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Urban Agriculture and the Youth: The youth's responses to urban agriculture projects in both the Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park townships (Milnerton).

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JOANNA SZEWCZYK
SZWJOA001



SUPERVISED BY: DR JANE BATTERSBY-LENNARD
HUMAN GEOGRAPHY STREAM

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Abstract

Urban agriculture has been advocated by NGOs and development agencies as being a food security strategy, and an effective poverty alleviation measure. This view is reflected within the City of Cape Town, as the City's 2007 Urban Agriculture Policy illustrates. Since the initiation of the Policy, many urban agriculture projects have been established by the local government in the low income areas of Cape Town. The urban agriculture projects set up in the townships of Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park are two of the projects established by the city. While these projects have provided primary livelihoods for some participants, the City has expressed concern regarding the age demographic of this practice, as a lack of youth involvement is noticed. Academic literature within this discourse highlights a gap in knowledge concerning the urban youth, and this increases the importance of understanding why the younger generation is hesitant to partake in this activity.

The main aim of the study is to explore two City established urban agriculture projects, one in which youth involvement is visible, whilst in the other it is not. The study interrogates whether there are any barriers which could prevent the youth from participating within this activity. The City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy and projects were examined in order to explore how they engage with urban agriculture, and in turn how they understand the youth and their lived experience. In addition, the existing urban farmers' perceptions of the youth were examined in order to explore what role these perceptions play in youth involvement. Lastly, the study narrowed its focus onto the youth themselves in an attempt to understand their own opinions of urban agriculture, and explore what underlies these perceptions.

The study revealed that there are several factors at play which hinder the youth from becoming involved in urban agriculture. The lack of youth involvement was not simply a result of the youth's personal perceptions, but it was influenced by the township community, the framing of the Policy and the effect that these factors had on the practice of urban agriculture. This showed that the Urban Agriculture Policy and projects, together with weak social networks and a lack of communication between the township residents all decreased the youth's ability of becoming involved in this activity.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Urban agriculture has been extensively advocated by both academics and policy officials (Maxwell, et. al. 1998; Mougeot, 1998; Slater, 2001; Webb, 2011). In Southern Africa, government interest in urban agriculture began to take place in the early 1980s and it arose out of a discourse which placed its main focus on urban agriculture's potential to counter the social and economic problems of developing world cities (Slater, 2001:636). Webb argues that in South Africa, 'the advocacy of urban agriculture as a means of improving the plight of the urban poor has been a major theme in the literature since the early 1990s' (Webb, 2011:195).

The increased prominence of urban agriculture within academic research and advocacy organizations during this period can be attributed to several factors. Urban agriculture was argued to have the potential to improve the urban farmers' overall quality of life (Mougeot, 1998; 2006; Centre for Development Support, 2009). Most prominent was the fact that this was an important socio-economic activity, specifically important for the poor and middle income households (Sawio, 1994; Centre for Development Support, 2009; Webb, 2011). Key areas of advocacy focused on urban agriculture's potential to provide cheap food and thus promote food security (Maxwell, et. al. 1998; Webb, 2000; Crush, et. al. 2010). In addition, urban agriculture was seen to have both an economic and social benefit for many marginalized groups (Lado, 1990; Rogerson, 1993; 2003; Nugent, 2005; Thornton, 2008; Center for Development Support, 2009). Urban agriculture contributed to improving the urban environment, promoting social interactions and even reducing the negative impacts of HIV/AIDS through providing better nutrition (Slater, 2001; Mubvami and Manyati, 2007; Center for Development Support, 2009). Furthermore, it was seen as a source of employment creation and income generation (Lado, 1990; Rogerson, 1993; 2003; Mougeot, 2006; Center for Development Support, 2009; Webb, 2011).

Thornton argues that it has become widely accepted that urban agriculture is an important livelihood or coping strategy among the urban poor mainly for its food security and income generating benefits (Thornton, 2008:1). Several academics state that within urban areas the poor can spend up to three quarters of their income on food, as the main form of access to sufficient food is through becoming absorbed into the cash economy (Smith, 1998; Maxwell, 1999a). This food can be obtained in two main ways, namely retail outlets and self-production. Not all urban inhabitants have access to steady employment, so their income is often inconsistent and thus insufficient to meet household needs. This, therefore, impacts on their food purchasing power (Smith, 1998:209). Within this context of food insecurity, which is a result of inadequate and unstable income, urban agriculture has been argued to be an important survival strategy and a form of adaptation to decrease household vulnerability to food security (Smith, 1998; Maxwell, 1995; 2000). It is highly advocated as it allows people to take their own control in acquiring the resources which they need for their own well-being (Rosset, 1996:1).

In 2007 the City of Cape Town passed the 'Urban Agriculture Policy for the City of Cape Town'. The main purpose of this policy was to create an integrated and holistic approach towards developing urban agriculture within the City. The policy's main goal is for it to be utilized as a guiding tool by all role-players so that the positive impact of urban agriculture could be maximized within the City (City of Cape Town, 2007:1). The City follows a dual approach to urban agriculture. On the one side it focuses on achieving household food security, thus poverty alleviation and improved nutrition. On the other side it hopes to achieve the creation of income and this creates economic development (City of Cape Town, 2007:2). The policy is located within the City's Economic and Human Development Department, which potentially emphasizes the livelihood component over the food security component. However, it is understood by academics and officials alike, that urban agriculture can also provide benefits which fall beyond this livelihood scope.

Several factors were focused on when implementing this policy. A few of these policy directives will be briefly touched upon and more detail will be found further in the thesis. The first approach was to include urban agriculture within the land use management and physical planning sector and thus make it more sustainable by giving it a formal status. This allowed for land use plans, zoning schemes and site development plans to be provided for urban agricultural activities (City of Cape Town, 2007:4). The second step released municipal land for urban agricultural purposes. These pieces of land were to be placed under the management of the Urban Agriculture Unit. The size, location, topography and the needs of the surrounding community would determine what activity could take place on the piece of land (City of Cape Town, 2007:5). Other aspects of the policy include the City providing subsidized water for the urban farmers and introducing a support programme for urban agriculture. The support programme would include assistance to access land, basic infrastructure, tools and equipment, and capacity and skills development (City of Cape Town, 2007:6).

The municipality of Cape Town has been involved in 33 urban agriculture projects in the City of Cape Town. In 2004 and 2011 the City of Cape Town established urban agriculture projects in the Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park townships respectively, both located near Milnerton. These two projects form the basis of this thesis. When an urban agriculture project is established by the City they provide land, tools and education for the people participating in the project. This occurred in the case of Du Noon, however, within Joe Slovo Park the township leaders found the land themselves, while the City provided tools and education for the participating residents.

One of the City's key observations was that the main participants in the majority of their projects were older, sometimes retired, men and women. A low level of youth involvement was observed in these projects and information was needed in order to understand why the youth did not want to partake in urban agriculture. Integrating the youth into the urban agriculture projects was seen to be important as this activity could have several positive outcomes for the youth, especially in light of the high level of youth unemployment in Cape Town, and South Africa. However, this observation did not hold true for Joe Slovo Park, where 30 youth were involved in the urban

agriculture project as in this case it had been established as a youth development project. This project provides a useful opportunity to investigate why the youth are engaging or not engaging in the City supported urban agriculture projects.

Within South Africa, it has been stated that a 'youth crisis' has emerged, resulting from the high levels of youth unemployment (Bennell, 2007:1). In 2011 the South African National Treasury released a discussion paper in which they stated that 42 percent of youth under the age of 30 are unemployed (National Treasury, 2011:5). This number could potentially be higher if one incorporates the full age range categorizing the youth, which in South Africa is 14 to 35 years (ANC Youth League Constitution, 2004:3). For the youth, unemployment has severe negative consequences as they are faced with economic uncertainty which could push them into chronic poverty (ILO, 2005:1). Often, coping strategies can be more limited and this has a negative effect on the youth as they have less people to turn to who could help them during a difficult time. However, at times several informal sector opportunities can arise. Recently, some emphasis has been placed on the positive outcome that urban agriculture could have on the youth, and several case studies from South Africa, Kenya and Canada all reinforce this opinion (City of Cape Town, 2011b).

The main aim of this thesis is to examine the youth involvement in the two urban agriculture projects which are supported by the City of Cape Town. The reason for this is to gain an understanding of why the youth are not involved in some City supported urban agriculture projects, while they are involved in others, for example the Joe Slovo Park urban agriculture project. This examination will also explore whether there are any barriers which may prevent the youth from taking part in urban agriculture. The main hypothesis which can be presented is that the youth are not getting involved in urban agriculture not only due to personal perceptions, but also because the Urban Agriculture Policy and projects fail to effectively include the youth, thus impacting on the youth's desire and ability to farm.

In order to fully examine what affects youth involvement the main aim has been taken and broken down into four more manageable objectives.

1. Critically evaluate the City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy, projects and implementation strategies in the light of the needs and perceptions of the youth.
2. Gain an understanding of urban agriculture within the Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park townships. This will investigate the various components of the practice, the multiple stakeholders involved and reasons for the existence of these City initiated projects.
3. Examine the youth's actual and aspired livelihood strategies, and critically assess the complementarity of urban agriculture to their suite of existing and desired livelihood strategies.
4. Explore the Youth's perceptions of urban agriculture.

These objectives will now be briefly explained. Firstly, the City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy and projects will be examined in order to explore how they are framed and how the City engages with them. This in turn will explore the City's understanding and framing of the youth in order to observe whether they are responsive to the youth's lived experience. The second objective is linked to the first as it explores urban agriculture within the two townships in order to understand the participants' experiences and perceptions of the urban agriculture projects. It also examines their perceptions of the youth as these could be a potential barrier to youth involvement.

The last two objectives take a more direct focus onto the youth themselves. The third objective aims to examine the youth's aspired and actual livelihood strategies in order to find out whether they are complimentary to urban agriculture, especially in light of the fact that urban agriculture is framed by the City as a livelihood approach. Lastly, the youth's own perceptions of urban agriculture are explored in order to find out what their perceptions of urban agriculture are and what influenced these perceptions. Using these four objectives as guides to the research will allow for the main aim of this research to be efficiently explored.

The remainder of this thesis is structured in the following manner. Chapter Two will give a detailed appraisal of literature which concentrates on exploring the policy arena surrounding urban agriculture within a Southern context. Focus will be given specifically to South Africa. The political climate in South Africa during the initiation of the projects and their locations is important to explore as it gives an understanding of the present level of prominence of urban agriculture within South Africa. This in turn brings more understanding towards involvement in urban agriculture. A specific focus is given to the low levels of youth involvement within a Southern context, and this opens a path for a discussion on the youth. Within this section the youth are explored in order to understand their lived reality, and the impact that they, as a group, may have on society. The literature review notes a gap in academia as a lack of information is found regarding the explicit focus of youth in urban agriculture within the Southern Hemisphere. This in turn speaks to the importance of this research as the results of this thesis hope to fill the gap by providing a rich account of the youth's perceptions towards urban agriculture within the two study sites in Milnerton.

Chapter Three presents the methodology which was applied in this research. This chapter also provides a justification to the site selection and a description of the two study sites. Chapter Four then continues by giving a historical account of the two sites which allows for a greater understanding of the residents of the two townships.

Chapters Five and Six present the results found within this research. Chapter Five provides a description of the origin of the two urban agriculture projects and examines the Urban Agriculture Policy in order to supply more context to the two study sites. It explores how the sites are being framed and examines the manner in which the City of Cape Town hopes to engage with the youth. This further provides an argument which aims to establish that the

category 'youth' is very complex, due to the wide range in age and thus difference in personality between the people present in this group. In addition, it is argued that the City Officials have a particular understanding of the youth thus homogenizing this group of people. This finding is used to argue that the Urban Agriculture Policy and projects cannot attempt to engage the youth in urban agriculture unless they completely understand the youth as a group.

The chapter continues by exploring the existing urban farmers' perceptions of the urban agriculture projects in order to, firstly, establish whether their lived experience of the urban agriculture projects matches the Policy's perceived lived experience of the projects. Secondly, the urban farmers' perceptions are engaged with in order to understand what role they themselves play in youth involvement.

Chapter Six then takes a more focused outlook onto the youth themselves and firstly, explores the youth's actual and aspired livelihoods in order to uncover whether urban agriculture would be a complimentary livelihood measure. This is followed by exploring the youth's own perceptions towards urban agriculture in order to find out what motivates these perceptions and how they are brought about. Only once their perceptions are uncovered can one attempt to understand why there is a low level of youth involvement in the two urban agriculture projects, and what has brought this action about.

Chapter Seven concludes the research and draws on the findings to address the aim and objectives of the thesis and reflects on the debates which were found in the literature. This chapter is then followed by the appendices.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Sub-Saharan African cities are facing a substantial range of problems resulting from their rapid growth rates. These problems are manifested through increasing poverty, deteriorating infrastructures and a low capacity for service provision (Maxwell, 1999:1939). Ruel et. al. (1998) argue that in Sub-Saharan Africa urban poverty is not the result of a lack of employment, but the lack of well-paying steady jobs (Ruel, et. al. 1998:18). Food insecurity becomes an increasing problem for many households as they simply cannot afford to buy sufficient amounts of food in light of the additional costs which urban life can bring (Crush and Frayne, 2010:10).

Poor urban inhabitants are dependent mostly on the cash economy for their food supplies, and this makes them especially vulnerable to food price increases. In this sense, the poor urban inhabitants suffer the most from higher food prices (Misselhorn, 2005: 37). As a result urban agriculture, a form of urban food production, has become more popular among urban dwellers as they are able to grow their food instead of buying it. Several figures have been presented to show the number of people who are involved in this approach. Some accounts state that 200 million people are engaged in urban agriculture (UNDP, 1996), while other accounts found within studies quoted in Ruel et. al. (1998) show that 40 percent of urban dwellers are involved in urban agriculture within African countries. Zezza and Tasciotti (2010) contest the numerous figures as they argue that often studies are plagued with unreliable data (Zezza and Tasciotti, 2010:265).

However, regardless of how many people are involved in urban agriculture, for many poor people urban agriculture is seen mostly as a survival subsistence strategy rather than a commercial income-generating opportunity. Crush et. al. (2010) state that this is further confirmed in light of the fact that food insecure households are more likely to take part in urban food production than food secure households (Crush, et. al. 2010:23). Food insecure households take part in urban agriculture because it is argued that this practice can effectively complement a household's diet and bring in some extra necessary income. This is done through the potential sale of produce, thus making the household more food secure and ensuring that they have a more nutritious and healthy lifestyle (May and Rogerson, 1995; Nugent, 2005; City of Cape Town, 2007).

The role of urban agriculture and its potential benefits and limitations have been extensively researched from a range of perspectives. This upsurge of interest has been brought about from a policy, developmental agency and academic perspective. This has created multiple definitions shaped by different understandings of the role of urban agriculture. Most definitions are defined through examples of economic activities, the practice's location, the various types of production

systems and the scale of production, however, the most common feature centers on the location of the activity itself (Mougeot, 2005:5).

Three types of urban agriculture can be distinguished from the literature. Firstly, backyard or on-plot farming involves the cultivation of crops, or the rearing of animals on a person's own land, potentially close to their own house (Lee-Smith et. al. 1987). This type of urban cultivation is common in Harare, Zimbabwe, where families were found to use this activity in order to cope with the impact of the economic structural adjustment programme (Mbiba, 1994; Mudimu, 1996). Secondly, off-plot farming can be found and this is practiced in open spaces, examples being along roads and railway lines (Freeman, 1991; Mbiba, 1994; Tambwe, 2006). Lastly, urban agriculture is also found on the boundaries of cities, and planting here consists mainly of crop fields (Mbiba, 1995).

Urban agriculture may also be practiced in a variety of spaces, within these various locations. These spaces range in size, from small home spaces, such as window sills, containers, fences, rooftops and walls, to recreational grounds, streams and roadsides. This activity also takes place on both public and private pieces of land (Mougeot, 2005:16). The most common location for cultivation is in the backyard and around buildings, however, often the size of land there is not large enough to farm on. The urban poor generally only have access to very small pieces of land, and these are insufficient in supporting a whole family. However, these urban farmers adapt their practices to the urban spaces which they occupy (Bryld, 2003:80). Several researchers have noted the prevalence of households taking part in two types of urban farming, for instance both on and off-plot farming, thus revealing creative interactions between different spatial categories (Maxwell, 1995; Mougeot, 2005).

Other authors give specific mention to the fact that urban agriculture is integrated into urban economic and ecological systems, and through this integration into these systems it is incorporated into the urban sphere (UNDP, 1996:9). However, the same could be stated for rural agriculture as this form of agriculture also has a specific tie to the urban domain, for example through the sale of crops at an urban market. Activities found in rural and urban areas have a reciprocal relationship with one another and thus are often interlinked within space and sectors (Bryld, 2003:80). This therefore, can make it problematic to use location as a specific defining point of urban agriculture.

What should be noted is that each definition frames urban agriculture in a different manner, thus assuming different values to this practice. This means that if a specific definition focuses more on how the activity is performed rather than location, then the means of performing this activity is what urban agriculture becomes known for rather than the space it is practiced in. Likewise, if a definition focuses more on the food security benefits that urban agriculture brings without mentioning other benefits, then all these other benefits are overlooked. This is problematic because the definition describes the practice to a person, and if that specific person is not interested in food security then he will probably not be interested in becoming involved in urban

agriculture when it is framed in that manner. It is important to understand that there is a range of definitions, as a specific understanding of urban agriculture shapes the policy that surrounds this practice, and in turn impacts on the involvement and uptake of this practice. This, therefore, points to the fact that every urban agriculture project can be different as it can be understood in different ways. Thus, for the purpose of this research, the City of Cape Town's definition of urban agriculture will be referred to.

The two urban agriculture projects, which are the basis of this research, both fall under the auspices of the City of Cape Town. For this reason the City of Cape Town's definition of urban agriculture is the most appropriate one for this research as the City's understanding of this activity informs both policy and practice. The City of Cape Town defines urban agriculture as:

The production, processing, marketing and distribution of crops and animals and products from these in an urban environment using resources available in that urban area for the benefit largely of residents from that area

(City of Cape Town, 2007:3)

Although the City's Urban Agriculture Policy speaks of animal husbandry, the policy itself only supports crop production. This disconnect between the definition and the reality can be attributed in part to public health concerns associated with animal husbandry in dense urban areas (Crush, et. al. 2010:26).

This chapter will continue by exploring how the discourse on urban agriculture emerged, specifically within the 1980s and 1990s onwards. This will highlight reasons for why urban agriculture was argued to be both a positive and negative livelihood strategy, and in turn will explore the arguments surrounding the benefits that urban agriculture can bring. This shall be followed by exploring the changing policy realm within South Africa and reasons will be provided for why this change occurred. The prominence of urban agriculture in South Africa will then be explored, and this will be continued by examining who is involved in urban agriculture and what benefits they derive from this activity. A specific focus will be given to youth involvement in the global South.

The remainder of this chapter will then focus on exploring the youth themselves. These sections will argue that the external constructions of the youth are important determinants as they potentially limit the youth's access to urban agriculture. Since the Urban Agriculture Policy and City Officials frame urban agriculture as a livelihood approach, the youth's lived experience will be explored in order to observe whether this framing of urban agriculture is conducive to youth involvement.

2.2 Advocating Urban Agriculture

Despite urban agriculture's historical prevalence, it still is an activity which has come to the foreground only recently within academic research and policy in the global South. This occurred in part because agriculture was always considered as a socio-economic *rural* activity (Tambwe, 2006:197-*own emphasis*). Mougeot goes further to note that agriculture was always seen as a distinguishing factor between rural and urban environments, thus showing that agriculture was confined to the rural domain as it was mainly practiced there (Mougeot, 1994:2).

Within several countries the political climate had also become more adverse to urban agriculture. To policy makers, urban agriculture was seen as a 'backward, rural and traditional [activity]' (Slater, 2001:637). With this outlook it had no place in the city as it was felt to be a constraint on urban development (Mbiba, 1994:190), and was thus not part of urban land use plans in several cities (Centre for Development Support, 2009:4). For example, the general governmental attitude in Harare within the mid-1990s was to either deter or stop this agricultural activity from continuing due to its potential in declining the aesthetic quality of urban space (Mudimu, 1996:182). Authors document how policy officials would destroy the urban gardens and evict people from them. For example, again in Zimbabwe, Mbiba (1994) documents how urban agriculture became an issue of concern as local authorities invoked their 'development control powers to destroy crops' which they claimed were illegally grown on land belonging to the Urban Council (Mbiba, 1994:188). Due to these reasons urban agriculture was not mentioned within governmental documents.

After those years of declining interest, a renewed focus on urban agriculture is becoming apparent amongst researchers and policy makers. Recent research on urban agriculture began in the 1980s and was initially explored within the academic sphere as more recognition was given to the practice for its potential in food production within an urban setting (Rakodi, 1988; Allen, 1999; Mougeot, 2005). These academics argued that urban agriculture was a key component to achieving food security (Maxwell, 1995; Altieri, et. al. 1999; Baumgartner and Belevi, 2001; Zezza and Tasciotti, 2010). The food security problem was examined from a household scale, making food insecurity a poverty issue, rather than a food system issue (Battersby, in press:4). This perception focused on the household's ability to access sufficient food, and the livelihood strategies they have in place in order to do so. Food research thus had a sole focus on urban agriculture as being the solution to the poor's food insecurity (Mougeot, 2006; Simatele and Binns, 2008; Battersby, in press).

For the benefit of the lower income households, both academics and policy officials advocated urban agriculture's potential as a secure food source and over the years several authors have strongly emphasized the impact that this practice can bring for the urban poor (UNDP, 1996; Mougeot, 1998; 2005; Lynch, et. al. 2001). Furthermore, it was acknowledged that urban agriculture could provide an alternative livelihood strategy for the unemployed. It was thus seen as being a major livelihood strategy for poor households in urban areas in Africa (Slater,

2001:636). However, recent research shows that while poor households were engaged in urban agriculture the poorest households were generally not involved as they often were not able to practice it through not having access to available land (Ruel, et. al. 1998:26).

Several surveys have shown that urban agriculture provides from 10 percent to 90 percent of vegetable consumption for urban households in Jakarta and Dar es Salaam respectively (Baumgartner and Belevi, 2001:9). With these figures it was understood that households who took part in urban agriculture became more food secure and had a better nutritional status than non-farming households of the same socio-economic status (Van Veenhuizen and Danso, 2007:46). In addition, academics believed that the sale of produce would allow a household to supplement their income, thus bringing about a second positive conclusion (Crush, et. al. 2010:8).

Nevertheless, during the same period of the 1980s and 1990s there were certain academics who were opposed to the notion of urban agriculture as a secure livelihood source as they argued that the case for urban agriculture had been over-stated. Ellis and Sumberg (1998) argued that 'the term urban agriculture both claims too much and offers too little in the policy context of urban poverty and family food security' (Ellis and Sumberg, 1998:221). They felt that it overlooked the rural to urban interactions which predominantly help the urban poor survive. More recently Webb added to this argument by stating that often case studies were based on facts which were already generalizations of the benefits the urban agriculture could bring (Webb, 2011:196). Several authors argued that the benefits of this practice had been greatly exaggerated and that in effect the poor do not derive much benefit (Crush, et. al. 2010:8).

On the other hand, a great deal has been written on how urban agriculture can create economic activity in the city, mainly through making an economic use of land, as income is generated from land which is not suitable for building, and thus lies barren and unused (UNDP, 1996; Mougeot, 2005). Specifically within less developed countries, research shows that agriculture can make an important positive impact towards employment and income generation (Nugent, 2005; Tambwe, 2006). For example, in the 1990s agriculture provided the largest self-employment earnings in small scale enterprises in Nairobi, and the third highest in all of urban Kenya (Mougeot, 2005:26). Some research has shown that urban agriculture can be a profitable practice, especially if the person invests their time in growing crops, or rearing animals which are high in demand. These crops could include perishables such as leafy vegetables, eggs, milk and flowers and are then sold for a monetary income (Hovorka, et. al. 2009:7). In other cases money can also be saved through eating the crops one has grown and not having to buy food in a store. This subsistence orientation leads to important monetary savings as food is often the largest component of a household's monthly expenditure. With this additional income, which has been saved on food, it now becomes available for other expenditures, for example school fees and medical care (Hovorka, et. al. 2009:7).

Contrary to the previous viewpoints, Zezza and Tasciotti (2010) argue that urban agriculture does not seem to be 'a major urban economic activity' (Zezza and Tasciotti, 2010:267), as their review of studies showed that farmers generated a low level of income from this practice (Zezza and Tasciotti, 2010:271). This again can show that the merits given to urban agriculture could have been overstated. A study was recently undertaken across 11 cities within the SADC region. It was seen that 22 percent of households took part in urban food production. However, it was noted that only 140 out of 6000 households (three percent) received an income from the sale of their home grown food in the month prior to the survey (Crush, et. al. 2011:296). This study suggested that selling home-grown food was not a common income generating strategy, and that it possibly was difficult for people to take their produce to an urban market, and thus take part within a commercial economy (Crush, et. al. 2011:296). Other studies have derived similar results, with the sale of urban agriculture being approximately 2 to 10 percent of a household's annual income (May and Rogerson, 1995; Mougeot, 2005; Nugent, 2005). In order to accurately calculate the economic income which an urban farmer earns there are a variety of external factors which should be incorporated. The net income flow thus depends on the farming effort, the availability and cost of basic inputs, the yields, the access to markets or other buyers, the ability to store and transport products and lastly, the prices which are determined by the demand of the product (Nugent, 2005:76/77). As can be seen, urban agriculture is argued to have high input costs with a low level of monetary gain being the end result. This, therefore, can reinforce the view that urban agriculture is indeed a survival strategy, and not an effective income source.

Within South Africa, there appears to be a negative stigma towards urban agriculture amongst the urban poor (Thornton, 2008:14). This stigma is seen to have arisen as a result of the prohibitive apartheid era policies which confined small-scale black farmers to subsistence based rural agriculture in the homelands and thus is very specific to the South African context (Lester, et. al. 2000; Atkinson and Marais, 2006; Thornton, 2008). It has been perceived that as rural based dwellers migrated into urban areas they carried this stigma with them (Thornton, 2008:14). Thornton emphasizes that this stigma is most noticeable amongst the youth within his case studies, as they claim to not be interested in urban agriculture due to it not being 'modern' (Thornton, 2008:15). This view perhaps accounts for the low level of youth involvement within urban agriculture. The following section will explore the political climate which shaped the current understanding of urban agriculture and created the City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy. Once again this political climate will be understood through examining the shifts in policy and perception specifically from the 1980s to more present times.

2.3 Urban Agriculture within South Africa's Policy Realm

Historically, urban agriculture within South Africa had been repressed (May and Rogerson, 1995:167). However, with the changing political climate during the post-apartheid historical movement a re-emergence in the promotion of urban agriculture was noted. The previous apartheid policies, for example the Group Areas Act which fragmented communities and moved

them further away from employment opportunities, in turn created impoverished communities. In addition, since 1989, food price increases rose up to an eventual annual increase of 30 percent by 1992, and this brought about more negative consequences for the urban poor. In light of the changing political climate, and the economic pressure of rapid food price increases coupled with rapid urbanization, urban agriculture was increasingly seen as a way to address urban food security. As a result urban food garden initiatives were launched by governmental agencies and NGOs in order to bring about a subsistence urban food production scheme (May and Rogerson, 1995:169).

In 1994 an Integrated Nutrition Strategy for South Africa was adopted by the Department of Health and with time this strategy was developed into the Integrated Nutrition Programme for South Africa and was initiated in 1995. This programme defined malnutrition as the outcome of interrelated causes and thus it was envisaged that this programme would encourage the creation of support programmes that would create community based approaches to food security (Steyn and Labadarios, 2002:328). One such approach was the creation of home gardens, also known as the practice of urban agriculture, as results of studies showed that home gardens could improve a households nutrition levels (Faber and Benadé, 2003:29). The framework for these programmes placed great emphasis on the importance of creating community based nutrition projects as a means to addressing malnutrition in South Africa. The provincial departments of Health thus committed themselves to creating three pilot projects in each province during 1998, however a year later it was noted that only three out of the nine provinces had implemented these pilot programmes (Steyn and Labadarios, 2002:332).

This experience reinforces the gap found between policy and implementation, however, it is important to note that urban agriculture or community based farming was seen as the best way in which to address food insecurity. It must be acknowledge that even though urban agriculture was referred to, it was not explicitly mentioned.

A second important strategy was the Integrated Food Security Strategy which was initiated in 2000. This strategy aimed to integrate the various food security sub-programmes into a single strategy (Department of Agriculture, 2002:11). The strategy referred to urban agriculture as being a food security intervention; however, again urban agriculture was not explicitly mentioned in the text (Department of Agriculture, 2002:13). It is noted that several governmental departments have been promoting urban agriculture as a strategy for poverty alleviation since this positive shift in outlook towards urban agriculture occurred. However, even though food security measures are mentioned within a number of the country's key policy documents (Figure 1), urban agriculture itself is often not explicitly referred to.

Local governments are important agents who influence and make policies related to urban agriculture within South Africa. This sphere of government is responsible for stating where the activity can take place, through various city zoning schemes, what resources can be allocated for the people involved, and what information and market access can be created (Nugent, 2005:88).

Nugent noted that the most important policy features, related to urban agriculture, need to focus on creating supportive infrastructure, one which deals with market and non-market transactions and social capital. In addition, policies should be addressed at the household scale, by providing information, reducing uncertainty and helping to increase the farmer's productivity (Nugent, 2005:88).

Figure 1: Table showing South African Policies Relevant to Urban Agriculture

Policy	Key Content
The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, No. 108 of 1996	Section 27 1b - Everyone has the right to have access to sufficient food and water (Republic of South Africa, 1996:27b).
Republic of South Africa Criminal Procedure Act No. 51 of 1977- Issue Sec. 341 - compounding Notices (Spot-fines)	Permission required from Council for keeping any animal/poultry. Council may determine number of animals/poultry per unit area. Approval may be refused if the property, due to location, sitting/geographical features or size is unsuitable. Council may waive requirements and impose other conditions. Provisions relating to storage of feed, manure, disposal of carcasses are found. Presumption that animals found on premises is the property of or under control of the owner or the person who is in control of the premises (Republic of South Africa, 1977:341).
Republic of South Africa Land Use Planning Ordinance 15 of 1985	All land gets zoned, and consists of regulations and a zoning map. This policy sets out the use and gives development rights and restrictions for areas e.g. for Cape Town 27 schemes across city. Most are outdated and urban agriculture is not accommodated to any extent (Republic of South Africa, 1985).
Integrated Nutrition Programme of 1995	This programme aims to prevent and manage malnutrition through the creation of support programmes and community based approaches to food security (Steyn and Labadarious, 2002: 328).

Integrated Food Security Strategy of 2002	‘The vision of the Integrated Food Security Strategy is to attain universal physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food by all South Africans at all times to meet their dietary and food preferences for an active and healthy life’ (Department of Agriculture, 2002:13).
City of Cape Town Environmental Health By-Law of June 2003	This is important for farmers who plan to keep livestock. Structures designed to accommodate animals must be built to specifications outlined by the policy, and must be an appropriate distance from residential dwellings, roads and public open spaces (City of Cape Town, 2003).
City of Cape Town Urban Agriculture Policy of 2007	This policy lists the purpose and value of Urban Agriculture from the City's perspective. It also outlines the scope and type of support available to urban farmers in Cape Town (City of Cape Town, 2007).

(Source: Author’s own)

Rogerson (2011) states that policies are mostly driven by provincial administrators, together with the municipal government. Thus, the policies mentioned in Figure 1 are beneficial to the practice of urban agriculture, as through their mention of this practice, they legalize it and create the necessary political conditions for support to be given to urban farmers. However, he argues that these initiatives are seen as being ‘weak’ due to the fact that often they do not explicitly mention urban agriculture. In addition, Rogerson believes that these policies have a small scale of impact in administrating urban agriculture within the country. These policies lack the impact that a national policy for urban agriculture could hold, as this policy would refer directly to urban agriculture and not only to food security measures which several policies refer to (Rogerson, 2011:183).

Through examining South Africa’s policy arena, it must be acknowledged that the National Government has brought a lot of attention onto the policy aspect of food security; however, as there is no national policy to urban agriculture little impact can be achieved for this practice (Rogerson, 2011:184). At the moment, urban agriculture is placed as an extension of other policies and urban development plans, some of which are shown in Figure 1. It is argued that these measures often lack state support, funds and human resources to fully see them through (Ngcamphalala 2009:3 in Rogerson, 2011:184). In the absence of a national policy for urban

agriculture, responses relating to urban agriculture are handled by the municipal governments, and thus run in isolation from one another. This creates 'a situation of geographical policy variation as certain South African provinces and local municipalities are more advanced in policy processes than others' (Rogerson, 2011:184). Rogerson does acknowledge the City of Cape Town and the progress the City has made in support of small scale farmers and community urban agriculture projects which gives a positive example (Rogerson, 2010; 2011).

In 2007 the City of Cape Town developed a policy which aimed to form 'an integrated and holistic approach for the effective and meaningful development of urban agriculture in the City of Cape Town' (City of Cape Town, 2007:1). The Policy was formulated because prior to the Policy various City departments had been running urban agriculture projects and working in isolation from one another. It was hoped by several City Officials that a common understanding of urban agriculture could be brought about, and the various City departments could collaborate and work together in creating and administering to urban agriculture projects (Visser, 2006:48).

The main aim of the Urban Agriculture Policy was to follow an approach which focused on two aspects of urban agriculture. The one side would focus on household food security, which entails poverty alleviation and improved nutrition, while the other side focuses on economic development, specifically the creation of income (City of Cape Town, 2007:2/3). For the City, the Policy created a framework which enabled more efficient cooperation between various City departments and gave it a more formal presence. Agriculture was previously seen as a rural activity and thus when it was practiced in an urban area it was not perceived to fall under the urban officials' responsibility. The Urban Agriculture Policy thus gave responsibility to City Officials to advocate the benefits and existence of agriculture in an urban area. Previously, the responsibility had rested between many different City Departments and the Policy had hoped to bring about cooperation between these departments, formalize the support which the City should give, and to create an enabling environment for people to take up urban agriculture. In essence, one of the most important impacts from the Policy was the formal recognition that it gave to urban agriculture in Cape Town (City of Cape Town, 2007:1).

The City initiated urban agriculture projects were established in order to give individual people user rights to a piece of land on which to farm. With this provision of land there is the hope that urban agriculture can play a role in poverty alleviation and economic development (City of Cape Town, 2007:2). What can be seen is that enabling or prohibitive political climates can both motivate or deter a person from getting involved in urban agriculture.

2.4 Urban Agriculture's Prevalence within South Africa

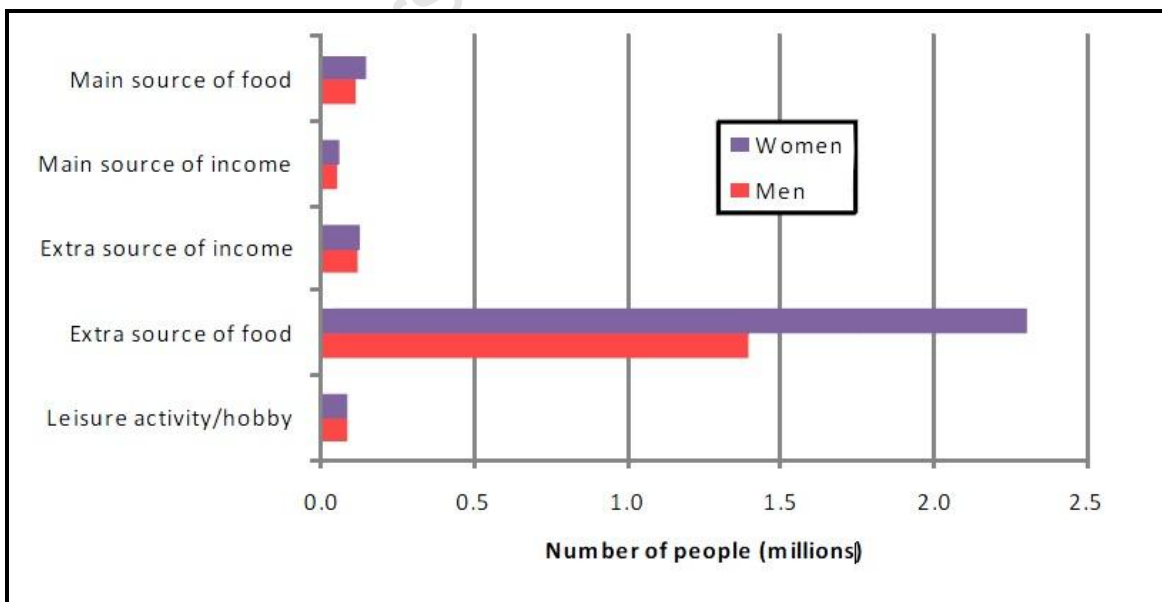
In light of this fairly recent recognition given to urban agriculture it is important to consider who is involved in this approach, the scale of involvement that urban agriculture holds and the reasons for the levels of involvement found. A study in Atteridgeville, located near Pretoria in South Africa, found that 88 percent of households involved in urban agriculture were recent

migrants from the country side, and that 54 percent of those were involved in some form of food production. The money made from this activity amounted to 1 percent of their total monthly income, and thus this showed that they were not farming in order to sell their crops, but were doing so for other reasons (Maswikaneng, 2003; Van Averbek, 2007; Crush, et. al. 2011). The potential benefits derived from this activity will be explored in more detail in the next section.

Understanding urban agriculture as a survival strategy implies that those who practice it are the poorer population. By exploring Aliber’s (2009) work on subsistence agriculture within South Africa one can begin to uncover more details as to the main subsistence cultivators within this country.

Aliber (2009) explored Statistics South Africa's National Household Surveys in order to acquire more information about the prevalence of subsistence agriculture within South Africa, keeping in mind that access to land was a racially contested factor. This shall be discussed in more detail further in this section. It must be acknowledged that his observations incorporated both rural and urban agricultural activities of Black farmers. His findings show that there are approximately 4 million people involved in agriculture in South Africa. These people predominantly take part in agriculture in order to procure an extra source of food, and thus agriculture should not be seen as the main food source (Aliber, 2009:36). Figure 2 shows the gender disparity found within the number of people involved in agriculture. It can be seen that women generally outnumber men in this activity, and in the case of agriculture being practiced as an extra source of food, two out of every three farmers are women (Aliber, 2009:39).

Figure 2: Gender of Farmers Divided According to their Reasons for Taking Part in Agriculture



(Aliber, 2009:39)

It was found that the number of people involved in agriculture declines as age increases. However, the number of youth that farm is small with regards to their age cohort (Aliber, 2009:39). This means that there is a high population of youth within South Africa, however, out of that population very few youth are involved in agriculture.

The above results are useful to explore in order to gain an understanding of the prevalence of both rural and urban agriculture in South Africa. However, for the purpose of this research it is important to distinguish the levels of *urban* agriculture within the country. Crush, et. al. (2010) documented an AFSUN (African Food Security Urban Network) survey which occurred between 2008 and 2009. The survey was administered to 11 SADC cities and aimed to understand urban food production within these cities. Their results showed that within the surveyed South African Cities there appeared to be a low rate of participation in urban agriculture by poor urban households, as Msundizi held a 30 percent involvement rate, Johannesburg 9 percent and Cape Town 5 percent.

Thornton (2008) supported this view by adding that 'the impact of urban agriculture in poor households in South Africa appears to be limited' (Thornton, 2008:3) as his findings showed that few people were becoming involved in this practice. This view point was also enforced by various other academics, (Lynch, et. al. 2001; Rogerson, 2003) and could give the impression that urban agriculture was not a popular approach for poor urban households.

However, on examining the level of urban agriculture in more detail contradictory factors could be found. Figure 3 shows a table found in Crush, et. al's (2010) paper and sourced from Burger, et. al. (2009). This table shows the number of households taking part in urban agriculture in South Africa per province in 2002 and 2007 and is presented as a percentage of each provinces total population. From this figure, one can note that the poorer South African provinces, for example the Eastern Cape, have high rates of participation in urban agriculture which seems to contradict previous findings showing that urban agriculture was not largely practiced. Crush, et. al. (2010) state that this suggests that urban agriculture is truly a survival strategy, taken up when sources of income are insufficient to purchase food (Crush, et. al. 2010:15). This outlook has also been prominent within South Africa's policy arena and is a key belief behind the formulation of the Urban Agriculture Policy.

The findings show interesting observations. These observations state that urban agriculture is not prevalent in some areas of South Africa, but it is seen to be more practiced in other areas. Nevertheless, as Rogerson (1993) stated, the number of people practicing urban agriculture is still seen to be low in comparison to other developing countries, especially in Africa (Rogerson, 1993:21). It has been argued that this low level of involvement could be a result of there being a presence of social grants, and South Africa's historical past.

Figure 3: Table Showing the Number of Households in Urban Farming by Province in 2002 and 2007

Province	2002		2007	
	Number of Households	Percentage	Number of Households	Percentage
Eastern Cape	48,036	77 %	52,344	64
Free State	8,621	14	8,512	10
Gauteng	3,180	5	12,441	15
Northern Cape	1,559	2	1,779	2
Western Cape	723	1	1,767	2
North West	602	1	5,190	6

(Burger, et. al. 2009:22)

South Africa's reliance on social grants in providing a livelihood source has been argued to stop people from moving into urban agriculture (Thornton, 2008:7). Chambers (1993) notes that poor people are often more drawn towards livelihood options, such as urban agriculture over employment opportunities. This is because they value instant food and money, for instance social grants, as better security against poverty (Chambers, 1993; Nel, et. al. 2009). A concern has been raised that this system of social welfare has had the negative effect of creating a 'culture of dependency', as opposed to promoting self-dependency. This in turn has a negative effect on urban agriculture as the dominant perception is one where people feel it is easier to receive social grants than work in a garden for a perceived small monetary benefit (Thornton, 2008:16).

A second factor hindering people from partaking in urban agriculture is the lack of arable land in urban areas, as available land is often used up for housing. This phenomenon of rapid urbanization is understood to be a result of the apartheid legacy and a brief historical account will be provided (Centre for Development Support, 2009:25).

For approximately four decades, urbanization in South Africa's cities had been driven by apartheid influenced policies. These policies were based on different assumptions of rural and urban development and worked in isolation from one another within the policy arena (Todes, 2006:56). The Group Areas Act was a key Act within the Apartheid urban policy, and its main intent was to curb African urbanization, and in the case of black urban dwellers, it aimed to residentially segregate racial groups (Van Donk and Pieterse, 2006:127). It must be acknowledged that apartheid was not the start of racial segregation; however, it did increase the level of segregation in the country. Research on Group Area Removals shows how this approach

fragmented communities and undermined their participation in the urban economy. It moved people to areas which had poor access to urban services and facilities thus meaning that their cost of daily living was increased as they had to travel greater distances to get to work or purchase goods. This in turn decreased the people's standard of living increasing the level of crime in the area (Todes, 2006:61).

Only during the 1980s did this policy climate begin to shift and the needs of the urban poor were included into the agenda. During this period, the level of rural to urban migration increased considerably, thus in turn increasing the number of informal settlements found within major cities and decreasing the racial segregation found within them (Saff, 1996:235). By 1983 the government was forced to make more land available for black settlements within these cities (Saff, 1996:237/8). Restructuring policies were put in place in order to create an integrated local government and to deliver services and financial capacity to the poor (Atkinson and Marais, 2006:24). In addition, projects were initiated to help the people become more food secure and urban agriculture slowly started becoming more popular within policy arenas.

The literature has shown that generally the main people involved in urban agriculture in a Southern context have been the poorer households. However, the level of participation in urban agriculture within South Africa still appears to be low. It is thus useful to explore the reasons for why people take part in urban agriculture in order to understand how and why people may be inclined to take part in this activity.

2.4.1 The Benefits Derived from Urban Agriculture

The national and provincial statistics give an overview of the number of people who are involved in urban agriculture. However, in order to gain a better understanding of why people practice urban agriculture it is beneficial to explore this practice on a narrower scale.

A large number of the urban farmers partake in urban agriculture in a subsistence manner in order to supplement their food supply and income, as this practice has become a survival strategy for many urban households. Maxwell (1999) stated that in cities where people spend up to three quarters of their total income on food, 'the issues of income and livelihood are directly linked to food security' (Maxwell, 1999:1950). Urban agriculture, a livelihood approach, can also be understood as an income generating one, and thus an employment strategy for people who are able to sell their produce. It is also important to remember that the urban poor are not the only people who partake in this activity, however, they are the most dependent on it from a nutritional and income related perspective (Bryld, 2003; Mougeot, 2005).

People become involved in urban agriculture for various reasons, however, it has been noted that the cultivation of crops and the rearing of animals in urban areas are motivated primarily by home consumption, and secondly, for commercial reasons (Freeman, 1991; Mbiba, 1995). Certain urban households have also been noted to take part in urban farming on a sporadic basis. These households can choose to farm in order to sustain themselves during times of crises, for

instance during inflation in a country. This allows them to diversify their food sources and reduce their level of vulnerability if one of the sources were to suddenly change in nature, an example being food price increases in supermarkets (Crush, et. al. 2010:12).

A useful model to examine is the sustainable development continuum for organic micro farming projects (Abalimi Bezekhaya, 2009). This model examines the stages which people go through as their levels of insecurity decrease and the amount of food they have available increases. The model shows that the first stage of urban agriculture is the survival phase of growing food for self-consumption. In this phase the person grows their crop in order to have food to eat for themselves and their family. If any additional food is grown then this may be sold in order to buy seeds or production inputs. This positions a person at the second stage of the model called the subsistence phase. If a person is able to further create a profit from their sale of crops, then they are placed into the third stage, the livelihood phase. Lastly, the model shows the commercial phase, where a person is expected to be able to sell his produce, make a profit and create a job for themselves or others through partaking in urban agriculture. In this stage a person's poverty alleviation impact dissipates as the main focus is placed onto profit and not poverty alleviation anymore.

The model expresses a particular view of what urban agriculture can achieve and is often influential during urban agriculture's advocacy. However, it must be acknowledged that often many people do not follow this specific path, as political, social and economic circumstances may force them to change their everyday actions. This is important to consider as the literature highlights urban agriculture's potential to be a subsistence measure, and does not strongly advocate the commercial factors. However, the City of Cape Town's policy is found in the Economic and Human Development Department and through this has a very strong focus on income generation. Within South Africa research has shown that urban agriculture is still mainly a subsistence based strategy, with very little of the produce being sold externally (May and Rogerson, 1995; Mougeot, 2005; Nugent, 2005; Crush, et. al. 2011). This, therefore, presents a gap in perceptions between the City's outlook and the country's lived reality.

Recent studies have shown that the benefit from urban agriculture is not as great as it had firstly been proposed (Smith, 1999; Webb, 2000; 2011). Webb (2000) conducted a study in two areas within South Africa. His findings did not show any positive links between cultivation and better nutrition, however, he did emphasize that this did not mean that these links were not existent (Webb, 2000:66). There are different reasons for why people would practice urban agriculture, and these reasons are often not fixed or distinct. This, therefore, shows that it may be difficult for policy officials to create policies to help people within this practice as it may be difficult to fully understand why people take part in it.

While urban agriculture has been advocated for its economic and food security outcomes by some academics, it has been argued that there are other intangible benefits to be gained from the practice. The practice promotes healthy living as it is seen as therapeutic and calming (Møller,

2005:69), and it alleviates poverty and potentially allows for better nutrition in one's diet (May and Rogerson, 1995:165). On an individual basis, the urban farmers feel a sense of self-worth and confidence in their produce, and at a community level the practice fosters strengthened relationships and community development (Lado, 1990; Karaan and Mohamed, 1998; Holland, 2004; Nugent, 2005; Hovorka, et. al. 2009).

There is a wide range of literature documenting the psychological and social benefits of urban agriculture which has tended to emanate from the United States, Canada and Europe (Seymore, 1976; Milligan, et. al. 2004). On an individual level, plants and gardening help a person to improve their quality of life and decrease their overall stress levels (Brown and Jameton, 2000:28). Malakoff's academic work shows that just looking at a plant one can lower their levels of stress, fear and anger (Malakoff, 1995).

A study, done by psychologists in an impoverished community in Atlanta Georgia, showed that a positive community influence was also achieved, through improving a community's physical appearance by planting a vegetable garden. This area was prone to having a negative physical environment filled with open, overflowing garbage cans, fenced yards and unsafe parks, however, the vegetable gardens were able to make the residents overlook the negative features around them (Brown and Jameton, 2000:28). Møller (2005) found similar results in her study based in the Eastern Cape in South Africa, which focused on intergenerational responses towards urban farming. From her research, she noted that people became motivated to garden because they felt that gardening promoted healthy living (Møller, 2005:69). Another response showed that there was an aesthetic dimension to gardening as gardens enhanced the attractiveness of one's yard (Møller, 2005:70). Mougeot (2005) documents how urban agriculture can have a positive impact on community welfare. The prevalence of giving food as gifts strengthens networks of reciprocity, and allows for better social cohesion within a community. Due to these networks the incidences of theft are lower as more people are there to watch over each other's belongings (Mougeot, 2005:23).

Psychologically, gardening can have a very positive effect on the people who are involved. However, we can also note that urban agriculture can promote other positive social effects. One such effect is the empowerment that this practice can bring. Slater (2001) discusses this effect and shows that being able to grow a person's food, and thus not being completely reliant on the cash economy, makes people feel that they are more in control of their lives. A large amount of research has also shown how urban agriculture is an empowering activity for women (Hovorka, 1998; Mougeot, 2005; Olarte, 2005; Hovorka, et. al. 2009), as they are now able to better provide for their families. This empowering effect can also be found with people who are unemployed as they now are able to take care of themselves and their families.

Urban agriculture can also play a large role in improving the urban environment. This is done through the prevalence of using organic wastes, which constitute solid wastes and waste water, as inputs in the process (Hovorka, et. al. 2009:10). This has also been termed nutrient recycling

by other academics and is seen as a measure of decreasing nutrient waste and rather putting it back into the system. An example is the use of compost, which can be applied to urban plots to serve as fertilizer (Bryld, 2003:82). Another measure is to improve on visually bad areas by the planting of foliage, or a green belt, in the city. These areas have the potential to play a role in species preservation, as gardens can attract soil microorganisms, insects, birds and butterflies (Brown and Jameton, 2000:32).

On balance, however, there are several environmental concerns associated with urban agriculture. One specific area of concern is the danger of toxic contamination from agricultural products. This contamination could be brought about by chemical fertilizers, and various pesticides. These chemicals can contaminate the urban farmer's own soil, along with neighboring areas, as wind or run-off can carry the pollutants further afield. Similarly, the vegetable produce itself can become contaminated, thus endangering the lives of those who eat it (Brown and Jameton, 2000:30/31).

Academics have raised the concern that urban agriculture may be harmful to a person's health (UNDP, 1996; Borgue, 2000; Bryld, 2003; Hovorka, et. al. 2009). These concerns are drawn from practices being carried out in the wrong place, or in a wrong way. Other factors related to farming may also have a negative effect on the public's health. Often waste water is used as irrigation for the crops and this may bring multiple problems with it. Poor management of compost piles increases the spread of diseases, which could lead to bronchitis, dysentery and cancer caused by waste gases. Lead is another contaminant found in the air, which leafy plants can easily absorb (Bryld, 2003:82). These negative factors are a cause for concern when reviewing the practice of urban agriculture. Unfortunately, urban agriculture is seen as an illegal activity in many countries and so additional knowledge is often not accessible for the people involved in this practice. This could be an additional reason for why people argued against urban agriculture in the past.

2.4.1.1 Gender Disparity within Urban Agriculture's Involvement

Understanding why people become involved in urban agriculture through the lens of gender is important. This literature can draw attention to some more barriers which can be found to partaking in this activity, and in turn it explores the assumptions that certain policies may have in place. These assumptions may further include or exclude the youth from urban agriculture.

Gender ratios between the participants may vary greatly between cities, depending on the religious and cultural context of the city and the type of production involved. The literature shows that in many cases women, both young and old, were found to be the main cultivators within urban agriculture (Rakodi, 1988; Hovorka, 1998; Mougeot, 2005; Olarte, 2005; Hovorka, et. al. 2009). The reasons for this are two-fold. Firstly, urban agriculture is often practiced within one's back garden and so the women can attend to their crops between breaks from their other domestic activities (Nugent, 2005:80). Secondly, in some areas agriculture in an urban setting is seen as 'woman's work', as men regard it as an activity done on the side rather than a serious

form of employment. This shows a duality between the social roles which are deemed acceptable for each gender, and this view may bring about several consequences (Slater, 2001:645).

Rathgeber (1990) stated that the notion of focusing on women separate from men had become an accepted occurrence by the Southern governments, developmental agencies and several non-governmental organizations creating a sexual division of labour (Rathgeber, 1990:495). In her work Rathgeber refers to Boserup (1970) who acknowledged that in less populated areas women tend to do the majority of the agricultural work. However, in more highly populated regions, where simple technology is available, men are the main cultivators (Boserup, 1970 in Rathgeber, 1990:490). This view was also found in formal industrial societies as women were often given the lowest paying, most monotonous jobs, mainly due to their low levels of education. Again, within the agrarian field, men would only benefit in newer agricultural technologies as they were understood to be addressed for the more educated male members (Rathgeber, 1990:491).

The level of education that women received was often lower as they had a greater time constraint placed onto them through their need to take part in both productive and unproductive work (Slater, 2001:639). Even young female children and youth would often be taken out of school in order for them to help within the reproductive sphere in the household (UNDP, 1996; Potts, 1997; Gager, et. al. 1998; Devereux, 2001). Women are important economic actors in their societies, however, often their reproductive roles are overlooked and focus is mainly given to the productive work that they can perform. This reason for this is that Western biases have been imposed on women and thus household tasks are assigned no economic value (Rathgeber, 1990:493). This constriction of free time resulted in women and youth becoming limited in their search for better, higher paying work. As a result, women and female youth would often become involved in urban agriculture because it is an activity which can be performed close to the house and thus does not take up a lot of time. Due to this urban agriculture has been critiqued by some as being a measure which can become a 'low income trap that imprisons unskilled women' (Bryld, 2003:8).

On the other hand, research suggests that urban agriculture may give women greater autonomy. The activity has a level of convenience as their livelihood and food security levels can be increased through producing food which is close to home. This measure is also more affordable for women as large monetary investments and levels of technology are not needed. Through this measure their quality of life is increased as they gain a higher level of independence, and are able to give their families a more nutritional diet (Hovorka, et. al. 2009:16).

A number of challenges can also be noted which constrain women in the practice of urban agriculture. One such restriction revolves around the access and use of land in cities, and due to this constraining factor men are sometimes seen as the main urban farmers due to their easier access to land and resources. In most cities men have the first choice in attaining vacant land, and this often leaves women with lower quality plots of land which may be found quite far from their homes (Hovorka, 1998:23). In addition, if it is difficult for men and women to have access

to available land, then it is even harder for the youth to do so due to their younger age. Issues of power, identity and social relations are seen to be tightly interwoven into this practice and it can be found that the youth have to compete on a number of levels if they want to have access to urban agriculture and become empowered through this practice.

2.4.1.2 A Specific Focus on Youth Involvement

Within the extensive literature on urban agriculture in the global South there has been little engagement with youth involvement. While there has been some work on youth and urban agriculture in the global North (Hung, 2004; Pevec, 2009; Taylor, et. al. 2010), this literature does not focus on urban agriculture as a food security strategy or employment strategy, which are the focal points of much of the Southern work on urban agriculture.

Møller's paper on 'attitudes to food gardening from a generation perspective' in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa (2005) is foundational to the thesis approach as it looks at the youth's attitudes to urban agriculture from two generational sources. On the one side, Møller asked active gardeners, who were in an older age group, whether the youth are interested in gardening. The older generation shares a widespread consensus that the youth are disinterested. The reason given is that their own efforts to try encourage the youth to garden were always rejected, as the youth felt that gardening was for old people (Møller, 2005:73). Many of the gardeners described the youth as being lazy and work-shy, and they felt that the youth would prefer to spend their time drinking and using recreational drugs. The older generation also had a reason for why the youth were so disinterested. They felt that the youth were financially better off than the older generation had been at their age. In those days, the older generation would often start working at an early age, however, the youth of today were well educated, and through this they valued money above growing their own food. What was apparent was that the respect for working the land, which was always passed on from one generation to the next, could easily get lost. The youth did not know how to plant crops and they were not interested in learning a job that would make them dirty and would not bring about a considerable sum of money (Møller, 2005:73/74).

The paper then continued by asking the youth to provide reasons for why they were not interested and thus do not take part in gardening. Most youth felt that gardening was not a worthwhile activity. They admitted that they did not enjoy dirty work, they were lazy, and most importantly, they did not want to miss out on having fun (Møller, 2005:74). The youth understood the positive benefits which gardening could bring, however, they did not want to start gardening themselves as they would be mocked by their peers. As a result the youth succumbed to peer pressure and developed a negative attitude towards gardening (Møller, 2005:75).

Although there is limited research on youth involvement in urban agriculture in the Southern context, there is more in studies from the developed world. Firstly, a number of these case studies emphasize that the purpose of the garden programmes is to improve a specific area visually. Although food is highlighted as an important outcome from these gardens it is not seen as the only important outcome. The youth that are involved in these programmes are part of a

project which aims to reduce poverty, increase food security and nutrition levels, and provide employment and education opportunities for groups of people who are seen to be 'at-risk'. 'At-risk' constitutes the homeless, pregnant teens, and former prisoners, among others (Taylor, et. al. 2010). In this manner the gardens are seen as rehabilitation programmes. Secondly, from all the projects which were reviewed it was found that all the youth that were involved received an hourly rate of pay for their commitment to the garden (Holz-Clause and Jost, 1995; Hung, 2004; Pevec, 2009). In some instances they were also allowed to take the food which they grew home with them (Pevec, 2009:79). These factors show that the impact of being paid, in money and goods, could weigh heavily as a motivational factor for joining and taking part in the programme. This would also make it difficult to see what other factors made the youth decide to join, or not join, the gardening projects.

Several studies found that the youth joined the garden mainly because the garden created a safe and welcoming space where they could go to (Holz-Clause and Jost, 1995; Krasny and Doyle, 2002; Hung, 2004; Pevec, 2009; Taylor, et. al. 2010). Gardening made the youth feel calm, and brought about joy through watching things grow from barrenness to a garden (Hung, 2004). Having a green area in a city, one filled with trees and bushes, has been said to lower the levels of violence in cities, and it helps people to be less stressed from everyday activities (Wells 2000; Kaplan, 2001; Pevec, 2009). In addition, the youth compared their high school life as busy and 'hectic', however, while they were in the garden they felt they could finally relax. The youth also felt useful as they were able to grow food which would benefit others. This impacted positively on their self-image and brought about a positive mindset (Pevec, 2009:78).

One key issue which was raised was that often the youth did not have the knowledge to garden, and this was seen to discourage them from taking part in the practice. These youth were not only ignorant of urban agriculture, but they wished to stay that way, however, they did acknowledge the gratitude they felt towards others who took part in programmes and grew food in the city (Holz-Clause and Jost, 1995). Within a Northern context knowledge can be emphasized as being an important factor which can influence the youth's level of interest in an approach.

The information gained from the Northern youth's perceptions is potentially useful as it gives more insight into reasons behind involvement in urban agriculture. However, the context and framing of urban agriculture within the Southern and Northern hemisphere differs considerably, and therefore it cannot be assumed that it translates directly. Within the Southern context, the main negative factor is the lack of information regarding urban agriculture (Møller, 2005:73). This lack of information results in the youth not knowing how to farm in an urban area, and thus this can bring about a negative attitude towards this activity (Møller, 2005; Thornton, 2008). This negative attitude may create an image problem for those who are involved in this practice, which in turn can create a barrier to youth involvement. However, more literature is not available in order to fully understand the reasons behind these varied levels of youth involvement in urban agriculture.

2.5 Understanding the Youth as a Separate Group of People

The City of Cape Town would like more youth to be involved in urban agriculture, but as the introductory chapter has noted, it has a weakly articulated notion of who these youth are and why they should be involved. Although unarticulated, they seem to view the youth as a separate, problematic and vulnerable group. This view point is reflected in the City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy of 2007 where they mention that the youth are a vulnerable group of people (City of Cape Town, 2007:3). In light of their perception it is therefore important to engage with the academic literature in order to question who the youth are, and to explore whether they should be considered a separate category. In addition, this exploration will potentially shed more light on why the youth are considered as problematic by both City Officials and the public at large. This will explore the specific vulnerability profiles of the youth, and what the imagined policies and programmes can do to aid this group of people.

Several academics, for example, Rice (1996) and Austin (2004) have argued that the youth are a separate category from children and adults, and this is represented through them having their own specific culture. To a large extent, this literature argues that the youth are, and should be considered a separate category to adults and children. The reason for this view is that there is a belief that the youth's values and morals are different than that of their parents and younger siblings. To some researchers this implies the presence of a youth culture (Rice, 1996; Austin, 2004; Steinberg, 2008).

Youth culture refers to 'the sum of the ways of living of adolescents; it refers to the body of norms, values, and practices recognized and shared by members of the adolescent society as appropriate guides to actions' (Rice, 1996). This definition looks at two factors which are important to mention. Firstly, it encompasses the aspect of culture which can be defined as 'processes by which symbolic systems characteristically shared by a group of people are transformed across time' (Austin, 2004). Symbolic systems refer to traditions, rituals and frameworks for understanding and experience. Secondly, the definition focuses on a particular age group, in this case the youth.

Youth culture has been positioned by several theorists as either being part of society and social norms, or being distinct from it. Many in the scientific community debate its existence and this allows for various theories to appear surrounding its presence. The main argument bases its premise on whether youth's values and morals are distinctly different from those of their parents, for if they are, then it can be said that youth culture can be separate from culture itself (Steinberg, 2008). Other researchers, such as Schwartz and Merten, (1967), suggest that youth culture is not separate from culture itself, rather it can be seen as a subculture, thus being a part of a cultural system. In their paper they suggest that the youth's social life may be hidden from adults not because it is different, but rather it is hidden through the manner in which they speak (Schwartz and Merten, 1967:454). They hypothesize that a youth's perceptions and understanding of society

is hidden in their way of saying things. This discourse of theirs may include both social virtues and defects and this will be explored in the following section.

2.5.1 Youth Culture and its Impact on Society

Youth have been the focus of research in a number of disciplines. Across these disciplines the youth have been framed as a turbulent, unstable and deviant group of people (Coleman and Hendry, 1990; Elliott, 1994; Morch, 2003; Pilkington, 2007; Prior and Mason, 2010). Worries have been raised that youth subcultures were what caused moral degradation in younger people (Eckersley, 1999:209). Others have said that youth cultures hold values which are different, and conflicting to those in the adult world and society (Austin, 2004). Those concerned show the youth having a lack of interest in education, and rather enjoy being involved in risky behaviors, for instance sexual activities (Simbayi, et. al. 2004/2005), drug abuse, alcoholism, and violent behavior (Farrington, 1991; Soudien, 2001; Swart, et. al. 2002; Morch, 2003; Kaufman and Stavrou, 2004).

Several studies show that a large number of violent youth went through some form of trauma in their childhood (Fitzpatrick and Boldizar, 1993; Seedat, et. al. 2004). With this in mind, questions arise as to whether the youth really are becoming increasingly more violent, if they commit the violent acts themselves or are they themselves victims of these acts. Research shows that the first stages of violence are often found in the learning experiences within the family. They incorporate several factors, for example, weak family bonding, ineffective supervision growing up, exposure to violence at home and the acquisition of responses which tolerate the use of violence (Elliott, 1994:3). Violent behaviors can bring about other violent actions, ones which can cause direct harm to oneself, and to others. This discourse primarily has brought about the view that the youth are separate to adults, however, they are still profoundly shaped by external contexts, the household being a strong factor. This shows that it is difficult to hold them as a separate category, when the social context is such a vital influencer, especially in light of the fact that not everyone will be influenced in the same way. This thus makes it difficult to place the youth into a singular category.

The literature mentioned is not entirely sympathetic to the youth and their actions. However, it must be reinforced that this literature states that often the youth are brought to do certain actions because of a turbulent historical past. This shows that the youth are influenced by wider societal issues and this thus makes them a problematic group. In turn it is viewed that this makes them a separate group, however, once again emphasis must be placed on the fact that the youth should not be seen as a singular category. The academic literature that has been mentioned could be categorized into a specific era of thought, the 1950s and 1960s, where the youth were seen as being a problem and needed to be integrated into society (Morch, 2003:50). However, a shift in perspective is noted as within the 1970s and 1980s young people were increasingly becoming seen as more resourceful (Morch, 2003:52). The youth were viewed as potential change agents in

society and this made way for opinions to emerge surrounding youth policies and youth empowerment.

Youth empowerment focuses on using collective efforts to create socio-political change (Jennings, et. al. 2006:31). Previous paragraphs have focused on how the youth, who have had bad experiences growing up, may turn towards a turbulent lifestyle in their later years. However, it has been acknowledged that not all youth conform to anti-social behavior. Many academic and health professionals have stated that youth who have gone through negative experiences must be provided with a support system in order to individually empower them and turn them away from their negative lifestyles (Lehman, et. al. 2002:128). In previous years, the main function of youth programmes was to form a rehabilitative function, one which would take the youth off the streets and help them to change their ways. However, a shift is noted towards 'fostering youth development and capacity building through active community participation' (Jennings, et. al. 2006:32), with an even more recent focus being placed on youth empowerment.

Empowerment is a multi-level social process which consists of practical approaches, social action processes and individual and collective outcomes (Jennings, et. al. 2006:32). In a broad sense, the youth should be empowered so that they can act in self-determined ways. This can be done by providing emotional support, and information in how one can approach and accomplish personal goals (Lehman, et. al. 2002:136). Jennings, et. al. (2006) conducted a study in which they used several empowerment models in order to distinguish what conditions are needed for youth empowerment. Their findings revealed that a welcoming and safe environment, meaningful participation and engagement, equal power sharing between the youth and adults, reflection on interpersonal and socio-political processes and the participation in those processes to create change were all necessary in order to empower the youth (Jennings, et. al. 2006:41). All these factors should be considered especially in light of the implementation of policies which hope to include the youth.

The Parliament of South Africa in their 2007 'Youth Report' argued why it was necessary to empower the youth and highlighted the importance of establishing national youth policies which would be driven by young people. They emphasized the fact that almost 40 percent of South Africans are between the ages of 14 to 35. This means that South Africa will have a 'youth bulge' for the next 20 years, creating a youthful population. It is thus important to create youth development programmes which will empower the youth with the right skills so that they can easily transition into an adult life (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 2007:8).

It is important to understand that the social and economic aspects of society are interconnected and thus this needs to be reflected in ones understanding of the youth. The City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy frames the youth as being a vulnerable group of people. With this understanding the youth are seen as suitable targets for urban agriculture as urban agriculture is viewed as an economic activity with an income generating potential. This singular focus on the youth as being vulnerable people thus creates very specific empowerment programmes for the

youth, however it must be noted that with such a strong focus on economic development and employment for the youth, the social societal aspect is overlooked which could be a problematic factor when exploring youth involvement.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This review of literature has provided a deeper understanding to the practice of urban agriculture. The literature has engaged with the arguments around this activity's prevalence within South Africa, and has attempted to understand why in recent years it has become more greatly professed by the South African government and several developmental agencies. Within South Africa, the level of involvement in urban agriculture is perceived as low, with the main people involved in this activity being generally older and unemployed. Urban agriculture is believed to be a good source of food security and economic development, and it is noticed that the other benefits, such as an improved well-being and social cohesion are often over-looked. In addition, there is a gap in understanding why the youth are not partaking in this practice, as even within the Southern African context there is a lack of literature describing this phenomenon.

Nevertheless, governmental agencies, for example the City of Cape Town, believe that urban agriculture is a suitable practice for the youth as through its economic development potential it can help to pull the youth out of poverty. Since South Africa is experiencing a 'youth bulge', where the youth population is high, and opportunities for the youth are low, the City of Cape Town believes that urban agriculture can make the youth less vulnerable. However, it is still difficult to involve the youth in this practice as this group of people is not completely understood.

The literature suggests that the youth differ from adults and children and thus they should be seen as a separate group of people. However, in addition, it is noted that individual people within this group can also vary significantly from one another. This makes it problematic to categorize this group of people in a single group as each person's individual personality becomes lost in this understanding. Nonetheless, even with a grouped understanding of who the youth are perceptions may vary as the youth can either be seen as a turbulent group or as agents of change within society. These understandings bring about different projects and policies which aim to include the youth, and in turn each of these brings about different potential benefits and consequences for the youth who choose to participate.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the methodology which was applied in the execution of this study, namely the data collection phase and the data analysis phase. A brief description will also be given of the urban agriculture projects on the two sites, and an explanation will be provided for why these two specific sites were chosen for this study. In addition the researcher will justify the use of these approaches and will explain the necessity of having a fieldworker present.

3.2 Site Description

3.2.1 Urban Agriculture within Joe Slovo Park and Du Noon

The urban agriculture projects within the Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park townships are two projects out of the 33 which were initiated by the Economic Development Unit of Cape Town. The sites will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, however, a brief description of urban agriculture on the two sites will be provided here. Farming began in 2011 in Joe Slovo Park and 2004 in Du Noon and they remain actively farmed. There are three plots of land found within Joe Slovo Park on which urban agriculture is implemented and these plots are autonomous and distant from each other. In Du Noon there are 16 plots and these are all adjacent to each other. Each plot averages an area of approximately 300m² and is individually owned (Seale, 2009:6).

At the initiation of both of the projects the City of Cape Town took the open state owned land, which was found in the vicinity of the townships, and converted it into private plots of land. Finding an empty plot of land within a township is often difficult as the following example will show. Within Du Noon, prior to converting the land into urban agriculture plots, the City had found four possible plots of land on which to hold the urban agriculture project. However, within a short period of three months, three out of the four plots of land already had informal shacks built up on them, and thus one plot of land was left on which the urban agriculture project could be held.

In Du Noon, this piece of open state owned land previously lay barren and unused, was unfenced, and is located at the eastern edge of the township. The land belonged to the City of Cape Town, however, the presence of Eskom power cables overhead meant that there were regulations placed on the use of the land below. Under these regulations, no one was allowed to construct a dwelling on this piece of land, due to safety and health hazards (Seale, 2009:11). It was thus decided that the best use for this piece of land was to divide it into private plots, which would be owned by community individuals, households or select groups of people. These people would then be allowed to grow vegetables on their plots of land, or keep livestock, for which they would have to receive a second permit from the City of Cape Town.

Within Joe Slovo Park, the plots were housed on four available pieces of land. One of these pieces was a small vacant piece of land where no houses had been built. It was found on the corner of an intersection of two busy roads. This square piece of land was fenced off in order to provide security for an individual family who practiced urban agriculture on it.

The other two plots within Joe Slovo Park were located on the grounds of a nursery school, Masikhululeke Nursery School, and both of these plots are seen to house one project and are the main focus of this thesis. The community leaders had reached an agreement with the head of the nursery school, that if they were allowed to use the available land for vegetable gardening, then the food grown would be given to the nursery school and used to feed the children who attended the school. A fourth plot, also belonging to the nursery school was found further down the road, and in November 2011 plans were being made to fence it off and start farming on it as well, as part of the same project.

Different implementation modes were used for the projects in Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park. The reason for this was mainly due to the residents own desires. Within Du Noon, a small group of residents had approached the City of Cape Town in order to ask the City to provide them with land on which they could farm and through this increase their food security levels. It was decided by the City Officials to provide several residents of Du Noon with individual plots of land, which would then be farmed by the whole household.

The City provided several community members with individual plots of land. These plots enabled better security for the urban farmers as they were confident that the land was rightfully theirs and their crops would not be taken away from them. The Provincial Department of Agriculture also provided funding for the fencing of the individual plots of land, and a once off supply of tools and seeds for the urban farmers. Education was given to provide the necessary skills and marketing expertise for the urban farmers. The main aim of the projects was to provide a livelihood strategy for the urban poor, one which, as the City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy of 2007 states, could increase household nutrition levels and create employment and skills training at the same time.

Within Joe Slovo Park the reasons for implementing the project were slightly different. One of the plots of land was run by a single household with the purpose of providing household food security. This plot was similar to those found in Du Noon. The remaining three plots were used towards a youth development project, in which it was hoped that the youth would acquire skills through urban agriculture, and in turn would keep busy and have something to do during the day. This youth development project had been conceptualized by the community leaders in the township who were in the process of creating youth development projects in Joe Slovo Park. The youth had approached these community leaders and had asked them to create projects in the townships, which could help them acquire skills which would in turn be useful when searching for employment. These skills ranged from learning different trades, such as urban farming, beading and cooking, and an added benefit of all these projects was that the youth were able to

network with one another and gain useful information from each other's experiences. The three urban agriculture plots were thus used towards this youth development purpose, and the youth became involved in this activity mainly because they themselves had requested it.

More detail will be given to how the project was initiated, and for what reasons, in Chapter Five, the results section.

3.2.2 Reasons for Choosing the Two Sites

There were several reasons for choosing these sites as the study sites for the research. Initially, only one site, the urban agriculture project site in Du Noon, was chosen, with the main reason being that the City of Cape Town wanted to understand why the youth were not getting involved in the urban agriculture project there. The City of Cape Town thus approached the University to inquire whether anyone would be interested in conducting research in that area, as that specific project was of key interest to the City.

After a preliminary examination of the site a second study site was included for the purpose of this research. The second study site was found in Joe Slovo Park. The reason for choosing a second site was due to one specific factor. This project had been established as a youth development project and, therefore, had ongoing youth participation. This project would thus be used as a comparison to the Du Noon urban agriculture project, as in Du Noon the youth were not involved.

Lastly, it was seen as an advantage that both projects were established in a similar manner and theoretically have access to the same support structures from the City. This ensured that there was some form of uniformity between the two projects, thus making them easier to compare. In addition, a second comparable attribute was the shared history that both sites had which shall be discussed in Chapter Four. Furthermore, the researcher believed that the information concerning the projects was more readily accessible as it was initially understood that the City of Cape Town Officials would have documented the running of the projects in order to judge their levels of success. This should have allowed the researcher to gain information about the number of participants within the projects during the various years, and to see whether these numbers were increasing or decreasing in size. Unfortunately during the course of the study it was found that there was a low level of documentation concerning the projects, and the documents which were accessed were often found to have out dated and incorrect data.

3.3 Data Collection

3.3.1 Introduction

In order to address the thesis objectives the City Officials and Community Members were interviewed in order to acquire information pertaining to the first objective which aims to critically evaluate the City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy, projects and

implementation strategies. Secondly, the project participants were questioned in order to gain an understanding of urban agriculture within the Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park townships. Lastly, the youth from both townships were interviewed and they provided answers to the last two objectives, their actual and aspired livelihood strategies and their perceptions of urban agriculture. This data was all gathered in order to gain an understanding of the urban agriculture projects in the two areas. Additionally, it was important to find out why the project participants took part in the two projects. This could, therefore, allow for a comparison of the project participants' perceptions of urban agriculture and its potential benefits, with the perceptions of the youth.

The data collection has been separated into three categories, i.e. the City Officials and Community Members, which included several community leaders and members of the community, the project participants, which included all the urban farmers in Du Noon and two in Joe Slovo Park. The youth involved in the youth development urban agriculture project who were actively farming were placed into the next category. The third category was then the youth who both were and were not involved in the urban agriculture projects. Data was collected in the same chronological order so as to be able to build a clear understanding of the urban agriculture projects in the two areas before engaging with the youth and their perceptions.

3.3.2 The City Officials and Community Members

3.3.2.1 Sample Group

All the stakeholders who were involved in the initiation of the urban agriculture projects in Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park were selected as the sample group. This sample group consisted of 12 people. The six people from the City of Cape Town who were involved in the initiation of these projects fall under the City of Cape Town's Economic and Human Development Unit, the Social Development Unit and the Provincial Department of Agriculture. From this group, three people were specifically focused on promoting urban agriculture within select townships in and around Cape Town. These people were the Development and Facilitation Officer in the Economic and Human Development Department, the Assistant Professional Officer in the Social Development Department and the Agricultural Advisor in the Western Cape Department of Agriculture. Furthermore, two people were heads of their prospective units and were, therefore, involved in policy formulation and formulating support structures to project participants. These people were the Head of Development Facilitation in the Economic and Human Development Department and the Head Agricultural Officer in the Western Cape Department of Agriculture. Lastly, the Professional Officer for Urban Agriculture in the Economic and Human Development Department was specifically in charge of promoting urban agriculture in the two study sites, along with several other sites around Cape Town.

The remaining five people who were involved in the projects, four community leaders and one school teacher, were found through using a snowball sampling method. Refer to the appendices

for more information regarding these City Officials and Community Members. Snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling technique that is used to identify potential respondents in research where respondents are difficult to locate. After speaking to the initial respondent, the researcher asks them to identify another person who would have useful information when interviewed (Castillo, 2009).

3.3.2.2 Data Collection - Semi-Structured Interviews

The various stakeholders who have been involved in the urban agriculture projects were interviewed in order to find out their views on the urban agriculture projects. Semi-structured interviews were considered to be most effective in this case because they are flexible, iterative and continuous. All the interviews took place in English as each of the informants were competent in this language.

The interviews focused on understanding why and how the projects were initiated. The questions were arranged around three different categories. The first category revolved around questions which would explore the conceptualization process of the two projects. These questions would allow for a better understanding for why the projects were initiated, where the funding was coming from, and why the need arose to bring about these projects. The second group of questions all looked into the initial set up of the two projects, examining when and how they were started, what support was initially given to the urban farmers, and what the perceived motivating factors were for the community individuals taking part in this activity. The last group of questions explored the current state of the two projects. Questions within this category aimed to understand how often the support was given to farmers and whether this support was maintained, along with what the perceived benefits were from the two projects for the urban farmers involved. This section also explored the City Officials' and Community Members' views towards the two projects, looking into whether their expectations for the projects had been met, and what level of involvement would they perceive to give for the two projects for the future. Six follow up interviews also took place at a later stage as more information, clarity or detail was required.

3.3.3 Project Participants

3.3.3.1 Sample Group

The main aim of these interviews was to understand the urban farmers' views of the City initiated urban agriculture projects. The participants' views of the projects were explored through the use of a verbal questionnaire, administered to the urban farmers who take part in the City initiated urban agriculture projects in both Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park.

The sample group was obtained by acquiring the names of all the urban agriculture plot holders from the Economic and Human Development Department in the City of Cape Town. In a previous assessment conducted in 2009, it was stated that the Du Noon township held 16 plots

which were individually owned and farmed by the various households within the area (Seale, 2009). These plots of land belonged to the City of Cape Town in the past, however, permits to the land have been given to the plot holders in order to secure their land tenure for urban agriculture. Once the researcher reached the Du Noon project site it was found that the people themselves had passed the land on to other families without the City of Cape Town's knowledge of them doing so, or permission. It was thus found that it was easier to walk to each plot and ask whether the inhabitants were the current owners, than make use of the names of plot holders acquired from the City of Cape Town. It was also noted that two plots had merged into one, and one plot had become so unused that it was apparent that it was not being actively farmed and so it was decided that the Du Noon site only had 14 actively farmed plots in total.

The Joe Slovo Park township held four similarly sized plots of land, however only one of these plots was individually farmed. The other three plots belonged to a nursery school, and they were being actively farmed by a group of 30 youth. Out of this group of 30 actively farming youth, five were interviewed as the remainder was not available for interviews. They either had numerous jobs which they juggled during the day, or were currently visiting family outside the township. In addition, the community leader who oversaw the youth development urban agriculture project was also interviewed in order to gain his understanding of why the youth were involved.

For the purpose of this research information pertaining to the actively farming youth's interviews and their responses has been added into the youth section, as they are considered to be part of the youth sample group. The reason for this is that even though they are active urban farmers, they are still youth, and thus their perceptions should be placed within the youth category of this research.

3.3.3.2 Data Collection - Verbal Questionnaire

A verbal questionnaire was administered to the de facto plot holder in each plot in the two townships. In total, 12 questionnaires were verbally administered, out of the possible 16. The reason for not administering a questionnaire to each plot holder was that the plot holder could simply not be found. The researcher went to the study sites on different days of the week, and at different times of the day, in order to fit different people's schedules. It was noted that the plot holders who were not spoken to had plots which looked unused, giving the impression that they did not often go to their site, and this made it seem that they were not actively partaking in the urban agriculture projects.

A verbal questionnaire was used to understand the urban farmers' experiences as urban cultivators. It was decided that the questionnaire should be administered verbally based on the low level of literacy in the area. After a preliminary survey it was noted that it would be more beneficial to conduct the verbal questionnaire in the people's home language as it would allow them to better explain and express themselves, as they were not fluent in the English language. This was accomplished with the assistance of a fieldworker who was fluent in both Xhosa and

Afrikaans, and was able to give an ongoing translation of the people's responses in English. In this case the presence of the fieldworker was seen as a great benefit. Nearly all the urban farmers were older than 50 years, and therefore having a 40 year old fieldworker was beneficial as his age warranted more respect than the researchers young age did. The urban farmers were thus more open to speak about different topics, and in addition they often shared jokes in Xhosa which the fieldworker then translated into English. The fieldworker's presence helped put the urban farmers more at ease and thus make them more comfortable to speak to someone who was considered an 'outsider' in their community.

The verbal questionnaire held both open-ended and closed-ended questions. It focused on exploring the urban agriculture projects and understanding the urban farmers' opinions of these projects. The questionnaire was divided into four sections. The first two sections aimed to acquire information relating to the urban farmers' everyday experiences. The first section obtained the urban farmers' personal information, for example, their level of education, employment status and their length of stay in their current location. The second section focused on exploring the urban farmers' households, and looked into the urban farmers' financial sources and coping mechanisms. Section three and four both explored the farmers' perceptions of urban agriculture, with section three aiming to understand how the urban farmers became involved in the urban agriculture projects, and section four exploring the farmers' experiences whilst taking part in these projects. Finally, a sub-section within the questionnaire also focused on the urban farmers' opinions of why there is a varied level of participation from the youth as their insight towards this phenomenon could prove to be useful.

A verbal questionnaire was felt to be the best method to administer to this group of people. The majority of urban farmers spoke little English, as most of them had been raised in rural areas and they had left school at a young age. Attempting to conduct interviews would prove to be tedious as practically everything would have to be translated to Xhosa and then back to English and there was the fear that the fieldworker would go off topic during the translations and shift the conversation to another topic without the researcher being able to control this. A verbal questionnaire thus had short, specific questions which often did not need more than a few words as an answer. Due to this the respondents' answers were often very precise and more depth was often not achieved. However, as the main aim of these questionnaires was to understand the urban farmers' views and understanding of the urban agriculture projects and on the youth, then short responses proved to be sufficient.

3.3.4 The Youth

3.3.4.1 Sample Groups

The age group categorizing the youth, which was used for the purpose of this research is contested, and this shall be discussed further in Chapter Five. South Africa's National Definition of the youth encompasses people who are as young as 14 up until the age of 35. This research

had initially considered using a 25 year cut off and had hoped to use the United Nations definition to define the youth, as found in Bannon, et. al. (2005). Within the two sites, Community Members and youth interpreted the term youth to include those up to the age of 35, as defined in South African policy documents. These groups of people are nationally considered to be youth. It was also found that City Officials conceptualized the youth as being in the age range of 14 to 35 and when they were asked to help organize youth for interviews they included this full range of people. The sample group for youth was thus derived from the age group of 14 to 35 years.

All the youth who participated in this study were divided into two categories. The first category consisted of the 'younger youth' who were within the ages of 14 to 18, and the second category consisted of 'older youth' within the ages of 19 to 35. It was important to divide the youth into two categories because it had been initially observed that the younger youth would have different understandings of everyday life from the older youth. This has been explained in more detail in Section 6.2 and will not be enlarged on here.

This sample group was obtained in two ways. Firstly, secondary schools in Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park were selected as sites to sample the youth aged 14 to 18. Acquiring a sample of older youth, 19 to 35, will be discussed shortly.

The reason for choosing schools as sample study sites was based on the perception that the majority of youth within the age group of 14 to 18 were currently attending high school. It was believed that the youth who were still in formal education could have different priorities, aspirations and perspectives of urban agriculture than those that were out of formal education. Neither of these schools charged tuition fees as this was subsidized by the government, and therefore it was assumed that the parents could send their children to school. However, it was understood that several youth aged 14 to 18 could have already left the high school and moved into other vocational education, or had dropped out due to other reasons. This could have provided some selection bias. However, a second option to sample the youth through youth groups or youth targeted interventions would have had even greater biases as these are voluntary attendance organizations and, therefore, highly selective.

Initially, two high schools were chosen, Inkwenkwezi High School located in Du Noon, while the other, Sinenjongo High School was found in Marconi Beam, a township adjacent to Joe Slovo Park, as there was no high school in Joe Slovo Park itself. However, after preliminary research it was decided that the high school in Du Noon, Inkwenkwezi high school, would be used as the only site from which youth of 14 to 18 years would be selected. The reason for this lay in the fact that youth who resided in both Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park attended Inkwenkwezi High School, and it would be interesting to have a sample group of youth who had something in common, in this case their school, but came from different locations. A reason for this is that information obtained could show a disparity in perceptions which could be derived from experiences in their two different locations, or could be personally based and motivated.

Secondly, this sample group of youth was being obtained in order to conduct focus groups. These focus groups were sourced with the help of a school teacher and would consist of three groups of 12 youth, with one group consisting of Du Noon youth, one group consisting of Joe Slovo Park youth, and the last group consisting of six Du Noon youth and six Joe Slovo Park youth. Sinenjongo high school had few Du Noon youth attending their school and therefore it was found that Inkwenkwezi high school was a more accessible location for where all three groups of youth could be obtained. Lastly, the high school was chosen as an appropriate sample group site due to the fact that it was in a fenced off area and thus had a high level of security for both the researcher and the youth selected.

Having the teacher present during the focus groups was necessary as it had been a requirement from the school which had to be fulfilled in order for the focus groups to take place. However, the teacher's presence potentially could have had an impact on what the youth said, as the youth could have been less honest and vocal with the teacher present. It was found that at the beginning of each focus the youth were more intimidated of the researcher, as she was someone new who did not fit in with their community, than the teacher, and the teacher's presence was a benefit as he was able to encourage the youth to be more vocal in their responses. However, the negative side of this could be that the students were giving answers which they felt were appropriate for the audience which they were with. It became clear that this specific teacher was perceived more as a friend than a teacher by the students, and therefore his presence had a positive effect for the focus groups.

A second sample of youth of this age was acquired for the purpose of semi-structured individual interviews. This group consisted of ten youth and eight of these youth had been present during the focus groups. These eight youth were chosen for the interviews due to their own enthusiasm to help with the study and to discuss their perceptions of urban agriculture in more detail. The remaining two youth were brought by their friends who had been part of the focus groups. These youth expressed the desire to be part of the research. Five youth, three female and two male, were from Du Noon and Five youth, three females and two males, were from Joe Slovo Park. The youth's age ranged from 15 years old to 18 years old. The focus of these interviews was to gain a deeper understanding of the younger youth's aspired livelihood choices and their perceptions of urban agriculture.

The sample of 19 to 35 year old youth were acquired in a different manner as it was not possible to go to only one location where youth of these ages could be found. The Youth Forum which is held in the Joe Slovo Park township was approached so that they could help source the youth from this location for the researcher. The Joe Slovo Park Youth Development Forum was formed in 2000 to address the developmental needs of the community. The forum is a non-profit organization acting in co-operation with the community leadership in Joe Slovo Park and is overseen by the Blaauwberg Municipality Development Forum (Brenner, 2002). Youth from both the Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park townships take part in the youth forum and were chosen as a sample study. However, once out in the field it was noticed that the Youth Forum was only in

its initial stages of incorporating the Du Noon youth. It was thus necessary to acquire the Du Noon youth in another manner and this shall be explained below.

Members of the youth forum were used as part of the sample group for the Joe Slovo Park youth sample. Unfortunately, the youth forum did not have a list of who its members were, and so it was not possible to use a systematic style of sampling to obtain the youth. The youth were thus acquired with the assistance of a youth developmental forum leader, who brought individual youth to a predetermined site at a specific time. Once the researcher conversed with these youth it became apparent that not all of them belonged to the Youth forum. In total 15 youth were interviewed consisting of seven females and eight males, ranging from 19 to 35 years of age. Out of this number of youth five were actively participating in the youth development urban agriculture project, while the other ten were not actively involved in urban agriculture. The site which was chosen for these interviews was one of the urban agriculture plots found in Joe Slovo Park. The reason for choosing this site was due to the fact that it was fully enclosed and thus safe, along with it being a quiet spot where a conversation could take place.

The sample group of Du Noon youth was acquired with the help of the Social Development Unit of the City of Cape Town. The researcher had approached this Unit to ask for help in calling a meeting with the youth in the area as the researcher had felt that it was unsafe to personally walk through the township and find the sample group in that manner. Several City Officials supported this view. The researcher was invited to an existing meeting which was held with the Du Noon youth at the Du Noon community hall during which the researcher was able to connect with the youth. Approximately 150 youth attended the meeting. The project was explained to these youth and they were asked to write their names and contact details down on a sheet of paper if they were willing to participate in the research. The researcher then made use of the systematic sampling method in order to choose her final informants. In the case of this research, every 5th informant was chosen to participate in the study, making the total number of informants 15 people. These informants were then contacted telephonically and a time was set up in order to conduct a face-to-face interview. The interviews took place at Inkwenkwezi High School as this was a location which both parties knew of, and thus it was not likely that any informant could get lost finding the interview location. Secondly, the High School was a safe, enclosed location where a lengthy conversation could be held.

One limitation which was noted was the fact that the youth coming to the meeting would have expectations of receiving something from the City of Cape Town. Once the researcher began to discuss the urban agriculture projects, the expectations shifted to the researcher, and responses from the youth revolved around wanting a plot and finding out how to acquire one. Initially the youth misunderstood their role in the research, as informants, and instead wanted to receive a plot of land, however after a period of explanation the youth understood that no land would be given to them for their help in this research. Only then did the researcher circulate a list around through which the interested youth could be contacted. However, the researcher is still unsure of how many youth volunteered to take part in the research because they wanted to help, and how

many did so because they still hoped to receive a plot of land in return. This could be problematic as the youth's responses could be very positive towards urban agriculture solely because they wanted to receive a plot of land in exchange for taking part in the study. However at the start of each interview the researcher explained what the informants were expected to do and what they would receive in return, and it was felt that individually the youth understood and, therefore, the problem was potentially mitigated.

Each of the individual interviews was conducted with the assistance of a fieldworker who was fluent in Xhosa, Afrikaans and English. The reason for his presence was to allow for the youth to express themselves in which ever language they were most comfortable in. The fieldworker then gave an ongoing translation into English as the interview took place. Having a fieldworker present was seen as a great benefit in terms of language, although within Du Noon the field worker was not well known. This meant that the youth who were being interviewed were presented with two new people who they did not know which potentially could be intimidating and could limit their answers. However, it became clear that these informants grew a bond with the fieldworker more easily than with the researcher because they shared common traits, for instance race and language. In this manner the limitation of having the fieldworker was overcome as the youth became more openly vocal as the interview progressed. Having a fieldworker present while interviewing the Joe Slovo Park youth did not pose any problems as the fieldworker was a community leader in Joe Slovo Park and was highly looked up to. This could have posed limitations as the youth could have felt that they needed to speak very positively about this practice, as this community leader was one who had brought the urban agriculture project about from the community side. However, this limitation proved to be false as the youth very openly voiced their opinions and were not hesitant to note their perceived negative or positive aspects about the activity, and their own personal lives. In this sense it is believed that the fieldworker did not have a negative influence on the youth and their perceptions.

The youth would often speak to the community leader about their everyday occurrences and had a very open and friendly relationship with him. This was beneficial as the youth were intimidated less by the researcher and were more open to have a conversation. They were also very vocal about their beliefs and it was felt that the presence of the fieldworker made them trust the researcher and open up more.

3.3.4.2 Data Collection - Focus Groups and Semi Structured Interviews

3.3.4.2.1 Focus Groups

Focus groups were perceived to be a good method with which to speak to the younger youth as they allowed a space in which people may get together and create meaning among themselves, rather than individually (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:292). A group speaking together would allow individuals to shape and reshape their opinions as new ideas and facts were made available to

them. For the researcher, focus groups were an opportunity to observe a large amount of interaction on a topic in a limited period of time. This interaction could also be observed through individual interviews, however within a focus group scenario, direct evidence about the participants' opinions, and their similarities and differences in views could be depicted (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:292).

Initially, the researcher had decided that focus groups would be conducted on youth of all ages. However, it was found to be very difficult to organize focus groups with the older youth, 19 to 35, as they each had varied schedules due to some youth being employed, or partially employed, while others were not. The researcher thus decided that focus groups would work best on youth who were within the ages of 14-18 years old, young youth, and were currently still in school. This meant that the informants were already in a group setting and had existing relationships with each other, which could possibly make them more comfortable to speak in a group context.

The number of respondents was determined by firstly acquiring a group of people who were the right age for the study. The group was then to be separated by gender, however it was found that due to the school organizing the groups of students the focus groups did not end up having an equal male to female ratio. The reason for wanting to have an equal gender ratio was that one could note whether different genders choose different livelihood strategies, or had different interests and activities in which they participate, however this information could still be acquired just by having the two genders present. It was also assumed that since the school held classes which consisted of both male and female students, the students would feel comfortable speaking freely while being in mixed groups. Their responses during the focus groups could determine whether urban agriculture is a gendered activity, or if it is understood through personal motivations and interests. It must be noted that these opinions cannot be generalized in representing a single group of people as they are individually conceptualized and felt.

All three focus groups ran in the same manner as they were following a set script. However, the answers were expected to be varied due to personal perceptions. The focus groups all began with the researcher outlining the purpose of the research, and setting the ground rules for the focus group. This was continued by discussing the youth's everyday experiences and what livelihood strategies they felt were best suited to them. In all cases the youth were asked to give reasons for their answers. The focus groups moved on to discussing urban agriculture and through a series of questions the youth's own understanding of urban agriculture was uncovered. This was then expanded by discussing the City of Cape Town's urban agriculture projects and exploring whether the youth would like to be interested in these projects.

At the end of the focus groups the youth were asked whether they would be willing to take part in individual semi-structured interviews, and ten respondents were eager to take part. The focus groups were recorded through the writing of detailed notes while the focus groups were taking place. A tape recorder was also used to record the focus groups, however, the audio quality when it was played back was very low due to the distance between the tape recorder and the youth.

Originally it was decided that the focus groups should be recorded with a camera, however it was believed that the youth would feel uncomfortable to give answers while they were being recorded, therefore, this was not used.

3.3.4.2.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

In total, ten individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with the younger youth in the 14 to 18 year old age group. Five youth, three female and two male, were from Du Noon and five youth, three females and two males, were from Joe Slovo Park. The youth's age range was from 15 years old to 18 years old. Each of the youth in this sample group expressed their interest in taking part in this study. The interviews ranged from being 30 minutes to one hour and took place on Inkwenkwezi school premises, in Du Noon. Out of the ten youth chosen, two participated in urban agriculture in Du Noon, and three were actively involved in urban agriculture in Joe Slovo Park.

The study then moved on to conduct face-to-face semi-structured interviews with the older youth aged 19 to 35. As it was mentioned previously, the older youth from Du Noon were found through acquiring a list of their names during the meeting and then using systematic sampling to obtain the sample group. The older youth in Joe Slovo Park were attained with the help of the Youth Development Forum who organized certain people at specific times, for individual interviews. This could have been potentially problematic as the Youth Development Forum could have presented youth who had a specific viewpoint in order to put a certain message across, and could potentially bias the study. However, the Joe Slovo Park youth's responses varied considerably between each other, and thus it is believed that no bias was found.

In total, 15 people were interviewed at each site thus making the total number of interviews for the older youth 30. Out of the 15 informants in Du Noon, seven were female and eight were male, and their ages ranged from 19 year olds to 30 year olds. The sample group within Joe Slovo Park also consisted of seven females and eight males, with age ranging from 19 year olds to 35 year olds. Out of the 15 youth in Joe Slovo Park, five were actively involved in the youth development urban agriculture project in that township. Their insight proved to be very useful as they too outlined their reasons for taking part in the project and the benefits which they received.

The individual interviews ranged from being 30 minutes to 1 hour 20 min. The interviews were conducted predominantly in English, however a field worker was present at all times in case the informant was having trouble to explain himself in that language. The interviews were initially tape recorded, however as they were conducted on street corners and in busy open spaces, it was found that the background noise over powered the interview, thus when the recording was played back it was difficult to clearly hear the interview. Therefore, during the interview detailed notes were made and these were later typed out.

The interviews were semi-structured in nature thus allowing the conversation to flow as it saw fit. The main themes which were drawn on to facilitate a discussion were similar to the themes

present in the focus groups. The youth were asked to describe their everyday experiences, from how they lived and with whom, to how they spent their time. They were also asked whether they were employed and if they had any additional livelihood and coping strategies. The discussion then progressed to exploring their perceptions of urban agriculture and finding out whether they perceived this activity to be interesting and beneficial. The scope of these questions was also used to find out whether the youth saw urban agriculture as a possible livelihood strategy, or whether the social aspect of this practice was better suited to their needs. The interviews were often concluded with a discussion on what motivating factors could be created in order to get the youth interested in urban agriculture.

3.4 Data Analysis

The data during the focus groups, the verbal questionnaires, and the semi-structured interviews was recorded, and then transcribed. In the case where it could not be recorded, detailed notes were taken and then typed up. In order to effectively analyze the research the data was then categorized into a series of themes, and responses from the informants were placed into the category in which they fit best. These responses were then compared against each other in order to understand the different perceptions, and additionally understand where they originated from. This in turn would allow for a greater understanding of why there were different perceptions towards urban agriculture.

The first objective of this research was to evaluate the City of Cape Town's urban agriculture projects in light of the needs and perceptions of the youth. By using all the available information found from this research, one could examine youth involvement in urban agriculture in the two study sites. The perceptions of the youth were also examined against those of the City Officials and Community Members to see whether the lived experience of the urban agriculture projects could fit into the youth's livelihood needs. The City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy of 2007 was also drawn on in order to understand whether there are routes open to allow the youth to partake in urban agriculture, or whether the policy creates a barrier stopping the youth from taking part in this activity. On the whole, by observing the youth's perceptions towards urban agriculture and understanding what shapes these perceptions, we can note whether the structures which were implemented in the urban agriculture projects are conducive to youth involvement.

The second part of this research had hoped to gain an in-depth understanding of the running and potential benefits of the urban agriculture projects within the two townships. This understanding was easily gained through the urban farmers', City Officials' and Community Members' perceptions which are clearly visible in the text, as through the questions which were asked they gave direct answers of their views to urban agriculture. The results of this will be shown in Chapter Six.

Lastly, the youth explained their views of urban agriculture and the government initiated projects, and the discourse presented what livelihood strategies they feel are most suited to them

and why. The data obtained in this instance was rich in detail, providing valuable information which helped to achieve the last two objectives of this research. The last objective was clearly met, with the youth eagerly providing detailed reasons for their views towards urban agriculture, along with reasons for why they would, or would not, become involved in this activity. This involvement factor generally resonated with the third objective of this research, which examined the youth's actual and aspired livelihood strategies. The youth disclosed what their livelihood and coping strategies were, and often they themselves spoke of whether their aspirations in this manner were complimentary to the practice of urban agriculture.

Chapters Five and Six draw on the results found within this study and attempt to provide a deep exploration of the objectives in order to answer the main aim of this research.

University of Cape Town

Chapter 4: Context of Research Sites

4.1 Introduction

Within South Africa, a middle income country, the vast majority of the country's population lives in poverty. In the City of Cape Town, a large poverty gap can be found between the wealthiest communities, who live in first world conditions, and the poor, who live in conditions which constitute a lack of formal housing and basic amenities. The latest available statistics show that there are 220 informal settlements and backyarder communities in Cape Town, and the City now faces the challenge of improving the lives of those who inhabit these informal dwellings (Pollack, 2012).

Historically, Cape Town was arguably the least racially segregated city within South Africa, prior to the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Saff, 1996:237). The Group Areas Act was a key Act within the Apartheid urban policy, and its main intent was to curb African urbanization, and in the case of urban dwellers, it aimed to residentially segregate all racial groups (Van Donk and Pieterse, 2006:127). Through the passing of this Act it became compulsory for people of all races to live in areas which were designated for their classification group. In 1951 the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act was passed, and this prohibited people from entering land or building on it without any lawful reasons. Power was given to Magistrates to forcibly remove squatters out of urban areas and into the surrounding townships or the homelands (Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2009:35).

During the period of 1948 to 1960 the South African government took great care to develop the townships as they were linked to the forced removals of black people from white suburbs (Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2009:40). In 1957 the Housing Act was established which created a housing board to dispense funds and deal with the housing of black people within the designated townships. However, from 1960 to 1975 township developments decreased as the South African government shifted its focus onto developing the homelands, and further restricting the movement of black people into white areas. The forceful removals of black urban dwellers out of cities and into the homelands proved to have little effect as black people continued to move into the urban areas in a bid to escape the poverty of the homelands (Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2009:43).

Since the 1970s, black people began to take illegal residence on the outskirts of cities even though this was strongly opposed by the City authorities through evictions and forced relocations to the homelands (Barry, 2006:629). During this time, Cape Town was experiencing its influx of black people due to an economic boom in the early 1970s. In addition, as the 1980s approached this influx of people changed as the new immigrants were Xhosa speakers who were coming from the previously independent homelands of the Transkei and the Ciskei in the Eastern Cape,

in a hope to escape the poverty found there (Barry and Rüther, 2005:43). An increase in black immigrants to the city thus resulted in overcrowding in the three existing townships of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu, and due to space constraints new squatter settlements were established. While it had been fairly common for coloured people to squat in the area, it had previously not been common for black people to do so. However, by 1983 the government was forced to make more land available for black settlements in Cape Town (Saff, 1996: 238). In addition, the government withdrew its involvement in township housing and offered the residents of townships to buy their own houses. The residents' response to this was poor, however after a substantial drop in price the residents were pressured to buy their houses and take ownership, thus dropping them further into poverty (Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2009:53).

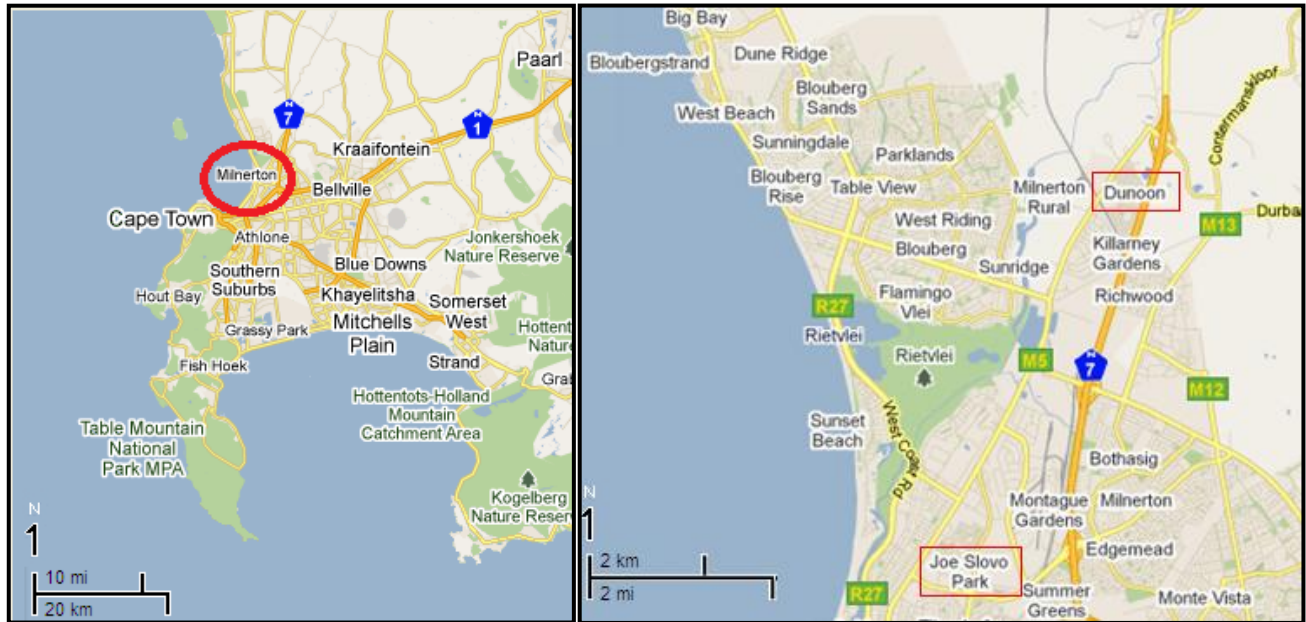
The implementation of the Group Areas Act had the most severe consequences for Cape Town, with the result being that by 1985 it became the most segregated major city in the country (Saff, 1996:237). The most noticeable factor was the relocation of poor communities to the fringes of urban areas, which also moved the poor away from job opportunities and access to amenities (Cameron, 2006:89). 'Townships were separated physically, socially and economically from the town' (Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2009:44). This meant that the poor had to travel long distances to get to work and brought about excessive additional costs thus making township residents more isolated and poorer (Atkinson and Marais, 2006:23). The townships themselves were categorized by having small, poor quality houses, poor services, infrastructure and amenities and poor transportation routes (Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2009:54). With the abolishment of influx control laws in 1986, the number of black people moving into Cape Town increased substantially, leading to the increase in the size and number of informal settlements in the City (Saff, 1996:237/238). The abolishment of the Group Areas Act in 1991 did little to ease this situation.

The increase in the black population of Cape Town had direct impacts for the City. Firstly, the size of squatter settlements increased as the number of informal structures grew. Secondly, the black population's search for additional available land often meant that squatter camps became established within the boundaries of the more affluent, 'white', areas. This therefore altered the racial zoning of the City. By 1991, three informal settlements had been established in affluent areas, with one of them being the Marconi Beam site, in Milnerton (Saff, 1996:239). The Marconi Beam site is important to explore as both Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park have their origins there.

Marconi Beam is an informal settlement which dates back to the 1970s (Barry and Rüther, 2005:44). Its complex history led to a relocation scheme which created, and increased the population of the two townships, Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park, which is key to this research. Understanding the history of these two townships is vital to understanding the people within them. These two townships can both be found within the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town and are situated to the East of Table View (Google maps, 2011). Du Noon is found to the north of

Killarney Gardens (Baker, 2006), while Joe Slovo Park is positioned to the south of that area. Figure 4 below illustrates the two townships location. It shows the location of the settlements with regards to their immediate surroundings, and then follows by illustrating the site on a city wide scale.

Figure 4: Location of Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park Townships within Cape Town



(Source: Google maps, 2011)

This chapter shall continue by giving a brief historical background to the relocation scheme found at Marconi Beam which created Joe Slovo Park, and added inhabitants to the already existing Du Noon township. This historical background is deemed important as it gives a detailed understanding to the political, economic and social forces at play within the two townships, and these both directly and indirectly influence the lives of the townships' residents. This section will then be followed by a description of the two townships as they are seen today.

4.2 The Marconi Beam Relocation Scheme

The relocation scheme found at Marconi Beam is imperative to explore as it created Joe Slovo Park, and added inhabitants to the Du Noon township. The Marconi Beam informal settlement was located 8km from the center of Cape Town in the middle class suburb of Milnerton. It bordered with the Milnerton Race Course and the Montague Gardens township, and its close proximity to the Cape Town City Centre made it a prime location for employment prospects (Barry, 2006:631).

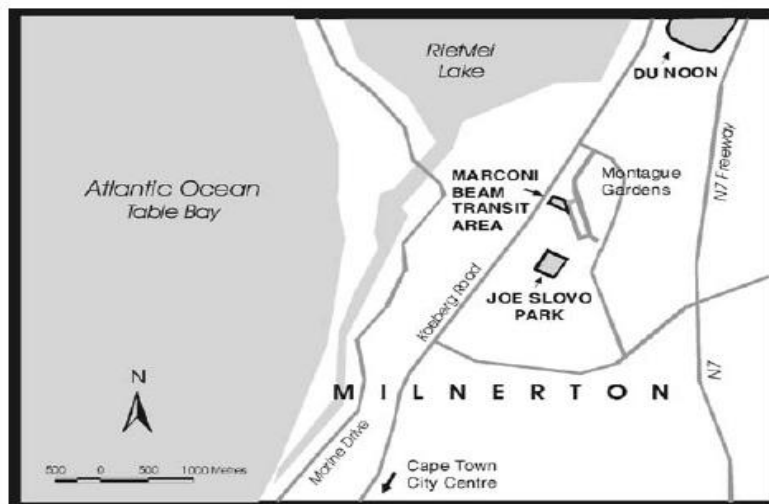
The Marconi Beam informal settlement developed on land that was formally owned by the telecommunications (Telkom) corporation and can be seen to have taken existence in the 1960s

as people were found living informally on the land then (Barry, 2006:631). Milnerton only provided two types of lodgings for black people before the repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991. These lodgings consisted of servants quarters in the backyards of white residences and single sex dormitories found at the Cape Turf Club which housed the grooms and stable hands. During this period, the families of the grooms and stable hands illegally moved into the neighboring 246.3 hectare Marconi Beam site in order to be closer to them (Saff, 1996:242/243). In August 1990 the population of the Marconi Beam site increased in number due to a strike which was held by the grooms at the race course. As a result of the strike, approximately 200 grooms moved out of their race course quarters, and into the already formed shacks at the Marconi Beam settlement in order to join their families or they erected new shacks to house themselves (Barry, 2006:631).

By November 1990 there were 109 shacks on the site (Barry, 2006:631). At this time the local municipality served a notice to the illegal land occupiers to remove any unauthorized structures on the land. The resulting effect was that the informal settlement was confined to a 8.02 hectare area of land, and was fenced in. This allowed the residents of Marconi Beam to reside on the parcel of land while other accommodation was being found (Barry, 2006: 632).

After several more negotiations it was decided in early 1995 that a 20 hectare piece of land on the Telkom site would be given over for the construction of a new housing project for the residents of the community. This piece of land has now been called Joe Slovo Park (McDonald, 2000:108). Additional people were to be moved to another settlement, called Du Noon, which was situated approximately 5km away (Barry, 2006:634). This shows that Du Noon pre-existed the Marconi Beam relocation, while Joe Slovo Park was initially formed through it. The location of the three sites is indicated in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Location of the Marconi Beam transit area, Joe Slovo Park and Du Noon



(Barry, 2006:633)

4.3 Du Noon

The Du Noon township has a shared history with the Joe Slovo Park township. It was part of the housing project which had been designed to accommodate people from Marconi Beam, and due to that housing scheme it also consists of both formal and informal housing structures. Du Noon is located five kilometers North of Marconi Beam and is in close proximity to Cape Town's industrial center, thus making it a popular location for lower income people to live in (Cooper, 2009:12).

According to the City of Cape Town's 2001 census data Du Noon had a population of 9036 people (City of Cape Town, 2001). However, recent statistics claim that the township consists of 50000 to 60000 people, showing a large growth rate in the recent years (Anova Health Institute, 2011). Given the uncertainty of the Anova Health Institute data the Census data will be used for the purpose of this research.

Out of this total population it has been estimated that 89 percent of the residents are black African, with the remaining percentage constituting coloured people (City of Cape Town, 2001). In 2001 it was seen that 46 percent of the population fell into the 18 to 34 age category with 33 percent of the population being younger than 18 years of age (City of Cape Town, 2001). This shows that a large proportion of the population can be termed as young adults. The main language spoken within the township is Xhosa (82 percent) with the rest communicating in Afrikaans, English and other African languages (City of Cape Town, 2001).

The township is characterized by extreme poverty and a high level of crime, both factors being brought about by the high unemployment rate, that being 80 percent (Masincedisane Advice Office, 2008). At the time of the 2001 census the unemployment rate was 53 percent. Employment opportunities were also seen to be differentiated by gender, as at that time 46 percent of men were unemployed as opposed to 61,7 percent of women being unemployed (Seale, 2009:6). In 2001 79 percent of the population fit into the 0 to 19200 Rand category for annual income (City of Cape Town, 2001). South Africa's Household Subsistence Level Poverty Line at that time was R1600 per month which is R19200 annually (Meth, 2006:410). This shows that 79 percent of the Du Noon population earned up to R1600 monthly thus describing them as being poor.

Du Noon consists of both formal 'brick' houses and an area consisting of informal housing structures. There are at least 27000 shacks, or 'wendy houses', found in this sector and they are built illegally behind the other, more solid brick and wood 'formal' houses (DiManno, 2010). The settlement does not only have a lack of formal housing for its residents. It also lacks or has a short supply of basic amenities for all of its residents. 51 percent of the residents had access to piped water in their dwelling, along with 93 percent of residents having access to a flush toilet (City of Cape Town, 2001).

Du Noon has one high school and three junior schools; however, there is still a large deficit of educational facilities such as a school care system and a proper library. The same can be said for Joe Slovo Park. There is also a small clinic which caters for the whole settlement, however, for such a large settlement that one small clinic is not enough (Masincedisane Advice Office, 2008). Lastly, there is a high level of violence existing in the township. This violence may take several forms, such as domestic violence, crime, child and elderly abuse, rape and murder (Masincedisane Advice Office, 2008). In 2008, Du Noon was the first area where xenophobic violence first erupted in Cape Town, before spreading to other townships in other areas of the city and country (Cooper, 2009:1). With all these hardships constituting everyday living in the township, it is clear that daily living can often be a struggle.

4.4 Joe Slovo Park

Section 4.2 provided an in-depth historical account of the origins of Joe Slovo Park. However, much has not been said about the more recent living conditions for the inhabitants of this township. As previously stated, Joe Slovo Park is a low-income housing scheme found in the historically white middle-income suburb of Milnerton in Cape Town (Robins, 2002:511). In 2001, the township had a population of 4869 people (City of Cape Town, 2008:5). In addition, 79 percent of the population was under the age of 35 showing a youthful population (City of Cape Town, 2001). Unfortunately more recent population statistics cannot be found. The majority of people living in the township, 96 percent can be categorized as black African, with the remaining 4 percent being coloured. The main language spoken in Joe Slovo Park is Xhosa, with 89 percent of the population conversing in it, and the remaining languages spoken comprise of Afrikaans, 4 percent, English, 1 percent and other African languages, for example Sesotho and Zulu, 6 percent (City of Cape Town, 2001).

The township is similar in nature to other informal settlements within South Africa including Du Noon. It houses an impoverished community with many of its population living under the poverty line (City of Cape Town, 2008:5). Here, unemployment, hunger and a lack of basic amenities are common. The housing project did render some improvements in living conditions, infrastructure and amenities, however, the 2001 Census shows that 9.6 percent of the population did not have access to potable water on site or in their dwelling, and 1.5 percent of the population did not have a flush or chemical toilet. In turn, 28 percent of households live in informal dwellings (City of Cape Town, 2008:7). Due to the settlements constant increase in size the living conditions have gone down significantly (Robins, 2002:512).

Unemployment is high in the area, with 42.61 percent of the population of economically active people being unemployed. In addition, 68 percent of the population falls into the category of households earning R0 to R19,200 annually (City of Cape Town, 2008:8). Once again South Africa's Household Subsistence Level Poverty Line of R1600 per month can be used as a comparison (Meth, 2006:410). This can show that the residents of this township do not live in extreme poverty, however it must be acknowledged that they are poor.

There are several opportunities available for the youth in the area. Sinenjongo High School and Marconi Beam Primary school are both found in the vicinity thus enabling the youth in the township to acquire a basic education (Google Maps, 2011). In addition, the Joe Slovo Park Youth Development Forum was formed in 2000 by the community leaders to address the developmental needs of the community. The forum is a non-profit organization acting in co-operation with the community leadership in Joe Slovo Park and overseen by the Blaauwberg Municipality Development Forum. The forum consists of 10 executive members and volunteers from the various youth structures in Joe Slovo Park. Their vision is to facilitate, empower, build capacity and develop the skills of all under resourced youth organizations in the Milnerton area (Brenner, 2002).

In order to facilitate a better comparison between the two study sites a table with key indicators for Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park is shown in Figure 6. The similar histories, geographies and demographics make the comparison these two sites with two different urban agriculture projects very useful.

Figure 6: Table showing Key Indicators for Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park acquired from the City of Cape Town's 2001 Census Data

Key Indicators	Du Noon	Joe Slovo Park
Population (in 2001)	9036	4869
Age (% of under 35s)	79.53%	78.83%
Race	89% Black African; 11% Coloured	96 % Black African; 4% Coloured
Language	82% Xhosa; 12% Afrikaans; 5% Other African; 1% English	89% Xhosa; 4% Afrikaans; 1% English; 6% Other
% Unemployed	80%	42.61%
Access to flush/ chemical toilet	93%	98.5%
Access to Potable water	51%	90.4%

(City of Cape Town, 2001; 2008)

The City of Cape Town views urban agriculture as a suitable strategy for the vulnerable residents within these two townships. They believe that urban agriculture will be both an economic development practice, which can create employment for the people who partake in it, and a food security strategy which can increase the residents' food security and nutrition levels (City of

Cape Town, 2007:3). However, the literature presents other benefits which can be derived from urban agriculture which the City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy over looks. These benefits fall into the categories of social benefits, health and well-being benefits and environmental benefits (May and Rogerson, 1995; Lado, 1999; Møller, 2005; Nugent, 2005; Hovorka, et. al. 2009).

On the other hand, several authors argue that the benefits derived from urban agriculture are actually very small (Smith, 1999; Webb, 2000; 2011). Thornton (2008) argues that 'the impact of urban agriculture in poor households in South Africa appears to be limited' as few people are involved in this practice. Other authors emphasize this viewpoint and argue that the case for urban agriculture has been overstated as the benefits derived are actually very small (Ellis and Sumberg, 1998; Crush, et. al. 2010; Zezza and Tasciotti, 2010; Web, 2011).

The following chapter will explore these varied perceptions of urban agriculture, and provide an in-depth account of the urban agriculture projects in the two study sites. This results chapter will aim to understand why people have become involved in the urban agriculture projects, and whether their reasons for becoming involved match the perceived benefits that the City believes urban agriculture provides. In addition, the urban farmers' perspectives of the youth will be examined in order to explore whether the urban farmers themselves are a barrier to youth involvement in this practice.

Chapter 5: The Influence of the City and Existing Farmers on Youth Involvement

The following two chapters will explore the results which were obtained from the empirical research. This chapter has been divided into two main themes. The first theme focuses on gaining an in-depth understanding of the two urban agriculture projects. In addition, detail will be provided on how and why the projects and the policy were established and what support they receive. These factors are important to understand because they examine the manner in which the City of Cape Town hopes to engage with the youth, and whether the City is responsive to their lived experience.

The second theme in this chapter explores the urban farmers' perceptions of the two urban agriculture projects. The reasons for this exploration are two-fold. Firstly, the urban farmers' perceptions are examined in order to establish whether their lived experience of the urban agriculture projects matches the policy's perceived lived experience of the projects. Secondly, the urban farmers' perceptions are engaged with in order to establish whether they themselves play any role in youth involvement.

5.1 Origin of the Projects

In order to gain an understanding of the urban agriculture projects it is necessary to explore the context in which the two projects were formed. This following section will explore how the two projects came about, what involvement the City of Cape Town officials had in starting up the projects and what impact the Urban Agriculture Policy of 2007 has had on these specific projects.

The information regarding these two projects has been acquired from several sources. The main source has been the City of Cape Town itself, as numerous City Officials from different departments have been interviewed, in order to provide an understanding of the two projects. Their opinions and views will be shown throughout this section.

5.1.1 The Urban Agriculture Policy of 2007

5.1.1.1 Formulating the Policy

The Urban Agriculture Policy of Cape Town was passed in 2007. Prior to the policy being conceptualized and put into place the City of Cape Town had been involved in 33 urban agriculture projects in the city. In addition, national and provincial governmental bodies were also implementing food production activities, while several NGOs were developing Cape Town's urban agricultural sector. During that time it was noted that all the programmes lacked municipal

coordination and a common vision of urban agriculture, and thus each of them were operating in their own vacuum. This situation led to the recognition that a common policy was needed which could address urban agriculture in the City, and in turn would allow for collaboration between all the municipal departments (Visser, 2006:48).

The policy formulation process began in 2002, where the Economic and Human Development Department took the lead, and called together an Urban Agricultural Summit in order to start a discussion on the importance of creating an Urban Agriculture Policy for the City of Cape Town. The Economic and Human Development Department were the key facilitators as urban agriculture was a part of their departmental mandate, due to its economic development potential. The urban agriculture Summit informed the development of the policy. The main result from the Summit was a mandate for the City to compile an urban agriculture policy and assistance programme for the urban farmers, and the first draft was assembled in 2002. The next phase of the policy formulation process included a background study and concept clarification, a detection of the current status of urban agriculture in the City, an analysis of the players and stakeholders, along with an invitation to comment on the draft policy (Visser, 2006:48). The second Urban Agriculture Summit was held in 2003 and valuable inputs, for example a better understanding of urban agriculture and the urban agriculture projects, were gained from the discussions (De Satgé and Boyce, 2008:6). In 2006 a final draft of the policy was submitted to the City Council for acceptance (Visser, 2006:48).

The policy provides a framework which guides the City departments into cooperation with one another, with a specific focus being placed on cooperation with the Western Cape Department of Agriculture. It is a guiding tool for all role players to align and synergize, and allows for cooperative governance and strategic partnerships to emerge (City of Cape Town, 2007: 2). The policy's purpose is not to encroach onto other spheres of government or to change any by-laws or regulations. Its first and foremost aim is to give formal recognition to the practice of urban agriculture within the City of Cape Town (City of Cape Town, 2007).

The Economic and Human Development Department was key in pushing the policy through its formulation phase, up until its implementation. Due to their lobbying skills, the development of the policy was finally acknowledged to have its main focus on poverty alleviation and economic development (De Satgé and Boyce, 2008:6). An Urban Agriculture Unit was also formed, which consisted of three people (City Official 1), and it was located within the Economic and Human Development Unit, thus this Unit also advocated urban agriculture as being an important strategy for poverty alleviation and economic development. The Unit received a yearly budget of R250 000 and this was used to buy compost, seeds, tools and equipment for the gardening project (City Official 1). The Urban Agriculture Policy states that urban agriculture can play an important role in poverty alleviation, one which can improve the people's nutritional status and increase the household's food security, along with economic development, as the practice can become commercially sustainable and thus promote job creation and income generation (City of Cape Town, 2007:2). It is again understood that the emphasis on these specific economic factors

is a result of the Policy having been formulated and implemented in the Department of Economic and Human Development. This framing can be problematic for the practice of urban agriculture as urban agriculture is understood solely in an economic manner. This excludes the other benefits of urban agriculture which the literature presents, namely the social benefits and the health and well-being benefits.

5.1.1.2 The City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy's Understanding of 'Youth'

The policy aims to support food production in urban areas, and it focuses on 'targeting groups of beneficiaries on the basis of vulnerability, with priority being given to initiatives involving women and children, youth and the differently abled' (City of Cape Town, 2007:3). This is the only section of the policy where the youth are mentioned, and a clear explanation of who the youth are is not provided. The only mention made is that the youth are termed to be a vulnerable group of people (City of Cape Town, 2007:3). The literature section suggested that this framing of the youth can bring about policy strategies which focus on empowering the youth as the youth are seen as mobilisers within society (Lehman, et. al. 2002; Jennings, et. al. 2006). However, throughout the course of this research it became apparent that the term 'youth' was often understood in different ways which thus brought about different strategies for the youth (Rice, 1996; Soudien, 2001; Morch, 2003; Austin, 2004; Kaufman and Stavrou, 2004). This made it difficult to fully comprehend who this group of people was understood to be, and how this group was then engaged with in the policy realm and in the urban agriculture projects. This in turn tends to make one wonder how the policy is capable to engage with the youth, if the youth as a group are not fully understood.

It has already been mentioned that the City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy of 2007 does not explicitly define who the youth are within its document, however various City Officials have highlighted their need for getting the 'youth' involved in this activity (City Official 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6). The reasons for prioritizing the youth is potentially because the youth are seen as a vulnerable group of people, and several City Officials argue that this practice could be of great benefit to them (City Officials 1; 2; 3; 4). Due to the above reason they place a lot of emphasis on having the youth involved (City Officials 1; 2; 4).

The policy's vision mentions who they hope to involve in urban agriculture, and this includes the 'poorest of the poor' and the 'previously disadvantaged' (City of Cape Town, 2007:2). It also emphasizes the need to target 'groups of beneficiaries on the basis of vulnerability', and it specifically mentions that these groups include the youth (City of Cape Town, 2007:3). From this it can be inferred that the youth are seen as a vulnerable group by advocates of this policy, however more understanding to the term 'youth' is not provided.

Jennings, et. al emphasized the importance of viewing the youth as agents of change within society (Jennings, et. al. 2006:31). The youth were seen as vulnerable; however, the literature

argues that youth empowerment programmes could individually empower the youth and help them act in more positive self-determined ways (Lehman, et. al. 2002; Jennings, et. al. 2006). In this manner the youth were constructed as a group of people in need of empowerment and this viewpoint is reflected in the City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy.

In order to further understand what the South African governmental officials mean by the term youth, it is useful to examine other documents which draw attention to the youth. In 2009, the National Youth Commission, which gave the National definition of the youth, merged together with the Umsobomvu Youth Fund and created the National Youth Development Agency. This Agency is aimed at creating and promoting coordination in youth development matters and empowers all South African youth socially and economically in order to create youth development for sustainable livelihoods (National Youth Development Agency, 2012). From this explanation it can be observed that sustainable livelihoods are a key topic of interest when referring to the youth of South Africa. A second document, the National Youth Policy, is key to understanding the South African youth as this policy often informs other policies and documents with regards to the youth. The National Youth Policy refers to the youth as being young people who fall into the age group of 14 to 35 years (National Youth Commission, 1997). This definition is based on the mandate of the National Youth Commission Act of 1996 (National Youth Commission, 1997). In addition to defining a large age category, the National Youth Policy document of 2009 - 2014 segments the age population into age target groups in order to recognize the significant differences that exist between the youth. This age range therefore takes into account that young people are separated by age, gender, social class, and geographical location, to name a few, and should therefore not be seen as a homogenous group (Netshitenzhe, 2008:11). In addition, this document states that it aims to take into account historical as well as present day conditions, in light of the fact that historical imbalances in the country are yet to be addressed (Netshitenzhe, 2008:11).

Understanding the concept of youth becomes even more difficult when additional factors of historical imbalances are addressed. It has been stated that the youth are a 'social construction', one which has different meanings for different sections of the population (Mkandawire, 2002:5). This above definition may seem to provide a detailed description of the youth, however, it must be acknowledged that the youth are generally stated in numerical terms of age, namely a group consisting of 14 to 35 year olds. Through looking at other policies which mention the youth, for example the Constitution of the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League (ANC Youth League Constitution, 2004:3), it becomes apparent that the main understanding of the youth is viewed in terms of the age category, with the above mentioned differential factors being disregarded. The term 'youth' is a complex category and should not be simplified to a set of numbers, however, in reality that is what occurs. Further information relating to the understanding of the youth is brought about through public perception and this incorporates the view that the youth are a vulnerable, marginalized group (Mkandawire, 2002:5). This idea that

the youth are vulnerable is mentioned within the Urban Agriculture Policy, however a clear understanding of why they are vulnerable is not provided there.

Vulnerability is often viewed in terms of economic participation and poverty, however other aspects of vulnerability are often emphasized and these include education, violence and health, especially the risk of HIV/AIDs (Farrington, 1991; Fitzpatrick and Boldizar, 1993; Kaufman and Stavrou, 2004; Moore, 2004; Simbayi, et. al. 2004; Simbayi, et. al. 2005). In order to further describe the youth they will be examined through looking at their level of vulnerability when searching and acquiring employment.

Over the recent years, the escalating level of youth unemployment within South Africa has been a key topic of interest within governmental documents, newspaper articles and academic journals (ILO, 2005; Banerjee, et. al. 2007; Bennell, 2007; Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 2007). The South African National Treasury released a discussion paper last year, and in it they stated that approximately 42 percent of youth under the age of 30 are unemployed. This classifies the youth as vulnerable, as a large number of this population is not acquiring the skills or experience needed to drive the economy forward and to sustain themselves (National Treasury, 2011:5). Newspaper sources have also emphasized the youth's level of unemployment, with one stating that 51 percent of youth aged 15 to 24 are unemployed (Jones, 2011), and another stating that over half of 18 to 25 years old are unemployed (Price, 2012).

Unemployment is a major challenge facing the youth (Department of Social Development, 2009:15). Recently, within South Africa, a discussion has emerged surrounding the proposed youth wage subsidy as arguments are found which oppose the idea that this is the only solution to youth unemployment (Thabileng, 2010:1). However, this subsidy has been proposed as it addresses and hopes to decrease the vulnerability of the youth, as they are seen as vulnerable school leavers, due to the poor education level in the country (Thabileng, 2010:2).

In addition, the lack of available work experience once again places them at a disadvantage. What is apparent is that youth are again viewed as vulnerable due to their lack of being able to find employment. It is believed that due to this reason, the youth have been included as a vulnerable group within the City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy, as urban agriculture is viewed to be a potential livelihood approach for these vulnerable youth, and thus a form of employment. This in turn also shows that the Joe Slovo Park youth development urban agriculture project was conceptualized with the same views in mind.

However, even though policies and projects are being created to decrease the youth's vulnerability, these policies and projects often do not gain a full understanding of the youth themselves. For example, a lack of information is found on the position of the youth within their household structures. Similarly a lack of information is found within the City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy, a key document referred to in this research, regarding the youth's own specific needs as a group of people. This therefore, reinforces the fact that the definition of who

the youth are within South Africa is insufficient, as the youth are categorized by varying age groups, or by different levels of vulnerability. Rice (1996) and Austin (2004) reinforce this fact by arguing that the youth have a specific and unique youth culture (Rice, 1996; Austin, 2004).

Essentially, the identities and experiences that young people develop are not homogenous in a specific age group, but rather are personally developed. The characteristics of youth are shaped by a range of external characteristics which shape their experiences and their perceptions of external occurrences. These personalities and experiences are developed through processes determining social status, their upbringing and the geographic location in which this occurs (Soudien, 2001:314). The key aspect mentioned within the literature is that 'adolescence is neither a homogenous stage of development nor is it experienced uniformly' (Brown, 2001:2). This reinforces the fact that it is difficult to place a singular category on a term such as youth, without taking into account the more complex reality.

It can be noted that age is seen to be a common way in which to describe the youth within a national context. It has been stated that the Cape Town City Officials view the youth in light of the National Youth Policy, however, even though the policy includes other factors to categorizing the youth, for instance the level of vulnerability, age is still the most commonly noted factor (City Official 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6). It can be assumed that the Cape Town Urban Agriculture Policy of 2007 would also recognize the youth as being a group of people between the ages of 14 to 35. However, it has already been stated that understanding the youth as a group of people within a certain age group can be problematic because age is not an effective way in which to describe a person. Other important characteristics which should be included are social status, race, and education level, to name a few.

5.1.1.3 Examining the City of Cape Town's Urban Agricultural Policy

Frayne, et. al. (2009) question the role that the Urban Agriculture Unit can play if it is housed in the Economic and Human Development Unit, as doubts are raised as to whether 'the Urban Agriculture Unit is adequately empowered to achieve its strategic objectives' and to intervene in critical areas such as planning (Frayne, et. al. 2009:27). In addition, since the Economic and Human Development Unit was the key role player in formulating the policy and the Urban Agriculture Unit one can note that urban agriculture is viewed more as economic agriculture, in which food is a market commodity, and less through the lens of food and nutritional security which emphasizes the subsistence sphere of food production (Frayne, et. al. 2009:29). This could potentially exclude a number of people from becoming involved in urban agriculture as framing this activity in this manner could possibly not match their needs. The literature suggests that there are more benefits which can be gained from urban agriculture, and these encompass psychological and health benefits and social benefits (Malakoff, 1995; May and Rogerson, 1995; Møller, 2005; Nugent, 2005; Hovorka, et. al. 2009).

In addition the policy recognizes the necessity of creating linkages between urban agriculture and other urban policies, as shown in Figure 7, in order to allow for urban agriculture to meet its

strategic objectives. Siganda (2011), the Director of Economic and Human Development, explains that this means that the Urban Agriculture Policy has the potential to view urban agriculture, and the people who practice it, through different lenses which would in turn place emphasis on different matters and reap different benefits for the people involved. This means that urban agriculture has the potential to be connected to other policies and strategies, and should be connected to these in order to meet its overall aims. Figure 7 shows a list of policies and strategies which could be connected to urban agriculture, and thus in turn benefit this practice in different manners.

Figure 7: Urban Agriculture's Possible Linkages to other Policies and Strategies

Integrated Development Plan (IDP)
Land Reform Strategy
Integrated Food Security Strategy for South Africa (2002)
Poverty Alleviation Strategies (Province and City)
National and WC Agricultural Development Strategies
Economic and Human Development Strategy of the City
LED strategies for City districts
Integrated Human Settlement Strategy (City)
Urban Renewal Programme (Khayelitsha, Mitchells Plain)
Spatial Plans and Zoning Schemes (Land use management)
National Health Act and Regulations
National Environmental Management Act
Biodiversity Strategy of the City

(Siganda, 2011)

Within Figure 7 each policy and strategy has the potential to include urban agriculture within its framework. For example, if the Urban Agriculture Policy were to integrate with Urban Health Policies, or in the National Health Act and Regulations as shown in Figure 7, then health, and not only economic development, will be brought to the forefront as more importance would be given to promoting better health through urban agriculture. In order for this to happen representatives

from both of these departments would have to collaborate together when creating future urban agriculture projects, and when discussing the existing ones.

The main purpose is to bring together the many role-players and to focus all efforts collectively to develop urban agriculture in a sustainable way in the city.

(Siganda, 2011)

However, the policy does not explicitly create these linkages, as it only mentions the importance of having them. This in turn can limit the role this policy can play in addressing the needs of the urban farmers in Cape Town for it has a limiting capacity in help them as it only addresses the issues of food security and economic development (Frayne, et. al. 2009:29). It must be acknowledged that a person with poor health will already have problems in becoming involved in urban agriculture, due to their physical capacity. By only framing urban agriculture as an economic development and food security strategy, the potential knowledge of improving ones health through this practice is lost. Only once the person becomes involved in this practice will he realize the health benefits which are gained. This lack of information thus limits the role that urban agriculture can play in improving a person's quality of life and thus in turn decreases the value gained through implementing this practice.

One key aspect within the policy is that the City of Cape Town creates an enabling environment helping people to take up the practice of urban agriculture. One of the City Officials stated that 'The policy is an important document as it is a direction giving document and also formalizes the support that the City can and should provide to urban farming initiatives' (City Official 1). In this sense, it is clear to see that the City intends to offer support to the projects, but the City Officials' state that this support will be provided as long as there is no negative impact to the lives of the citizens in the near proximity (City Official 1; 3). The following quotation provides this City Official's vision and main aim of the urban agriculture projects.

The vision for these projects is simple. The main aim is that the urban farmers become self-sustainable, and through selling their crops and acquiring an income they can expand their gardens. The ultimate goal is for the emerging farmers to move onto bigger sites where they can eventually start commercial faming. The people, however, are still at the beginning stages where they are mainly growing crops for self-consumption.

(City Official 1)

The City Officials state that it is very easy for a person to become involved in urban agriculture; however the reality of this statement will be discussed in Section 5.2. Plots of land are given out to interested people on a first come, first serve basis and no notice is taken of whether the plot is to be owned by an individual person or shared between a group of people. The City Officials involved state that their role is to enable people to have a plot of land, and then the people themselves decide how the land will be used (City Official 1). Not much is done to ensure that

all people find out about this activity as one City Official stated that at the moment there is no free land available to create new plots, and so they do not see the need to create more information about this practice. This City Official says that in the future when more land is available then a more efficient way of giving the residents a plot will be created (City Official 4). This, however, contradicts the previous statement made which states that it is easy for a person to become involved.

In terms of support, the City gives assistance to urban farmers and food growers. The type and extent of assistance depends on specific criteria, which are shown in Figure 8. As the table shows, the type of assistance one would receive depends on the type of urban farming that is taking place. These different types of farming were defined in the Urban Agriculture Policy of 2007, and were conceptualized by the Provincial Department of Agriculture (Project Informant, 4).

The City officials stated that community urban agriculture was present in the two townships where this research was done, however, within Du Noon each of the plots was farmed individually (City Official 1; 2; 3; 4). Community based activities were defined by the City of Cape Town to be 'a group of people from the community that came together to produce food collectively for themselves or for a community institution' (City of Cape Town, 2011). However, these individual people, who were understood as community farmers, did not receive all the items on the table listed under community gardens. Instead, a startup kit was given in order to help the community start their gardening project. One startup kit was provided for five people. The City Officials argued that since the urban farmers were in their beginning stages of urban agriculture then a startup kit provided a sufficient level of support (City Official 2; 3).

The startup kit included the following items:

- Tools (pick axe, spade, rake, watering can)
- Production inputs (seeds, compost)
- Skills development (technical and business training)
- Mentoring and advice

The last point, mentoring and advice, was stated as being the most important aid given by one of the project initiators (City Official 2). This advice is given personally, by the City Officials visiting the site, and it is provided through the use of information booklets which give a step-by-step guide to urban agriculture. These booklets were written in both English and Xhosa and are perceived to be crucial to the people who wish to start urban agriculture as they provide information on how to acquire land and tools for farming, and most importantly, who to speak to regarding urban agriculture (City Official 2). These booklets do, however, assume high levels of literacy as no pictures are found which show a potential urban farmer where to go and what to do

when trying to take part in this practice. The only pictures found are seen more as aids with which to entice people to join this activity as the pictures show smiling farmers holding their produce or working in a garden (City of Cape Town, 2011).

Figure 8: Type of Assistance shown per Category

Type Of Assistance	Home Gardens	Community Gardens	Micro Farmers	Small Emerging Farmers
A Access to land				
• Acquisition of land		X	X	X
• Earthworks		X	X	
B Infrastructure				
• Water supply including boreholes/well points		X	X	
• Electricity supply		X		
• Roads		X		
• Fencing		X		
• Irrigation systems		X	X	
• Containers		X	X	X
• Animal sheds		X	X	
• Toilets		X	X	
C Tools / equipment / implements				
• Hand tools (rakes, spades, pliers, etc.)		X	X	
• Water pumps		X	X	
• Power equipment (e.g. power hoes/rotovators)		X	X	X
• Wheelbarrows		X	X	
• Watering cans		X	X	
D Production inputs				
• Seeds / seedlings	X	X	X	
• Fertilizer / compost	X	X	X	
• Pesticides		X		
• Fuel		X		
• Water		X		
• Electricity		X		
• Animal fodder (organic waste)		X	X	X
• Veterinary products (animal health care)		X	X	X
E Capacity building and skills development				
• Technical skills training (e.g. how to plant)	X	X	X	X
• Business administration training (e.g. record keeping)	X	X	X	X
• Entrepreneurial training (e.g. business plan)	X	X	X	X
• Mentoring and continuous operational advice	X	X	X	X
• Information documents / data basis	X	X	X	X
• Marketing advice	X	X	X	X
• Environmental health advice	X	X	X	X
• Irrigation systems advice	X	X	X	X

(City of Cape Town, 2007:8)

Previously there seemed to be no explicit youth focus for the urban farms, as the urban farms were initiated under the Urban Agricultural Policy's understanding and thus were created for the 'vulnerable groups' who wanted to become involved. The majority of urban agriculture projects were initiated because there was an expressed interest from select groups of people within the township, and these groups of people were generally older people. However, one of the groups who expressed interest was the youth from Joe Slovo Park. A City Official stated that this youth development project within Joe Slovo Park has been very successful, and he states that due to this project the City has placed a stronger focus on having the youth involved in other urban agriculture projects (City Official 2).

The following section will explore the two urban agriculture projects that are important to this research in order to understand why they were implemented, and how they are being presented by the City of Cape Town. In addition, this section will also shed some light on what impact the policy has in reality and how this affects the people who are involved in this practice.

5.1.2 The Urban Agriculture Projects on the Two Sites

5.1.2.1 The Du Noon Urban Agriculture Project

The Du Noon Urban Agriculture Project was initiated in 2003 by a group of women living in Du Noon. This group of women made up the Du Noon Care Group, who focused on incorporating members who had TB and HIV/AIDS. These women approached a City Official in the City of Cape Town's Economic and Human Development Department and asked to be given a piece of land on which they could grow some crops. This group, along with a few other members, had begun farming on the land surrounding the township, and were now seeking some assistance (City Official 4). They asked the City Official for support in setting up a fence around the land for security purposes, and to help acquire running water. This City Official decided that the way forward would be to demarcate a specific site in the township on which urban agriculture could be practiced as he saw that there was the demand for such a project from several other residents (City Official 1).

The primary aim of the urban agriculture project according to the City was to enable household food security. However, there was hope that in the future the project's aim would grow to incorporate an economic aspect (income generation). In order for this to happen the farmers would need to become more sustainable in this practice and move from subsistence farming to a more economically focused commercial selling of their crops, as noted in the model proposed by Abalimi Bezekhaya in Chapter 2 Section 2.4.1. However, the project is still subsistence based, and there is no large scale sale of produce. This shows a mismatch in what the City Officials expected and hoped for the project, and what actually happened in reality.

It was important to note that this project was initiated before the Urban Agriculture Policy of 2007 came into being, and so this project, and others which were initiated before 2007, contributed to the development of the Urban Agriculture Policy. The Urban Agriculture Officer for the City of Cape Town was able to use his knowledge acquired from assisting in the Du Noon project, which pre-existed the policy, and inform the policy from a practical perspective as he was present during the initial conceptualization of the policy (City Official 1).

The specific site in Du Noon was chosen by the Economic and Human Development Department, and they were assisted by the Town Planning and Property Management departments. Four possible locations were identified, but within one month, three of those locations had been filled up with informal housing, and so only one possible location remained. This suggested that the City's assurance that there was plenty of available land was problematic. This land was found under the Eskom power line servitude, and after receiving approval from

Eskom to use the land, it became the site on which the urban agriculture projects would take place (City Official 1). 17 plots of land were demarcated for this activity and permits were issued to 17 people allowing them to grow vegetables on the sites. These 17 people were the first people to express interest in this activity and thus they were awarded the plot. It can be noted that the plots were awarded on a first come first serve basis. Those who did not receive a plot, but expressed interest in having one were placed on a waiting list and would be given a plot once one of the 17 plots was vacated. Each plot was individually fenced off to provide security for the people farming on it (City Official 1).

The City Official stated that it was not difficult for people to acquire a plot of land (City Official 1). The interested resident had to set up a meeting with the Economic and Human Development Department and if a plot was available it would be given to them. On receiving a plot the urban farmers were only allowed to grow crops on the land. If they wanted to rear livestock as well they would have to obtain a second permit which allowed them to do so. However, the reality in receiving a plot is quite different. There are only 17 plots of land found in Du Noon and each plot is currently under the ownership of an urban farmer. The City wants to increase the number of plots available for urban farming; however, City owned land in the area is very scarce (City Official 1). This means that if someone wants to acquire an urban agriculture plot in Du Noon, they will have to wait until one of the 17 plots is vacated. This shows that acquiring a plot of land is actually a difficult matter. In addition, the City stated that they will create more urban agriculture projects in different areas as soon as more land is acquired (City Official 1).

An Official from the Provincial Department of Agriculture stated that they have allocated R176 000 to be used for the Du Noon urban agriculture project. This money has been allocated for the period of 2011 to 2012, and is an open budget, meaning that if the money runs out then more can be allocated. There are currently talks underway to expand the time frame to incorporate funding for 2013. This money was put towards chicken manure, training and vegetable gardening. In addition they also plan to acquire and fence off more land so that more people can get involved in the project (City Official 4). The Economic and Human Development Department also gave support on a demand driven basis. They provided seeds, compost and tools. Compost was given once a year due to its high cost. Receiving compost once a year can be seen as problematic as the soil quality in the two sites is very poor. The urban farmers have very low incomes and thus would not be able to buy more compost due to the high price.

Training was also provided for the urban farmers in order to teach the people how to farm, and how to develop their initiative into an income generating activity (City Official 1). This training focused on helping the urban farmers develop technical skills, for example teaching them how to plant, and what to plant in the different seasons. In addition it helped the urban farmers develop business skills by teaching them how to formulate business plans and keep records of their produce (City of Cape Town, 2011). Initially, it had not been the farmers' intention to sell their produce, however, urban agriculture was framed within the Policy to be an income generating activity, and thus the City Officials stated that they felt the need for the urban farmers' to sell

their produce (City Official 2; 3). This shows a disconnect between the policy and the urban farmers desires for urban agriculture and questions the appropriateness of the policy to the lived experience of the urban farmers. It has been stated that the responsibility to give support to the residents taking part in the urban agriculture projects falls under the City's jurisdiction; however, the provincial government gives support when it is necessary. One has to question whether this support is beneficial to the urban farmers as it is provided with the intention for the farmers to become more commercial in this practice, even though the farmers do not express the desire to do so.

At the moment, two main challenges experienced by the project have been observed. The first lies in the fact that the urban farmers have extended their gardens without the City's permission, and have begun to farm on land which does not belong to the City of Cape Town, but is privately owned. These urban farmers are ones who own a plot of land given by the City, however, new urban farmers, ones who are not part of the City's urban agriculture project, have been seen to farm on this encroached land as well. This can be seen as very detrimental to the rest of the community who are waiting for more plots to open up so that they too can start farming. What can be noted is that the land is not being equally distributed as some farmers have access to two pieces of land, the City of Cape Town plots and the encroached land, while other farmers have access to nothing. Unfortunately, since the current urban farmers are expanding their land, this means that less land is available, in a land scarce area, for new plots.

Secondly, most of the urban farmers are not honoring their permit conditions. They either pass on, or sell their permits to new people, without the City Officials being informed, and this immediately impacts on the process of receiving the land on a first come first serve basis. The urban farmers' reasons for doing this are explored later in this chapter in section 5.2 which focuses on these urban farmers' lived experience. The urban farmers who own the plots of land have also started to build residential structures on the plots of land, even though the land should be solely used for farming purposes (City Official 1). The City Officials are fully aware of this occurrence; however, nothing is being done on their side to put a stop to this. The reason for this is unclear; however it could be a result of a limited capacity in their offices. It seems that with these constraints it may be very difficult for the project to expand and incorporate more plots and allow for more people to join this activity.

This could be very problematic for the youth, because if the youth are not acquaintances of these urban farmers, then they have no hope of receiving a plot of land in Du Noon. The City Officials have also not done much to incorporate the youth into these urban agriculture projects. They have called together a meeting with the youth to explain the project to them, but as there are no available plots of land on which to farm, it is not possible to include the youth into this urban agriculture project. One has to question the reasons behind the City Officials trying to inform the youth about urban agriculture, when there are no plots available on which to accommodate the youth in this practice.

5.1.2.2 The Joe Slovo Park Urban Agriculture Project

The Joe Slovo Park urban agriculture project was also initiated on a demand driven basis, which means that the Joe Slovo Park residents expressed an interest to take part in urban agriculture if the facility to do so was made available. However, this project was different from the Du Noon one, as the youth were the ones who approached the community leaders and the Community Development Forum, and asked them to create youth skill development projects.

Community Development Forums, along with community leaders, are important people within a township as they are able to voice the concerns of the township population. They allow for a stable platform to emerge on which new ideas can be promoted (Community Member 10). The Joe Slovo Park Youth Forum was formed in 2010, and the main reason for its formation was the fact that many young people lacked basic education within the township, and were subsequently unemployed. The main aim of the forum was to create an environment where the youth could network with one another, and to allow for the forum leaders to assist with skill development initiatives (Community Member 9).

In January 2011, the Joe Slovo Park Community Development Forum requested to sit in on a stakeholders meeting with the City of Cape Town. The Community Development Forum consisted of a group of people who were elected by the Joe Slovo Park community and their role was to create initiatives to help develop the community. During these meetings there were numerous discussions surrounding urban farming as the City was in the process of finding a new site for an urban farming project (City Official 1; 2; 3; and Community Member 7). Community Member 7 notes that it was the City who gave the community leaders the idea to start urban agriculture, and that the community leaders then proposed to start it in Joe Slovo Park (Community Member 7). This urban agriculture project was created with the view of it being a youth development urban agriculture project (Community Member 7).

The reason for including the youth was due to the fact that during that time period the youth in Joe Slovo Park had been complaining that 'they were bored' and the community leaders began to worry that the youth would be up to no good and become a concern within the township. The Community Development Forum were thus searching for initiatives with which they could occupy the youth, and help them with skill development initiatives. In light of the high youth unemployment levels in Cape Town, and the rest of South Africa, the community development forum understood the importance and benefits that having a youth development project could bring. They, therefore, decided to start the urban farm as one of the youth development projects, with other projects revolving around sporting projects, cultural groups and initiatives to help the old aged (Community Member 7). Urban agriculture was chosen as a suitable youth development activity because the City provided support with the implementation and upkeep of this project (Community Member 7).

The City of Cape Town took a very active role in starting up the urban farm in Joe Slovo Park. They were able to find a piece of vacant land which was on the premises of a local crèche,

Masikhululeke. An agreement was made with the owners of the crèche as they had to give permission to the growing of crops on their land, and the use of water and electricity. The crèche decided that they would allow the youth to plant and grow crops on its land, and in return some of the crops would go to the crèche and help with the feeding of the young children there. The remainder of the crops would be distributed to old age homes, other crèches, people with HIV/AIDS, and if there was any surplus the soup kitchens (City Official 2). No surplus crops were grown for sale as the aim of this project was to help the community with food security, and not economic development.

The Department of Economic and Human Development funded the tools, spade, compost and water, in line with the support stated in the Urban Agriculture Policy (City of Cape Town, 2007:8). One of the City Officials stated that at present most crèches in townships do not pay for water as they are exempt from doing so, however, this may change in the future (City Official 2). It could be perceived that in the future if the crèche has to pay for water then this would potentially become the City's responsibility as the urban farm is currently supported by the City of Cape Town. The Provincial Department of Agriculture provided the seedlings for the urban farm. It also organizes training for Joe Slovo Park urban farmers on an ongoing basis (City Official 2). These urban farmers are sent to a local academic institution, the Cape Peninsula University of Technology, where they are taught what to farm during different time periods and how to plant certain crops. Some training sessions also teach the urban farmers how to market their products and sell their crops. However, it is difficult to understand why this is necessary as this specific project distributes its crops to the community and does not make any economic profit as per their agreement with the City. The City Official in charge of Urban Agriculture was in charge of setting up these training sessions and these sessions were provided for free by the University. The main aim of these training sessions was to equip the urban farmers with the knowledge of how to grow crops during different seasons and market their products. Additionally, the City of Cape Town plans to continue helping the urban farmers in the form of giving them manure and seedlings for at least the next two years. They may reduce their help and support once they note that the urban farmers are becoming more sustainable (City Official 2). However, if the urban farmers are not selling the crops then it may suggest that they will not become more sustainable in future years.

At the moment there are about 30 youth who are involved in the urban farm, and they come to work on it about twice a week. These youth were not recruited to take part in the project, but are all part of the youth forum which is present in Joe Slovo Park, and all 30 youth volunteered to be a part of the project. All youth from the township are welcome to join, and need not be a part of the youth forum in order to join. A community leader states that it is common to see new faces in the garden, however these ['new'] youth do not come to the garden regularly (Community Member 7).

The vegetable garden has already had their first harvest of crops, and due to the garden's success in growing crops and having the youth involved the City has given them a second piece of land

on which to farm. This piece of land is found approximately 20m away from the crèche and is in Joe Slovo Park. Unfortunately the land is unfenced and so the theft of crops is a constant worry, however, the City is in the process of providing fencing for that segment of land (City Official 2; and Community Member 7).

There is a second urban farm in the Joe Slovo township, owned by a single household. The City of Cape Town also provides support for this farm. Over time the farm has greatly expanded. It began with a vegetable plot only, but with time has expanded into housing both recycling and brick making initiatives. These were achieved from the extra funds which crop growing gave the household (Community Member 7). Unfortunately, the previous owner of the urban farm recently passed away and the ownership was given to another person. The City is very proud of this farm as it has rapidly progressed and become self-sufficient, meaning that less support is needed from the City. The City also supports this farm by providing seeds, manure and tools (City Official 2).

Several City Officials feel that both of these urban farms are a great benefit to the people who farm them (City Official 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6). Their main aim is to showcase the opportunities that urban agriculture presents, by providing food for people to eat and a recreational aspect which keeps the youth occupied and, therefore, less bored and away from the 'wrong path of life'. This aim is not reflected in the Urban Agriculture Policy and so the purpose of the project seems to be beyond what appears in the policy. This again shows a mismatch between the policy and the lived reality of the project which is problematic when trying to involve people in the project. The reason for this is that new urban farmers have a perceived concept of reality which the policy provides, but the actual reality is very different.

The main challenge which is currently found is the lack of available land onto which the projects could expand (City Official 2). However, despite this the projects are working much better than it had been initially expected. Even though the projects are still quite young, the City Officials feel that they have already brought about several positive outcomes for the people involved in them. These range from better nutrition and food security to having something to do during the day (City Official 1; 2; and Community Member 7; 8).

The next section will explore the urban agriculture projects from the perceptions of the urban farmers themselves. This section will aim to explore the policy issues and the project management issues for the youth. This will be done through exploring whether the City's perceived experience of the urban farms and the actual lived experience of the urban farmers are the same. In addition, the farmers' perceptions of the youth will be examined in order to establish what role they play in youth involvement.

5.2 The Lived Experience of the Two Projects

5.2.1 The Urban Farmers and Urban Agriculture

The two urban agriculture projects differ from each other in a number of ways. For this reason, this section discusses the lived experiences and perceptions of the farmers from Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park separately. The Du Noon urban farmers will be presented first as their urban agriculture is practiced solely for the benefit of that household. One similar plot is also found in Joe Slovo Park, however, this family's reasons for participating in urban agriculture are the same as those in Du Noon, and therefore they will not be explored in this section.

The urban agriculture project in Joe Slovo Park is different to the one in Du Noon. In Joe Slovo Park, urban agriculture is seen as a youth development project, where several youth grow crops which are later given to the crèche on which the urban farm is found. This shows a difference between the two projects, and in turn can point to the fact that the urban farmers in these two areas would become involved in this approach for different reasons.

Within Du Noon the questionnaire was administered to 12 urban farmers who each owned their own plots, however, none of them were the original plot holders. The farmers were generally middle aged or older, with nine of the 12 being over 50. Only one fell into the youth category (age 31). This shows that within Du Noon an older age group takes part in urban agriculture. Within the literature, many authors have documented the fact that urban agriculture is often practiced by older people (Maxwell, et. al. 1998; Møller, 2005; Mougeot, 2005; Olarte, 2005), however, exceptions can be found (Hung, 2004; Pevec, 2009; Taylor, et. al. 2010).

Currently everyone stayed in Du Noon, however, their length of stay in the township differed with each person, ranging from six months to 17 years. This shows that preference was not given by the City to those that had stayed in the community for a longer period of time. There also was no correlation to the fact that only unemployed people took part in urban agriculture as five out of the 12 urban farmers were employed. Of these five employed people, one had full time employment. This contradicts the Policy as the urban farmers involved were not the most vulnerable.

Each of the urban farmers had a diverse range of livelihood strategies which included knitting, casual labour and garden crops. Many of them were also receiving financial aid in the form of governmental social grants, and this money could range from R200 to R1500 depending on whether they were receiving grants for their children, disabilities, sickness or old age. Each person that received a social grant mentioned that the money was very important to them as without it they would not know how they could survive. For five of the urban farmers, the income from the grants was three quarters of their household monthly income (Project Participant 1; 3; 6; 8; 9).

All interviewed farmers stated that although urban agriculture was not their primary livelihood strategy, they had benefited greatly from urban agriculture and could not see their lives without it (Project Participant 1; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; 14). Both women farmers who were interviewed stated that they got involved in urban agriculture because they wanted to be able to support their families (Project Participant 1; 4). Both of these women grow their crops on a subsistence level as they then would eat what they harvested. They stated that they did not have the need to expand their garden and grow more crops for sale. These women had part time jobs and so they said that the garden for them was a source of food security (Project Participant 1; 4).

In contrast, most of the men shared a different view. Two men said that they were motivated to take part in this practice because they enjoyed farming. They used to do it when they were young, and both of them had not gone to school, thus they had no formal education. Urban agriculture was good for them because they could use the skills that they had and with those skills grow crops to feed themselves and their families (Project Participant 6; 12).

The rest of the men said that they would only be motivated to take part in urban agriculture because they had nothing better to do. Urban agriculture was a source of employment for those who were unemployed, and a source of housing as those who did not have a dwelling decided to build their home on the plots (Project Participant 3; 5; 7; 9; 10; 11). All of these men said that they farmed primarily to have something to eat at the end of the day, however, if they were able to then they tried to sell some of their crops to make some money. There was no formal market where they sold their crops, however, they would sell them to friends or interested people who came to the plots of land. These men stated that their main goal and thus motivating factor was to sell a large quantity of crops at the market, and make a large sum of money. However, in order to do so they would need to expand their gardens (Project Participant 3; 5; 6; 7; 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; 14).

Within Joe Slovo Park, the questionnaire was administered to two farmers as the rest of the urban farmers were the youth and were thus included into the youth sample for this research, and not this sample group. From these two farmers, one owned her own plot and the other was a hired gardener for the crèche, therefore, he was in charge of the three plots which made up the community urban agriculture farm. Both farmers were above 60 years old and they both had resided in Joe Slovo Park for the last 10 years. The first farmer was self-employed as she used her urban agriculture plot to grow vegetables which she sold to people who passed her plot. In addition, she kept a scrap yard on her plot and sold cardboard, metal and plastic bottles to residents in the community. The second farmer was employed by the crèche; however, he also grew crops at his home and reared chickens which he later sold. Both participants received additional money from their families to help them meet their daily costs, with the first informant receiving R1000/month and the second receiving a small amount four times a year.

The youth who took part in the urban agriculture project did so for different reasons. The youth in the township had been complaining to the community leaders that 'they were bored', and so the

urban agriculture project was initiated in order to occupy the youth (Community Member 7). See Section 5.1.2.2 for further discussion on this point. 30 youth are involved in the urban agriculture project and they come to it at different time periods twice a week. The crops from the urban farm are given to the crèche on which the farm is found. Several youth had stated that they take part in this approach purely for the love of this activity, as they receive no additional gain from it (Youth Informant 12; 13; 14; 19; 21). The project is open to any youth that want to join and in order to do so they just need to speak to the community leader who is in charge of this project, or to the owner at the crèche to find out what time all the youth meet. However, there are several other projects in the township which are open to the youth as well, such as sporting and cultural activities, and these are also popular (Community Member 7).

The participants stated that they had a negative perception of the projects (Project Participant 3; 4; 5; 7; 9; 10; 12; 13; 14) . Both groups of Participants specified that they had heard that they were supposed to receive support from the City of Cape Town to help their urban farms. However, the majority of these farmers said that over the years they had received support only once, while others stated that they had never received support. It was made apparent from the City of Cape Town that support was given to the urban farmers in the form of tools, seeds, skills development and advice (City Official 1; 2; 3; 4) and the Urban Agriculture Policy states that this one set of support was to be given to a group of five people (City of Cape Town, 2007:9). However, the urban farmers were not clearly informed of this information as many of them were angry with the fact that certain people were favored more highly than others as they received support while others did not. This created a feeling of distrust between the urban farmers and further weakened the community structure that was in place among them, as they felt less trusting of each other (Project Participant 3; 7; 10; 12; 13; 14). In addition, several participants stated that they felt less trusting of the City of Cape Town officials, as these officials had constantly been promising them something, in this case support, but had not followed through with this promise (Project Participant 3; 4; 5; 7; 9; 10; 12; 13; 14).

It was also found that eight out of the 10 people in Du Noon were currently living on their plots of land (Project Participant 1; 3; 4; 5; 10; 11; 12; 14). The City of Cape Town had stated that this was not allowed as it was a major health risk due to the fact that the site was housed under Eskom's power line servitude (Project Participant 1). The farmers felt that given the chronic housing shortage in the township, having a house and garden on the plots was an appropriate use of the plot (Project Participant 3; 5; 11; 12). In addition, it was found that the farmers were changing ownership of the land between themselves, without going through the appropriate City structure to do so. This will be explored in the next section, as it can assumed that this internal transfer of plots of land could have an excluding factor for the youth themselves.

These previous examples have shown that there is a profound mismatch between the policy's and City Officials' notion of the ways that the urban agriculture projects should operate and the actual lived experience of the projects, specifically in Du Noon. Questions arise as to whether the policy is appropriate for the lived experience, or whether it should be rethought to include

solutions to some of these mismatched experiences. In addition, the City of Cape Town should gain a better understanding of the actual lived experience of the projects when attempting to incorporate the youth into them. This youth involvement factor will be further explored through examining the urban farmers' perceptions of the youth. The perceptions of the young farmers of the Joe Slovo Park project are addressed in Chapter Six.

5.2.2 The Urban Farmers' Perceptions of the Youth

The verbal questionnaire attempted to establish the urban farmers' perceptions of the youth in order to deduce whether the urban farmers themselves could be a barrier to youth involvement in urban agriculture. This section was omitted for Joe Slovo Park as all but two of the urban farmers were the youth. In addition, there were no Community Members who could hinder or help the youth get involved in urban agriculture as the community leaders were the main enforcers in this regard. They have been placed into the City Officials and Community Members' category, and thus their perceptions will not be explored in this section. However, it must be acknowledged that the urban agriculture project is open to as many youth that are interested and no apparent barriers are in place to hinder youth involvement. This specific project is seen as one of the many youth development projects in the area, as others include sporting activities and beading practice, therefore, the youth take part in which ever one interests them.

Within Du Noon, the majority of urban farmers argued that the youth were not interested in urban agriculture (Project Participant 3; 4; 5; 7; 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; 14). Some of their reasons for this were that the youth did not want to do anything which required hard work (Project participant 3; 5; 7; 11), were only interested in receiving a monetary income (Project participant 3; 4; 5; 9; 12; 13) and might only be interested in becoming involved if they were to be paid (Project participant 3). The urban farmers argued that they felt that this work was very difficult, and the youth would not enjoy to 'stand in the hot sun all day and dig in the dirty soil' (Project participant 3). 'They want tractors to come and help them, they are lazy' was one participant's perception (Project participant 5).

Academic literature provides a similar description of the youth. Møller (2005) documents how her older respondents also described the youth as being lazy and work-shy as they argue that this generation's youth is financially better off than their generation was and thus they expect technology to do a lot of the work for them. In addition they value money above growing their own food (Møller, 2005:73/74).

Two project participants were more open to the youth becoming involved in this activity (Project participant 1; 6). They said that they sometimes saw youth in the urban gardens, but these youth were always complaining and took very long to 'get the job done' (Project participant 1; 6). These youth all had parents who owned an urban agriculture plot and so they had been asked by them to help out in the garden. However, these project participants stated that it was clear that the youth were not having fun, and were doing it because they had to (Project participant 1; 6). In

general, it was found that perceptions towards the youth within Du Noon were quite negative as eight of the interviewed people stated that the youth were lazy and were not willing to take part in measures which would not bring them a direct monetary gain.

The urban farmers' perceptions of the youth are very important as any dislike of the youth could create a barrier to involvement in this practice as these farmers act as powerful gatekeepers in accessing plots. It had been noted that some people had acquired a garden plot from the City of Cape Town, while others had received their plot from friends who had previously owned that plot (Project Informant 1; 2; 4; Questionnaire Data). There was an informal agreement between the City officials and the urban farmers that if the land was lying barren for a period of six months or longer, then a new owner would be found for it (Project Informant 1). However, it became apparent that the people themselves were changing ownership of the land without the City's approval as many urban farmers were not the true owners of the land and thus did not hold permits.

It can be noted that this urban agriculture project lacks both monitoring and evaluation from the local government. For the youth this has a significant impact as it is seen that if the youth go to the City of Cape Town and ask for a plot of land, then the City will be unable to provide one as they are not part of these internal transfers of land. This individual change of ownership of the land may have serious consequences for the youth especially in light of the urban farmers' negative perception of them. This could result in the youth not receiving any plots of land when the urban farmers internally change land between themselves, their families and their friends. In light of this, one can see that it is the urban farmers who hold the power in giving plots of land and not necessarily the City of Cape Town. This lack of access to available land is further escalated as it has been made apparent that the urban farmers who have a plot of land from the City have expanded their plots and moved onto land that is past the demarcated plots and is not owned by the City (Project Participant 3; 4; 7; 9; 10; 11). Two consequences can be seen as a result of this. Firstly, the farmers have moved onto private land and are currently growing crops on it without the permission of the owner. Secondly, the youth are once again excluded from yet another space where they could be involved in urban agriculture, due to not being a part of the urban farmers' social networks.

A substantial amount of academic literature can be found regarding the role of social networks within one's daily life (Espinoza, 1999; Conning and Kevane, 2002; Rakodi and Lloyd - Jones, 2002; Phillipson, et. al. 2004; Hanson, 2005; Schutte, 2005). Often these social networks are organized through the various forms of access, which in turn provoke social inclusion and exclusion (Cass, et. al. 2005:540). These concepts are often brought about through a group of peoples own social identity. People seek to establish their identity and friendship with others. Diverse groups of people use these social ties in order to acquire social support. However, this process of identification and friendship may turn out to be different for members of minority and majority groups (Mehra, et. al. 1998:441). Members of minority groups, for example the youth in the Du Noon urban agriculture projects, are less likely to have social ties with the more

represented groups, in this case the urban farmers. This is due to their tendency to select friends from the distinctive groups to which they belong, rather than from the social network as a whole. This in turn causes them to be excluded from the more represented groups mainly through them being part of the less represented group (Mehra, et. al. 1998:442). This means that the youth are now not a part of the urban farmers' social networks, and thus when an urban farmer is looking to transfer their plot of land, the youth will not be the ones to receive it. These exclusionary forces hinder the youth from becoming involved in urban agriculture and could potentially create a negative image of urban agriculture for the youth.

These informal transfers of land occur through social networks and are found outside of the City's structures of transfers. These formal transfers are supposed to be transparent and open, however, on the ground they are replaced by informal processes which are closed and opaque. Due to this, opportunities for outsiders to gain access are limited. Given the farmers' perceptions of the youth and their exclusion from their social networks, it is hard for the youth to gain access. In addition, the lack of available land in Du Noon and the presence of these 'gatekeepers' shows that urban agriculture is not accessible to the youth here. This has implications for the City and their vision of youth involvement.

This chapter has argued that both the Urban Agriculture Policy and the City Officials do not have a clear understanding of who the youth are, and thus homogenize the youth into simply being a group of people within a certain age. This understanding of the youth is believed to be very vague as it does not engage with the diversity that this group of people encompasses. With this understanding, and the interplay between the policy framing and the manner in how Du Noon farmers navigate the practical issues of farming, several barriers to youth involvement are seen to have been created. These barriers are very problematic to youth involvement as it is further understood that the Urban Agriculture Policy and the City Officials lack to actively involve the youth into urban agriculture projects as their efforts to do so are very minimal. The following chapter thus gives a more direct focus on to the youth themselves to explore whether the youth are interested in becoming involved in this practice. This chapter aims to understand the youth's needs, their aspirations and their perception of urban agriculture. Lastly, the chapter endeavors to understand the reasons behind the low level of involvement of the youth in the City of Cape Town's urban agriculture projects.

Chapter 6: The Youth's Livelihood Aspirations and Perceptions of Urban Agriculture

The following chapter explores the youth's livelihood aspirations in order to better understand this diverse group of people. Previous results from this study have noted that a low number of youth are involved in the City of Cape Town's urban agriculture projects. The previous chapter has shown that there are several outside barriers which hinder the youth from getting involved in urban agriculture. This next chapter aims to shed more light on to this by exploring whether the youth themselves may be barriers to urban agriculture, as the current urban farmers suggest, through their own disinterest in the practice.

This chapter thus focuses in part on the youth's own perceptions of urban agriculture in order to find out what they are and how they are brought about. Only once their perceptions are explored can one attempt to understand why there is a low level of youth involvement in the two urban agriculture projects, and what has brought this action about.

6.1 The Youth's Livelihood Aspirations

Chapter Five provided an argument that the youth are a complex group of people and thus should be understood by more than their age. This chapter aimed to explore the wider connections of the youth and how this framed actions towards the youth. In the case of the City of Cape Town, the youth were seen as a group of people in need of empowerment, while the urban farmers' perception was that they were a problematic group. This thus showed that not only do the youth differ among one another, but perceptions towards them differ as well.

This section provides a more detailed exploration of the youth to examine how the youth differ amongst one another. The reason for reemphasizing that this group of people is not homogenous is based on the fact that it is observed that the City of Cape Town Policy and Officials only understand the youth as being a group of people within a specific age group. This section will, therefore, provide a greater exploration of who the youth are through examining their livelihood aspirations.

In the first place, the category of youth, aged 14 to 35, was divided into two groups within this research. The first group consisted of 'younger youth' within the ages of 14 to 18, and the second group consisted of 'older youth' within the ages of 19 to 35. It was very important to divide the youth into two categories because it was believed that the younger youth, the majority of whom were still in school and living with their parents, would have different understandings of everyday life from the older youth, who were having to provide for themselves, especially in

economic terms. Most of these older youth had left the family home and were expected to be financially self-sufficient. These different everyday experiences brought about different understandings of everyday life. By having different everyday experiences the youth would expect different things for themselves in the future, and this could result in whether the youth would be interested in becoming involved in urban agriculture or not.

Attempting to include the youth into the urban agriculture projects without fully understanding each individual is seen as a problematic area for involvement. The Urban Agriculture Policy, through its location in the Economic and Human Development Department, frames urban agriculture as being a livelihood option, with a particular emphasis being placed on economic development. This framing is problematic as it brings attention to the fact that the City does not understand who they youth are, as it will be observed later in this chapter that youth of different ages have different livelihood aspirations.

6.1.1 The Younger Youth

Given that urban agriculture is framed as a livelihood option, the livelihood aspirations of the youth aged 15 to 18 years old were explored through a series of three focus groups, and a group of individual interviews. The main key finding from the focus group was that each individual who took part in a focus group was still deemed a dependant, as they were currently looked after by a member in their family, or an older guardian. Through this it became apparent that these youth did not feel the need for a livelihood as they were still being looked after by an older person. Each person that was interviewed lived with either one or two adults, and in most cases these were their parents. These adults were the main earners of household income. The youth would generally take part in other household matters, for instance household chores such as cooking and cleaning. As the youth did not have to bring in an income to survive it was difficult to find out what their actual livelihood strategies were, especially as they did not have any. However, it was possible to find out what their livelihood aspirations were and whether urban agriculture could be seen to be complimentary to these.

Three key motivating factors, which were important to the younger youth when looking for a livelihood, were voiced during the focus groups. These three factors were economic benefits, social benefits and household requirements and were all given equal weight by the youth. The youth stated that for many of them making money, having fun and doing what their parents said they should were their main deciding factors when finding a job or livelihood. This shows that choosing a livelihood is not based on their own aspirations but on someone who is usually older than them. This in turn raises the question of who the youth are and how they remain connected to the household.

The individuals who felt that economic aspects were most important argued that receiving an income would be their primary reason for choosing a livelihood, and so their livelihood options would be based on the extent of the income which they could receive. These youth felt that they

would like to work to support their families and in some cases even the community, or simply have a good income to buy more expensive objects, for instance houses and cars. One youth present in the focus groups stated that his family was working so hard in order to support him that he would like to help them in return. He stated that just by finding a paid job he was already helping his family as they could stop working to provide for him. With these views in mind all of these youth also argued that they would not be interested in urban agriculture as they perceived this practice to have a very low monetary income. They clearly stated that they wanted an economic income in order to buy better things, and the income derived from urban agriculture would not be sufficient. In addition, none of the younger youth saw a livelihood connection to urban agriculture (Focus Group Data).

Individuals who emphasized the social aspect showed that for them the most important factor was the work environment. They would look for livelihoods which would allow for a pleasant environment in which they could work. These youth felt that they want to be happy at work and if they were surrounded by friends or people whose company they enjoy then this would contribute to job satisfaction and enjoyment. Work can be boring, they said, and several youth believed that if they work with people they like it could be fun (Focus Group Data). These youth argued that they did not see the pleasure that urban agriculture could bring. They said that farming was hard work and had long hours, thus they felt that they would not have enough time to socialize with their work mates in the garden. These social benefits that urban agriculture can bring will be further discussed in section 6.2.2.

Lastly, the individuals who prioritized household requirements showed that people who were older than them, mainly their parents, were the ones who pushed them towards a certain livelihood. Reasons for this lay in the fact that family members may believe that the student is particularly good at something, or that they should carry on a family tradition of working in a particular profession. Many youth stated that they wanted to do what their families asked for, in order to help them financially and emotionally, as the family had supported them for such a long time (Focus Group Data). This view can be linked to those of the economic aspect as it is apparent that the youth exhibit similar opinions. Several youth believed that two factors, for example monetary requirements and household expectations, would push them into finding a specific livelihood, however, in this case, they spoke more of the main factor which would motivate them to take on a livelihood.

A key noticeable factor for the youth of this age is that they still hold a strong bond to their family. These younger youth are still very reliant on their parents and thus their reasons for wanting a livelihood are mainly based on wanting more spending money, or having a livelihood because it is enjoyable. These youth often measure the potential livelihood against the level of enjoyment that the activity can bring. However, often the younger youth acquire a livelihood because their family needs additional economic help (Bouis, et. al. 1998; Brown, 2001; Conticini, 2005). At this moment, labour for them would mean housework and it is undertaken as a family requirement and not as a personal choice (Bianchi and Robinson, 1997; Brown, 2001;

Chant and Jones, 2005). In other words, it can be understood that the youth of this age do not take part in a livelihood activity because they want to, but they do so because they are asked to do so by someone else.

Many studies have emphasized that young people's participation within household chores is often occasional and their time invested in the job is often small (Shelton and John, 1996:311). This shows that a youth's idea of a livelihood thus also can encompass a practice which is occasional and short. Within this study, the youth would often argue that they would try do their chores as fast as possible so that they could go and have fun (Focus group data). In turn, when the younger youth in this research were asked whether they would consider becoming involved in urban agriculture, their response reflected that urban agriculture was often seen more as a chore than a livelihood strategy (Focus Group Data). The reason for this could lie in the fact that they had experienced it as a chore at home. These youth felt that their parents would force them to do it and they saw it as an activity which would take up too much of their free time (Youth Informant 1; 3; 4; 5; 9; 10; Focus Group Data).

It has become clear that the younger youth do not have livelihood strategies. In turn, this shows that the City should not frame urban agriculture as a livelihood approach if they consider including the younger youth in this practice. For these younger youth, urban agriculture is not desirable due to its low returns. In addition, they seem to have a negative perception of this practice as an activity. Their perceptions, both negative and positive, will be explored in more detail in Section 6.2.

6.1.2 The Older Youth

A difference in perception was found between the older youth from both Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park and the younger youth. These perceptions include those of the Joe Slovo Park urban farmers as well. All of the older youth that were interviewed had already left school, and many of them were not receiving any financial aid from their parents. Several of them were employed in part time jobs, which consisted of contractual packaging work in the surrounding factories, or part time taxi driver attendants. No one from this sample group had full time employment. For the majority of these youth their primary aim was to find a full time job which gave them a good monetary income (Youth Informant 16; 18; 22; 25; 28; 30; 40). Many youth stated that they would not mind working hard for long hours, as long as they were to be paid in the end (Youth Informant 11; 14; 16; 18; 22; 25). This money would then be used towards buying food, finding a better home and recreational activities. This view was voiced by the youth who were currently employed in either a full time, or part time job.

However, the youth who were currently unemployed had a different opinion. All of the youth, except two, were no longer living with their families. However, their families were still providing them with a monetary allowance. Even with this monetary allowance, many of them were having trouble feeding themselves or finding something with which to keep them occupied

during the day. Many emphasized their need to find a cheap and constant food source. A number of youth stated that a vegetable garden would be very beneficial for them as it would give them the security of knowing that they had something to eat each day (Youth Informant 12; 13; 15; 19; 21). These youth argued that they understood that there was merit in unpaid labour as urban farming kept one physically fit and healthy through outdoor work. However they were more happy to work in the garden when they knew that they would receive a small benefit in the end. For these youth urban agriculture was seen as a very positive activity as it would provide them with a constant food source and would give them something to do during the day. However, they had not know that these urban farms had existed and thus for this reason were not involved in this practice.

The five young farmers interviewed from the Joe Slovo Park project were very vocal in emphasizing the benefit that they received through working on the youth development urban farm. They also stated that they would like to receive more in the form of food, as often they too had trouble feeding themselves due to their lack of jobs. However, they strongly believed that the farm was a blessing to them as it both provided them with something to do during the day, and in addition, gave them a good feeling about themselves as they saw that the food which they grew was cooked and given to the children in the crèche (Youth Informant 12; 13; 14; 19; 21). One informant repeatedly emphasized this feeling of goodwill and said that she felt that this feeling was then spread through her onto other people. She argued that ‘if you are doing something which makes you happy then other people come to you to share you happiness, and in turn do good things as well’ (Youth Informant 14).

A difference in perceptions can again be found between the younger and older youth. The younger youth still feel protected by their households, and thus they do not feel the need to look for things that their parents can give them, for instance food. However, the older youth are less sheltered by their parents and thus understand the benefits that labor can bring. These different outlooks can be further emphasized by examining the types of livelihoods which the younger and older youth hope to find.

The younger youth mentioned many livelihoods which they would like to be a part of, and the majority of these were found to be located within the formal sector. Doctor, nurse, astrophysicist are some examples of the livelihoods mentioned. The younger youth all acknowledged that they would need more training after high school, however, opportunities for this were unlikely. The general feeling among the youth was that these opportunities would present themselves nevertheless. It is unclear as to why their aspirations are so high, however, it is possible that these high aspirations are brought about by the school in which they go to as several youth stated that their teachers had told them that if they work hard then they will find good jobs (Focus Group Data).

Unfortunately, these aspirations are rather unrealistic, as in reality 79 percent of the Du Noon households earn between R0 to R19200 annually (City of Cape Town, 2001), with Joe Slovo

Park having 68 percent of households which fall into the R0 to R19200 annual income category (City of Cape Town, 2008:8). This can show that the careers which the younger youth aspire to are not commonly found in these two township settings. This shows a large gap between the stated aspirations and the lived reality.

The older youth can be seen to be more realistic in their livelihood aspirations and choices, as common livelihood aspirations which are mentioned include a taxi driver, a housekeeper and a factory worker (Youth Informant 11; 22; 23; 28). In this case, urban agriculture is better suited to the needs of the older youth, especially in light of it being framed as a livelihood option. The reason for this lies in the fact that these youth are currently seeking livelihood options, and thus urban agriculture could be their potential livelihood option.

This section has explored the youth's livelihood aspirations in order to better understand whether these articulated aspirations connect to the potential of urban agriculture, as expected by the policy. The Urban Agriculture Policy and City Officials frame urban agriculture as a livelihood approach and this section explored whether the youths lack of participation in this practice was because urban agriculture did not relate to what the youth wanted broadly. It can be understood that the younger youths 'unrealistic' aspirations may be a barrier to participation in urban agriculture as the youth are not interested in the practice and do not comprehend its full value. However, the older youth are more interested in this practice as it appears to be a better match to their everyday needs. The following section will continue to explore the youth, however, more focus will now be placed on their perceptions of urban agriculture and their opinions towards being involved in this practice.

6.2 The Youth's Perceptions of Urban Agriculture

The following section will explore the youth's perceptions towards urban agriculture, and will continue to focus on the youth from both the Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park townships. The reason for examining the youth's perceptions lies mainly in the fact that their opinions towards urban agriculture influence their participation within this practice. The previous section has shown that the City's framing of urban agriculture is not suitable for the youth of all ages as the younger youth are not in need of a livelihood. Therefore, this section aims to further explore their perception of urban agriculture in order to understand whether these youth, and in turn the older youth, would be more interested to participate in urban agriculture if urban agriculture's other benefits are brought to the forefront.

Once again the youth's responses will be divided into younger youth and older youth, as the merit of this has been explained previously in this chapter, however, more focus will also be placed on gender and the location in which they are based, i.e. Du Noon or Joe Slovo Park, and on whether they physically take part in the urban agriculture projects or not.

6.2.1 The Importance of Economic Capital

The older youth were each interviewed individually in order to find out their opinions of urban agriculture. Within Joe Slovo Park, the five youth who were involved in the urban agriculture project argued that they did not take part in the project in order to make an economic gain. They were involved in a youth development project and they knew that economically the gain was very low. They provided two main two reasons for taking part in the project. It gave them something to do during the day, thus a source of employment, and in turn gave them a feeling of goodwill through helping others. To them the perceived lack of an economic potential was not a problem.

However, there were several male informants from both Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park who argued differently. Within the older youth category, out of the 15 people who were interviewed in Du Noon, 8 thought that urban agriculture could provide a potential income supplementation. All of these 8 people were currently unemployed. In addition, out of the 15 older youth who were interviewed in Joe Slovo Park, 12 felt that urban agriculture was an interesting strategy and one which they could possibly join in the near future. None of these 12 people had full time employment, with some of them being unemployed, and the rest having a part time job which consisted of employment of no more than two days a week. It can be seen that due to their low levels of employment these youth understood urban agriculture to be a practice from which they could earn some more money.

The need for an economic gain was again emphasized by a group of youth; however, in this case they were arguing that urban agriculture could provide a sole income source. A large group of only men, from both of these townships, were very excited in urban agriculture's potential to earn them a large income. Within both Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park they argued that there was the need to start a subsistence garden, and with time expand it to incorporate more land and grow more crops, which when sold would bring about a considerable sum of money (Youth Informant 11; 14; 16; 17; 27; 29; 31; 32). For them urban agriculture corresponded with a business venture. In addition, several youth argued that they should receive help, in the form of payment, training workshops, and more education, during the initial growing phase (Youth Informant 11; 14; 17; 27). This help could create insurance for them in the result of their crops failing. These youth were clearly very eager to make a large income from this practice; however, they were hesitant to invest their own money to make this happen.

One can note that this need to 'make a lot of money' is being articulated predominantly by men, and it has been noted that often men would only be interested in urban agriculture as long a large economic gain could be made (Freeman, 1991:86). However, it must be acknowledged that in the context of these two townships, expanding urban agriculture in order to make an economic venture is highly unlikely. This stems from the fact that there is not a lot of available land which the City owns, which could then be converted into urban farms, as Cape Town Officials have stated that a large portion of land in Cape Town is actually privately owned (Project Informant 1;

2; 3). This seems to contradict Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy, as the policy itself states that it will make large portions of land available for the use of this practice (City of Cape Town, 2007: 3/4). In addition, the policy also states that market places must be created to enable the urban farmers to sell their produce; however, no market places have been created yet.

Within Joe Slovo Park, the economic benefit from urban agriculture was expressed differently by the youth who were not involved in the urban agriculture project. First of all, four informants stated that they would not be interested in being involved in urban agriculture as they had stable jobs and thus were too busy to 'have a hobby' and work in a garden for a perceived low income (Youth Informant 11; 18; 20; 23). Several academics have reinforced this view by arguing that in effect urban agriculture is more a survival strategy than an effective economic strategy, as the economic gain derived is fairly low (May and Rogerson, 1995; Mougeot, 2005; Nugent, 2005; Tambwe, 2006; Crush, et. al. 2010).

A large number of youth in both the Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park townships emphasized urban agriculture's potential as a source of employment. This view was only found among the older youth in those two townships, as the younger youth did not mention employment as being a benefit of urban agriculture. This need for employment has already been shown to stem from the fact that the two townships have such a high level of unemployment, especially youth unemployment. Statistics show that Du Noon has an unemployment rate of 80 percent (Masincedisane Advice Office, 2008), with Joe Slovo Park having an unemployment rate of 42.61 percent (City of Cape Town, 2008:8). Both these figures are very high and thus it is clear why unemployment is at the forefront of the youth's minds. Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy emphasizes urban agriculture's potential as being a livelihood strategy which can contribute to economic development, specifically job creation and income generation, and this aspect of employment is reinforced (City of Cape Town, 2007:2). However, the reality of these projects is quite different as the plots are not efficiently utilized, thus a large crop is not grown. In addition, no market place has been created, despite the Policy stating that one should be created, and this makes it difficult for the urban farmers to sell their produce. If the youth were to take part in urban agriculture, then it is seen that they would experience these same problems which could hinder them from generating a large sum of income. However, if the youth are just looking for an activity to occupy their day, then urban agriculture can be seen to be a good fit.

6.2.2 Food Security

Urban agriculture's potential to bring about an economic benefit was expressed in a second manner, through the lens of food security. This view was generally articulated by all the women in the sample study showing that food security was an important factor for them, however, as several of these women were not involved in urban agriculture it was sensed that the importance placed onto food security was not as great as they articulated it to be.

Within academic literature, it is common to see a gendered division in labour between the youth (Brown, 2001; Moore, 2004; Chant and Jones, 2005). It is often found that male youth work in order to attain wages, while women perform unpaid housework as their form of labour (Brown, 2001:8). Out of this unpaid housework, women are often in charge of food provision for the house. Sometimes this food source can be attained through urban agriculture or through remittances of food from other areas. At other times, if the household has a source of income, then this food can be bought in a supermarket. However, the main point Hovorka et. al make which the data in this research supports, is the fact that women will always try to sustain their families, even in difficult times (Hovorka, et. al. 2009: 2). This need to feed their families has also been passed down onto the female youth of the household, as it becomes their responsibility to source and cook food for the household once the female head finds paid labour.

It was established that within both townships, the female youth in both the older and younger age groups were the ones who were generally in charge of preparing meals in a household (Youth Informant 1; 8; 9; 14; 15; 20; 22). The youth stated that not all of them received money from their parents with which to buy food, and so the security of having something to eat each day was very important, especially if one was unemployed, or partially employed (Youth Informant 14; 15; 30; 20; 22). In addition, for the younger youth, having to cook for a household brought about a large level of stress, especially when there was not enough money to buy food for that meal. Some of these female youth expressed the view that they often would get into trouble if they did not buy enough food for that day. This was not their fault, but was a result of the family not having enough money for food that day. However, they would still be in trouble from their siblings (Youth Informant 1; 8; 9; 14; 20; Focus Group Data).

Urban agriculture was thus perceived by these youth as being a practice which had many benefits; however they were not involved in this activity as they did not have any space on which to grow their crops. Other reasons were articulated, but they will be discussed in Section 6.3. The female youth of all ages understood that vegetables derived from an urban farm would potentially provide the security of a constant food source and if sold the additional income was seen as being potentially very beneficial in supplementing their income and reducing their everyday stress (Youth Informant 13; 14; 15; 20). In addition, it was argued by these youth that vegetables were very expensive and were often not bought as starches and meats were considered more important for the household. However, one younger youth acknowledged that she would like to eat healthy foods, such as vegetables, and the urban agriculture garden would allow for that. Her views are expressed below.

We used to not eat many vegetables in the past. The money my mom gave me for food was just enough for some meat, maybe onions as well but that is all. There are many people in our family who come to eat, everyone who lives with us at home and then my aunt and uncle come too. There is never enough money to buy enough food, and when there is too little my brothers shout at me. It is not my fault. I buy what I can with the money which I am given. But one year ago my

mother started growing some vegetables in a small plot by our house. This garden helps a lot as now we will have at least some vegetables every day. We do not have to eat dry pap anymore.

(Youth Informant 1)

It can be observed that the majority of female youth from this study saw the importance of growing vegetables mainly because they were in charge of sourcing food, and cooking it, for each day's meal. The literature suggests that urban agriculture can be a very gendered activity as women of all ages generally source and cook the food in a household, and thus for this reason they are also the main cultivators within urban agriculture (Rakodi, 1988; Hovorka, 1998; Olarte, 2005). Hovorka, et. al. (2009) argue that urban agriculture gives women a greater sense of autonomy and in return this activity often has a level of convenience for women who take part in it. It is an affordable livelihood strategy for women and the positive benefit of an increased food security level is valued highly by women as well (Hovorka, et. al. 2009:16). In addition, this practice can also be seen to empower these women, raising their levels of self-confidence as they have the power to provide for themselves and their family (Olarte, 2005; Hovorka, et. al. 2009).

The City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy emphasizes urban agriculture's potential in delivering food security (City of Cape Town, 2007:2). Other academics have also emphasized urban agriculture's potential to be the primary food source (Maxwell, 1995; Baumgartner and Belevi, 2001; Nugent, 2005; Zezza and Tasciotti, 2010). However, in contrast there are some who mention that urban agriculture should not be seen as the primary food source, but rather an activity which can supplement a household's food supply (Hovorka, et. al. 2009; Crush and Frayne, 2010; Crush, et. al. 2011). Research has shown that urban agriculture can provide between 10 to 90 percent of vegetable consumption for urban households (Baumgartner and Belevi, 2001:9). This shows that this practice could potentially have a large positive impact as a household's food source; however, on the other hand, its impact could also be very small depending on how the garden is utilized. Within Du Noon all the urban farmers argued that from a food security perspective urban agriculture was very important to them as it allowed them to have food to eat each day (Questionnaire data). The urban farming youth from Joe Slovo Park shared a similar view point by emphasizing the importance of having the youth garden as it was a source of food for the children who attended the crèche. One male youth mentioned that these children at the crèche often did not receive any food at home as the parents were too poor to feed them. This increased the urban garden's importance for him as he said that without his, and the other Joe Slovo Park's urban farming youth's help, these children would not be fed (Youth Informant 12).

Both the older and younger female youth stated that urban agriculture was potentially valuable for food security, however, there was one young female youth who disagreed. This informant emphasized the fact that she did not see the point of urban agriculture specifically for the reason that one could go to a shop and buy the food there. For her, working in her mother's garden made

her feel poor as everyone would stare at her and wonder why she did not buy her food in a shop (Youth Informant 2). Møller (2005) found a similar viewpoint in her research, which she attributed to the fact that ‘modern technology, westernization and education have devalued gardening’ (Møller, 2005:73). It can be noted that Youth Informant 2 felt that way as it often takes months to grow the crop, which during that time can be ruined by pests. The input costs to grow are also often higher than the cost of buying vegetables from a supermarket and thus this could hinder people from growing their own crop.

Furthermore, several men, of all ages, also stated this view as they too did not see the value of growing crops, especially when you could buy all you needed in the shops (Youth Informant 3; 11; 24). It is important to note that each person who held this view was receiving money with which to buy food from their parents, regardless of their age. This in turn reinforced the household gender dynamics which were found, as it must be remembered that regardless of whether one was receiving money for food, the women were still in charge of finding and cooking the food for each meal. Nevertheless, it was also noted that several people from both townships who saw the benefit of growing crops did not receive any additional help from anyone and they did not take part in this activity to find a physical gain. The next section will explore the fact that often certain people enjoy taking part in urban agriculture purely for the social benefit that this practice can bring

6.2.3 The Social Benefits of Urban Agriculture

Several youth within both townships stressed the importance of urban agriculture becoming a more social activity, even though this is not articulated in the Policy. These youth stated that they had not known such an activity existed, while others said that they agreed that the activity was a good one, however, they did not have the time to take part (Youth Informants, 2; 5; 8; 11; 14; 16; 24; 28).

Several academics, as discussed in Section 2.4.1, have stressed the importance of viewing urban agriculture as a social activity, as this would allow for the practice to have multiple meanings, and could potentially incorporate more people of all ages (Hovorka, 1998; Brown and Jameton, 2000; Glover, 2004; Mougeot, 2005; Hovorka, et. al. 2009). These perceived social benefits, at both a community and an individual scale, will be explored through exploring the youth’s perceptions.

Three younger youth from Du Noon argued that they did not enjoy gardening within the township, as they felt that it was not popular for people to farm in the township. There was a stigma associated with urban agriculture. They rarely saw anyone farming in the township, and thus they assumed that it was not accepted by the township society. If they took part in this practice then they would be seen as different, and not popular, and this could lower their social status within their school and community environment (Youth Informant 1; 2; 3; 4). The literature suggests that the youth possess their own youth culture, which is separate from culture

itself. Through this they are different from adults and children, and thus they respond differently to different social occurrences, in this case taking part in urban agriculture. Youth culture is both part of society and social norms and distinct from it, and thus the youth are both included or excluded from their social relations through their behavior in society (Austin, 2004; Steinberg, 2008).

Two of the previous three youth gave a deeper explanation. They enjoyed working in the garden when they were visiting family, predominantly in the Eastern Cape, as there agriculture was a way of life and was performed by nearly everyone in the community (Youth Informant 2; 3). The predominant reason for this viewpoint was the fact that agriculture practiced in rural areas was seen to be popular due to the high levels of participation found. As levels of participation in urban areas, specifically in the two study sites, were much lower it was thus seen to be an unaccepted activity within an urban setting.

On the other hand, one informant said that if urban agriculture became more accepted within their township, then they would be happy to start a garden themselves, however, at the moment they did not feel comfortable doing so (Youth Informant 4). This perception points to the fact that the youth are worried that they will be ostracized by their community, usually their classmates, if they take part in an activity which is not considered popular in their area. Once again the literature argues that this is due to there being a presence of youth culture (Austin, 2004; Steinberg, 2008). The main reason for this is that at the youth's age less time is spent with family and more with friends who become a strong source of social support (Urberg, et. al. 1995; Harpham, 2003; Brown, and Klute, 2006; Padilla-Walker and Bean, 2009). The literature suggests that this period in a youth's life represents a presence of youth culture (Rice, 1996; Austin, 2004; Steinberg, 2008). This phenomenon has been previously explained in Chapter Two. As a result the youth decide to only take part in activities which are seen as 'socially acceptable' in their community. Several academics have focused on exploring the presence of youth culture, and it has been examined by looking at different social practices, for example sports and youth groups (Pilkington, 2007; Padilla-Walker and Bean, 2009; Slater and Tiggemann, 2010).

The perceptions of the older youth differ from those of the younger youth. It was interesting to notice that the older youth saw different social benefits based on the township which they were from. The older youth in Du Noon highlighted the importance of meeting new people. However, they explained that making friends was not purely for a social purpose. New people could often teach them new things and give advice on how to find jobs, make a CV, along with other important life matters. All these people that expressed this view were currently unemployed and had been unemployed for at least six months. They mentioned that being in this position could be depressing and so it was important to meet other people in a similar position and share ideas on how to find employment (Youth Informant 27; 29; 33; 37). These views were very interesting as they present a different articulation of a social benefit than what the literature suggests.

Both male and female informants from Du Noon stated that the youth would be interested in urban agriculture because it would create a 'feeling of employment'. Employment has already been highlighted as being an important factor for these older township youth. It is not only a source of income, but also a source of status (Community Member 7). In this case, having a 'feeling' of employment corresponds to having a purpose, or something to do during the day (Youth Informant 26; 31). This was seen as important because youth who were occupied would not be interested in doing bad things, and therefore crime could potentially decrease in the township (Youth Informant 31). In addition, two male informants argued that even though the economic gain was so low it was still perceived as beneficial by an unemployed person. However, the main merit for them was having a purpose during the day (Youth Informant 27; 29). Several academics emphasize the necessity of keeping the youth occupied, as turbulent youth, which are one result of unoccupied youth, can have severe consequences for society (Elliott, 1994; Kidd, 2003; Parry, et. al. 2004).

Several academics have emphasized the positive wellbeing that having something to do each day can bring (Creed and Macintyre, 2001; Hernandez and Brodt, 2005). However, it has to be noted that the perceived benefits derived from a feeling of employment, and actual employment can vary. The main benefit from taking part in actual employment is primarily to receive a monetary wage. However a feeling of employment can provide social interaction and a daily purpose which is deemed just as important (Brown, 2001: 4). This shows that having a feeling of employment is more psychologically focused as it incorporates the importance of feeling in control.

One informant emphasized the fact that Du Noon was a very large township and because of its size you could get a sense of 'getting lost' in it (Youth Informant 27). This informant argued that by 'getting lost' they felt that they did not have a place and did not have access to opportunities as they felt that everything was passing them by (Youth Informant 27). A community leader stated that what the youth require is a source which can train them and help them develop skills which would allow them to find a formal job (Community Member 7). This questions whether urban agriculture fits into this perception of employment as the youth seem to feel that it can rather be used as a stepping stone which could potentially help them find better employment, or a better livelihood. The data suggests that Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy has to be reconsidered to see whether it is suitable in its framing of urban agriculture as a livelihood source, as these youth seem to overlook this particular benefit from this activity.

The Joe Slovo Park older youth also felt that a community garden could become a 'very social thing' (Youth Informant 13), as they would be able to meet new people who had similar interests to them. However, the youth stated that the social benefit from urban agriculture was purely for enjoyment purposes as no additional needs, such as networking and potentially finding employment, should be derived other than making new friends (Youth Informant 12; 14; 19). It was also noticed that Joe Slovo Park had a very strong community structure in place, as the community leaders, who in turn made up the Community Development Forum, were very active

in the community. They constantly set up different cultural, sporting and educational events for the youth in the township, and so it the youth were able to take part in community based activities often (Community Member 7). For this reason, these youth only saw the pure social benefits that urban agriculture could bring as there were other structures in place which gave them the networking connections which the Du Noon youth desired.

Several City Officials who took part in urban agriculture projects and Community Members, had mentioned that the community leaders in Du Noon were not as approachable and not as active as the ones in Joe Slovo Park, mainly due to the larger size of the Du Noon township, and the possible difficulty of setting up activities for a much larger number of youth (City Official 1; 2; 3). The difference in size means that it was more difficult for the community leaders to collaborate with the youth, as many youth did not come to the youth meetings. In addition, there were too many youth and only a few community leaders so it was not possible to physically walk to each youth and speak to them, as was a common occurrence in Joe Slovo Park. Due to this fact it is possible that the youth from Du Noon also emphasized their need to organize the youth and empower them, even though the capacity to do so was not in place for a township of that size, due to a lack of space in which to create meetings for a group of that size. The Du Noon township had a large community hall where meetings could be held, however, due to the large number of people within this township, this hall was still not large enough to accommodate everyone. The fact that there is no strong organizational structure in place for the youth could result in the low youth involvement in urban agriculture as there is no one to motivate the youth to join urban agriculture.

Three older youth from Du Noon, one aged 20 and two aged 23 and consisting of two females and one male, mentioned the need for a platform on which to mobilize the youth and create a community voice. They felt that as a group they would be much stronger, and would thus be able to work together to improve their living conditions and standard of life (Youth Informant 28; 39; 40). One informant said that they could ask the community leaders for help, however, in the end he thought that they would have to mobilize themselves as often the community leaders did not have the time to help (Youth Informant 39). This points to the possibility that the youth in Du Noon wanted to create a community structure as there currently was not such structure in place.

6.2.4 Health and Wellbeing

Leading a healthy life, and receiving a positive feeling about oneself, was deemed important to the youth interviewed. A large number of older and younger youth from both Joe Slovo Park and Du Noon felt that these qualities of life could potentially be achieved through the practice of urban agriculture. In Section 5.1.1.3 Siganda (2011) emphasized the necessary linkages that the Urban Agriculture Policy would have to make in order for it to be viewed with different benefits in mind. In this instance, these youth would benefit from a framing of urban agriculture through a health focus as more emphasis would be placed on the psychosocial well-being that this practice could bring. Siganda argued that in this manner the changed emphasis of this practice

could include more people as they would understand that there is more to urban agriculture than solely the economic and food security benefits (Siganda, 2011).

Some of the Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park youth felt that urban agriculture had the potential to calm one's life and have a de-stressing effect on the person. These qualities were important as it was argued that life in a township often brought about difficult problems for the youth, the main problem for older youth being the level of unemployment, and their perceived low probability of finding a job (Youth Informant 15; 18; 19; 37). One older youth from Joe Slovo Park who was involved in the urban agriculture project argued that gardening in the City of Cape Town urban farm made her happy as she knew that the food that she was growing would go to the young children who attended the nursery and this gave her a positive feeling (Youth Informant 21).

This same garden also helped a second older youth from Joe Slovo Park as it allowed one to think about different things and work through some of your problems. Several youth in the focus group also stated that it helped 'calm you down if you had a busy or stressful day' (Youth Informant 21; Focus Group Data). The physical exercise that gardening could give and the eating of vegetables which are healthy were both seen to promote a healthy lifestyle by several youth interviewed (Youth Informant 21; 36; Focus Group Data). Lastly, the youth who were taking part in urban agriculture in Joe Slovo Park felt that working in a garden was a good activity as it would allow for self-reflection and personal learning (Youth Informant 12; 13; 14; 19; 21). Other youth argued that they did not have anything to do all day and working in a garden was potentially seen as important because it could give them something to do and a feeling of responsibility (Youth Informant 11; 27; 29).

The garden created a space where the youth could go to pass their time. Many non-farming respondents argued that this was a very positive aspect of urban agriculture which could decrease the level of crime in the area, as those who were involved in the crime, the youth, would now be occupied and would 'have less time to do bad things' (Youth Informant 12). This view point has already been articulated earlier in this chapter. Furthermore, it was also felt that the garden could stop the youth from taking drugs and drinking too heavily, as drinking was seen to be a way to pass time (Youth Informant 35). These views were held by the youth of all ages from both Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park, however, even with this positive view of urban agriculture these youth were still not involved in this activity. The reasons for this will be explored in section 6.3.

Such positive outlooks towards the psychosocial benefit from urban agriculture are common in the literature. Several authors have discussed the merit that this practice can bring for a person's self-esteem and stress levels as it alleviates feelings of hatred and anger (Seymore, 1976; Malakoff, 1995; Brown and Jameton, 2000; Milligan, et. al. 2004). In turn, helping others also brings about a feeling of good will which has very positive personal benefits as well (Møller, 2005; Mougeot, 2005).

However, not everyone held such a positive view of urban agriculture. Several non-farming informants were worried that if they did start a garden then it would not bring them calm and well-being, but instead they would have a much more stressful life. This was due to the fact that they were afraid that their crops would be stolen by others, or their crops would not grow well, thus causing them to lose the money which they had invested in this activity (Youth Informant 2; 3; 4; 40). These two factors would cause these youth a great deal of frustration and due to this they were not interested in taking part in urban agriculture.

6.3 Additional Barriers to Youth Involvement

Throughout the course of this research the youth mentioned that urban agriculture was a good idea and a valuable activity for many reasons. However, very few of them were actually involved in this practice. Within the group of younger youth, six out of the ten youth interviewed were involved in urban agriculture in their township, with two being involved in this practice through their school, in Joe Slovo Park. Two other youth from the same category were involved in urban agriculture in Du Noon, however, this was a seldom occurrence as they would help their aunts when it was necessary. It was also agreed that the urban agriculture found at Inkwenkwezi High School would not count towards youth participation, as the youth did not participate of their own free will, but instead because they had detention.

A lower level of participation in urban agriculture was found among the older youth. In Du Noon only three female youth were found practicing urban agriculture on the outskirts of Du Noon and their involvement in this practice was still low as they did not own the plot, but rather periodically went to it to help a family member. The level of participation was slightly higher in Joe Slovo Park, with six people, two male and four female, taking part in this practice. Five of these people were actively farming in the City of Cape Town's youth development urban agricultural project. The other person was busy growing small crops in plastic bottles in her home.

Out of all the youth who were not involved in urban agriculture, many of them stated that it sounded like a very good activity, one which would be very good for 'them' (Youth Informant 4; 7; 10; 16; 22; 23; 28; 33; 34). This showed an externalization of who this activity was good for and signifies other youth who would benefit from urban agriculture. Some of these 'other youth' were mentioned as being more food insecure, more poor and thus were people who were worse off than our informants themselves (Youth Informant 10; 16; 34). These youth believed that the activity could bring many benefits and thus was beneficial for anyone farming. However, they did emphasize that the practice was good for 'them', thus immediately showing that they did not consider themselves to be part of the category which could benefit from urban agriculture. This spoke to an externalization of who should be part of this practice and to an extent could reinforce the youth's perceptions of the practice. It was clear that through the use of this word these youth did see the merit of urban agriculture; however, they could not picture themselves taking part in it. Several other reasons to this lack of youth involvement could also be found. These can be

attributed to a lack of communication and knowledge, a lack of space, crime, and lastly excluding social structures in the townships. This shall all be elaborated below.

Firstly, a large number of youth in Du Noon expressed an interest in urban agriculture when they heard of this activity during the interviews, however, all of them stated that they had not heard of this initiative before, or known that it was possible. The youth from Du Noon expressed the fact that they felt that there was a bad level of communication in their township as they often did not hear of community meetings. These youth also said that when they did know of a community meeting they often did not attend because these meetings were held at inconvenient times (Youth Informant 27; 32; 34; 37). It was stated that the meetings were often between six and seven in the evening, which was during dinner time, and most youth were busy eating with their families. Three older female youth also said that they did not feel safe walking to those meetings as one would have to return after it was already dark. Du Noon was a large township with many people and so walking for even a small distance could be unsafe (Youth Informant 28; 33; 37).

The youth in Joe Slovo Park noted a similar reason for there being a low level of involvement; however, they attributed it to bad communication between people in the township. These youth felt that the youth who were involved in urban agriculture should be more vocal and tell the youth who are not involved about it, however, this does not happen (Youth Informant 11; 16; 20; 24; 25). The gardens in Joe Slovo Park are hidden behind a wall and so one will not know that an urban farm is there as they cannot see it. What can be noted is that even in this township social structures are in place which exclude people from joining urban agriculture. In this case, the lack of information allows those who know about urban agriculture to benefit from it, while those who don't know about this activity probably will not find out. Within Du Noon, the youth were not a part of the urban farmers social networks, and thus when plots were given to other people the youth were unable to receive them.

This low level of communication was noted by both groups of people, however, it must be acknowledged that this differs between the two townships. Joe Slovo Park has a very efficient youth forum which is run by the Community Development Leaders. They hold regular meetings and activities during different times of the day which help the youth become incorporated into the township community. Often these structures are actually quite closed and exclusive, although they are officially open to all; however, they are often controlled by a small group of insiders. This shows that this assertion of community can be very limited as there are already strong structures in place which allow a strong community to form, however certain occurrences could weaken these structures. In turn this shows that since the youth are still asking for a stronger community, without themselves doing much to get involved, then this need for a community is more an idealization than a reality. However, the same cannot be said for the Du Noon youth as it has already been previously mentioned that their community leaders are less effective, and their community structure is not as strongly formed.

In addition, there were several youth, all male, from both townships who knew that urban agriculture was taking place in their township; however, they did not want to get involved. Both of these groups of youth stated that they did not see the point of growing vegetables as there were no vacant pieces of land in the township (Youth Informant 16; 24; 25; 29; 34). If there was any free land, then this was quickly taken up by informal houses. This factor was seen as very important because if there were no large pieces of land, then one would not be able to have a large yield to later sell and make a lot of money from. With this thought in place these male youth did not understand why anyone would be interested in urban agriculture (Youth Informant 16; 24; 25; 29; 34).

A last concern raised by the youth, again from both townships, was that even if they were interested in the activity, they did not know enough about vegetable farming or livestock rearing to do it themselves. Many of them had no experience and said that they knew people who knew how to garden and raise animals, however, these people were too busy and unwilling to teach them how to do it (Youth Informant 11; 16; 19; 40). One informant said that due to his lack of knowledge of this practice he was not interested in taking part. He would rather prefer to take part in other activities, ones that he knew how to do (Youth Informant 14).

The younger youth had more knowledge of how to farm, however in their case they saw urban agriculture very negatively. Two specific factors can be attributed to this negative experience, the youth's school and their own parents. Inkwenkwezi high school in Du Noon used gardening as a punishment tool for students who were misbehaving. Those students had to give up their Friday afternoons and work in the garden as a form of detention. The garden served two purposes as the vegetables were also harvested and cooked, and given to the students during meal times. However, it became apparent that the detention factor created a negative attitude towards vegetable gardening for the youth in the high school. Many students from Du Noon stated that they would not like to garden as they saw it as a punishment, rather than an activity which could benefit the whole school by feeding the students (Youth Informant 1; 3; 4; and Focus Group data). However, there was one young youth in Du Noon who greatly enjoyed gardening, and said that since she did not have a plot she went to the school garden to help the gardener on weekends (Youth Informant 5). In her case one can see that her passion for this activity was able to eliminate the negative view which gardening as a detention measure brought about. She stated that she enjoyed urban agriculture because it was an activity she took part in with her grandmother when she was in the Eastern Cape. Even though she acknowledged that this activity was viewed as unpopular she still continued to take part in it because it reminded her of her time spent with her grandmother (Youth Informant 5).

However, two youth were interviewed who used to go to the high school in Joe Slovo Park, Sinenjongo High School, but had recently transferred to Inkwenkwezi High School, and they had a different opinion of urban agriculture. Their previous school did not use gardening as a detention measure, but rather they grew the vegetables to feed the pre-primary students in the school. Their view was that the garden was a positive thing as it fed the young children, some of

whom only had this one meal a day. These youth said that they were happy to work in the garden as it helped other people, while at the same time it was seen as a fun activity (Youth Informant 9, 10). However, despite this positive view of urban agriculture, one of them emphasized that she would not like to help in another garden or have her own garden as it was too much work to do by yourself (Youth Informant 9). One can note that the informants' perceptions of gardening were profoundly shaped by the external constructions of the activity, and not entirely by the activity itself. This in turn points to the fact that the youth could possibly be involved in this activity, if the external climate surrounding urban agriculture had been different.

Some of the younger youth's own parents had a negative view of urban agriculture and they were seen to influence their children's views as well. One youth spoke of how his parents would laugh at their friends if they mentioned the need to take part in urban agriculture, while a second youth spoke of how her mother told her not to get involved in that dirty activity: 'gardening can only get your hands dirty' (Youth Informant 2; 4). In both cases these negative views were seen to influence the youth as they then would voice their parents' opinions on this subject. Their parents' opinions could be attributed to the earlier conception of urban agriculture which stated that agriculture was a rural approach and had no place in an urban context (Mougeot, 1994; Tambwe, 2006).

These last two chapters have shown that there indeed seems to be a mismatch between what the policy and City Officials say of the urban agriculture projects, and what is the lived reality of these projects. In addition, it is noted that the policy and the City Officials do not have a good understanding of who the youth actually are, and what their motivations are. This becomes very problematic as questions are raised to how they hope to integrate the youth into the urban agriculture projects when a good understanding of the projects and the youth are not actually in place. This in turn points to the fact that the youth are simply not practicing urban agriculture because the climate surrounding the urban agriculture projects impacts on their ability and desire to farm. In order to effectively involve the youth into this practice both the policy and the urban agriculture projects need to be more responsive and more open to the youth themselves.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis aimed to examine what affects youth involvement within the City of Cape Town's urban agriculture projects. This was accomplished through exploring the four objectives which provided structure to this research and will be enlarged on below.

7.1 Examining the City's Urban Agriculture Policy and Projects

7.1.1 Framing Urban Agriculture as a Livelihood Approach

The first objective explored the City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy and projects in order to examine how they were being framed and how the City engages with them. This in turn explored the City's framing and understanding of the youth in order to observe whether they are responsive to the youth's lived experience.

Two main findings were apparent from this exploration. Firstly, it was observed that both the Urban Agriculture Policy and the projects were framing urban agriculture to be a livelihood approach. This was observed through noting the emphasis which was placed on the Policy's approach towards achieving both household food security and economic development (City of Cape Town, 2007:2/3). This specific framing was seen to be the result of urban agriculture being placed into the City of Cape Town's Economic and Human Development Department which placed a great emphasis on economic development within all of its work. Questions have already been raised as to the role that urban agriculture can play if it is placed into a specific department as it could have problems in intervening in critical areas (Frayne, et. al. 2009). For example, concerns are raised within this thesis as to whether the various City Officials are able to collaborate with one another as this aspect is highlighted as important within the Policy. Once again, Frayne, et. al. (2009) have their doubts, as they argue that through this placement of urban agriculture into one specific department, this department's main concerns and objectives will be prioritized over other potential benefits which urban agriculture could bring (Frayne, et. al. 2009:29). This could additionally have a negative impact on the youth as through this framing they themselves could be excluded from this activity as it potentially does not lie in their range of immediate interests. This shall be explored at a later stage in this conclusion.

The literature suggests that people take part in UA for many reasons, the dominant ones being income generation, livelihood diversification, subsistence, dietary supplementation, and a series of social benefits (Freeman, 1991; May and Rogerson, 1995; Mbiba, 1995; Mougeot, 2005; Nugent, 2005). Primarily people will partake in this activity in order to grow crops for home consumption; however, some may do so for commercial reasons. These people can also farm on a sporadic basis choosing to sustain themselves during a time of crises (Crush, et. al. 2010:12). Once again urban agriculture's relevance to the youth has to be highlighted as the literature

suggests that generally older people take part in urban agriculture as they are more content with the activities potential in being a food security source, and less an economic endeavor. The results from this research found that the youth lacked vision in seeing how urban agriculture could be a benefit to them when it was framed as a livelihood activity as they primarily focused on the immediate return which this practice could bring, which was initially low on the monetary side. It was also observed that the youth acknowledged the future economic development potential which urban agriculture could bring, however, since it was a future benefit and not an immediate one the youth were still not interested in becoming involved.

This research has shown that there are multiple ways in understanding the value of urban agriculture. The City has linked its Urban Agriculture Policy in a particular manner, emphasizing its livelihood focus, and this has had particular impacts on practice and uptake. The literature suggests that people may not be practicing urban agriculture for the reasons that the Policy and City Officials want them to. This makes it problematic for the City to support these urban farmers as various farmers take part in this practice for more than just its livelihood potential.

Within this research, the City of Cape Town has framed urban agriculture to be a livelihood strategy, but this framing does not meet the youth's needs. The results from this research showed that with this framing many youth may be excluded from taking part in this practice, as it did not match the youth's priorities in livelihood aspirations. This research suggests that a wider definition of urban agriculture should be used. This wider definition should encompass more than just the economic benefits that this activity can bring, but should also include the social and wellbeing aspects which were emphasized by the youth. However, it must be noted that this wider definition will be difficult to bring about given the institutional home of the Urban Agriculture Policy and Urban Agriculture Unit in Cape Town.

7.1.2 Understanding the Youth

The second finding from this research showed that although both the Policy and City Officials often referred to the youth, it became apparent that the meaning behind this term was unclear. Not understanding who the youth were made it problematic when trying to increase their levels of involvement in urban agriculture. In addition, there was a low level of engagement with the needs and desires of the youth and a low level of direct programming to include the youth. The City of Cape Town officials envisaged the youth solely in terms of their age group, that being 14 to 35 years old, and through this understanding they placed this group of people into a uniform category.

Within a global context, a level of discrepancy is found within the description of youth. Gugerty and Cagley (2010) released a list of literature citations relating to the youth. After exploring these academic readings it was apparent that the term 'youth' had many definitions which could include people from the age of 8 up until 30 depending on which country, and for what purpose the text was written. Other definitions were not related to age, but rather to the person's social

standing, as they referred to youth as being people who were unmarried, or dependent on their parents for food (Gugerty and Cagely, 2010:1). With definitions such as these one can note that the category 'youth' can actually be very wide, and within this research no clarity is given as to who this group of people really is, or how to engage with them.

7.2 Understanding the Urban Agriculture Projects

The second objective aimed to gain an understanding of the urban agriculture projects within Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park. This objective was linked to the first as it explored the practice of urban agriculture and the City administered projects within the two townships. This was done in order to explore whether there were any potential barriers to youth involvement through the manner in which the urban agriculture projects were administered and operated within the townships. In addition, the lived experience of the urban farmers was compared to the City's perceived lived experience of the urban agriculture projects in order to explore whether the City had the correct understanding of what this experience was.

The results from this exploration showed that there is a profound mismatch between the Policy's and the City Officials' perceived lived experience of the urban agriculture projects, and the actual experience of these projects, especially in Du Noon. This outlook was derived through the urban farmers having a different understanding of the projects than the City Officials did. Several farmers built houses on their plots of land and, in addition, internally exchanged ownership of the plots between one another. However, the City Officials had stated that these occurrences were not supposed to happen as housing and internal plot transfers were not the project's main aims. This further reinforces the fact that people do farm for different reasons and see urban agriculture as providing different benefits. Again, questions were raised as to whether the City of Cape Town is capable of incorporating the youth into the urban agriculture projects, especially since their views of the projects and how they run are different to those of the urban farmers. The urban farmers' internal transfers of plots were excluding the youth from having access to the plots which again was problematic.

7.3 The Youth's Actual and Aspired Livelihood Strategies

The last two objectives of this research took a more direct focus onto the youth themselves. The third objective aimed to examine the youth's actual and aspired livelihood strategies in order to find out whether they are complimentary to urban agriculture, especially in light of the fact that urban agriculture is framed as a livelihood approach. Within the results it was argued again that this framing of urban agriculture is problematic as it excludes certain youth from taking part in this practice. Several youth stated that they would like to become involved in this practice, but mainly to derive the social or well-being benefits it can bring. Once again, the fact that the youth are not a homogenous group of people was emphasized, and this was done through separating the youth into two groups, one consisting of younger youth aged 14 to 18 years old, and the second

group consisting of youth aged 19 to 35 years old. This research argues that this separation was necessary as certain youth had stated that they would be interested in urban agriculture if it was framed in a different manner. The literature reinforces this previous outlook and shows that the youth of different ages would understand certain matters in a different manner due to their difference in emotional development (Brown, 2001; Webster-Stratton and Taylor, 2001; Reinke and Herman, 2002).

The results from this research showed that the younger youth were not interested in urban agriculture as a livelihood approach, mainly because they were not in the stage of their lives where they were looking for a career for the future. In addition, they were not considering a livelihood because they valued their free time which they currently had. It must be acknowledged that the youth do not only work in order to attain a wage. They may do so to earn extra spending money, and for social interaction and companionship (Brown, 2001:4). However, since the City of Cape Town frames urban agriculture as a livelihood in relation to economic development, then this idea of a livelihood is more focused on employment and work, than on an activity with social benefits. This once again points to the fact that the youth would not be interested in this practice with a livelihood framing in place.

It was noted that the older youth responded more positively to urban agriculture because they were more suited to understand the benefits that could be gained from it. For example, a great deal has been written on how urban livelihoods are unique as they rely heavily on labour for income (Maxwell, et. al. 2000: xi). Labour is thus seen as the most important livelihood asset, however, other factors such as education and skills can increase its usefulness (Maxwell, et. al. 2000:8). The capacity to work, or labour, is one of the assets which the youth possess. In line with this they are often more willing to take part in an activity which constitutes manual labour. However, within this research, some of the older youth were still skeptical of taking part in urban agriculture due to the perceived low economic returns which it would initially bring. In this manner few identified it as a viable livelihood strategy, and more emphasis was given to the potential social benefits.

Due to this, it would seem that in line with the younger youth's aspirations, urban agriculture is not a good match. Still, it is better suited to the needs of the older youth, especially in light of it being framed as a livelihood option. However, within this research the older youth were also hesitant to become involved in this practice. This resistance shown by the older youth could be shaped by prior negative perceptions to agriculture from younger years. Once again, this emphasizes the fact that the Urban Agriculture Policy and City Officials are not capable of engaging with the youth and incorporating them into the urban agriculture projects because they simply do not know who the youth actually are. If they had a deeper understanding of the youth then they would realize that a livelihood framing of urban agriculture is not a good match for the younger youth, as these youth are more interested in the social benefits that this practice can bring.

7.4 The Youth's Perceptions of Urban Agriculture

The last objective examined the youth's own perceptions of urban agriculture. Within the results section the youth raised the fact that they would be more willing to join this practice if a larger focus was placed on other benefits. Social and health benefits were found to be important to the youth within this research.

The response to urban agriculture was largely positive from the youth interviewed. However, very few of them were involved in this practice. One reason for this was the fact that certain youth were simply not interested in becoming involved in urban agriculture, even though they expressed interest in the practice. Other youth emphasized the potential benefits that this practice could bring, yet they too were not involved. The research found that the main reason to the low level of youth involvement within urban agriculture was the fact that there were several structural constraints in place which created barriers to involvement.

One such barrier was the lack of communication between township residents. Several youth were very interested in this activity, however they stated that it was their first time hearing of it. These youth expressed the fact that they knew that their township had a bad level of communication as people often did not spread interesting news to one another. Furthermore, these youth generally did not attend township meetings as they were held at inconvenient times. This low level of communication was expressed by youth from both Du Noon and Joe Slovo Park. In addition, youth from both townships did not feel that urban agriculture had been a possibility in their township as there was no land available for farming. For this reason they had simply not assumed its existence.

A second barrier to youth involvement was found and this was attributed to the lack of knowledge surrounding urban agriculture. Several youth had known about the existence of the projects, yet they did not want to participate in them because they did not know how to farm. They expressed the view that no one was willing to show them how to farm and thus they felt that they were unequipped to join this activity. The City of Cape Town officials and Policy were very vocal in stating that they provided training to those who would need it in order to help them progress into and within this practice. However, some of the youth's responses show that this training had not been offered to them. This could be a result of the lack of communication within the townships and could show the City officials would need to be more active in targeting the youth in these areas.

The last external barrier which was noted was that of the external social structures which were present in the township. It was observed that the original urban farmers in Du Noon were no longer farming, and were informally transferring individual plots of land through their own social networks. The research showed that these farmers had a negative perception of the youth, and due to this negative perception they would not pass on plots to the youth. As a result there were no opportunities for the youth to acquire plots, as the City had no available land for new plots and the available plots were out of the youth's reach. The City's system was supposed to be

transparent and, therefore, accessible to youth, but informal transfers outside of the City's systems made this difficult. This was thus a strong hindering factor to youth involvement.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

This research aimed to understand what affects youth involvement in the City of Cape Town's urban agriculture projects. From the previous section it can be noted that there are a number of factors which co-generate the limited youth uptake. The City's framing of urban agriculture as being primarily, and in some understandings solely a livelihood approach immediately excludes the younger youth from being interested in this activity. These youth prioritize more social activities and with this understanding a livelihood focus is not a suitable interest. However, it had been initially believed that the livelihood focus would be a better match to the needs of the older youth as they were at the stage of their lives where they were actively seeking livelihood opportunities. After some examination urban agriculture was not deemed a suitable practice as it did not have a strong monetary return. A strong monetary return was emphasized by the older youth as being an important factor which would influence their involvement in light of the current framing of this practice. The City of Cape Town's framing of urban agriculture is again highlighted as urban agriculture is understood by the City to be an economic generating approach, however by the youth it is not seen as one. A suggestion is made that the City should gain a better understanding of the youth in order to effectively frame urban agriculture in a manner that meets the youth's needs and sparks an interest with them.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the City of Cape Town's framing of urban agriculture is not the only factor which limits youth involvement. External township structures, which limit communication between township residents, and a lack of opportunities in which to up skill oneself, in this case in farming, both demoralize the youth from becoming involved in urban agriculture. In the first instance, not hearing about the activity is a strong factor which creates a lack of involvement because if one does not know about the activity then they cannot take part in it. In addition, hearing about the activity but not knowing how to take part similarly creates a climate of disinterest and potentially dislike. The urban farmers own internal transfers of urban agriculture plots turned a seemingly transparent practice into one which was only accessible through social connections. This research has observed that these were connections which the youth do not have especially as the urban farmers' perceptions of the youth are negative. Furthermore, the lack of additional available land on which to farm is scarce in Du Noon, and with the presence of these 'gatekeepers' urban agriculture is not accessible for the youth there. Further research in this regard could explore areas which had more land available for urban agriculture, in order to understand whether a lack of land is a true barrier, or whether the youth themselves are not interested in this practice.

The external barriers and structural constraints can show that the City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy and projects are not the only barriers to youth involvement in this practice. It

is true that focusing solely on the youth in order to create empowerment projects is not sufficient. The youth's choices need to be understood in the context of the wider social norms and perceptions of the youth in the community in which they live. In addition, the City must understand that external barriers are in place which hinder the youth from becoming involved in urban agriculture, and they must try to work around them if they hope to include the youth within their urban agriculture projects.

The main conclusions of this thesis are that the City of Cape Town Policy and projects, the township community structures and the youth themselves are barriers towards youth involvement within urban agriculture. Therefore, the strong advocacy based research needs to develop a richer understanding of how the political, cultural and economic climates connect in location to impact urban agriculture. This results in policy makers needing to focus on some of the less tangible elements in order to make policy and practice more effective.

University of Cape Town

Appendices

A. List of Informants

A.1 Project Supporters

Informant	Name	Gender	Position	Department
City Official 1	Christopher Hewitt	Male	Development and Facilitation Officer	Economic and Human Development
City Official 2	Godfrey Domingo	Male	Professional Officer: Urban Agriculture	Economic and Human Development
City Official 3	Mzoxolo Kutta	Male	Professional Officer	Social Development
City Official 4	Pholoso Malatji	Male	Head Agricultural Advisor	Western Cape Department of Agriculture
City Official 5	Phumlani Mentani	Male	Agricultural Officer	Western Cape Department of Agriculture
City Official 6	Stanley Visser	Male	Head of Development Facilitation	Economic and Human Development
Community Member 7	Luthando Lekevana	Male	Community Leader	Joe Slovo Park Community Development Forum
Community Member 8	Nokuzola Dlabantu	Female	Urban Agriculture Project Site Head	Joe Slovo Park Resident
Community Member 9	F. Ngiwaza	Male	Head of Sports Council	Joe Slovo Park Sport Council
Community Member 10	Thabo Diniso	Male	Chairperson of Youth Forum	Joe Slovo Park Youth Forum
Community Member 11	Thandoxulu Popo	Male	Head of Youth Forum	Joe Slovo Park Youth Forum

A.2 Project Participants

Project Participant	Age	Gender	Location	Date of Interview
1	50	Female	Du Noon	10/08/11
2	75	Female	Joe Slovo Park	10/08/11
3	67	Male	Du Noon	12/08/11
4	46	Female	Du Noon	12/08/11
5	54	Male	Du Noon	12/08/11
6	35	Male	Du Noon	12/08/11
7	31	Male	Du Noon	14/08/11
8	62	Male	Joe Slovo Park	15/08/11
9	52	Male	Du noon	15/08/11
10	60	Male	Du Noon	15/08/11
11	75	Male	Du Noon	19/08/11
12	61	Male	Du Noon	19/08/11

A.3 Youth Informants

Youth Informant	Age	Gender	Location	Date of Interview	Duration of Interview
Youth Aged 15-18					
Focus Group 1			Du Noon	17/10/11	1 hour 30 min
Focus Group 2			Du Noon	19/10/11	1 hour 30 min
Focus Group 3			Du Noon	24/10/11	1 hour 30 min
1	16	Female	Du Noon	18/10/11	1 hour
2	16	Female	Du Noon	18/10/11	1 hour
3	17	Male	Du Noon	20/10/11	45 min
4	16	Female	Du Noon	20/10/11	40min
5	17	Female	Du Noon	20/10/11	45 min
6	15	Female	Joe Slovo	1/11/2011	40min
7	18	Female	Joe Slovo	1/11/2011	40min
8	18	Female	Joe Slovo	1/11/2011	30min
9	15	Female	Joe Slovo	1/11/2011	35min
10	17	Male	Joe Slovo	1/11/2011	30min

Youth Aged 19-35					
Joe Slovo Park					
11	19	Male	Joe Slovo	2/11/2011	1 Hour
12	21	Male	Joe Slovo	2/11/2011	1 Hour
13	23	Male	Joe Slovo	2/11/2011	45 min
14	30	Female	Joe Slovo	3/11/2011	1 hour
15	25	Female	Joe Slovo	3/11/2011	40min
16	22	Male	Joe Slovo	3/11/2011	1 Hour
17	28	Male	Joe Slovo	4/11/2011	45 min
18	25	Male	Joe Slovo	4/11/2011	45 min
19	29	Female	Joe Slovo	11/11/2011	30min
20	28	Female	Joe Slovo	11/12/2011	30min
21	28	Female	Joe Slovo	11/13/2011	40min
22	35	Female	Joe Slovo	12/11/2011	35min
23	24	Female	Joe Slovo	12/12/2011	40min
24	35	Male	Joe Slovo	14/11/11	35min
25	33	Male	Joe Slovo	14/11/11	35min
Du Noon					
26	30	Female	Du Noon	9/11/2011	1 hour
27	28	Male	Du Noon	9/11/2011	45 min
28	23	Female	Du Noon	9/11/2011	1 hour
29	24	Male	Du Noon	9/11/2011	40min
30	30	Female	Du Noon	10/11/2011	45 min
31	19	Female	Du Noon	10/11/2011	45 min
32	28	Male	Du Noon	10/11/2011	35 min
33	25	Female	Du Noon	10/11/2011	35 min
34	24	Male	Du Noon	11/11/2011	1 hour
35	30	Male	Du Noon	11/11/2011	40min
36	24	Male	Du Noon	11/11/2011	45 min
37	19	Female	Du Noon	11/11/2011	35 min
38	23	Male	Du Noon	12/11/2011	1 hour
39	20	Male	Du Noon	12/11/2011	45 min
40	23	Female	Du Noon	12/11/2011	30min

B. Data Collection Tools

B.1 Urban Agriculture Questionnaire

URBAN AGRICULTURE QUESTIONNAIRE

All questions contained in this questionnaire will be used as data for a University of Cape Town Masters thesis.

Feel free to leave out any questions you feel uncomfortable answering.

Section 1: Personal Information

Name:			
Age:		Gender:	<input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F
Race:	<input type="checkbox"/> Black	<input type="checkbox"/> Coloured	<input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
Marital Status:	<input type="checkbox"/> Single	<input type="checkbox"/> Partnered	<input type="checkbox"/> Married
	<input type="checkbox"/> Separated	<input type="checkbox"/> Divorced	<input type="checkbox"/> Widowed
Area of birth:			
Current living location:		Length of stay in current location:	
Highest level of education:			
Employment Status:			
Occupation:			
Income from last month's occupation:			

Section 2: Household Data

Relation to HH head:			
HH structure:	<input type="checkbox"/> Female Centered	<input type="checkbox"/> Male Centered	<input type="checkbox"/> Nuclear <input type="checkbox"/> Extended <input type="checkbox"/> <18
	Other: _____		
HH income:	<input type="checkbox"/> Permanent:	Income Source	Amount
	<input type="checkbox"/> Part-time:		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other:		

Why did you decide to join:	
What process did you go through to get involved:	
How did you acquire land:	
Who in your family is involved:	
Do you know of any more people who want to get involved in the project:	
Do you know if it is difficult to get involved:	
Are there any young people involved in UA:	
If yes, why do you think they do it:	
If no, why do you think they don't do it:	

If no, give reasons for what could be done to get them involved:	
What support did the City of Cape Town provide:	
How long was this support given:	
Was this support useful to you:	

B) Urban agriculture experiences:

How often do you tend to your garden:	
Would you like to spend more time tending to it:	
How do you feel when you are in your garden:	
What do you grow:	
What do you do with your crops:	

Has UA made your life easier or harder: (please explain)	
Have you had prior knowledge of farming:	
If so, has this had any impact:	
Do you feel UA is a job or does it have a social aspect too:	

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire!

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