA activities during certain periods are also looked at in Chapters Three, Four and Five. All of these chapters analyse motivations for participating in urban agriculture activities as well as the benefits that UA activities produced for farmers and their families.

Chapter Three looks at the period before 1948 and investigates whether urban agriculture was practised in Cape Town before the mid 1900s. While questions are raised regarding when Cape Town became a city, information in this chapter shows that agriculture has played an important role in Cape Town's history. This chapter uses information from general histories of Cape Town as well as data from social studies to

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<sup>151</sup> J. Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1981), 3.

<sup>152</sup> It was not possible to include all of the data relating to the farmers' life histories in the main body of this thesis. Chapters Three to Six therefore include overviews of the farmers' life histories during those periods, with more detailed life history information being included in Appendix 7.

explore whether small-scale informal agriculture was conducted by individuals in Cape Town before 1948. It is found that agricultural activities were indeed practised by individuals living in various parts of Cape Town during the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Examples of such farming activities are discussed, with motivations for conducting these activities and the benefits gained through these farming practices being analysed. Through this discussion, it is found that those who were involved in farming activities during this period derived a number of social, nutritional and economic benefits from these activities. While none of the farmers interviewed for this study had begun to conduct their UA activities before 1948, this chapter looks briefly at the life histories of some of the farmers during this period. Municipal regulations implemented during this period regarding the keeping of livestock and poultry are also looked at in this chapter, revealing that the local authorities began to restrict the keeping of such animals during the early 1900s, viewing livestock farming as an inappropriate activity in certain parts of the city.

Chapter Four covers the period from 1949 to 1979 and explores whether urban agriculture continued to be practised in Cape Town during this period. This is confirmed by various sources and underlined by the fact that eleven of the farmers interviewed for this study began their UA activities during this period. A detailed analysis of their UA activities reveals that these farmers had various motivations for beginning these activities, with many motivations being of a social nature. The farmers also gained a number of social, nutritional, health and economic benefits from their urban farming. Chapter Four also provides information regarding the context in which the farmers began their UA activities by looking at the farmers' life histories and at the development and growth of the Cape Flats during this period. It is found that many of the farmers were affected by the Group Areas Act and forced removals, and their experiences of the removals are therefore looked at in this chapter.

Chapter Five looks at the period from 1980 to 1994, and uses a variety of sources to investigate the nature and extent of UA activities in the Cape Flats during this time. While urban farming was indeed taking place during this period, questions have been raised regarding the extent to which UA was practised during the 1980s and early 1990s. Thirteen of the farmers interviewed for this study were involved in urban farming activities during this period and their UA activities are analysed in this chapter. Once again it is found that the farmers derived a number of social, nutritional, health and economic benefits from their farming activities. Information regarding the farmers' life histories during this period is also provided in order to understand the context in which

they began and conducted their UA activities. In addition, this chapter looks at some of the early UA studies that were conducted during this period and at the establishment of Abalimi Bezekhaya, a leading urban agriculture NGO operating in the Cape Flats.

Information regarding the main trends in urban farming in Cape Town prior to 1994 can therefore be found in Chapters Three to Five. Continuities and discontinuities in urban farming practices, attitudes towards UA and official policy can be identified through a comparison of the information included in those chapters. A noticeable trend from the early 1900s onwards is the authorities' modernist attitude towards farming in the city, and their continued attempts to restrict livestock and poultry farming in Cape Town. Another trend that can be identified is the on-going practice of small-scale, informal urban farming, despite official attitudes and regulations. UA continued to be practised in various parts of Cape Town throughout this period, with a number of benefits being gained by farmers and their families. However, interest in UA seemed to have decreased slightly between 1980 and 1994, with certain negative attitudes towards agriculture being developed. Nevertheless, organisational support for UA in Cape Town increased during the late 1980s and early 1990s, as did interest in UA as a topic of research. This increased organisational support seems to have played a role in the growth of UA that has been experienced in Cape Town since 1994.

Chapter Six is the longest chapter in this study, as it looks at the period from 1995 to 2009 and includes detailed information regarding current urban farming activities. This chapter begins by investigating the extent to which urban agriculture was practised in the Cape Flats during this period and finds that urban farming has increased in these areas since 1994. In fact, 17 of the 30 farmers interviewed for this study began to conduct urban farming activities for the first time after 1994. UA studies conducted during this period are looked at, and the growth of Abalimi Bezekhaya, the emergence of gardening groups and the establishment of Soil for Life are discussed. The City of Cape Town's 2007 Urban Agriculture Policy is also analysed, finding that, through this policy, the City has created a supportive and enabling environment for UA activities in Cape Town. The urban agriculture activities conducted by the 30 farmers during this period are investigated, finding that farmers had a variety of motivations for starting and continuing their UA activities, with a large number of these motivations being of a social nature. It is also found that UA activities conducted during this period produced a number of social, nutritional, health and economic benefits for the farmers, their families and in some instances, others in their neighbourhoods. A detailed discussion on the current benefits of the farmers' UA activities reveals that farmers and their families are benefiting from

both the products and processes of their farming activities, with the processes of UA producing a number of significant social benefits. This chapter also looks briefly at the life histories of some of the farmers and the situation in the Cape Flats during this period.

Chapter Seven, the conclusion, summarises and analyses the main findings of this study. This chapter includes a thematic discussion of the key issues that have been raised and answers the research questions posed earlier in Chapter One. Conclusions are drawn from the study's main findings, with this study concluding that agriculture has been a notable feature of Cape Town's landscape since the 1600s and has played an important role in Cape Town's history. The presence of UA in various parts of Cape Town during the 20<sup>th</sup> century challenged the authorities' modernist views of the city.<sup>153</sup> Urban farming has been practised in the Cape Flats since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and continues to be conducted in various townships and settlements today. Based on the findings of this study, it is concluded that Cape Flats farmers have derived, and continue to derive, a variety of benefits from both the products and processes of their UA activities. These benefits have had a profound impact on the social and economic well-being of the farmers and their families. While benefits derived from the products have mostly been related to food security, health and, to a lesser extent, income generation, the processes of urban farming have produced numerous significant social benefits. This study finds that a strong relationship exists between social and economic benefits, and argues that through the social benefits of UA activities, farmers, their families and their broader neighbourhoods can benefit both socially and economically.

**Figure 1: Vegetable farming on Council land in Guguletu<sup>154</sup>**



<sup>153</sup> The presence of UA in Cape Town throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries also raises questions regarding when Cape Town became a city and challenges traditional, modernist views of the urban. These issues are discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

<sup>154</sup> Photograph taken by Dunn on 12 August 2008.

Figure 2: Chickens and goats in Nyanga<sup>155</sup>



Figure 3: A home vegetable garden in KTC<sup>156</sup>



<sup>155</sup> Photograph taken by Dunn on 12 August 2008.

<sup>156</sup> Photograph taken by Dunn on 30 April 2009.

## **Chapter Two: Identification of Potential Social Benefits of Urban Agriculture**

It is necessary to analyse what is meant by the term social benefits before investigating the social impact of urban agriculture in the Cape Flats. In addition, potential social benefits need to be identified, as do potential negative consequences of UA. This chapter makes use of a variety of sources in order to achieve these objectives. These sources include existing literature on urban agriculture, observations of those working in the UA field and literature on the forced removals in Cape Town. The last mentioned is particularly useful as it allows for the identification of independent social benefit indicators that are based on historical, non-UA sources. A brief analysis of selected literature on other relevant topics, such as social capital, poverty and life-quality satisfaction, will also help to pinpoint further potential social benefits of urban agriculture.

It is important not to ignore the relationship between social and economic. Therefore, this chapter explores that link, looking specifically at the relationship between social capital and poverty alleviation. A brief analysis of this relationship will help to establish whether the social benefits of urban agriculture can help to improve the economic situation of participants and their families.

### **Urban Agriculture Sources: Existing Literature and Role-Players' Observations**

While researchers have only recently begun to study the social benefits of urban agriculture, many of the earlier studies made note of certain social or non-economic benefits that were observed.<sup>157</sup> Although these studies set out to explore the economic impact of UA, some non-economic benefits were identified and therefore mentioned. While these benefits were not investigated in any detail, it is still very useful to know what social benefits were recognised by these researchers. This will help immensely in identifying potential social benefits for the purpose of this study. When speaking about social benefits, certain researchers refer broadly to all non-economic benefits, while others differentiate between social benefits, health and nutritional benefits, and

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<sup>157</sup> Studies that identified certain social benefits of UA but did not study them in much detail include: Freeman (1991), Foeken (2006), Peter (2003), Webb (1996), Eberhard (1989), Beaumont (1990), Karaan and Mohamed (1998) and Fermont *et al.* (1998).

environmental benefits.<sup>158</sup> For the purposes of this study, health, nutritional and environmental benefits will be included in the broad definition of social benefits, as these factors impact on the social well-being of individuals, families and societies. While acknowledging that food security could be an economic as well as a social benefit, this study explores the health, nutritional and other social benefits gained through access to fresh, healthy food. The quantitative aspect of food security is therefore considered in this study to be an economic benefit, while the qualitative aspects of food security and improved nutrition are considered to be social benefits. The psychological benefits associated with knowing that one has access to sufficient food are also considered to be social benefits related to food security.

Despite the fact that research on urban agriculture in Africa has tended to focus very much on its economic potential, researchers have identified several non-economic benefits of UA activities. Food security has been mentioned as a benefit of UA in all the African UA literature reviewed for this study,<sup>159</sup> with some authors observing that the provision of food has helped to bring about improved nutrition, diversified diets or access to quality food.<sup>160</sup> Foeken even noted that this helps to improve the health of farmers and their households.<sup>161</sup> Researchers have also looked at food security in economic terms, noting how it has helped farmers to save money by not having to purchase vegetables.<sup>162</sup> In addition, a number of these researchers have mentioned environmental benefits that UA activities produce, including the improvement of soil quality, waste minimisation, increased biodiversity, weed control and the productive use of vacant or under-utilised land.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> In fact, researchers categorise UA benefits in various different ways. For example, Eberhard (1989) broadly categorises benefits as either economic or non-economic. Freeman (1991) categorises UA benefits according to family, community and national. Under family, food security, dietary supplement and economic benefits are seen as separate benefits, with all other social and environmental benefits being placed under "other". Bourne (2007) divides UA benefits into material and social, with economic benefits, as well as food security, dietary supplements, health from improved diet and skills development all falling into the material category. Marshak (2008) sees economic benefits, food security and social benefits as being separate types of benefits. She divides social benefits into individual and community categories, with environmental benefits falling under community.

<sup>159</sup> D. Freeman, *A City of Farmers: Informal Urban Agriculture in the Open Spaces of Nairobi, Kenya* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); B. Mbiba, *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe* (Aldershot: Avebury Brookfield, 1995); F. Christie, 'Urban Agriculture in Maputo' (Masters thesis: Public and Development Management, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1996); G. Peter, 'Urban Agriculture in Manzini, Swaziland' (MA thesis, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2003); and D. Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income: Urban Farming in an East African Town* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006).

<sup>160</sup> Christie, 'Urban Agriculture in Maputo' Peter, 2003; Foeken, 2006

<sup>161</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

<sup>162</sup> Freeman, *A City of Farmers*; Mbiba, *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe*; Peter, 'Urban Agriculture in Manzini'; and Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

<sup>163</sup> Freeman, *A City of Farmers*; Mbiba, *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe*; Peter, 'Urban Agriculture in Manzini'; and Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*. (It is important to note that while Foeken does indeed look at the environmental benefits of UA, he also notes that UA has the potential to be an environmental hazard and therefore needs to be properly managed.)

Other social benefits have also been identified in some of the studies on urban agriculture in Africa. Freeman found that UA enabled people to keep active and to participate in an activity that they enjoyed and saw farming projects as training grounds for women entrepreneurs. Moreover, he noted that urban farming enabled landless and unskilled people to migrate to the cities, as they would be able to participate in agriculture after they migrated. He also found that UA helped to encourage the reunification of migrant families, as women were able to conduct farming in the cities.<sup>164</sup> Foeken established that many people were motivated to conduct UA activities by the fact that farming was their custom. These farmers benefited from their UA activities as they were able to maintain their rural identity. Foeken also found that many people farmed for enjoyment and therefore saw it as a hobby.<sup>165</sup> Peter mentioned that UA produced various personal psychological benefits and helped to encourage community cohesion, as well as that participating in urban farming enabled women to spend more time with their children.<sup>166</sup>

While the early research into urban agriculture in Cape Town looked mainly at UA's economic potential, certain social benefits were touched on in these studies. Most of these studies discussed how UA provided farmers and their households with food security,<sup>167</sup> with Fermont et al making the observation that UA provided farmers and their families with improved nutrition.<sup>168</sup> As in the literature on UA in Africa, some of the early Cape Town studies looked at food security in economic terms, noting how producing their own vegetables enabled farmers to save money.<sup>169</sup> Environmental benefits were also mentioned in many of these studies. Both Eberhard and Fermont et al found that UA brought about community greening and beautification, and Eberhard observed that participating in UA activities encouraged environmental awareness.<sup>170</sup> Furthermore,

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<sup>164</sup> Freeman, *A City of Farmers*.

<sup>165</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

<sup>166</sup> Peter, 'Urban Agriculture in Manzini'.

<sup>167</sup> J. Beaumont, 'Urban Agriculture: A Study in Town 2, Khayelitsha' (Honours thesis: Environmental and Geographical Science, University of Cape Town, 1990); A. Karaan and N. Mohamed, 'The Performance of Food Gardens in some Townships of the Cape Metropolitan Area: An Evaluation of Abalimi Bezekhaya', *Development Southern Africa*, 15, 1 (1998), 67 - 83; and A. Fermont, P. van Asten, K. Keet and E. van Boom, 'Urban Vegetable Production in Khayelitsha: A Case Study of Management Options to Improve the Feasibility of Vegetable Gardening in Deprived Communities of the Cape Flats, South Africa, with an Emphasis on Agroforestry', Occasional Publication Series, 1, School of Environmental Studies, University of the Western Cape (1998).

<sup>168</sup> Fermont *et al.*, 'Urban Vegetable Production in Khayelitsha'.

<sup>169</sup> Beaumont, 'Urban Agriculture: A Study in Town 2' and Karaan and Mohamed, 'The Performance of Food Gardens'.

<sup>170</sup> R. Eberhard, 'Urban Agriculture: The Potential in Cape Town', Working Paper 89/E1, Summary Report, Town Planning Branch, City Planner's Office: Cape Town (1989) and Fermont *et al.*, 'Urban Vegetable Production in Khayelitsha'.

Beaumont contends that through gardening, farmers gained a responsibility for the well-being of their plants and the natural environment.<sup>171</sup>

A number of other social benefits were referred to in the early studies on UA in Cape Town. Most of these studies found that urban agriculture provided farmers with some form of enjoyment, leisure or recreation.<sup>172</sup> Fermont et al noted that UA provided farmers with exercise and Karaan and Mohamed that UA enabled unemployed people to keep busy.<sup>173</sup> In addition, Beaumont felt that urban farming improved people's self-esteem.<sup>174</sup> Many of these researchers concluded that involvement in urban agriculture activities provided farmers with increased social interaction and therefore promoted community cohesion.<sup>175</sup> Eberhard believed that the processes of community gardens (such as meetings, interaction, working together and sharing resources) could help to promote community development and could even be more important than the material outputs of the gardens.<sup>176</sup> Fermont et al and Karaan and Mohamed observed that UA helped to build the capacity of participants.<sup>177</sup> Beaumont and Fermont et al noted that UA activities helped to empower women, with Fermont et al seeing UA as providing women with control over household food supply and decreasing their financial dependence on their husbands.<sup>178</sup> However, these early studies did not discuss these social benefits in much detail. The use of a methodology that explores farmers' life histories and includes a wider selection of farmers,<sup>179</sup> allows this study to conduct a detailed investigation into whether urban farming has produced, and continues to produce, these and other social benefits.

Rachel Slater's paper, published in 2000, was the first study to focus on social benefits of urban agriculture in Cape Town. Since then, other researchers have explored the social benefits of specific urban vegetable farming projects in Cape Town. A brief look

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<sup>171</sup> Beaumont, 'Urban Agriculture: A Study in Town 2'.

<sup>172</sup> Eberhard, 'Urban Agriculture'; Beaumont, 'Urban Agriculture: A Study in Town 2'; and Karaan and Mohamed, 'The Performance of Food Gardens'.

<sup>173</sup> Fermont *et al.*, 'Urban Vegetable Production in Khayelitsha' and Karaan and Mohamed, 'The Performance of Food Gardens'.

<sup>174</sup> Fermont *et al.*, 'Urban Vegetable Production in Khayelitsha' and Beaumont, 'Urban Agriculture: A Study in Town 2'.

<sup>175</sup> Eberhard, 'Urban Agriculture'; Karaan and Mohamed, 'The Performance of Food Gardens'; and Fermont *et al.*, 'Urban Vegetable Production in Khayelitsha'.

<sup>176</sup> Eberhard, 'Urban Agriculture'.

<sup>177</sup> Fermont *et al.*, 'Urban Vegetable Production in Khayelitsha' and Karaan and Mohamed, 'The Performance of Food Gardens'.

<sup>178</sup> Beaumont, 'Urban Agriculture: A Study in Town 2' and Fermont *et al.*, 'Urban Vegetable Production in Khayelitsha'.

<sup>179</sup> While the methodologies used by these early UA researchers included interviews with farmers, these studies did not make use of life history data to establish how farmers have benefited from their UA activities. These studies also focused solely on vegetable farming, with both Fermont *et al.* and Karaan and Mohamed looking only at UA activities linked to Abalimi Bezekhaya. In addition, Beaumont and Fermont *et al.*'s studies only looked at UA activities in Khayelitsha.

at the benefits found in these works will help to identify potential social benefits for this study. As in the previous studies, food security was recognised as being a benefit by most of the researchers.<sup>180</sup> Bourne went on to note that many farmers enjoyed eating their own fresh vegetables that were healthier than those in the shops.<sup>181</sup> Improved health was also seen to be a benefit in some of the studies.<sup>182</sup> Many of the researchers saw exercise and keeping busy to be benefits of urban farming, with Marshak noting that their UA activities gave the farmers something to look forward to each day.<sup>183</sup> In addition, a number of the studies found that UA activities improved the farmers' self-esteem and gave them a sense of pride, fulfilment and self-worth.<sup>184</sup> Marshak commented on the fact that the farmers loved their gardens and derived great pleasure from watching the plants grow.<sup>185</sup> Many studies also asserted that vegetable farming produced therapeutic benefits, as the gardens provided farmers with a peaceful, stress-free environment where they could escape their worries and problems.<sup>186</sup>

All four of these researchers concluded that urban farming helped to establish social networks, with farmers coming together not only to farm, but also to socialise, share their problems and enjoy each others' company.<sup>187</sup> Jacobs went on to show how the gardening groups encouraged the development of social capital which helped to improve the farmers' livelihoods.<sup>188</sup> All these researchers construed that urban agriculture helped to promote community development, as the farmers they interviewed had either become involved in such initiatives together or were planning to start same.<sup>189</sup> In addition, most of these studies observed that the farmers gave some of their vegetables away to the sick and needy in their neighbourhoods.<sup>190</sup> Certain of these studies found that urban agriculture helped to empower women. Slater discovered that by conducting UA

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<sup>180</sup> A. Bourne, 'Masimbambane, Let's Stick Together: Contentions on the Role of Urban Vegetable Gardens in the Cape Flats' (Masters thesis: Social Science, University of Cape Town, 2007); M. Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture: Social Benefits and Transformations' (Honours thesis: Environmental and Geographical Science, University of Cape Town, 2008); and C. Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital in the Creation of Sustainable Livelihoods: A Case Study of the Siyazama Community Allotment Gardening Association (SCAGA)' (MPhil thesis: Community and Development, Stellenbosch University, 2009).

<sup>181</sup> Bourne, 'Masimbambane, Let's Stick Together'.

<sup>182</sup> Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture' and Bourne, 'Masimbambane, Let's Stick Together'.

<sup>183</sup> Bourne, 'Masimbambane, Let's Stick Together' and Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture'.

<sup>184</sup> R. Slater, 'Urban Agriculture, Gender and Empowerment: An Alternative View', Institute for Development Policy and Management Discussion Paper Series, Paper 60, University of Manchester (2000); Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture'; and Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital'.

<sup>185</sup> Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture'.

<sup>186</sup> Slater, 'Urban Agriculture'; Bourne, 'Masimbambane, Let's Stick Together'; and Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture'.

<sup>187</sup> Slater, 'Urban Agriculture'; Bourne, 'Masimbambane, Let's Stick Together'; Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture'; and Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital'.

<sup>188</sup> Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital'.

<sup>189</sup> Slater, 'Urban Agriculture'; Bourne, 'Masimbambane, Let's Stick Together'; Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture'; and Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital'.

<sup>190</sup> Bourne, 'Masimbambane, Let's Stick Together'; Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture'; and Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital'.

activities, women gained control over household food provision and consumption and that UA provided women with a sense of stability and often enabled them to draw on rural coping mechanisms.<sup>191</sup> Bourne contends that UA activities provided women with an opportunity to feel useful and productive.<sup>192</sup>

Information from international studies on urban agriculture can also be used to help identify potential social benefits. In his paper on the history of allotment gardening in Europe, Britain and North America, Parker identifies a number of social benefits that urban allotments have provided for gardeners and their families over the years. In the early 1900s, allotment gardens in Europe provided gardeners with recreation and an alternative source of food, and in many countries, the allotments helped people to survive during times of crisis. In France, the early allotment gardening movement claimed that family gardens promoted health, encouraged abstinence from alcohol and provided families with quality time together. In times of crisis in Sweden, gardens fostered a sense of achievement among gardeners and helped them to engage in social activities. In the mid 1800s in Britain, allotment gardening activists saw gardens as a tool to remedy a number of social ills. Parker notes that allotment gardening began and grew in these countries during times of crisis and change, and thus served to increase resilience during these times. Allotment gardens have therefore played a role in ameliorating social and ecological pressures within these countries' social-ecological systems.<sup>193</sup>

According to Parker, allotment gardens continue to produce social benefits in these countries, with gardens in Europe having become recreationally and socially oriented. In Britain, many people are becoming interested in organic gardening in response to the health and environmental dangers of modern food production. In 1998, a report on the benefits of allotment gardening was presented to Britain's House of Commons.<sup>194</sup> A number of social, health and environmental benefits were noted in this report, including: Fresh food supplies; Improved physical and mental health; Relief from pressures of modern life; Therapeutic benefits; Social interaction across age, race, culture and

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<sup>191</sup> Slater, 'Urban Agriculture'.

<sup>192</sup> Bourne, 'Masimbambane, Let's Stick Together'.

<sup>193</sup> J. Parker, 'The Rise of the Allotment Movement in Europe: An Historical Overview with Theoretical Implications', Internal Discussion Paper, Department of Systems Ecology, Stockholm University, Sweden (2003).

<sup>194</sup> Select Committee on Environment, 'Transport and Regional Affairs' Fifth Report to the House of Commons (1998), cited in Parker, 'The Rise of the Allotment Movement in Europe'.

gender; Creation of green spaces that clean the air; Maintenance of biodiversity; Reduced resources used to transport and package food.<sup>195</sup>

Northern studies on urban agriculture have recently begun to demonstrate the potential of UA to produce social and community benefits that can assist farmers personally and help to address urban problems. A summary of the main conclusions of these studies can be found in Marshak's recent thesis on some of the social aspects of urban agriculture, where she notes that these benefits can be divided into personal and community.<sup>196</sup> The former include psychological well-being, relieving stress, enhancing self-confidence and self-worth, and restoring or creating a sense of place, especially for migrants. The latter comprise social and community cohesion, strengthening community identity, fostering social and human capital, revitalising degenerated neighbourhoods, increasing neighbourhood pride, provision of safe havens for women and children, and fostering community development through the sharing of spaces, experiences, resources and skills.<sup>197</sup> In addition, researchers from the Department of Systems Ecology at Stockholm University have recently discovered links between urban green spaces in Stockholm and the strengthening of social networks and social capital.<sup>198</sup>

The July 2007 edition of the *Urban Agriculture Magazine* produced by an international UA organisation, RUAF (Resource Centres on Urban Agriculture and Food Security) focuses on the social impact of UA and looks at its potential to promote the social integration of disadvantaged groups. In the editorial, Bailkey et al state that UA integrates marginalised groups more strongly into the urban network. They note that the North American Community Gardening Association has found that urban gardens play a role in providing health and nutrition, building and empowering communities, breaking down barriers, eliminating hunger and reducing crime. Through the case studies presented in this magazine, Bailkey et al conclude that urban farming promotes the social inclusion of disadvantaged groups by providing them with fresh food, additional income, wider social contacts, renewed self-respect, organisational skills and greener living environments. They also identify a number of other social benefits that community-based UA produces, including empowerment of women, building leadership

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<sup>195</sup> Parker, 'The Rise of the Allotment Movement in Europe'.

<sup>196</sup> Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture'.

<sup>197</sup> Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture'; Northern UA studies cited that highlight social benefits include Pudup (2007 & 2008), Jamison (2000) and Armstrong (2000).

<sup>198</sup> H. Ernstson and S. Sorlin, 'Weaving protective stories: Connective strategies to articulate holistic values in Stockholm National Urban Park', Paper submitted to *Environment and Planning A* (2007) and E. Anderson, S. Barthel and K. Ahme. 'Measuring Social-Ecological Dynamics Behind the Generation of Ecosystems Services', *Ecological Applications*, 17, 5 (2007), 1267 – 1278.

skills, treatment of the sick and disabled, and assimilation of migrants and refugees into a new culture.<sup>199</sup>

It is not only researchers and authors who have started to take note of the social benefits of urban agriculture. Role-players who have worked in the UA field for many years have been aware of a number of social benefits that UA activities have produced for farmers, their families and their broader neighbourhoods. While these role-players are still calling for research to be conducted to justify their claims, their observations can be very helpful in the identification of potential social benefits. Rob Small, from Abalimi Bezekhaya in Cape Town, is one of the main lobbyists in South Africa for the recognition of social benefits. In his article for the 2006 CSI Handbook, Small wrote that UA activities produce a number of environmental benefits such as improved soil fertility and the conservation of seed diversity and indigenous natural systems. He also observed that urban farming helps to improve nutrition and that treatment support gardens supply fresh organic vegetables to the chronically ill.<sup>200</sup> In a later article, written in 2007, Small again looked at the environmental benefits of UA activities, noting that community vegetable gardens preserve indigenous flora through the use of indigenous wind-breaks. Furthermore, he noted that urban farming produces health and therapeutic benefits, provides women with leadership opportunities and creates a centre around which other entrepreneurial activities are started.<sup>201</sup> When interviewed in 2007, Small mentioned a number of other social benefits including the formation of networks of care and support, family togetherness, self-reliance, improved sense of dignity and self-respect, inspiring hope for the future, better use of open spaces, provision of food for cultural practices and the fostering of a sense of place, space and permanence.<sup>202</sup>

Some of the existing literature on urban agriculture has also identified a number of negative impacts that urban farming can produce. Most of these relate to health and the environment. Mbiba observes that critics of UA have maintained that urban farming is a health hazard and that it causes pollution, promotes land degradation and destroys urban habitats.<sup>203</sup> Foeken notes that some existing studies have revealed that UA can be an environmental hazard, as farming can cause soil erosion, chemical fertilizers and pesticides can impact the urban environment, livestock can cause over-grazing and

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<sup>199</sup> M. Bailkey, J. Wilbers and R. van Veenhuizen, 'Building Communities through Urban Agriculture', in *Urban Agriculture Magazine*, 18 (2007).

<sup>200</sup> R. Small, 'Can Community-based Organic Micro-farming Create Food Security?', *CSI Handbook* (Dialogue, 2006), 266 - 269

<sup>201</sup> R. Small, 'Organic Gardens bring Hope to Urban Poor', *Appropriate Technology*, 34, 1 (2007), 18 - 24

<sup>202</sup> Interview with Rob Small at Abalimi Bezekhaya, Philippi, 19 July 2007.

<sup>203</sup> Mbiba, *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe*, 23.

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<sup>203</sup> Mbiba, *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe*, 23.

traffic accidents, and the use of contaminated water (particularly untreated sewerage water) for irrigation and crops growing on roadsides can produce contaminated food. Other negative environmental impacts of UA identified by Foeken from previous studies include the loss of soil fertility through over usage, livestock spreading diseases, livestock destroying public and private property and animal dung causing odours and providing a breeding ground for harmful bacteria.<sup>204</sup> Freeman also mentions some negative impacts of urban farming that have been found in other UA studies, such as lead contamination of crops grown close to roads, contamination of food grown near, and irrigated with, stream water polluted by human waste and industrial effluent, and the spread of diseases aggravated by irrigated agriculture near stagnant ponds and slow-flowing streams.<sup>205</sup>

UA researchers have identified and investigated various concerns that local authorities and urban residents have raised regarding UA and its impact on the urban environment, one of these being the urban farmers' means of waste disposal. In his study on UA in Zimbabwe, Mbiba notes that if vegetable waste is not disposed of properly, environmental problems can be created. For example, the unpleasant smoke produced by burning it would be an annoyance for other residents as would leaving it lying around. However, he found that the majority of the farmers he interviewed were already using environmentally friendly methods of dealing with their farming waste.<sup>206</sup> In Foeken's study on UA in Nakuru, he looked at how livestock farmers in this city disposed of their waste. While he found that one third of the farmers he interviewed were dumping their waste in the streets, 62% were either using their waste for crop cultivation or giving it to neighbours for their farming activities.<sup>207</sup> The nuisance created by livestock has also been raised by urban residents and local authorities. Mbiba found that the residents and local authorities of Chitungwiza saw the destruction of property and traffic accidents to be the main problems associated with urban cattle farming. Further investigation revealed that cattle in this town do indeed eat people's vegetables, destroy their property, eat their laundry, leave their litter in the streets and disturb the residents' peace at night. Discussions with the police also confirmed that cattle have in fact caused many traffic accidents.<sup>208</sup> Local authorities and non-farmers in Nakuru interviewed for

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<sup>204</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

<sup>205</sup> Freeman, *A City of Farmers*.

<sup>206</sup> Mbiba, *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe*.

<sup>207</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

<sup>208</sup> Mbiba, *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe*.

Foeken's study saw the destruction of crops and flower beds as major problems resulting from urban livestock farming.<sup>209</sup>

The use of chemical inputs and their effect on the urban environment have also been raised by local authorities and residents as problems related to urban farming. Foeken notes how an earlier study conducted in Tanzania revealed that chemicals were being used widely by urban crop farmers, with some of these chemicals being highly toxic. In his own study in Nakuru, Foeken found that a number of crop cultivators were using chemical inputs and that some of their neighbours were complaining about chemicals ending up in their water sources. Foeken feels, however, that through sufficient extension support, conducted by well-trained extension workers, urban farmers can be taught organic farming methods, thus reducing the use of chemicals in urban farming.<sup>210</sup> Disease spread by livestock is another concern regarding urban farming that has been raised by local authorities and residents. When interviewed for Foeken's Nakuru study, many saw urban farming as being unhygienic, with officials mentioning disease spread by livestock as a major concern.<sup>211</sup> In his study in Chitungwiza, Zimbabwe, Mbiba found that the local authorities saw urban livestock as being vectors of disease. Mbiba investigated this issue further in order to establish whether this attitude was based on fact or assumptions. Interviews with health professionals at the local clinics revealed that only one professional had ever witnessed any cattle environment-related disease in patients and none of the health professionals saw the cattle's presence in town as being a major health risk.<sup>212</sup>

Another concern raised by local authorities and residents is the use of untreated sewerage water for the irrigation of crops and grazing land. While Foeken found that only one of the farmers interviewed for his Nakuru study was using untreated sewerage water for irrigation, he found that many farmers in another area of Nakuru were making use of this water source. Interviews with local officials revealed that they felt that crops watered with sewerage water and crops cultivated close to the city's dump were contaminated. In order to verify this, Foeken tested the heavy metal concentrations in the soil, water and crops from various parts of Nakuru. He found these levels to be particularly high in soil near the dump and the sewerage farm, with very high zinc and lead levels near roadsides. He also found that heavy metal levels were much higher in sewerage water than in tap water. When testing the crops, he found the heavy metal

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<sup>209</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

<sup>210</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

<sup>211</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

<sup>212</sup> Mbiba, *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe*.

levels to be higher in those grown near the dump and sewerage plant and in some crops grown in roadside gardens.<sup>213</sup> In Chitungwiza, Mbiba found that cattle herders block the sewer mains in order to flood the valleys so that the grass stays green for the cattle to graze. This untreated water produces unpleasant smells and cattle often end up drinking it. Mbiba notes that this causes a potential health hazard, as untreated water could be a source of disease and the health status of the cattle drinking the water could be questioned.<sup>214</sup>

Other potential negative aspects of UA are the attraction of criminals and the theft of crops and livestock. According to the local authority officials interviewed for Foeken's study in Nakuru, maize crops provide hiding places for criminals.<sup>215</sup> Freeman found that the theft of crops was a concern for many of the farmers whom he interviewed in Nairobi. However, he found that the level of theft that these farmers had experienced or expected to experience was in fact quite low.<sup>216</sup> In his Nakuru study, Foeken found that the theft of crops was a major problem experienced by urban crop farmers, and was in fact the problem that was most mentioned by the farmers he interviewed. The theft of livestock was also mentioned as a problem by livestock and chicken farmers in Nakuru, although only 20% of the livestock farmers interviewed saw theft as being a major problem.<sup>217</sup>

A potential negative social impact of urban farming mentioned by Rob Small, a role-player in the UA field in Cape Town, relates to the effect that this practice could have on an individual's self-esteem if s/he attempts to start a farming activity but then fails. Urban cultivation can be very challenging and without the proper training and extension support, some individuals could be unsuccessful in their farming endeavours and become discouraged from trying again. Their self-esteem and general sense of hope and well-being could be negatively affected by this experience of failing and in such situations, UA could have a disempowering effect. Small therefore stresses the importance of adequate training and extension support for new farmers.<sup>218</sup>

It appears that many of the potential negative impacts of UA identified and investigated by UA researchers and role-players could be avoided or managed through proper urban management, the provision of adequate resources (such as clean water, land and security) and the provision of proper training and extension support. Foeken notes that

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<sup>214</sup> Mbiba, *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe*.

<sup>215</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

<sup>216</sup> Freeman, *A City of Farmers*.

<sup>217</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

<sup>218</sup> Follow-up interview with Rob Small, Kenilworth, 15 September 2010.

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<sup>216</sup> Freeman, *A City of Farmers*.

<sup>217</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

<sup>218</sup> Follow-up interview with Rob Small, Kenilworth, 15 September 2010.

well-managed, legalised urban agriculture can actually contribute towards enhancing the urban environment, as it can help create improved micro-climates, conserve soils, minimise waste and improve nutrient recycling, biodiversity and water management.<sup>219</sup> Both Foeken and Small have also mentioned the important role that training and extension support can play in minimising the potential negative impacts of urban cultivation.<sup>220</sup>

## Forced Removal Literature

During the 1980s and 1990s, a number of studies were conducted on the forced removals that had taken place in Cape Town during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. These studies made use of oral history methodology to explore how families and communities were affected by the forced removals. This literature can therefore be used to ascertain what important social elements were lost through the forced removals and what was lacking in the areas where they were forced to live. This information will help tremendously with the identification of potential social benefits that have been gathered from historical, non-UA sources.

Nasson's study of the District Six removals,<sup>221</sup> Mesthrie's works on the Black River and Tramway Road removals<sup>222</sup> and Naidoo and Dreyer's paper on Lavender Hill (where many people were moved to),<sup>223</sup> all discuss a number of important social elements that existed in the communities where the people lived before they were forced to move. All of these studies found that, when living in their original communities, people had lived close to their places of work. This meant that children and parents were close to one another and parents did not have to spend time travelling to work. In a case study of a family that had lived in Claremont, Naidoo and Dreyer note how the mother in this family would come home during lunch time to check on her children and cook the evening meal.<sup>224</sup> Furthermore, all studies maintain that, in their original communities, people had

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<sup>219</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*.

<sup>220</sup> Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income*; Follow-up interview with Rob Small, Kenilworth, 15 September 2010.

<sup>221</sup> B. Nasson, 'Oral History and the Reconstruction of District Six', Centre for African Studies (1986).

<sup>222</sup> U. Mesthrie, 'Remembering Removals'; Seminar Paper, Department of History and Institute of Historical Research, University of the Western Cape (1997) and U. Mesthrie, 'The Tramway Road Removals, 1959 – 1961', Seminar Paper: Institute for Historical Research and The Department of History, University of the Western Cape (1994).

<sup>223</sup> W. Naidoo and W. Dreyer, 'Area Study of Cape Town: Vrygrond and Lavender Hill', Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, Paper 10b (1984). (This paper includes case studies of people who were moved from Claremont to Lavender Hill.)

<sup>224</sup> Naidoo and Dreyer, 'Area Study of Cape Town'.

lived close to shops, schools and other amenities.<sup>225</sup> Both Nasson and Mesthrie comment that shops had allowed customers to pay on credit and had charged fair prices.<sup>226</sup> Nasson also points out that these had served as venues for social interaction.<sup>227</sup>

Many of these studies speak about how there was community cohesion and neighbourhood solidarity in the communities where the people lived before they were forced to move. Mesthrie mentions that residents had formed a close-knit community and Nasson notes that a large amount of sharing took place between neighbours.<sup>228</sup> Through their case studies, Naidoo and Dreyer found that neighbours knew each other and that this helped to keep crime levels low.<sup>229</sup> Nasson and Mesthrie felt that there was a greater opportunity for people to be self-employed in their original communities, with many people earning money through small home-based businesses, which enabled them to work at home and be independent of wage labour.<sup>230</sup> According to Nasson, even children could earn some extra money by selling items door-to-door.<sup>231</sup>

Western's study of the Claremont and Mowbray forced removals,<sup>232</sup> Mesthrie's works on the Black River and Tramway Road removals<sup>233</sup> and Naidoo and Dreyer's paper on Lavender Hill<sup>234</sup> look at what was lacking in the areas where people had been forced to move to. All of these studies found that the forced removals resulted in social networks being broken as people were dispersed and friends and relatives were scattered.<sup>235</sup> Naidoo and Dreyer note that this led to a lack of neighbourhood support and meant that people had to travel far in order to visit their friends and relatives.<sup>236</sup> Both Western and Naidoo and Dreyer maintain that there was a lack of community togetherness and neighbourliness in the new neighbourhoods. Western contends that the quality of community had been lost through the forced removals and Naidoo and Dreyer that new

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<sup>225</sup> Nasson, *Oral History and the Reconstruction of District Six*; Mesthrie, 'Remembering Removals' and 'The Tramway Road Removals'; and Naidoo and Dreyer, 'Area Study of Cape Town'.

<sup>226</sup> Nasson, *Oral History and the Reconstruction of District Six* and Mesthrie, 'Remembering Removals' and 'The Tramway Road Removals'.

<sup>227</sup> Nasson, *Oral History and the Reconstruction of District Six*.

<sup>228</sup> Nasson, *Oral History and the Reconstruction of District Six* and Mesthrie, 'Remembering Removals' and 'The Tramway Road Removals'.

<sup>229</sup> Naidoo and Dreyer, 'Area Study of Cape Town'.

<sup>230</sup> Nasson, *Oral History and the Reconstruction of District Six* and Mesthrie, 'Remembering Removals' and 'The Tramway Road Removals'.

<sup>231</sup> Nasson, *Oral History and the Reconstruction of District Six*.

<sup>232</sup> J. Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau 1981).

<sup>233</sup> Mesthrie, 'Remembering Removals' and 'The Tramway Road Removals'.

<sup>234</sup> Naidoo and Dreyer, 'Area Study of Cape Town'.

<sup>235</sup> Western, *Outcast Cape Town*; Mesthrie, 'Remembering Removals' and 1997 and Naidoo and Dreyer, 'Area Study of Cape Town'.

<sup>236</sup> Naidoo and Dreyer, 'Area Study of Cape Town'.

neighbours did not want to help each other out in times of need.<sup>237</sup> Both Western and Mesthrie found that people were afraid of crime in their new neighbourhoods.<sup>238</sup> This may well have been a result of residents no longer knowing the other people living in their area.

Western and Mesthrie concluded that the forced removals resulted in people living far from their places of work. Both these authors note that this impacted negatively on family relationships as parents were away from their families for longer periods of time.<sup>239</sup> Western also states that people had to spend larger amounts of money on transport<sup>240</sup> and Mesthrie's studies found that those who had been running their own businesses in their original communities lost their clientele when they moved.<sup>241</sup> All of these studies agree that people lived further away from shops and other amenities in their new neighbourhoods and that they therefore had less access to social and recreational facilities.<sup>242</sup> Western notes that people had to travel large distances in order to shop, which made shopping even more expensive for the poor.<sup>243</sup> Mesthrie observes that certain of the new areas did not have any churches or clinics and lacked aesthetic beauty.<sup>244</sup> This study explores whether UA activities, conducted in areas where many residents were affected by forced removals, have helped to address any of the negative elements resulting from the forced removals that have been identified in the literature discussed in this section. Many of the important social elements that were lost through the forced removals relate to social capital, which is discussed in more detail in the next section.

## Social Capital Theory

Some of the recent studies on urban cultivation have mentioned a link between urban agriculture and social capital, with Jacobs having studied this link in greater detail.<sup>245</sup> While the earlier UA studies did not make reference to social capital as such, some of the social benefits that they identified could indeed be seen as elements of social capital.

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<sup>237</sup> Western *Outcast Cape Town* and Naidoo and Dreyer, 'Area Study of Cape Town'.

<sup>238</sup> Western, *Outcast Cape Town* and Mesthrie, 'Remembering Removals' and 'The Tramway Road Removals'.

<sup>239</sup> Western, *Outcast Cape Town* and Mesthrie, 'Remembering Removals' and 'The Tramway Road Removals'.

<sup>240</sup> Western, *Outcast Cape Town*.

<sup>241</sup> Mesthrie, 'Remembering Removals' and 'The Tramway Road Removals'.

<sup>242</sup> Western, *Outcast Cape Town*; Mesthrie, 'Remembering Removals' and 'The Tramway Road Removals'; and Naidoo and Dreyer, 'Area Study of Cape Town'.

<sup>243</sup> Western, *Outcast Cape Town*.

<sup>244</sup> Mesthrie, 'Remembering Removals' and 'The Tramway Road Removals'.

<sup>245</sup> Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital'.

In the forced removal literature, many of the social elements that people remembered having existed in their original communities (that were lost through the forced removals) could also be seen as elements of social capital. Therefore, a brief discussion on what is meant by social capital and a look at the various elements that make up social capital would help with the identification of potential social benefits.

One of the main social capital theorists is Robert Putnam who has defined social capital as “connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them”<sup>246</sup> and “features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating co-ordinated actions”.<sup>247</sup> In his overview of social capital theory, John Field notes that social capital is all about relationships. Membership of networks and shared values are at the heart of social capital, as it is through these networks that people connect and thus form a type of capital. Therefore, the more people that you know and share common values with, the richer you are in social capital.<sup>248</sup> When reviewing the findings of some of the main social capital theorists, Field states that despite differences in their approaches, they all agree that “social capital consists of personal connections and interpersonal interaction, together with a shared set of values associated with these contacts”.<sup>249</sup>

Social capital literature reveals that there are different types and different categories of social capital, with each category consisting of a number of items. The three main categories of social capital are values, social networks and trust, with values including norms, expectations and obligations, and social networks including group membership. These categories are very much inter-linked. For example, trust can be the outcome of different types of values as well as the source of social networks and associational activity.<sup>250</sup> Putnam notes that trustworthiness is a vital component of social capital, as trust is essential to the efficient functioning of social life. He also shows that social capital has both a private and public face in that it involves individuals making connections that benefit their own interests, as well as having external benefits that affect the wider community.<sup>251</sup> Other theorists differentiate between structural social capital and cognitive social capital. The former refers to networks, linkages and

<sup>246</sup> R. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), 19.

<sup>247</sup> R. Putnam, (1993), quoted in J. Field, *Social Capital* (London: Routledge, 2003), 4.

<sup>248</sup> Field, *Social Capital*.

<sup>249</sup> Field, *Social Capital*, 13.

<sup>250</sup> B. Piazza-Georgi, 'Forms of Social Capital in Present-Day Soweto: A Factor Analysis of Household Survey Data', Economic Research South Africa Policy Paper No. 18, University of the Witwatersrand (2001).

<sup>251</sup> Putnam, *Bowling Alone*.

practices within and between groups, while the latter refers to values, beliefs, attitudes, norms and behaviour within groups.<sup>252</sup> In her study of social capital at a community vegetable gardening project in Khayelitsha, Jacobs differentiates between bonding, bridging and linking social capital. While bonding social capital refers to relationships within a group, bridging and linking social capital refer to networks and relationships with and between external groups.<sup>253</sup>

Social capital has been found to be a valuable asset, producing a number of social and economic benefits for individuals, families and communities. According to Putnam, the basis of social integration and well-being, are association and civic activity.<sup>254</sup> Social capital theorists have concluded that social networks provide a base for social cohesion, as they enable people to co-operate with each other for mutual advantage, and to co-operate not only with people that they know directly. Those who develop and maintain connections with other people are able to achieve things that one would not be able to achieve alone.<sup>255</sup> Putnam notes that social networks encourage people to remain honest and enable them to trust those they do not know very well. Social networks strengthen generalised reciprocity, which helps to build trustful societies that benefit all. Putnam found that societies that rely on generalised reciprocity are more efficient than distrustful societies. In trustful societies, the transaction costs of everyday life are reduced, and Putnam notes that economists have discovered that trusting communities have a measurable economic advantage. He found that people who trust their fellow citizens participate more in community organisations, volunteer more, contribute more to charity, are less likely to condone dishonest or criminal activities and are generally better citizens.<sup>256</sup>

A substantial amount of evidence has been found to demonstrate that social capital produces positive returns for individuals and the community at large. Social capital research has revealed that people who are able to draw on others for support are healthier than those who cannot. Further benefits are that these individuals are happier and wealthier, their children perform better at school and there is less anti-social behaviour present in their communities.<sup>257</sup> Social capital can affect the productivity of both individuals and groups. In his comprehensive study of social capital in the United States, Putnam found that social capital benefits health and well-being, education,

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<sup>252</sup> Grootaert and Bastelaer, (2002), cited in Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital'.

<sup>253</sup> Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital'.

<sup>254</sup> Field, *Social Capital*.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>256</sup> Putnam, *Bowling Alone*.

<sup>257</sup> Field, *Social Capital*.

children's welfare, neighbourhood safety and economic prosperity. Conversely, a lack of social capital can negatively affect neighbourhoods, schools, the economy and general health and well-being.<sup>258</sup>

In her study of social capital at the SCAGA vegetable gardening project in Khayelitsha,<sup>259</sup> Jacobs explored the impact of social capital on the livelihoods of the project beneficiaries. She explained that assets such as physical, financial, human and social capital are vital for creating livelihoods. She noted that social capital is one of the few assets that the poor are able to access, and therefore their livelihoods are often reliant on it. Jacobs highlighted that social capital impacts on the ability of a group or community to work together as a cohesive unit, and influences their ability to collaborate with other groups and link with organisations with higher levels of power and resources. She thus noted that it is necessary to consider social capital when analysing sustainable livelihood strategies.<sup>260</sup> Jacobs' case study revealed that, through their membership to the SCAGA network, social capital enabled the project beneficiaries to improve their livelihoods by granting them access to resources that would have been inaccessible to them as individuals. She found that bonding, bridging and linking social capital are all vital to the creation of sustainable livelihoods, as it is not only necessary to create solidarity within a group, but also to develop cross-cutting ties between heterogeneous groups and groups of differing levels of power.<sup>261</sup>

Most social capital theorists have emphasised the positive aspects of social capital and less is therefore known about its negative aspects.<sup>262</sup> However, some theorists have started to identify and investigate certain negative aspects of this form of capital. John Field notes that the consequences of social capital are not simple and that it can therefore have unpredictable wider ramifications. Because social capital enables individuals and groups to achieve a variety of common goals, many of these could have negative consequences for others. Co-operative actions that benefit participants may produce undesirable effects for the wider society and, in some cases, for the participants themselves.<sup>263</sup> Alejandro Portes has identified four negative consequences of social capital, i.e. the exclusion of outsiders, excessive claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedom and downward levelling norms.<sup>264</sup> Social capital has also been

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<sup>258</sup> Putnam, *Bowling Alone*.

<sup>259</sup> Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital'.

<sup>260</sup> Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital', 2 – 3.

<sup>261</sup> Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital', 90 – 101.

<sup>262</sup> Field, *Social Capital*, 71.

<sup>263</sup> Field, *Social Capital*, 71 – 72.

<sup>264</sup> Portes, (1998), cited in Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital', 3.

found to be linked to inequality and to activities that are socially and economically perverse.<sup>265</sup> A more recent study claims that social capital has been used as a tool in the oppression of minorities and that it justifies and facilitates growth that benefits corporate and wealthy interests over those of the poor.<sup>266</sup> Robert Putnam has also explored social capital's relationship with both inequality and intolerance, although he found that these are not necessarily linked to social capital, noting that it cannot be assumed that community engagement must have illiberal consequences and stating that: "Community and equality are mutually reinforcing, not mutually incompatible."<sup>267</sup>

Field notes that negative social capital in the form of racism and religious bigotry has been widely acknowledged by theorists and is seen to be associated with bonding social capital (close ties).<sup>268</sup> Even Putnam acknowledges that certain community connections can sometimes be oppressive, such as racially segregated clubs and churches. He notes that social capital that is created in opposition to something else, within socially homogenous groups, can result in exclusive, non-bridging forms of social capital. He therefore feels that bonding social capital is more likely to have illiberal effects and that in order to create bonds and connections across racial divides, more bridging social capital is required.<sup>269</sup> Warren et al note that strongly bonded communities can be closed-minded, hostile to others and sometimes corrupt. They therefore also feel that bonding social capital needs to be balanced with the building of bridging ties to other communities.<sup>270</sup> In a relatively recent study, Jennings has found that social capital has played an important role in the development of institutional racism and sexism in the United States.<sup>271</sup> Field points out that group identity can bring about the stereotyping of outsiders, with damaging consequences. Field has also found that people can exploit their social capital for perverse purposes such as organised crime, gangs, fraud and the exploitation of children and adults. While he agrees that such negative consequences are more frequently associated with bonding social capital, he feels that bridging social capital is not totally exempt from negative consequences.<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> Field, *Social Capital*.

<sup>266</sup> J. Jennings, 'Introduction', in J. Jennings, ed, *Race, Neighbourhoods, and the Misuse of Social Capital* (New York and England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1 – 6.

<sup>267</sup> Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 358.

<sup>268</sup> Field, *Social Capital*.

<sup>269</sup> Putnam, *Bowling Alone*.

<sup>270</sup> Mark R. Warren, J. Phillip Thompson and Susan Saegert, 'The Role of Social Capital in Combating Poverty', in Susan Saegert, J. Phillip Thompson and Mark R. Warren, eds, *Social Capital and Poor Communities* (New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 2001), 1 – 23.

<sup>271</sup> Jennings, 'Introduction', 1 – 6.

<sup>272</sup> Field, *Social Capital*, 83 – 89.

Social capital has also been criticised by some theorists for promoting inequality. Field agrees that social capital can promote inequality due to the fact that access to networks is unequally distributed. He notes that while all people can use their connections to advance their interests, some people's connections are more valuable than others'. Field says that people can also use their social capital as a means of accessing resources and privileges that increase their standing at the expense of others. Powerful groups can try to limit or undermine the social capital of those who are less powerful.<sup>273</sup> Field notes that social capital can also contribute towards inequality when a group exerts a levelling-down effect on people's aspirations and stops their ambitions. He therefore concludes that social capital can be an asset in its own right that is unequally distributed and that it can be used as a mechanism to promote further inequality.<sup>274</sup> Putnam acknowledges that bonding social capital can reinforce social stratification as the haves are able to engage in more civic activity than the have-nots. He also notes that norms and networks serving some groups may obstruct others, especially if the norms are discriminatory or the networks are segregated. However, his study has found that areas in the United States with the highest social capital also have the highest economic and civic equality, and he therefore concludes that a positive relationship exists between equality and social capital.<sup>275</sup> Warren et al note that more affluent communities have greater financial and human capital resources and stronger public institutions, and therefore their social capital can be more effective, as it is reinforced by such resources. They therefore feel that the problem for poor communities is not that they do not have social capital, but that their social assets have greater obstacles to overcome.<sup>276</sup>

In her study of social capital at the SCAGA vegetable gardening project, Jacobs found that some negative consequences had been produced from the creation of bonding social capital in these groups. She found that while strong and moderate bonding social capital had been created in SCAGA 1 and 2 respectively, a narrow "radius of trust" existed, which encouraged exclusion. While the members of SCAGA 1 engaged in extensive community outreach, they were reluctant to welcome new members into the group and they therefore blocked access to resources and opportunities that had been made available to them by Abalimi Bezekhaya. The members of SCAGA 2 saved their money and used it to purchase garden inputs. However, they did not share these inputs readily with other Abalimi-supported gardens in the community, thus limiting the benefits

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<sup>273</sup> Field, *Social Capital*, 74.

<sup>274</sup> Field, *Social Capital*, 74 - 80.

<sup>275</sup> Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 357 - 359.

<sup>276</sup> Warren et al, 'The Role of Social Capital in Combating Poverty', 3 - 4.

of this group to the broader community.<sup>277</sup> Despite these negative aspects, Jacobs' study was nevertheless able to show that both bonding and bridging social capital are vital to the creation of sustainable livelihoods, with bonding social capital enabling collective action.<sup>278</sup> While some theorists claim that policies based on social capital actually end up de-politicising the poor and serving the interests of the wealthy,<sup>279</sup> social capital is seen by livelihood theorists as a necessary asset in the creation of sustainable livelihoods. Warren et al have found that social capital can play an essential role in strategies to combat poverty and that social capital-based strategies can offer immediate improvements to the quality of the lives of people living in poor communities. However, they also found that there are many challenges and obstacles to strengthening social capital in poor communities and making effective use of social capital to help combat poverty.<sup>280</sup>

### Theories on Poverty and Related Topics

Through the literature, it has been revealed that social capital can produce both social and economic benefits for individuals, families and broader communities. Furthermore, it has been found that, in a project setting, the existence of social capital enhances the livelihoods of beneficiaries and can thus help with the creation of sustainable livelihoods. If urban agriculture can help to encourage the development of social capital, it will be useful to explore whether this in turn can help to alleviate poverty for individuals, families and communities. A brief look at the question of poverty and its relation to social capital and other social issues can enable us to identify broader potential benefits of urban agriculture.

In his book on poverty in Africa, John Iliffe discusses how family support systems have always been an important resource for the poor in Africa.<sup>281</sup> He even observes that the word for poor in many African languages means the lack of kin and friends. When talking about poverty in South Africa during the 1900s, Iliffe notes that land shortages, monogamy and migrant labour changed family structures and led to the disintegration of homesteads. He sees this as being very closely linked to poverty, as it resulted in a lack of support for the vulnerable. During apartheid, those who moved to the cities had to develop strategies to create support systems to replace the family structures that they

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<sup>277</sup> Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital', 94 – 97.

<sup>278</sup> Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital', 103 – 104.

<sup>279</sup> Jennings, 'Introduction', 1 – 6.

<sup>280</sup> Warren et al, 'The Role of Social Capital in Combating Poverty'.

<sup>281</sup> J. Iliffe, *The African Poor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

had relied on in the rural areas. Some of these strategies included stokvels and three-generation households. Iliffe asserts that even though homesteads were disintegrating, those living in the rural areas during apartheid could still rely to a certain degree on aid from neighbours and relatives. This meant that while people were living under exceptionally poor conditions in these areas and were thus not able to prosper, family aid prevented many from starving. Iliffe's book also looks at the conditions in a number of resettlement areas (where people were forced to settle after being removed from other communities) and demonstrates that, as a result of people having been up-rooted from their friends, families and neighbours, these areas lacked support systems and social integration. In many settlements, people did not trust or even help their neighbours and this resulted in high rates of crime and violence and prevented communities from organising themselves and establishing support structures.

A paper produced in 1984 as part of the Second Carnegie Inquiry, focused on poverty and quality of life and investigated people's satisfaction with and attitudes towards their standard of living.<sup>282</sup> This paper compared the situation of black people living in urban shack areas to that of those living in rural areas. Despite the fact that the latter were actually poorer in many ways than their urban counterparts, it was found that they were more satisfied with their standard of living. The authors concluded that this could be partly attributed to the greater community cohesion and trust existing in the rural communities, with these social elements cushioning the rural residents against some of the effects of poverty. They noted that the possibility of agricultural production, though limited, could also have helped rural residents to have a more positive outlook on life.

A more recent book on poverty and inequality in South Africa investigates issues that need to be taken into account when formulating policy on poverty reduction.<sup>283</sup> In the introduction, Julian May demonstrates that poverty comprises a number of different elements. Using definitions from the 1998 South African Participatory Poverty Assessment, May notes that these elements include: Alienation from the community; Food insecurity; Crowded homes; Poor access to safe and efficient energy sources; Lack of adequately paid jobs; Fragmentation of the family. When speaking about alienation from the community, May points out that the poor are often isolated from relatives and other community-based support systems.<sup>284</sup> Many of the elements

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<sup>282</sup> V. Moller, L. Schlemmer and H. Strijdom, 'Poverty and Quality of Life among Blacks in South Africa', Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, Paper 6 (1984).

<sup>283</sup> J. May, ed., *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa: Meeting the Challenge* (Cape Town: David Phillip Publishers, 2000).

<sup>284</sup> J. May, 'Growth, Development, Poverty and Inequality', in May, *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa*.

highlighted by May are in fact of a social nature and correspond to the potential social benefits of urban agriculture that have already been identified in this chapter.

In a later chapter in this same book,<sup>285</sup> May and his co-authors note that poverty is not static, but a state that people move in and out of (although there are some who remain permanently poor). Those who have developed adequate coping strategies are therefore less vulnerable to poverty. The authors look at various policy interventions aiming to strengthen sustainable livelihoods in order to help people to be less vulnerable to poverty. Social networks, which are closely linked to social capital, have been identified as an intervention area. May et al state that the importance of social capital in the South African context has been confirmed by the 1998 South African Participatory Poverty Assessment, which found that isolation from social institutions is indeed an important element of poverty in South Africa. May et al also note that social cohesion in South Africa has been undermined by forced removals, high migration levels, extreme poverty, crime and violence.<sup>286</sup> If it is established that urban agriculture can help to restore social cohesion and build social capital, it would be crucial to consider the relationship between social capital and poverty alleviation when assessing the benefits of urban farming.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, information from a collection of UA, historical and sociological sources has been used to identify a range of potential social benefits of urban agriculture. Through an investigation into the development, growth and current nature of UA in the Cape Flats townships, this study explores whether urban farming has produced, and continues to produce, any of these identified social benefits.

A review of some of the existing urban agriculture literature reveals that a number of social benefits have indeed been recognised by researchers, although in most cases these have not been studied in any detail. Role-players working in the UA field have substantiated these findings from their own observations. The social benefits that have been identified from the literature, and by those working in the UA field, fall into the categories listed below. These have been separated into the broader categories of individual benefits, family and household benefits and community benefits.

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<sup>285</sup> J. May, C. Rogerson and A. Vaughan, 'Livelihoods and Assets', in May, *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa*.

<sup>286</sup> May et al., 'Livelihoods and Assets', 253 – 256.

**Individual Benefits:**

- Food security and improved nutrition<sup>287</sup>
- Improved physical health
- Personal psychological and therapeutic benefits
- Occupation, recreation, exercise and enjoyment
- Independence and self-reliance
- Fostering a sense of place, space and stability
- Empowerment of women<sup>288</sup>

**Family and Household Benefits:**

- Food security and improved nutrition
- Family unity and reunification

**Community Benefits:**

- Empowerment of women
- Training and capacity building
- Community cohesion
- Creation and strengthening of social networks and social capital
- Social integration of marginalised and disadvantaged groups
- Maintaining traditional customs
- Crime reduction and safety
- Environmental benefits
- Revitalisation of degenerated neighbourhoods and increased neighbourhood pride
- Impetus for other community development, income generation and entrepreneurial activities

Through an in-depth analysis of the UA activities of 30 Cape Flats urban farmers, this study establishes whether, and to what extent, UA activities in the Cape Flats have produced, and continued to produce, the above social benefits.<sup>289</sup> Findings regarding

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<sup>287</sup> This can be seen as both an individual and a household benefit.

<sup>288</sup> This could be an individual benefit for a female farmer as well as a broader community benefit.

<sup>289</sup> This study set out to learn as much as possible about the social impact of the farmers' UA activities. The interviews therefore included many open-ended questions, with most of the identified social benefits listed above being mentioned by at least some of the farmers. Answers to slightly more specific (but not leading) questions provided more detailed information regarding social networks and social capital, health and nutrition, family unity, therapeutic benefits and community upliftment. The only social benefits from the list above that did not get discussed much, or at all during the interviews, were crime reduction and safety, the social integration of marginalised groups and fostering a sense of stability.

the social benefits of poultry and livestock farming are particularly informative, given that no previous information exists on the social benefits of these farming practices in Cape Town. In addition, this chapter has identified certain negative consequences of urban farming found in existing UA literature and in the observations of UA role-players. This study will also investigate whether urban farming in the Cape Flats has produced, and continues to produce, any of these negative impacts.

Literature on the forced removals in Cape Town was also used to identify potential social benefits of urban agriculture. Oral accounts of those who were affected by the forced removals reveal that a number of important social elements existing in the communities that people were forced to leave were lost through the removals. These elements were therefore lacking in the areas to which people were moved. Some of the most important social elements that were lost include:

***Elements benefiting individuals:***

- Opportunities for self-employment<sup>290</sup>

***Elements benefiting families and households:***

- Close proximity of places of work
- Opportunities for self-employment
- Family unity

***Elements benefiting the community:***

- Neighbourhood solidarity and trust
- Community cohesion
- Close proximity of shops and other social and recreational amenities
- Low levels of crime
- Aesthetic beauty

Through an analysis of the experiences of 30 urban farmers, this study explores whether urban agriculture has helped to restore any of the important social elements that were lost through the forced removals. This study also investigates whether UA has helped to change, or has the potential to change, any of the negative elements found in the townships where victims of the forced removals were forced to live.

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<sup>290</sup> This element would affect both an individual and his/her family and household.

Some of the existing urban agriculture studies have suggested that urban farming can help to create social capital. In fact, many of the social benefits identified in the UA and forced removal literature can be seen as elements of social capital. Literature on this topic reveals that social capital can produce a number of important social and economic benefits for individuals, families and communities. Where social capital is strong, there are high levels of trust and social cohesion, and people are able to co-operate with others for mutual benefit. Social capital therefore enables people to achieve things that they would not be able to achieve alone and helps to improve the productivity of individuals and groups. It encourages honesty and trust, and thus helps to build healthy, trustful societies that benefit all and impact positively on the health and well-being of individuals and families.

Further studies on this subject have found that social capital can help to create sustainable livelihoods for the poor. Literature on poverty and related issues reveals that there is a strong link between social capital and poverty, as those who are isolated from the support of relatives and friends are a lot more vulnerable to poverty. Research in South Africa has confirmed that isolation from social institutions is a significant element of poverty, and that the development of social networks is an important strategy for poverty alleviation.

The link that has been found to exist between social capital and poverty alleviation demonstrates that a strong relationship exists between social and economic benefits. Therefore, if urban agriculture does indeed help to create and strengthen social capital, it has the potential, through its social benefits, to improve the economic situation of participants and their families, and thus help to alleviate poverty. This study investigates whether urban agriculture in the Cape Flats has played a role in the creation and strengthening of social capital, particularly since the emergence of vegetable gardening groups during the late 1990s and early 2000s. This study also seeks to explore how the creation of social capital benefits the farmers, their families and their broader communities. By showing that the UA activities conducted by farmers interviewed for this study have indeed helped to create and strengthen social capital, this study concludes that urban farming has the potential to improve the lives of farmers and their families both socially and economically.

## **Chapter Three: Before 1948**

This chapter looks at aspects of Cape Town's history before 1948 in order to investigate whether or not urban agriculture was practised in Cape Town before the mid 1900s. While Cape Town could not be defined as being a city until the early 1800s,<sup>291</sup> historical sources show that agriculture played an important role in Cape Town's history, with the establishment of the VOC Company Gardens in 1652. In order to understand Cape Town's agricultural background, this chapter looks at the establishment and early days of the VOC Company Gardens as well as the emergence of free burgher farming. Information is also provided regarding the history of the Philippi Horticultural Area, which emerged as a productive vegetable farming area from the late 1800s.

Very little literature exists on the history of small-scale informal urban agriculture in Cape Town. However, information regarding agricultural activities found in general histories of the city, together with data from social studies conducted in Cape Town, reveals that informal, small-scale agriculture was indeed practised by individuals living in various parts of Cape Town during the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. In order to provide some insight into where these farming activities were conducted and by whom, examples from this period are discussed in this chapter. Some of the motivations for conducting these activities and the benefits gained are also discussed and it is found that those who practised urban agriculture during this period derived a number of social, nutritional and economic benefits from these activities.

Evidence of agricultural activities being conducted in Cape Town from the 17<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries raises questions about when a settlement becomes a town, when a town becomes a city and when Cape Town made these transitions. In addition, information presented in this chapter on UA activities conducted in Cape Town during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century challenges traditional views of the city and raises questions regarding urban-rural relationships. Colonial and Municipal regulations regarding the keeping of livestock in Cape Town during the late 1800s and early 1900s are also looked at in this chapter, providing some insight into the way in which the local authorities of that time viewed the city and the presence of agricultural activities within the city.

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<sup>291</sup> Exactly when Cape Town became a city is open to debate. This issue is linked to questions regarding the nature of the urban and what defines a city. The prevalence of agriculture in Cape Town during the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries can indeed challenge existing thoughts on these issues.

While none of the 30 farmers interviewed for this study had begun to conduct their urban farming activities before 1948, this chapter looks at where the farmers were and what they were doing at this time. Nineteen of the 30 farmers were born prior to 1948, with one of these 30 farmers having been born in Cape Town. Six of the farmers who were born outside Cape Town came to live in Cape Town during this period. Information regarding the farmers' life histories provides important background information that will help us to understand the context in which they started their UA activities after 1948. This chapter also looks briefly at the establishment of Nyanga, where some of the farmers interviewed for this study live and farm today.

### Early Agricultural Activities in Cape Town

Agriculture was conducted in Cape Town as early as 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck established the VOC Company Gardens shortly after his arrival at the Cape. Before Van Riebeeck left for the Cape in 1651, he was given two main instructions. The first was to build a defensive fort and the second was to establish gardens where fresh food could be grown to supply the passing ships. Van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape in April 1652, and within one month of his arrival, work had begun on both of these projects.<sup>292</sup> Both the fort and the garden were important features of Cape Town's early landscape, and one could therefore say that agriculture has played an important role in Cape Town's history. As was stated in a history of the Company Gardens, written in the 1950s, "...from the genesis of this garden developed Cape Town..."<sup>293</sup> In a more recently published history of Cape Town, the authors state that: "The focus on the fort and garden was to provide both the basis for Cape Town's later physical layout and the key symbols of its early function."<sup>294</sup>

By May 1652, Van Riebeeck's gardener was already experimenting with vegetables and herbs, and on 1 May, the laying out of the Company Gardens began. The first garden that Van Riebeeck established was alongside the fort and was situated on 21 morgen of land.<sup>295</sup> By July 1652, carrots, corn, wheat, cabbage, peas, cauliflower, lettuce, asparagus, barley, beans, radishes, spinach, turnips and herbs had been planted. Van

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<sup>292</sup> N. Worden, E. van Heyningen and V. Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town: The Making of a City: An Illustrated Social History* (Claremont: David Philip Publishers, 1998).

<sup>293</sup> R. Crompton, (1950), in Foreword to M. Karstens, *The Old Company's Garden at the Cape and its Superintendent*, (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1951), ix.

<sup>294</sup> Worden et al, *Cape Town: The Making of a City*, 17.

<sup>295</sup> This would have been approximately 17.884 hectares. This calculation is based on the assumption that 1 Dutch morgen is equal to 8516m<sup>2</sup>. However, a Dutch morgen could range from 8500m<sup>2</sup> to 10700m<sup>2</sup>.

Riebeeck noted in his journal that these vegetables were growing well and that they were so beautiful that it gave him great pleasure to look at them. A storm destroyed many of the crops towards the end of July, but these crops were soon replanted. In October, Van Riebeeck held a farewell dinner for some officers, where he served poultry that had been reared at the Cape, together with peas, spinach, asparagus and lettuce from his garden.<sup>296</sup> In July 1653, the garden near the fort was extended and grains, peas and beans were planted. Throughout 1654, Van Riebeeck extended the gardens, as there was a great demand for the vegetables that were being produced. However, by mid 1654, the settlement's food supply was badly threatened. The entire produce from the gardens was being consumed daily and food was therefore running short.<sup>297</sup> As a result, there was near starvation at the Cape until a ship arrived from Madagascar with rice. In the spring of that year, the crops yielded some food and the situation improved.<sup>298</sup>

The first four years had been the most difficult period for the Company Gardens. While Van Riebeeck was successful in establishing the gardens and many crops were indeed harvested, a number of setbacks were experienced. Throughout this period, the gardens faced strong winds, storms, droughts, parasites, locusts and theft. In 1656, Van Riebeeck found suitable land in the Rondebosch area for more gardens. During that year, various vegetables, grains and tobacco were planted in the new gardens. The Company's orchard was also established at Rondebosch. Towards the end of 1659, Van Riebeeck wrote that the growing of grain had advanced so well that the gardens were able to supply the Company's garrison and to provide the workmen with regular bread to supplement their wages.<sup>299</sup>

In October 1657, the VOC agreed to release some employees from their contracts so that they could establish themselves as farmers. These farmers became known as the "free burghers" and were granted freehold lands along the Liesbeek Valley and were provided with tools, seeds and loans. Only they were allowed to farm privately and, in addition to growing vegetables, were permitted to keep livestock. The crops from the Company's gardens were then used for the garrison while the VOC purchased produce from the free burghers to supply the passing ships.<sup>300</sup> In her history of the Company Gardens, Karstens speaks about one of the VOC's master gardeners, Boom, who

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<sup>296</sup> Karstens, *The Old Company's Garden at the Cape*.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>298</sup> Worden et al, *Cape Town: The Making of a City*.

<sup>299</sup> Karstens, *The Old Company's Garden at the Cape*.

<sup>300</sup> Worden et al, *Cape Town: The Making of a City*.

became a free burgher and who, in 1658, had a bull, 10 oxen, 11 cows, 2 heifers, 7 calves, 43 sheep and 23 pigs.<sup>301</sup> In their social history of Cape Town, Worden et al note how the establishment of free burgher farming was an important part of Cape Town's history as it extended the frontier of the VOC settlement, which formed the basis of suburban expansion in the 1800s.<sup>302</sup>

Company gardens were also established near Devil's Peak and on the lower slopes of Lion's Head. In 1654, Van Riebeeck planted a vegetable garden and started farming sheep on Robben Island.<sup>303</sup> In addition, he established a vineyard and an orchard on his estate, Bosheuvel, in the Wynberg area.<sup>304</sup> During Van Riebeeck's 10-year commandership at the Cape, he tested and grew more than 70 different kinds of plants in the various Company gardens. The gardens were further enlarged and developed by Simon van der Stel during the late 1600s.<sup>305</sup> In the 1770s, ornamental plants were introduced into the Company Gardens. While the gardens had originally been designed for profit, their function changed during the mid to late 1700s as the VOC depended less on its own produce. As the Cape settlement became more self-sufficient, the gardens became more ornamental and were used for scientific purposes. In the late 1700s, the Company Gardens dominated the upper parts of the town.<sup>306</sup>

Farms were established in the Philippi area during the late 1800s after the Cape government decided that the Cape Flats should be used for agricultural development.<sup>307</sup> Between 1858 and 1883, three waves of German settlers arrived in the Cape Flats. Most of the immigrants in the first group had come to work for farmers in the Swartland where they had been treated badly. Therefore, after fulfilling their obligations, many left the Swartland and moved to the Wynberg area where there was a Lutheran church. In 1876, the Cape government recruited more German immigrants, as they had been impressed by their work ethic. When they arrived in the late 1870s, the 2149 German immigrants could choose either to be employed or to farm for themselves in the Cape Flats or in the Boland. The government had surveyed and pegged plots across the Philippi area, which the German immigrants could rent. Many of the Germans chose to farm in this area and began to establish vegetable farms. These early German farmers struggled immensely to grow vegetables in the sandy Cape Flats environment. They

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<sup>301</sup> Karstens, *The Old Company's Garden at the Cape*.

<sup>302</sup> Worden et al, *Cape Town: The Making of a City*.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>304</sup> Karstens, *The Old Company's Garden at the Cape*.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>306</sup> Worden et al, *Cape Town: The Making of a City*.

<sup>307</sup> L. Edwards, 'Area Study of Cape Town: Profile of Philippi', Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development, Paper 10e (1984).

also had no roads to or in the Philippi farming area and were not able to sell their produce in town without a licence. However, they overcame immense hardships and were successful in establishing horticulture in the Cape Flats. Their success led the Cape government to recruit a third group of German immigrants, with 77 families and a number single men arriving to farm in the Philippi area.<sup>308</sup>

A farming community was soon established in Philippi.<sup>309</sup> In 1887, the German farming community built two Lutheran churches in the Cape Flats, with a school being added to one of the churches. Other settlements that existed in Philippi at that time include the Klipfontein Mission station and the Wesleyan Methodist Church missionary community, which was situated on land that had originally been acquired by five families and placed in trust with the Apostolic Union for the purposes of Christian missionary work. After this land was transferred to the Wesleyan Missionary church in 1864, a sizeable community came to live on the property.<sup>310</sup>

### **Small-scale (urban) Agriculture in Cape Town: 1700 to 1948**

While very little literature exists on the history of urban agriculture in Cape Town, references to farming activities in general histories of the city and in social studies conducted in Cape Town reveal that small-scale agricultural activities have indeed been practised in Cape Town for many years. This evidence raises questions regarding when Cape Town became a town, when it became a city and the criteria used to establish when these transitions took place. In Worden, Van Heyningen and Bickford-Smith's social history of Cape Town,<sup>311</sup> the authors note that the town's nature and appearance were still quite rural in the early 1700s. The prevalence of agricultural activities within the town would certainly have been a contributory factor. Worden et al speak of many residents having small vegetable gardens on the slopes of Table Mountain and Devil's Peak and provide an example of a widow living on Signal Hill in the 1730s who kept cows and made her living selling milk in the town. At that time, farms in the Liesbeek Valley and at Salt River also provided the town with vegetables, corn, milk and butter.<sup>312</sup> However, agricultural activities continued to be practised in Cape Town during the 1800s, when many would have begun to define Cape Town as a city. Worden et al

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<sup>308</sup> G. Adlard, 'An Introduction to Philippi', Draft Paper for the African Centre for Cities, Philippi Lab, University of Cape Town (2008).

<sup>309</sup> Edwards, 'Area Study of Cape Town'.

<sup>310</sup> Adlard, 'An Introduction to Philippi'.

<sup>311</sup> Worden et al, *Cape Town: The Making of a City*.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*

record that, in the early 1800s, people residing in central Cape Town lived in homes with vegetable gardens, stables and, in some instances, a few cows. However, this lifestyle had started to change by the 1860s, as the younger generations were moving out into the suburbs.<sup>313</sup>

Georgina Lister's autobiography<sup>314</sup> provides many references to UA practices, showing how urban agriculture was practised amongst affluent white people in Cape Town during the late 1800s and early 1900s. When speaking about her childhood in the 1860s, Lister describes the garden that her grandparents had at their home in Somerset Road, Cape Town. They grew vegetables and forage for the animals and had a stable with two horses and a cowshed with three cows. On another property that her grandparents owned in Rondebosch in the 1870s, there was an orchard with various fruit trees. Later in her book, Lister mentions another property in the Rondebosch area that her father bought. Here, there were large orchards and cows were kept, which provided them with large quantities of milk and butter. Lister's autobiography speaks about how the economic climate became difficult during and after the South African War, and how she bought a cow to provide milk and butter. At that time she was living in Sandown Road, Rondebosch. Later, she moved to a house in Campground Road, Rondebosch, where she had an orchard and a vineyard.

In Hildagonda Duckitt's book on housekeeping in the Cape,<sup>315</sup> which was first published in 1902, Duckitt describes the property in Wynberg where she was living at that time. While she refers to her house as being "small", she had fruit trees, a vegetable garden and a poultry run, all of which she describes in great detail. Duckitt kept one cockerel and twelve hens, which would produce eggs on a regular basis. As a result, her household was never without fresh eggs and Duckitt notes how it was a great comfort to always have fresh eggs available. In addition, she reared chicks during March and September. Duckitt mentions the fact that there was a great demand for eggs and poultry at that time in Cape Town and that one could make a good profit from the products of twelve hens and one cockerel. With regards to her vegetable garden, Duckitt speaks about picking green beans daily during January and how her beans were much more flavoursome than those one could buy in tins. She also speaks about planting and harvesting cauliflower, cabbage, celery, parsley, broccoli, brussel sprouts, peas, potatoes, parsnips, spinach and lettuce. Duckitt talks about growing and picking

<sup>313</sup> Worden et al, *Cape Town: The Making of a City*.

<sup>314</sup> G. Lister, *Reminiscences of Georgina Lister* (Johannesburg: Africana Museum, 1960).

<sup>315</sup> H. Duckitt, *Hilda's Diary of a Cape Housekeeper* (First published by Chapman and Hall, 1902; Revised edition: South Africa: MacMillan, 1978).

apricots, figs, plums, strawberries, mulberries, melons, pears, grapes, peaches and apples, indicating that her fruit trees produced large quantities of fruit. In addition, she had a flower garden and used the manure from her chickens to enrich the soil of her flower and vegetable gardens.

These accounts suggest that it was very normal for UA activities to be practised by white people who had land in Cape Town during the late 1800s and early 1900s. However, it is important to note that urban agriculture was also practised in poorer neighbourhoods during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Teppo's paper on the history of the Epping Garden Village, which was established in the late 1930s to help uplift "poor whites", demonstrates that UA activities were conducted in this area by working class white people during the 1940s. In 1941, a feeding scheme was implemented to help improve the nutrition of children living in the area. Through the feeding scheme, residents were encouraged to start their own vegetable gardens and they were provided with seeds and manure. By 1947, 67% of the residents were reported to have well-kept gardens. Many of the elderly residents interviewed by Teppo, fondly remembered the successful kitchen gardens that they used to have.<sup>316</sup>

In Kondlo's thesis on squatting in Cape Town between 1945 and 1960,<sup>317</sup> some reference is made to UA practices in Windermere in the mid 1940s. Windermere was a poor, racially mixed community in the Kensington area that was destroyed by the apartheid government between 1958 and 1963. Kondlo mentions how a delegation from the House of Assembly visited Windermere in 1945, and was shocked to find groups of pigs, horses and cows in their way. Later in his thesis, Kondlo notes how cows would wander into the school building in Windermere. This gives us the impression that UA, at least in terms of livestock, was practised quite widely in Windermere. Further evidence of this can be found in Field's thesis on the rise and demise of this community.<sup>318</sup> When discussing the regular flooding that took place in Windermere, Field cites an article from the *Cape Argus* of 16 June 1944 that speaks about how children, ducks, pigs and goats were all swimming and splashing about during a flood.<sup>319</sup> One of the respondents that Field interviewed said that "... it was people and chickens and animals in one kraal. You

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<sup>316</sup> A. Teppo, 'Good White Times: The Production of whiteness in a former "poor white" area: 1938 to 2000', Paper presented at the History Workshop and Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research; University of the Witwatersrand (2001).

<sup>317</sup> K. Kondlo, 'Miserablehovels and Shanties on a Waterlogged Wasteland: Political economy of peri-urban squatting around greater Cape Town, circa 1945 – 1960' (MA thesis: Historical Studies, University of Cape Town, 1992).

<sup>318</sup> S. Field, 'The Power of Exclusion: Moving Memories from Windermere to the Cape Flats: 1920s to 1990s' (PhD thesis: Sociology, University of Essex, 1996).

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

could say the people lived with the animals.”<sup>320</sup> Another former resident that Field interviewed kept two cows and five goats when she lived in Windermere. She also owned a horse-racing business, with four horses, which the police shut down in the early 1950s.<sup>321</sup> Field speaks about how, during the 1940s, the health authorities were unhappy about the number of pigs that were being kept by residents and how a quantity of these were removed from Windermere during 1948 and 1949. It is possible that because Windermere was outside the city’s municipal boundary until 1943, Windermere residents had more freedom to keep livestock.

Evidence of urban livestock farming being practised in the Cape Flats in the early 1900s can be found in Fast’s thesis on the development of Nyanga in the 1940s.<sup>322</sup> She mentions some of the reasons why these initial residents of Nyanga were unhappy about living in this new township. One of their complaints was that in Nyanga, they could no longer keep the livestock they had kept in Sakkiesdorp, an informal shack settlement next to Nyanga. Examples of UA activities being conducted in the southern parts of the Cape Flats during the 1930s and 1940s can be found in Meier’s paper on the Blouville informal settlement in the Retreat area. In his paper, Meier notes that the health officials were unhappy about the fact that residents were keeping livestock in the settlement. He also makes reference to the fact that some residents were growing vegetables in their yards.<sup>323</sup>

An area study of Vrygrond and Lavender Hill, conducted as part of the Second Carnegie Inquiry,<sup>324</sup> provides further evidence of small-scale urban agriculture being practised in the southern parts of the Cape Flats during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This study looks at the historical backgrounds of the residents of Vrygrond and Lavender Hill, many of whom had lived in Rondevlei and Hardevlei before the forced removals, and whose families had lived in these areas for generations. It is noted that whilst living in Rondevlei and Hardevlei during the early and mid 1900s, these residents used to grow vegetables, fruit and flowers, and many also kept cows, sheep, pigs, goats and fowls. As a result, they always had sufficient milk, cheese, butter, meat and eggs. Many of the people who kept cows would slaughter them for meat and would sell any excess meat that they had to others in their area for low prices. One former resident of Hardevlei said

<sup>320</sup> Field, ‘The Power of Exclusion’, 160. (Interview with Mrs C.S.)

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*, 144. (Interview with Mrs H.M.)

<sup>322</sup> H. Fast, ‘Pondoks, Houses and Hostels: A history of Nyanga: 1946 – 1970, with a special focus on housing’ (PHD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1995).

<sup>323</sup> J. Meier, ‘Retreat and the Pondokkies Evil: 1939 to 1960’, Paper presented to the University of the Western Cape History Department (1998).

<sup>324</sup> W. Naidoo and W. Dreyer, ‘Area Study of Cape Town: Vrygrond and Lavender Hill’, Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, Paper 10b (1984).

that they were self-sufficient when they lived in that area. A former resident of Rondevlei said that she had a flourishing vegetable garden and three cows when she lived in Rondevlei. She made butter and cheese from the milk from her cows and as a result, the produce from her UA activities enabled her to provide sufficient food for her family. She said that even though they were poor when they lived in Rondevlei, they did not struggle and she was always able to feed her family. Even though many of the residents of Rondevlei and Hardevlei lived in informal houses, they had sufficient land for their UA activities.<sup>325</sup>

Information gained during The Social Survey of Cape Town, conducted between 1936 and 1942 (commonly known as the Batson Social Survey), reveals that UA activities were being conducted by residents of various areas in Cape Town during that time. This shows that although it may not have been on a very large scale, UA was indeed practised by a fair number of black, coloured and white households during the late 1930s and early 1940s. While no mention was made of UA activities in the reports that were written up on the findings of this survey,<sup>326</sup> the household questionnaires that were used in this study asked respondents if they grew vegetables or kept any livestock or fowls.<sup>327</sup> The original questionnaire cards show that 17.8 % of the 101 black households interviewed conducted some form of UA activity/ies as did 25.2% of the 761 coloured households. This also applied to approximately 25% of the white households interviewed.<sup>328</sup> The survey was conducted in various areas including central Cape Town, Sea Point, Maitland, the Southern Suburbs (as far as Muizenberg), Athlone and Langa.

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 in Appendix 6 summarise the responses by black and coloured households during the Social Survey of Cape Town to the questions about growing vegetables and keeping livestock and fowls. As these tables indicate, the instances of urban farming seem to have been greater in areas that were further away from the city centre. In addition, they reveal that the keeping of fowls was by far the most common form of UA, with vegetable gardening being the second most common and livestock farming being the least practised.

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<sup>325</sup> Please refer to the maps in Appendix 5 for details regarding where the areas discussed in this section were situated.

<sup>326</sup> E. Batson, Series of reports and studies issued by The Social Survey of Cape Town. Reports written up from 1941 to 1950.

<sup>327</sup> Social Survey Conference 1942, Cape Town, *Official Report* (Cape Town: Paul Koston, 1942).

<sup>328</sup> The Social Survey of Cape Town 1936 – 1942; Original survey cards.

Despite the fact that urban agriculture was indeed being practised in Cape Town during the early 1900s, the municipal authorities of that time did not support this phenomenon and in fact, during this period, implemented controls to restrict the keeping of livestock and poultry. While laws relating to the keeping of cattle in Cape Town and in other towns in the Colony had been passed by the Cape Colonial government during the late 1800s, those laws did not discourage or restrict livestock farming. Rather, they seemed concerned with regulating certain aspects of cattle farming to ensure the healthy production of milk and the good management of common pasture lands. In the Cape Town Municipality Act of 1882<sup>329</sup> (which was an amendment and a consolidation of earlier Acts), it was stated that the Cape Town Municipality has the power to make rules regarding the proper care of the municipality's common pasture lands and that the Council may specify and regulate the quantity and types of cattle allowed to be kept on these lands. This Act also stated that the Council may not dispose of, build upon, sell or enclose any of the pasture lands. The Dairy Act of 1891<sup>330</sup> stated that the governor of the Cape of Good Hope may frame regulations for the registration of all cow-keepers and dairymen within any municipality or town as well as regulations regarding the inspection of dairy cattle, dairies, milk stores and grazing grounds. No other types of livestock are referred to in these Acts. Therefore, while the authorities wanted to regulate cattle farming, grazing and milk production within Cape Town and other towns in the Colony during the late 1800s, the farming of cattle and other types of livestock in these centres was still seen as an acceptable activity during that time. This attitude changed in the early 1900s as the Municipality began to pass regulations to discourage the keeping of livestock within Cape Town.

A study on public health and dairies in Cape Town in the early 1900s<sup>331</sup> reveals that, in response to the diphtheria out-breaks that occurred during this period, the local government responded negatively to urban livestock farming during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Having traced the origins of mild-borne diphtheria to dairies operating within the city, the municipality imposed stricter measures to control the "dirty dairies", and the city's planning department moved towards a vision of the city that excluded agricultural activities. The council therefore tried to eliminate activities that were perceived to be rural (such as cow-keeping) from the urban landscape. Public pressure

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<sup>329</sup> Cape of Good Hope Act 44 of 1882 (To consolidate and amend acts No 1 of 1861 and Act No 1 of 1867), J. Foster, H. Tennant and E. Jackson, eds, *Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope: 1652 to 1886, Volume II* (Cape Town: W. A. Richards, 1887).

<sup>330</sup> Cape of Good Hope Act 4 of 1891 (To provide for the regulation of dairies, cowsheds and milkshops), *Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope Passed by the Eighth Parliament During the Sessions 1889 to 1893* (Cape Town: W. A. Richards, 1894).

<sup>331</sup> K. Watermeyer, 'Public Health in Cape Town 1923 – 1944: Diphtheria, Dairies and the Discovery of the Child' (MA thesis: Historical Studies, University of Cape Town, 2000).

resulted in the council aiming to remove all the “dirty dairies” from residential areas. A revised set of dairy regulations was published in October 1922, and in 1932 these regulations were amended once again to incorporate concerns regarding the keeping of animals in the city. Dairies that did not follow the new regulations could have their licences suspended. These new regulations resulted in a decrease in the number of small-scale producer-distributor dairies operating within the city. A report produced by the Special Committee on Dairies in August 1929 found that there were 145 licensed dairies in Cape Town that kept cows. The report recommended that 55 of these be closed due to the rapid urbanisation of the areas where they were situated. The actual closure of these dairies was delayed due to legal issues. However, by 1944, 129 of the original 145 cow-keeping dairies had been closed. The few that remained were in the Maitland or Southern Suburbs areas. By 1944 all “backyard dairies” had been successfully removed from the areas near to the city, ie: Wards 1 to 10 (Sea Point through Cape Town to Mowbray), and the majority of the city’s milk supply came from dairies situated outside the city’s boundaries.<sup>332</sup>

The amended dairy regulations of 1932<sup>333</sup> not only placed stricter controls over dairies, cow sheds and milk-selling outlets, but also put a number of regulations in place restricting the keeping of other animals, poultry and birds within the municipal boundaries. These regulations stated that any person wanting to keep any animal or fowl in any type of shed, run, kraal or enclosure had to inform the Council in writing, stating the type and number of animals the person wanted to keep. The Council had the right to refuse permission to keep any animal if it felt that it was undesirable due to area or manner of use. The Council could also restrict the number and type of animals kept. Once permission was granted, the Council could send an inspector at any time to visit the site where the animals were kept. All people who kept animals had to exhibit a printed card in their premises indicating the type and number of animals they were permitted to keep. People keeping animals also had to ensure that the enclosures and buildings housing the animals met the hygiene standards that the Council demanded. A further regulation stated that no poultry, birds or animals could be kept in a place, number or manner that could cause a nuisance or could result in polluted water draining into the storm water channels.<sup>334</sup> We therefore see that the keeping of animals and poultry in urban areas was actively discouraged by the local authorities during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This shows that municipal authorities were starting to view the

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<sup>332</sup> Watermeyer, ‘Public Health in Cape Town 1923 – 1944’.

<sup>333</sup> *Province of the Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette*, Ordinances 10 of 1912, 19 of 1913, 7 of 1926 and 14 of 1927, (Amended Regulations regarding Dairies and the Keeping of Animals), Notice 162 (1 July 1932).

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*

city as a non-agricultural entity. However, despite these regulations, the evidence discussed in this section demonstrates that livestock and poultry farming continued to take place in various parts of Cape Town throughout the early 1900s.

## Early Histories of Farmers and Cape Flats Townships

While none of the farmers interviewed for this study started their urban agriculture activities before 1948, it is nevertheless useful to know what they were doing and where they were living at this time. This information will help to provide a context for the subsequent chapters where the UA activities of these farmers are analysed and discussed. Information from the farmers' life histories also provides insight into why some of the farmers did not conduct any UA activities during this period.

Of the 30 farmers interviewed, 19 were born before 1948. Of these 19, 17 were born in rural parts of the Eastern Cape, one in Swaziland and one, Mrs Madalana, in Langa in Cape Town. Mrs Madalana grew up in Langa, which she saw as being a city place. She remembers that she and her family did not think of growing vegetables when they were living there.<sup>335</sup> Phylophia Bashe and Nozi Kani both came to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape as children during this period. Phylophia lived at her mother's employers' house in Kloof Street and although they had a vegetable garden at that house, Phylophia did not do any urban farming activities at that time, as she was still young and was busy with her studies.<sup>336</sup>

Most of the 19 farmers who were born during this period were born during the 1930s and 1940s and were therefore still children in the late 1940s. Four of the farmers were born before 1930 and were therefore already adults by 1948. These four farmers (Mrs Mani, Mrs Puza, Davidson Mooi and Sam Mgunuza) all arrived in Cape Town as adults during this period. Mrs Mani came to Cape Town in the 1930s and started working as a domestic worker soon after her arrival. She did not have an interest in gardening at that time, because she was working.<sup>337</sup> Mrs Puza came to Cape Town in 1943 and, after getting married, she and her husband moved to Observatory. While Mrs Puza would have liked to have returned to the Eastern Cape, her husband enjoyed living in Cape Town and they therefore stayed. They did not conduct any urban agriculture activities

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<sup>335</sup> Follow-up interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>336</sup> Interview with Phylophia Bashe, Guguletu, 15 April 2009.

<sup>337</sup> Interview with Mrs Mani, Guguletu, 2 April 2009.

while living in Observatory as they did not have sufficient space.<sup>338</sup> Davidson Mooi arrived in Cape Town in 1947. While he did not start his urban farming activities before 1948, he started keeping chickens and livestock in the 1950s, which was not too long after his arrival.<sup>339</sup> Sam Mgunuza also came to Cape Town in 1947. He lived in Grassy Park and did not conduct any urban farming activities at that time, as he did not have sufficient space.<sup>340</sup> More detailed information regarding the life histories of these farmers can be found in Appendix 7.

Nyanga, one of the oldest black townships in Cape Town,<sup>341</sup> was built in the Cape Flats in the mid 1940s. While none of the farmers interviewed for this study moved to Nyanga before 1948, some moved there later and still live and farm in Nyanga today. The establishment of Nyanga therefore had an impact on the development of the Cape Flats as a whole and on the lives of some of the farmers interviewed for this study. From the First World War right through to the Second World War there was a large influx of black people into Cape Town from the rural areas. This was due to a variety of reasons, including greater job opportunities in Cape Town as well as drought, animal diseases, over-crowding and declining crop yields in the rural areas. The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 aimed to regulate the presence of black people in towns and cities, and empowered local authorities to establish segregated locations and to force black residents to live in these segregated areas. However, there was not sufficient housing for Cape Town's growing black population, even after Langa was built in the 1920s. In 1944, there were 60 000 black people living in the Cape Peninsula, but official housing was only available for 16 000 people.<sup>342</sup> A number of informal shack settlements had therefore developed and the authorities were finding it difficult to exercise control over those living in these areas. By 1948, there were approximately 30 shack settlements in and around Cape Town, with at least two thirds of Cape Town's black population living in these areas.<sup>343</sup>

The authorities wanted to eliminate these shack settlements and move shack dwellers into a township within the Cape Divisional Council boundaries. The construction of Nyanga therefore began in 1945 and the first residents of Nyanga moved into their homes in May 1946. The first houses in Nyanga had four rooms each and were installed

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<sup>338</sup> Interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 7 August 2008.

<sup>339</sup> Interview with Davidson Mooi, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>340</sup> Interview with Sam Mgunuza, Guguletu, 14 August 2008.

<sup>341</sup> The oldest existing formal black township in Cape Town is Langa which was established in the 1920s. Thereafter, Nyanga was established in 1946 and Guguletu in 1958.

<sup>342</sup> Fast, 'Pondoks, Houses and Hostels'.

<sup>343</sup> Kondlo, 'Miserablehovels and Shanties'.

with water and electricity. While these houses were better than those that were built later, they still had many shortcomings and the location of the township also presented problems for the residents. At that time, there was no public transport to Nyanga and children had to attend school in Langa. There were no shops or churches. The rents were also very high and this resulted in the population of Nyanga consisting, not of former shack dwellers from the informal shack settlements (as had been the original intention) but of more affluent black people, who had been living in areas closer to the city centre.<sup>344</sup>

## Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that agriculture has played an important role in Cape Town's history and has been practised in Cape Town since the VOC Company Gardens were established in the 1650s. Soon thereafter, the free burghers established farms along the Liesbeek Valley where they conducted both vegetable and livestock farming. During the late 1800s, vegetable farms were established in the Philippi area by German immigrants. Despite the lack of literature on the history of small-scale (urban) agriculture in Cape Town, evidence of agricultural activities being conducted by individuals throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries can be found in reports from social studies conducted in Cape Town and in general histories of the area. People were conducting small-scale farming activities in central Cape Town during the 1700s and 1800s and in the Southern Suburbs during the late 1800s and early 1900s. In addition, various historical sources reveal that urban agriculture was being conducted in Windermere, Epping and in some areas of the Cape Flats during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Data collected during the Social Study of Cape Town also reveals that UA was practised by a fair number of black, coloured and white households in various parts of Cape Town during the late 1930s and early 1940s.

While the city authorities discouraged the keeping of livestock and poultry within the municipal boundaries during the early 1900s, we see that livestock farming, poultry farming and vegetable farming did indeed continue to take place in various areas of Cape Town throughout the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The fact that agriculture has continued to be practised in Cape Town throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries raises questions regarding urbanity and challenges conventional views that see cities as being non-agricultural. The fact that the municipality attempted to restrict livestock

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<sup>344</sup> Fast, 'Pondoks, Houses and Hostels'.

farming in Cape Town during the early 1900s, demonstrates that the local authorities were beginning to see such practices as being unsuitable urban activities and were therefore starting to entertain non-agricultural notions of the city.

While information is very scarce regarding the benefits that small-scale urban farming activities produced during this period, it is possible to extract some information from the historical sources where these activities were mentioned regarding the motivations for, and the benefits produced by, these UA activities. Many of the accounts of UA activities that have been discussed in this chapter note how these activities helped to provide food security for the farmers and their families. References to UA activities producing food security can be found in Georgina Lister's autobiography,<sup>345</sup> Hildagonda Duckitt's book on housekeeping in the Cape,<sup>346</sup> Teppo's paper on the Epping Garden Village<sup>347</sup> and in the area study of Vrygrond and Lavender Hill that was conducted as part of the Second Carnegie Inquiry.<sup>348</sup> For Duckitt, food security produced a further social benefit in the sense that she derived great comfort from always having fresh eggs available. The quality of the food produced by her farming activities also seemed to have benefited Duckitt as she indicated that some of the items she grew were fresh and therefore much more flavoursome than those that one would normally buy in tins.<sup>349</sup> For the former residents of Hardevlei and Rondevlei, the food security produced by their UA activities enabled them to be self-sufficient and prevented them from having to struggle to feed their families.<sup>350</sup> The vegetable gardens established in the Epping Garden Village helped to improve the quality of nutrition for residents.<sup>351</sup>

Some of the accounts of urban farming activities discussed in this chapter indicate that there were farmers who benefited economically from their UA activities during this period. The widow who kept cows on Signal Hill in the 1730s made her living from selling the milk produced by her cows.<sup>352</sup> Duckitt was able to make a good profit from the products of her poultry farming, as there was a great demand for eggs and poultry in Cape Town at that time.<sup>353</sup> The former residents of Rondevlei and Hardevlei were also

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<sup>345</sup> Lister, *Reminiscences of Georgina Lister*.

<sup>346</sup> Duckitt, *Hilda's Diary of a Cape Housekeeper*.

<sup>347</sup> Teppo, 'Good White Times'.

<sup>348</sup> Naidoo and Dreyer, 'Area Study of Cape Town'.

<sup>349</sup> Duckitt, *Hilda's Diary of a Cape Housekeeper*.

<sup>350</sup> Naidoo and Dreyer, 'Area Study of Cape Town'.

<sup>351</sup> Teppo, 'Good White Times'.

<sup>352</sup> Worden et al, *Cape Town: The Making of a City*.

<sup>353</sup> Duckitt, *Hilda's Diary of a Cape Housekeeper*.

able to earn some extra income by selling excess meat from their farming activities to others living in their area.<sup>354</sup>

Health was a motivation for the establishment of the VOC Company gardens, as the gardens were to provide fresh vegetables and fruit for scurvy-ridden sailors on the ships that were passing the Cape.<sup>355</sup> Later in this study, we will see how health and nutrition continue to be motivations for many people to continue to conduct their UA activities. From his journal entries, we also see that Jan van Riebeeck himself gained some social benefits from his involvement in the Company gardens. Agriculture and horticulture appear to have been hobbies for Van Riebeeck and he derived great satisfaction and pleasure from watching the vegetables in the Company gardens grow. On one occasion he noted in his journal that the vegetables they had planted "...were already so beautiful that it was a treat to look at them."<sup>356</sup>

While none of the farmers interviewed for this study had begun to conduct their UA activities before 1948, this chapter has looked briefly at what the farmers were doing during this period and, in some cases, why they did not conduct any urban farming activities before 1948. Details about the farmers' early lives, and information relevant to the history of the areas where the farmers currently live, will help to provide a context for the subsequent chapters, where these farmers' UA activities are discussed in greater detail and where it will be established how, and indeed if, their lives have changed as a result of their urban farming activities.

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<sup>354</sup> Naidoo. and Dreyer, 'Area Study of Cape Town'.

<sup>355</sup> Crompton, in Foreword to Karstens, *The Old Company's Garden at the Cape*.

<sup>356</sup> Leibbrandt, (1897), quoted in Karstens, *The Old Company's Garden at the Cape*.

## **Chapter Four: 1949 to 1979**

This chapter focuses on the period from 1949 to 1979, and begins by investigating whether urban agriculture continued to be practised in Cape Town during this period. Information from historical literature, as well as data collected during interviews with the farmers who participated in this study, reveals that UA was practised in various parts of Cape Town during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, with a number of UA activities taking place in the Cape Flats. In fact, 11 of the 30 farmers interviewed for this study began to conduct urban farming activities during this period. This chapter analyses these farmers' UA activities, exploring the farmers' motivations for beginning these activities as well as the benefits that they derived from their urban farming.

Before the UA activities of these farmers are discussed, brief accounts are provided of some of the farmers' life histories during this period. Between 1949 and 1980, 11 of the 30 farmers interviewed for this study were born, 13 came to live in Cape Town from rural areas and 18 moved to the Cape Flats townships where they live today. The growth and development of these Cape Flats areas is also looked at, as is the apartheid legislation, and the implementation thereof, that led to the growth of these areas and caused many of the farmers to move to these townships. As many of the interviewed farmers were affected by the forced removals, their experiences of this are also discussed in this chapter. Information relating to the farmers' life histories and the development and growth of the Cape Flats enables us to understand the context in which the farmers began to conduct their UA activities. The farmers' life history information also helps us to establish why some of the farmers did not conduct any urban farming activities during this period.

By analysing the UA activities that were conducted by the 11 farmers who started their urban farming during this period, it is evident that the farmers had a variety of motivations for beginning these activities, with many of these motivations being of a social nature. The analysis of these farmers' UA activities also reveals that the farmers gained a number of social, nutritional, health and economic benefits from their urban farming.

## Urban Agriculture in Cape Town: 1949 to 1979

Urban agriculture continued to be practised in various areas of Cape Town during this period. References to UA activities being conducted by coloured residents of Claremont during the mid twentieth century can be found in Taliep's works on the forced removals in Claremont.<sup>357</sup> Taliep describes life in the coloured neighbourhoods of Claremont before residents were forced to move in the 1960s. When speaking about income, Taliep notes how many families had to conduct informal income generating activities in order to supplement their fathers' earnings. Here it is mentioned that those who had a stretch of garden or a backyard may well have begun their own market-gardening activities. A family who lived in Palmboom Road is provided as an example. This family kept ducks and fowls in the backyard and cultivated fruit and vegetables in the front garden. While this family did not sell any of their produce, Taliep notes that their UA activities saved them from having to purchase foods such as vegetables, fruit and eggs, and enabled them to have a constant supply of these items. Taliep also mentions another former resident of Claremont who had a large yard where she kept horses. However, it is noted that there were also many people living in Claremont who did not have much of a garden or yard, and therefore could not grow vegetables or keep livestock.

Evidence of urban agriculture being practised during this period in the Cape Flats can be found in Andrew Silk's work on the Modderdam informal settlement<sup>358</sup> and in John Western's book on the forced removals in Cape Town.<sup>359</sup> In his book, Western speaks about how people living Crossroads during the 1970s organised themselves well and developed a thriving informal economy. Western notes how one of the sources of income in this informal economy was the selling of vegetables, with these vegetables often coming from vegetable gardens in Crossroads. Andrew Silk's book on Modderdam describes how this informal community, situated in the Cape Flats, operated before it was destroyed by the apartheid government in 1977. When describing this community, Silk notes how many of the gardens in the central part of Modderdam had vegetables growing in them, despite the fact that the gardens were small. During his research, Silk saw mealies, squash, string beans and carrots growing in these gardens. When speaking about the Werkgenot informal settlement near Modderdam (which was

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<sup>357</sup> W. Taliep, 'A Study in the History of Claremont and the Impact of the Group Areas Act' (BA (Hons) thesis: Historical Studies, University of Cape Town, 1992) and W. Taliep, 'Belletjiesbos, Draper Street and the Vlak: The Coloured Neighbourhoods of Claremont before the Group Areas', *African Studies*, 60, 1 (2001), 65 – 85

<sup>358</sup> A. Silk, *A Shanty Town in South Africa: The Story of Modderdam* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981).

<sup>359</sup> J. Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1981) 301 and 303.

destroyed in 1974), Silk mentions that many of the residents of that community kept chickens. He also notes how the residents of Modderdam had planted vegetables shortly before they were removed. After the settlement had been destroyed, passers-by could see melons, mealies, carrots, cucumbers and tomatoes ripening on the site where the residents had lived. In late February/early March of the next year, previous residents of Modderdam actually returned to this site to harvest their vegetables.<sup>360</sup>

Many of the farmers that were interviewed for this study remember UA activities being conducted in various parts of Cape Town during this period. In fact one of the farmers, Davidson Mooi, kept chickens in Claremont during the 1950s while he was living there<sup>361</sup>. Two of the farmers (a mother and her son) lived in Athlone during the 1950s and remember UA activities being practised in their area. Their family had a vegetable garden and they kept chickens, horses, sheep and goats. They also remember other people in Athlone having vegetable gardens during that time. When this family moved to Guguletu in 1962, they had to sell their livestock. However, they kept their chickens and started a vegetable garden at their home in Guguletu.<sup>362</sup> Another farmer, Nora Sineli, lived in Kensington during the 1950s. She remembers that her brother, who lived in 10<sup>th</sup> Avenue, Kensington, had a large garden where he grew mealies, beans and peanuts.<sup>363</sup> Phylophia Bashe lived with her mother's employers in Kloof Street in Cape Town during the 1940s and 1950s and she remembers that they grew vegetables in their garden. Phylophia herself had a vegetable garden and kept chickens in Guguletu during the 1960s.<sup>364</sup> Another farmer, Mrs Vava, lived in Somerset West in the 1950s and remembers that her father grew mealies when they lived there.<sup>365</sup> Robina Rondo, who lived in Simonstown in the early 1960s, remembers quite a few people in Simonstown growing vegetables, either in their gardens or in tins.<sup>366</sup>

Many of the farmers that were interviewed remember UA activities being conducted in Guguletu between 1960 and 1980. As has been mentioned, Phylophia Bashe and the Puza family grew vegetables and kept chickens in Guguletu in the 1960s and 1970s.

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<sup>360</sup> Silk, *A Shanty Town in South Africa*.

<sup>361</sup> Interview with Davidson Mooi, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>362</sup> Interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 19 August 2008; Follow-up interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 30 April 2009; Interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 7 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 12 March 2009.

<sup>363</sup> Interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 5 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>364</sup> Interview with Phylophia Bashe, Guguletu, 15 April 2009.

<sup>365</sup> Interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 1 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 17 March 2009.

<sup>366</sup> Interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 31 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

Solomon Puza also remembers that some other people in Guguletu had vegetable gardens and kept chickens and livestock at that time, with the people living across the road from him even keeping horses.<sup>367</sup> When Robina Rondo came to live in Guguletu in the 1960s, she noticed that people in her area were not growing vegetables, but that people in another part of Guguletu were growing mealies and pumpkins. During the late 1960s, people came to her area selling seedlings, so she started to grow vegetables.<sup>368</sup> Mrs Kani, who moved to Guguletu in 1959, remembers that some people had goats and cows when she first lived in Guguletu.<sup>369</sup>

Nomeko Mqathazana kept chickens and had a small vegetable garden in Guguletu from 1965 onwards. She also remembers quite a few other people growing vegetables in Guguletu at that time.<sup>370</sup> A vegetable farmer, Stephen Ngqaka, remembers that his grandmother had a lot of friends in Guguletu who had small vegetable patches where they grew potatoes and tomatoes. He also remembers that someone who lived further down his road had a big vegetable garden at the back of her house during the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>371</sup> Another farmer remembers that there were quite a few livestock farmers in Guguletu during the 1970s, with many people keeping chickens and goats.<sup>372</sup> Nora Sineli's brother kept cows in Guguletu during the late 1970s. Her brother milked the cows and sold the milk to generate an income.<sup>373</sup>

Some of the farmers also remember UA activities being conducted in other Cape Flats areas during this period. One farmer remembers that his brother used to keep chickens when he lived in a hostel in Langa in the 1970s.<sup>374</sup> When Mrs Vava moved to Nyanga in 1970, the man living across the road from her was growing vegetables.<sup>375</sup> Another farmer living in Nyanga, Mr Biko, started keeping livestock during the mid-1970s.<sup>376</sup> A farmer living in Philippi used to keep chickens at her home during the late 1970s. She remembers that other people in her area were also keeping chickens at that time.<sup>377</sup>

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<sup>367</sup> Follow-up interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 30 April 2009.

<sup>368</sup> Interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 31 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

<sup>369</sup> Interview with Mrs Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>370</sup> Interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 31 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 6 November 2008.

<sup>371</sup> Interview with Stephen Nyameko Ngqaka, Guguletu, 17 March 2009.

<sup>372</sup> Interview with Nonzwakazi Dlaba, Guguletu, 31 March 2009.

<sup>373</sup> Interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 5 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>374</sup> Interview with George Madikane, KTC, 31 March 2009.

<sup>375</sup> Interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 1 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 17 March 2009.

<sup>376</sup> Interview with Mr Biko, Nyanga, 7 August, 2008.

<sup>377</sup> Interview with Novatile Gova, Philippi, 21 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Novatile Gova, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

It is therefore evident that urban farming was practised in a number of areas in Cape Town throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. However, the local authorities continued to view livestock and poultry farming as unsuitable urban activities during this period and therefore continued to attempt to restrict these practices. In 1960, new regulations were passed regarding dairies and the keeping of animals in Cape Town.<sup>378</sup> While these were very similar to the dairy regulations of 1932, the regulations regarding milkshops, dairies, milk vessels and the treatment, transport and storage of milk were more detailed. Regulations regarding the keeping of other livestock and poultry seem to be similar to those of 1932, stipulating that anyone who wishes to keep any animals or poultry needs to request permission from the Council, informing the Council of the type and number of animals and of the type of enclosure to be used. The regulations state that the Council has the right to refuse permission or restrict the type and number of animals kept, based on locality, construction of enclosures or manner of use. Detailed stipulations are also provided regarding the structure and hygiene of animal enclosures and state that no animals or birds may be kept in such a place or manner where they are deemed to be a nuisance.<sup>379</sup>

An ordinance passed by the Cape Province in 1974 to consolidate and amend the laws relating to municipalities,<sup>380</sup> allowed local governments to make by-laws pertaining to various issues, including the keeping of animals, birds, poultry and reptiles, the slaughtering of animals, birds and poultry, and the number and type of animals allowed to be kept on common pasture lands. The ordinance states that these by-laws may be made in the name of good rule and government, for the safety, convenience and comfort of the residents of the city or town.<sup>381</sup> The modernist sentiments of safety and order expressed in this ordinance, together with the revised laws regarding dairies and the keeping of livestock and poultry, show that the provincial and local authorities continued to entertain modernist notions of urbanity during this period, viewing the city as a non-agricultural entity.

However, the evidence presented in this chapter shows that in spite of these regulations, urban vegetable, livestock and poultry farming continued to take place in various parts of Cape Town. While some of the farmers interviewed for this study have memories of

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<sup>378</sup> Cape Town Municipality Regulation Number 1967, Relating to Dairies and the Keeping of Animals (24 June 1960).

<sup>379</sup> Province of the Cape of Good Hope *Official Gazette: January to June 1960*.

<sup>380</sup> Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 'Ordinance to consolidate and amend the law relating to municipalities, village management boards and local boards', Ordinance Number 20 of 1974.

<sup>381</sup> Province of the Cape of Good Hope, *Ordinances* (1974).

other people growing vegetables, keeping chickens and farming livestock, a number of the interviewed farmers began to conduct their own UA activities during this period. After examining the farmers' life histories and the history of the Cape Flats townships during this period, this chapter will discuss these farmers' urban agriculture activities in more detail. Information relating to the farmers' life histories and the Cape Flats townships provides some insight into the context in which these farmers began their UA activities.

### **Forced Removals, the Growth of the Cape Flats and the Farmers' Life Histories**

The farmers interviewed for this study currently live and farm in the Cape Flats townships of Guguletu, Nyanga, Philippi, New Crossroads and KTC.<sup>382</sup> Between 1949 and 1980, many of the farmers moved to these areas, either from other parts of Cape Town or from rural areas in the Eastern Cape.<sup>383</sup> In order to understand the farmers' life histories, and the context in which they began their UA activities, it is important to look at the history of these Cape Flats areas and to understand how they emerged and grew during this period. Linked to the development and growth of these townships is the apartheid legislation, and the implementation thereof, that caused many of the farmers to move to these areas. Therefore, in order to fully understand these farmers' life histories, it is necessary to understand how they were affected by these laws and the resultant forced removals.

#### ***Forced removals and the growth of the Cape Flats:***

The Group Areas Act was passed in 1950, two years after the National Party came to power. This Act aimed to put an end to racially mixed residential areas in South African cities,<sup>384</sup> and therefore restricted each race group to its own residential and trading sections of cities and towns. According to the Group Areas Act, only people belonging to certain race groups could occupy or own land in certain areas, and as a result, cities and towns were carved up into areas reserved for specific race groups. The implementation of this Act involved attacks on racially mixed suburbs, with forced

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<sup>382</sup> It is important to note, however, that while Nonzwakazi Dlaba lives in Guguletu, she keeps her pigs in Mfuleni, and while Mrs Mvambi farms in Guguletu, she lives in Mandalay. All the other farmers both live and farm in the five selected areas.

<sup>383</sup> In fact one of the farmers, Pamela Ngqaqu, was born in Nyanga in the mid 1950s.

<sup>384</sup> V. Bickford-Smith, 'Mapping Cape Town: From Slavery to Apartheid' in S. Field, ed., *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2001), 15 – 26.

removals taking place in various cities.<sup>385</sup> In addition to the Group Areas Act, other laws enabled forced removals to take place, such as the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act,<sup>386</sup> the pass laws and the Slums Act.<sup>387</sup> In 1952, the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act was applied to greater Cape Town. This Act forced municipalities to set up emergency camps for shack dwellers and allowed local authorities to demolish “illegal” shacks even when alternative accommodation was not available.<sup>388</sup> The Slums Act of 1934 prohibited the overcrowding and inhabiting of unhealthy dwellings<sup>389</sup> and allowed local authorities to demolish any dwellings and expropriate or acquire any land they deemed to constitute a slum.<sup>390</sup>

In Cape Town, most forced removals that took place prior to 1952 were executed under the Slums Act and pass laws.<sup>391</sup> After 1952, forced removals in parts of greater Cape Town took place under the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. The first Group Areas proclamations in Cape Town were made in 1957/8.<sup>392</sup> Proclamations were followed by forced removals, which took place in various parts of Cape Town between 1958 and 1979. During this period, racially mixed suburbs were targeted and black and coloured residents were forced to move to townships. Some informal settlements were also destroyed, with residents being moved to township areas. Communities in Cape Town that were affected by forced removals during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s include Windermere, Claremont, District Six, Simonstown, Rondevlei, Modderdam and certain parts of Rondebosch and Sea Point.

Despite the pass laws and the government’s attempts to restrict the presence of black people in the cities, Cape Town’s black population continued to grow during this period, as more and more people left the poverty-stricken “homeland” areas in search of work. This resulted in the growth of the formal Cape Flats townships, as well as the establishment and growth of a number of informal settlements in the Cape Flats. Nyanga, which was established as a formal township during the mid 1940s, continued to grow during this period. The second batch of houses was built in 1952, with these

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<sup>385</sup> C. Saunders, ed., *Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, The Real Story* 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition (Cape Town, London, New York, Sydney, Montreal: Reader's Digest, 1994)

<sup>386</sup> Bickford-Smith, 'Mapping Cape Town'.

<sup>387</sup> S. Field, 'Windermere: Squatters, Slumyards and Removals, 1920s to 1960s' in S. Field, ed., *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2001), 27 - 43

<sup>388</sup> Bickford-Smith, 'Mapping Cape Town', 15 – 26.

<sup>389</sup> Field, 'Windermere: Squatters, Slumyards and Removals'.

<sup>390</sup> Union of South Africa, 'The Slums Act of 1934', in *Statutes of the Union of South Africa*, (Pretoria: Government Printing and Stationery Office, 1934).

<sup>391</sup> Field, 'Windermere: Squatters, Slumyards and Removals'.

<sup>392</sup> Bickford-Smith, 'Mapping Cape Town', 15 – 26.

houses being smaller than those built during the first scheme. The houses built in 1952 were poorly constructed, had no floors, ceilings or internal doors, and electricity was not installed. Each dwelling was to be occupied by two families. The occupants of these houses moved in during July 1953, but were unhappy with the high rent, the small houses and high bus fares.<sup>393</sup> In 1957, the Zwelitsha section of Nyanga was built, with these houses comprising three rooms with no ceilings and no electricity. The Newlands section was built in 1968. Between 1952 and 1970, the state constructed a number of workers' hostels in Nyanga for single men. During this period, schemes Q, K, L, G and F were built, resulting in 126 state hostels housing approximately 3950 men. These hostels had cement floors and no ceilings, and conditions in the hostels were poor. There was no running water inside and residents had to share outside toilets. Some workers' hostels were also constructed by employers between 1971 and 1982 to house their employees. During this period, a total of 210 units were built by employers to house approximately 4190 men.<sup>394</sup>

Guguletu, which was originally known as Nyanga West, was established as an emergency camp in December 1958. The government's intention was to move people from squatter areas and racially mixed suburbs and place them in an exclusively black township.<sup>395</sup> When the first residents of Nyanga West were placed in the emergency camp, it comprised 500 portable hutments and had no amenities, such as clinics or recreational facilities. Residents coming from a number of different places had been "dumped together" in the camp. Guguletu originally consisted of four sections, each of which was developed independently.<sup>396</sup> By March 1962, 540 houses had been built for residents who were "legally" allowed to stay in Cape Town.<sup>397</sup> By 1967, a total of 1244 houses had been built in the first section, known as Section I. The houses in Guguletu were poorly built and had no ceilings, no plaster, cement floors and no internal doors. Workers' hostels were also built in Guguletu during this period, with a total of 172 state hostels being built to house approximately 2750 men. As in Nyanga, the conditions in the workers' hostels were poor. A number of private hostels were also built by employers to house their employees and conditions were slightly better in those hostels.

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<sup>393</sup> H. Fast, 'Pondoks, Houses and Hostels: A history of Nyanga: 1946 – 1970, with a special focus on housing' (PHD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1995).

<sup>394</sup> D. Sikwebu, 'Area Study of Cape Town: Profile of Nyanga', Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development, Paper 10a (1984).

<sup>395</sup> L. Ngcokoto, 'Guguletu: A Township Created, Youth Cultures Emerge, 1959 to 1986' (BA (Hons) thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989).

<sup>396</sup> S. Makosana, 'Aspects of the Historical Development of Guguletu, 1958 to 1987, with special reference to Housing and Education' (BA (Hons) thesis, University of Cape Town, 1988).

<sup>397</sup> Ngcokoto, 'Guguletu: A Township Created'.

Guguletu grew considerably between 1958 and 1980, with the population increasing from 3466 in 1958 to 73480 in 1980.<sup>398</sup>

During the mid 1970s, Crossroads emerged as an informal settlement east of Nyanga. While none of the farmers interviewed for this study live or farm in Crossroads, farmers living in New Crossroads, KTC and Philippi were included in the study. The emergence, growth and development of Crossroads played a significant role in the history of New Crossroads, KTC and certain parts of Philippi. A brief look at the history of Crossroads during the mid to late 1970s will therefore provide a useful background for information included in the next chapter regarding the development of New Crossroads, KTC and certain parts of Philippi during the 1980s and 1990s.

Informal settlements existed in various parts of greater Cape Town throughout the 1900s despite attempts by the authorities to eradicate many of these areas. While a number of residents of informal areas had been moved to Nyanga West in the late 1950s, the housing shortage for the black population reached critical levels during the late 1960s and, as a result, more informal settlements emerged. In February 1975, the Divisional Council moved some people on to land east of Nyanga and established a temporary transit camp. Through this initiative, the authorities planned to “weed out” the “illegal” residents and thus reduce the size of the black population in Cape Town. The population of the Crossroads site grew and by April 1975, there were more than 7000 people living there in 1027 shacks. Residents were told that they were squatting illegally and were served with eviction notices. However, most residents ignored these notices and, because the settlement had originally been given government authorisation, they felt that they had a right to remain there. The residents settled into the area and worked together to resist the authorities’ efforts to evict them. Pass raids that took place in Crossroads during 1975 helped to strengthen social cohesion and community organisation. In 1976, the Crossroads residents opposed the Divisional Council’s appeal to the Supreme Court to have Crossroads demolished. The Crossroads residents won this legal battle and in June 1976, Crossroads was given legal status as an emergency camp and was provided with basic services. During the late 1970s, a Crossroads culture emerged with a strong informal economic sector developing.<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>398</sup> Makosana, ‘Aspects of the Historical Development of Guguletu’.

<sup>399</sup> J. Cole, ‘Crossroads 1975 to 1985: From Community to Mini-Bantustan’ (BA (Hons) thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986).

The population of Crossroads continued to grow throughout the late 1970s, with the demolition of other informal areas, such as Modderdam and Werkgenot, contributing towards Crossroad's population growth. During 1977, the population grew from 16900 in July to 20000 in December. Throughout 1978, the state used indirect tactics to try to discredit Crossroads, but their efforts only served to strengthen the community's resistance organisations. Crossroads residents also received support from outside organisations who joined the Save Crossroads campaign. In 1978, Dr. Piet Koornhof became the Minister of Co-operation and Development. He stopped an attempted demolition of Crossroads and devised a new plan for the future of Crossroads, which he presented to the Crossroads committee in 1979. This marked the beginning of a new phase in Crossroad's history. From 1975 to 1979, Crossroads had developed into a generally cohesive society with social support systems, distinct forms of political practice and a tradition of resistance.<sup>400</sup> However, the dynamics changed in Crossroads following the announcement of Dr. Koornhof's plan and negotiations regarding how the plan would be implemented. This phase of Crossroad's history, which included the development of New Crossroads, and also impacted on KTC and certain parts of Philippi, will be discussed in the next chapter.

### ***Farmers' life histories and their experiences of the forced removals:***

Between 1957 and 1979, 13 of the farmers interviewed for this study were directly affected by the Group Areas Act and the forced removals. These farmers were forced to leave their homes in central Cape Town, Kensington,<sup>401</sup> Claremont, Grassy Park, Elsie's River, Simonstown, Athlone and Modderdam, with the majority of these farmers being moved to Guguletu and a few moving to Nyanga and Langa. The farmers' memories of the forced removals vary, especially as some of them were children at the time. Nevertheless, for most of these farmers, the forced removals were traumatic and had a negative impact on their lives.

Most of the farmers who had been affected by the forced removals were sad to leave the neighbourhoods where they had lived for many years and to move to new areas where they did not know other people. Stephen Ngqaka had been born in central Cape Town and during the early 1960s, his family was forced to move to Guguletu. Although he was still quite young at the time, Stephen can remember the distress that he felt when he had to leave town and move to a new neighbourhood.

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<sup>400</sup> Cole, 'Crossroads 1975 to 1985'.

<sup>401</sup> It is very possible that when speaking about Kensington, these farmers are speaking about Windermere.

"It was sad to move from the area you know and then you've got to go somewhere you don't know... I was sad, it wasn't right, I was uncomfortable."<sup>402</sup>

Davidson Mooi had been living in Claremont and, as an adult, was forced to move to Guguletu. He was unhappy about having to move to a place where he did not know the other people.

"It was bad those times, because we didn't know each other. Now we know each other."<sup>403</sup>

Phylophia Bashe, who had been moved from central Cape Town to Guguletu, was unhappy about having to live in a place that she was forced to move to.

"We didn't feel happy. There was no life at the time....I did not like it because we were forced to come to it."<sup>404</sup>

Many of the farmers who had been affected by the forced removals were unhappy to leave racially mixed areas and some also found crime to be a lot higher in Guguletu. Nora Sineli had lived with her older brother in Kensington<sup>405</sup> and in the early 1960s, she and her brother's family were forced to move to Guguletu. Nora was still a child at that time, but she remembers that she was not happy about having to move.

"Kensington was different. Guguletu was full of skollies who rob you. This place was not like Kensington, which was nice. We were mixed in Kensington with coloureds, Indians and whites."<sup>406</sup>

Similar sentiments were expressed by Davidson Mooi who said that "Guguletu was not a beautiful place because people were being killed"<sup>407</sup> and Phylophia Bashe who said:

"We stayed in pondokkies. We were not used to staying like that, we were used to staying with the whites in town..."<sup>408</sup>

One of the farmers, Robina Rondo, was moved from Simonstown to Guguletu and found everything to be a lot more expensive in the township.<sup>409</sup> For another farmer, Solomon

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<sup>402</sup> Interview with Stephen Ngqaka, Guguletu, 17 March 2009.

<sup>403</sup> Interview with Davidson Mooi, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>404</sup> Interview with Phylophia Bashe, Guguletu, 15 April 2009.

<sup>405</sup> It is possible that Nora Sineli is referring to Windermere when she speaks about Kensington.

<sup>406</sup> Interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 5 August 2008.

<sup>407</sup> Interview with Davidson Mooi, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>408</sup> Interview with Phylophia Bashe, Guguletu, 15 April 2009.

<sup>409</sup> Interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 31 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

Puza, the forced removals had a negative impact on his education. Solomon had been born in Athlone in 1954 and, while he was still a child, he and his family were forced to move to Guguletu. Solomon had already completed some of his schooling in Athlone, where he had been taught in Afrikaans. However, he was taught in Xhosa in Guguletu and was therefore forced to start his schooling again after the move.<sup>410</sup>

A number of those who had been moved to Guguletu said that they did not like the fact that they had to live in shacks when they first arrived. Nozi Kani, who had been forced to move from Kensington<sup>411</sup> to Guguletu in 1959, was also unhappy about the housing that was available in Guguletu. They first lived in temporary zinc structures and then moved to houses that had no ceilings, no internal doors and no electricity.<sup>412</sup> However, there were some farmers, such as Mrs Puza and Robina Rondo, who were pleased about the fact that they received houses after they moved to Guguletu.<sup>413</sup>

In addition to finding the housing in Guguletu to be inadequate, Nozi Kani was unhappy about the fact that she had to travel long distances to work after she was moved to Guguletu. Nozi also found the experience of being forcibly removed to be very traumatic.

“That was very sad because Kensington was nice and it was near to your work, near schools – everything it was close to. Oh – we had a terrible struggle. To travel from here to where you work – ooh. We have only one train a day, one train a day. Two buses a day - early morning and after work, only two buses a day from Mowbray to Bellville... Ooh, that was terrible. ...I never thought I would get used to this place, because we come from beautiful places, peaceful places. But that Group Areas – ooh... They didn’t even notice us. They force...Everything was destroyed. And they don’t pack with respecting – they just throw it in, throw it in. I don’t want that time. If that time can come back, God must take me.”<sup>414</sup>

While these accounts only provide an overview of the farmers’ experiences of the forced removals, they demonstrate some of the hardships that were faced and the trauma that was experienced as a result of these removals. Later in this study, we will see that most

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<sup>410</sup> Interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 19 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 30 April 2009.

<sup>411</sup> While Nozi Kani speaks about “Kensington”, it is very possible that she is referring to Windermere, especially given her experience of the forced removals in the late 1950s.

<sup>412</sup> Interview with Nozi Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>413</sup> Interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 7 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 12 March 2009; Interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 31 July 2008.

<sup>414</sup> Interview with Nozi Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

of these farmers subsequently became accustomed to living in their new neighbourhoods, despite the numerous socio-economic problems found in those areas. These farmers therefore developed various strategies to address the negative affects of the forced removals and cope with their situations. Later in this chapter, we will see that five of the eight farmers who were adults when they were forcibly removed, conducted urban agriculture activities soon after arriving in their new neighbourhoods. This suggests that urban farming was used as a strategy by these farmers to address some of the negative impacts of the forced removals.

Further information regarding these farmers' life histories can be found in Appendix 7, as can detailed information regarding the life histories of the other farmers. In the previous chapter, we saw that 19 of the 30 farmers interviewed for this study were born before 1948, with most of them being born in rural parts of the Eastern Cape. All of the remaining 11 farmers were born between 1948 and 1980, with only five of these farmers being born in rural parts of the Eastern Cape and the other six being born in Cape Town. This is particularly noteworthy, as it is commonly assumed that most urban farmers are very recent migrants to the city.<sup>415</sup> However, the data collected in this study reveals that this is not always the case in Cape Town, as some of the farmers interviewed were born in the city and therefore never lived in rural areas.

Three of the farmers who were born in the Eastern Cape between 1949 and 1980 came to live in Cape Town during this period. Nora Sineli came to Cape Town as a child, whereas Mr Biko and Novatile Gova arrived as adults. Ten of the farmers who were born in the Eastern Cape before 1948 also came to live Cape Town during this period. Details regarding their early experiences of Cape Town can be found in Appendix 7. A number of these farmers were affected by the forced removals and they therefore moved during this period to the townships where they currently live. Others came directly to the Cape Flats from the Eastern Cape.

Information regarding the farmers' life histories reveals why some of the farmers did not conduct any UA activities during this period. Pamela Ngqaqu was living in Nyanga and, after finishing school and studying teaching, worked as a teacher for many years. Pamela did not conduct any urban farming activities during this period and she feels that this was because once she became involved in teaching, she became very narrow

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<sup>415</sup> D. Freeman, *A City of Farmers: Informal Urban Agriculture in the Open Spaces of Nairobi, Kenya* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

mindful and did not recognise other opportunities.<sup>416</sup> Rose Ngewu was living in Langa at this time and was working as a domestic worker. She did not conduct any urban farming activities during this period because she was working.<sup>417</sup> Nora Sineli was also working as a domestic worker at this time and she also did not conduct any UA activities during this period because she was working.<sup>418</sup> Mr Sineli's family had lived in Kensington<sup>419</sup> until they were forced to move to Guguletu during the 1960s. His family did not practice UA in Kensington and only started to conduct urban farming activities in Guguletu in the late 1980s. Mr Sineli remembers that they lived close to the Epping market when they were in Kensington and that they received left-over produce from the market. They therefore did not need to grow their own vegetables.<sup>420</sup>

Nomeko Mqathazana had previously lived in Rylands where she did not conduct any UA activities because she did not have her own plot. However, she started conducting UA activities soon after she moved into her new house in Guguletu in the 1960s.<sup>421</sup> George Madikane lived in the workers' hostels in Langa when he arrived in Cape Town and he therefore could not conduct any UA activities at that time, as he did not have sufficient space.<sup>422</sup> Ellen Sandlana and Rosalina Nongogo both arrived in Cape Town during the late 1960s. Neither Rosalina nor Ellen conducted any urban farming activities during this period. Even though Ellen had grown vegetables in the Eastern Cape, it did not occur to her to grow vegetables in Cape Town until she was introduced to Soil for Life in 2008.<sup>423</sup> For Rosalina, a lack of knowledge of how to start a garden prevented her from growing vegetables during this period.<sup>424</sup> Mrs Mbovu lived in Guguletu during this period and worked as a chambermaid in a hotel. She did not conduct any UA activities during that time as her yard was not enclosed and she therefore did not feel that it was sufficiently secure.<sup>425</sup> Sam Mgunuza lived in Guguletu after he was forced to move there from Grassy Park in 1961. While he worked as a gardener during this period, he did not conduct any of his own UA activities, as he did not have sufficient space.<sup>426</sup> Mrs Madalana, who had been born in Langa, lived there until she moved to Guguletu in

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<sup>416</sup> Interview with Pamela and Patrick Ngqaqu, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>417</sup> Interview with Rose Ngewu, KTC, 2 April 2009.

<sup>418</sup> Follow-up interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>419</sup> While Mr Sineli called the area "Kensington", it is very possible that he is referring to Windermere.

<sup>420</sup> Interview with Mthuthuzeli Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008; and Follow-up interview conducted with Mthuthuzeli Sineli, Guguletu 6 November 2008.

<sup>421</sup> Interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 31 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 6 November 2008.

<sup>422</sup> Interview with George Madikane, KTC, 31 March 2009.

<sup>423</sup> Interview with Ellen Sandlana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>424</sup> Interview with Rosalina Nongogo, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>425</sup> Interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 23 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

<sup>426</sup> Interview with Sam Mgunuza, Guguletu, 14 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Sam Mgunuza, Guguletu, 11 December 2008.

1972. Mrs Madalana worked as a nurse aid for many years and did not think about doing any urban agriculture activities during this time.<sup>427</sup>

“When you are a nurse, you don’t think of bending down and playing with the soil. In those days, we never wore navy blue, we wore white. You would never think of a garden... It was not something that I was thinking about.”<sup>428</sup>

### **Urban Agriculture Activities, Motivations and Benefits**

Of the 30 farmers interviewed for this study, 11 began to conduct urban agriculture activities between 1949 and 1980. Davidson Mooi currently farms goats in Guguletu and he began this urban farming activity in the late 1960s, after he moved to Guguletu. However, he had conducted some UA activities before that in other parts of Cape Town. Davidson kept chickens when he lived in Claremont in the 1950s. He also farmed cattle during that period, but he kept his cattle in Langa as he had more space there than where he was staying in Claremont. His father was a farmer in the Eastern Cape and Davidson has always loved animals. He learnt to farm from his father and did not receive any formal farming training. Davidson was working when he started keeping livestock, and he therefore conducted his UA activities in addition to his formal employment. His motivations for starting his goat farming seem to have been purely social. Davidson replied as follows when asked why he began this UA activity:

“Because I’m lonely sometimes. Just because I’m lonely, to be with the animals, or amongst the animals, that takes away your loneliness.”<sup>429</sup>

Davidson kept a large number of goats at that time and was thus able to sell them quite regularly. He did not like to slaughter his goats and he therefore sold them live. While Davidson must have generated income through this activity, he does not remember the income generation being the main benefit that he got from keeping goats at that time.

“I didn’t look to benefit out of them, it was only just to have them, to take care of them... It has really changed my life because the minute I feel lonely, I go and sit amongst them.”<sup>430</sup>

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<sup>427</sup> Interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 5 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>428</sup> Follow-up interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>429</sup> Interview with Davidson Mooi, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>430</sup> Interview with Davidson Mooi, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

Mrs Puza currently grows vegetables and herbs in Guguletu and she began her urban cultivating activities in the 1950s when she grew herbs and flowers in Athlone. After moving to Guguletu in the early 1960s, Mrs Puza began growing fruit trees and herbs in her garden. She and her husband also kept chickens for a while at their home in Guguletu during the 1970s. The main benefit that Mrs Puza remembers receiving from her UA activities during this period was the good health that she obtained from using the herbs that she grew. While Mrs Puza received vegetable gardening training from Abalimi Bezekhaya after she joined one of their projects in 1999, she had originally learnt to how to plant from her mother who used to farm in the Eastern Cape.<sup>431</sup> Mrs Puza's reason for starting her UA activities was that she had enjoyed the farming activities that she had done with her mother in the Eastern Cape.

"I liked to plant at my home. At my home, my mother never employed boys to do the gardening. We did the work of the boys... My mother was very good, and she was a strong woman."<sup>432</sup>

Mrs Puza's son, Solomon Puza, also started conducting UA activities during this period. He remembers that both his parents were always involved in urban farming activities and it therefore felt natural for him to become involved. Solomon remembers that his father kept chickens, sheep, goats and horses when they were living in Athlone, and that he was selling chickens at that time.<sup>433</sup> It is interesting that Mrs Puza did not mention her husband's livestock activities during her interview. This could be due to the fact that she is very elderly and that her memory has possibly become a little unreliable. However, it is more likely that Mrs Puza saw those activities as being her husband's concern and did not discuss them as she felt that she was being asked about her own UA activities. This would also explain why she did not speak about the vegetables that Solomon grew in their garden while he was still young.

Solomon started growing vegetables in Guguletu during the late 1960s/early 1970s, while he was still at school. Since then, Solomon has not stopped growing vegetables, and he says that this is because gardening is his hobby. He started to grow vegetables because farming was part of his family's culture and he was therefore attached to it. He learnt how to farm from his father and his first vegetable garden was at his parents' home in NY1 in Guguletu. After he married, Solomon had a large vegetable garden with

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<sup>431</sup> Interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 7 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 12 March 2009.

<sup>432</sup> Interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 7 August 2008.

<sup>433</sup> Follow-up interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 30 April 2009.

fruit trees at his in-laws' home in NY6 in Guguletu. Since leaving school, he has worked for various companies and organisations and he has continued to conduct his UA activities while he has been working.<sup>434</sup> Solomon remembers that his first vegetable garden benefited both his family and his community in many ways. While he and his family did not sell any of the vegetables that he grew, they used the produce to feed their family. This extra food was particularly useful considering that there were 13 people living in their household. Vegetables were also given to needy people in their community.

"We never sold our vegetables. We didn't go to the stores to buy veg. We took it from the garden. While most of the people went to buy beans at the shop, we ate our own... We gave some to the community to some of those who were suffering."<sup>435</sup>

In addition, Solomon remembers that his and his family's UA activities provided the family members with an activity that they could enjoy together and therefore gave them quality time together as a family.

"It gave me sufficient time to be with the family... We could communicate. Most of the time if we aren't all in the garden, one goes this way and another one goes this way."<sup>436</sup>

Phylophia Bashe currently keeps chickens and grows vegetables, herbs and fruit in Guguletu. She started gardening and farming chickens at her current home in Guguletu in 1974. During the 1960s she lived in another part of Guguletu where she also grew vegetables and kept chickens. Phylophia was running her own meat-selling and sewing businesses when she started her UA activities and she continued to run these businesses after she began her urban farming. She taught herself to farm and did not receive any training in this regard. Phylophia's reason for starting her vegetable and herb garden was very practical and was to do with keeping her garden clean and tidy:

"I love cleanliness. When you have a garden, it's easy to keep the place clean, it's easy to tidy up the yard."<sup>437</sup>

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<sup>434</sup> Interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 19 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 30 April 2009.

<sup>435</sup> Follow-up interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 30 April 2009.

<sup>436</sup> Follow-up interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 30 April 2009.

<sup>437</sup> Interview with Phylophia Bashe, Guguletu, 15 April 2009.

She then decided to keep chickens so that she could use the waste products from her vegetable garden to feed the chickens. Phylophia used the produce from her UA activities to provide food for her family. While Phylophia remembers that her family benefited in that way, she also remembers that her UA activities benefited her personally, in that she gained a certain amount of independence through these activities.

“Every morning I used to go to the garden. After that, I would come home and do the sewing. Nobody ever told me what to do. I told myself in the morning I would do the gardening, and during the day I would do my sewing. It was in me, nobody pushed me.”<sup>438</sup>

Nomeko Mqathazana currently grows vegetables as part of a community gardening project in Guguletu. After Nomeko arrived in Guguletu in the mid-1960s, she started a small vegetable garden at her home, which she had until the late 1990s. She also kept chickens for a while during this period. While Nomeko received vegetable gardening training after she joined the community garden project in 1998, she had originally learnt how to plant from her father who had farmed in the Eastern Cape. Nomeko remembers that her vegetable garden had been very productive during the 1960s and 1970s. She did not sell any of the produce, but rather used the products to provide food for her family. She remembers that this extra food helped her family very much.<sup>439</sup> Robina Rondo is also a member of the community gardening project in Guguletu where Nomeko gardens. Like Nomeko, Robina had grown vegetables previously at her home, in a small vegetable garden that she started during the mid 1960s. She began to garden at home when people came to her area selling seedlings. Robina had learnt how to plant from her father who had farmed in the Eastern Cape. She originally grew potatoes and other vegetables, but as time passed her soil became depleted and she replaced these with mealies, onions and cabbage. Robina used the products from her garden to provide food for her family.<sup>440</sup>

Mrs Mani started growing vegetables recently in Guguletu. Although she had not conducted any vegetable farming in Cape Town before this, she had kept chickens for a while at her home in Guguletu during the late 1960s/early 1970s. While Mrs Mani did not sell any of her chickens, she used them to provide food for her family. Mrs Mani

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<sup>438</sup> Interview with Phylophia Bashe, Guguletu, 15 April 2009.

<sup>439</sup> Interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 31 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu 6 November 2008.

<sup>440</sup> Interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 31 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

remembers how she would slaughter a chicken when her family needed meat.<sup>441</sup> Novatile Gova currently belongs to a vegetable gardening project in Philippi. While Novatlie only joined this project quite recently, she had kept chickens at her home in Philippi in the late 1970s. Interestingly, Novatile did not conduct any type of farming while she lived in the Eastern Cape and she therefore only became involved in farming activities after she arrived in Cape Town.<sup>442</sup> Mrs Vava currently grows vegetables in Nyanga. While she also started her current vegetable gardening activities relatively recently, she had grown some vegetables for a short while in 1971. Mrs Vava stayed in the Mau-Mau section of Nyanga for a short period in 1971, and it was during this time that she had a small vegetable patch. While she was still working at that time, she enjoyed growing vegetables as an extra hobby.<sup>443</sup>

Mr Biko currently farms chickens, cows, goats, sheep and pigs at his home in Nyanga and on a plot in Mamre. Mr Biko started farming livestock in 1974 after he was injured at work and retrenched from his job. It was his love of animals that motivated him to start his UA activities. When asked why he started to farm livestock, Mr Biko's response was: "I like animals. If don't feel very well, I go to be with my animals."<sup>444</sup> Mr Biko remembers that his late wife had always dreamt about having a farm and that it had also been her idea to start farming livestock.

"This farm came from my wife before. She dreamt about having a farm one day. My wife got sick with asthma. When my wife died, she said I must look after them. I work hard to look after my children. When something is bad, I run to my farm and I feel happy. It's a gift that I've got animals."<sup>445</sup>

Mr Biko has never received any formal agricultural training and he learnt to farm from his grandfather who had kept livestock in the Eastern Cape. It is unclear when Mr. Biko obtained the land in Mamre and how large his livestock farming operation was during this period. However, Mr Biko has always sold produce from his farming activities and has used this income to support his family. He has also always used some of the products to help provide food for his family.<sup>446</sup>

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<sup>441</sup> Interview with Mrs Mani, Guguletu, 2 April 2009.

<sup>442</sup> Interview with Novatile Gova, Philippi, 21 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Novatile Gova, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

<sup>443</sup> Follow-up interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 17 March 2009.

<sup>444</sup> Interview with Mr Biko, Nyanga, 7 August 2008.

<sup>445</sup> Interview with Mr Biko, Nyanga, 7 August 2008.

<sup>446</sup> Interview with Mr Biko, Nyanga, 7 August 2008.

Mrs Mvambi is currently involved in a vegetable gardening project in Guguletu and she also grows vegetables and herbs at her home in Mandalay. Mrs Mvambi started her home gardening activities in 1979 when she was living in Guguletu. She was still working as a teacher at that time. Mrs Mvambi decided to start growing vegetables in order to produce certain foods and thus save money by not having to purchase those items.

“The reason for that is vegetables are very expensive... prices are getting higher and higher. I thought ‘why not use the ground that I have?’”<sup>447</sup>

Mrs Mvambi grew up with farming in the Eastern Cape and learnt how to farm from her grandfather. She remembers that the vegetable garden she started in 1979 benefited both her and her community. Mrs Mvambi sold some of her produce and used the vegetables that she grew to provide food for her family. In this way, she was able to save some money. Working in the garden also helped her to become healthier and stronger. Mrs Mvambi also feels that her garden helped to improve the environment.

“It did change my life because I saved money. It gave me better health and strength to work out in the garden. The garden has improved the environment.”<sup>448</sup>

In addition, Mrs Mvambi’s garden inspired others in her area to start their own vegetable gardens. People would come to ask her how to start a garden and she would provide them with advice.

“Some people came to buy spinach and onions, and some came for advice on how to start a garden because they saw my beautiful small garden and they wanted to start their own gardens as well.”<sup>449</sup>

## Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that urban agriculture continued to be practised in various parts of Cape Town during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. References to UA activities being conducted in Claremont, Modderdam and Crossroads during this period have been found in historical literature, while examples of UA activities being practised in Claremont, Athlone, Kensington, Somerset West, Simonstown, Guguletu, Langa, Nyanga and Philippi during this period have been provided by farmers interviewed for

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<sup>447</sup> Interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 19 August 2008.

<sup>448</sup> Follow-up interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

<sup>449</sup> Follow-up interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

this study. In fact, 11 of the 30 farmers who participated in this study began to conduct urban farming activities between 1949 and 1980. The local authorities continued to see the city as a non-agricultural entity and therefore passed further regulations during this period to restrict the keeping of livestock and poultry. The UA activities that were conducted during this period therefore took place despite the authorities' attempts to remove such activities from the urban landscape.

In order to understand the context in which these 11 farmers began to conduct their UA activities (and to provide important background information regarding the farmers who started their UA activities at a later stage), a look at the farmers' life histories and the growth of the Cape Flats townships during this period has been included in this chapter. The farmers' life history information revealed that 11 of the 30 farmers were born between 1949 and 1980, with six of them being born in Cape Town and only five being born in rural parts of the Eastern Cape. This challenges previous assumptions that urban farming is practised by recent migrants to the city. The farmers' life history information also revealed that 13 farmers came to Cape Town from rural areas during this period and 18 came to live in the Cape Flats townships where they live today.<sup>450</sup> Through the farmers' life histories we have seen that many of them were affected by the forced removals, which resulted in them moving to the Cape Flats areas where they live today. Evidence in this chapter suggests that some of these farmers used urban agriculture as a strategy to cope with the negative impacts of the forced removals.

Information regarding the farmers' life histories has helped us to understand why some of the farmers did not conduct any UA activities during this period. The most common reason given by farmers was that they were working at the time. However, many of the farmers who started their UA activities during this period were also still working at the time. Some of the farmers said that it did not occur to them to conduct urban farming during this period. One farmer went on to say that her teaching career kept her narrow minded and therefore unaware of other opportunities. Another farmer was a nurse at the time and said that it would never have occurred to her to "play with the soil" while she was wearing her white uniform.<sup>451</sup> Two of the farmers said that they did not have sufficient space to conduct UA activities and another farmer said that her yard was not enclosed at that time and that she therefore did not have a secure place where she could practise her urban farming. A farmer who only recently began growing vegetables

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<sup>450</sup> These 18 include some farmers who were born in Cape Town, some who came to Cape Town before 1948, as well as some of the farmers who arrived in Cape Town during this period.

<sup>451</sup> Follow-up interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

said that she did not know how to start a garden at that time. This farmer only started conducting UA activities after she was introduced to an urban agriculture organisation.

An analysis of the UA activities that were conducted by the 11 farmers who started their urban farming during this period has revealed that the farmers had a variety of motivations for beginning their urban farming activities. However, it should be noted that the majority of these motivations were of a social nature. Mrs Puza started her UA activities because she had enjoyed farming with her mother in the Eastern Cape and Solomon Puza started growing vegetables because farming was part of his family's culture. Both Mr Biko and Davidson Mooi started keeping livestock because of their love for animals, with Davidson Mooi saying that he was lonely at the time and that being with his animals alleviated his loneliness. Phylophia Bashe started to grow vegetables in order to keep her yard clean and she then started keeping chickens so that she could make use of the waste products of her garden. Mrs Mvambi was the only farmer who provided a more economic reason for starting her UA activities. She began growing vegetables in order to produce food and therefore save money. (It must be noted, however, that Mr Biko started his livestock farming after he was injured at work and retrenched from his job. Therefore, while his love for animals would have helped to motivate him to start keeping livestock, it is also possible that he started farming to generate money to support his family.) The majority of these 11 farmers had some form of family farming background, with many of them having learnt how to farm from family members in the Eastern Cape. It is therefore also possible that this family farming background helped to motivate some of the farmers to start their UA activities, as it would have enabled them to continue a family tradition and therefore maintain a feeling of connection to the life that their families had lived in the rural areas.

Analysing these farmers' UA activities has also revealed that these activities produced a variety of benefits for the farmers and their families. Food security was an important benefit that many of the farmers gained through their urban farming activities. Solomon Puza, Phylophia Bashe, Nomeko Mqathazana, Robina Rondo, Mrs Mani, Mr Biko and Mrs Mvambi all spoke about how they used the products of their UA activities to help provide food for their families. Many of these farmers noted that this extra food helped their families a great deal. Health benefits were also mentioned by some of the farmers. The herbs that Mrs Puza grew, helped her to stay healthy, while working in her garden helped Mrs Mvambi to stay both healthy and strong. The enjoyment of farming was another benefit that some of the farmers felt they gained through their UA activities. Mrs Vava, Davidson Mooi and Mr Biko all spoke about how they enjoyed being in their

gardens or interacting with their animals. Mr Biko was able to escape from his problems when he was with his animals, and for Davidson Mooi, being with his animals helped to alleviate his loneliness. Other social benefits that were gained through the farmers' UA activities were independence, family unity and community outreach. Phylophia Bashe's, UA activities helped her to be independent and in control of her own life. Together with her sewing and meat-selling businesses, Phylophia's UA activities prevented her from having to work for somebody else and therefore enabled her to be her own boss. The Puza family's UA endeavours provided the family with activities that they could conduct together and thus gave them quality time together as a family. They also gave some of their produce away to others in their neighbourhood and this enabled them to reach out to the needy in their area. Through her garden, Mrs Mvambi was able to encourage others in her area to start gardens and thus begin producing their own vegetables.

While most of the 11 farmers did not mention any economic benefits that they gained through their UA activities during this period, some of the farmers did benefit economically. Three of the 11 farmers sold some of their produce during this period and therefore generated some income. Despite the fact that Davidson Mooi did not start farming in order to generate income, he managed to make regular sales during this period and therefore earned some money. It seems as if Mr Biko was able to generate a living wage from his farming during this period, considering the fact that he did not work at all after he started farming. While Mrs Mvambi was working as a teacher during this period, she managed to sell some of her garden produce and thus earn some extra money. Mrs Mvambi also saved money by not having to purchase vegetables for her family.

We therefore see that vegetable gardening, poultry farming and livestock farming were conducted in various parts of Cape Town and the Cape Flats between 1949 and 1980. Evidence presented in this chapter also reveals that farmers, their families and, in some instances, their broader neighbourhoods derived a number of important social, nutritional, health and economic benefits from their urban farming activities.

## **Chapter Five: 1980 to 1994**

This chapter looks at the period from 1980 to 1994 and begins by exploring whether, and to what extent, urban agriculture was being conducted in the Cape Flats areas during this period. The focus of this chapter moves towards the Cape Flats, as by the early 1990s, the vast majority of farmers interviewed for this study were living in townships and settlements in the Cape Flats. It was during this period that research began to be conducted on UA in Cape Town, with two well-known studies being produced on urban vegetable gardening in the Cape Flats.<sup>452</sup> In addition, Abalimi Bezekhaya, an NGO that has played a major role in the promotion of urban vegetable gardening in the Cape Flats, was established during this period. Many of the farmers interviewed for this study also remember urban farming activities being conducted in a number of Cape Flats areas, with thirteen of the farmers themselves being involved in urban agriculture activities between 1980 and 1994. The farmers' memories, together with the findings of the early UA studies and information from Abalimi Bezekhaya, reveal that urban farming continued to be practised in various parts of the Cape Flats during this time. However, questions are raised regarding the prevalence of urban agriculture during this period.

Before the UA activities of the 13 farmers who were involved in urban farming during this period are discussed, brief accounts of the farmers' life histories during this period are provided. Between 1980 and 1994, three farmers interviewed for this study came to live in Cape Town from rural parts of the Eastern Cape and nine farmers moved to the Cape Flats areas where they live today. The growth and development of these Cape Flats areas during this period are also looked at in this chapter. Information relating to the farmers' life histories and the development and growth of the Cape Flats enables us to understand the context in which the farmers began and continued their UA activities. The farmers' life history information has also been used to help establish why some of the farmers did not conduct any urban farming activities during this period.

The UA activities of the 13 farmers who were involved in urban farming during this period are analysed, with this section exploring their motivations for beginning and continuing their UA activities as well as the benefits that they derived from these activities. This analysis reveals that most of the motivations for farmers starting or

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<sup>452</sup> R. Eberhard, 'Urban Agriculture: The Potential in Cape Town', Working Paper 89/E1, Summary Report, Town Planning Branch, City Planner's Office: Cape Town (1989) and J. Beaumont, 'Urban Agriculture: A Study in Town 2, Khayelitsha' (Honours thesis: Environmental and Geographical Science, University of Cape Town, 1990).

continuing their UA activities were of a social nature. The analysis also finds that their UA activities produced a variety of social, nutritional, health and economic benefits for the farmers and their families.

### **Urban Agriculture in the Cape Flats: 1980 to 1994**

Urban agriculture continued to be practised in various parts of the Cape Flats between 1980 and 1994. Some of the farmers interviewed for this study remember urban farming activities being conducted in Guguletu during the 1980s. Rosalina Nongogo came to live in Guguletu in the early 1980s and she remembers that quite a few people had vegetable gardens at the back of their houses at that time.<sup>453</sup> Another farmer, Mr Sineli, remembers that his father kept cows, goats and chickens in Guguletu during the 1980s. These UA activities provided his father and their family with milk, cheese, butter, eggs and meat.<sup>454</sup> A farmer who now lives in Mandalay, but who used to live in Guguletu, grew vegetables at her home in Guguletu during the 1980s. She remembers that after she started her garden, many others living in her area became motivated and also started to grow vegetables.<sup>455</sup> In fact, eight of the farmers interviewed for this study, conducted urban farming activities in Guguletu during this period.

Some of the farmers also remember UA activities being conducted in other Cape Flats townships during the 1980s and early 1990s. Rose Ngewu came to live in KTC in the 1980s and she remembers that quite a few people kept chickens and sheep in KTC at that time. However, she said that many residents felt that these animals made the place dirty and tried to stop people in the area from keeping livestock.<sup>456</sup> A farmer who currently keeps chickens in Guguletu, used to keep goats in New Crossroads when he lived there in the 1980s.<sup>457</sup> Another farmer, Lizo Sibaca, remembers seeing people in Crossroads growing vegetables and keeping cows, goats, sheep and chickens during the 1980s. Lizo came to live in Philippi in 1991 and he remembers that there were people in his area who were growing vegetables and keeping animals at that time.<sup>458</sup> Six of the farmers interviewed for this study conducted urban farming activities in the Cape Flats areas of Philippi, Nyanga, New Crossroads and Mandalay during this period.

<sup>453</sup> Interview with Rosalina Nongogo, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>454</sup> Interview with Mthuthuzeli Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mthuthuzeli Sineli, Guguletu, 6 November 2008.

<sup>455</sup> Interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 19 August, 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

<sup>456</sup> Interview with Rose Ngewu, KTC, 2 April 2009.

<sup>457</sup> Interview with Pamela and Patrick Ngqaqu, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>458</sup> Interview with Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 22 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, researchers in Cape Town began to show an interest in urban agriculture, with studies being conducted into this phenomenon. These studies provide further evidence of, and information about, urban farming activities in the Cape Flats during this period. The two best known studies from this period were conducted by Eberhard of the Cape Town City Planner's Department<sup>459</sup> and Beaumont, a Geography Honours student from the University of Cape Town<sup>460</sup>. Both of these researchers looked at vegetable gardening in the Cape Flats, investigating whether urban vegetable cultivation could make a significant contribution towards the household budget in low-income areas.

Eberhard's research revealed that the value of food produced by the average home gardener in Cape Town was "economically insignificant",<sup>461</sup> being less than 1% of the low-income household's monthly budget. Eberhard concluded that UA would not make an important contribution towards the income of poor households in Cape Town in the near future, and stated that "home vegetable gardening cannot play an economically significant role in poor households in Cape Town at the present time."<sup>462</sup> However, he discovered that UA can produce many other, non-economic benefits, such as recreation and leisure, community greening and beautification, increased environmental awareness, increased social interaction, increased community cohesiveness and the promotion of community development. Eberhard therefore recommended that UA be promoted and encouraged in Cape Town, but not for economic reasons. However, he also noted that there was a low level of interest in urban farming amongst the poor in Cape Town, with a number of factors, such as the harsh natural environment, lack of land and gardening resources, more pressing economic needs, lack of skills, high levels of crime and the absence of a gardening culture, making it difficult for the poor to conduct UA activities.<sup>463</sup>

Beaumont assessed the findings of Eberhard's research through an investigation into vegetable gardening in Town 2, Khayelitsha. Through her research, Beaumont found that approximately 43% of households in that area were cultivating vegetables. She also discovered that most of the farmers were women and that most of them had grown vegetables previously in the rural areas and therefore came from a gardening tradition.

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<sup>459</sup> Eberhard, 'Urban Agriculture: The Potential in Cape Town'.

<sup>460</sup> Beaumont, 'Urban Agriculture: A Study in Town 2'.

<sup>461</sup> Eberhard, 'Urban Agriculture: The Potential in Cape Town', i.

<sup>462</sup> *Ibid.*, 4

<sup>463</sup> *Ibid.*

Beaumont's research revealed that most cultivators in that area did not sell the vegetables that they grew, but rather used them to help provide food for their households. Beaumont also discovered that their UA activities provided the farmers with non-economic benefits, such as enjoyment, enhanced self-esteem and a sense of responsibility for the well-being of their plants and the natural environment. Beaumont therefore found that while urban vegetable gardening did not contribute significantly to the farmers' household income, it did contribute towards their general well-being.<sup>464</sup>

Both Eberhard and Beaumont only looked at back-yard vegetable gardening in their studies, with Eberhard stating that vegetable gardening was the most prevalent form of urban farming being practised in Cape Town. Eberhard also observed that there were very few community vegetable gardens in Cape Town at that time. He noted that community gardens were difficult in urban settings, as open spaces did not have community identity and were therefore vulnerable to theft and vandalism.<sup>465</sup> Beaumont observed that vegetable farming in Khayelitsha was still being conducted in back yards, and that people had not started cultivating vegetables on open land. She even went on to note that the usage of public land for vegetable cultivation was not a common practice in the Cape Flats.<sup>466</sup> Later in this study, we will see that community gardens did in fact emerge in the Cape Flats during the later 1990s and early 2000s, as gardening groups formed and accessed public land for vegetable cultivation.

An event that took place during this period that was to have a notable impact on urban agriculture in the Cape Flats during subsequent years, was the establishment of Abalimi Bezekhaya (Abalimi). Abalimi, which was originally named Farming in the City,<sup>467</sup> was started in 1982 as a project of the Catholic Welfare Bureau, now known as Catholic Welfare and Development (CWD). Farming in the City was started with the aim of establishing vegetable gardens for poor people living in the Cape Flats. The project was initially situated in Athlone but after 1984, it moved to Nyanga.<sup>468</sup> In 1985, Abalimi opened a Garden Centre in Nyanga, which was established as a "people's nursery" and still operates today. The Garden Centre provided gardening resources that were sold to residents of Nyanga and surrounding areas at a low cost. The centre also served as a venue for training and demonstrations.<sup>469</sup> A second Garden Centre was established in

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<sup>464</sup> Beaumont, 'Urban Agriculture: A Study in Town 2'.

<sup>465</sup> Eberhard, 'Urban Agriculture: The Potential in Cape Town'.

<sup>466</sup> Beaumont, 'Urban Agriculture: A Study in Town 2'.

<sup>467</sup> Farming in the City changed its name to Abalimi Bezekhaya in 1985.

<sup>468</sup> R. Small of Abalimi Bezekhaya, email (12 November 2009).

<sup>469</sup> Abalimi's Bezekhaya's Nyanga Garden Centre still provides these services.

Khayelitsha in 1989.<sup>470</sup> Supported by Abalimi, a range of community-managed and owned vegetable gardening and greening initiatives emerged in the Cape Flats from the mid 1980s onwards.<sup>471</sup>

During the 1980s, Abalimi focused on home gardeners.<sup>472</sup> Gradually, community gardens began to emerge as home gardeners formed themselves into groups, with members wanting to farm together. Some of these home garden groups approached Abalimi for help with establishing their community gardens, and Abalimi therefore helped the members to plan and launch their gardens. This movement towards community gardening first took place in Khayelitsha, with the Hlumani Community Garden and the Siyazama Community Allotment Garden Association (SCAGA) being among the first community gardens to be established. Today, Abalimi supports community gardens in a number of townships and also continues to provide support to home gardeners in these areas.<sup>473</sup>

During the 1980s and early 1990s, Abalimi launched and nurtured a survivalist and subsistence home garden movement in poverty-stricken townships where political struggle was rife.<sup>474</sup> Although individuals had been conducting UA activities in certain township areas, a movement of this nature had not existed before. Many black South Africans were shunning agriculture at this time, as they had been forced to study it at school as part of the Bantu Education curriculum. While this “anti-agri” sentiment had proved to be a challenge for Abalimi during its early years, the project was able to launch an urban farming movement that still exists today. In 1997, Abalimi became fully independent of CWD, with the constitution of its own management board and the appointment of its first Director. Today, Abalimi is active in Khayelitsha, Nyanga, Philippi, Guguletu and New Crossroads and reaches between 1500 and 3000 urban farmers each year.<sup>475</sup>

In his 1989 paper on urban vegetable farming in the Cape Flats, Eberhard looked at the growth of Abalimi and evaluated its interventions. He noted that Abalimi was the only organisation at that time that was making a substantial and sustainable effort to encourage home gardens in poor areas. While other organisations had also attempted

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<sup>470</sup> Eberhard, 'Urban Agriculture: The Potential in Cape Town'.

<sup>471</sup> Small, email.

<sup>472</sup> Eberhard, 'Urban Agriculture: The Potential in Cape Town'.

<sup>473</sup> Small, email.

<sup>474</sup> While Abalimi was the leader in this process, it often worked together with, or was assisted by, other civil society organisations.

<sup>475</sup> Small, email.

this, Eberhard felt that their interventions had been smaller and less sustainable.<sup>476</sup> In her 1990 study of urban cultivation in Khayelitsha, Beaumont looked at the organisations that were promoting urban agriculture in Khayelitsha at that time. She identified four main UA role players in Khayelitsha namely: Abalimi Bezekhaya, Operation Hunger, Lumla and Khayelitsha Food Gardens. Beaumont discussed the services offered by Abalimi at its Khayelitsha Garden Centre and noted that the other UA organisations received resources and training from Abalimi's Garden Centre.<sup>477</sup> Both Eberhard and Beaumont's observations demonstrate that Abalimi had established itself as a key role player in the urban agriculture field in Cape Town during the 1980s.

While questions might be raised regarding the extent to which UA was practised in the Cape Flats during this period, evidence shows that vegetable, livestock and poultry farming did indeed take place in various Cape Flats areas during the 1980s and early 1990s. However, the provincial and local authorities continued their attempts to restrict the keeping of livestock and poultry in Cape Town during this period. In April 1986, a standard by-law was passed regarding the keeping of poultry in municipal areas in the Cape Province.<sup>478</sup> This by-law stated that nobody may keep poultry without the Council's written permission and that local authorities may determine the number and type of poultry kept. Detailed requests for permission need to be submitted and all poultry must be kept in a run or poultry house adhering to strict specifications. The by-law also stipulated that runs and poultry houses are to be kept clean according to detailed specifications.<sup>479</sup>

This was followed by a standard by-law passed in July 1989 relating to the keeping of animals in municipal areas.<sup>480</sup> This by-law applied to all types of livestock, horses and wild animals and stated that written permission needs to be received from the Council in order to keep any such animals. Detailed requests for permission need to be submitted, including a site plan of the area where the animals are to be kept. The by-law stated that the Council may refuse permission to keep animals due to the location of the property or the unsuitability of the site. If animals become a nuisance or health danger, the local authority may order the owner to remove such nuisances or dangers. The by-law stipulated that all structures housing animals need to adhere to very strict specifications and must be further than 15m from any dwelling and more than 8m from

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<sup>476</sup> Eberhard, 'Urban Agriculture: The Potential in Cape Town'.

<sup>477</sup> Beaumont, 'Urban Agriculture: A Study in Town 2'.

<sup>478</sup> Province of the Cape of Good Hope, Standard By-law relating to the Keeping of Poultry (25 April 1986).

<sup>479</sup> *Province of the Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette, January to June 1986.*

<sup>480</sup> Province of the Cape of Good Hope, Standard By-law relating to the Keeping of Animals (28 July 1989).

any road. Premises where animals are kept need to be kept clean according to detailed specifications.<sup>481</sup> These regulations clearly aimed to discourage the keeping of animals and poultry in urban residential areas. Stipulations regarding the minimum distance of animal enclosures and structures from dwellings and roads made it impossible for livestock to be kept legally in densely populated areas. It is therefore safe to assume that the farmers interviewed for this study who kept livestock in Cape Flats townships during this period did so without the permission of the local authority.

### **The Cape Flats and the Farmers' Life Histories: 1980 to 1994**

By the beginning of 1980, 18 of the farmers interviewed for this study were already living the Cape Flats townships where they currently live and farm. Between 1980 and 1994, a further nine farmers moved to the areas where they live today. In order to understand the farmers' life histories, and the context in which they conducted their urban farming activities, it is important to continue to look at the history of these Cape Flats townships and to understand how they grew and emerged during this period.

#### ***Growth and emergence of Cape Flats townships and settlements:***

The population of the Cape Flats grew considerably during this period, as more people were leaving the poverty-stricken homeland areas to look for work in Cape Town. In 1986, the Influx Control Act was repealed as part of a number of "reforms" that were implemented by the apartheid government in that year. The abolition of the Influx Control Act made it easier for black people to settle in the cities and therefore impacted on the growth of the Cape Flats population. While the formal townships in the Cape Flats continued to grow during this period, there was still a shortage of housing in Cape Town for the growing black population. Informal settlements therefore also grew considerably, with existing settlements expanding and new informal settlements emerging in some areas.

Both Nyanga and Guguletu continued to grow during this period. The Malinga Park section of Guguletu was built during the early 1980s through the efforts of the Urban Foundation. Malinga Park became an elite area, with class distinctions emerging between residents of this area and those living in greater Guguletu. Malinga Park residents did not see themselves as part of Guguletu, despite the fact that this section

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<sup>481</sup> *Province of the Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette, July to December 1989.*

was in the heart of the township.<sup>482</sup> In Nyanga, more private workers' hostels were built by employers during the early 1980s and the White City section of Nyanga was built in 1981. Accommodation in White City comprised three-roomed and four-roomed houses, with these houses being seen by residents of other parts of Nyanga to be of a relatively good standard. While the roads in this area were tarred, there were no street lights and the houses had no electricity. By 1984, a total of eight schools had been built in Nyanga. However, there were very few recreational facilities, and both infrastructure and welfare facilities were very inadequate. There was also no direct transport from Nyanga to the Cape Town city centre.<sup>483</sup>

In the previous chapter, we saw that Crossroads emerged as an informal settlement during the mid 1970s and grew considerably between 1975 and 1979. By 1979, Crossroads had developed into a generally cohesive society with distinct forms of political practice and a tradition of resistance.<sup>484</sup> However, these dynamics changed after Dr. Koornhof announced his plan in February 1979, regarding the future of Crossroads and its residents. This plan, and the ways in which the Crossroads residents responded to it, impacted greatly on the Crossroads community and played an important role in the development of New Crossroads and the emergence of KTC and certain settlements in Philippi. The plan that Dr. Koornhof presented to the Crossroads committee in 1979 was to build a new township in the area next to Nyanga<sup>485</sup> and, through a three-phase plan, to re-house all Crossroads residents who had arrived in the settlement before 31 December 1978.<sup>486</sup> While they initially did not want to accept this proposal, the Crossroads delegation eventually agreed to Dr. Koornhof's plan. It later became apparent that housing in the new township would only be made available to certain categories of Crossroads residents, and this resulted in division and conflict emerging between the Crossroads residents. After residents became unhappy about the socio-economic survey that was organised to determine who would qualify for the township, Dr. Koornhof agreed to relax the influx laws for residents of Crossroads.<sup>487</sup> It was agreed that Crossroads residents would be enumerated and could get temporary

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<sup>482</sup> S. Makosana, 'Aspects of the Historical Development of Guguletu, 1958 to 1987, with special reference to Housing and Education' (BA (Hons) thesis, University of Cape Town, 1988).

<sup>483</sup> D. Sikwebu, 'Area Study of Cape Town: Profile of Nyanga', Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development, Paper 10a (1984).

<sup>484</sup> J. Cole, 'Crossroads 1975 to 1985: From Community to Mini-Bantustan' (BA (Hons) thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986).

<sup>485</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>486</sup> G. Hewatt, T. Lee, N. Nyakaza, C. Oliver and B. Tyeko, 'An Exploratory Study of Overcrowding and Health Issues at Old Crossroads', Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development, Paper 14, (1984).

<sup>487</sup> Cole, 'Crossroads 1975 to 1985'.

rights in the Western Cape if they qualified in terms of certain criteria.<sup>488</sup> The survey was conducted and found that Crossroads had a population of between 40 and 50 thousand.<sup>489</sup>

During 1980, phase one of the new township was built and the area became known as New Crossroads.<sup>490</sup> Phase one comprised approximately 1700 houses and the first families moved into New Crossroads in late 1980. The first residents of this new township consisted of some old Crossroads residents as well as people who had been living in other parts of Cape Town.<sup>491</sup> Phases two and three were never built, and the rest of New Crossroads was therefore not developed. Various reasons have been suggested for this, including difficulties in identifying who would qualify for the new houses, a lack of state funds and the government's subsequent policy decision that all black residents would "voluntarily" move to Khayelitsha and that all development in existing townships would therefore be stopped.<sup>492</sup> This last factor definitely appears to be the main reason for phases two and three of the Koomhof Agreement not materialising. The plan to build the high density township of Khayelitsha and for black residents to "voluntarily move" to this new area was formulated as an overall solution to the "squatter problem" that was growing in Cape Town, and resulted in parts of Koomhof's agreement with the Crossroads community being broken.<sup>493</sup>

From 1979 onwards, the population of Crossroads continued to grow. Because of the Koomhof Agreement, people hoped that by settling in Crossroads they would be able to get temporary rights in the Western Cape and qualify for housing.<sup>494</sup> In mid-1979, a new political alliance that wanted to take control, emerged in Crossroads and there was conflict in the area throughout the early 1980s. The establishment of New Crossroads resulted in the division of Crossroads, and the ruling executive attempted to establish a power-base in the new township. Further division and struggle emerged in Crossroads when phases two and three of the Koomhof Agreement did not materialise. The growing population size, general living conditions and rumours about exploitation and coercion amongst the leaders also helped to fuel the divisions, which resulted in violent conflict.

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<sup>488</sup> Excerpts from the Goldstone Commission Report of November 1993, cited in E. Moosa, M. Mfanyana and G. Coy, "Report of the Commission of Enquiry: Crossroads and Philippi Crisis" (November 1998).

<sup>489</sup> Cole, 'Crossroads 1975 to 1985'.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>491</sup> Hewatt, *et al.*, 'An Exploratory Study of Overcrowding'.

<sup>492</sup> Excerpts from the Goldstone Commission Report of November 1993, cited in Moosa *et al.*, 'Report of the Commission of Enquiry'.

<sup>493</sup> Cole, 'Crossroads 1975 to 1985'.

<sup>494</sup> Excerpts from the Goldstone Commission Report of November 1993, cited in Moosa *et al.*, 'Report of the Commission of Enquiry'.

The violence in Crossroads led to the development of a new squatter site at KTC, as refugees from Crossroads moved to this site.<sup>495</sup> The KTC area had been earmarked for phases two and three of the New Crossroads plan, but it had not been developed. More and more people came to live at the KTC site from from 1983 onwards.<sup>496</sup> KTC residents experienced a number of government raids, but they refused to move as they did not want to lose out on the promises that Koornhof had made to the Crossroads people. However, they were too afraid of the violence to return to Crossroads. Conflict then also broke out between the residents of KTC.<sup>497</sup>

In 1984, the government announced that residents of Crossroads would be moved to Khayelitsha.<sup>498</sup> To encourage people to move to Khayelitsha, the government offered serviced sites and 18-month temporary permits to stay in the Western Cape. Some Crossroads leaders and their followers moved to Khayelitsha to escape the violence, but the majority refused to move and demanded that the Koornhof Agreement be honoured.<sup>499</sup> In 1985, violent conflict broke out in New Crossroads regarding rent increases.<sup>500</sup> Further violence occurred in KTC during 1986, with large areas being destroyed and leaders of satellite camps being driven out. In 1986, the government decided to abandon its plan to move Crossroads residents to Khayelitsha and agreed to upgrade Crossroads. During 1987, approximately 1600 homes were built in Crossroads by the state and private companies.<sup>501</sup>

The population of Philippi also grew between 1980 and 1994, with a number of settlements emerging and growing in different parts of Philippi during this period. By 1984, Philippi comprised six main sections. The largest area was the farmland, which covered approximately 1500 hectares and was used mainly for vegetable farming. While the farms were small, they were mostly successful and were producing approximately 84% of the vegetables required in the Cape Town metropolitan area. There were also squatter settlements situated on unused farmland, with farmers renting out plots to residents. While it was illegal for the farmers to do this, they continued to rent out their land, as they often earned more money from this practice than from

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<sup>495</sup> Cole, 'Crossroads 1975 to 1985'.

<sup>496</sup> Excerpts from the Goldstone Commission Report of November 1993, cited in Moosa *et al.*, 'Report of the Commission of Enquiry'.

<sup>497</sup> Cole, 'Crossroads 1975 to 1985'.

<sup>498</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>499</sup> Excerpts from the Goldstone Commission Report of November 1993, cited in Moosa *et al.*, 'Report of the Commission of Enquiry'.

<sup>500</sup> Cole, 'Crossroads 1975 to 1985'.

<sup>501</sup> Excerpts from the Goldstone Commission Report of November 1993, cited in Moosa *et al.*, 'Report of the Commission of Enquiry'.

farming. Other squatter settlements were situated on “free land”, which belonged to the Divisional Council. Living conditions were appalling in the settlements situated on both private and Divisional Council land. Philippi also had an industrial area, silica sand mining areas and church land that belonged to the Klipfontein Mission station. People were occupying plots on the church land and paying rent to the mission. At this stage, the farms were the main source of employment in the area, with farm workers experiencing very poor working and living conditions. When the farm workers’ contracts were completed, they had to leave the farms and many of them became squatters.<sup>502</sup>

By the early 1980s, both the Heinz Farm and Brown’s Farm settlements were already in existence. The development of Mitchell’s Plain, which took place from the mid 1970s onwards, resulted in a number of farms south of Philippi being eliminated. Many farm workers became displaced and were unable to access the new housing in Mitchell’s Plain. These farm workers became squatters at Heinz Farm in Philippi East. The growth of Brown’s Farm was very closely linked to the conflict that was taking place in Crossroads during the 1980s. One of the Crossroads leaders moved to Brown’s Farm with his followers in 1986 after the “witdoeke” faction set fire to a number of settlements in the Crossroads area, displacing thousands of people. When the Crossroads leadership refused the state’s plan to develop Brown’s Farm to house Crossroads residents, it was agreed that the area would be developed, with sites being allocated to those who had left Crossroads. Despite conflict regarding leadership and the allocation of sites, the first phase of the development was completed in November 1991, with 2314 sites being established. A further 853 serviced sites were established in April 1994.<sup>503</sup> The development and growth of Philippi East was also full of conflict as it too was closely linked to the Crossroads conflict. While plans were eventually made during the early 1990s to develop Philippi East, disagreement regarding the development caused the project to stand still from 1994 to 1996.<sup>504</sup>

A number of settlements also emerged and grew in other parts of Philippi during this period. These include the Sweet Home settlement, which emerged in 1992 on private land at the southern end of Duinefontein Road and Samora Machel, which emerged in the Weltevreden Valley area in the southwest part of Philippi during 1993. The number of people living on the Klipfontein Mission land also grew during this period, with the

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<sup>502</sup> L. Edwards, ‘Area Study of Cape Town: Profile of Philippi’, Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development, Paper 10e (1984).

<sup>503</sup> G Adlard, ‘An Introduction to Philippi’, Draft Paper for the African Centre for Cities, Philippi Lab, University of Cape Town (2008).

<sup>504</sup> Adlard, ‘An Introduction to Philippi’.

number of dwellings on the land increasing from 125 in January 1993 to 1003 in May 1996. Some settlements in Philippi were developed during the early 1990s. Heinz Park, which had been established in 1989 as an emergency camp for evicted farm labourers, was developed by the Independent Development Trust in 1992, with 376 serviced sites and gravel roads being built. After 1994, subsidies were made available for houses to be constructed in this area and proper roads and drainage were provided. Victoria Mxenge in northwest Philippi was developed from 1994 to 1995, with a total of 165 houses being built. This development came about through a social movement facilitated by the Southern African Catholic Development Agency. After acquiring land, training the project members and encouraging them to save money, the movement was granted subsidies from the Department of Housing and houses were built by the members.<sup>505</sup>

### ***Farmers' life histories:***

By the end of 1979, 26 of the 30 farmers interviewed for this study were living in Cape Town, with seven of these farmers having been born in Cape Town and the other 19 having come to Cape Town from various rural towns and villages. By this stage, 18 of these 26 farmers were living in the Cape Flats areas where they live today. From 1980 to 1994, three farmers arrived in Cape Town from rural parts of the Eastern Cape, and nine of the farmers came to live in the Cape Flats areas where they live today. Detailed information regarding these farmers' life histories and their early experiences of Cape Town and the Cape Flats can be found in Appendix 7.

Life history information can also provide some insight into why some of the farmers did not conduct any UA activities during this period. Both Mr Fonte and Worthington Tutu arrived in Cape Town during the 1980s, with Mr Fonte settling in Guguletu and Worthington Tutu living in a workers' hostel in Nyanga. Neither Mr Fonte nor Worthington Tutu conducted any urban farming activities during this period. While Mr Fonte did not provide a reason for this,<sup>506</sup> Worthington Tutu said that he did not have sufficient space to conduct any UA activities while he was living in the hostel.<sup>507</sup> Dumisa Bleki came to Cape Town in 1982 and joined his father in New Crossroads. He was still young when he arrived in Cape Town and said that he was not thinking about having a garden at that time.<sup>508</sup>

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<sup>505</sup> Adlard, 'An Introduction to Philippi'.

<sup>506</sup> Interview with Mr Fonte, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>507</sup> Interview with Worthington Tutu, KTC, 15 April 2009.

<sup>508</sup> Follow-up interview with Dumisa Dumisani Bleki, New Crossroads, 17 March 2009.

Rose Ngewu moved to KTC from Langa during this period. She continued to work as a domestic worker and did not conduct any UA activities as her job kept her busy.<sup>509</sup> During this period, George Madikane also moved to KTC. He had been living in the workers' hostels in Langa and had not conducted any UA activities there as he did not have sufficient space at the hostels. He also did not conduct any urban farming activities during his first years in KTC as the soil was very sandy and had to be prepared before he could plant any vegetables.<sup>510</sup> Lizo Sibaca moved to Philippi from Nyanga in the early 1990s. He did not conduct any urban farming activities during this period as he did not have the plants to grow.<sup>511</sup> In addition, many of the farmers who were already living in Cape Town before 1980, continued not to farm during this period for the same reasons that they did not farm prior to 1980.<sup>512</sup>

### **Urban Agriculture Activities, Motivations and Benefits**

Thirteen of the farmers interviewed for this study<sup>513</sup> were involved in urban agriculture activities between 1980 and 1994. Eleven of these farmers had already begun to conduct UA activities prior to 1980, with some of them continuing to conduct the same activities after 1980 and others expanding or changing their UA activities during this period. The other two farmers conducted urban farming activities for the first time between 1980 and 1994.

Pamela and Patrick Ngqaqu currently farm chickens together in Guguletu. While Pamela did not conduct any UA activities during this period, Patrick farmed goats in New Crossroads in the 1980s. Patrick had grown up in the Eastern Cape and his parents were keen farmers. He had learnt to farm from his parents and had developed a passion for animals and farming. It was his love for animals that motivated Patrick to start his UA activities in Cape Town. Unfortunately, his neighbours in New Crossroads started to complain about his goats and he decided not to continue farming in that area. Patrick understood that he was living in a residential area and that he should limit his

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<sup>509</sup> Interview with Rose Ngewu, KTC, 2 April 2009.

<sup>510</sup> Interview with George Madikane, KTC, 31 March 2009.

<sup>511</sup> Interview with Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 22 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

<sup>512</sup> These reasons can therefore be found in Chapter Four.

<sup>513</sup> This group of 13 farmers includes the husband of one of the farmers, Pamela Ngqaqu, who only began to conduct UA activities at a later date. While Pamela was the primary interviewee, she and her husband now farm together and her husband joined in the interview. The farming activities that he conducted prior to his and his wife's current activities are therefore also being taken into account in this study.

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farming activities in such areas. He resumed his urban farming activities in Langa in the late 1990s.<sup>514</sup>

Angelina Skepe first became involved in urban agriculture in 1993 when she started her own vegetable garden at her home in Philippi. Angelina had arrived in Philippi in 1990, but she could not start her garden at that stage as they were living in shacks and she did not have sufficient space. While Angelina received formal vegetable gardening training from Abalimi Bezekhaya after she joined a community gardening project in 1994, she had also learnt about farming from her father when they lived in the Eastern Cape. Angelina was still working as a domestic worker when she started her UA activities and she therefore gardened after work and during weekends. In 1994, Angelina expanded her urban farming activities when she joined the Masibambani community gardening project situated at Siyazakha Primary School near to her home. She continued to work as a domestic worker for many years after she joined the Masibambani project, and she would therefore work in the project garden in the evenings and on Saturdays.<sup>515</sup>

Angelina was one of the first members of the Masibambani project, which was started in 1994. She remembers that a vegetable gardening fieldworker (possibly from Abalimi Bezekhaya) called some people from the area together and helped them to establish the garden. Masibambani is currently supported by Abalimi and it seems that it received support from Abalimi during its early days. Over the years, Abalimi has provided members with vegetable gardening training and has helped to provide the group with resources such as seedlings and manure. In addition, the group received support from the Department of Agriculture who provided them with the containers that they use for their office/storage space. The Masibambani group had between 16 and 20 members when it was started. Angelina did not know any of the other members before she joined the project, but they have since become friends. Many of the members had had their own home vegetable gardens before they joined the project. The number of members decreased somewhat over the years, with some leaving to join a gardening project situated at another school in Philippi. At present, the Masibambani group has three members. While the garden has been moved from one part of the school property to another, the members still see themselves as part of the original Masibambani group.<sup>516</sup>

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<sup>514</sup> Interview with Pamela and Patrick Ngqaqu, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>515</sup> Interview with Angelina Skepe, Philippi, 22 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Angelina Skepe, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

<sup>516</sup> Interview with Angelina Skepe, Philippi, 22 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Angelina Skepe, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

Angelina's motivation for joining the vegetable gardening project was to be able to access vegetables to help her to provide food for her family. She continued to be interested in the garden when she saw that the products really did help her at home. Angelina remembers that when she first joined the project, they would sell their produce at the station and in the neighbourhood. They would then save the money and use it at the end of the year, with some of them using the money to visit their relatives in the Eastern Cape.

"When we started here in 1994, we used to sell our produce at the station, even around the location. We collected the money, and saved it for the end of the year."<sup>517</sup>

Angelina also remembers that her gardening activities, both at home and at the project, provided her with exercise and therefore helped her to stay healthy.

"My life did really change. It's because I do a lot of exercise so I've become healthy."<sup>518</sup>

While Novatile Gova, Robina Rondo, Mrs Mvambi and Mrs Vava had all conducted urban farming activities prior to 1980, their UA activities changed somewhat between 1980 and 1994. In the previous chapter, we saw that Mrs Vava had a small vegetable patch for a short period in 1971. During the 1990s, she and her husband grew mealies and potatoes at their home in Nyanga, which was across the road from the house where Mrs Vava lives today.

"My husband and I used to plant mealies... I was not staying here, I was staying over the road. I used to do the gardening and my husband liked mealies. Sometimes I planted potatoes, and I had a lot of potatoes that year."<sup>519</sup>

Mrs Vava was still working when she and her husband started their maize and potato garden. They used the produce from their garden to provide food for their family, with Mr Vava particularly enjoying the mealies. Mrs Vava's motivation for starting her vegetable garden was her love of gardening.<sup>520</sup>

"I was just doing gardening because I love gardening."<sup>521</sup>

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<sup>517</sup> Follow-up interview with Angelina Skepe, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

<sup>518</sup> Follow-up interview with Angelina Skepe, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

<sup>519</sup> Follow-up interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 17 March 2009.

<sup>520</sup> Interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 1 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 17 March 2009.

<sup>521</sup> Interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 1 August 2008.

Mrs Mvambi continued to grow vegetables at her home in Guguletu and she kept this vegetable garden until she moved to Mandalay in the early 1990s. Soon after she arrived in Mandalay, she started a vegetable garden at her new home. Mrs Mvambi has a relatively large plot at her home in Mandalay and was therefore able to establish quite a large garden in which she grew a variety of vegetables. She also grew herbs, which she kept in pots. Mrs Mvambi's vegetable garden continued to benefit both her and her community. In addition to providing her family with food and enabling her to save money, her gardening activities continued to help her maintain her health and strength. While she was living in Guguletu, Mrs Mvambi had inspired a number of other people in her area to start their own vegetable gardens. Her vegetable garden in Mandalay also inspired residents of that area to grow their own vegetables.<sup>522</sup>

"In Mandalay ...I've motivated a lot of people because when they see the garden, they start their own gardens... Because they've seen it, it doesn't matter how small your garden is, you can produce food."<sup>523</sup>

Novatile Gova continued to farm chickens at her home in Philippi during the 1980s and 1990s. During this period, she also established a vegetable garden in her back yard, where she grew various types of vegetables. While she still grows vegetables at her home today, her garden has since been made smaller, as she has erected a shack in her back yard. Novatile remembers that the products from her garden helped to improve her life when she started gardening.<sup>524</sup> Robina Rondo had started her vegetable garden in the mid-1960s and she continued to grow vegetables at her home in Guguletu until 1988. During this period, Robina continued to use the products from her garden to provide food for her family. By 1988, the size of Robina's family had increased considerably and it was therefore necessary to build additional shacks in their yard. Unfortunately, this meant that Robina had to stop her UA activities, as she no longer had sufficient space for her vegetable garden. Robina began to farm again in 1998 when she joined a community vegetable gardening project.<sup>525</sup>

Between 1980 and 1994, Mrs Puza, Nomeko Mqathazana, Mr Biko, Solomon Puza, Mrs Mani, Davidson Mooi and Phylophia Bashe all continued to conduct the urban farming

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<sup>522</sup> Interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 19 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

<sup>523</sup> Interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 19 August 2008.

<sup>524</sup> Follow-up interview with Novatile Gova, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

<sup>525</sup> Interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 31 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

activities that they had begun before 1980. Nomeko Mqathazana had started to grow vegetables at her home in Guguletu in the mid-1960s and she continued to conduct her vegetable gardening activities in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1991, her husband and child became ill and Nomeko had to stop work in order to take care of them. However, she continued to grow vegetables during this time and she used the products of her garden to help provide food for her family.<sup>526</sup> Mrs Puza had started her urban farming activities in the 1950s. She continued to grow fruit trees and herbs at her home in Guguletu during this period and she continued to gain good health from using the herbs that she grew.

“Where I come from, my mother had a garden. I do as my mother did. I don’t ever go to the doctor...I don’t take tablets.”<sup>527</sup>

Phylophia Bashe started farming chickens and growing vegetables, herbs and fruit in Guguletu in the 1960s. She continued with these UA activities during the 1980s and 1990s. During this period, Phylophia continued to use the products from her UA activities to feed her family. Her urban farming activities also continued to provide her with a certain amount of independence. Together with the other small businesses that Phylophia ran, her UA activities prevented her from having to work for somebody else and therefore enabled her to be her own boss.<sup>528</sup> Solomon Puza continued to grow vegetables in Guguletu during this period. When he lived with his in-laws during the 1980s, he had a large vegetable garden and fruit trees. In 1994, Solomon got a job as a caretaker at Catholic Welfare and Development’s Guguletu Community Centre and he and his family went to live at the centre. He established his own vegetable and herb garden there. During this period, Solomon used the vegetables that he grew to help provide food for his family and he used the herbs for medicinal purposes. Solomon also gave some of his produce away to others living in his area.<sup>529</sup> Mrs Mani started farming chickens in Guguletu during the late 1960s/early 1970s. While she was unable to remember when she stopped keeping chickens, it is safe to assume that she kept them for at least some of this period. Mrs Mani used her chickens to help provide her family with meat.<sup>530</sup>

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<sup>526</sup> Interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 31 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu 6 November 2008.

<sup>527</sup> Follow-up interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 12 March 2009.

<sup>528</sup> Interview with Phylophia Bashe, Guguletu, 15 April 2009.

<sup>529</sup> Interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 19 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 30 April 2009.

<sup>530</sup> Interview with Mrs Mani, Guguletu, 2 April 2009.

Mr Biko and Davidson Mooi both continued to farm livestock during the 1980s and 1990s. Mr Biko continued to sell the products from his farming activities to earn income to support his family and he also continued to use some of the products to help provide food for his family. In addition, Mr Biko continued to derive great pleasure from farming and from being with his animals.<sup>531</sup> Davidson continued to farm goats in Guguletu during the 1980s and 1990s. However, some of his goats were stolen during this period, which reduced the number of goats that he owned. While he continued to sell some of his goats during this period, it was his love of animals that motivated him to continue his urban farming activity.<sup>532</sup>

## Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that urban agriculture continued to be practised in various parts of the Cape Flats during the 1980s and early 1990s. Memories of the farmers interviewed for this study, information from early studies on UA in Cape Town, and information from Abalimi Bezekhaya (which was established during this period) reveal that urban agriculture activities were taking place in Guguletu, Nyanga, Philippi, KTC, New Crossroads, Crossroads, Mandalay and Khayelitsha during this period. In fact, thirteen of the farmers interviewed for this study were involved in urban farming activities in the Cape Flats between 1980 and 1994. These activities took place despite continued efforts by the authorities to discourage livestock and poultry farming in Cape Town, particularly in residential areas. The authorities continued to view the city in modernist terms, with farming being excluded from their visions of the city. By-laws passed in the 1980s made it impossible for those living in densely populated areas to keep livestock legally. It can therefore be assumed that the livestock farmers interviewed for this study did not have permission from the Council to conduct their farming activities during this period.

Although it is evident that urban agriculture was conducted in these Cape Flats areas during the 1980s and early 1990s, data from the early UA studies and information from Abalimi raise questions regarding the extent to which urban farming was conducted in these areas during this period. In his 1989 study, Eberhard found that there was a low level of interest in UA amongst the poor in Cape Town and he identified a number of environmental and socio-economic factors that hindered the involvement of the poor in

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<sup>531</sup> Interview with Mr Biko, Nyanga, 7 August 2008.

<sup>532</sup> Interview with Davidson Mooi, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

urban agriculture. Both Eberhard and Beaumont also observed that very few community vegetable gardens existed in the Cape Flats at that time, with Eberhard finding that community gardens were difficult in South African urban settings. Rob Small from Abalimi noted that during its early years, Abalimi was challenged with an “anti-agri” sentiment amongst many residents of its target areas. This sentiment was largely due to issues around Bantu Education and the fact that black people were forced to study agriculture at school. Therefore, when Abalimi was established, it found that UA was not being practised on a large scale in its target areas, and the organisation needed to convince residents of the benefits of urban farming. While the sample of 30 farmers selected for this study cannot be seen to represent the whole body of Cape Flats farmers, in light of this information, it could be significant that only two of these 30 farmers conducted UA activities for the first time between 1980 and 1994. We also see that very few of the farmers selected for this study were assisted by Abalimi during this period. In the next chapter, however, we will see that a large number of these farmers were supported by Abalimi after 1994. Therefore, while Abalimi was established during this period, it was only after 1994 that the organisation began to impact on the farmers interviewed for this study.<sup>533</sup>

In order to understand the context in which the 13 farmers who practised urban farming during this period started or continued their UA activities, this chapter has provided information regarding the life histories of the farmers and the growth and development of the Cape Flats during this period. The farmers' life history information revealed that three of the 30 farmers came to live in Cape Town from rural parts of the Eastern Cape between 1980 and 1994. Life history information also showed that, during this period, nine of the 30 farmers moved to the Cape Flats areas where they live today. Information regarding the Cape Flats townships and settlements that emerged and grew during this period, provides some insight into the environment in which the farmers lived (and continue to live) and the socio-economic problems that they have faced. This information gives relevance to the benefits gained through the farmers' UA activities, as it becomes clear that these benefits have helped farmers to address the hardships they have endured and the problems they have faced.

As in the previous chapter, the farmers' life history information has helped to establish why some of the farmers did not conduct any UA activities during this period. Once again, the main reason for farmers not participating in UA activities during this period

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<sup>533</sup> This is with the exception of Angelina Skepe who belonged to an Abalimi-supported community garden as early as 1994.

was that they were working and therefore too busy to start farming. However, many of the farmers who were conducting UA activities during this period were also working and were happy to tend to their gardens or animals in the evenings and on weekends. A lack of sufficient space was provided as a reason by two of the farmers who were living in workers' hostels during this period. They were therefore only able to start farming after they moved from the hostels. One farmer who had moved to a new area, said that the soil was too sandy for cultivation and that he needed to prepare the soil before planting. Another farmer said that he did not have access to plants to grow during this period and another said that she did not have the necessary knowledge to start a garden. In the next chapter we will see that both of these farmers later received support and assistance from UA organisations.

An analysis of the UA activities that were conducted by the thirteen farmers who either started or continued to practise urban agriculture during this period has revealed that the farmers' motivations for starting and continuing their urban farming were mostly of a social nature. Of the two farmers who conducted urban agriculture for the first time during this period, one was motivated by his love for animals and the other started farming to have access to fresh food for her family. While it was not possible to establish motivations for all eleven farmers who continued their UA activities during this period, it can be noted that the motivations that were provided were all to do with the farmers' love of their gardens and animals.

Analysing the farmers' UA activities has also revealed that these activities produced a variety of benefits for the farmers and their families during this period. As in the previous chapter, we see that food security was an important benefit that most of the farmers gained through their urban agriculture activities. Angelina Skepe, Mrs Vava, Mrs Mvambi, Novatile Gova, Robina Rondo, Nomeko Mqathazana, Phylophia Bashe, Mrs Mani and Solomon Puza all benefited from their UA activities by using some of their produce to provide food for their families. Novatile Gova even noted that the products of her farming improved her life. Health benefits were also mentioned by some of the farmers. Both Mrs Puza and Solomon Puza used herbs that they grew for medicinal purposes, which helped to improve their and their families' health. Angelina Skepe found that the exercise that she got from gardening helped her to remain healthy and Mrs Mvambi gained health and strength from both the products and the process of her gardening activities. Other social benefits that were gained through the farmers' UA activities during this period were enjoyment, independence and community outreach. Mr Biko continued to derive great pleasure from being with his livestock and Phylophia

Bashe continued to gain a sense of independence from conducting her own UA activities. In some cases, the farmers' UA activities also benefited others in their neighbourhoods. Solomon Puza regularly gave vegetables away to the needy in his area, enabling him to reach out to others in his community. Through her garden, Mrs Mvambi continued to inspire others in her neighbourhood to start growing their own vegetables.

While the farmers did not mention many economic benefits that they gained from their UA activities during this period, three of the farmers sold some of their produce and therefore generated some income. While the money earned did not form a major part of the monthly household income for two of these farmers, it nonetheless provided them with some useful addition income. Angelina Skepe received her income at the end of the year, which enabled her to travel to the Eastern Cape to visit her relatives. For Mr Biko, the money earned from his farming activities did indeed form a major part of his monthly household income and enabled him to support his family. Another farmer mentioned that she was able to save money by using her UA products for household food.

The information in this chapter has therefore shown that vegetable gardening, poultry farming and livestock farming continued to be conducted in various parts of the Cape Flats between 1980 and 1994. Although these activities may not have been practised on a very large scale during this period, they nonetheless produced a number of important social, nutritional, health and economic benefits for the farmers, their families and, in some instances, others in their neighbourhoods.

## **Chapter Six: 1995 to 2009**

This chapter looks at the period from 1995 to 2009 and begins by investigating the extent to which urban agriculture was being practised in the Cape Flats during this period. Information from various sources suggests that urban farming increased in the Cape Flats after 1994. In order to explore this issue, some of the UA studies conducted during this period are looked at, and events that impacted on urban farming during this time are discussed. Since 1994, Abalimi Bezekhaya grew and a number of vegetable gardening groups emerged. Soil for Life was also established and the City of Cape Town created a supportive and enabling environment for UA activities when it adopted its Urban Agriculture Policy. In addition, seventeen of the farmers interviewed for this study began to conduct urban farming activities for the first time after 1994.

Before the urban agriculture activities of these seventeen farmers are discussed, a brief look at the life histories of some of the farmers during this period is provided. By the end of 1994, most of the farmers were already living in Cape Town, with the majority of these farmers living in the townships where they currently reside. After 1994, only one farmer came to live in Cape Town and only three moved to the areas where they live today. A brief discussion regarding the situation in the Cape Flats during this period is also included, providing information regarding the context in which the farmers began and continued their UA activities. This information also reveals that urban agriculture is one of the strategies developed by the farmers to help them to cope with socio-economic problems.

A detailed analysis of the urban agriculture activities, conducted by the interviewed farmers during this period, follows. While seventeen farmers conducted UA activities for the first time after 1994, many of the farmers who had farmed prior to 1994 also started new UA activities during this period. The UA activities of all the farmers are discussed, with the farmers' motivations for beginning their UA activities and the benefits that they derived from these activities being explored. This analysis reveals that many of the farmers had social motivations for starting their UA activities. It is also revealed that these farming activities produced a number of social, nutritional, health and economic benefits for the farmers, their families and in some instances, others in their neighbourhoods.

A detailed discussion on the benefits that the farmers currently derive from their UA activities is also provided in this chapter. This section looks at the farmers' motivations for continuing their urban farming activities and explores the benefits that they gain from both the products and processes of their UA activities. This discussion reveals that the farmers and their families are gaining a number of significant benefits from both the products and processes of their farming activities. While the benefits gained through the products of their UA activities mostly relate to food security, improved health and nutrition and income generation, the benefits gained through the processes of urban farming are mostly social. This demonstrates that UA has had, and continues to have, a profound social impact on the farmers, their families and their broader neighbourhoods.

### **Urban Agriculture in the Cape Flats: 1995 to 2009**

While there are no complete statistics available to confirm this, it appears that urban agriculture in the Cape Flats increased after 1994. This notion is supported by the fact that during this period, Abalimi Bezekhaya grew and expanded and Soil for Life was established. The fact that a number of Abalimi-supported vegetable gardening groups emerged in various Cape Flats areas, also supports this notion. In addition, a growing number of studies were conducted on UA activities in the Cape Flats during this period. Furthermore, the City of Cape Town developed and adopted an Urban Agriculture Policy during this time, indicating that UA has indeed become an important phenomenon in the city. In addition, seventeen of the 30 farmers interviewed for this study conducted UA activities for the first time after 1994, and many of those who had farmed before this time began to conduct new UA activities after 1994.

As has been mentioned, a growing number of studies on urban agriculture in the Cape Flats have been conducted since 1994. Fermont et al's study on communal vegetable production in Khayelitsha,<sup>534</sup> and Karaan and Mohamed's article on food gardens in Khayelitsha, Nyanga and Philippi<sup>535</sup> were both completed in 1998. These studies demonstrate that urban cultivation activities were indeed taking place in those areas at that time and offer some insight into the farmers and the nature of their UA activities. Karaan and Mohammed found that the majority of farmers were women, were

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<sup>534</sup> A. Fermont, P. van Asten, K. Keet and E. van Boom, 'Urban Vegetable Production in Khayelitsha: A Case Study of Management Options to Improve the Feasibility of Vegetable Gardening in Deprived Communities of the Cape Flats, South Africa, with an Emphasis on Agroforestry', School of Environmental Studies, University of the Western Cape (1998).

<sup>535</sup> A. Karaan and N. Mohamed, 'The Performance of Food Gardens in some Townships of the Cape Metropolitan Area: An Evaluation of Abalimi Bezekhaya', *Development Southern Africa*, 15, 1 (1998), 67 – 83.

unemployed and had come from a gardening background. They also discovered that UA is indeed conducted by the urban poor. Fermont et al agreed that most farmers were women and found that they derived both economic and social benefits from their UA activities. In 2000, Slater's paper on the impact of the UA activities of 14 women in Langa, Khayelitsha and Lower Crossroads, was published. She focused on vegetable farming and found that women farmers are provided with empowerment opportunities through the various social benefits that they derive from their urban cultivation activities.<sup>536</sup>

From 2007 to 2009, a further four studies on urban agriculture in the Cape Flats were produced. Bourne's 2007 thesis focuses on three community vegetable gardens in Guguletu and Philippi,<sup>537</sup> and Marshak's 2008 study investigates UA activities in Seawinds and Vrygrond.<sup>538</sup> Kirkland's 2008 study assesses Abalimi's Harvest of Hope project and focuses on five participating community vegetable gardens in Khayelitsha, Guguletu and Philippi.<sup>539</sup> Jacobs' 2009 thesis studies one large community vegetable garden in Khayelitsha in order to assess the impact of social capital on the livelihoods of the project members.<sup>540</sup> While these studies do not provide much information on the prevalence of UA in these townships, they demonstrate that urban cultivation is indeed taking place in these areas. They also indicate that by 2007, a number of community gardens or gardening groups had been established in these townships. Many of these groups were already well established by this time and had developed their own operational systems, leadership styles and social traditions. All of these studies also found that urban vegetable farming is producing a number of social benefits for participants and their families.

In the previous chapter, we saw that Abalimi Bezekhaya was established in 1982 and that by 1994, was active in the Khayelitsha, Nyanga, Guguletu and Philippi areas. We also saw that, while Abalimi initially focused on home gardens, vegetable gardening groups started emerging during the mid to late 1990s, and Abalimi helped many of these

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<sup>536</sup> R. Slater, 'Urban Agriculture, Gender and Empowerment: An Alternative View', Institute for Development Policy and Management Discussion Paper Series, Paper 60, University of Manchester (2000).

<sup>537</sup> A. Bourne, 'Masimbambane, Let's Stick Together: Contentions on the Role of Urban Vegetable Gardens in the Cape Flats' (Masters thesis: Social Science, University of Cape Town, 2007).

<sup>538</sup> M. Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture: Social Benefits and Transformations' (Honours thesis: Environmental and Geographical Science, University of Cape Town, 2008).

<sup>539</sup> D. Kirkland, 'Harvest of Hope: A Case Study: The Sustainable Development of Urban Agriculture Projects in Cape Town, South Africa' (MPhil thesis: Environmental and Geographical Science, University of Cape Town, 2008).

<sup>540</sup> C. Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital in the Creation of Sustainable Livelihoods: A Case Study of the Siyazama Community Allotment Gardening Association (SCAGA)' (MPhil thesis: Community and Development, Stellenbosch University, 2009).

groups to establish their gardens. In addition to providing these groups with resource support, gardening training and fieldwork support, Abalimi provided many of the groups with organisational development training and support. Between 1995 and 2009, Abalimi grew and expanded, with a number of new initiatives being implemented. At the beginning of 2008, Abalimi launched Harvest of Hope, an organic vegetable-box scheme that provides small-scale organic vegetable farmers with a regular market for their produce.<sup>541</sup> Many of the farmers interviewed for this study received support from Abalimi between 1995 and 2009. Abalimi also impacted on some of the other farmers who made use of the Nyanga Garden Centre to purchase their farming resources. Abalimi currently reaches between 1500 and 3000 urban farmers in the Cape Flats each year.<sup>542</sup>

Karaan and Mohammed's 1998 study included an evaluation of Abalimi. Farmers in Khayelitsha, Nyanga and Philippi were asked to assess the services that they received. The finding was that Abalimi was conducting excellent work encouraging gardening, training gardeners and establishing good relationships with farmers. However, the provision of seeds and manure was found to be inadequate and, according to some, the follow-up support was insufficient. The farmers did not mention any other urban agriculture organisations operating in these areas.<sup>543</sup> This suggests that Abalimi was the main, or perhaps the only, UA organisation operating in those areas at that time.

Information from some of the farmers interviewed for this study reveals that a number of Abalimi-supported vegetable gardening groups or community gardens emerged in Guguletu and Philippi between 1994 and 2009. While this information only tells us about some of the groups supported by Abalimi during this period, it nonetheless provides us with further insight into the types of UA activities that have been supported by Abalimi. In the previous chapter, we saw that the Masibambani gardening group started in Philippi in 1994. In 1998, the Nonkululeko gardening group in Guguletu was established on land belonging to the City Council. While this group was originally started and supported by the Quaker Peace Centre (QPC), Abalimi begun to assist the garden after QPC stopped supporting gardens in that area. The group originally consisted of 62 members, and while the number of members has decreased quite considerably, Nonkululeko remains a strong group. Over the years, members have accessed land at other sites in Guguletu where they have established additional vegetable gardens.<sup>544</sup> The Masincedani gardening group was started in Guguletu in 1999 on a large plot of

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<sup>541</sup> Kirkland, 'Harvest of Hope'.

<sup>542</sup> R. Small of Abalimi Bezekhaya, email (12 November 2009).

<sup>543</sup> Karaan and Mohamed, 'The Performance of Food Gardens'.

<sup>544</sup> Interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 31 July 2008.

land at the Fezeka Rent Office. The group had between 17 and 36 members when it began and received support from Abalimi, the Municipality and the Department of Agriculture. While the number of members has decreased somewhat, the Masincedani group still manages to cultivate most of its 1500m<sup>2</sup> plot.<sup>545</sup>

The Masithandane gardening group was established in 2003 in Guguletu on a previously unused plot of council land. This group was started by a resident of the area who wanted to improve the environment of her neighbourhood. Once the group was established, a City Council staff member referred the members to Abalimi who provided the group with training and support. The Masithandane group had 25 members when it started. This number has since decreased as some members have passed away and some of the others have found work.<sup>546</sup> The Bambanani gardening group was established in Philippi in 2005 on a piece of land at Sinethemba Senior Secondary School. The group was started by a Councillor who gathered the members together. Abalimi provided them with training and has continued to give them certain types of support. The Bambanani Group had 26 members when it began, but this number has since decreased to six.<sup>547</sup> By July and August 2008, all of these gardening groups were supplying vegetables to Abalimi's Harvest of Hope initiative.

In 2003, another urban vegetable farming organisation was established that has also had an impact on small-scale vegetable farming activities in the Cape Flats. Soil for Life (SFL) was officially started on 1 March 2003 and it began with the aim of providing education and training in small-scale organic vegetable and herb production. When it began, SFL was active in the Cape Flats areas of Guguletu, Langa, KTC, Manenberg, Delft, Mfuleni, Driftsands, Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Lotus River and Parkwood. The organisation also established projects in Vrygrond and Seawinds in the Southern Peninsula, as well as in Mbekweni and Touws River. In addition to its community-based activities, SFL established a Training and Resource Centre to enable the organisation to generate income by offering training and selling resources to those living in more affluent areas. Some of the items sold at the Resource Centre are purchased from the gardeners supported by SFL.<sup>548</sup>

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<sup>545</sup> Interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 23 July 2008; and Interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 7 August 2008.

<sup>546</sup> Interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 5 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>547</sup> Interview with Novatile Gova, Philippi, 21 July 2008.

<sup>548</sup> P. Featherstone of Soil for Life, email (20 November 2009).

Soil for Life has been active in Guguletu and KTC since its inception. When SFL began, it focused on supporting community vegetable gardens and was therefore not supporting many home vegetable gardens in these areas. However, the organisation's focus has since shifted and it now places a greater emphasis on home gardens. SFL therefore currently supports more home gardens than community gardens in these areas.<sup>549</sup> Soil for Life's current mission is to "educate and train people in organic food gardening using water-wise, low-cost, environmentally friendly technologies and (to) provide a support programme to ensure effective implementation."<sup>550</sup> Their mission also states that once they have helped gardeners to secure a food supply, they provide them with "opportunities to create livelihoods through a range of activities associated with the garden."<sup>551</sup> SFL is currently reaching between 700 and 800 small-scale urban vegetable farmers in various townships and informal settlement areas.<sup>552</sup>

In 2007, the City of Cape Town adopted its Urban Agriculture Policy, indicating that the local government was developing a positive attitude towards UA. Before adopting the policy, a baseline study was conducted where it was found that UA has the potential to play an important role in poverty alleviation and economic development. It was also found that a common vision for the development of UA in Cape Town and effective co-ordination between role-players were lacking. In the baseline study, it was noted that UA in Cape Town existed in an environment governed by a plethora of fragmented and uncoordinated legislation relating to land use, public health and the environment. This included acts, ordinances and by-laws that placed limitations on the scope and location of urban farming activities and prescribed complex application and approval processes, many of which made it impossible for poor people to access UA opportunities. The baseline study concluded that a need existed for Cape Town to have an Urban Agriculture Policy to guide, focus and manage farming initiatives in the city. It was noted that while a number of obstacles exist that restrict access to, and the success of, UA activities within Cape Town, the City could offer a number of opportunities for urban farmers that could help to address these obstacles and challenges.<sup>553</sup> The Urban Agriculture Policy states that the City believes that through food security, income generation and job creation, UA can play an important role in economic development and poverty alleviation. The City therefore undertakes to support and promote urban agriculture by providing assistance to urban farmers, facilitating co-ordination between

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<sup>549</sup> Featherstone, email.

<sup>550</sup> <http://soilforlife.co.za/about/> (12 November 2009).

<sup>551</sup> <http://soilforlife.co.za/about/> (12 November 2009).

<sup>552</sup> Featherstone, email.

<sup>553</sup> G. Visser, 'Baseline document for the development of an Urban Agriculture policy for the City of Cape Town', Directorate of Economic and Human Development, City of Cape Town (2006).

various role-players and ensuring that UA forms an integral part of future development planning. In this way, the City undertakes to play the role of both a facilitator and a catalyst, creating an enabling environment for urban agriculture and providing farmers with land, infrastructure and resources.<sup>554</sup>

This policy demonstrates a major shift in the local government's attitude towards UA in Cape Town, indicating a change in the way in which the local authorities view the city. While it is still too early to assess the impact of the UA policy on farming activities in the Cape Flats, a study conducted in a few years' time that investigates the impact of this policy on the prevalence, nature and success of UA activities in Cape Town would be very useful. The policy has been criticised by some for focusing too much on the economic potential of UA and paying too little attention to social benefits.<sup>555</sup> While a few potential social and environmental benefits were noted in the baseline study, the actual policy sees UA in Cape Town purely in terms of poverty alleviation (through food security) and economic development. It can thus be hoped that through studies conducted into the social impact of urban agriculture, the City will become aware of the potential social benefits of UA and take this into consideration when evaluating its UA development programme. Nevertheless, it is exciting to see that local government is acknowledging the important role that UA can play in the city and is undertaking to support this phenomenon.

### **Farmers' Life Histories and the Cape Flats Townships**

By the end of 1994, 29 of the 30 farmers interviewed for this study were living in Cape Town, with 27 of them already living in the townships where they currently reside. Therefore, since the beginning of 1995, only one of the farmers, Mabel Bokolo, has arrived in Cape Town from elsewhere and only three (including Mabel) have moved to the areas where they live today. Mabel arrived in Cape Town in 1998, and in 1999, she came to live in New Crossroads, where she lives today.<sup>556</sup> Worthington Tutu moved to KTC from the workers' hostels in Nyanga in 1995<sup>557</sup> and Mrs Mbovu moved from Guguletu to Vukuzenzele in Philippi in 2003.<sup>558</sup> More detailed information regarding

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<sup>554</sup> The City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy, outlined in Visser, 'Baseline document'.

<sup>555</sup> Marshak, 'Creating a Space for Urban Agriculture'.

<sup>556</sup> Interview with Mabel Bokolo, New Crossroads, 29 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mabel Bokolo, Nyanga, 12 March 2009.

<sup>557</sup> Interview with Worthington Tutu, KTC, 15 April 2009.

<sup>558</sup> Interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 23 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

these farmers' early experiences of the areas where they currently live can be found in Appendix 7.

Since 1994, the population of the Cape Flats has grown tremendously, as people have continued to migrate to Cape Town from the poverty-stricken rural areas, with many settling in townships and informal settlements in the Cape Flats. Migration statistics from the 2001 census show that 7.99% of Guguletu residents had arrived in Guguletu after 1996, 6.15% of Nyanga residents had come to that area after 1996, and a startling 30.39% of Philippi residents had moved to Philippi after 1996.<sup>559</sup> While some of these people may have moved to these areas from other parts of Cape Town, it is safe to assume that the majority had moved to Cape Town from rural areas. Since 2001, migration to Cape Town from rural parts of South Africa has continued to take place, resulting in further population growth in various Cape Flats areas.

As can be seen, Philippi has grown considerably since 1994. While formal housing and infrastructure have been built in certain parts of Philippi, a number of informal settlements have also emerged and grown during this period. Many of the housing projects were delayed because of conflict between the authorities and the role-players in the various communities, who were either to benefit from the projects, or were to be relocated to make the land available for these projects. In most cases, the conflict was eventually resolved and building was able to take place. A large housing project in Weltevreden Valley was completed in 1996, with the area now being known as Samora Machel. Development also took place in Philippi East after 1996. Initially only serviced sites were provided, but residents were later able to use housing subsidies to build houses. This development provided for approximately 5500 residential units and a number of schools. A housing project in Area K in Philippi East was also completed in 2000. After 1998, development took place in Heinz Park, with houses, a primary school and a community hall being constructed. During the 2001 floods, the City purchased land on the old cement factory site to accommodate victims of the floods. Serviced sites were provided and after 2005, houses were constructed in the area. Houses have also recently been built in Vukuzenzele, a housing project of the South African Homeless People's Federation, situated near Victoria Mxenge. The informal settlements that have emerged and grown in Philippi since 1994, include Phola Park next to Sheffield Road, Never-never-land in Area K, Sweet Home Farm and Kosovo in the Weltevreden Valley. Kosovo had been situated on private land and emerged after a mass invasion took place

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<sup>559</sup> Statistics South Africa, *Census 2001: Community Profile Database* (Pretoria: Statistics South Africa, 2003). (It is important to note that only those born before 1996 were included in these migration statistics.)

in 2000. The city has since purchased the land and begun efforts to upgrade the area. However, the settlement is very densely populated and service delivery continues to be a big challenge.<sup>560</sup>

Despite the housing developments that have taken place in Philippi and other parts of the Cape Flats since 1994, there is still an immense shortage of housing in the Cape Flats. This has resulted in overcrowding and an increased number of informal dwellings. Statistics from the 2001 census reveal that 42.3% of Guguletu residents live in brick homes, while 32% live in shacks on individual plots and 5.63% live in back-yard shacks. The statistics for Nyanga are even more startling, with only 39% living in brick homes, 38.59% living in shacks on individual plots and 9.29% living in back-yard shacks. Statistics for Philippi show that 34.27% live in brick houses, 47.15% live in shacks on individual plots and 7.98% live in back-yard shacks.<sup>561</sup> Other socio-economic problems that can be found in these areas include unemployment, crime and a high prevalence of TB and HIV/Aids.<sup>562</sup> Employment statistics from the 2001 census reveal that the unemployment rate is 34.96% in Guguletu, 41.35% in Nyanga and 43.36% in Philippi. These statistics only include people between the ages of 15 and 65 and exclude learners, students and those who are sick or disabled.<sup>563</sup> Given the high unemployment rate in these areas, it is not surprising that in 2006, it was estimated that 38.8% of households in Cape Town live below or marginally above the poverty line of R1600 per month.<sup>564</sup>

This information, together with the life history data presented in this study and in Appendix 7, demonstrates that the farmers interviewed for this study have faced numerous hardships during their lives and continue to live in environments where poverty and related socio-economic problems are rife. However, the farmers' life histories also show that they have developed a number of strategies to help them to overcome the hardships that they have experienced and to cope with their current problems. As becomes clear in the following sections, where the farmers' UA activities are discussed and the motivations for, and benefits derived from, these activities are highlighted, urban agriculture has been used by the farmers as a strategy to cope with problems that they have faced and continue to face. The benefits that the farmers

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<sup>560</sup> G. Adlard, 'An Introduction to Philippi', Draft Paper for the African Centre for Cities, Philippi Lab, University of Cape Town, (2008).

<sup>561</sup> Statistics South Africa, *Census 2001*.

<sup>562</sup> Youth Unlimited, Cape Town, Funding application submitted to the European Union (2003) and Abalimi Bezekhaya, Funding application submitted to the Good Hope Development Fund (2003).

<sup>563</sup> Statistics South Africa, *Census 2001*.

<sup>564</sup> City Statistics, (2008) cited in Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital', 1.

derive from their UA activities therefore directly address many of these socio-economic problems.

## **Urban Agriculture Activities, Motivations and Benefits**

After 1994, 17 of the farmers interviewed for this study began to conduct urban farming activities for the first time. A number of farmers who had previously conducted UA also started new urban farming activities after 1994. In addition, 14 of the 30 farmers either started or joined urban vegetable gardening groups during this period. An analysis of the farmers' UA activities during this period provides valuable information regarding their motivations for beginning their UA activities and the benefits that they derived from farming.

### ***Motivations for starting UA activities:***

The farmers who started farming for the first time after 1994, did so for a number of reasons and under various circumstances. Exploring when and why these farmers started their UA activities provides insight into the motivations that Cape Flats farmers have had for beginning urban farming after 1994. Information from the farmers participating in this study reveals that some were motivated by social factors, others by food security and improved nutrition, and many by a combination of social, food security and, to a lesser extent, economic factors.<sup>565</sup>

Worthington Tutu started to plant vegetables and herbs at his home in KTC in 1995. He was still working at that time and he therefore tended his garden during evenings and weekends. Worthington started his garden so that he could have access to fresh vegetables.<sup>566</sup> Mrs Mbovu, on the other hand, only started her home vegetable garden in Guguletu after she had finished working in 1995.<sup>567</sup> Mr Fonte had also stopped working when he started his home garden in Guguletu in the late 1990s. In fact, he started his garden in order to keep himself busy and was also motivated by his "love of green things".<sup>568</sup> Nonzwakazi's motivation for starting her UA activities was somewhat different as she was unemployed at the time and needed to find a way to earn money.

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<sup>565</sup> These economic factors refer to the potential of income generation and saving money. However, it is acknowledged in this study that the quantitative aspect of food security can also be an economic benefit.

<sup>566</sup> Interview with Worthington Tutu, KTC, 15 April 2009.

<sup>567</sup> Interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 23 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

<sup>568</sup> Interview with Mr Fonte, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

She therefore started to farm pigs in 1999.<sup>569</sup> While she currently keeps her pigs in Mfuleni on land owned by the Mfuleni Small Farmers' Association, it appears that she had started keeping her pigs at her home in Guguletu, but moved them to Mfuleni after the neighbours started to complain. Nozi Kani started growing vegetables in Guguletu in 2002 when she started her own small home garden and joined the Nonkululeko vegetable gardening group. Nozi's love of gardening motivated her to begin her vegetable farming activities. In addition, she had recently stopped working and was therefore looking for a way to keep herself occupied.<sup>570</sup>

"When I finished working, then I thought what can I do here at home? I'll do my home work and it gets finished so I must just sit down. I like to stand on my legs... And so I went to Nonkululeko."<sup>571</sup>

Mabel Bokolo started to grow vegetables and herbs at her home in New Crossroads in 2003. Since then, she has also started her own vegetable garden at the Red Cross where she has been given the use of a large piece of land. Mabel started her gardens because she realised that she could grow her own plants and use them to provide food for her household.<sup>572</sup> Sam Mgunuza started growing orchids and herbs at his home in Guguletu in 2002. As he was still working at that time, his flower growing operation was relatively small. However, Sam's gardening initiatives grew tremendously after he retired from work in 2004 and he currently has more than 400 plants growing in his back yard. Sam had worked as a gardener for many years and he knew that gardening was something that he loved to do. He therefore started his own gardening activities as a hobby.<sup>573</sup> Mrs Madalana's motivation for starting her UA activities was related to the improvement of the environment in her neighbourhood. In 2003, she started the Masithandane vegetable gardening group on Council land in Guguletu in order to clean up this land, which was lying vacant and being used as a dumping ground and attracting criminals.<sup>574</sup> Lizo Sibaca started growing vegetables at his home in Philippi in 2003. His motivation was also related to land use as he had a vacant plot at his home and felt that,

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<sup>569</sup> Interview with Nonzwakazi Diaba, Guguletu, 31 March 2009.

<sup>570</sup> Interview with Nozi Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>571</sup> Interview with Nozi Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>572</sup> Interview with Mabel Bokolo, New Crossroads, 29 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mabel Bokolo, Nyanga, 12 March 2009.

<sup>573</sup> Interview with Sam Mgunuza, Guguletu, 14 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Sam Mgunuza, Guguletu, 11 December 2008.

<sup>574</sup> Interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 5 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

seeing as he knew how to farm, he had a responsibility to make productive use of this land.<sup>575</sup>

Mr Sineli started his vegetable gardening activities in Guguletu in 2004 when he started a home garden and joined the Masithandane vegetable gardening group. Financial constraints had prevented Mr Sineli from continuing his studies and he was unable to find a job. He therefore joined the gardening group in the hope of earning some money and growing some food that he could use. He was also motivated to start his UA activities by a love of farming which he had inherited from his father.<sup>576</sup> Dumisa Bleki began growing vegetables and herbs on a piece of land at Sithembele Matiso High School in New Crossroads in 2005. He had a voluntary position as a gardener at the school and decided to increase the small stipend that he earned by growing vegetables. Although Dumisa started his garden with the intention of generating income, he has not yet sold any of his vegetables, but, as will be seen later, has derived other important benefits from his gardening activities.<sup>577</sup> George Madikane also began farming in order to generate income and produce food. In 2005, he started farming chickens and growing vegetables and herbs at his home in KTC. He had already retired from work when he started his these activities and remembers that he was suffering at that time.<sup>578</sup>

“Through suffering, I started a garden. When there are times of difficulties, I usually take two chickens to go and sell them, so that I can have money.”<sup>579</sup>

Nora Sineli started growing vegetables and herbs in Guguletu in 2005 when she joined the Masithandane vegetable gardening group. Nora’s brother, who had been a member of that group, passed away in 2005. Later that year, Nora stopped working and took her brother’s place in the group.<sup>580</sup> Stephen Ngqaka began to grow vegetables at his home in Guguletu in 2006. He was still working when he started his garden and he therefore tended his garden in the evenings and on weekends. Stephen views his gardening as a somewhat spiritual experience and feels as though he was instructed by a higher power

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<sup>575</sup> Interview with Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 22 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

<sup>576</sup> Interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 6 November 2008.

<sup>577</sup> Interview with Dumisa Dumisani Bleki, New Crossroads, 12 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Dumisa Dumisani Bleki, New Crossroads, 17 March 2009.

<sup>578</sup> Interview with George Madikane, KTC, 31 March 2009.

<sup>579</sup> Interview with George Madikane, KTC, 31 March 2009.

<sup>580</sup> Interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 5 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

to start growing vegetables. After he stopped working in 2008, Stephen invested a lot of time and energy in his garden in order to keep himself busy.<sup>581</sup>

“I kept myself away from frustration, inside frustrations. The first, unemployment, because you don’t know what you’ll do when you sit down – so I kept myself out of troubles because I’m in the location... People are at work, I am not at work... So instead of staying in the house – let me go, let me do other things rather.”<sup>582</sup>

Rose Ngewu started a vegetable garden at her home in KTC in early 2008. She had stopped working in the mid 1990s after she had been injured in a car accident and since then, had been running her own small businesses. Rose started growing vegetables in order to produce food for her household.<sup>583</sup> Rosalina Nongogo and Ellen Sandlana both started their UA activities in March 2008 when they started a vegetable and herb garden at Rosalina’s house in Guguletu. They had been close friends for years and after Rosalina had the idea to start the garden, they decided to become gardening partners.<sup>584</sup> Rosalina started gardening because vegetables had become expensive and she realised that she could use her land productively while saving money on purchasing vegetables.<sup>585</sup> Ellen began gardening so that she could have access to healthy, organic vegetables that were fresh and free of chemicals.<sup>586</sup>

Some of these farmers come from strong farming traditions, while others had never been involved in farming prior to starting these UA activities. In some cases, the issue of farming background can be linked to the question of motivation, as the fact that they or their families had farmed previously, helped to motivate some farmers to start their UA activities. However, others did not have a farming background and were therefore motivated purely by the factors that have already been mentioned. While many of those coming from a farming background did not receive any UA training, those who had not farmed previously required training, which they received either from NGOs or from other farmers in their areas.

Worthington Tutu, Mr Fonte and Dumisa Bleki had all learnt how to farm when they lived in the Eastern Cape and did not receive any form of training or support when they started their UA activities in Cape Town. They had also developed a passion for farming

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<sup>581</sup> Interview with Stephen Ngqaka, Guguletu, 17 March 2009.

<sup>582</sup> Interview with Stephen Ngqaka, Guguletu, 17 March 2009.

<sup>583</sup> Interview with Rose Ngewu, KTC, 2 April 2009.

<sup>584</sup> Interview with Rosalina Nongogo, Guguletu, 26 March 2009; and Interview with Ellen Sandlana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>585</sup> Interview with Rosalina Nongogo, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>586</sup> Interview with Ellen Sandlana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

when they lived in the rural areas.<sup>587</sup> George Madikane had farmed in the Eastern Cape and feels that he inherited his farming ability from his father. He did not receive any training when he started his UA activities, but he received some resource assistance from Soil for Life.<sup>588</sup> Mabel Bokolo had grown vegetables when she lived in the Eastern Cape and therefore knew how to farm when she came to Cape Town. She later became a member of Abalimi Bezekhaya and received support for her garden from Abalimi.<sup>589</sup> While Lizo Sibaca had grown vegetables when he lived in the Eastern Cape, he received gardening training from Abalimi after he joined the Masibambani gardening group.<sup>590</sup> Ellen Sandlana had also grown vegetables in the Eastern Cape, but received UA training and support from Soil for Life when she started her UA activities in Cape Town.<sup>591</sup> Despite the fact that Mr Sineli was born and raised in Cape Town, he too came from a farming tradition, as his father had grown herbs and farmed livestock in Guguletu in the 1980s. Mr Sineli therefore learnt to farm from his father. He also received vegetable gardening training from Abalimi when he joined the Masithandana gardening group.<sup>592</sup>

The other farmers, however, did not have a farming background, with many of them either having been born in Cape Town or having come to live in Cape Town when they were young. Mrs Madalana, Nora Sineli, Nozi Kani, Rose Ngewu, Rosalina Nongogo and Nonzwakazi Dlaba had never farmed before they started their UA activities in Cape Town. When they started gardening, Mrs Madalana and Nozi Kani received UA training from Abalimi,<sup>593</sup> while Nora Sineli was taught to farm by the other members of the Masithandane gardening group.<sup>594</sup> Rose Ngewu and Rosalina Nongogo received training and support from Soil for Life<sup>595</sup> and Nonzwakazi Dlaba was taught to farm by her uncle who had farmed pigs previously. Later, she attended farming training at Elsenberg College in Stellenbosch and received support from the Mfuleni Small Farmers' Association.<sup>596</sup> Sam Mgunuza did not reveal whether or not he had farmed when he lived in Swaziland. Nevertheless, he learnt how to grow flowers during the

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<sup>587</sup> Interview with Worthington Tutu, KTC, 15 April 2009; Interview with Mr .Fonte, Guguletu, 14 April 2009; Interview with Dumisa Dumisani Bleki, New Crossroads, 12 August 2008

<sup>588</sup> Interview with George Madikane, KTC, 31 March 2009.

<sup>589</sup> Interview with Mabel Bokolo, New Crossroads, 29 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mabel Bokolo, Nyanga, 12 March 2009.

<sup>590</sup> Interview with Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 22 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

<sup>591</sup> Interview with Ellen Sandlana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>592</sup> Interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 6 November 2008.

<sup>593</sup> Interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 5 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009; Interview with Nozi Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>594</sup> Interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 5 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>595</sup> Interview with Rose Ngewu, KTC, 2 April 2009; Interview with Rosalina Nongogo, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>596</sup> Interview with Nonzwakazi Dlaba, Guguletu, 31 March 2009.

many years that he worked as a gardener.<sup>597</sup> Stephen Ngqaka's situation was somewhat different because, although his father had been a very successful farmer in the Eastern Cape, Stephen was born in Cape Town and had never been taught to farm by his father. However, he feels that he inherited his father's farming genes, as he has been teaching himself how to grow vegetables.<sup>598</sup>

### ***Benefits derived from UA activities:***

The farmers who conducted UA activities for the first time after 1994 remember various benefits that they gained when they started these activities. Analysing these benefits according to the categories of individual, family/household and community benefits will provide a clear indication of how the farmers, their households and their broader communities benefited from these UA activities when they first started farming.<sup>599</sup>

### ***Individual Benefits:***

Many of the farmers remember that they gained individual, social benefits from the processes of their farming activities. Sam Mgunuza enjoyed his gardening activities when he started them and felt happy when he was working with his plants.<sup>600</sup> The main benefit that Nora Sineli remembers gaining when she joined the gardening project was the education that she received. Nora also remembers that the exercise that she got from working in the garden improved her health. She had injured her leg badly at work, but when she started working in the garden, her leg improved and she was able to walk properly.<sup>601</sup> Mrs Madalana remembers that when she started the Masithandane garden, she and the other group members were more concerned about improving the environment of their neighbourhood than about making money. She also remembers that her health improved tremendously when she started working in the garden and that gardening therefore changed her life. She had suffered from severe back pains, but found that there was a radical improvement when she started gardening.<sup>602</sup>

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<sup>597</sup> Interview with Sam Mgunuza, Guguletu, 14 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Sam Mgunuza, Guguletu, 11 December 2008.

<sup>598</sup> Interview with Stephen Ngqaka, Guguletu, 17 March 2009.

<sup>599</sup> It is important to note that while some farmers remember benefiting only in terms of food security or social benefits, the majority remember that when they started their UA activities, they benefited from the food that their farming produced as well as socially from the processes of farming.

<sup>600</sup> Interview with Sam Mgunuza, Guguletu, 14 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Sam Mgunuza, Guguletu, 11 December 2008.

<sup>601</sup> Interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 5 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>602</sup> Interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 5 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

"I had lumbar spine spondylitis. I never thought I would make it. Now I'm bending, I'm lifting my legs. My doctor said I would end up in a wheelchair. But now I'm bending, and doing all sorts of things. At home, I do everything myself, even the washing... Every time I sit down, I think 'why did I think about gardening because my life was never like that before?' Now, it's in my body."<sup>603</sup>

Ellen Sandlana, Mr Fonte, George Madikane and Nozi Kani benefited in various social ways from their farming. Ellen found that the exercise that she received from gardening made her feel healthier<sup>604</sup> and Mr Fonte felt that his life changed when he started doing something that he really enjoyed.<sup>605</sup> George's life also changed when he started farming, as he started to feel like a farmer.<sup>606</sup> Nozi remembers that her health improved when she started farming and she feels that this is because she started doing something that she loved.<sup>607</sup>

"My life changed because the thing which I'm doing in the garden, I really love it. Whenever you do something you really love – that changes your health... My health is better now."<sup>608</sup>

Stephen Ngqaka, Mrs Mbovu, Rosalina Nongogo and Mabel Bokolo also remember social ways in which they benefited from their UA activities. Stephen feels that he benefited greatly from having something productive to do each day.<sup>609</sup> Mrs Mbovu remembers that her garden helped to keep her busy and provided her with exercise.<sup>610</sup>

"When you're not doing anything, you feel pains in your body. At least, when you have something to do, that means that exercise does take place."<sup>611</sup>

Rosalina enjoyed the exercise that she got from working in her garden, and found that gardening helped her to deal with her problems and her stress.

"You know, when I think of something, I used to sit and think and think. But now when I think of something, I go to the garden and when I come back from the

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<sup>603</sup> Follow-up interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>604</sup> Interview with Ellen Sandlana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>605</sup> Interview with Mr Fonte, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>606</sup> Interview with George Madikane, KTC, 31 March 2009.

<sup>607</sup> Interview with Nozi Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>608</sup> Interview with Nozi Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>609</sup> Interview with Stephen Ngqaka, Guguletu, 17 March 2009.

<sup>610</sup> Follow-up interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

<sup>611</sup> Follow-up interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

garden, that's all solved...when I come out of the garden it's been sorted. I don't have stress."<sup>612</sup>

Dumisa Bleki remembers that one of the main early benefits that he received from his gardening activities was the new knowledge that he gained.<sup>613</sup> When Nonzwakazi Dlaba started farming, she enjoyed spending time with her animals and developed a bond with her pigs.<sup>614</sup> Mabel Bokolo remembers that her garden provided her with therapeutic benefits.<sup>615</sup>

"Seeing the greenness of the garden uplifts my spirit. Even if I'm down, the minute I go to the garden, I see that I pick up the weeds and clean it up."<sup>616</sup>

#### *Individual and Household / Family benefits:*

A number of farmers remember that they benefited in terms of the nutritional, food security and economic benefits that they and their households gained from the products of their UA activities. Both Worthington Tutu and Lizo Sibaca remember that their gardens produced many different types of fresh vegetables that they used to help provide food for their households. Worthington also sold some of his produce and generated a small income.<sup>617</sup> Rose Ngewu remembers that her first harvest was very beautiful and that she and her family were able to eat well from that harvest. Rose also feels that her health has improved since she started gardening because of the healthy vegetables that she has been eating. Before she had her garden, her health was poor and she was often taken to the trauma unit. However, she has not been to the trauma unit at all since she started her garden.<sup>618</sup> When Mr Sineli started gardening, his garden produced a large quantity of vegetables that he used to provide food for his family and his neighbours. He also remembers that using these vegetables in his household helped him to save money.<sup>619</sup>

<sup>612</sup> Interview with Rosalina Nongogo, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>613</sup> Interview with Dumisa Dumisani Bleki, New Crossroads, 12 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Dumisa Dumisani Bleki, New Crossroads, 17 March 2009.

<sup>614</sup> Interview with Nonzwakazi Dlaba, Guguletu, 31 March 2009.

<sup>615</sup> Interview with Mabel Bokolo, New Crossroads, 29 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mabel Bokolo, Nyanga, 12 March 2009.

<sup>616</sup> Follow-up interview with Mabel Bokolo, Nyanga, 12 March 2009.

<sup>617</sup> Interview with Worthington Tutu, KTC, 15 April 2009; Interview with Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 22 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

<sup>618</sup> Interview with Rose Ngewu, KTC, 2 April 2009.

<sup>619</sup> Interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 6 November 2008.

"We didn't sell those veggies at first. I kept them for my family, and my neighbours... When I went to the shop, I just had to buy mealie meal, just the basics. The veggies lasted."<sup>620</sup>

When they started their UA activities, Ellen Sandlana, Mr Fonte, George Madikane and Nozi Kani all produced good quantities of vegetables that they used to help provide food for their families, with George also producing eggs and chickens. In addition, George and Nozi were able to sell some of their produce and earn some extra income.<sup>621</sup> Stephen Ngqaka, Mrs Mbovu, Rosalina Nongogo and Mabel Bokolo also produced vegetables that they used to provide food for their families, with Stephen and Mabel selling some of their vegetables to earn some additional income.<sup>622</sup>

Nonzwakazi Dlaba also remembers benefiting economically from her UA activities. She had a lot of pigs when she started farming and was able to earn a fair amount of money from selling them. Nonzwakazi even purchased a bakkie<sup>623</sup> with the money that she earned. After 2000, she started slaughtering some of her pigs and continued to earn money from selling the meat.<sup>624</sup> When Dumisa Bleki started his garden, he used some of the produce to provide food for his household. However, the garden also changed his life in a more practical way. After seeing how successful his garden was, the Department of Education offered Dumisa a full-time job at the school as a gardener and cleaner, providing him with a secure job and a regular income.<sup>625</sup>

"By having this garden, even the Department of Education became interested in me. I became employed. At first, I volunteered, then they saw that I had a garden in the school yard, then they gave me work."<sup>626</sup>

#### *Community Benefits:*

When Mabel Bokolo started farming, she gave some of her produce away to sick people living in her area, enabling her to reach out to others in her neighbourhood and

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<sup>620</sup> Follow-up interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 6 November 2008.

<sup>621</sup> Interview with George Madikane, KTC, 31 March 2009; Interview with Nozi Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>622</sup> Interview with Stephen Ngqaka, Guguletu, 17 March 2009; Interview with Mabel Bokolo, New Crossroads, 29 July 2008.

<sup>623</sup> A small truck or utility vehicle.

<sup>624</sup> Interview with Nonzwakazi Dlaba, Guguletu, 31 March 2009.

<sup>625</sup> Interview with Dumisa Dumisani Bleki, New Crossroads, 12 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Dumisa Dumisani Bleki, New Crossroads, 17 March 2009.

<sup>626</sup> Follow-up interview with Dumisa Dumisani Bleki, New Crossroads, 17 March 2009.

benefiting those in need.<sup>627</sup> Dumisa Bleki also gave a lot of his produce away to needy people in his area.<sup>628</sup>

### ***Farmers' early experiences of vegetable gardening groups:***

Information about the farmers' UA activities during this period also provides insight into why and how some of the farmers joined the vegetable gardening groups that emerged after 1994. This information also looks at how some of these farmers benefited from belonging to these groups during this period. In addition to those who farmed for the first time after 1994, a number of farmers who had conducted UA activities previously, joined gardening groups during this period. These farmers' experiences will therefore also be included in this discussion.

Nomeko Mqathazana and Robina Rondo, both of whom had conducted UA previously, joined the Nonkululeko group in Guguletu in 1998. Nomeko was one of the first members of the group who had been gathered by the Quaker Peace Centre with the intention of starting a community garden.<sup>629</sup> She joined the project as she was alone at home with a sick child and needed somewhere to go to share her problems. Nomeko remembers that she benefited in many ways when she joined the group. The exercise that she got from gardening improved her physical health and working in the garden gave her peace of mind. In addition, she benefited from having a place where she could go to keep herself busy.<sup>630</sup>

"I got peace of mind. I worked with my head. If you've got nothing to do, you will become down and get body aches. In the morning, I used to have body aches. During the day when I'm here, I feel better."<sup>631</sup>

Robina Rondo heard about the garden from the Quaker Peace Centre fieldworkers and decided to join so that she could get to know other people and enjoy their company. Robina remembers that she learnt a lot when she joined the group and feels that she

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<sup>627</sup> Interview with Mabel Bokolo, New Crossroads, 29 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mabel Bokolo, Nyanga, 12 March 2009.

<sup>628</sup> Interview with Dumisa Dumisani Bleki, New Crossroads, 12 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Dumisa Dumisani Bleki, New Crossroads, 17 March 2009.

<sup>629</sup> Interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 31 July 2008.

<sup>630</sup> Follow-up interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 6 November 2008.

<sup>631</sup> Follow-up interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 6 November 2008.

benefited from the gardening education that she received. She also feels that belonging to the gardening project has helped her to stay young and energetic.<sup>632</sup>

“Ever since I started here, people of my same age have become grown up, become older. Here I’ve become younger and eager to work all the time.”<sup>633</sup>

Nozi Kani joined the Nonkululeko group in 2002, at the same time that she started her own small home garden. Nozi gardened with Nonkululeko at their Council land site and at their Siyazingisa School site. Unfortunately, Nozi’s husband became ill and she had to stop her home garden and her garden at Nonkululeko’s Council land site. However, she continued to garden at Siyazingisa School even after her husband passed away in 2007.<sup>634</sup>

Mrs Mbovu and Mrs Puza both joined the Masincedani Sikhulisani vegetable gardening group situated at the Fezeka Rent Office in Guguletu in 1999. Mrs Puza was one of the first members of the group and had found out about the garden from some people at the rent office. The members of the group did not previously know each other and they became friends through working together in the garden. Mrs Puza remembers that their first crops were very good and that she used those vegetables to help provide food for her family. Mrs Puza feels that those vegetables helped to make her strong, and that working in the garden has helped her to become stronger.<sup>635</sup> Mrs Mbovu’s sister had joined the group before her, and after coming to help her sister in the garden, Mrs Mbovu decided to join the group. When Mrs Mbovu moved to Philippi in 2003, she continued to be a member of the Masincedani vegetable gardening group, travelling daily to Guguletu to garden with the other members.<sup>636</sup>

Mrs Madalana started the Masithandane vegetable gardening group on Council land in 2003. This land had been vacant and was being used as a dumping ground and a haven for criminals. Mrs Madalana therefore wanted to clean up the land to improve the environment of her neighbourhood. She encouraged others in her area to join her group and they made arrangements with the City Council to lease the land for a small annual

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<sup>632</sup> Interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 31 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

<sup>633</sup> Follow-up interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

<sup>634</sup> Interview with Nozi Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>635</sup> Interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 7 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 12 March 2009.

<sup>636</sup> Interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 23 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

fee.<sup>637</sup> Mrs Madalana's story demonstrates her drive to improve her neighbourhood and the dedication with which she made this happen:

"When I started gardening, I didn't know gardening ... This piece of land was a dumping place. This piece of land belongs to the Council, but it was a dumping place. Once when we got up in the morning, we found someone had died in that area, it was sad. I decided we had to change the whole situation... I asked all my neighbours for a meeting to tell them my views. Everybody at that time was willing that it must change. I had to go to the Council of the area to ask for this place. They came to the community for a meeting saying that Mrs Madalana has a plan. The Councillor asked if they were willing for Mrs Madalana to start something, and everybody was willing.

"So we went to the City Council with the Councillor, and it was not easy. We took about nearly nine months up and down for this land. Luckily we had our Councillor backing us. At the end, they said we could have it, but they said we'd have to lease the land for 13 years... There was a lady who was working at the Council who said she was going to make a plan to get the Department of Agriculture to help us to fence the area. The Department of Agriculture took us to the Abalimi for training, that's how we met them."<sup>638</sup>

Mr Sineli joined the Masithandane group in 2004, the same year in which he started his own home vegetable garden. Mr Sineli enjoyed working in the Masithandane garden and he felt that he had inherited his father's gardening genes. He also found that gardening provided him with a focus and helped him to concentrate better. After a year and a half, Mr Sineli left the Masithandane group and joined the Nonkululeko gardening group. The Masithandane group had introduced a new system whereby the garden would operate as a project and members could no longer have their own plots. Mr Sineli did not like this new system, as he liked to be able to take vegetables home whenever he needed them. In 2006, Mr Sineli had to stop growing vegetables at home as he needed to use the space to build a garage. However, he continued to garden at Nonkululeko and also took on the role of bookkeeper for the group.<sup>639</sup> Nora Sineli joined the Masithandane gardening group in 2005. Her brother, who had been a member of this group, passed away in 2005, and when Nora stopped working later that year, she took her brother's place in the group. She had never conducted any type of farming

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<sup>637</sup> Interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 5 August 2008.

<sup>638</sup> Interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 5 August 2008.

<sup>639</sup> Interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 6 November 2008.

before, and was therefore quite shy when she joined the group. However, the other members were very willing to help and showed her what to do.<sup>640</sup>

In 2006, Lizo Sibaca joined the Masibambani vegetable gardening group operating at Siyazakha Primary School in Philippi. He loved working and decided that he would prefer to be working in the garden than staying at home with nothing to do.<sup>641</sup> Novatile Gova joined the Bambanani gardening group at Sinethemba Secondary School in Philippi in 2005. She was one of the first members of the group that was started by a local Councillor. Novatile was selling sheep feet when she joined the garden, but after a year she decided to dedicate more time to the garden and stopped her selling operation. Novatile had joined the group in the hope of earning an income, but decided to stay even after it became apparent that the members would not earn a significant income from the garden. Novatile remembers that the main benefits she got from the garden during its first years, were the products that she used to provide food for her household.<sup>642</sup>

Mrs Mvambi and Solomon Puza had both conducted their own urban cultivation activities before 1994. Both of these farmers expanded their UA activities after 1994 when they established vegetable gardening projects to help those in need. Solomon Puza works at the Catholic Welfare and Development (CWD) community centre in Guguletu. In 2003, he started the Ubuhlanti gardening project on land next to the centre to help unemployed people who come to the CWD centre for help. Unemployed people who visit the centre, are referred to the garden where they can work in exchange for tokens for the CWD soup kitchen. Those who work in the garden are also able to take some of the produce home and receive encouragement and support to start their own vegetable gardens at home. Solomon has noticed that the health of many of project beneficiaries has improved since they became involved in the project.<sup>643</sup> In 2007, Mrs Mvambi started the Zanacabo Support Foundation for people affected by HIV/Aids. Later that year, she started a vegetable garden to add to the other services offered by the Foundation. The vegetable garden was established on land at St. Gabriel's Catholic Church in Guguletu. Some of the project beneficiaries work in the garden and the vegetables that are grown, are used for the project's feeding scheme and given to beneficiaries to use at home. When the project started, Mrs. Mvambi saw that the beneficiaries were benefiting from

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<sup>640</sup> Interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 5 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>641</sup> Interview with Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 22 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

<sup>642</sup> Interview with Novatile Gova, Philippi, 21 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Novatile Gova, 12 March 2009.

<sup>643</sup> Interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 19 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 30 April 2009.

the fresh vegetables they received and the exercise that they got from working in the garden.<sup>644</sup>

In addition to the farmers who started practising urban agriculture for the first time after 1994, and the existing farmers who joined groups after 1994, some of the existing farmers began other, new UA activities during this period. Patrick Ngqaqu, who had farmed goats in New Crossroads in the 1980s, started farming chickens with his wife at their home in Guguletu in 2000. While Patrick has a strong farming background and has always had a passion for animals, Pamela had never farmed before. It was therefore Patrick's love for animals and Pamela's love for her husband that motivated them to start their farming activity. They have not sold any of their farming products, but have used the eggs and meat for their household and given some away to relatives. Pamela and Patrick remember that the main benefit they received when they started farming chickens, was the enjoyment and fun that they got from this activity.<sup>645</sup> While Mrs Vava had grown vegetables for short periods before 1994, she established her existing vegetable garden at her home in Nyanga in 2002. Mrs Vava started her garden shortly after her husband died, as she was struggling to provide for her family at that time. When she started her garden, Mrs Vava received resources and training from Abalimi Bezekhaya. She remembers that the main benefit that she gained from her UA activities was the food that her garden produced for her family. She was also able to save money, as she no longer had to purchase vegetables from the shops.<sup>646</sup> Mrs Mani had kept chickens during the 1970s and 1980s, but had not grown vegetables at that time. In 2005, she started growing vegetables at her home in Guguletu. The next year, Mrs Mani joined the Nonkululeko gardening group in Guguletu, but she soon left Nonkululeko's main gardening site and moved to their other site at Siyazingisa School. She preferred gardening there, as she could have her own plot and did not have to be part of the project. Mrs Mani was motivated to start her vegetable gardening activities by the fact that she had been exposed to farming when growing up in the Eastern Cape. When she started her gardens, she sold some of her produce to generate a small income. Mrs Mani also remembers that her gardening activities helped to increase her energy levels and that she no longer felt tired all the time.<sup>647</sup>

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<sup>644</sup> Interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 19 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

<sup>645</sup> Interview with Pamela and Patrick Ngqaqu, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>646</sup> Interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 1 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 17 March 2009.

<sup>647</sup> Interview with Mrs Mani, Guguletu, 2 April 2009.

## **Assessing How Farmers Continue to Benefit from their UA Activities**

The farmers' stories (that have been discussed in chapters four, five and earlier in this chapter) regarding when, why and how they began their UA activities, have revealed that the farmers gained a number of benefits from urban farming when they started, with many of these benefits being of a social nature. While it is safe to assume that most of the farmers continue to derive the same or similar benefits from their UA activities, it is also important to look at how the farmers and their families are currently benefiting from urban farming. A large amount of information was gathered during the interviews regarding the current benefits of the farmers' UA activities.<sup>648</sup> While it is not possible to present and discuss all of this information here, the following discussion will provide greater insight into the current benefits of the farmers' UA activities, demonstrating that these farming activities are producing a number of important social benefits for the farmers and their families.

### ***Motivations for continuing UA activities:***

The farmers' stories that have already been discussed have provided insight into why the farmers began to conduct their UA activities. Information regarding why the farmers continue to practise urban agriculture will help us to understand how they have continued to benefit from their urban farming activities. A variety of motivations were provided by the farmers for continuing their UA activities, with some farmers giving more than one reason. Only two of the farmers provided economic motivations relating to income generation for continuing their urban farming activities, with both of these being livestock farmers who depend to a large extent on the income from their UA activities.<sup>649</sup> The motivations provided by the other 28 farmers were all related either to food security (which can be seen in both economic and social terms)<sup>650</sup> or to other social benefits.

For thirteen of the farmers,<sup>651</sup> the fact that they are able to produce food for their households is a major motivation for their continued involvement in urban farming. While nine of these farmers simply stated that they continue to conduct UA so that they can access food on a regular basis to help their households, the other four spoke about

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<sup>648</sup> "Current benefits" refers to the benefits that farmers were deriving from their UA activities at the time that the field research for the study was conducted. This took place from July 2008 to April 2009.

<sup>649</sup> These two farmers are Mr Biko and Nonzwakazi Dlaba.

<sup>650</sup> As has been explained in Chapter 2, the quantitative aspects of food security are considered to be economic benefits, whereas the qualitative aspects of food security are seen as social benefits.

<sup>651</sup> Novatile Gova, Angelina Skepe, Lizo Sibaca, Robina Rondo, Mrs Vava, Mrs. Madalana, Mrs Mvambi, Solomon Puza, Rose Ngewu, Mrs Mani, Mr Fonte and Rosalina Nongogo.

the quality of food that they produce and the health benefits that they gain from eating fresh food. Rosalina Nongogo feels that the products from her garden enable her to eat good food, as all her vegetables are organic and therefore have no chemicals in them.<sup>652</sup> One of Solomon Puza's motivations for continuing his UA activities is the fact that the food that he gets from his garden is fresh.<sup>653</sup> Mrs Mvambi is also motivated by the fresh food that she produces, as she feels that eating fresh vegetables produces a number of health benefits.

"The reason is connected with health, because once you get fresh vegetables, it doesn't matter whether you are HIV positive or sickly, everybody needs to eat healthily."<sup>654</sup>

Six of the farmers said that they continue to conduct their UA activities because of their love of farming and the enjoyment that they get from doing their UA activities.<sup>655</sup> These farmers' responses to the question regarding why they continue their UA activities include "I love gardening",<sup>656</sup> "Because I'm enjoying it"<sup>657</sup> and "Because of my love of animals".<sup>658</sup> Patrick Ngqaqu continues to farm because he loves animals and farming, and while his wife, Pamela, also enjoys the farming, she continues to practise farming because of her love for her husband.<sup>659</sup> In addition to those who continue to farm for enjoyment, four farmers said that they continue to practise urban agriculture because farming is somehow a part of them. The way in which these farmers expressed this is particularly interesting, as it shows their deep passion for farming and suggests that their sense of identity is somehow linked to the fact that they are farmers.

"Because I inherited it. I can't stop, I enjoy it."<sup>660</sup>

"I cannot stop having a garden because even when I go home to Keiskammahoek, I always do gardening... I can say that it's in me."<sup>661</sup>

"It's my heart."<sup>662</sup>

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<sup>652</sup> Interview with Rosalina Nongogo, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>653</sup> Interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 19 August 2008.

<sup>654</sup> Interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 19 August 2008.

<sup>655</sup> Patrick and Pamela Ngqaqu, Nozi Kani, Rosalina Nongogo, Davidson Mooi, Sam Mgunuza, Solomon Puza. (Note: some farmers gave more than one motivation for continuing their UA activities.)

<sup>656</sup> Interview with Nozi Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>657</sup> Interview with Rosalina Nongogo, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>658</sup> Interview with Davidson Mooi, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>659</sup> Pamela Ngqaqu, interview with Pamela and Patrick Ngqaqu, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>660</sup> Interview with Mabel Bokolo, New Crossroads, 29 July 2008.

<sup>661</sup> Interview with George Madikane, KTC, 3 March 2009.

<sup>662</sup> Interview with Worthington Tutu, KTC, 15 April 2009.

Four of the farmers said that they continue to farm because it keeps them busy and provides them with something to do. Both Novatile Gova and Mr Sineli expressed that it is better to be farming than to be at home doing nothing.<sup>663</sup> Mrs Puza likes to work and farming provides her with the opportunity to keep busy.<sup>664</sup> Since Stephen Ngqaka became unemployed, farming keeps him busy and therefore keeps him out of trouble.<sup>665</sup> Two farmers are motivated to continue to farm because of the exercise that they get from their farming activities. Both of these farmers noted that this exercise prevents aches and pains in their bodies.

“Just because I’m not working I need exercises that will prevent back aches and body problems.”<sup>666</sup>

“Here I am exercising and moving around. My leg is damaged, but it feels better while I’m in the garden.”<sup>667</sup>

In addition, two of the farmers are motivated to continue farming because of the therapeutic benefits that they derive from their UA activities. Phylophia Bashe finds that farming keeps her heart feeling young<sup>668</sup> and Nomeko Mqathazana always feels fresh and happy when she’s in her garden. Nomeko also enjoys the company of the other gardeners and benefits from sharing her problems with them.

“If I’m here, I’m glad. I’m always fresh at the garden. If I’m sick and I’m here, I feel better. We share our problems and we talk to each other, then I feel alright. It’s not wise to be bottled up. If you are with people, and you share your problems, you can offload it to them. They give you the solution.”<sup>669</sup>

The farmers interviewed for this study are therefore motivated by a variety of factors to continue to conduct their urban agriculture activities. These factors all relate to benefits that they have derived, and want to continue to derive, from their UA activities. These benefits include food security, improved nutrition and health, enjoyment, occupation, exercise, therapeutic benefits, fostering of a sense of identity and, to a small degree, income generation. It is important to note that the majority of the farmers’ motivations are social.<sup>670</sup> The farmers’ motivations, together with the information earlier in this chapter and in chapters four and five regarding the farmers’ UA activities, reveal that

<sup>663</sup> Interview with Novatile Gova, Philippi, 21 July 2008; Interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008.

<sup>664</sup> Interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 7 August 2008.

<sup>665</sup> Interview with Stephen Ngqaka, Guguletu, 17 March 2009.

<sup>666</sup> Interview with Ellen Sandlana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>667</sup> Interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 5 August 2008.

<sup>668</sup> Interview with Phylophia Bashe, Guguletu, 15 April 2009.

<sup>669</sup> Interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 31 July 2008.

<sup>670</sup> This is the case even when the nine food security related motivations are viewed as being economic.

urban farmers benefit from both the products and the processes of farming. In order to fully understand how the farmers currently benefit from their UA activities, it is therefore necessary to look at the benefits that they derive from both the products and processes of their urban farming activities. These benefits can be categorised according to individual, family / household and community benefits.

***Benefits derived from the products of urban farming:***

During the interviews, all of the farmers were asked what they do with the products of their UA activities and how this benefits them, their families and their broader communities. A look at how the farmers answered these questions will provide valuable insight into how the farmers and their families currently benefit from the products of their farming activities.

***Family / Household Benefits:***

Twenty eight of the 30 farmers regularly make use of some of the produce from their UA activities as food for their households. Of the remaining two, one grows flowers<sup>671</sup> and the other farms goats, which he only occasionally uses for household food as he is very attached to his goats and does not like to slaughter them.<sup>672</sup> These 28 farmers all said that their farming products benefit them as they enable them to provide food for their households. This demonstrates that food security, in terms of its economic contribution, is an important benefit derived from these farmers' UA activities. Some of the farmers went on to say that their farming provides their families with food during difficult times when they do not have any money. In most cases, the farmers also spoke about the qualitative aspect of the food that they produce, mentioning "healthy food", "nutritious food", "fresh food" or "tasty food". This shows that their UA activities not only enable them to provide food for their families, but also to provide food that is of a certain quality. This would therefore be seen as a social benefit. Some farmers even spoke about how their farming products provide "interesting food" and how their families enjoy eating the food they produce.

The vast majority of the farmers said that they prefer to eat the food that they produce than to eat those same items purchased from the shops. The most common reasons for this are that their products are fresher and tastier. Many also said that their produce is

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<sup>671</sup> Interview with Sam Mgunuza, Guguletu, 14 August 2008.

<sup>672</sup> Interview with Davidson Mooi, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

healthier and some also said that theirs is organic, purer and contains more nutrients. Only Davidson Mooi prefers to purchase meat than to eat the meat that his farming produces because he loves his goats and therefore does not enjoy slaughtering and eating them.<sup>673</sup> In addition, ten of the farmers grow herbs, with most of them using their herbs for medicinal purposes. Seven of these farmers said that using the herbs that they grow in their households, helps to keep their families healthy. Some even said that they and their families hardly ever have to go to the doctor or the clinic because of the herbs that they grow.

#### *Individual and Family / Household Benefits:*

By producing their own food, the farmers are not only benefiting from having food security, but also from having access to good quality food that is fresh, nutritious and healthy. Many of the farmers even said that they and their families are healthier because they eat the fresh food produced through their UA activities. Mrs Madalana has high blood pressure but eating the vegetables that she grows, has helped her to manage her blood pressure. She feels that she would be very unhealthy if she were not eating the vegetables that she grows.<sup>674</sup> Stephen Ngqaka has a member of his household who is HIV positive. Stephen feels that eating the vegetables produced in his garden, is helping this person to stay healthy.<sup>675</sup> Nonzwakazi Dlaba regularly eats pork that she produces from her livestock farming. She is diabetic and feels that it is better for her to eat the white meat that she produces than to eat red meat.<sup>676</sup> Rosalina Nongogo has noticed that her health has improved since she started gardening and eating the vegetables that she produces. She has had to visit the doctor far less frequently since she started her garden in March 2008.<sup>677</sup>

Of the 30 farmers that were interviewed, 22 are selling some of their produce, with ten of these farmers selling vegetables to Abalimi Bezekhaya's Harvest of Hope vegetable-box scheme. A further five farmers are not selling their produce yet but say that they plan to do so in the future. The amount of money that the 22 farmers generate from selling their produce varies considerably, with only a very few using their farming as a major, regular source of household income. One of these farmers does not earn any income for himself as he is running a gardening project for Catholic Welfare and Development and

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<sup>673</sup> Interview with Davidson Mooi, Guguletu 14 April 2009.

<sup>674</sup> Interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 5 August 2008.

<sup>675</sup> Interview with Stephen Nyameko Ngqaka, Guguletu, 17 March 2009.

<sup>676</sup> Interview with Nonzwakazi Dlaba, Guguletu, 31 March 2009.

<sup>677</sup> Interview with Rosalina Nongogo, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

all the income generated through sales is used to cover project costs.<sup>678</sup> The other 21 farmers who are selling their produce can be divided into the following four categories in terms of the amount of money that they generate from their farming activities and the regularity and reliability of this income: Those generating a regular, major source of income through farming; Those generating a smaller, yet relatively regular income through farming; Those receiving small amounts of money from sales on an ad hoc basis; Those farming in groups who receive farming income only at the end of the year.

Only two of the farmers who were interviewed, earn a regular living from farming and therefore use their UA activities as their primary source of income. Mr Biko farms chickens, goats, sheep, pigs and cattle and also has a small vegetable patch. He conducts some of his farming activities from his home and he also makes use of land in Mamre. While he is an informal farmer, Mr Biko is running a relatively large operation and is farming at a commercial level. His income varies from month to month, but it provides the family with their main source of income and enables Mr Biko to provide for his family and send his children to school.<sup>679</sup> Nonzwakazi Diaba farms pigs and keeps them in Mfuleni on land belonging to the Small Farmers' Association. Pig farming is Nonzwakazi's only source of income and she uses this income to cover her regular living expenses. She is a single mother and lives with seven other family members. It is therefore safe to assume that the income that she generates from her pig farming, is not only an important source of income for herself, but also for her household.<sup>680</sup>

Two of the interviewed farmers generate a smaller, yet relatively regular income through farming. Both of these farmers have an idea of how much they earn from selling their UA produce and feel that this is a reasonable income. However, both of these farmers have other sources of income and neither seems to make more than R300 per month from selling their produce.<sup>681</sup> Nine of the interviewed farmers receive small amounts of income from sales on an ad hoc basis. While these farmers are all selling some of the produce from their UA activities, they are not making a regular amount of money from this practice. Only two of these farmers have a clear idea of how much money they generate from their sales. One of these farmers said that he makes approximately R50 to R60 per month,<sup>682</sup> and the other estimated that he makes between R1000 to R1600 in

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<sup>678</sup> Interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 19 August 2008. Solomon Puza also has his own home garden where he grows vegetables and herbs that he uses in his home and gives away.

<sup>679</sup> Interview with Mr Biko, Nyanga, 7 August 2008.

<sup>680</sup> Interview with Nonzwakazi Diaba, Guguletu, 31 March 2009.

<sup>681</sup> Interview with Mabel Bokolo, New Crossroads, 29 July 2008; and Interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 1 August 2008.

<sup>682</sup> Interview with George Madikane, KTC, 31 March 2009.

a whole year.<sup>683</sup> Most of these farmers use the money they generate for small household expenses and many also use some of this income to purchase inputs for their farming activities. While these farmers are not generating large sums of money from their UA activities, the money that they make is important to them, as it enables them to purchase certain necessary items for themselves and their households. These items help to improve the standard of living of their households and, in many cases, enable the farmers to continue with their farming activities. Therefore, while this income is small, the benefits derived from it cannot be ignored.

Ten of the interviewed farmers are growing vegetables in group or community gardens and do not receive any of the profits from the sales of vegetables from these gardens until the end of the year.<sup>684</sup> Most of the money that is generated is saved in the groups' bank accounts until December when it is shared out amongst the members. All of these gardens are selling some of their vegetables to Abalimi's Harvest of Hope project and some are also selling vegetables to people in their area. None of these farmers were able to estimate how much money they would receive at the end of that year.<sup>685</sup> Most of these farmers use this money either to visit the Eastern Cape in December or to purchase extra items for their households. Therefore, while the income from their gardens does not contribute towards these farmers' regular monthly income, it does help them to cover certain important costs at the end of the year. One of the groups does not even share out its profits at the end of the year. Rather, they invest the money and make loans available to members of the group. The money in the account is used to purchase inputs for the garden, daily refreshments for the members and items for the group's end of year feast.<sup>686</sup>

Apart from generating income through the sale of produce, many of the farmers said that they save money by eating their UA products at home, as they do not have to purchase these items. In fact, 24 of the 30 farmers interviewed made this claim. Most of these farmers use the money that they save to pay for general household items. Some farmers use this money to cover their children's school costs. While eating the food produced through their UA activities can be seen as food security, these farmers also

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<sup>683</sup> Interview with Davidson Mooi, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>684</sup> This includes two farmers who also have their own vegetable gardens and are selling produce from those gardens on an ad hoc basis. These two farmers have therefore also been included in the discussion regarding farmers who are selling small amounts of produce on an ad hoc basis.

<sup>685</sup> This could be because the Harvest of Hope project was still very new when these ten farmers were interviewed and these groups had therefore only recently joined the project. These ten farmers were interviewed in July and August 2008, and the Harvest of Hope project only began operating at the beginning of 2008.

<sup>686</sup> Interview with Mthuthuzeli Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008.

benefit economically as they are able to save money that helps to augment their household income. While it is safe to assume that the amounts saved are not large, they are important as they enable the farmers to purchase and pay for a number of necessary items to improve their family's standard of living. In this way, this benefit is both economic and social.

#### *Community Benefits:*

Two of the farmers run project vegetable gardens where unemployed people work in exchange for a share of the garden produce and, in some instances, some other benefits provided by the projects. Both of these farmers said that they have noticed the health of those involved in their projects improving since they joined the projects and started eating the produce from the gardens. One of these farmers even hears the project beneficiaries talking about how their health has improved. In this project, the improvement in the beneficiaries' health is particularly noticeable as many of them are on medication that they need to take regularly and cannot take on an empty stomach. Eating the produce from the garden enables these people to receive important nutrients, build up their strength and take their medication correctly.<sup>687</sup>

Twenty nine of the 30 farmers interviewed give away some of their farming produce on a regular basis, mostly to neighbours and relatives, but also to the sick, needy and aged living in their area. This amazing practice can be seen as contributing towards community development, which is an important potential social benefit of urban agriculture. Through the giving away of farming produce, a large number of people are benefiting from these farmers' activities in terms of food security, health and nutrition.

We therefore see that the products of their urban agriculture activities provide farmers and their families with a number of benefits including food security, improved nutrition, access to quality food, improved health and income generation. It is evident, however, that for the majority of the farmers interviewed, the income generated through their UA activities is relatively small. Others living in the farmers' neighbourhoods have also benefited from these products as farmers have given produce away to their neighbours and to the sick and needy in their area.

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<sup>687</sup> Interviews with: Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 19 August 2008; and Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 19 August 2008.

### ***Benefits derived from the processes of urban farming:***

It is evident from the information about how the farmers use the products of their UA activities, and from their motivations for continuing to farm, that the farming products are important as they benefit the farmers, their families, and sometimes others in their neighbourhoods, by providing them with food security, good nutrition, improved health and the opportunity to earn additional income. However, many of the farmers' motivations for continuing to farm, as well as responses given to other questions asked during their interviews, reveal that the farmers also benefit from the processes of farming, and that these benefits are mostly social. In fact, more than half the farmers saw benefits gained from the processes of farming as being the main benefits derived from their UA activities.<sup>688</sup>

#### *Individual Benefits:*

As many as nine of the farmers saw exercise as being one of the main benefits that they get from their urban agriculture activities. Most of these farmers also expressed the view that the exercise they are getting from farming has helped to improve their health. Examples include Mrs Mvambi who said, "The benefits I get, number one is health because I get a lot of exercise,"<sup>689</sup> and Mrs Mbovu who responded by saying, "I get health...by working in the garden, I am exercising."<sup>690</sup> Some of the farmers also saw the fact that they are able to keep busy as being an important benefit of their UA activities. Mrs Puza likes to work and therefore enjoys farming as it keeps her busy.<sup>691</sup> Stephen Ngqaka feels that gardening provides him with discipline and helps to keep him out of trouble.<sup>692</sup> Phylophia Bashe benefits by having something to do each morning when she wakes up.

"When I wake up, I know what I must do. I become healthy from inside, in my soul."<sup>693</sup>

Many of the farmers saw the therapeutic benefits that they gain from their UA activities as being the main benefits that they derive from farming. In many cases, farmers spoke either about how their UA activities help them to deal with their problems, or how they

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<sup>688</sup> Of the 30 farmers, 10 spoke about benefits they get from farming products, 11 spoke about benefits they get from farming processes and 9 spoke about both.

<sup>689</sup> Interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 19 August 2008.

<sup>690</sup> Interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 23 July 2008.

<sup>691</sup> Interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 7 August 2008.

<sup>692</sup> Interview with Stephen Ngqaka, Guguletu, 17 March 2009.

<sup>693</sup> Interview with Phylophia Bashe, Guguletu, 15 April 2009.

enable them to be removed from, or to escape from, these problems.<sup>694</sup> Many farmers also spoke about how being in their gardens or being with their livestock heals them from their worries and their stress. The following responses clearly demonstrate the important therapeutic role that farming plays for many of the farmers.

"I can forget everything. Sometimes when something's terrible, I go to my cattle; I look at my sheep, goats. I feel very well there. I forget everything."<sup>695</sup>

"Sometimes when I'm not feeling well or when I've got nerves, then I come to the garden and I become alright, and the garden heals me."<sup>696</sup>

"I get life. All my problems and worries go when I'm in the garden. These flowers give me life."<sup>697</sup>

For some of the farmers, the therapeutic benefits of farming are not only gained through working with their plants and animals, but are also gained through interaction with other farmers and through sharing their problems with others. For Robina Rondo, having the opportunity to share her problems, is a very important benefit that she derives from her UA activities.

"If I'm at home sleeping, I dream about being in the garden and sharing my problems."<sup>698</sup>

Mr Sineli feels that he benefits from the advice and knowledge that he gets from the other, older, members of his gardening group. He and the members of his group discuss life issues and provide each other with advice. As the youngest member of the group, Mr Sineli feels that he learns a lot during these discussions, and he even passes his new knowledge on to his wife.<sup>699</sup> Both his and Robina Rondo's responses indicate that elements of social capital are being fostered in the gardening groups.

During the interviews, farmers were asked how they feel while they are conducting their UA activities. The farmers' responses to this question provide some valuable insight into the benefits that they gain from the process of farming. All of the farmers responded positively to this question, showing that they enjoy conducting their UA activities, even

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<sup>694</sup> The types of problems mentioned by these farmers include family issues, financial problems, problems relating to their children, conflict with neighbours and problems in their broader communities.

<sup>695</sup> Interview with Mr Biko, Nyanga, 7 August 2008.

<sup>696</sup> Interview with Novatile Gova, Philippi, 21 July 2008.

<sup>697</sup> Interview with Sam Mgunuza, Guguletu, 14 August 2008.

<sup>698</sup> Interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 31 July 2008.

<sup>699</sup> Interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008.

though farming can be hard work. Many of the farmers spoke about how they feel physically strong and healthy while they are working in their gardens or tending to their livestock. Mrs Madalana, Nora Sineli, Mabel Bokolo, Robina Rondo and George Madikane all spoke about how their physical aches and pains go away when they are working in their gardens. Nora Sineli has a bad leg injury, but she says that in the garden “I feel I can run.”<sup>700</sup> Mrs Puza is 85 years old, yet her body feels strong when she is gardening.<sup>701</sup> Mr Biko, Novatile Gova, Angelina Skepe and Nomeko Mqathazana all feel generally strong, healthy and full of energy while they are conducting their UA activities.

Many of the farmers said that they feel happy while they are working in their gardens or attending to their livestock. Most of these farmers answered the question regarding how they feel while they are conducting their UA activities, by saying “I feel very happy” and “It makes me happy.” Mrs Madalana went on to explain that she and her fellow gardeners even sing when they are gardening.<sup>702</sup> Mr Sineli also sings in the garden and enjoys watching his plants grow.<sup>703</sup> Being in the garden and watching her vegetables grow, also makes Ellen Sandlana very happy.<sup>704</sup> Apart from church, Nozi Kani’s garden is the only place where she enjoys herself.<sup>705</sup> Despite being 91 years old, Mrs Mani loves working in her garden so much that she does not want to go home and her family members have to come and fetch her.<sup>706</sup> Mr Biko, Patrick Ngqaqu and Davidson Mooi love their animals and enjoy spending time with them.<sup>707</sup>

A number of the farmers spoke about the therapeutic benefits that they derive from being in their gardens or tending to their livestock. Many of these farmers said that they forget their worries when they are farming and that their UA activities take them away from their problems. Mrs Mbovu and Mr Fonte both said that they feel very relaxed when they are gardening.<sup>708</sup> Mrs Mbovu even went on to say, “I live for the garden” and Novatile Gova said, “It’s as if it’s part of my family.”<sup>709</sup> The following responses show how some of the other farmers benefit therapeutically when they are conducting their farming activities:

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<sup>700</sup> Interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 5 August 2008.

<sup>701</sup> Interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 7 August 2008.

<sup>702</sup> Interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 5 August 2008.

<sup>703</sup> Interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008.

<sup>704</sup> Interview with Ellen Sandlana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>705</sup> Interview with Nozi Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>706</sup> Interview with Mrs Mani, Guguletu, 2 April 2009.

<sup>707</sup> Interviews with: Mr Biko, Nyanga, 7 August 2008; Patrick and Pamela Ngqaqu, Guguletu, 7 April 2009; Davidson Mooi, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>708</sup> Interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 23 July 2008; and Interview with Mr Fonte, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>709</sup> Interview with Novatile Gova. Philippi, 21 July 2008.

"I feel very wonderful. When I don't come here, I worry. When I first get up, I have to come here to greet my flowers."<sup>710</sup>

"Ever since I started the garden, I don't have a problem with my life."<sup>711</sup>

"Oh, full of love. Or no stress – that's where I stay when I've got stress and then I forget everything. Because I see this ... these things I never plant before and every time I see, I feel so proud. And then when you go to your garden and tell your garden about the problems that you're having inside, they're not going to tell somebody."<sup>712</sup>

#### *Family / Household Benefits:*

Responses to some of the more specific questions asked during the interviews reveal that the farmers' urban agriculture activities are also producing benefits relating to family unity. Seventeen of the farmers spoke about how their UA activities produce benefits for their families over and above the benefits that they get from the products of their farming activities. Fourteen of these farmers feel that their families benefit from the fact that they are able to conduct their farming activities either at home or at sites very close to their homes. Most of these farmers have young children living with them<sup>713</sup> and others have sick or disabled family members living with them. The farmers with young children living with them, feel that working at or near to their homes, enables them to spend more time with the children and to be available whenever the children need them. These farmers are also able to be at home when the children come home from school and crèche, and can cook their meals and help them with their homework. Those with sick or disabled family members at home, can check up on these family members on a regular basis and are available to help whenever necessary. The following extracts demonstrate how some of the farmers and their families are benefiting from the fact that the farmers are able to conduct their UA activities close to home:

"Ever since I'm nearby, at least I know any time I need to go home and have a look at my sick daughter, I just go there and come back again."<sup>714</sup>

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<sup>710</sup> Interview with Sam Mgunuza, Guguletu, 14 August 2008.

<sup>711</sup> Interview with Angelina Skepe, Philippi, 22 July 2008.

<sup>712</sup> Interview with Rosalina Nongogo, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>713</sup> In some cases, the young children are their own children and in other cases they are their grandchildren and great grandchildren.

<sup>714</sup> Interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 5 August 2008.

"It helps me to be nearby, I'm always in the area – if my little granddaughter needs me I'm nearby."<sup>715</sup>

"I do their homework with them when they come from school... They only come home at 3 o'clock. By that time, I'm always at home. When they arrive from school, I'm there... When I'm away, I always think about them. I make plans to go home because I miss them."<sup>716</sup>

"Because I've got a disabled child...it really helps me because I'm nearby - if anything happens at home, I'm aware of it."<sup>717</sup>

In addition, eight of the farmers spoke about how their children and grandchildren take an interest in their farming activities and sometimes help them in their gardens or with their livestock. This enables them to teach the children about farming and to spend quality time with their children and grandchildren. In addition to learning about gardening and helping in the garden, Mrs Mvambi's grandson is learning to cook and enjoys cooking the vegetables from the garden.<sup>718</sup> The following responses from Mr Biko and Solomon Puza demonstrate how their UA activities provide some of the farmers with opportunities to spend quality time with their children and grandchildren.

"Sometimes I take my girls to the farm to show them what we do there. Sometimes I take my whole family there and we all work together as a team... I share everything with my children. My family is like a company. All is for my children. We work as a team."<sup>719</sup>

"My children and grandson are very interested in the garden. I tell them about gardening. They have good bonding time with me in the garden. The children enjoy the time."<sup>720</sup>

#### *Community and Individual Benefits:*

The development of social networks and social capital is another important benefit that many of the farmers are gaining through their urban agriculture activities. While the growth of social capital can benefit the broader community, it also benefits the individuals who belong to the social networks and is thus seen as a community and

<sup>715</sup> Interview with Ellen Sandiana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>716</sup> Interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008.

<sup>717</sup> Interview with Angelina Skepe, Philippi, 22 July 2008.

<sup>718</sup> Interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 19 August 2008.

<sup>719</sup> Interview with Mr Biko, Nyanga, 7 August 2008.

<sup>720</sup> Interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 19 August 2008.

individual benefit. This study found that the farmers who belong to gardening groups have developed close relationships with the other members and that they have derived a number of benefits from their membership to these social networks. These close relationships have been formed despite the fact that many did not know the other members before they joined the groups. In some cases, the members knew each other from a distance, but did not have any type of friendship with each other before they joined the group.<sup>721</sup> All those farming in groups now see their fellow group members as friends and enjoy working with them. Mrs Mbovu even noted that she and the other members of her group love each other<sup>722</sup> and Nomeko Mqathazana spoke about how she and her fellow group members joke around with each other.<sup>723</sup> The following quote from Angelina Skepe demonstrates the close relationship that she has with the other members of her group.

"I enjoy working with them because we help each other in everything. If somebody does something wrong, we scold each other, but we end up laughing. Even if I do something wrong, they scold me. At the end of the day, I also laugh about it. Even people who watch us, say we are just like small children."<sup>724</sup>

Evidence of social capital can be found in the fact that members of these groups have contact with each other over and above their interaction in the garden, and that the members of the groups regularly help each other out in times of need. Those who farm in groups also trust the other members of their groups. All of the farmers interviewed who are gardening in groups said that they see the other members of their groups outside of the garden. Most said that they visit each other regularly and, particularly, group members who are sick. They also visit members who are experiencing specific problems and join each other for special occasions. All indicated that they and their fellow group members help each other out in times of need. Many of the farmers said that members lend each other money regularly and also help those who are in need of food. Members share their problems with each other regularly and provide each other with comfort and advice. Other farmers spoke about how they take care of the sick and elderly members of their groups and visit members whose loved ones have passed away. One group collects money when a member loses a loved one, to help cover the funeral and burial costs. The following extracts demonstrate how farmers benefit from the various ways in which group members help each other out.

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<sup>721</sup> Of the 13 farmers who belong to gardening groups, six did not know any of the other members before they joined their groups and three either only knew some members or only knew them from a distance.

<sup>722</sup> Interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 23 July 2008.

<sup>723</sup> Interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 31 July 2008.

<sup>724</sup> Interview with Angelina Skepe, Philippi, 22 July 2008.

"Sometimes if I have no money, they lend me money. We help each other by borrowing from each other... Sometimes when we need help, we share our problems."<sup>725</sup>

"We understand each other, we love each other. Even if something has happened to one of us, we visit each other.... When my husband passed away, they gave me money so I could travel home and bury my husband. Also one of the members of the garden had the same thing, we had to collect some money and give it to her. It was not so much, but at least it was better than nothing."<sup>726</sup>

"We advise each other, and we take advice from each other... There is a lady, who because of her age, can't work. The group always helps her. We always send her veggies and visit her. She can't work in the garden anymore."<sup>727</sup>

Having access to social networks that are based on trust and reciprocity is therefore a very important benefit that these farmers gain from their UA activities. The evidence gained from research conducted with these farmers indicates that UA has indeed played a central role in the creation of these social networks. However, further analysis that takes these farmers' other social networks into account would need to be done in order to establish the exact extent to which UA has created social networks and fostered social capital.

The farmers have nevertheless gained many benefits through their membership to these networks. Whenever they have a need or a problem, the farmers are able to access help and support. As long as they belong to these networks, the farmers will never be without food, money or personal support and advice. The elderly and sick will also always have people to help take care of them. Therefore, the social networks and social capital developed through the gardens improve the quality of these farmers' lives and help the farmers to become less vulnerable to poverty.

#### *Community Benefits:*

Community upliftment can also be seen as a benefit of some of the farmers' urban agriculture activities. In addition to the fact that many of the farmers give some of their produce away to sick and needy people in their neighbourhoods, community

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<sup>725</sup> Interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 7 August 2008.

<sup>726</sup> Interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 23 July 2008.

<sup>727</sup> Interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008.

development initiatives have come about through the UA activities of some of the farmers. An excellent example of this is the community feeding scheme that the members of the Nonkululeko gardening group in Guguletu first started in 2006 and restarted in September 2008. The feeding scheme operates from the Nonkululeko garden and feeds approximately 200 people each day from Sunday to Friday. While the members of the group had used their own funds to purchase the stove, fridge and pots, the group managed to access funding from the Department of Social Services to cover the cost of the groceries and gas, and to purchase cutlery and crockery.<sup>728</sup> This feeding scheme has had a great impact on many poor and unemployed people living near the garden. One of the group members, Robina Rondo, says that she has seen people become stronger and healthier since they have been coming to the feeding scheme.

“At first, people used to come here very weak, and they couldn’t even manage to sit down. Ever since we’ve started this feeding scheme, at least you can see the change in the people. They’ve become strong enough to be able to sit by themselves. We even encourage them to stop drinking alcohol because we said if they drank alcohol, they would not be able to be given food.”<sup>729</sup>

Smaller community upliftment activities are also being conducted by some of the other farmers interviewed for this study.<sup>730</sup> Dumisa Bleki uses the garden that he has established at Sithembele Matiso High School in New Crossroads, to teach children at the school about gardening.<sup>731</sup> Mr Biko also teaches others in his community how to farm.<sup>732</sup> In addition, the Masithandane garden that Mrs Madalana started in Guguletu, has impacted positively on many people living in her area, as it has radically improved the environment of her neighbourhood.<sup>733</sup> The project gardens that Solomon Puza and Mrs Mvambi run, produce numerous benefits for the project beneficiaries and their families.<sup>734</sup> Rosalina Nongogo and Ellen Sandlana are also planning to establish a vegetable garden at the TB clinic in Guguletu, which will benefit sick people attending the clinic.<sup>735</sup>

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<sup>728</sup> Follow-up interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 6 November 2008.

<sup>729</sup> Follow-up interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

<sup>730</sup> Further research would need to be conducted in order to establish the impact that these community upliftment activities are having on the farmers’ communities.

<sup>731</sup> Interview with Dumisa Bleki, New Crossroads, 12 August 2008.

<sup>732</sup> Interview with Mr Biko, Nyanga, 7 August 2008.

<sup>733</sup> Interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 5 August 2008.

<sup>734</sup> Interviews with: Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 19 August 2008; and Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 19 August 2008.

<sup>735</sup> Interview with Rosalina Nongogo, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

### ***The negative impacts of Urban Agriculture:***

So far, this chapter has focused on the positive impact of urban agriculture in the Cape Flats, exploring the ways in which farmers, their families and their neighbourhoods benefit from their urban farming activities. However, a thorough analysis of the social impact of UA should explore both the positive and negative affects of this phenomenon. In Chapter 2, some of the negative impacts of UA that had been identified in previous studies and by various researchers, local authorities and role-players were listed and briefly discussed. In this section, information gained from the 30 urban farmers interviewed for this study will be used to assess whether or not these and other potential negative impacts are produced through UA activities in the Cape Flats. It is important to note, however, that while farmers were asked some questions that enable us to gain a certain amount of information on this issue, this study focuses mainly on the social benefits of UA. Further research would therefore be required in order to fully assess the negative impact of UA in these townships. Research would also have to be conducted with residents who are not farmers in order to gain a full understanding of their views about this phenomenon and to assess how they are affected by it.

Due to the fact that the properties in the target areas are very small, and space is therefore limited, it was thought that a potential negative impact of UA could be tensions and conflicts that arise within households regarding the use of this space for farming activities. The amount of time that the farmer spends tending his/her garden or animals, and the resources used for these farming activities, could also cause tensions and conflicts within the farmers' households. All of the farmers were therefore asked how their spouses and household members felt about their UA activities. A brief look at the farmers' responses to this question will enable us to assess whether conflict within their households is a negative impact of these farmers' UA activities.

This question was only relevant to 17 of the 30 farmers, as the other 13 are either unmarried, widowed or divorced and live only with young children or with lodgers. A few of these farmers are themselves lodgers and conduct their farming activities at other sites. Of the 17 farmers who answered the question, 14 responded that their spouses and households felt positively about their UA activities, while only three had encountered negative reactions. None of the reasons for these negative attitudes was related to the use of space and resources and, in fact, none of the reasons seemed to be particularly serious. Nozi Kani's husband used to get jealous of the time that she spent in the garden, but he has since passed away and now her grandchildren merely find it strange

that she enjoys her garden so much.<sup>736</sup> Stephen Ngqaka's wife and friends joke about his spending too much time in the garden<sup>737</sup> and Mrs Mani's family feels that it is uncultured to have vegetables growing in front of the house.<sup>738</sup>

The positive attitudes of spouses and families towards the farmers' UA activities certainly outweigh the negative. Many of these 14 farmers noted how their spouses and families are pleased about the fresh, healthy food they are able to bring to the household. Other spouses and households enjoy the beauty of the gardens and enjoy spending time with the animals. In some cases, spouses and other family members help the farmers with their gardens or animals and value the time they spend together. It can therefore be concluded that the UA activities of the farmers interviewed for this study produce very few tensions within the farmers' families and households. In fact, the majority support their family members in their farming endeavours because they appreciate the benefits that these UA activities produce.

Many existing UA studies speak about the nuisances that urban farming can create for farmers' neighbours and others living in their area. Diseases and unhygienic conditions have also been identified by researchers and local authorities as potential negative impacts of urban farming.<sup>739</sup> In order to begin to assess whether or not these negative impacts have been, and still are produced through UA activities in the Cape Flats, all the interviewed farmers were asked what other people in their communities think about their UA activities. Of the 30 farmers, 23 said that their neighbours and community members were positive. Four provided answers that contained both positive and negative aspects and only three said that their neighbours and fellow residents were negative. Of these three farmers, two grow vegetables and only one farms livestock. The livestock farmer, Davidson Mooi, said that residents in his area believe that his goats do not belong in the township and feel that they make the place dirty and destroy their yards.<sup>740</sup> Of the two vegetable farmers, one said that her neighbours feel that she should be growing flowers in her front yard and not vegetables,<sup>741</sup> and the other said that residents of her area are jealous of the fact that her garden has flourished. She also said that neighbours

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<sup>736</sup> Interview with Nozi Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>737</sup> Interview with Stephen Ngqaka, Guguletu, 17 March 2009.

<sup>738</sup> Interview with Mrs Mani, Guguletu, 2 April 2009.

<sup>739</sup> Details regarding these negative impacts and some of the studies where they were identified and investigated can be found in Chapter 2.

<sup>740</sup> Interview with Davidson Mooi, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>741</sup> Interview with Mrs Mani, Guguletu, 2 April 2009.

originally objected to the compost her gardening group kept on their site, but that this issue had been discussed and resolved.<sup>742</sup>

The farmers who had mixed responses to this question comprise three vegetable farmers and one flower farmer. The flower farmer merely responded that some people like what he is doing and others do not.<sup>743</sup> One vegetable farmer said that her neighbours find it strange that she is always in her garden, but that they nevertheless respect her for what she is doing.<sup>744</sup> Another vegetable farmer said that her neighbours want to purchase vegetables from her, but that some fail to pay her after she has sold to them on credit.<sup>745</sup> Nomeko Mqathazana said that residents of her area appreciate her group's garden now, but that when the garden was being established, neighbours complained that their fertilizer produced bad smells and attracted flies.<sup>746</sup> However, the vast majority of the interviewed farmers (23 out of 30) said that their neighbours and other residents felt positively about their UA activities. Many of the vegetable farmers said that other residents enjoy looking at their gardens and comment on their beauty. Some farmers said that their neighbours respect them for what they are doing and for what they have managed to produce. Many farmers also said that their neighbours are glad to have easy access to their farming products.

In addition to answering the question regarding how their neighbours feel about their current farming activities, some of the farmers spoke about instances that occurred in the past where neighbours complained about their or other farmers' UA activities. Worthington Tutu had kept chickens in KTC in 2005 and 2006, but he sent them back to the Eastern Cape as they were bothering his neighbours by going into their yards and making a mess.<sup>747</sup> Novatile Gova also used to keep chickens at her home in Philippi, but she too had to stop as they were worrying her neighbours.<sup>748</sup> Rose Ngewu remembers that when she first moved to KTC in the 1980s, there were people keeping chickens and sheep. Other residents, however, felt that they were making the area dirty and they tried to get them out.<sup>749</sup> Patrick Ngqaqu had kept goats in New Crossroads in the 1980s, but he stopped when his neighbours complained.<sup>750</sup> Nonzwakazi Dlaba had tried to keep some of her pigs at her home in Guguletu, but her neighbours complained

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<sup>742</sup> Interview with Novatile Gova, Philippi, 21 July 2008.

<sup>743</sup> Interview with Sam Mgunuza, Guguletu, 14 August 2008.

<sup>744</sup> Interview with Nozi Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>745</sup> Interview with Mabel Bokolo, New Crossroads, 29 July 2008.

<sup>746</sup> Interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 31 July 2008.

<sup>747</sup> Interview with Worthington Tutu, KTC, 15 April 2009.

<sup>748</sup> Follow-up interview with Novatile Gova, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

<sup>749</sup> Interview with Rose Ngewu, KTC, 2 April 2009.

<sup>750</sup> Interview with Pamela and Patrick Ngqaqu, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

and she was forced to keep them all at the farm in Mfuleni.<sup>751</sup> These occurrences all relate to livestock farming and show that residents of certain parts of these townships see livestock as dirty and unhygienic and do not feel that livestock should be kept in their area. The stories of Worthington Tutu, Novatile Gova and Davidson Mooi (whose story is described in an earlier paragraph) reveal that livestock can indeed wander into other people's yards and create a nuisance. However, the other livestock farmers interviewed for this study have not had any complaints from their neighbours. Mr Biko said that his neighbours never complain about his animals and that they are pleased to have access to milk and meat.<sup>752</sup> Phylophia Bashe, George Madikane and Pamela Ngqaqu said that their neighbours do not mind their keeping chickens. According to Pamela Ngqaqu, some of her neighbours even like to hear her roosters crowing, as they wake them up for work.<sup>753</sup>

Therefore, while the UA activities of some of the interviewed farmers have created certain nuisances and problems for some other residents, the majority of the interviewed farmers have found that their UA activities are accepted and appreciated by their neighbours and other residents. Neighbours complaining and being unhappy about a farmer's UA activities could reduce the amount of social capital present in the neighbourhood, and could especially limit the amount of social capital available to this farmer. However, this does not seem to have happened to any great extent to the farmers interviewed for this study. With the exception of Davidson Mooi, it appears that those farmers who have received complaints from neighbours regarding nuisances or unhygienic conditions have been able to resolve these problems and thus restore their relationships with their neighbours.<sup>754</sup>

The negative impacts that UA can have on the environment have been mentioned in a number of existing UA studies.<sup>755</sup> Some of the potential negative environmental impacts of UA that have been identified by researchers include the use of chemical inputs and their effect on the urban environment, the incorrect disposal of animal and vegetable waste and the use of untreated sewerage water for the irrigation of crops and grazing land. With regard to the use of chemical inputs, 16 of the 26 crop farmers interviewed for this study are supported by either Abalimi Bezekhaya or Soil for Life. Both

<sup>751</sup> Interview with Nonzwakazi Dlaba, Guguletu, 31 March 2009.

<sup>752</sup> Interview with Mr Biko, Nyanga, 7 August 2008.

<sup>753</sup> Interview with Pamela and Patrick Ngqaqu, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>754</sup> Ways in which farmers have resolved these problems include negotiations, agreements regarding how compost and fertilizer will be stored, ceasing to keep a certain type of livestock and moving livestock to another location.

<sup>755</sup> Details regarding these negative impacts and some of the studies where they were identified and investigated can be found in Chapter 2.

organisations promote organic farming and therefore ensure that the farmers they support only use organic farming methods. Farmers receive training from these organisations in organic methods and extension support is provided by both organisations. The 16 crop farmers that were interviewed who are supported by these organisations therefore only use organic methods and do not use any chemical farming inputs. While the remaining 10 crop farmers were not asked directly whether they use chemical inputs, none appeared to be using chemicals to any large degree. The use of chemical inputs amongst the farmers interviewed for this study was therefore found to be relatively low. While there might be some negative impacts produced by the 10 crop farmers who may or may not be using chemicals, these farmers are all farming on a small scale. It can therefore be concluded that the negative impacts resulting from the use of chemical inputs by the interviewed farmers are very small.<sup>756</sup>

The farmers interviewed for this study were not asked directly about their waste disposal methods. However, it was observed that most of the vegetable gardening groups have their own compost heaps and make their own compost. Any waste from their gardens would therefore be used to make compost. It was also found that all of the interviewed farmers who farm both livestock and vegetables use the manure from their livestock for their gardens. Phylophia Bashe also uses her garden waste to help feed her chickens.<sup>757</sup> It therefore appears that the majority of farmers interviewed use waste disposal methods that do not have any great negative impacts on their urban environment.<sup>758</sup> None of the crop farmers interviewed make use of sewerage water for irrigation, as they all have access to fresh water. The home gardeners all have taps on their properties and many of the vegetable gardening groups have bore-holes and bore-hole pumps that they use for irrigation. The remaining vegetable gardening groups use taps and some of the groups also make use of rain tanks.

The attraction of criminals and the theft of crops and livestock have also been identified by researchers as potential negative aspects of UA. In some countries, urban vegetable gardens, particularly maize crops, have been found to provide hiding places for criminals.<sup>759</sup> However, the gardens included in this study were not found to provide such hiding places. While small quantities of maize are grown in some gardens, the majority

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<sup>756</sup> Further research using a larger sample of non-supported farmers would need to be conducted in order to establish the extent to which chemical inputs are used amongst farmers in the Cape Flats that are not supported by Abalimi and Soil for Life and to assess the impact that this has on the environment.

<sup>757</sup> Interview with Phylophia Bashe, Guguletu, 15 April 2009.

<sup>758</sup> Again, further research with a larger sample would need to be conducted in order to establish exactly how farmers in the Cape Flats dispose of their waste and how this impacts the urban environment.

<sup>759</sup> Details regarding these negative aspects and some of the studies where they have been identified and discussed can be found in Chapter 2.

of gardens grow shorter crops that would not be able to hide criminals. In addition, all of the large vegetable gardens included in this study are fenced and kept locked when the gardeners are not at the site. It would therefore be difficult for criminals to hide in these gardens. In fact, one of the interviewed farmers spoke about how the land where her group's garden is situated used to be a hiding place for criminals and how she was able to remove this danger from her neighbourhood by clearing the land and establishing the garden.<sup>760</sup> Theft of garden produce did not seem to be a major problem amongst the crop farmers interviewed. As has been mentioned, all of the large vegetable gardens (and most of the home vegetable gardens) are fenced. The large gardens are locked at night and during the weekends. Mrs Mvambi's project garden at the church in Guguletu is watched at night by the church's caretaker.<sup>761</sup> Many of the gardeners also rely on neighbours to help watch their gardens and to make sure that no theft occurs. Mrs Madalana said that her group depends on their neighbours for security, as they watch the garden for them. As a result, they have never had anything stolen.<sup>762</sup> Mr Sineli said that one of the members of his group lives across the road from the garden and watches it on weekends. The other members also live nearby and walk to the garden regularly to check on it.<sup>763</sup> However, some of the livestock farmers interviewed have experienced theft of livestock. Davidson Mooi said that he used to have lots of goats but that many were stolen.<sup>764</sup> Mrs Vava said that her father used to keep cows in Guguletu, but that he stopped when many were stolen.<sup>765</sup> None of the poultry farmers that were interviewed, spoke about theft of chickens. This could be due to the fact that these farmers all keep their chickens in enclosed yards. Most of the large livestock farmers, such as Davidson Mooi, allow their animals to walk freely around the neighbourhood, which could make them vulnerable to theft.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen that urban agriculture continued to be practised in various parts of the Cape Flats after 1994. In fact, information from a number of sources suggests that UA has increased in these Cape Flats areas since 1994. This notion is supported by data presented in a number of recent studies on UA in the Cape Flats and information from the farmers interviewed for this study. During this period, Abalimi

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<sup>760</sup> Interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 5 August 2008.

<sup>761</sup> Interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 19 August 2008.

<sup>762</sup> Interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 5 August 2008.

<sup>763</sup> Interview with Mr Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008.

<sup>764</sup> Interview with Davidson Mooi, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>765</sup> Follow-up interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 17 March 2009.

Bezekhaya continued to grow and Soil for Life was established. A number of gardening groups or community gardens emerged in various parts of the Cape Flats during this period. Seventeen of the farmers interviewed for this study conducted urban farming activities for the first time after 1994, with a number of the other farmers starting new UA activities during this period.

In 2007, the City of Cape Town adopted its Urban Agriculture Policy, which has created a supportive and enabling environment for UA in Cape Town, and also indicates that UA has become a noteworthy and relatively widespread activity in the city. While it is too early to assess the impact that this Policy has had on urban farming in Cape Town and in the Cape Flats, it can be assumed that the creation of an enabling environment and the availability of various forms of support will indeed impact positively on the prevalence, nature and success of UA activities in Cape Town. The City's UA Policy shows that Cape Town is no longer seen by the local authorities to be a non-agricultural entity. This demonstrates a major shift in the way in which local government views the city. Traditional, modernist notions of the city are being replaced by more flexible views, where activities such as agriculture (which were previously seen as belonging only in rural areas) are becoming acceptable urban practices. The fact that many of the vegetable gardening groups were able to access land for their gardens from the Municipality from the late 1990s onwards, also indicates a shift in the way in which the Cape Town authorities view both agriculture and the city. The prevalence of UA in Cape Town since 1994 and the changing attitudes of the local authorities towards this practice, challenge urban theorists to reconsider their views and understanding of the urban.

Before analysing the UA activities that the farmers conducted during this period, this chapter looked briefly at the life histories of some of these farmers. This information revealed that since 1994, only one of the 30 farmers has arrived in Cape Town and only three farmers moved to the Cape Flats areas where they live today. A brief look at the situation in the Cape Flats during this period has also been provided. Information regarding the farmers' life histories, the situation in the Cape Flats and events and processes that impacted on UA during this period, have helped to provide an understanding of the context in which the farmers began and continued their UA activities. This information also shows that while the farmers have faced, and continue to face, numerous socio-economic hardships, they have developed creative strategies to help them to address these problems. Analysing the benefits derived from these farmers' UA activities demonstrates that urban agriculture is one of the strategies used by the farmers to cope with the problems they experience.

An analysis of the urban agriculture activities that were conducted by the seventeen farmers who started their UA activities during this period has revealed that these farmers had a variety of motivations for beginning their urban farming activities. While a number of motivations were linked to food security and quality of nutrition, and a few were related to income generation, the majority of the motivations provided by the farmers were of a social nature. These social motivations include the farmers' love of farming, their love of nature, a desire to keep occupied and have a hobby, a desire to make good use of available land and a desire to improve their local environment.

Analysing these seventeen farmers' UA activities (and the activities conducted by farmers who had previously been involved in urban farming but started new UA activities after 1994), has also revealed that these activities produced a variety of benefits for the farmers and their families during this period. As in previous chapters, we see that food security was an important benefit that most farmers gained from their UA activities shortly after they started them, with almost all of the farmers using some of their produce to provide food for their families. Health benefits gained from eating their produce were also mentioned by many of the farmers. As many as seven of the farmers found that the exercise that they were getting from their UA activities helped to improve their physical health. In addition, some farmers found that their UA activities helped them to feel stronger, younger and full of energy. Other social benefits that were gained through these farmers' UA activities include enjoyment, education, occupation and therapeutic benefits. These therapeutic benefits include peace of mind, improved concentration and the upliftment experienced when seeing the beauty of one's garden. One farmer also found that participating in urban agriculture enabled him to feel like a farmer.

While the farmers spoke more about the social and food security benefits that they gained from their UA activities, some of the farmers also mentioned the economic benefits produced. Six of the farmers sold some of their produce soon after they started their UA activities and generated income through this practice. For some, this income was relatively small but enabled the farmers to purchase small household items. One farmer, however, was able to generate a regular monthly income from farming and even purchased a vehicle. Another farmer did not initially generate income from his UA activities, but he felt that he was able to save money by using his UA products for household food. Mr Bleki derived an indirect, yet important, economic benefit from his UA activities, as he was offered full-time employment after the Department of Education saw the garden that he established at the school. As a result, Mr Bleki now has a

secure job and earns a regular income. Mr Bleki's story shows that his urban farming activities enabled him to have access to a network (i.e. the school network) that would otherwise have been difficult or impossible to access. Through his UA activities, he became trusted and accepted and a form of social capital was therefore fostered.<sup>766</sup> This enabled him to have access to opportunities that he otherwise would not have had and thus, Mr Bleki has been able to improve his livelihood.

An analysis of the benefits that the 30 farmers are currently gaining from their urban agriculture activities, has also been included in this chapter. This analysis began by exploring the motivations that the farmers have for continuing their UA activities, as these motivations relate to benefits that they derive, and want to continue to derive, from their urban farming activities. It was found that food security is a motivation for 13 of the farmers to continue their UA activities, with four these farmers also being motivated by the quality of food and resulting health benefits gained from eating healthy produce. While only two farmers are motivated by income generation, 18 of the farmers have social motivations for continuing their UA activities.<sup>767</sup> These social motivations are over and above those relating to food security and improved nutrition. Social motivations include enjoyment, love of farming, occupation, exercise, fostering of a sense of identity and therapeutic benefits. The last mentioned relate to the sense of peace and renewal that the farmers feel when they are in their gardens, as well as benefits derived from the relationships formed with other farmers. Information regarding the farmers' motivations for continuing their UA activities also revealed that they are benefiting from both the products and the processes of their urban farming activities.

A look at how the farmers are using their farming produce sheds some light on how they are benefiting from the products of their UA activities. This analysis revealed that 28 of the farmers (and their households) are eating and using some of their farming produce, and as a result are benefiting in terms of food security, quality of nutrition and improved physical health. While 22 of the farmers are selling some of their produce, very few are generating a regular, reliable income that forms a major part of their overall household income. However, the significance of the income generated cannot be ignored as it enables these farmers to purchase necessary items or to do important things, such as travel to the Eastern Cape to visit family at the end of the year. It was also revealed that

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<sup>766</sup> According to Jacobs' definitions, this could be seen as both bridging social capital and linking social capital. (Jacobs, 'The Role of Social Capital').

<sup>767</sup> A few of the farmers provided more than one motivation for continuing their UA activities, and therefore, some of the farmers who provided social motivations also provided motivations relating to food security.

almost all of the farmers give some of their produce away to needy or sick people in their neighbourhoods, thus contributing towards the upliftment of their communities.

An investigation into the benefits that the farmers are currently gaining through the processes of farming revealed that the farmers, their families and their broader communities are deriving a number of important social benefits from their UA activities. In terms of individual benefits, a large number of the farmers feel that their physical health has improved, and continues to improve, as a result of the exercise that they get from farming. All of the farmers derive enjoyment from their UA activities, with many of them expressing how happy they feel when they are in their gardens or with their livestock. Keeping busy and having something productive to do each day is another benefit that many of the farmers gain from farming. In addition, several of the farmers feel that their UA activities benefit them therapeutically, as farming enables them to escape from their problems and to have access to a peaceful, stress-free environment. Some farmers also benefit therapeutically by interacting with other farmers with whom they can share their problems. In terms of family and household benefits, a number of farmers found that their UA activities help to foster family unity. Several of the farmers have young children, or sick or disabled relatives living with them, and thus their families gain from their being either at home or at sites close to their homes during the day. In some cases, farming provides family members with the opportunity to spend quality time together.

Community benefits have also been found to be produced through these farmers' UA activities, with community upliftment having been fostered. Examples include the feeding scheme that the Nonkululeko group has established, the project gardens that benefit the poor and sick, gardens that have improved the environment of their neighbourhoods and farmers who teach others in their neighbourhoods how to farm. Social networks and social capital have been fostered through the gardening groups, with gardeners developing close relationships with other group members. These relationships have developed into social networks that are based on trust and reciprocity and extend beyond the garden. Within these networks, members share their problems, offer each other advice, help each other in times of need and socialise together. The social networks and social capital developed through the gardens improve the quality of the farmers' lives and help them to become less vulnerable to poverty. The fostering of social capital can be seen as both an individual and a community benefit, although the extent to which UA has increased social capital in the farmers' communities needs to be established through further research.

This chapter has also included a brief discussion regarding some of the negative impacts produced by the UA activities of the farmers interviewed for this study. While some negative consequences have resulted from some of the farmers' UA activities, it appears that these have not impacted the farmers' households or communities to any large degree. However, further research is needed to fully ascertain the negative impacts of UA in the Cape Flats.

This chapter has therefore demonstrated that UA continued to be practised in various parts of the Cape Flats after 1994 and that urban agriculture in these areas increased during this period. Information in this chapter has also shown that the social benefits derived from UA activities since 1994 have been, and continue to be, numerous and important. While some of the farmers interviewed for this study derived, and continue to derive, economic benefits from their urban farming activities, the social and food security benefits are the main benefits that the majority of the farmers and their families have gained and continue to gain from their urban agriculture activities. While food security has been found to be an important benefit gained by most of these farmers, this study has found that the farmers' motivations for continuing farming are predominantly social, as are the main benefits that the farmers feel they have derived from their UA activities.<sup>768</sup>

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<sup>768</sup> These social motivations and benefits are over and above the motivations and benefits relating to food security.

Figure 4: The Masithandane group vegetable garden in Guguletu<sup>769</sup>



Figure 5: Mr Biko feeding his goats and chickens in Nyanga<sup>770</sup>



<sup>769</sup> Photograph taken by Junn on 12 August 2008

<sup>770</sup> Photograph taken by Durin on 7 August 2008

Figure 6: Sam Mgunuza's orchid garden in Guguletu<sup>771</sup>



Figure 7: The Masincedisane group vegetable garden in Guguletu<sup>772</sup>



<sup>771</sup> Photograph taken by Dunn on 19 August 2008

<sup>772</sup> Photograph taken by Dunn on 7 August 2008

## **Chapter Seven: Conclusion**

This study has explored the origins, growth and current nature of urban agriculture in Cape Town, focussing largely on urban vegetable, poultry and livestock farming in the Cape Flats areas of Guguletu, Philippi, Nyanga, KTC and New Crossroads. Throughout this investigation, the social impact that urban agriculture has had, and continues to have, on farmers, their families and their neighbourhoods, has been assessed. The context in which the farmers began and continued their UA activities has also been explored and some events and circumstances that may have restricted or encouraged UA practices have been discussed. After identifying a number of potential social benefits of UA (which were discussed in Chapter Two), data from oral sources, historical written sources, social surveys and various primary sources was presented and discussed. This data has been arranged chronologically in Chapters Three to Six to provide a clear, contextualised overview of the growth of small-scale agriculture in Cape Town, the circumstances under which the farmers began, and still conduct, their UA activities and the benefits that they derived, and continue to derive, from these activities. In this concluding chapter, the main findings of this study are summarised and analysed thematically. The main themes and key issues that have been raised in this study are explored and the research questions posed in Chapter One are addressed. This chapter also discusses the main conclusions that can be drawn from the data and findings that have been presented in this study.

### **The History of Urban Agriculture in Cape Town and the Cape Flats**

#### ***The emergence and growth of (urban) agriculture in Cape Town and the Cape Flats***

This study has shown that agriculture has played an important role in Cape Town's history and has been practised in Cape Town since the VOC Company gardens were established in the 1650s. Within ten years of Van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape, vegetable gardens had been established near the fort as well as in the Rondebosch area, near Devil's Peak and on the slopes of Lion's Head. From 1657, the free burghers established farms along the Liesbeek Valley where they farmed both vegetables and livestock. During the late 1800s, vegetable farms were established in the Philippi area by German immigrants. Small-scale vegetable and livestock farming, practised by individuals and families (usually at their homes), was conducted in various parts of Cape

Town throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Exactly when Cape Town became a city is open to debate, making it difficult to establish when these agricultural activities became urban agriculture.<sup>773</sup> In fact, the presence of farming in Cape Town from the 17<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries raises questions regarding when a town becomes a city, and when Cape Town made this transition.<sup>774</sup>

Evidence presented in this study shows that individuals living in central Cape Town were conducting small-scale vegetable and livestock farming activities during the 1700s and 1800s. Vegetable, livestock, fruit and poultry farming were also conducted by families and individuals in the Southern Suburbs during the late 1800s and early 1900s. In fact, accounts discussed in this study demonstrate that it was very common for such farming activities to be conducted by white people who owned land in Cape Town during this period. However, evidence has also been found to demonstrate that urban agriculture was conducted in poorer neighbourhoods during the early 1900s. This study looked at examples of vegetable farming in Epping Garden Village, livestock farming in Windermere and Sakkiesdorp, and vegetable and livestock farming in Blouvillei, Rondevlei and Hardevlei. In addition, the Social Survey of Cape Town, conducted between 1936 and 1942, found that approximately 23% of the black, coloured and white households interviewed were conducting some form of urban agriculture at that time.

Small-scale urban agriculture continued to be conducted in various parts of Cape Town during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Examples of UA activities being conducted in Claremont, Athlone, Kensington, Somerset West, Simonstown and Modderdam during 1950s, 1960s and 1970s are discussed in this study. During this period, the Cape Flats population grew substantially, with the establishment of Guguletu, the growth of Nyanga and the emergence of Crossroads and certain informal settlements in Philippi. Forced removals and the Group Areas Act forced many people to move to these areas from other parts of Cape Town. The prevalence of urban farming seemed to increase in these areas as these townships and settlements grew during the 1960s and 1970s. This study looks at examples of vegetable farming in Nyanga and Crossroads in the 1970s, chicken farming in Philippi in the late 1970s, as well as numerous examples of vegetable, poultry and livestock farming being conducted in Guguletu in the 1960s and 1970s. Eleven of the 30 farmers who participated in this study conducted UA activities

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<sup>773</sup> Farming activities conducted from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century can most definitely be classified as urban agricultural activities. Many would agree that Cape Town was a city from the early 1800s, which would allow farming activities conducted during most of the 19<sup>th</sup> also to be classified as urban agriculture.

<sup>774</sup> This issue is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

in Guguletu, Nyanga and Philippi during this period, with two of these farmers also having farmed elsewhere in Cape Town before being forced to move to Guguletu.

Urban farming continued to be practised in the Cape Flats during the 1980s and early 1990s and examples of vegetable, livestock and poultry farming activities being conducted in Guguletu, KTC, Crossroads, Philippi and New Crossroads are thus presented. Thirteen of the farmers interviewed were involved in UA activities in the Cape Flats during this period and their urban farming activities are discussed and analysed in Chapter Five. Studies on UA in Cape Town also began to be conducted during this period, with one such study revealing that urban cultivation was prevalent in Town 2, Khayelitsha at that time. Abalimi Bezekhaya, an urban vegetable farming organisation supporting UA activities in the Cape Flats, was established in 1982, with Garden Centres in Nyanga and Khayelitsha being opened during the 1980s. However, despite the many examples that can be found of UA activities being conducted in the Cape Flats during this period, and despite the fact that the population of the Cape Flats continued to grow during the 1980s and 1990s (particularly after the abolition of the Influx Control Act in 1986), information from various sources questions the extent to which urban farming was conducted in these areas during this period.<sup>775</sup> These sources reveal that, in general, there was a low level of interest in urban farming among the poor in Cape Town during that time, with a number of environmental and socio-economic factors hindering the involvement of the poor in UA activities. These sources also reveal that very few community vegetable gardens existed in the Cape Flats at that time and that when Abalimi Bezekhaya was established, those involved in the organisation found that UA was not being practised on a large scale in its target areas. An “anti-agri” sentiment seemed to be present in these areas, with residents shunning agriculture because they had been forced to study it at school as part of apartheid’s Bantu Education system.

From 1995 onwards, urban vegetable, livestock and poultry farming have continued to be practised in the Cape Flats, with the evidence presented in Chapter Six suggesting an increase in UA activities in these areas since 1994. During this period, Abalimi Bezekhaya continued to grow and Soil for Life, another prominent urban vegetable gardening organisation active in the Cape Flats, was established. By 2009, Abalimi was

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<sup>775</sup> These sources include Eberhard (1989) who found that there was a low level of interest in UA among the poor in Cape Town, and Small (2009) from Abalimi Bezekhaya who found that UA was not practised on a large scale in Abalimi’s target areas when the organisation was established in the 1980s. Beaumont (1990) and Eberhard both found that there were very few community vegetable gardens in the Cape Flats at that time.

previously shunned agriculture began to view UA in a more positive light. This, together with the work done by urban agriculture NGOs to make the benefits of UA known and resources and training available, would have encouraged many who would not have participated in UA activities previously, to start farming.

### ***Local government regulations regarding UA activities in Cape Town***

Despite the fact that small-scale agricultural activities were practised in Cape Town throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, this study has shown that from the early 1900s until the late 1990s, the municipal authorities did not support these activities and in fact implemented controls to restrict the keeping of livestock and poultry in the city. While laws relating to the keeping of cattle in Cape Town and in other towns in the Colony had been passed by the Cape Colonial government during the late 1800s, these laws did not discourage livestock farming. These regulations aimed to control certain aspects of cattle farming to ensure healthy milk production and the proper management of common pasture lands but still viewed livestock farming in Cape Town and in other towns in the Colony as an acceptable activity. However, this attitude changed in the early 1900s, when strict laws were put in place relating to dairies and the keeping of livestock in Cape Town as part of the local government's response to the diphtheria outbreaks that occurred during that period. Stricter controls over dairies were imposed and thus local authorities moved towards a vision of Cape Town that excluded agricultural activities. The revised dairy regulations of 1932 not only made the controls over dairies and cow sheds more stringent, but also added further laws restricting the keeping of other animals and poultry within the municipal boundaries.

Further regulations were passed in 1960 regarding dairies and the keeping of animals in Cape Town. While these regulations were very similar to those passed in 1932, they were more detailed and demonstrate the local authorities' continued commitment to keeping livestock farming from the city. In the amended laws relating to municipalities, passed by the Cape Province in 1974, town and city councils were granted the power to make by-laws to restrict the keeping and slaughter of all animals, birds and poultry within their municipal boundaries. In 1986 and 1989, standard by-laws passed by the Cape Province allowed councils to refuse requests to keep livestock and poultry and included detailed stipulations regarding how poultry and animals were to be accommodated. The minimum distance that structures accommodating animals needed to be from dwellings and roads was specified and this made it impossible for livestock to be kept legally in densely populated residential areas.

Despite the fact that back-yard vegetable farming does not seem to have been discouraged by local authorities during the 20<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>776</sup> evidence in this study shows that the growing of vegetables on public land only began to take place in the Cape Flats during the 1990s. Given the modernist views held by the Cape Town authorities during the majority of the 20<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>777</sup> it is safe to assume that the City would not have been open to allowing people to farm on municipal land in residential areas before the late 1900s. However, towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the local authorities' views towards urban farming did indeed change as the City began to lease open municipal land to vegetable gardening groups at a nominal rent. In 2007, the City's Urban Agriculture Policy was adopted, in which the City undertook to support and encourage various forms of urban farming in Cape Town.

The fact that the authorities actively discouraged the keeping of livestock and poultry in Cape Town from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards indicates that, in the early 1900s, the local authorities began to view the city as a non-agricultural entity. However, despite the laws restricting these farming activities, UA continued to be practised in various parts of Cape Town during that period. The local authorities' attitudes towards urban farming and the fact that agricultural activities were practised in Cape Town throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, raise questions regarding the nature of the urban, when Cape Town became a city and how the urban has been viewed. These issues are discussed in the following section.

### **Urban Agriculture and Views on the City**

The evidence presented in this study regarding the history of urban farming in Cape Town and the municipal regulations relating to UA activities, raises questions regarding urbanity and how cities are defined. This section will look at some of the main issues that have been raised in this study regarding how the urban is defined, when a town becomes a city and how the city has been viewed by the Cape Town authorities.

Evidence of agricultural activities being practised in Cape Town from the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup> century raises questions regarding when a settlement becomes a town, when a town becomes a city and when Cape Town made these transitions. Questions are also

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<sup>776</sup> In fact, as has been seen in Chapter Three, the authorities encouraged home vegetable gardens in Epping Garden Village in the 1940s.

<sup>777</sup> This is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

raised about the criteria used to distinguish between settlements, towns and cities. In a recent book on urban theory, Hubbard notes that the city is difficult to define and describe, as the city is many things. Isolating a particular characteristic that differentiates a city from a rural settlement would therefore be problematic.<sup>778</sup> Nevertheless, urban theorists from various disciplines have attempted to define cities for many years, with different criteria being used to distinguish between cities, towns and rural settlements. Many have used population size and density to define cities,<sup>779</sup> with geographers also using other criteria including location, structure and economic functions. Cities have been defined in terms of their political autonomy and economists have regarded cities in terms of their economic development, with key factors being division of labour, the transition from handcraft to machine industries, the market and the exchange. Sociologists have traditionally used social factors such as customs, attitudes and sentiments, to differentiate cities from other settlements.<sup>780</sup> Recently, Hubbard noted that some urban theorists have found heterogeneity, culture and way of life to be important factors in defining cities. Other urban theorists have argued that the exclusion of nature from cities is what differentiates the urban from the rural.<sup>781</sup> As is discussed in more detail later in this section, modernist thinking saw the urban to be the direct opposite of the rural, thus defining cities as being non-agricultural entities.

When Cape Town became a city continues to be debated, with different views on this issue depending on the criteria used to define a city. While the evidence presented in this study does not relate to many of these criteria, it does indeed challenge those who have seen the absence or exclusion of nature and agriculture as being important factors in determining when Cape Town became a city. As has been shown in this study, both large-scale formal agriculture and small-scale informal farming have existed in Cape Town since the 17<sup>th</sup> century and continue to be practised today. Using the presence of nature and agriculture as criteria to establish when Cape Town became a town and a city would therefore be problematic. In addition, the existence of non-mechanised, small-scale subsistence farming activities in the city challenges some of the criteria used by economists who have seen the division of labour and mechanised industries as being important features of the city.

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<sup>778</sup> P. Hubbard, *City*, (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 1.

<sup>779</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>780</sup> L. Wirth, 'A Bibliography of the Urban Community', in R. Park, E. Burgess and R. McKenzie, eds, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925).

<sup>781</sup> Hubbard, *City*.

Evidence presented in this study regarding the prevalence of urban agriculture in Cape Town throughout the 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries also challenges the way in which the urban has been viewed and defined. From the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, modernist thinking dominated the way in which cities were viewed. City planning and urban architecture were also greatly influenced by modernism during this period. Modernists believed in progress through technology<sup>782</sup> and embraced industrialisation.<sup>783</sup> Modernist visions of the city therefore included sky-scraper buildings and highly efficient transport and communication systems.<sup>784</sup> Rigid styles of architecture and segregated zoning also became features of the modern city.<sup>785</sup> During the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, modernists viewed the city as a site of innovation in science, medicine, transport, engineering and building construction, while the rural was seen to be technologically backwards.<sup>786</sup> The urban and rural were seen as being direct opposites of each other, with rural dwellers being seen as profoundly different from those living in the city. In 1925, Louis Wirth of the influential Chicago School of Urban Sociology wrote that: "The city and the country represent two opposite poles in modern civilisation."<sup>787</sup> He also wrote about the difference between urban and rural thinking, stating that: "There is a city mentality which is clearly differentiated from the rural mind. The city man thinks in mechanistic terms, in rational terms, while the rustic thinks in naturalistic, magical terms."<sup>788</sup> Anything associated with the rural, such as agriculture, was therefore excluded from modernist visions of the city. Civic improvement and purification were important modernist endeavours and efforts to improve and purify cities resulted in attempts at removing nature from urban areas. In many cities, the exclusion of livestock was seen as an important part of the process of creating civilised, modern city life.<sup>789</sup> However, evidence of farming activities being practised in Cape Town throughout the 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries challenges traditional, modernist thought that has viewed cities as non-agricultural entities.

Findings of this study also reveal that agricultural activities have taken place in Cape Town despite attempts by the city authorities to discourage and restrict certain types of farming. Municipal regulations were passed throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century restricting the keeping of livestock and poultry in Cape Town. Modernist values of cleanliness and

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<sup>782</sup> M Gottdiener and R. Hutchison, *The New Urban Sociology: Third Edition* (United States of America: Westview Press, 2006).

<sup>783</sup> M. Gottdiener and L. Budd, *Key Concepts in Urban Studies* (London: SAGE, 2005).

<sup>784</sup> Gottdiener and Hutchison, *The New Urban Sociology*.

<sup>785</sup> Gottdiener and Budd, *Key Concepts in Urban Studies*.

<sup>786</sup> Hubbard, *City*, 131.

<sup>787</sup> Wirth, 'A Bibliography of the Urban Community', 222.

<sup>788</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

<sup>789</sup> Hubbard, *City*.

purity certainly seem to have influenced the authorities' views on the keeping of livestock in Cape Town, particularly seeing as the early restrictions on dairies and cattle farming were made in response to health issues. According to Hubbard, policies of urban improvement and modernisation show that cities have traditionally attempted to remove themselves from nature. Modern city leadership attempted to improve and purify cities by installing certain health and safety features while removing that which was seen to be unhygienic. Excluding animals from the city, was thus part of this attempt. Modernist thinking saw animals roaming the streets as being incompatible with health, safety and commerce and therefore livestock were confined to the countryside. Hubbard notes that modern city authorities attempted to remove milk production, cattle slaughtering and related trades from the city, and that this could have been linked to new medical and moral knowledge.<sup>790</sup> Information discussed in this study regarding Cape Town's dairy regulations of 1922 and 1932, and the fact that they were implemented in response to the diphtheria out-breaks, certainly supports this theory.

The Cape Town authorities therefore entertained modernist notions of the city during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. From 1948 onwards, these modernist visions of Cape Town were very closely linked to the apartheid ideals of racial segregation. Modernist urban planning was rigid and supported segregated zoning. The planning of modern cities was based on the principle that similar activities should be located near to one another and that residential, commercial and industrial areas should be separated.<sup>791</sup> During apartheid, the South African government followed modernist planning principles to create racially segregated cities. While Cape Town had been the least racially segregated city in South Africa prior to 1948, from the 1950s onwards, the city was forced to follow a rigidly segregationist policy.<sup>792</sup> This resulted in forced removals taking place in various parts of Cape Town. In his book on this subject, Western quotes a member of parliament who, in 1977, attempted to justify the Groups Areas Act by saying, "...out of the chaos which prevailed when we came to power, [we] created order and established decent, separate residential areas for our people."<sup>793</sup> Modernist ideals are very apparent in this justification.

Cape Town's modernist visions of the city and rigid urban planning ideals influenced regulations regarding the keeping of livestock and poultry. Farming activities taking place in densely populated residential areas within the city were very much at odds with

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<sup>790</sup> Hubbard, *City*.

<sup>791</sup> Gottdiener and Hutchison, *The New Urban Sociology*, 3.

<sup>792</sup> J. Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1981).

<sup>793</sup> Van Vuuren, (1977), quoted in Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 85.

modernist planning ideals. However, this study shows that the authorities' attempts to remove livestock from the city were not successful and that livestock farming continued to take place in a number of neighbourhoods. The presence of urban farming activities in various residential areas therefore challenged the city's modernist urban planning ideals.

During the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, architects and planners began to challenge modernist zoning and architecture, proposing more integrated urban planning.<sup>794</sup> Planners belonging to this postmodern, or new urbanist school of thought, see modernist zoning as being outdated and no longer necessary. In the planning of cities, they thus advocate the integration of residential, commercial, manufacturing and global economic activities.<sup>795</sup> The postmodern city is therefore more flexible and complex than the modern city, and has been described by Hubbard as "a patchwork city of different ethnic enclaves, consumer niches and taste communities, spun out across a decentred landscape where boundaries between city and country are hard to discern."<sup>796</sup> While the influence of modernism is still very evident in Cape Town's physical lay-out, attempts have been made since 1994 to create a more postmodern city. The City of Cape Town adopted its Urban Agriculture Policy in 2007 in which the important role of UA in poverty alleviation was acknowledged and the City undertook to support urban farming activities and ensure that UA forms an integral part of future development planning. This policy indicates that the city authorities are embracing a more postmodern vision of the city where nature and animals are not excluded, and where residential, economic and agricultural areas are not rigidly separated from each other. The fact that the Council is allowing vegetable gardening groups to farm on public open land in residential areas is also indicative of the authorities' attempts to embrace a more flexible view of the city.

### **The Farmers and their Life Histories**

From Chapters Three to Six, information has been provided regarding the life histories of the 30 farmers interviewed for this study. This data is supported by more detailed life history information, which can be found in Appendix 7. While a number of important findings and conclusions can be drawn from this data, this section will look at a few identified issues that are of particular relevance to this study. By analysing elements of the life history information presented in this study and in Appendix 7, this section will

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<sup>794</sup> Gottdiener and Budd, *Key Concepts in Urban Studies*.

<sup>795</sup> Gottdiener and Hutchison, *The New Urban Sociology*.

<sup>796</sup> Hubbard, *City*, 49.

answer questions regarding: whether or not urban farmers are recent migrants to the city,<sup>797</sup> why some farmers did not conduct UA activities during particular periods; the events and circumstances that have impacted on the farmers' lives, how the farmers have reacted to these circumstances and the role that UA has played in these situations.

### ***Are the farmers recent migrants to the city?***

A common hypothesis about urban farmers is that they are mostly very recent migrants to the city who have come to seek urban wage jobs, but have not yet secured employment in the formal sector.<sup>798</sup> However, researchers have started to question this hypothesis and a debate has developed regarding whether urban farmers are very recent, or even recent, migrants to the city. Freeman's research in Nairobi revealed that while 87% of the farmers in his sample were migrants to Nairobi, the majority had lived there for more than 15 years, with many having lived in Nairobi for more than 20 years.<sup>799</sup> Foeken's study of UA in Nakuru found that while most of the urban farmers had not been born in that town, the majority of non-farmers had also not been born in Nakuru. In fact, he found that on average, the farmers had been living in Nakuru for longer than the non-farmers.<sup>800</sup> These authors have therefore found that their research has refuted the idea that most urban farmers are recent migrants to the city. It is possible, however, that trends regarding migration and urban farming could differ from country to country and from city to city. While some Cape Town researchers have touched on this issue, their data relates only to vegetable farmers living in specific neighbourhoods who belong to a few identified UA projects.<sup>801</sup> Life history information gathered for this study relating to both vegetable and livestock farmers living in various neighbourhoods in the Cape Flats, can be used to make a useful contribution towards this debate.

The life histories of the farmers who participated in this study provide insight into whether or not these 30 farmers are recent, or very recent, migrants to the city. As was explained in Chapter One, very recent migrants would be those who came to Cape Town during the past five years and recent migrants would have arrived during the past ten years. Based on these definitions, the farmers' life history data reveals that none of

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<sup>797</sup> As was noted in Chapter One, this is one of the sub-questions that this study set out to explore.

<sup>798</sup> D. Freeman, *A City of Farmers: Informal Urban Agriculture in the Open Spaces of Nairobi, Kenya* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 58.

<sup>799</sup> Freeman, *A City of Farmers*, 57 – 58.

<sup>800</sup> D. Foeken, *To Subsidise my Income: Urban Farming in an East African Town* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 42.

<sup>801</sup> These researchers include Beaumont (1990), Fermont *et al.* (1998), Bourne (2007).

these farmers can be classified as either recent or very recent migrants to the city, as they have all lived in Cape Town for more than ten years. Only one farmer moved to Cape Town during the past 20 years and 14 farmers arrived between 20 and 50 years ago. Eight farmers have been living in Cape Town for more than 50 years and seven were born in Cape Town, and have therefore lived in the city their whole lives. This data shows that current urban farmers in the Cape Flats are not necessarily recent or very recent migrants to the city. In fact, some of the farmers are not migrants at all.<sup>802</sup>

However, in order to contribute fully towards this debate, it is important not only to consider whether or not the farmers are currently recent migrants, but also to look at whether they had recently migrated to the city when they first began their UA activities. The majority of farmers interviewed for this study (i.e. 17) only began to farm for the first time after 1995. Given the data discussed in the paragraph above, most of these farmers would not have been recent or very recent migrants to the city when they started their UA activities. Information regarding the 13 farmers who began their UA activities before 1995 reveals that two of these farmers started their UA activities within five years of moving to Cape Town and four started farming within ten years of their arrival in the city. Three farmers were in Cape Town for more than ten years before they started farming and three had lived in Cape Town for more than 20 years before practising urban agriculture. One of the 13 farmers had been born in Cape Town and had thus lived in the city for his whole life. Therefore, six of these 13 farmers were indeed recent migrants to the city when they started their UA activities, with two of these six being very recent migrants. However, the other seven were not recent migrants, with one not being a migrant at all.<sup>803</sup>

This shows that while some urban farmers do indeed start farming soon after arriving in the city, urban farmers are not necessarily recent migrants. Urban farmers in Cape Town also include those who lived in the city for a long time before engaging in UA activities, as well as people who were born and raised in the city. The life history information of the interviewed farmers also shows that the farmers' backgrounds differ quite considerably, with some coming from a strong farming tradition. On the other hand, others had no farming background whatsoever and, until recently, did not consider participating in any type of agricultural activity. Therefore, while a family farming background can be seen as an important motivation for some to start their UA activities,

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<sup>802</sup> Please refer to table 3.1 in Appendix 4 for data regarding the length of time that the 30 farmers have lived in Cape Town.

<sup>803</sup> Please refer to table 3.2 in Appendix 4 for data regarding when these 13 farmers arrived in Cape Town and when they started their UA activities.

it is certainly not a motivation for all urban farmers. The farmers' life history information, presented in this study and in Appendix 7, also reveals that many of the farmers were in formal employment when they started their UA activities or had previously been employed. This further refutes the traditional notion of urban farmers being recent migrants who have not yet secured employment in the formal sector.

***Reasons for farmers not conducting UA activities earlier:***

While some of the farmers interviewed for this study have been farming in various parts of Cape Town since the 1950s and 1960s, the majority of these farmers started their UA activities after 1995. By 1994, 29 of the 30 farmers interviewed were living in Cape Town, yet only 13 were involved in urban farming activities, with two of them having started after 1979. In this study, information regarding the farmers' life histories has been used to establish why some of the farmers who were living in Cape Town during the earlier decades did not conduct UA activities during those years. Most farmers accounted for this by saying that they were working during those years. These farmers had various types of employment, including domestic work, nursing and teaching, and generally felt that they were too busy to start farming when they were working. Some said that the professions they were in prevented them from thinking about farming activities. In Chapter Four, we see that Pamela Ngqaqu felt that her teaching career kept her narrow-minded and unaware of other opportunities. We also see that Mrs Madalana was nursing at that time and that it never occurred to her to "play with the soil" while she was wearing her white uniform. However, while working was a reason many gave for not conducting UA activities earlier, the life history information reveals that, during those years, others were farming while they were still working. These farmers also had various types of employment including domestic work, manual labour, driving and teaching, and were happy to tend to their gardens or animals over weekends and during the evenings. This shows that while some felt that they did not have the time to farm, or simply did not consider farming, while they were working, having paid employment did not stop others from engaging in UA activities.

Lack of sufficient space was the second most common reason given by farmers for not beginning their UA activities earlier. Some of these farmers had been renting accommodation and only had space to farm after moving to their own houses or shacks. Two of the farmers had lived in workers' hostels during these years and therefore had no space of their own to grow vegetables or keep animals. One farmer's yard was not yet enclosed and she therefore did not have a secure place to practise her UA activities.

These farmers' responses suggest that farming had occurred and appealed to them during those years, but their lack of space prevented them from starting UA activities. There were some farmers, however, whose reason for not farming during those years was that it simply did not occur to them. When Mrs Madalana was growing up in Langa, she and her family saw Langa as a city place and did not think of engaging in any type of farming activity. In Chapter Four, we see that there were others who also did not think about farming during those years. The other reasons given by farmers for not beginning their UA activities earlier, relate to having insufficient knowledge and resources to start their own farming activities. In Chapter Six it is seen that these farmers only became involved in urban agriculture after being introduced to organisations supporting UA activities.

We therefore see that the farmers had various reasons for not starting their UA activities earlier, based on their individual backgrounds, circumstances and life histories. However, some common reasons and obstacles have been identified. In Chapter Six we see that all these farmers managed to overcome the obstacles that had prevented them from farming. Some of the farmers overcame these obstacles on their own. For instance, some moved to their own houses or shacks where they had sufficient land. Others, having retired from work, felt that they had the energy and time that they needed to start farming. In some cases, friends and family members helped the farmers by introducing them to UA projects or encouraging them to start farming. In other cases, farmers were helped by UA organisations to overcome the obstacles that were preventing them from farming. By joining projects and receiving support from these organisations, these farmers received the training and access to resources and land that they had needed. In some cases, the organisations also recruited farmers who had not previously considered farming. Therefore, UA organisations, such as Abalimi Bezekhaya and Soil for Life, enabled and encouraged some of the farmers to start their UA activities, while other farmers were able to start farming without organisational support. In Chapter Six we see that a number of those currently associated with Abalimi Bezekhaya had actually started farming before joining Abalimi and that belonging to Abalimi has enabled them to expand and improve their farming activities.

#### ***Events and circumstances in the farmers' lives and the role of UA:***

Information regarding the farmers' life histories has shown that most of the farmers have faced enormous hardships in their lives, which have resulted from apartheid, poverty and various personal and family problems. Yet, it is also revealed that these farmers have

made remarkable attempts to create opportunities and to overcome the hardships that they have experienced. They have shown considerable initiative and creativity in developing strategies to improve their circumstances. Urban agriculture is one of these strategies.

In Chapter Four we saw that 13 of the farmers were directly affected by the Group Areas Act and the forced removals. From the late 1950s to the late 1970s, these farmers were forced to leave their homes in central Cape Town, Kensington,<sup>804</sup> Claremont, Grassy Park, Elsie's River, Simonstown, Athlone and Modderdam. The majority of these farmers were moved to Guguletu, with a few moving to Nyanga and Langa. In Chapter Four we also saw that the living conditions in these townships were poor during the 1960s and 1970s. The houses were small, poorly constructed and had no electricity. The townships lacked a number of facilities and amenities, were situated far from places of work and bus fares were high. The farmers' memories of the forced removals vary, especially as some were children at the time. However, the majority of the farmers found the forced removals to be traumatic and to impact negatively on their own and their families' lives.<sup>805</sup> Farmers were sad to leave neighbourhoods where they had lived for many years and to move to new areas where they did not know the other people. They were also unhappy about the crime in the new areas, the poor housing they received, the long distances they had to travel to work, the fact that prices were a lot higher in the townships and the negative impact that moving had on the education of some of the children.

More than half of those who were affected by the forced removals say that they are now either happy or have become accustomed to living in their areas, with most of the others saying that they have accepted it as there is no alternative. While this does not detract from the trauma that they experienced and continue to remember, it does show that they have found ways to cope with their situation. All but three of these farmers belong to a number of community organisations and societies and all but two feel that there is a community spirit in their neighbourhoods. This demonstrates the attempts made by the farmers and other residents of their areas to redress some of the negative impacts of the forced removals. Five of the eight farmers who were adults when they were affected by the forced removals, conducted urban agriculture activities soon after arriving in their

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<sup>804</sup> It is very possible that when speaking about Kensington, these farmers are speaking about Windermere.

<sup>805</sup> A few farmers did, however, have some positive memories of the forced removals. Two farmers mentioned that they were happy to move to Guguletu, as they received houses there. Another was pleased to leave a racially mixed area, and a farmer who was moved from Modderdam had not liked living there and was glad to leave.

new neighbourhoods.<sup>806</sup> This suggests that urban farming was used by these farmers as a strategy to address some of the negative impacts of the forced removals. As can be seen in Chapter Four, benefits that these farmers remember gaining from their UA activities during that time include food security, improved physical health, alleviating loneliness, family unity and independence.

Other hardships that the farmers have faced during their adults lives include the deaths of spouses and children, health problems and injuries, retrenchment and unemployment; sick and disabled children and being separated from their children in order to seek employment. In Chapter Six we see that poverty and related socio-economic problems, such as unemployment, crime, shortage of housing and a high prevalence of TB and HIV/Aids, continue to be rife in the townships where the farmers currently live. The farmers' life history information reveals that many of their households are living on an extremely low monthly per capita income.<sup>807</sup> However, it also shows that the farmers have developed various coping strategies to deal with these socio-economic hardships. Involvement in urban agriculture activities is indeed one of these strategies.<sup>808</sup> As has been found in this study, UA has produced a number of social and economic benefits for farmers, their families and their broader neighbourhoods. The findings discussed in the next section show that these benefits directly address the socio-economic problems that the farmers currently face and help farmers to cope with the hardships that they have experienced.

### **The Benefits of Urban Agriculture**

In Chapters Four, Five and Six, the motivations for and benefits of small-scale urban agriculture activities in the Cape Flats have been discussed and analysed. In addition, a brief look at the motivations for and benefits of some of the early agricultural activities in Cape Town has been provided in Chapter Three. While this study has focused largely on assessing the social impact of urban farming, certain economic motivations and benefits were also found and thus have been included in these discussions. This study

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<sup>806</sup> All of these farmers were moved to Guguletu and started their UA activities between three to seven years after arriving in that township.

<sup>807</sup> Details regarding the farmers' incomes can be found in Chapter 1 and Appendix 3. It is important to note, however, that while most of the farmers' households are earning very little, some of the farmers have formal employment (mostly in the NGO sector) and are earning comfortable salaries.

<sup>808</sup> Other strategies include involvement in community organisations and churches, membership of stokvels and burial societies, various income generation activities, and the development of close relationships with neighbours and thus the fostering of social capital in their neighbourhoods. In some cases, involvement in UA activities has helped to create these other opportunities.

has also acknowledged and explored the link between the social and economic benefits of urban agriculture.

Throughout this study it was found that farmers had a variety of motivations for beginning their UA activities, with the majority of these motivations being social. Food security and improved nutrition were provided as motivations by a number of those who started farming after 1995<sup>809</sup> and by one farmer who began to farm before 1995. Economic motivations, including income generation and saving money by producing food, were also mentioned by some farmers throughout the study. However, the vast majority of reasons provided by farmers for beginning their UA activities were social. One of the most common motivations provided by farmers was their love of farming and animals. Some of the farmers started their UA activities because they had come from a strong farming background. For these farmers, UA enabled them to continue a family tradition and stay connected to the life that their family had lived in the rural areas. A few of the farmers were motivated by environmental factors, such as cleaning up their environment and making good use of available land. Other social motivations provided for starting UA activities include alleviating loneliness, keeping occupied and having a hobby.

Analysing the farmers' motivations for continuing their UA activities is particularly informative, as this reveals what benefits they have derived, and therefore want to continue to derive, from their farming activities. Only two farmers have continued farming for economic reasons,<sup>810</sup> many have continued to farm to access food security and related nutritional benefits and the majority have continued farming for social reasons. A large number have continued their UA activities because of their love of farming and of animals. Other social motivations that farmers have provided for continuing their UA activities include enjoyment, keeping occupied, exercise, fostering of a sense of identity and accessing therapeutic benefits. The last mentioned relates to the sense of peace and renewal that the farmers feel when they are in their gardens, as well as benefits derived from the relationships formed with other farmers.

An important conclusion that can be drawn from the evidence presented in this study is that urban farmers have benefited, and continue to benefit, from both the products and

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<sup>809</sup> In many cases, these farmers gave food security as a motivation in addition to various social motivations.

<sup>810</sup> It has been found that some farmers who started farming for economic reasons did not receive the economic benefits that they had initially expected. However, they have continued to farm because of the other benefits they have derived from their UA activities. Their motivations for continuing to farm are therefore different to their motivations for starting to farm.

processes of their UA activities. The most common benefits that farmers have gained from the products of their farming include food security, improved nutrition, better health and, for some farmers, economic benefits. In some cases, products of UA activities have also contributed towards community upliftment. The processes of farming, on the other hand, have produced a variety of benefits, all of which can be classified as being social. The products and processes of their UA activities have not only benefited the farmers themselves, but also their families, households and broader communities.

Food security was a major benefit derived from the products of the UA activities conducted prior to 1948 that have been discussed in this study. In addition to providing adequate food for their families, these farmers were able to produce food that was fresh and of a good quality. As a result, farmers felt a sense of self-sufficiency and derived comfort from the knowledge that such food was always available. Many of these farmers also sold some of their produce, which enabled them to benefit economically from their farming activities. The 30 farmers who participated in this study have also benefited substantially from the products of their UA activities. The large majority of these farmers have benefited in terms of food security, as they have used some of their produce to provide food for their families. Eating fresh, organic food and using herbs that they have grown for medicinal purposes has also helped to improve the physical health of many of the farmers and their families. Some of the farmers benefited economically, as they were able generate income from selling some of their produce. While only two farmers derived a regular, substantial income from their farming activities, the income generated by others enabled them to buy necessary items and cover certain important costs. Some of the farmers benefited economically in that they saved money by not having to purchase the items that they produced. In addition, a number of farmers gave some of their produce away to relatives, neighbours and needy people in their areas, thus helping to uplift their communities and foster a sense of good neighbourliness. The products of their farming activities have therefore enabled farmers and their families to benefit in terms of food security, health and nutrition and income generation. In addition, certain social benefits have also been derived through the use of these products.

The farmers who participated in this study continue to benefit from the products of their UA activities. In fact, these benefits are very similar to those derived in the past.<sup>811</sup> The vast majority of the farmers (and their households) are eating and using some of their

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<sup>811</sup> Current benefits refer to the benefits that the farmers were deriving when the interviews took place during 2008 and 2009.

farming produce and, as a result, are benefiting in terms of food security, quality of nutrition, and improved physical health. While many are selling some of their produce, very few are generating a regular, reliable income that forms a major part of their overall household income. In fact only two are using their farming income as their primary income source and ten of the farmers (who are gardening in groups) only receive the income from their sales at the end of the year. However, the significance of the income generated cannot be ignored, as it enables these farmers to purchase necessary items or to do important things that they would otherwise not be able to afford. In addition, almost all of the farmers give some of their produce away to needy or sick people in their neighbourhoods, thus contributing towards the upliftment of their communities. Therefore, the farmers, their families and their neighbourhoods continue to derive a number of food security, health, economic and social benefits from the products of these farming activities.

In this study it has become evident that farmers have derived a variety of benefits from the processes of their UA activities, with these benefits all being of a social nature. For some farmers, the benefits derived from the processes were more important than those gained from the products. Most of the farmers derived a great amount of enjoyment from their UA activities, with many of them speaking about how much they enjoyed being with their animals or spending time in their gardens. Many of the farmers felt that the exercise that they got from their UA activities helped to improve their physical health, as their farming activities helped them to feel stronger, younger and full of energy. Farmers also derived a number of therapeutic benefits from their UA activities. Many farmers gained peace of mind from being in their gardens or with their animals, while others felt uplifted when they looked at their gardens. For some, farming helped to alleviate loneliness and improve concentration and focus. One of the farmers found that participating in urban agriculture helped to give him a sense of identity, as it enabled him to feel like a farmer. Some of the farmers found that their UA activities provided them with something productive to do each day, and others benefited from the education they received when they started gardening.

Other benefits that have been derived from the processes of the farmers' UA activities include independence, family unity and access to networks. One of the farmers achieved self-sufficiency through her UA activities together with other home-based businesses that she was running. She therefore did not need to work for somebody else and so was able to have control over her life. Other farmers found that farming provided their families with an activity that they could conduct together, thus providing their

families with quality time together. While the development of social networks and social capital came across very strongly as current benefits of farming, farmers did not speak much about how they benefited in these regards in the past. However, one farmer did indeed benefit greatly from the social network that he was able to access through his UA activities, as he was offered full-time employment at a school after the Department of Education saw the vegetable garden that he had established on the school property. Through his UA activities, a form of social capital was fostered that enabled him to have access to a network that would otherwise have been difficult or impossible access. This network provided him with opportunities to improve his livelihood. Therefore, numerous social benefits can, and have been, derived from the processes of urban farming, with some of these having the potential to produce further social and economic benefits.

The farmers who participated in this study continue to derive a number of important benefits from the processes of their UA activities. A large number of the farmers feel that their physical health has improved, and continues to improve, as a result of the exercise that they get from farming. All of the farmers derive enjoyment from their UA activities, with many of them expressing how happy they feel when they are in their gardens or with their livestock. Keeping busy and having something productive to do each day is another benefit that many of the farmers gain from farming. In addition, several of the farmers feel that their UA activities benefit them therapeutically, as farming enables them to remove themselves from their problems and to have access to a peaceful, stress-free environment. For some, the benefit is the interaction with other farmers with whom they can share their problems.

Family unity, community development and fostering of social capital are other important social benefits that many of the farmers continue to derive from their UA activities. Several of the farmers have young children, or sick or disabled relatives living with them, and therefore their families gain from having them either at home or at sites close to their homes during the day. In some cases, farming provides family members with the opportunity to spend quality time together. Community upliftment has also been fostered through some of the farmers' UA activities, with examples including the feeding scheme that one of the gardening groups has established, the project gardens that benefit the poor and sick, gardens that have improved the environment of their neighbourhoods, and farmers who teach others how to farm. A very important benefit gained by members of gardening groups is the development and fostering of social networks and social capital through close relationships with each other. These are based on trust and reciprocity and extend beyond the garden. Within these networks, members share their

problems, offer each other advice, help each other in times of need and socialise together. As long as they belong to these networks, the farmers will never be without food, money or personal support and advice. The elderly and sick will also always have people to help take care of them. The social networks and social capital developed through the gardens therefore benefit the farmers immensely, as they improve the quality of the farmers' lives and help them to become less vulnerable to poverty.

It is therefore evident that, through both the products and processes of urban farming, farmers, their families and their broader communities have benefited, and continue to benefit, in a number of ways. While the benefits derived from the farming processes are mostly social, and the benefits gained from the products mostly relate to food security, health and economic gain, it is important to note that these benefits are often inter-linked. The findings of this study also show that there is a strong relationship between social and economic benefits. An example of this would be the social benefits derived from the income generated through sales of the farmers' UA produce. For some farmers, this additional income enables them to have peace of mind knowing that they will be able to afford various household items. For many of those gardening in groups, the money that they earn, is used at the end of the year to enable them to return to the Eastern Cape to visit their relatives. This has important social implications, as it fosters family unity and enables farmers to maintain rural linkages. Social capital and social networks that have been developed through UA activities also demonstrate the close link between social and economic benefits. As has been discussed earlier in this section, gardening groups enable farmers to access social networks that benefit them in various ways. Some of these benefits are economic, as members share resources with each other in times of need. As has been found in recent social capital literature, having access to a reliable support system helps members to be less vulnerable to poverty. In addition, social capital fostered through gardening groups has enabled the groups to access farming resources and markets that members would not have been able to gain entrée to as individuals. These markets, such as Harvest of Hope, provide farmers with the opportunity to increase the income generated through sales of their produce. Mr Bleki's story provides another example of how social capital can produce economic benefits and improve one's livelihood. As a result of the social capital fostered through his UA activities, Mr Bleki was able to secure full-time employment, earn a regular income and thus improve his standard of living.

Findings regarding the benefits that the farmers have derived, and continue to derive from their UA activities, make it possible to answer two of the questions posed in this

study's introduction. The first of these questions is: Are the social benefits of UA different for crop farmers than for livestock and poultry farmers? This study has found that crop, livestock and poultry farmers derive the same benefits from the processes of their farming activities. All of these activities provide farmers with exercise, which in turn produces various health benefits. Farmers derive great enjoyment from all of these activities, with crop farmers loving their gardens as much as livestock and poultry farmers love their animals. Therapeutic benefits are gained by crop, poultry and livestock farmers alike, as they all derive great comfort and peace of mind from being in their gardens and with their animals. Having something productive to do each day is also a benefit gained by both livestock and vegetable farmers. Other social benefits, such as family unification and community upliftment are also derived from vegetable, poultry and livestock farming.

This study has found, however, that the benefits gained from the products of vegetable farming activities differ slightly from those gained from the products of livestock farming. Most of those growing vegetables are using the products from their garden to provide food for their households on a regular basis. While some poultry farmers often use eggs for household consumption and those with cattle use the milk produced on a regular basis, poultry and livestock farmers do not slaughter their chickens and livestock as often as cultivators harvest their vegetables. Therefore, the food security gained from vegetable farming seems to be more regular than that gained from livestock farming. Evidence from this study also suggests that livestock farming has the potential to generate greater direct economic benefits than vegetable farming.<sup>812</sup> However, as with the cultivators, not all livestock farmers are generating income through their UA activities. Therefore, this study has found that while the economic and food security benefits gained by vegetable, poultry and livestock farmers may differ slightly, all of these types of UA, through their processes, produce the same social benefits for farmers.

The second question that can be answered using these findings is: Does communal vegetable farming produce more social benefits than individual vegetable gardening? The findings of this study show that the answer to this question is yes. While there are numerous social benefits that both individual and group farming activities have been

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<sup>812</sup> The only two farmers participating in this study who are earning a regular, reliable income from their UA activities are livestock farmers. In comparison, the income generated by most of the cultivators is small and irregular. However, further research, using a larger sample, would need to be conducted to determine if this is the case amongst the majority of Cape Flats farmers.

found to produce,<sup>813</sup> the fostering of social capital has been found to take place to a much greater extent amongst farmers belonging to groups. As has been discussed in both this chapter and in Chapter Six, the relationships built amongst members of gardening groups develop into strong networks, through which social capital is fostered. These social networks are extremely valuable and have a number of important social and economic implications for members. While individual farming can also help to develop social capital in certain ways,<sup>814</sup> this study has found that the social capital fostered by the gardening groups is a lot stronger. Strong social networks were found to exist in all the gardening groups included in this study. Through these social networks, farmers have access to support systems which enable them to access food and money in times of need, help and advice with addressing problems and care and assistance for the sick and elderly.

## **Concluding Remarks**

### ***Main Conclusions***

This study concludes that agriculture has been a notable feature of Cape Town's landscape since the 1600s, with small-scale agricultural activities having been practised by individuals and families throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Despite the authorities' attempts to restrict farming activities in the city during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, UA continued to take place in various neighbourhoods, thus challenging the authorities' modernist views of the city. Urban livestock, poultry and vegetable farming have been practised in the Cape Flats since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and such activities continue to be conducted in various townships and settlements today. Cape Flats farmers have derived, and continue to derive, a variety of benefits from both the products and processes of their UA activities. While benefits derived from the products have mostly been related to food security, health and, to a lesser extent, income generation, the processes of urban farming have produced a number of significant social benefits. Through the processes of urban agriculture, farmers have benefited, and continue to benefit, in terms of recreation, enjoyment, independence, occupation, therapeutic

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<sup>813</sup> Such benefits include enjoyment, love of farming, having something productive to do each day, exercise and related health benefits, various therapeutic benefits, community upliftment and family unification.

<sup>814</sup> For example, giving away produce helps to build relationships with neighbours and some individual farmers have found that since starting their garden, those living in their area visit them more. In Chapter Six we saw that Mr Bleki was able to access the school network through his UA activities, which enabled him to secure a job.

benefits, education, improved physical well-being, family unity, community upliftment and the fostering of social networks and social capital.

The benefits derived from urban farming have had a profound impact on the social and economic well-being of the farmers and their families. Urban agriculture has been, and continues to be, used by farmers as a strategy to cope with hardships they have experienced and to address the socio-economic problems that they face. In many cases, UA activities have also produced social, food security and environmental benefits for the farmers' broader neighbourhoods. This study has found that a strong relationship exists between social and economic benefits, with many social benefits having broader economic implications as well as economic benefits having social implications. Drawing on existing social capital theory, this study has found that by fostering social networks and social capital, urban agriculture has the potential to improve livelihoods and thus contribute towards poverty alleviation. Therefore, while this study has found that the direct social benefits of UA activities are often more prevalent than direct economic benefits, through the social benefits of their UA activities, farmers and their families can benefit both socially and economically.

#### ***Recommendations and further research required***

The evidence that has been presented in this study regarding the presence of UA in Cape Town throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, challenges traditional, modernist notions of urbanity. This evidence also raises questions regarding when Cape Town became a city and the criteria that have been used to differentiate between cities, towns and rural settlements. It is therefore recommended that this evidence be used by urban historians and urban theorists to review existing notions of the urban and to inform theories regarding when a town becomes a city, and indeed when Cape Town made this transition. It is also hoped that the findings of this study will encourage urban theorists to see UA as an important feature of the urban landscape and to acknowledge the important role that agriculture can play in improving the lives of urban dwellers.

Based on the findings of this study, it is essential that policy-makers, stakeholders and role-players in the UA field acknowledge the enormous social impact that urban farming has on farmers, families and their broader neighbourhoods. Urban agriculture should therefore not only be seen in terms of income generation, job creation and food security. While those benefits are important (and are produced in varying degrees) all farmers are able to derive a number of significant social benefits from the processes (and to some

degree the products) of their UA activities. It is imperative that the importance of these social benefits is acknowledged, both in terms of their social implications and their potential to assist with livelihood creation and poverty alleviation. Therefore, it is essential that policy-makers, stakeholders and role-players understand that through its social benefits, UA has the potential to have a profound social and economic impact on farmers, their families and their broader communities.

Urban agriculture is an extensive topic and there are therefore a number of issues and questions relating to UA in Cape Town that could not be addressed in this study. Questions regarding why others living in these areas are not farming, how these other people view the farmers and their activities and whether the perceptions of the farmers have changed over time, would be worthwhile to explore. Further studies could also look at whether the farmers' stock and produce are ever stolen, relating this question to the way in which farmers are viewed by others in their neighbourhoods. An investigation into how the topic of UA challenges or contributes towards existing thought on urban-rural relationships would be very valuable, as would further discussion regarding how the presence of UA relates to past and current views of the urban. In addition, a study conducted in a few years' time that evaluates the impact of the City of Cape Town's UA Policy on the prevalence and success of UA activities in Cape Town, would be very beneficial. Besides helping the City of Cape Town with the implementation and possible adjustment of its policy, such information could help other cities with the formulation of policies that support urban farming.

Furthermore, research using the life history methodology used in this study could be conducted with farmers in other parts of Cape Town and in other cities nationally and internationally. Such research would provide valuable information regarding the social benefits of urban farming activities in those cities and neighbourhoods, enabling authorities, role-players and other stakeholders to have a clearer understanding of the social impact of UA activities in those areas. Comparative analyses that compare the findings of this study with those of studies conducted in other cities and neighbourhoods would also contribute significantly to the existing body of urban agriculture literature.

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George Madikane, KTC, 31 March 2009

Mrs Mani, Guguletu, 2 April 2009

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Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 19 August 2008 and follow up Guguletu, 24 March 2009

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Pamela and Patrick Ngqaqu, Guguletu, 7 April 2009

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Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 22 July 2008 and follow up Philippi, 12 March 2009

Mthuthuzeli Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008 and follow up Guguletu, 6 November 2008

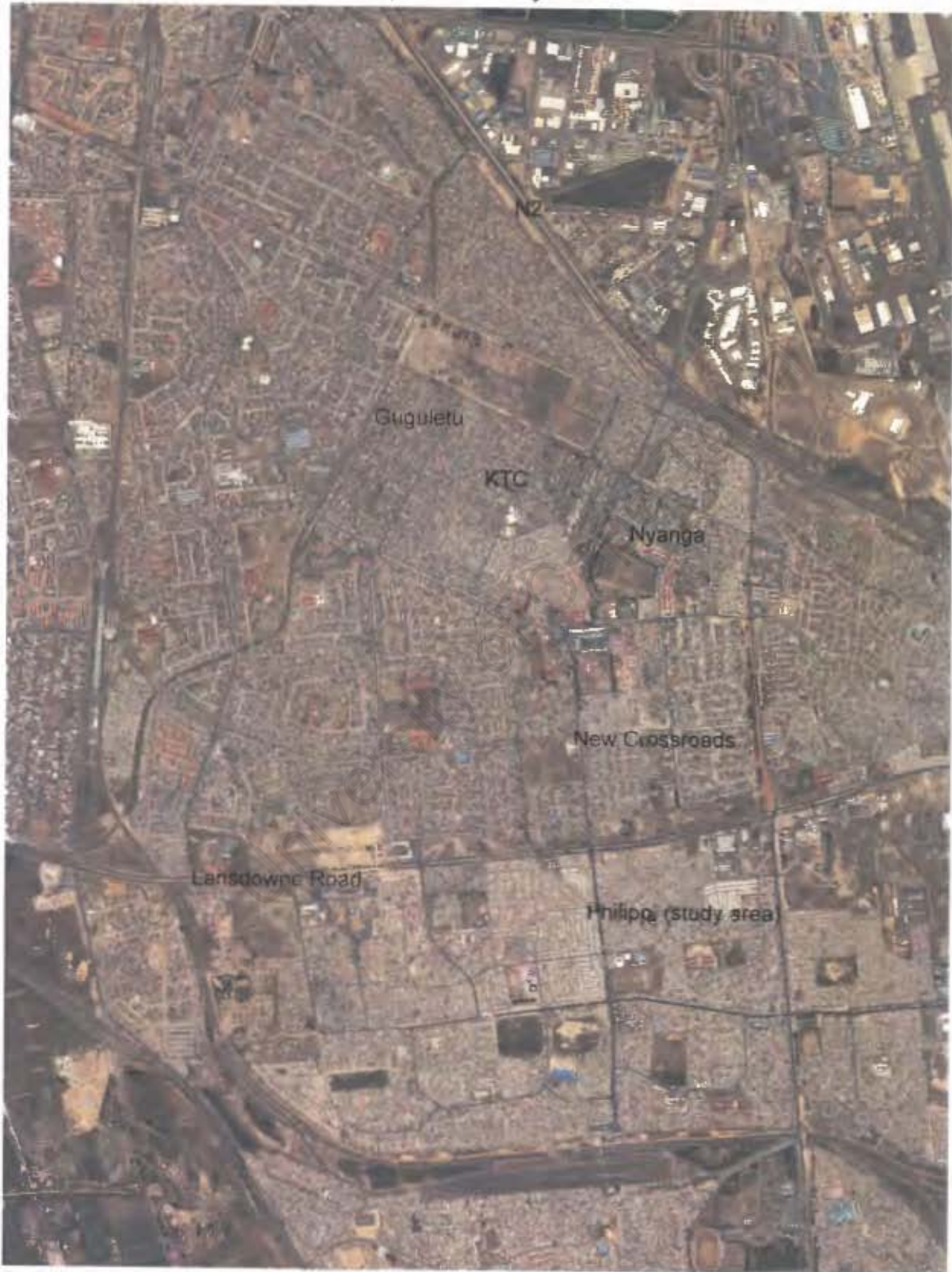
Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 5 August 2008 and follow up Guguletu, 14 April 2009

Angelina Skepe, Philippi, 22 July 2008 and follow up Philippi, 12 March 2009

Worthington Tutu, KTC, 15 April 2009

Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 1 August 2008 and follow up Nyanga, 17 March 2009

### Map Of Study Area



Aerial photograph provided by the Department Of Rural Development & Land Reform  
Chief Directorate: National Geo-Spatial Information, 2008

**Overview of Farmers Interviewed for this Study**

**Table 1: Farmers interviewed for this study**

Name	Age	Male/Female	Where live and farm	Type/s of UA	Group / Individual	Organisation supported?
Novatile Gova	59	Female	Philippi	Vegetables	Group	Yes - Abalimi <sup>815</sup>
Angelina Skepe	62	Female	Philippi	Vegetables	Group	Yes - Abalimi
Lizo Sibaca	65	Male	Philippi	Vegetables	Group and individual	Yes - Abalimi
Mrs Mbovu	69	Female	Guguletu (farms) & Philippi (lives)	Vegetables	Group	Yes - Abalimi
Mabel Bokolo	52	Female	New Crossroads	Vegetables and herbs	Individual	Yes - Abalimi
Robina Rondo	64	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables	Group and individual	Yes – was QPC <sup>816</sup> , now Abalimi
Nomeko Mqathazana	64	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables	Group and individual	Yes – was QPC, now Abalimi
Mrs Vava	64	Female	Nyanga	Vegetables	Individual	Yes - Abalimi
Mr Biko	53	Male	Nyanga	Livestock, poultry and vegetables	Individual	No
Dumisa Dumisani Bleki	44	Male	New Crossroads	Vegetables	Individual	No
Mrs Madalana	68	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables	Group	Yes - Abalimi

<sup>815</sup> Abalimi refers to Abalimi Bezekhaya.

<sup>816</sup> QPC is the Quaker Peace Centre.

Name	Age	Male/Female	Where live and farm	Type/s of UA	Group / Individual	Organisation supported?
Nora Sineli	58	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables	Group	Yes – Abalimi
Mrs Puza	85	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables	Group	Yes – Abalimi
Sam Mgunuza	80	Male	Guguletu	Flowers and herbs	Individual	No
Mthuthuzeli Sineli	48	Male	Guguletu	Vegetables	Group	Yes – was QPC, now Abalimi
Solomon Puza	54	Male	Guguletu	Vegetables and herbs	Individual and project garden	Yes - CWD <sup>817</sup>
Mrs Mvambi	69	Female	Guguletu (farms) & Mandalay (farms and lives)	Vegetables and herbs	Individual and project garden	Yes – Social Services and Amy Biehl Foundation
Stephen Nyameko Ngqaka	50	Male	Guguletu	Vegetables	Individual	No
Rosalina Nongogo	64	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables and herbs	Small group at home	Yes – Soil for Life
Ellen Sandlana	68	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables and herbs	Small group at Rosalina's home	Yes – Soil for Life
George Madikane	74	Male	KTC	Chickens, vegetables and herbs	Individual	Yes – Soil for Life
Nonzwakazi Dlaba	46	Female	Guguletu (lives) & Mfuleni (farms)	Pigs	Individual	Yes – Mfuleni Small Farmers' Association
Mrs Mani	91	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables	Individual (Operating at home and school site)	No

<sup>817</sup> CWD is Catholic Welfare and Development.

Name	Age	Male/Female	Where live and farm	Type/s of UA	Group / Individual	Organisation supported?
Rose Ngewu	50	Female	KTC	Vegetables	Individual	Yes – Soil for Life
Pamela and Patrick Ngqaqu	53 (Pamela)	Female & Male	Guguletu	Chickens	Farm as a couple	No
Nozi Elsie Kani	73	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables	Group	Previously – Abalimi
Mr Fonte	64	Male	Guguletu	Vegetables and herbs	Individual	No
Davidson Mooi	83	Male	Guguletu	Goats & tortoises	Individual	Yes – Empolweni Small Farmers' Association
Phylophia Bashe	74	Female	Guguletu	Vegetables, herbs, chickens, fruit	Individual	No
Worthington Tutu	67	Male	KTC	Vegetables, herbs, fruit	Individual	No

**Migration Statistics of Farmers Interviewed for this Study****Table 3.1: Length of time that farmers have been living in Cape Town<sup>819</sup>**

Period lived in Cape Town	Whole life (Born in Cape Town)	More than 50 years	20 – 50 years	10 – 20 years	5 - 10 years	Less than 5 years
Number of farmers	7	8	14	1	0	0

**Table 3.2: Length of time that farmers who started UA before 1995 had been living in Cape Town when they started their UA activities**

Farmer's name	When arrived in Cape Town	When started UA	Years between arriving and starting UA
Novatile Gova	1976	Late 1970s	Approx. 3 years
Robina Rondo	1960	1968/9	Approx. 8 years
Nomeko Mqathazana	1960	1965	5 years
Mrs Vava	1949	1971	22 years
Mrs Puza	1943	1950s	At least 10 years
Mr Biko	Early 1970s	1974	Approx. 3 years
Solomon Puza	Born here - 1954	Late 1960s	Whole life (Approx. 14 years)
Mrs Mvambi	1962	1979	17 years
Mrs Mani	1930s	1960s	Approx. 30 years
Davidson Mooi	1947	Mid 1950s	Approx. 8 years
Phylophia Bashe	1942	1960s	At least 20 years
Angelina Skepe	1976	1993	17 years
Patrick Ngqaqu	1974	Mid 1980s	Approx. 10 years

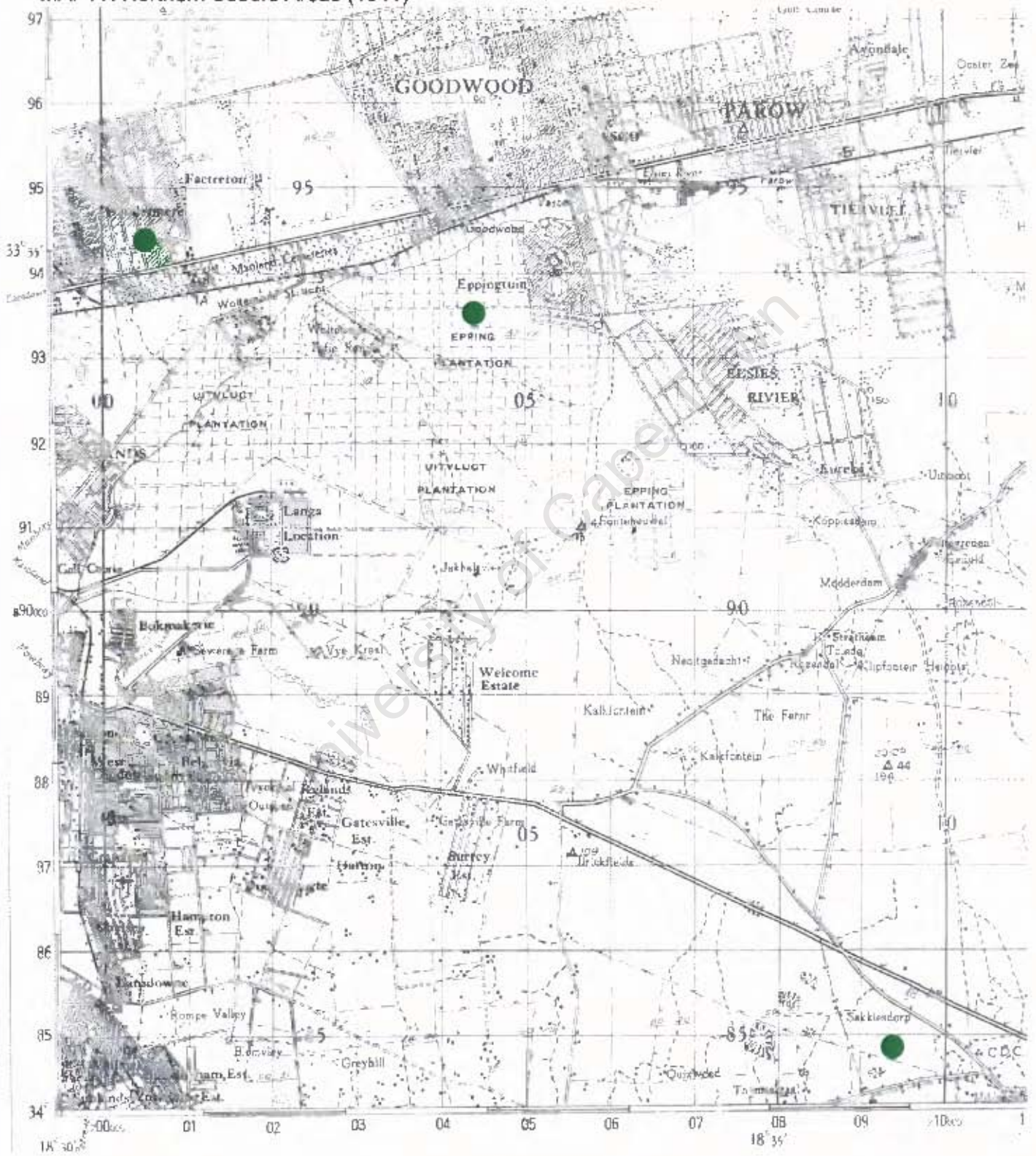
**Table 3.3: Summary of information in Table 3.2**

Period lived in Cape Town before started UA	Whole life (Born in CT)	More than 50 years	20 – 50 years	10 – 20 years	5 - 10 years	Less than 5 years
Number of farmers (who started UA before 1995)	1	0	3	3	4	2

<sup>819</sup> These statistics were calculated in 2009.

Maps Indicating Areas where UA was practised in the 1930s & 1940s

MAP A : Northern Suburb Areas (1941)



Taken from map of Bellville locality:  
Surveyed & drawn by the Trigonometrical Survey Office, Pretoria, 1941

Photolithographed in the Union Of South Africa by the Government Printer, Pretoria, 1942



## The Farmers: 1920s to 2009

### Detailed Life History Information

#### Before 1948:

Of the 30 farmers interviewed, 19 were born before 1948. Of these 19, 17 were born in rural parts of the Eastern Cape, one was born in Swaziland and one, Mrs Madalana, was born in Langa, Cape Town. Mrs Madalana grew up in Langa and remembers that life was not always easy for a girl growing up in a city township. In order to survive, she had to become a tomboy. However, she enjoyed her childhood in Langa and fondly remembers going to the nearest cinema, which was in Athlone. She and her friends would regularly walk from Langa to Athlone to go to the cinema.<sup>823</sup> Mrs Madalana says that Langa was a city place, but that she and her family did not think of growing vegetables when they were living there.<sup>824</sup>

While Phylophia Bashe was born in Ngqamakhwe in the Eastern Cape, she came to Cape Town when she was seven years old because her mother wanted her to attend school in the city. When she first arrived, her mother had a live-in job as a domestic worker. Phylophia therefore lived with her mother at her employers' house in Kloof Street. She remembers that she liked Cape Town when she arrived. She also remembers that her mother's employers had a vegetable garden at their home but Phylophia did not do any urban farming activities at that time, as she was still young and was busy with her studies.<sup>825</sup> Nozi Kani also came to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape as a child during this period. She was nine years old when she came to join her mother who was working in Cape Town. They lived in Kensington and she enjoyed living in that area. She and her family did not conduct any urban farming activities in Kensington.<sup>826</sup>

While most of the farmers who were born during this period, were born during the 1930s and 1940s, and were therefore still children by the late 1940s, four of the farmers were born before 1930 and were therefore already adults by 1948. These four farmers (Mrs Mani, Mrs Puza, Davidson Mooi and Sam Mgunuza) all came to Cape Town as adults during this period.

Mrs Mani was born in 1918 in Cofimvaba in the Eastern Cape. Her mother passed away when she was very young and she had to look after the animals and therefore could not go to school. She came to Cape Town during the 1930s after her marriage. Her husband had come to Cape Town to work and she came to join him. They lived in Elsie's River, and Mrs Mani saw Cape Town as a beautiful place. She started working as a domestic worker soon after arriving in Cape Town and, because she was working at

<sup>823</sup> Interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 5 August 2008.

<sup>824</sup> Follow-up interview with Mrs Madalana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>825</sup> Interview with Phylophia Bashe, Guguletu, 15 April 2009.

<sup>826</sup> Interview with Nozi Elsie Kani, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

that time, she did not have any interest in gardening.<sup>827</sup> Mrs Puza was born in Keiskammahoek in 1923 and came to Cape Town in December 1943 to find work and managed to find a live-in job as a domestic worker in Constantia. Mrs Puza's mother was out of work at that time, and she was therefore pleased to have found work so that she could help her mother. Later, she met her husband and they got married and moved to Observatory. While Mrs Puza would have liked to have returned to the Eastern Cape, her husband enjoyed living in Cape Town and they therefore stayed. Mrs Puza did not conduct any urban agriculture activities while living in Observatory because they did not have sufficient space.<sup>828</sup>

Davidson Mooi was born in 1926 in Umtata. He came to Cape Town in 1947 to work and found a job at a timber yard. He lived in Claremont and thought that Cape Town was a really beautiful place. While Davidson did not start his urban farming activities before 1948, he started keeping chickens and livestock in the 1950s, which was not too long after he arrived in Cape Town.<sup>829</sup> Sam Mgunuza was born in Swaziland in 1928. He came to Cape Town in 1947 as he had secured a job in Cape Town through a recruitment agency. He thought that Cape Town was very beautiful when he arrived. He lived in Grassy Park and did not conduct any urban farming activities at that time, as he did not have sufficient space.<sup>830</sup>

### **1949 to 1979:**

Nineteen of the 30 farmers interviewed for this study were born before 1948, with most of them being born in rural parts of the Eastern Cape. All of the remaining 11 farmers were born between 1948 and 1980. Interestingly, only five of these 11 farmers were born in rural parts of the Eastern Cape while the other six were born in Cape Town.

The childhood memories of the six farmers who were born in Cape Town during this period vary quite considerably. Some of these farmers were affected by the Group Areas Act and forced removals. They were forced to leave the neighbourhoods where they were born and move to areas that were new and strange to them. As many of them were children at this time, the Group Areas Act and forced removals impacted on their childhoods. Solomon Puza was born in Athlone in 1954. In 1962 his family was forced to leave Athlone and move to Guguletu. Solomon was actually quite excited to come to a new place. However, his parents were very strict and he was therefore forced to spend a lot of time at home. The move from Athlone to Guguletu had a negative impact on his education. In Athlone he had been taught in Afrikaans, but in Guguletu he was taught in Xhosa. He therefore had to start his schooling again in order to cope with the schoolwork. Solomon grew up in a large household consisting of 13 people. After leaving school, he had various jobs and worked as a mechanic, a chef and a taxi driver. Solomon's family had been conducting urban farming activities since the time they were

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<sup>827</sup> Interview with Mrs Mani, Guguletu, 2 April 2009.

<sup>828</sup> Interview with Mrs Puza, Guguletu, 7 August 2008.

<sup>829</sup> Interview with Davidson Mooi, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>830</sup> Interview with Sam Mgunuza, Guguletu, 14 August 2008.

living in Athlone, and Solomon himself started to conduct UA while he was still at school.<sup>831</sup>

Pamela Ngqaqu was born in Nyanga in 1956. She grew up in Nyanga and, apart from two years spent in Alice, Pamela stayed in Nyanga until she moved to Guguletu in the late 1980s. Pamela was not directly affected by the Group Areas Act, but her childhood nonetheless had its ups and downs. Pamela remembers that she had a happy childhood until her father deserted them. Her mother, however, was very strong and she helped them to cope during that difficult time. After finishing school, Pamela went to Alice for two years where she studied teaching. She then returned to Cape Town where she taught for 28 years. While Pamela had even greater ambitions, she recognised that teaching was the best way for her to earn money to help her mother. Pamela did not conduct any urban farming activities during this period, and she feels that this was because, once she became involved in teaching, she became very narrow-minded and did not recognise other opportunities.<sup>832</sup> Rose Ngewu was born in Cape Town in 1959.<sup>833</sup> She moved to Guguletu when she was very young and therefore spent most of her childhood in that area. Rose remembers that she enjoyed growing up in Guguletu. When she got married, she moved to Langa where she lived until she moved to KTC in 1980. Rose worked as a domestic worker during this period and she did not conduct any urban farming activities because she was working.<sup>834</sup>

Stephen Ngqaka was born in central Cape Town in 1959. During the early 1960s, his family was forced to move to Guguletu. Although he was still quite young at the time, Stephen can remember that he was sad to leave town and to move to a new neighbourhood. When they arrived in Guguletu, the area was still very new and they had to live in a shack as the houses had not yet been built.

“It was sad to move from the area you know and then you’ve got to go somewhere you don’t know... I was sad, it wasn’t right, I was uncomfortable.”<sup>835</sup>

Nonzwakazi Dlaba was also born in central Cape Town, and she lived there from 1963 until her family was forced to move to Langa in the mid to late 1960s. Nonzwakazi’s grandfather was white, her father was coloured and her mother was black. Due to apartheid legislation, her mother and father were not allowed to stay at her grandfather’s house in Long Market Street, and they were forced to move to Langa. After a short stay in Langa, Nonzwakazi’s family moved to Guguletu. Unlike Stephen Ngqaka, Nonzwakazi does not remember having to move from town and coming to live in Guguletu. However, she remembers that she liked Guguletu when she was growing up and that she enjoyed her childhood in that area.<sup>836</sup> Neither Stephen Ngqaka nor Nonzwakazi Dlaba conducted any UA activities during this period.

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<sup>831</sup> Interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 19 August 2008; and follow-up interview with Solomon Puza, Guguletu, 30 April 2009.

<sup>832</sup> Interview with Pamela and Patrick Ngqaqu, Guguletu, 7 April 2009.

<sup>833</sup> I struggled to ascertain where exactly in Cape Town Rose Ngewu was born.

<sup>834</sup> Interview with Rose Ngewu, KTC, 2 April 2009.

<sup>835</sup> Interview with Stephen Ngqaka, Guguletu, 17 March 2009.

<sup>836</sup> Interview with Nonzwakazi Dlaba, Guguletu, 31 March 2009.

Mr Sineli was born in Kensington<sup>837</sup> and he lived there until he was eight years old. Mr Sineli has mixed feelings about his childhood in Kensington. On the one hand, he has fond memories of living in that area and he remembers that they lived close to various amenities such as the butchery and clinic. However, he also remembers that it was boring at times because his parents were very strict and certain facilities, such as the cinema, were reserved for coloured people only. Black people were not permitted to use these facilities and Mr Sineli therefore found it quite restrictive. During the 1960s, his family was forced to move to Guguletu, and Mr Sineli remembers that he did not like Guguletu when he first arrived. The area was only starting to be developed and there were not many people in Guguletu. Mr Sineli's family did not practise UA in Kensington and only started to conduct urban farming activities in Guguletu in the late 1980s. Mr Sineli remembers that they lived close to the Epping market when they were in Kensington and that they would get left-over produce from the market. They therefore did not need to grow their own vegetables.<sup>838</sup>

Three of the farmers who were born in the Eastern Cape between 1949 and 1980 came to live in Cape Town during this period. Nora Sineli was born in Seymour in 1950 and came to Cape Town during the mid 1950s. Nora's older brother was living in Cape Town and her mother decided that she should live with him. They lived in Kensington<sup>839</sup> at that time and although she was very young then, Nora remembers that she enjoyed coming to Cape Town. In the early 1960s, Nora and her brother's family were forced to move to Guguletu. Nora was still a child at that time, but she remembers that she was not happy about having to move.

"Kensington was different. Guguletu was full of skollies who rob you. This place was not like Kensington, which was nice. We were mixed in Kensington with coloureds, Indians and whites."<sup>840</sup>

Nora spent the rest of her childhood in Guguletu and later she worked as a domestic worker. She did not conduct any urban farming activities during this period because she was working.<sup>841</sup>

Mr Biko was born in Alice and he came to Cape Town in the 1970s to look for work. He lived in Nyanga and was able to find a job at a hotel in Cape Town. While he was happy to be in Cape Town, he found Nyanga to be quite rough when he first arrived. However, he got used to the area and still lives in Nyanga today. Mr Biko started to conduct his urban farming activities in 1974 after he was injured at work and retrenched from his job. Mr Biko has always loved animals and his grandfather taught him to farm when he lived in the Eastern Cape.<sup>842</sup> Novatile Gova came to Cape Town from Ngcobo in 1976. Her husband had already found work in Cape Town and she came to join him. Novatile did

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<sup>837</sup> While Mr Sineli called the area "Kensington", it is very possible that he is referring to Windermere.

<sup>838</sup> Interview with Mthuthuzeli Sineli, Guguletu, 14 August 2008; and follow-up interview conducted with Mthuthuzeli Sineli, Guguletu 6 November 2008.

<sup>839</sup> As with Mr Sineli, it is possible that Nora Sineli is referring to Windermere when she speaks about Kensington.

<sup>840</sup> Interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 5 August 2008.

<sup>841</sup> Follow-up interview with Nora Sineli, Guguletu, 14 April 2009.

<sup>842</sup> Interview with Mr Biko, Nyanga, 7 August 2008.

not like Cape Town when she first arrived but, because she was with her husband, she was able to get used to it. They lived in Philippi and she did not have any formal employment during this period. During the late 1970s, Novatile started keeping chickens at her home in Philippi.<sup>843</sup>

Ten of the farmers who were born in the Eastern Cape before 1948 also came to live Cape Town during this period. Mrs Vava came to Cape Town in 1949 as a young child. Her mother died when she was young, and she had to live with her father who was working in Cape Town. She therefore came to join him and they lived in Somerset West. Mrs Vava enjoyed living in Cape Town as a child and, because she was so young when she arrived, she felt as if she had never lived in the Transkei. Later, Mrs Vava moved to Langa and after that she lived in Guguletu for while. After finishing school, she worked in factories and later as a domestic worker. In 1970, Mrs Vava married and moved to Nyanga. She did not like Nyanga when she first lived there, as she was afraid of the gangs and the crime. When Mrs Vava lived in Somerset West, her father grew mealies, and she herself grew some vegetables during the 1970s after she moved to Nyanga.<sup>844</sup> Lizo Sibaca came to Cape Town from Alice during the late 1950s. He had already secured a job at the cement works through a recruitment agency and therefore came to Cape Town to work. He liked Cape Town very much when he arrived, because he had a job. Lizo lived in Langa when he first came to Cape Town and later he moved to Lusaka in Nyanga. Unlike Mrs Vava, Lizo did not conduct any urban farming activities during this period.<sup>845</sup>

Robina Rondo and Nomeko Mqathazana both arrived in Cape Town in 1960. Nomeko Mqathazana was born in Keiskammahoek in 1934 and she came to join her husband who was working in Cape Town. Nomeko did not like Cape Town when she first arrived, because she did not have a job and had to stay at home during day to do the housework. After asking her husband to find her a job, she began working as a domestic worker and started enjoying Cape Town a lot more. Nomeko lived in Langa when she first arrived in Cape Town and, after living in Rylands for a few years, she moved to Guguletu in 1964. Nomeko did not reveal whether or not her move to Guguletu was as a result of the Group Areas Act but she remembers that she liked Guguletu when she first arrived. She received a house soon after moving to Guguletu, which she was happy about as she had previously been renting accommodation. Nomeko did not conduct any urban farming in Rylands, as she did not have her own plot. However, she started conducting UA activities soon after she moved into her new house in Guguletu.<sup>846</sup> Robina Rondo was born in Tsomo in 1934 and came to Cape Town to join her husband. Two of her children had passed away and her husband, who was working in Cape Town at the time, said she must come and join him. Robina lived

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<sup>843</sup> Interview with Novatile Gova, Philippi, 21 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Novatile Gova, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

<sup>844</sup> Interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 1 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Vava, Nyanga, 17 March 2009.

<sup>845</sup> Interview with Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 22 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Lizo Sibaca, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

<sup>846</sup> Interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 31 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Nomeko Mqathazana, Guguletu, 6 November 2008.

in Simonstown when she first arrived and she remembers that she really enjoyed coming to Cape Town because she was living near the sea. In 1964, Robina was forced to move from Simonstown to Guguletu and she seems to have mixed feelings about being forced to move. On the one hand, she had enjoyed living in Simonstown and she found everything to be a lot more expensive in Guguletu. However, on the other hand, she received a house when she came to Guguletu and even said, "I did love staying in Guguletu because I owned my own house in Guguletu."<sup>847</sup> Robina worked as a domestic worker for many years, and in 1968, she and her husband started to grow vegetables at their home in Guguletu.<sup>848</sup>

Mrs Mvambi came to Cape Town in 1962. She had been born in Tsomo and was living in Graaff-Reinet before she came to Cape Town. Mrs Mvambi was working as a teacher in Graaff-Reinet but she was lonely there as most of her family was in Cape Town. She therefore decided to come to Cape Town and immediately found a teaching post at a primary school. Mrs Mvambi remembers that Cape Town was a peaceful place when she first arrived and that the people in Cape Town were very warm. Mrs Mvambi first stayed in Langa and later moved to Guguletu. She started growing vegetables in 1979.<sup>849</sup> George Madikane arrived in Cape Town in 1963. He had been born in Keiskammahoek and from 1960 to 1962 lived in Johannesburg. Soon thereafter, he secured a job in Cape Town through a recruitment agency. When he first arrived, he worked at the Royal Dairy and enjoyed being in the city. George stayed in Langa in the men's hostels and he did not conduct any UA activities during this period as he did not have sufficient space.<sup>850</sup>

Ellen Sandlana and Rosalina Nongogo both arrived in Cape Town during the late 1960s. Ellen was born in a small village near Umtata in 1941 and she came to live in Cape Town in 1968. She came to join her husband who was already working in Cape Town. Ellen lived in Guguletu when she arrived and she did some part-time domestic work. She remembers that it was difficult living in Cape Town at that time, because of the Pass Laws.

"It was very difficult to come here in Cape Town because it was the time of the Pass Laws, so nothing was interesting... There was no freedom of movement; I have to carry the passes when you're going to the shops."<sup>851</sup>

Rosalina Nongogo came to Cape Town from Cofimvaba in 1969. Her husband had died suddenly in 1966 and she came to Cape Town to look for a job. Rosalina lived in Langa when she first arrived and found work as a housekeeper. In 1972 she found a live-in domestic job in Rondebosch. Rosalina worked for this family for many years and lived with them in Rondebosch until 1980. She liked Cape Town when she first arrived but, like Ellen, Rosalina remembers that the Pass Laws were very restrictive and therefore

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<sup>847</sup> Interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 31 July 2008.

<sup>848</sup> Interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 31 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Robina Rondo, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

<sup>849</sup> Interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 19 August 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Mvambi, Guguletu, 24 March 2009

<sup>850</sup> Interview with George Madikane, KTC, 31 March 2009.

<sup>851</sup> Interview with Ellen Sandlana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

made it hard to look for a job.<sup>852</sup> Neither Rosalina nor Ellen conducted any UA activities during this period. Even though Ellen had grown vegetables in the Eastern Cape, it did not occur to her to grow vegetables in Cape Town until she was introduced to Soil for Life in 2008.<sup>853</sup> For Rosalina, a lack of knowledge on how to start a garden, prevented her from growing vegetables during this period.<sup>854</sup>

Angelina Skepe was born on a farm in Dordrecht in 1946. In 1976, she came to Cape Town to look for work. Angelina was separated from her husband and had to leave her children with her mother in the Eastern Cape so that she could look for work in Cape Town. She lived in Mbekweni and found work on the nearby farms. Angelina loved Cape Town when she arrived because she had found a job. Soon afterwards, she moved to Modderdam where she lived until the settlement was destroyed and she was forced to move. After leaving Modderdam, Angelina did live-in domestic work and lived with her employers. Interestingly, she remembers that she did not enjoy living in Modderdam and that she preferred having live-in jobs. Angelina did not conduct any UA activities whilst living in Mbekweni or Modderdam, because she was working on farms at that time.<sup>855</sup> Mrs Mbovu came to Cape Town in 1978. She had been born in Jamestown but she lived and worked in Port Elizabeth prior to coming in Cape Town. Mrs Mbovu decided to move to Cape Town to join the rest of her family members. She lived in Guguletu and found work as a chambermaid in a hotel. Mrs Mbovu remembers that she was able to find a job easily when she arrived and that her wages were good. She did not conduct any UA activities during this period as her yard was not enclosed and she therefore did not feel that it was sufficiently secure.<sup>856</sup>

Nozi Kani and Phylophia Bashe had both moved to Cape Town as children before 1948 and therefore continued to grow up in Cape Town during this period. Phylophia continued to live with her mother in Kloof Street until she began high school. She attended high school in Langa and stayed there with another family while she completed her schooling. She then returned to Kloof Street and lived there with her mother until they were forced to move to Guguletu in the 1960s. Phylophia and her mother were very unhappy about having to move from town.

"We didn't feel happy. There was no life at the time. We stayed in pondokkies. We were not used to staying like that, we were used to staying with the whites in town... I did not like it because we were forced to come to it."<sup>857</sup>

Phylophia worked as a nurse for a while until she had children. Thereafter, she ran her own businesses, sewing and selling meat. Phylophia began to conduct urban farming activities in the 1960s and has been conducting her current UA activities since 1974.<sup>858</sup>

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<sup>852</sup> Interview with Rosalina Nongogo, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>853</sup> Interview with Ellen Sandlana, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>854</sup> Interview with Rosalina Nongogo, Guguletu, 26 March 2009.

<sup>855</sup> Interview with Angelina Skepe, Philippi, 22 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Angelina Skepe, Philippi, 12 March 2009.

<sup>856</sup> Interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 23 July 2008; and Follow-up interview with Mrs Mbovu, Guguletu, 24 March 2009.

<sup>857</sup> Interview with Phylophia Bashe, Guguletu, 15 April 2009.

<sup>858</sup> Interview with Phylophia Bashe, Guguletu, 15 April 2009.

**Personal History:**

Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

How long have you lived in Cape Town? \_\_\_\_\_

Where did you live before living in Cape Town? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Why did you move to Cape Town? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

What did you think of Cape Town when you first arrived? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

How long have you lived in this area? \_\_\_\_\_

Have you lived in any other parts of Cape Town? \_\_\_\_\_

If so, where? \_\_\_\_\_

Did you ever have to move as part of the Group Areas Act? \_\_\_\_\_

If so, how did you feel about being moved? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

What did you think of this area when you first arrived? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

How do you now feel about living in Cape Town and your area?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Would you say that there is a community spirit in this area? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

What previous employment have you had? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

What do you do / where do you go for fun or relaxation? \_\_\_\_\_

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Is there anything else that you would like to tell us about your life history?

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**Urban Agricultural Activities:**

What type / types of Urban Agriculture are you involved in: (ie: vegetables, poultry, livestock or other)?

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**Vegetables / Herbs / Fruit**

What type of vegetables (or herbs or fruit) do you grow?

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What quantity of these vegetables / herbs / fruit do you produce?

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**Poultry and livestock:**

What type of poultry and / or livestock do you keep? And how many fowls / livestock do you have?

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What products do you produce from your poultry / livestock?

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What quantity of these products do you produce?

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For those involved in more than one type of UA: Do you ever use the products of one form of UA as inputs for another form of UA? If so, explain.

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Would you say that a lot of other people in your area are involved in UA activities?

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When you first came to live in this area, did you notice any people conducting any UA activities? If so, what?

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When you lived in other parts of Cape Town, did you notice any people conducting any UA activities? If so, what were they doing and when was this?

**Impact of UA Activities:**

Why did you decide to start conducting your UA activity/ies? \_\_\_\_\_

Why do you continue to conduct your UA activity/ies? \_\_\_\_\_

What do you do with the products of your UA activities? \_\_\_\_\_

How does this help you, your household and your community? \_\_\_\_\_

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*Prompt questions:*

If you eat your produce / some of your produce, how far does it go? (ie: how many people does it feed for how long?)

Do you prefer to eat the vegetables that you grow / items your livestock produces (as opposed to purchasing those items from the shops) and if so, why?

If you sell your produce / some of your produce, how much do you earn?

What does this income enable you to do?

If you give any of your produce away, who do you give it to and how does it help them?

How do you feel about the fact that you are able to produce your own food?

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How do you feel when you are doing your UA activities? \_\_\_\_\_

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What benefits did you get from your UA activities when you first started them?

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Have you developed new friendships through your UA activities? \_\_\_\_\_

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**For those gardening / farming in groups:**

Did you know the other members before your group started its UA project? \_\_\_\_\_

If so, how? \_\_\_\_\_

If not, how did your group get together? \_\_\_\_\_

How many members did your group have when it first started? \_\_\_\_\_

If this number has decreased, why is this so? \_\_\_\_\_

Has your group changed at all since it first started? If so, how?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Do you enjoy working with the other members of your group? \_\_\_\_\_

Why / Why not? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you have contact with any of the other members of the group over and above the contact that is necessary for your UA activities?

\_\_\_\_\_

Have any of the members of your group helped each other out during times of need? If so, can you give an example?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

*Prompt questions:*

Do you ever borrow items from other members of your group or discuss your problems with the other members of your group?

If so, what types of problems do you share with each other?

Do you trust the other members of your group?

Does your group as a whole have any links with any other organisations and, if so, which organisations?

\_\_\_\_\_

If your group sells its produce, how do you divide your profits?

\_\_\_\_\_

If your group is part of the Harvest for Hope project, could you tell me if the way your group works has changed since you joined Harvest for Hope?

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Would you say that you have more or less social interaction with the other members of your group since you joined Harvest for Hope?

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**All:**

Have you become involved in any other income generation activities or community development activities through your UA activities or contacts? If so, describe them.

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Do your UA activities benefit your children / grandchildren in any way? If so, how?

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*Prompt questions:*

If you have young children / grandchildren, do they ever come to the garden with you? If so, do they ever join in your UA activities and learn about farming from you?

If so, how would you say this impacts on your relationship with your children?

Are you able to be at home at times during the day when your children / grandchildren need you?

If so, how do you think this benefits them?

Has your role in your household and / or community changed at all since you started engaging in UA activities? If so, how?

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*Prompt question:*

How does your husband / wife feel about your UA activities?

What would you say are the most important benefits that you gain from your UA activities?

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Do you think that the vegetable gardens in your area make your area look more attractive?

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What do other people think of your UA activities? \_\_\_\_\_

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Why do you think some people do not participate in UA activities? \_\_\_\_\_

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How would you feel if, for some reason, you could not continue your farming activity?

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