Women of Hangberg: An Explorative Study of Empowerment and Agency

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A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Development Studies

Faculty of the Humanities
University of Cape Town
2020

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

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

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ABSTRACT

Women's empowerment is considered a key driver for social change and an important development objective. Empowerment describes as a process in which women gain the ability to redefine gender roles and the ability to extend possibilities for being and doing. This includes resources and active agency. Despite this, research is limited in scope and geography. Measures to assess empowerment in the development sector often focus on evident forms of agency that do not reflect local meanings of the concept.

In South Africa, studies of empowerment are primarily limited to women's decision-making within the household or in their reproductive roles. While many scholarly texts showcase the importance of women practicing their agency for the survival of their households and local communities, few investigate women's own experiences.

As such, this thesis aims to raise the importance of women's empowerment in the field of development and to add to understanding of gender in South Africa through ethnographic research methods. Ethnographic research focus on describing and understanding, rather than explaining phenomena. Through semi-structured interviews and participant observations, I explore the ways in which seven women in their local community of Hangberg exercise their agency to develop the community, and the empowerment outcomes of such work.

I find that engaging in development activities has realised a proliferation of outcomes relevant to empowerment among the women participants. This includes better intra-household relations, co-operation, wellbeing, and sense of purpose. The women participants see themselves as empowered women who attribute their own personal growth to participating in the development of their community.

Furthermore, I find that women actively exercise their agency in response to social, economic and political change. In this, the women participants are exemplars of an alternative 'solution' to overcoming social and economic despair in their community. At the same time, their empowerment and agency remain limited in terms of levels and reach. The women participants are not able to overcome the broader economic, social and political structures that shape their lives. They remain poised precariously between economic uncertainty and responsibilities of care.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank all the people whose assistance helped me in the completion of this project. I am especially indebted to my supervisor Bianca Time, whose support, guidance, constructive feedback, and encouragement abled me to complete this work.

Secondly, I would like to thank my friends and fellow students who aided me with the practical aspects and advice throughout. I would like to pay regards to Mia Kenney and Aidan Lacey who were always there when I needed emotional support.

Lastly and most importantly, I am so grateful for the women in Hangberg who welcomed me into their homes and agreed to speak to and work with me. You always treated me with kindness, patience, and respect. This thesis would not have been possible without you.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Why study women's empowerment?

For decades, women's empowerment and gender equality have been at the forefront of scholarly debates, development planning and policy making. Empowerment describes a process in which individuals with prior inability to choose (often women) gain the ability and freedom to make strategic choices (Kabeer, 1999, 2005). Gender equality is when men and women have equal access to rights and opportunities, including socio-economic rights and access to education, health care, work and representation in economic and political decision-making processes (World Bank, 2012). This objective can be realised through the empowerment of women.

Women's empowerment is further linked to various development objectives, including economic growth (Klasen, 2018), enhanced nutritional status (Malapi and Quisumbing, 2015), women's enhanced socioeconomic status (Asaolu et al., 2018), greater control over household resources (Smith et al., 2013), HIV/AIDS prevention (Gerritzen, 2016), and better policies for society's vulnerable and poor (Sen, 1999; Goetz, 2009).

Governments and organisations across the world have made and continue to make focused efforts to empower women and include them in politics, economics and societal affairs (Moser, 1989; Kabeer, 1994, 2005; Menon, 2018). This is based on the fundamental rationale that improved gender justice and equality are basic human rights and necessary to create just and sustainable societies (Naples, 1989; McEwan, 2000, 2001; Miraftab, 2004).

Gender equality and women's empowerment is highlighted as important development objectives by their inclusion in the United Nations' (UN) Millennial Development Goals (MDGs), set for 2015, and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), set for 2030. These goals provide a blueprint for development worldwide as civil society, private sector, and governments look to these goals when adapting their own development plans and strategies.

The status of African girls and women has been gradually improving (African Union, 2016), especially in relation to agency and empowerment outcomes (UN, 2015). But girls and women continue to suffer pervasive institutional disadvantages. These disadvantages include, but are not limited to, lack of property and inheritance rights (Agarwal and Bina, 1994; Kabeer, 1999; Endeley, 2001), fewer opportunities for education, employment and political power (Kabeer, 2005; UN, 2015), lack of decision-making power in the household (Kishor and Subaiya, 2008), restricted mobility outside the household (Rowlands, 1997; Nussbaum, 1999; Molyneux and Thomson, 2011), discriminatory access to food and health care (Messer, 1997), and exposure to intimate partner violence as well as gender- based violence more broadly (Ellsberg et al., 2008; Kishor and Subaiya, 2008; Mosoetsa, 2011).

In South Africa, women face disadvantages in most aspects of their lives. Women are among the main victims of poverty (Stats SA 2017a; Stats SA, 2017b). The majority of women find themselves on "the

economic, social and political fringes of society" (Williams, 2017: 540), living in either townships or impoverished rural settings (Dyers et al., 2012). Rape against girls and women continues to be a pressing issue, and South Africa's rape statistics are among the highest in the world (Stats SA, 2018c). Women work harder at each age than men, although the labour market favours the latter (Stats SA, 2018c). At the same time, men are more likely to be in paid employment than women, regardless of race (Stats SA, 2018b). The gendered nature of the labour market guarantees men higher wages than women (Mosoetsa, 2011). Moreover, well-established gender roles restrict men to breadwinning and view unpaid care work as a female prerogative, while women are considered subordinate to their male family members (Mosoetsa, 2011; Dyers et al., 2012).

Gender inequality and disadvantages, as well as women's continued disempowerment, is a waste of human potential in efforts to reach gender equality and other development goals (Gill et al., 2017). Globally, most studies concentrate on women's empowerment in private spheres which disregards women's agency and empowerment outside of the household. In South Africa, most analyses focus on women's decision-making within the household or in their reproductive roles (McEwan, 2000; Patel et al., 2015; Cooper et al., 2015).

Many texts highlight the importance of women exercising their agency for the survival of their household and local communities (Nelson and Wright, 1995; Mathie and Cunningham, 2003; Mosoetsa, 2011; Moser, 2012; Williams, 2017). For instance, scholars including O'Hara and Clement (2018) and Williams (2017) focus on the voices, experiences and realities of the women studied. However, as O'Hara and Clement (2018) point out, measures to assess empowerment in the development sector often focus on evident forms of agency that do not reflect local meanings of the concept.

1.2 Research question(s) and objectives

This thesis aims to raise the importance of women's empowerment in the field of development and add to understanding of gender in South Africa, through exploring the experiences of empowerment and agency among seven women involved in development activities in their local community of Hangberg.

I identify empowerment as a process that includes resources, agency and achievements or outcomes (Kabeer, 1999), and home in on agency as an important concept to be measured in relation to women's involvement in an environment of constrained possibility. In this, I aim to answer the following research question:

- **What are the experiences of empowerment and agency among local women involved in development activities in Hangberg, South Africa?**

Conceptually, I draw on parts of Mosedale's (2005) framework for assessing empowerment. Within this framework I focus on the ways in which the women participants identify constraints to action, develop their agency, and the ways in which their agency has changed constraints to action. With this, I aim to gain a deeper understanding of:

- How women participants perceive and experience social, economic and/or political constraints to exercise their agency

- How women participants act upon or plan to act upon their experiences
- How women participants locate their agency and sense of empowerment, if any, in their various development efforts
- Whether women participants perceive and experience their agency as able to change constraints to action

I employ ethnographic research methods including semi-structured interviews and participant observation to answer my research question and reach my objectives. The findings presented are based on data collected in Hangberg between March and July 2019.

1.3 Research site

I focus on Hangberg as it has an established presence of women-led development initiatives in which local women actively exercise their agency for the betterment of their community. At the same time, Hangberg's social, economic and political challenges mirror those of similar communities across South Africa.

Hangberg was originally established under apartheid, the political system of institutionalised racial segregation enforced by white minority governments in South Africa between 1948 and 1994, as a preferential area for 'coloured' workers in the fishing industry. Under (and after) apartheid, people were (and have been) classified as either 'White', 'Black', 'Coloured' or 'Indian' by South African governments. The term 'Coloured' refers to slaves brought from South-East India, indigenous Khoi and San peoples from the Western Cape, and people of mixed racial descent (Adhikari, 2006; Button et al., 2018).

After 1994, the closing down of fishing factories and decreasing fishing quotas have made unemployment a major issue (Tefre, 2010; De Greef, 2014a), while new issues have arisen. These include drug and alcohol abuse, robbery, rape and domestic violence, and issues relating to housing and service delivery (Tefre, 2010; De Greef, 2014a; Buhler, 2014; Conradie et al., 2019). Similar developments are seen in former 'coloured' and African communities established to house workers whose industries have declined since 1994.

The women-led development initiatives in the Hangberg community have emerged to counteract the issues and developments set out above. The seven women participants in this study all engage in such activities. Some work with children and youths, some with seniors, and some with people afflicted with drug and alcohol addictions.

In this, the women participants are exercising their agency for development purposes in an environment of constrained possibility. This makes Hangberg an ideal location to focus on and explore agency and empowerment for the purpose of development in a South African context with special attention to the apartheid past and the perspective that traditionally, women's position is understood to be in the home.

Other students have studied this community by focusing on issues such as housing, governance, illegal poaching and the human dimensions of such (see Fieuw, 2011; De Greef, 2014a; Buhler, 2014). Although women are mentioned as part of the community, their voices are absent in all these studies.

1.4 Dissertation format

This thesis is organised as follows. Chapter 2 presents an overview of literature around gender roles, development, empowerment, agency and citizenship. The second part of this chapter contextualises these concepts in South Africa and presents a more detailed overview of Hangberg, its history and the development initiatives currently operating in this community.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology utilised in this study. I sketch out the research approach, how I selected and found participants, and how I collected and analysed data. I also go into detail about the characteristics of the women participants and the research site, translation, language and cultural barriers, my positionality and the ethical considerations and issues that arose.

Chapter 4 presents an overview of the findings. I look at how the women participant exercise their agency, how they came to be involved in development activities in Hangberg, and what inspired such pursuits. I further explore the empowerment outcomes of such actions.

Chapter 5 presents a discussion of the findings in relation to existing literature. I focus on the following themes: purpose, belonging and responsibilities of care.

Chapter 6 is the final chapter which synthesise the main findings and arguments and conclude the thesis.

CHAPTER 2: LITTERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Many scholars have studied, examined and analysed women's empowerment, especially for the purposes of development. Although the literature is vast, this review will focus on five major concepts which emerge repeatedly throughout existing scholarship and writing. These themes are gender roles, development, empowerment, agency and citizenship. While the literature presents these themes in a variety of contexts, this thesis will primarily focus on their application in South Africa.

To do so, however, I first set out the origins of such literature. I start by outlining how 'women' came to be included in development planning and thought. Secondly, I outline the literature around empowerment, agency and citizenship that followed such work. I then set out the theoretical and conceptual framework utilised in this study.

Having provided a foundation and broad understanding, I localise the aforementioned themes in South Africa. I focus on women and women's movements during and after apartheid, and South African scholarship around agency, empowerment and citizenship. It should be noted that such literature is scarce. Finally, I explain how Hangberg came into being, the current socio-economic situation, and set out the development initiatives operating in this space.

2.2 A brief history of women and development theory and practice

As set out, women's empowerment and gender equality are considered important development goals (Moser, 1989; Naples, 1998; McEwan, 2000, 2001; Miraftab, 2004). But this has not always been the case. Prior to the 1970s, development scholars and practitioners made virtually no reference to women. Development was "about men, by men and for men" (Kabeer, 1994: xi). Yet it was generally assumed to improve the standards of all citizens in developing countries, regardless of gender (Momsen, 2008; Struckmann, 2018). When the UN proclaimed the 1960s as the First Development Decade, there was no reference to women as a separate entity (Kabeer, 1994, Momsen, 2010).

In the 1970s, scholars pointed out that the social and economic position of women had waned over the past decades and in the 'developing world' in particular (Rathgeber, 1990; Momsen, 2018).
During this time, men were considered heads and productive agents, while women were seen as housewives and 'at-risk producers' (Jaquette and Staudt, 1998). Consequently, mainstream development focused on men. Women were relegated to the more marginal welfare sector.

Scholars who looked at how women were brought into development found that such practices further marginalised women (Boserup, 1970; Pearson, 2005). In her global study, Ester Boserup, found that women played an important role in economic development but that colonisation, modernisation and the new international market economy had distorted the division of labour and elevated the economic and social status of men (Razavi and Miller, 1995). Women - as a result of these trends - lost income, status and power. Their essential contribution to the labour market became invisible.

Following such research, the first wave of organised feminism within international development organisations sought to make 'women' a visible category in research and policy making (Rathgeber, 1990; Kabeer, 1994; Momsen, 2018). Such an approach to development came to be known as the 'Women in Development' (WID) approach (Kabeer, 1994; Connelly et al., 2000). Other alternative approaches to development also came to light. These included 'Women and Development' (WAD) and 'Gender and Development' (GAD).

WAD advocates claimed that neoliberal capitalism was responsible for the underdevelopment of the developing world and that women are just one class exploited within the capitalist system (Singh, 2007, cited in Struckmann, 2018). WAD advocates stated that women's status would only be elevated if international structures became fair and just (Rathgeber, 1990). GAD advocates criticised WID and WAD for glossing over the sources and nature of women's subordination and oppression, such as the feminisation of poverty end employment, social reproduction, women's unpaid reproductive and care work, alongside inequalities based on women's class, race, colonial history, and position in the global economy and diverse local realities (Rathgeber, 1990; Struckmann, 2018).

GAD advocates recognised that women experience oppression differently and focused on investigating why women systematically were designated to inferior or secondary roles (Connelly et al., 2000; Struckmann, 2018). GAD advocates saw women as agents and recipients of development and acknowledged that women play active roles as reproductive workers within the home and as productive workers within the public spheres of society (Connelly et al., 2000).

The implications of Boserup's work, further reinforced by WID, WAD and GAD advocates and scholars, was to refocus the attention to women's equality in development efforts (Kabeer, 1994). Development was challenged to transform itself into a process that incorporated women as agents (Jaquette and Staudt, 1988; Kabeer, 1994; Koczberski, 1998; Momsen, 2008). This transformation is highlighted by the inclusion of women's empowerment and gender equality in the UN's strategies and goals. In the UN's Strategy for the Second Decade, women were identified as agents and beneficiaries. The strategy stated that women's empowerment was a necessity for increased output, gender equity and social progress (Moser, 1989; Kabeer, 1994; Menon, 2018). Gender equality and women's empowerment also feature among the UN's MDGs, set for 2015, and the SDGs, set for 2030. Goal 5 of the SDGs is "to achieve gender equality and empowerment among all women and girls" (United Nations, 2015). As such, these continue to be some of the most important development objectives (Sharaunga et al., 2016).

In practice, however, scholars state that "empowerment as framed by development agencies is often pursued under conditions that are not of their own [women's] choosing" (Cornwall and Edwards, 2010: 2). Female-only interventions have been criticised for neglecting to factor in the circumstances of women's oppression, failing to address the overall structures of patriarchy and refusing to question why freedoms, privileges and power continuously are skewed towards men (Chant, 2016).

When the UN launched the MDGs in 2000, it was envisioned that gender equality and women's empowerment would be reached through eliminating gender disparity in education, by increasing the number of women formally employed in the non-agricultural sector, and by getting more women representatives in parliament (Kabeer, 2005). Yet in 2010 and 2012, the UN reported that violence against

women remained persistent, while women continued to face discrimination in attempts to access education, work and government spaces.

Scholars overall emphasise that for policy changes and initiatives that aim to reduce gender inequality and empower women to be successful, there has to be assurance that proposed plans allow for women to engage, observe and hold all actors accountable (Kabeer, 2005; Sen and Mukherjee, 2014; Williams, 2017). Sen and Mukherjee (2014) further argue that progress towards women's empowerment and gender equality requires a human rights-based approach to development.

In the 1990s, human rights in relation to development gained prominence. Through the emergence of the human rights approach, development concerns gradually coalesced into human rights issues (Ferguson, 1999; Mathie and Cunningham, 2003). Human rights are seen as "universal, indivisible and interdependent" and women's rights are seen as basic human rights (Sen and Mukerjee, 2014: 189; McEwan, 2005). The rights-based approach to development, or human development, have brought citizenship to the forefront of development debates and refocused attention to participation as an essential human and citizenship right (Hausermann, 1998; Jones and Gaventa, 2002; Meer and Sever, 2004, cited in McEwan, 2005). Consequently, governments, global institutions and development agencies have embraced citizenship 'participation' and 'women's empowerment' as a panacea in development efforts to address inequalities and foster 'good governance' (Duffield, 2002; McEwan, 2005).

2.3 Review of empowerment literature and theory

Gender equality is intuitively easy to understand. Women's empowerment is less clear. The term is used to represent various concepts and outcomes. The literature has no single definition, but descriptions often include terms such as option, choice, control, power, agency and resources. Most often these terms refer to a woman's ability to make choices that she considers important to herself and her family. Sen (1993) defines empowerment as "altering relations of power… which constrain women's options and autonomy and adversely affect health and well-being". Alsop and Heinshohn (2005:6) consider individuals empowered when "they possess the capacity to make effective choices: that is, to translate these choices into desired actions and outcomes". The World Bank (2000) regards women's empowerment as the expansion of assets and capabilities that enable them to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control and hold accountable the institutions that affect their lives.

A common underlying feature is that empowerment is a process that includes active agency and an enabling environment. Empowering women, in other words, implies helping them become agents (Samman and Santos, 2009). While both men and women can become empowered, the term is more relevant to women (Sharaunga et al., 2016). Women's disempowerment traverse class and social structures and is therefore more pervasive. It often stems from household and interfamilial relations and is more complicated (Malhotra and Schuler, 2005; Sharaunga et al., 2016).

Kabeer suggests that "empowerment… refers to the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such an ability" (Kabeer, 1994: 435). Strategic choices are defined as choices "which are critical for people to live the lives they want" as opposed to "less consequential life choices which may be important for the quality of one's life but do not

constitute its defining parameters" (Kabeer, 1994: 437). She further states that empowerment is made up of resources (pre-conditions), agency (process) and achievements (outcomes). These elements are interconnected and inseparable.

Resources are material resources in economic terms, but also human and social resources such as relations, knowledge, experience, and more. Human and social resources are gained through relationships in various spheres of society, such as family or community (Kabeer, 1999). Resources create the enabling environment in which a person or collective can exercise their agency and achieve their goals (empowerment).

The second dimension is agency. In Sen's capability approach, agency is thought to be an important end in itself. According to Sen, "agency freedom is freedom to achieve whatever the person, as a responsible agent decides he or she could achieve" (Sen, 1985: 206). For Kabeer (1999: 438), agency is "the ability to define one's goals and act upon them". It is the meaning, motivation and purpose people attach to what they do, their sense of agency, or 'the power within' (Kabeer, 1999; Cornwall, 2016). Yet agency is not only about decision-making. Agency can also refer to discussion, deceit, manipulation, rebellion, reflection and analysis (Kabeer, 1999). It can be exercised by individuals or collectives.

Together, resources and agency make up what Sen (1985) calls capabilities: whether people are able to do what they want (doings) and be who they want to be (beings).'Functionings' is the possible ways of 'being and doing' that are valued by people in a given context (Sen, 1985). 'Functioning achievements' are the potential ways of 'being and doing' that are realised by individuals (Sen, 1985). When 'functioning achievements' are constrained by the ability to choose it is considered an indication of disempowerment (Kabeer, 1999).

Empowerment is further a multidimensional process that operates at various levels and in various spheres (Kabeer, 1999; Malhotra and Schuler, 2005; Alsop et al., 2006; Ibrahim and Alkire, 2007; Sharaunga et al., 2016). Spheres are structures in society in which people are embedded. These include state, the market and society, in which a person is either a civic, economic or social actor (Alsop et al. 2006). They also include family, friendship circles and informal institutions (Hanmer and Klugman, 2016). Some studies of empowerment distinguish between multiple spheres of empowerment (Uphoff, 2003; Sharaunga et al., 2016). Women can be empowered in all, in none, or in some of these spheres. However, research and analysis into empowerment most commonly focus on economic, social and civic spheres (Sharaunga et al., 2016).

2.3.1 Empowerment and citizenship

Kabeer (2012) puts forward the concept of citizenship as an important link between the process of empowerment and the process of achieving gender justice, or gender equality. At its basic, citizenship refers to the state of being a member of a country and having rights and obligations because of it. In this sense, citizenship defines the relationship between individuals and the state (Hassim, 1999). It is the mechanism for defining access to the political community and concerns itself with "both inclusion and exclusion" (Hassim, 1999: 7).

Marshall defined the concept of citizenship as "a universal status, establishing equality among members of

a society" (Marshall, 1965, cited in Hassim, 1999: 8). He set out three categories of citizenship: civil rights, social rights and political rights. Civil rights refer to freedom of person, association, speech, faith, contractual rights, and rights to justice. Political rights refer to the right to participate in political life of a society, for example voting. Social rights refer to rights to welfare and security. Marshall assumes that the state is the institution granting citizenship (Miraftab, 2004).

Lister (1997) states that civil and political rights are important to full and equal citizenship, but that these need to be reinforced by social rights. Social rights, she explains, are aimed at weakening inequal power-relations in the home or otherwise private spheres (Lister, 1997). Feminists have criticised the concept of citizenship for its gendered nature. Gouws explains that "rights in the public sphere alone are not enough to deal with political issues that undermine the exercise of citizenship such as the gendered nature of poverty, violence, lack of health care etc." (Gouws, 2017: 3). Feminists have shown that universal inclusion and status do not exist because citizenship is based on power (Hassim, 1999). This power is put to use in social, economic and political structures that maintain the exclusion of various groups, including women (Hassim, 1999; McEwan, 2000).

Lister (1997) expands on Marshall's definition of citizenship as she describes it as a status and a practice. She explains that status is how constitutions and laws define the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, while practice is the ways in which citizens act on and challenge such definitions (Lister, 1997; Kabeer, 2012). Status define possibilities and constraints, while practice "places the question of human agency, including the capacity to accept, to conform, to question or dissent, at the heart of contesting views about citizenship" (Kabeer, 2012: 220).

Feminist scholars have looked at the nature of citizen participation and the spaces in which participation takes place (Cornwall, 2002; Miraftab, 2004; McEwan, 2005). They state that political participation occurs through both 'invited' and 'invented' spaces (Cornwall, 2002; Miraftab, 2004; Williams, 2017). Spaces created by the state and formal organisations are invited, whereas spaces claimed by people in social movements, often marginalised people in society, are invented. Miraftab (2004: 1) explains that invited spaces "are geared mostly toward providing the poor with coping mechanisms and propositions to support survival of their informal membership". Invented spaces "[challenge] the status quo in the hope of larger societal change and resistance to the dominant power relations" (Miraftab, 2004: 1). In this way citizen participation includes independent forms of action in which citizens make up their own opportunities and terms of engagement (Cornwall, 2002). This connects 'social' and 'political' participation and adds to understanding of what it means to be a citizen (Cornwall, 2002).

2.3.2 Conceptual framework for assessing empowerment

My definition of women's empowerment includes both the ability to redefine gender roles and the ability to extend possibilities for being and doing. Emphasis is placed on women achieving a change that expands options for themselves and other women in general.

I look to Mosedale's (2005) framework for assessing empowerment. I understand this conceptual framework to be an expansion of Kabeer's (1999) resources–agency– outcomes theoretical framework and have adapted parts of this framework for my own analysis. It provides a good basis for analysing and assessing empowerment in local contexts. From the framework I use the following components:

1. Identifying constraints to action

2. Identifying how women's agency has developed

3. Identifying how women's agency has changed constraints to action

The first component sets out the state of gendered power relations prior to action through a participatory process. It identifies constraints and contributes towards "building an understanding among the women involved of how they are discriminated against on the basis of their gender (and a desire for, and belief in the possibility of, change)" (Mosedale, 2005: 253). In this process the women involved articulate their own awareness of how they are discriminated against because of their gender. Mosedale explains that "attempting to map the entire network of constraints to action in any situation would be a horribly complex task… instead assessment would focus on an action or group of actions identified as most significant by those constrained" (Mosedale, 2005: 253). In my understanding this also includes mapping out women's own understandings of both constraints and opportunities for action.

The second component involves analysing not only possibilities for action, but actual action taken (Mosedale, 2005). Mosedale explains that analysing the changes in women's agency involves looking at individual and collective levels of action.

The third component questions whether identified moderation of constraints is a consequence of women's action or not. If it is, then it is an example of empowerment. If not, it is not empowerment. Mosedale (2005), and other scholars (Kabeer, 1999; Batliwala, 2007; Cornwall, 2016), make clear that empowerment cannot be bestowed but that it is something women must claim for themselves through individual or collective action.

I further look to Sharaunga et al.'s (2016) dimensions and sub-dimensions of empowerment to understand the perceived and experienced empowerment outcomes of the women participants in relation to their development work. This framework is based on the idea that women may be empowered in some dimensions but not necessarily empowered in all. The dimensions and sub-dimensions of empowerment are organised in the table below (Table 1) to help visualise the various aspects of the concept. As is seen, the three dimensions – economic empowerment, social empowerment and civic forms of empowerment – have various sub-dimensions linked to the overarching themes. It is possible to be empowered in some of the sub-dimensions of the main dimensions, yet not be empowered in all sub-dimensions of that main dimension. The table below will be used to analyse the data.

Table 1: Dimensions of empowerment

Main dimensions of empowerment	Sub-dimensions of empowerment
Economic empowerment	Physical capital empowerment: ownership and control over material assets such as housing and infrastructural resources such as roads and telecommunications (Uphoff, 2003).

	Human capital empowerment: personal skills and attributes such as knowledge, social and personality attributes. Financial capital empowerment: access to and control over personal and household finances
Social empowerment	Social capital empowerment: co-operation between individuals and groups that is used to derive collective, economic, development and/or livelihood benefits. Informational capital empowerment: knowledge that is productive or beneficial to women's everyday life and development activities. Familial empowerment: women's positions, intra-household relations and decision-making power within the household.
Civic forms of empowerment	Political empowerment: women's capacity to analyse, organise, mobilise and participate in collective action for change, related to empowerment of citizens to claim their rights and entitlements (Piron and Watkins, 2004). Psychological empowerment: level of psychological wellbeing, including the desire for control, self-perception and self-efficacy. Legal resource empowerment: the process of systemic change through which women are protected and enabled to use the law to advance their rights and their interests as citizens and economic actors (Masser, 2009).

* The table has been adapted to meet the needs of the study. The original table included a fourth dimension, namely 'empowerment in agriculture'. I removed this dimension as none of the women involved in this thesis work or depend on agriculture for survival.

2.4 Apartheid, citizenship and democracy in South Africa

'Citizenship' in South Africa is characterised by a history of exclusion of women and of different racial categories of people. It is closely linked to the anti-apartheid struggle as the voices of women and people

of colour were systematically left out during colonialism and apartheid (Fagan et al., 1996; McEwan, 2000). The struggle for freedom and democracy became a struggle for citizenship.

The apartheid regime was officially established in 1948. What made it different from other authoritarian regimes was the overt focus on race. During apartheid, which lasted until 1994, South Africa was organised around extreme social, economic and political inequality that favoured the white minority at the expense of the non-white majority (Wood, 2000). The regime was enforced through repression and restrictions. Non-white people were subjected to different legal codes and restrictions based on the colour of their skin (Waylen, 2007). These were policed through infamous pass laws and impacted non-white peoples' freedoms as to where they could live, work, who they could marry, and so on. Apartheid and its practices affected various groups and various groups of women differently. Yet all women were left in a subordinate position (Meer, 2005).

Within apartheid's racial hierarchy, white women, as members of the most favoured racial group, were in the most advantageous position (Andrews, 2000). They were able to vote and subject to legal benefits compared to non-white women but were discriminated against compared to white men when it came to property and tax laws (Waylen, 2007). When white women gained the vote in 1930, it was not because they were considered valuable citizens, but because they were part of the quest for white domination by excluding African people from the vote (Hassim, 1999; Gouws, 2017).

Under apartheid's conservative visions of gender, white women were primarily seen in their capacity as mothers and housewives within traditional families (Waylen, 2007). African mothers and children were frequently divided (Gaitskell and Unterhalter, 1989, cited in Waylen, 2007). African women were the most disadvantaged under white minority rule. They could not, amongst other things, own property or gain credit (Meintjes, 1998: 65; Andrews, 2000). African women were further subjected to customary law that "institutionalised gender difference in many parts of their daily lives" (Waylen, 2007: 526). 'Coloured' and 'Indian' women fared only slightly better. They could move somewhat freely to secure employment opportunities but laboured under the apartheid system's racial allocation of resources and the "panoply of disadvantages" engendered by white minority rule (Andrews, 2000: 697).

In spite of their different experiences, South African women came together to protect their interests as women and fought and organised innumerable campaigns, organisations and protests preceding, during and after apartheid. They successfully managed to place issues relating to gender high on the post-apartheid policy agenda (Seidman, 1999; Andrews, 2000). The long-standing liberation movement included significant organising and activism by women from all racial groups. Throughout the 1980s, women active in this struggle began to organise more self-consciously around issues around gender (Waylen, 2007). Among these were community-based women's organisations, made up of predominantly poor women active in struggles around services and rent (McEwan, 2000; Waylen, 2007).

In the dying days of apartheid, regional and national women's movements, as well as women within the African National Congress (ANC), discussed gender issues around difference, community, and motherhood (McEwan, 2000). This led scholars to begin debating how apartheid affected women and men differently and to examine how the reconstruction of South Africa would need to consider that women's and men's needs might differ in a post-apartheid society. In the 1990s, women's activists fighting for national liberation targeted state politics that specifically affected women and gender relations (McEwan, 2000).

The launch of the Women's National Coalition (WNC) in April 1992 was a key event in the work to include and highlight gender issues in political debates. The WNC was to ensure that all women took part in the making of South Africa's new constitution and that all women were to be equal citizens in a post-apartheid society (McEwan, 2000). The coalition included women academics, politicians and activists. This 'triple alliance' allowed the WNC to strategically articulate gendered concerns (Waylen, 2007: 531). Through a grassroots campaign, the WNC guided the formulation of a national Women's Charter to provide the basis for intervention into the constitutional negotiations (Waylen, 2007).

The Women's Charter "redefined the notion of equality in terms of women's differentiated needs" (Meintjes, 1998: 81), and reflected the diverse needs among women in South Africa. It set out race, class and regional inequalities between women (Hassim, 1999).

South African women mobilising and organising, scholarly debates around gender issues, and the characteristics of the ANC as a left-wing political party, all help explain how issues relating to gender were high on the political agenda of the post- apartheid government (McEwan, 2000; Waylen, 2007). International debates around feminism further influenced discussions at the dawning of a new democracy.

In April 1994, the first democratic election turned all South Africans into 'citizens' (Gouws, 2017). South Africa had adopted a new constitution and set up modern representative system of governance. Alongside the new constitution, in which rights relating to gender were informed by the Women's Charter, the ANC government made focused efforts to support women by strengthening their legal status and through other attempts to encourage female participation in society, politics and economics (McEwan, 2000; Waylen, 2007; Department of Women, 2015). Women in the ANC made sure the constitution contained clauses on domestic violence and reproductive rights, gender quality as a founding principle, a strong equality protection, and an independent constitutional body to promote gender justice (ALbertyn, 2003: 104).

Women's representation has been high compared to other countries since the first national elections (Waylen, 2007; Gouws, 2017; Williams, 2017). After the 1994 election, South Africa became the 12th in the world, regarding the numbers of women in parliament (Waylen, 2007). The number of women in the national parliament went up in 2009, though it dropped slightly in 2014 (Gouws, 2017; Williams, 2017). In 2014, South Africa was 11th in the world for the percentage of women in parliament (Inter Parliamentary Union, 2014, cited in Williams, 2017). These numbers are impressive, but some scholars point out the drawbacks in women's representation in legislature. One concern is that elected women relatively often fail to raise women's issues (Goetz, 2003). Waylen (2007) states that the large number of women in government did not make the difference that had been hoped. Many women MPs faced problems due to lack of experience, training and the nature of the institution and left at the end of their first term (Britton, 2002).

Across South Africa, many women went "through a process of consciousness-raising in which they linked their various forms of social discrimination, political oppression, and class exploitation to broader structures of domination" in the early post-apartheid years (Williams, 2017: 525). They came to be active in political and social movements in the hope that South Africa was on its way to becoming an equitable society, and believed that engaging in political, social and economic activities would help accelerate the transformational process (Williams, 2017). Twenty years later, this hopefulness has turned to frustration and disappointment (Williams, 2017). Patriarchy, inequality, discrimination, HIV/AIDS, poverty, and more,

remains. The South African women's movement has changed from that of a large cohesive movement to a fragmented appearance of women's organisation, which tends to focus on single issues such as poverty and gender-based violence individually (Gouws, 2017).

In her study of how women practiced their agency in their personal life, in their economic activity and in their community commitments in Ivory Park, a township in Johannesburg, Williams found that women exercised their agency for the purpose of survival, rather than "freedom from want or oppression" (Williams, 2017: 540). This, she states, shows a shift away from the optimistic thinking that individual and collective action has the power to shift broader social, political and economic relations that accompanied the early post-apartheid years (Williams, 2017). McEwan (2003, 2005) sets out that the prevailing power relations in South Africa ensures that some groups remain disempowered and excluded from participation.

Barchiesi (2011) proposes to use the term precarity to define the condition of liberation in contemporary post-apartheid South Africa. He sets out how the state, and much of the liberation movement before it seized power, aligned its conception of the citizen as someone who is entitled to rights and services, with the normative idea of the worker, or what he calls the 'work-citizenship nexus' (Barchiesi, 2011; Scully, 2012; Al-Bulushi, 2013). Those who are not included in formal work are not considered "complete citizens" (Al-Bulushi, 2013: 97). With a changing labour market in South Africa, and decreased opportunities for formal employment, Barchiesi argue that workers cannot grapple with an environment in which the workplace is celebrated as a central site of meaning when work now is unable to provide such a sense of purpose, let alone the bare necessities of life. Many workers fail to account for a shift in working conditions and instead rely upon "a melancholic longing for better times when work really did provide a sense of identity, purpose, and sustenance" (Al-Bulushi, 2013: 99). Barchiesi explains that "workers do not just miss decent jobs as part of irretrievable spent past expectations. The loss of the prospect of decent jobs, rather, determines perceptions of the self as a mutilated subjectivity as much as it motivates psychic projections of ideal social orders" (Barchiesi, 2011: 225). This melancholia maps out the broader individualising trends of neo-liberal governmentality in which one's problems are seen to be the mere product of individual shortcomings (Scully, 2012; Al-Bulushi, 2013).

2.5 Family structures and gender roles in South Africa

Colonialism and its extreme manifestation in apartheid has profoundly influenced every aspect of everyday life, family formation and gender relations in South Africa (Bak, 2008). The patriarchal structure of these political systems associated masculinity with wage labour and femininity with care and organising family life (Bak, 2008; Maswikwa et al., 2018). Such gender traditions continue in post-apartheid South Africa. However, apartheid's legacy of family disruption and destruction coupled with a changing labour landscape and the HIV/AIDS epidemic have altered men's role within private spheres and led to an increased reliance on women as mothers, carers and financial providers (Budlender and Lund, 2011; Mosoetsa, 2011).

In South Africa, the cultural and historic tradition is that women are subordinate to their husbands, brothers and uncles, i.e. their male family members (Mosoetsa, 2011; Dyers et al., 2012). Those challenging such gender-based traditions are routinely met with domestic violence and abuse (Mosoetsa, 2011). Gender-based violence is a massive social issue and South Africa has one of the highest rape statistics in the world (Stats SA, 2018c). Sexual offences including sexual assault also rose in 2018/2019 (SAPS and Stats

SA, 2019).

The woman's role is situated within the household with the primary responsibilities of childcare, nutrition and other household-related matters (Bak, 2008; Mosoetsa, 2011; Goebel, 2011). Feminists consider the notion that childcare is mothers' responsibility problematic (Morrell et al., 2016). They argue that fatherhood is an important site of changing masculinity and an important step towards gender equality (Morrell, 2006). Men taking an active role in children's lives and other care activities is therefore seen as a huge step towards changing men's position of superiority over women in the home (Morrell et al., 2016). Nevertheless, children in South Africa are far less likely to live with their fathers than with their mothers (Child Trends, 2014; Stats SA, 2015). This is in part due to orphaning, as children are more likely to be paternally orphaned than maternally, but it is mainly due to gender relations and gender roles (Mosoetsa, 2011; Hall and Budlender, 2016). Historically men have been more likely than women to migrate for work, while fathers are often not in ongoing relationships with the mothers of their children and are just more absent from children's lives (Hall and Budlender, 2016; Massey, 2017).

Men's traditional role is to provide financially for the family (Mosoetsa, 2011). But with rising unemployment rates and lack of employment opportunities after 1994, men's typical contributions have become less visible (Mosoetsa, 2011). At the same time, rising female employment rates and decreasing rates of marriage and cohabitation has led to an increased number of women being the primary breadwinners (Moore, 2013; Button et al., 2018). Still the labour market favours men over women. Men are more likely to be in paid employment than women, regardless of race (Stats SA, 2018b), and the gendered nature of the labour market guarantees men higher wages than women (Mosoetsa, 2011). In the third quarter of 2019, South Africa's unemployment rate stood at 29,1% (Stats SA, 2019a).

In general, poverty is the incapacity to achieve a minimum standard of living. According to the World Bank, this is measured in relation to basic consumption needs (food, water, shelter, etc.) or the income necessary to meet those needs. In this, poverty can be understood as a reflection on the "inability of individuals, households or entire communities to command sufficient resources to satisfy a socially acceptable minimum standard of living" (May, 2005: 5, cited in Kehler, 2001: 41). It can be argued that the inclusion of further indicators of well-being, such as functionings and capabilities (Sen, 1999, 2000), are needed to assess all aspects of poverty as it is experienced by 'poor' people (Kehler, 2005).

South African women are among the main victims of poverty (Stats SA, 2017a; Stats SA, 2017b) and female headed households mostly feel the experience of poverty (Stats SA, 2015). 46,1% of men and 52% of women were living below the upper-bound poverty line (UBPL) of R1227 in 2014/2015 (Stats SA, 2019b). Women furthermore experienced higher levels of poverty in comparison to men, regardless of the poverty line used (Stats SA, 2019b). The scope and intensity of poverty is significantly higher for women and female headed households (Posel and Rogan, 2012).

South Africa is fighting poverty through its vast and well-resourced social grants programme and has invested in education, health and basic services after 1994. Such investments have enhanced millions of South Africans' lives (Rogan, 2015). Social grants reach about 31 percent of the population (SASSA, 2019), and is one of the most essential measures to reduce poverty (Patel, 2012). Decreasing poverty levels between 1993 and 2004 are largely attributed to the expansion of cash transfers (van den Berg et al, 2007, cited in Patel, 2012). Barchiesi argues that social grants have the potential to detach

citizenship from work as the productive desires and skills of people are decreasingly defined by the availability of steady employment (Barchiesi, 2011; Al-Bulushi, 2013).Beneficiaries of such grants are mostly carers of children, predominantly women (Patel, 2012; Patel et al., 2015).

South Africa, like many other African nations, has seen a rise in female headed households and an increased number of older persons, mostly women, taking up key positions of parental oversight (Budlender and Lund, 2011; Goebel, 2011; Mosoetsa, 2011). The number of children living without their parents is unusually large compared to the rest of the world and to the region (Child Trends, 2014). This is partly because of high rates of HIV/AIDS. South Africa has the biggest HIV epidemic in the world, with 7.1 million people living with the condition (Avert, 2019). Orphaning and parents living elsewhere also influence these trends.

As a result, many older women provide emotional, physical and financial care to sick family members and grandchildren (Schatz, 2007; Schatz and Omungefun, 2007; Mosoetsa, 2011; Button et al., 2018). 'Good' grandmothers act as moral guides and teachers for their grandchildren and provide financially through social grants (Button et al., 2018). 'Good' mothers also increasingly provide financially for children (Moore, 2013). Many young mothers, however, find that high unemployment rates and low earnings negate their achievements of being 'good' mothers (Button et al., 2018).

2.6 Hangberg and women's participation

Hangberg is a peri-urban informal settlement situated in the suburb of Hout Bay in the Western Cape. The suburb of Hout Bay is often described as a 'mini-South Africa' due to it being sharply divided into three separate communities made up of whites, 'coloureds' and Africans, and as such reflecting the spatial polarisation that still exists across the country (Froestad, 2005). The 'coloured' population of Hout Bay reside in the informal settlement of Hangberg, the African population in the informal settlement of Imizamo Yethu or Mandela Park, and the white population live in either the Hout Bay village or in gated communities high up in the Hout Bay valley.

Western Cape has, alongside Gauteng, the lowest proportion of adults living in poverty in South Africa (Stats SA, 2019a). The unemployment rate is also lower than that of the rest of the country. Between April and June, Stats SA reported an unemployment rate of 20,4% in the Western Cape (Stats SA, 2019b). However, poverty and unemployment rates are not perfect measures of the status quo. These statistics are certainly not celebrated in Hangberg, where unemployment and poverty are rife.

The settlement itself came into being in the 1940s when fishing companies erected council flats behind the Hout Bay harbour to accommodate their 'coloured' employees (Fieuw, 2011). After Hout Bay was classified as a 'white zone' under the Group Areas Act of 1950[1], all people classified as 'coloured' were moved to the Hangberg area. This area made up just 2 per cent of the land in Hout Bay (Fieuw, 2011). The 'coloured' people's main source of income was from working in the fishing industry. The men laboured as fishermen and the women were employed in the fish factories. Froestad (2005) set out that the 'coloured' labourers,

[1] The Group Areas Act was passed by the Apartheid government in 1950. The Act enforced segregation of people classified as 'White', 'Coloured', 'Indian', and 'Black' in urban areas, and restricted land ownership and occupation of land for non-white South Africans.

as well as those classified as 'black', were heavily exploited. This created an exceedingly poor but dependent work force who were not able to secure housing on their own (Froestad, 2005). 'Black' and 'coloured' people not employed in the fishing industry became heavily reliant on those who were due to otherwise limited employment opportunities (Buhler, 2014). In the 1970s, the Hout Bay fishing industry was booming. This attracted further non-white workers to the area. Consequently, the council flats in Hangberg became overcrowded and there was an increase in backyard dwellings (Fieuw, 2011). In the 1990s, an informal settlement above the council flats had emerged (Fieuw, 2011).

After apartheid came to an end in 1994, the new democratic government aimed to rectify unjust laws and practices, part of which was that of housing. Following the first democratic elections in South Africa, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), a socio-economic policy framework, was implemented by the ANC. This framework aimed to establish a more equal society through reconstruction and development. In 2004, the government released its Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy, "a comprehensive plan for development of sustainable human settlement in South Africa" (DoH, 2004). The BNG was a more advanced version of the previous RDP and aimed to ensure that every South African was granted a housing opportunity along with explore to economic and social opportunities, i.e. employment and social networks, and health and transport services (DoH, 2004). Through this policy, funding programmes such as the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme was established. The City of Cape Town (hereafter the City) applied to the programme to upgrade the informal settlement of Hangberg subsequent to lobbying by local civic Hout Bay Civic Association (HBCA) aided by the NPO Development Action Group (DAG).

Although plans to upgrade and build new housing in Hangberg were under way, residents in Hangberg settled on the firebreak on the Sentinel due to slow moving progress. This was in breach of an agreement with the City. In 2010, police, at the behest of the City, carried out evictions on the firebreak, resulting in a major clash between law enforcement officers and local residents (Dolley and Ndenze, 2010; Fieuw, 2010; Maregele, 2014). The outbreak of violence left many residents and police officers injured and is often referred to as 'the uprising of Hangberg' or 'the war'. This incident, coupled with slow implementation, miscommunications, confusions, lack of clarity, and a failure to engage with the wider Hout Bay community made the upgrading project come to a standstill. In the aftermath of 'the war', a Peace and Mediation Forum was established and a Peace accord, outlining several measures to improve and upgrade housing in Hangberg, was signed. The accord became widely contested between its establishment and 2017 as neither of the prerequisites were carried out. Hangberg residents continue to face evictions and housing still form part of the 'struggle of ordinary life' (Buhler, 2014: 1). As there is little formal housing available, residents have and are building structures of their own which in turn make them vulnerable to reprisal from the state (Buhler, 2014).

To voice their dissatisfaction, Hangberg residents have staged numerous protests against housing and land insecurities over the past 15 years. Between 2016 and 2017, in particular, the number and intensity of violent protests escalated. Hangberg residents are protesting over housing and land, against fishing quotas, drug-related crime, poverty, lack of service delivery, ineffective local governance, alleged police brutality, unemployment and underdevelopment (Knoetze, 2014; Tefre, 2015; Payne, 2017; Rio, 2018). Authorities find it difficult to control and establish effective security measures in the area (Tefre, 2015), while informal settlement residents feel they 'are not valued by the government' (Rio, 2018). A lack of belief in the municipality's capabilities to help the community, accompanied by local government's proven track record

of incapacity in terms of development, service delivery and housing have left Hangberg residents with the belief that they have to fend for themselves. In 2018, protests led to the closures of community health clinics, although they since reopened (Harvey, 2018b; Harvey, 2018c).

As stated, working in the fishing or fishing-related industries have been the main source of income for Hangberg residents. But this source of income has become increasingly unstable in the past years. After 1994, the government made attempts to transform the management of marine resources to make it more sustainable (De Greef, 2014a). This included investment in law enforcement, increased penalties for would-be offenders to prevent poaching, and the conservation of marine areas typically used for fishing (Kuperan and Sutinen, 1998; De Greef, 2014a). In 2004, The Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF), who control who is given fishing quotas and permits and when fishing is allowed, proclaimed the 100km2 of the sea and coastline around the Cape Peninsula as part of the Table Mountain National Park. In six restricted areas, fishing and extractive activities were now forbidden. This included five "no take" zones. In the sixth restricted area around the Karbonkelberg in Hout Bay, close to the Hangberg settlement, only snoek (a small, silvery fish found in the southern hemisphere) is now allowed to be caught deeper than the 35mm contour (SanParks, 2019). The establishment of the 2004 MPA was implemented without consultation with the Hangberg community (Fiewu, 2011).

In 2007, the government granted interim relief status to some 97 Hout Bay fishers, including 20 women. This, however, provided little comfort to the hundreds of fishermen and women in Hangberg who continue to fight overfishing quotas and rights (Harvey, 2017). In all, ineffective government attempt to transform the management of marine resources, coupled with strong black market demand for lobster and abalone (a type of marine snail), have led to an increasing criminalisation and marginalisation of Hangberg as a historic fishing community (De Greef, 2014a; Kretzmann, 2017; Anciano, 2018), widespread unemployment and deepening poverty (Tefre, 2010). Yet women in Hangberg, many of whom are born and raised in the community and have worked in fishing or fishing-related industries for their entire adult lives, feel they are marginalised to a greater extent (Harvey, 2017). To counter decreasing legal fishing opportunities, a highly organised illegal abalone fishery which offers employment, fosters economic development and provides access to marine resources has emerged in Hangberg (De Greef, 2014a; De Greef and Shuhood, 2018). This comes with its own set of issues. Due to the illegal nature of poaching, fishermen poach late at night so to avoid being caught by police, a practice which has led to many deaths over the past years (Anciano, 2018).

Furthermore, the use of crystal methamphetamine – known as 'tik' for the popping sound the crystals make when smoked (De Greef, 2014b), has become a serious problem in Hangberg. Since the 2000s, the Western Cape has experienced a dramatic increase in tik (De Greef, 2014b; Watt et al., 2014). Tik has become the most commonly reported substance abuse in the Western Cape, and almost 28% of users at 32 clinics mentioned it as their primary addictive substance in 2013 (De Greef, 2014b). The use of tik is reportedly a greater issue among 'coloureds', compared to Africans Watt et al., 2014). Tik's arrival has been linked to the activities of Chinese-organised criminal groups, who started swapping its ingredients with local gangs in exchange for poached abalone (De Greef and Shuhood, 2018). Abalone is considered "a status symbol in Chinese cuisine" and China imports the bulk of this luxury food from South Africa, both legally and illegally (De Greef and Shuhood, 2018).

Given the high levels of poverty, unemployment and associated issues, a number of projects, initiatives and organisations have emerged in Hangberg. These include: A place called home, Fisher Women for Change,

Amoyo Performing Arts Foundation, Bright Start, Hangberg Education and Development Movement, Help Hout Bay, Hout Bay Community Awareness Rehabilitation Education Support Services (CARES), Little Angels, Ubuntu4All, and James House, to name a few (Help Hout Bay, 2015; Witten, 2018). The women participants in this study are active in these spaces and have tried to better or develop their community by providing care and assistance to children, seniors and people affected by drug abuse. In the table below I set out the organisations and initiatives the women participants in thesis are involved in. The table is useful as an overview of the various projects and gives insight into the origins, structures and functions of these projects. The table highlights the 'local' nature of the work and how the various organisations/initiatives respond to issues in the community.

Table 2: Overview of organisations/ initiatives the women participate in

Organisation/ initiative	About
Fisher Women for Change	Local non-profit organisation run by local women in Hangberg. Started up as a soup kitchen to cater to children and elderly in the community in the early 2000s. It now serves as an after-school programme in which local youth get help with their homework. The organisation also takes children on educational outings to sites such as Cape Point and Table Mountain. Fisher Women for Change does not receive government funding but relies on donors and sponsorships from local business and people.
Proudly Hout Bay Women's Forum (PHBWF)	Formed by Hangberg women in 2015. Women from Imizamo Yethu and across Hout Bay have since joined. The project aims to rally women, parents and grandparents to work together to take back the area and affect positive change through neighbourhood watches and regular community meetings. The project also offers workshops and I ACT HIV/AIDS support groups. PHBWF receives funding from the Hout Bay Partnership Microgrants Program.
Hout Bay CARES (Community Awareness Rehabilitation Education Services)	A multi-service centre launched in 2011 to address Hangberg residents' challenges amid an escalating drug crisis. The centre helps those affected by alcohol and drug dependencies through treatment, education, and other programmes. Though targeted at individuals and families in Hangberg and Imizamo Yethu, people from all around the Western Cape seek out Hout Bay CARES for their addictions. Hout Bay CARES' partners include FavorSA, Department of Health, Department of Social Development, local businesses, churches, professionals from Cape Town and the communities themselves.

Little Angels	Local non-profit organisation in Hangberg. The organisation started out as a crèche in 2011 for families who could not afford a regular crèche. It has since grown to include 25 crèches that operate in both Hangberg and Imizamo Yethu. Only one of the creches receives government funding, the others rely on donations and small fees payed by those parents who can afford it.
Hangberg Seniors Project	Local seniors group in Hangberg started up in 1975. The group meet up once a week at the community library in Hangberg. In these meetings, the seniors get health check-ups and do arts and crafts. Amongst other things, the seniors have made pyjamas distributed to children at the Little Angels crèches. The group does not receive government funding and relies on financial contributions from the seniors themselves as well as occasional donations from the local community.
St Vincent De Paul Society	International catholic charity network that has been operating in South Africa since 1985 and works with underprivileged people. The Hout Bay branch hands out food parcels to people in Imizamo Yethu and Hangberg, and works with refugees in Hout Bay – handing out clothes and food.
Isolabantwana (Eye on the Child)	An initiative from non-government organisation Child Welfare South Africa, operational since 2003. The community-based programme provides short-term emergency safe houses for abused, neglected and exploited children. Trained volunteers work in communities to provide awareness through events, talks and workshops and assist abused, neglected and exploited children until social workers can intervene.

Academics who have studied the Hangberg community have focused on housing, governance, illegal poaching, and the applicable human dimensions (Fieuw, 2011; De Greef, 2014a; Buhler, 2014). Buhler (2014:7) found that the people of Hangberg were 'social agents that aspired to shape their lives despite the material and legal constraints which they were faced with'. Although women are mentioned as part of the community, their voices are absent in all of the abovementioned studies. Nevertheless, the development work carried out by women in this space is vital for the survival of Hangberg and its residents.

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I set out how women came to be included in development thinking and practice, how development has progressed, and gone into detail about women, development, empowerment, agency

and citizenship. At its core, women's empowerment is about how gendered structures and relations influence women's access to and control of their own resources and agency (Sharaunga et al., 2016). Citizenship is a status and a practice, or form of agency (Lister, 1997; McEwan, 2005). Agency is "the ability to define one's goals and act upon them" (Kabeer, 1999: 438).

I understand and define women's empowerment as a process in which women gain the ability to redefine gender roles and the ability to extend possibilities for being and doing (Sen, 1985; Kabeer, 1999; Mosedale, 2005). I have set forth what parts of Mosedale's (2005) conceptual framework to assess women's empowerment that I use in this thesis. This framework includes:

1. Identifying constraints to action

2. Identifying how women's agency has developed

3. Identifying how women's agency has changed constraints to action

I focus on three main dimensions of empowerment: civic, economic and social, and sub-dimensions within these (Sharaunga et al., 2016).

In this chapter I have also mapped out themes and issues around democracy, apartheid, gender roles and family structures in South Africa. In South Africa, gender issues were brought to the forefront of politics in the 1990s. Prior to this, the liberation movement had focused on issues relating to race and class. Since 1994, the ANC government has made focused efforts to support women by strengthening their legal status and through other attempts to encourage female participation in society, politics and economics (McEwan, 2000; Waylen, 2007; Department of Women, 2015). Progress regarding women's reproductive rights and representation in politics have been made, but the promised radical transformation of South Africa has not taken place.

Gender traditions reinforced by colonialism and apartheid persists. The patriarchal structure of these political policies associate masculinity with wage labour and femininity with care and organising family life (Bak, 2008; Maswikwa et al., 2018). However, apartheid's legacy of family disruption and destruction coupled with a changing labour landscape and the HIV/AIDS epidemic have altered men's role within private spheres and led to an increased reliance on women as mothers, carers and financial providers (Budlender and Lund, 2011; Mosoetsa, 2011). 'Good' mothers and grandmothers alike provide financially as well as emotionally for their children and grandchildren (Button et al., 2018). Yet for many young mothers, the precarious labour market and low earnings negate their sense of being a 'good' mother (Moore, 2013).

In Hangberg, the site of research, high levels of poverty, unemployment and associated issues have led to an emergence of initiatives and organisations. Many of these are led by local women who act as mothers, carers, breadwinners and development practitioners in the community. The following chapter outlines the methodology utilised in this thesis.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I presented an overview of the literature relating to women's empowerment, agency and development in South Africa, as well as related concepts and information specific to the research site. I alluded to women's disempowerment in this context and accounted for recent progress regarding women's empowerment, citizenship and gender equality in South Africa.

This chapter details the research approach and aims, the ethnographic tools and methods utilised, and the ethical considerations and limitations to conducting research in Hangberg. The findings of this thesis are based on in-depth, face-to-face interviews with seven women involved in various development initiatives and organisations within the Hangberg community. I also spent time with the women participants and attended various community events to get a broader understanding of their lives and the community itself. This field work took place between March and July 2019.

3.2 The research approach

The research approach was informed by the focal research question:

- What are experiences of empowerment and agency among local women involved in development activities in Hangberg, South Africa?

And guided by an ethnographic research approach in which the main aim is "to observe and analyse how people interact with each other and with their environment in order to understand their culture" (Eriksson and Kovalainen, : 150). Key elements include an interest in cultures, cultural understanding and meaning-making, and being close to the field and collecting first-hand experience (Eriksson and Kovalainen, :150-151). It is a qualitative research approach in which the focus is on describing and understanding, rather than explaining phenomena. It allows the research to gain a deeper understanding of experiences, perceptions, beliefs and values (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 6). Mason explains that qualitative research "engages us with things that matter, in ways that matter" (Mason, 2002: 1). It allows researchers to study beliefs, social interactions and behaviours of small societies (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011) and has a great ability to capture the nature of social phenomena (Hammersley, 1992).

I used qualitative semi-structured interviews and participant observation as means of data collection. Qualitative semi-structured interviews can be considered 'conversations with a purpose' (Burgess, 1984: 102), which strive to "understand the world from the subject's point of view, to unfold the meaning of people's experiences and to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations" (Kvale, 1996: 1).

Through participant observation, the researcher has the advantage of being immersed in the culture over an extended period of time and has the potential to discover what is 'hidden' (Hammersley, 1992). Hammersley argues that to rely solely on what people say about what they believe and do, without also observing what they do, is to neglect the complex relationship between attitudes and behaviour (Hammersley, 2013).

I therefore supplemented the data collected from interviews with field notes written about my own observations in the field. In the interviews I was able to question the women about their experiences, while participant observation allowed me to contextualise their words and get a broader understanding of their lives. I carried out 7 semi-structured interviews and wrote 17 field notes. Combined, my research approach and the data collected allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of:

- How women participants experience social, economic and/or political constraints to exercise their agency
- How women participants act upon or plan to act upon their experiences
- How women participants locate their agency and sense of empowerment, if any, in their various development efforts
- Whether women participants experience their agency as able to change constraints to action

3.3 Sampling and consent

I used two types of non-probability sampling techniques to find participants for this thesis. These were purposeful sampling and snowball sampling.

Two of the participants were identified and selected through purposeful sampling (Patton, 2005; Mason, 2002). Purposeful sampling refers to the technique of identifying and selecting participants according to the needs of the study (Patton, 2000). I wanted to interview women who used their agency to develop their community and explore their experiences of both empowerment and agency. In online searches of Hangberg, I came across Fisher Women for Change and the Proudly Hout Bay Women's Forum (PHBWF). These organisations were identified in various news outlets and social media sites as attempting to develop their community through various efforts (Help Hout Bay, 2017; Harvey, 2018a). Melanie, the founder of Fisher Women for Change, was portrayed as an outspoken and active member in Hangberg who wanted to work to better her community in various online articles. Angela, the project manager for PHFBF, was portrayed as a woman working tirelessly to affect positive change. I contacted them both, explained the nature of my study, and asked if they would consider participating. I tmet with both women respectively to explain my study and research interests and discuss their participation in detail.

The other participants were found through snowball sampling which involves being 'referred on' to key individuals by recruited participants (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981). I asked the two women already recruited if they knew of other women in the community who engaged in development activities and who might consider participating in the study. Melanie introduced me to three women, all of whom participate in the activities of Fisher Women for Change. As the organisation does not have an online presence I would not have known its members without Melanie directing me to them. Melanie also introduced me to Elinor who is involved in various development initiatives in the community: Hangberg Seniors Project, St Vincent De Paul Society, and Isolabantwana (see table 2, chapter 2, for an overview of initiatives/ organisations the women participate in). Angela introduced me to Elna and Daliah. They both work for a drug rehabilitation clinic situated in Hangberg. This clinic is part of the Hout Bay CARES initiative. I met with all of these women to discuss the research in more detail and gain their informed consent to be participate.

As Miller and Bell set out, 'gaining access' to and 'obtaining consent' from participants are two different

things (Miller and Bell, 2002: 55). To access the participants I called some directly, while others were found through social networks. Before setting up the interviews, I met up with the participants to explain my research aims and objectives. The participants were able to ask questions about the study and their involvement in it. I then asked them to sign a consent form (see Appendix A) which stated that participants agreed to take part in my study, were aware of my aims and objectives, were able to ask questions and ask me to clarify, agreed to being audio-recorded, understood that their identify would remain anonymous, that extracts from the interview could and would be quoted in the final research project, and that they were free to withdraw their participation from the study at any time. The women participants were not interviewed during the first meeting.

I changed the women participants names but kept the names of the organisations and initiatives they were involved with. This was a conscious decision. The women were all eager to speak about their various projects and wanted me to get the word out about the work that they do. I asked if they were comfortable with me revealing the names of the organisations and projects, and they said yes. People in Hangberg will most likely be able to identify the women participants based on the information provided in this thesis, but some outsiders will not. Some of the women participants are more easily recognised than others. Said women were fine with this and stated that their opinions, behaviours, experiences and ways of living were not secret or sacred. They wanted to engage in dialogue and were happy to provide me with information.

3.4 Data collection

Data was collected between March and July 2019 through semi-structured, face-to-face interviews and participant observation (see Appendix B for interview schedule). The interviews took place in the participants' homes or at the groups' or organisations' premises at a time that suited the participants and also when some privacy could be ensured. The interviews were conducted in English and recorded.

The interviews were semi-structured and did thus not take the form of a highly structured questionnaire nor were they completely unstructured with no prepared themes to be discussed. Instead, the interviews were conducted according to a pre-established interview guide (Kvale, 1996: 27; Wellington & Szczerbinski, 2007: 83) (see Appendix C). The interview guide consisted of various themes and questions that pertains to the research and was formulated and pre-designed ahead of field work in Hangberg. Under each theme or topic, I wrote out questions that alluded to the theme or topic above. These questions were designed to investigate the women's knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations, experiences and interactions as meaningful properties of the social reality (Mason, 2002). The interview guide with pre-determined topics and themes ensured that said topics and themes were covered in the interview phase and allowed for a systematic approach to qualitative research. The guide covered themes such as economic activity of the women and their households, lived experiences of growing up and living in Hangberg, views on gender roles, views on the various organisations or initiatives they took part in, amongst others. This was followed up with questions about participants' experiences of issues such as crime, housing, underdevelopment, unemployment, other development initiatives and organisations and limitations to such, as well as actors involved in the community, such as state and outside groups. The nature of the interview guide allowed participants to raise issues that I had not thought about beforehand. This also provided an opportunity to speak about topics that were related to the women participants experiences that had not been included in the interview guide.

Through participant observation I attended community functions such as a fundraiser for the local primary

school, art classes organised by Fisher Women for Change, a meeting of the Hangberg Seniors Project, visited the Hout Bay CARES clinic and one of the Little Angels crèches, spent time walking around the community and visiting participants' friends, had meals with participants, and stayed over at a participant's home. I also attended the funeral of the son of one of the participants. Shortly after each visit to the community, on the bus back to town or immediately after I came home, I wrote up field notes from the visit. Emerson (1995) defines field notes as "accounts describing experiences and observations the researcher has made while participating in an intense and involved manner". Field notes are intended to aid the researcher in producing meaning and an understanding of phenomena (Schwandt, 2015). My field notes detailed the setting, actions, behaviours and conversations that I observed (Emerson et al., 2011) (see Appendix D for field note example). In these notes I also recorded my thoughts, ideas, questions and concerns (Pyrczak, 2016).

3.5 Description of the characteristics of participants and research site

The Hangberg community consists mainly of lower income 'coloured' residents residing in hostels and flats. There has also been an expansion of informal settlement behind the flats, of shacks built on sand, and there are distinct areas with freestanding houses or bungalows (Adams et al., 2006; Tefre, 2010). Higher up on the slopes above Hangberg is an area called Hout Bay 'Heights'. Middle-income 'coloured' and white residents take up residence here.

As a historic fishing community, lack of fishing quotas has made unemployment a major issue in this part of Hout Bay (Tefre, 2010; De Greef, 2014a). Hangberg is further characterised by many of the same criminal issues facing poor communities elsewhere in South Africa; drugs (especially crystal methamphetamine, otherwise known as 'tik') and alcohol abuse, crime such as assaults, robbery, domestic violence, and rape, and issues related to housing and service delivery (Tefre, 2010; De Greef, 2014a; Buhler, 2014; Conradie et al., 2019).

The women interviewed in this study all reside in Hangberg. The majority are in their 40s and 50s, while one of the participants is in her early 20s. Most of them were born and raised in Hangberg, while some moved to the area at a later state of their lives. All the women are married or are in a relationship except for Melanie who is widowed. They all have children; either biological, foster or adopted children. Melanie and Elinor have grandchildren as well.

Like the broader population of Hangberg, all of the participants were 'coloured'. The women who were born and raised in Hangberg had all worked in the fishing industry, mainly in packaging, when they were younger. Their mothers had worked in fish factories, while their fathers had been fishermen.

Neither of the women had attended university but some had diplomas and certificates in areas such as counselling and teaching. Three of the women had not finished matric.

Two of the women rented private houses in the lower parts of Hangberg, where they lived with their respective families. Two of the women lived in rented apartments in the government housing development known as 'Texas', also in the lower parts of Hangberg. The other three participants resided in the 'Heights'. Two of these participants owned their own houses, while the third rented a house here.

Table 3. Brief overview of women participants

Name	From	Current employment	Organisation/initiative
Melanie	Hangberg, South Africa	Community liaison for City of Cape Town (3-month contract)	Fisher Women for Change
Elize	Paarl, South Africa	Unemployed	Fisher Women for Change
Joy	Hangberg, South Africa	Unemployed	Fisher Women for Change
Elna	Hangberg, South Africa	Unemployed	Hout Bay CARES
Daliah	Hangberg, South Africa	Councillor at Hout Bay CARES clinic	Hout Bay CARES
Angela	Hangberg, South Africa	Founder and manager of Little Angels	Little Angels, Proudly Hout Bay Women's Forum (PHBWF)
Elinor	Hout Bay village, South Africa	Retired	Hangberg Seniors Project, St Vincent de Paul Society, Isolabantwana

3.6 Positionality of researcher

It is important to understand and examine how one's positionality as a researcher impacts on the interactions with participants and the data that is collected from interviews and participant observations (Hopkins, 2007). As a researcher I am positioned by my gender, age, race, sexual identity, and so on (Hastrup, 1992; England, 1994). I am an unmarried, white, middle class, childless, university educated, 25-year-old woman from Norway. I do not speak Afrikaans fluently nor do I have an 'insiders' knowledge about the cultural values and beliefs of the participants (Mohammad, 2001). As such, with respect to the group studied in this thesis, I was an outsider researcher studying a group to which I am not a member (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). Consequently, I was concerned the participants would not feel comfortable speaking to or trusting me and that I would not be able to properly conduct research in this space. Given that my outsider status or positionality was not something I could change I made it clear to the participants that I was there to learn from them about their lives if they would be willing to share their experiences and let me accompany them as they went about their daily lives.

Scholars argue that it is not insider or outsider status that decides whether the researcher can appreciate and adequately represent the experience of the participants (Fay, 1996; Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). Instead it is whether the researcher can be open, authentic, honest, interested, and committed to accurately and adequately representing their experience (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009: 59). Fay further explains that "knowing an experience requires more than simply having it; knowing implies being able to identify, describe, and explain" (Fay, 1996: 20). I emphasised to the participants that I was there to learn from them and that I was interested in their lives and experiences. All the participants seemed to accept that I was a student and that I was genuinely interested in their experiences and what they had to say.

Many feminist researchers advocate for a participatory model that aims to produce "non- hierarchical, non-manipulative research relationships which have the potential to overcome the separation between the

researcher and the researcher" (Reinharz, 1983: 594, cited in Cotterill, 1992). To do so researchers are invited to bring their personal role into the research relationships by answering participants' questions, sharing knowledge and experience, and giving support when asked (Oakley, 1981, cited in Cotterill, 1992; England, 1994). In this sense the researcher does not need to be either an insider or an outsider. My research approach included both semi-structured, face-to-face interviews as well as participant observation in Hangberg. It was my understanding that spending time with the women, as well as interviewing them, would allow me to explore women's empowerment and agency in greater depth. I would help during art classes arranged by the participants, spend time with the participants and their friends in their homes, and so forth. During these encounters the participants would ask just as many questions about me as I did them and I was able to connect with the women on a different level. We became friends. In these instances, the dichotomy of insider versus outsider was less clear. I too am a non-native English speaker, and a woman, who worry about relationships, work, my future, safety, and so on.

But while there certainly were experiences and themes shared by participants that I could relate to, I do not think that the participants ever lost sight of my outsider position in their community. I felt very welcomed into this space but never like an insider in any way. This and the power relations between us were made clear on several occasions. At times, participants would ask me to find white, rich people to donate to their various projects. They would also question me about my financial situation; how much I paid for rent, food, clothes, electricity, and so on. Most of these seemed to be out of general interest, except for the question regarding rent. Several of the women were interested in renting out rooms to students or visitors in Cape Town, such as students and visitors from overseas, and wanted to know how much they could charge. Conversations about money highlighted the power dynamics between us and my outsider status in this community. It was made clear that I had access to means and opportunities the women did not have and probably never will have.

3.7 Data analysis

I wrote detailed field notes after each visit to the community. These notes were used to supplement and support the findings from the interviews. The interviews were recorded on my phone and transcribed using MS Word. I then drew upon I drew upon Miles and Huberman' (1994) and Spencer et al.'s (2003) approaches to thematic analysis to analyse the data.

I first read through each transcript and field notes carefully to get to know the data. I then read through the transcripts and field notes again and set out first level or descriptive codes (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 67 Spencer et al., 2003: 225). These descriptive codes were in line with the themes I had set out in the interview guides. Examples included topics like economic activity, views on gender roles, roles within the household, and so forth. It also included observed behaviours in relation to said themes.

After first level coding for all the data was done, I developed a coding framework in MS Word (see Appendix E). The descriptive code names were used as headings in the coding framework. All segments of coded data were pasted below the appropriate code name or heading. As such, all information from participants that related to a topic was grouped together. This facilitated a comparative analysis of the various participants' responses.

In comparing the responses from the participants in the broad topics, I assigned more interpretive codes to the data. This corresponds to the process of thematic analysis as set out by Spencer et al. (2003: 243). As more interpretive coding took place, I wrote theoretical and conceptual memos about the themes and sub-themes that began to emerge (Miles and Huberman, 1994). I also wrote additional memos in which I started to draw conclusions from the analysis to address the research questions set out. At the end, I was able to write up my findings.

Alongside the data analysis, I wrote out my own reflections and understandings of the interview transcripts and field notes. Taking a step back and re-reading the data enabled me to relate the data to the literature set out. I focused on Kabeer and Mosedale's theoretical and conceptual frameworks and kept these, as well as the literature, close-by when analysing the data. By doing so, I was able to make connections, explore and understand the data in relation to the existing body of literature.

I organised my findings in relation to Mosedale's (2005) components for assessing empowerment. In this, I was able to draw connections to existing literature and make arguments based on the data and kept these, as well as the literature, close-by when analysing the data. By doing so, I was able to make connections, explore and understand the data in relation to the existing body of literature.

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3.8 Translation, language and cultural barriers

Hangberg is an Afrikaans-speaking community. The regional dialect of Afrikaans spoken in this community is Kaapse Afrikaans. Kaapse Afrikaans is rich in colloquialisms and idiomatic expressions and is spoken widely throughout the Western Cape. I considered finding an Afrikaans-speaking person to accompany me for field visits so that I would not enter the community by myself and so that the participants would be interviewed in their first language. However, I met with Melanie before finding such a person and found that she was fine being interviewed in English. She also informed me that other women in the community spoke English perfectly well and that a translator would not be needed.

Another reason for choosing to do the interviews without a translator was that I felt it was easier to connect with the women on a one-to-one basis where they could have an open discussion about their lived experiences. Nevertheless, the language barrier may have precluded deeper access to the Hangberg community. Not knowing Afrikaans may have slowed the development of personal relationships during this study, while it limited me to speaking to women who spoke English well. On some occasions I was introduced to women who had to have other women in the community translate for them and I was unable to do proper interviews with them.

Learning the social rules and norms of an unfamiliar group of people (Emerson et al., 1995) or 're-socialization' was at times difficult. Hangberg is a close-knitted community in which everyone knows everyone and everyone's business. It took time and many field visits to scratch the surface of the social fabric of this community. I came to understand that there was a hierarchy in which some women were considered to be on a higher level than others and were reluctant to give up this 'power'. The two women I

initiated contact with, Melanie from Fisher Women for Change and Angela from the PHBWF and Little Angels, were both well respected members in the community. All of the women I interviewed, as well as other members of the community, talked about these women as strong leaders in Hangberg. Melanie and Angela were also the ones who put me in contact with other the other women participants. They would not give out the other women's contact details but would rather I arrange meetings with the other participants through them.

As an outsider coming into the community, I was glad someone on the inside was there to help and guide me in finding participants for my study. And, as the interview process went smoothly in the beginning, I saw no point in questioning Melanie and Angela's 'power' over my schedule. However, after some months, both Melanie and Angela cut contact with me and my field work came to a standstill. I did not have the contact details for their proposed participants and did not know how I would find or get in contact with others. Moreover, I had only visited the community accompanied by Melanie or Angela and did not want to go there on my own. I was worried it would seem as though I was overstepping their authority and that I was taking for granted the hospitality they had shown me in the beginning. I decided to send them some messages on WhatsApp and wait patiently for them to get back to me. Eventually, they both did. Angela explained that she had been very busy with work and with other visitors. We picked up where we had left of and arranged a visit the following week. Melanie explained that her mother had been sick and that she had taken some time off to care for her. She was now back and able to assist med in arranging the final interviews.

Although my field work resumed, my interview schedule had been pushed back several weeks. I came to realise how heavily reliant I was on their cooperation and assistance. Melanie and Angela were the 'gate-keepers' to the community and were the ones 'permitting' me access for the purpose of interviewing (Miller and Bell, 2002). These incidents highlighted my 'outsider' status and the power dynamics at play. I am glad I decided to wait for the women to resume contact as I do not know what would have happened if I would have initiated contact with other members in the community behind Melanie and Angela's back. As mentioned, Hangberg is a close-knit community and in overstepping Melanie and Angela's authorities I might not have been able to complete my field work.

At the same time, being 'cut off' and realising Melanie and Angela's 'power' over my work made me think carefully of what the other women participants said about them in their interviews as Melanie and Angela were both present or nearby during the interviews with the other participants. Melanie and Angela had 'power' over these participants and interviews too. I am not sure how this affected the data, but, when analysing the interviews, I looked critically at what the other participants said about the two women.

3.9 Ethical considerations

Working with human beings, and in this case women, requires substantial consideration, preparation and sensitivity. It is the researcher's responsibility to ensure informed consent to participation in research, protect participants form potential harm, and to ensure participants privacy by maintaining confidentiality and anonymity (Edwards and Mauthner, 2013).

In collecting data in Hangberg, three ethical dilemmas arose. Firstly, I questioned whether I was at risk

entering the community in Hangberg. I was not sure how my presence would be perceived and whether I would be safe in this space. The first time I entered the community I was guided by Melanie, one of the participants. It felt safe. Every time I met with anyone from Fisher Women for Change, Melanie would meet up with me first and then she would walk me to the participants. When I met with the remaining participants the participants themselves or someone they knew would meet me at the bus station and walk with me. When Melanie invited me to spend the night in her home I asked my supervisor whether she would consider this safe. We agreed it would. Nothing 'bad' happened to me during data collection. I was never alone and was always with either the participants, whom I came to know quite well and felt comfortable around, or someone they knew well.

Secondly, I questioned how the presence of other participants influenced the interviews, as mentioned in the aforementioned section. When I interviewed Elize and Joy, Melanie, who had recruited these participants, was in the room next door. Both Elize and Joy spoke very highly of Melanie and I was not sure whether this was in fear that she could overhear the interview. In transcribing the interviews and reading through them I decided that the interviews were too important to be dismissed. But I did look critically at what they said of Melanie and chose only to include what I believed to be their honest opinions of her.

Thirdly, in June 2019 Melanie's son was shot and died. He was in his early 30s, had to young children and a wife. He was living in Manenberg and was accidentally caught in the crossfire when rival gangs started shooting at each other. I found out about the death through another researcher who was carrying out field work in Hangberg and who had found out about the situation from one of her contacts (not Melanie). The other researcher had met Melanie briefly but had not spent as much time with Melanie as I had. Melanie had opened her home to me and introduced me to several of her family members, neighbours and friends. We had had long conversations about families, experiences, hopes and dreams. I sent her a message on WhatsApp to offer my condolences. She told me the funeral would take place that same week and gave me information as to when and where. The other researcher suggested we send flowers, but I felt, seeing as I had spent so much time with Melanie and had come to think of her as a friend that I should attend the service. I also thought that giving out information about the service was an invitation for me to come. I messaged Melanie to ask if that would be appropriate for me to be there and she told me that it would be an open funeral and that she would appreciate my attendance. I went.

I showed up at the church at 8am on Saturday morning when I had been informed the funeral would start. I had been careful to be there on time out of fear that I would arrive too late and disturb the service. I knew Melanie, but not her son, and went to the funeral to show of support for her. I wanted to be there for Melanie, but blend into the background out of respect for the bereaved. Yet I was one of the first to arrive at the church, the room was not ready, and Melanie had not arrived. One of her friends who I had met on several occasions was there and I was able to ask her for advice of what to do. I have never been to a funeral in South Africa nor to a funeral for someone who is not a family member. Hence, I felt a little out of place. Melanie's friend Patricia (not her real name) drove me to one of Melanie family member's house where the family had gathered before the service. I was welcomed into the home, introduced myself and offered my condolences. I had gotten to know Melanie as this strong and outspoken character, and now, I came to see her at her most vulnerable. It was an intimate gathering and I felt, again, out of place. Yet Melanie and her family graciously invited me into this private family moment. This spoke a lot to their openness and welcoming nature, and how I, a relative stranger, was treated with kindness and respect.

The several people who attended the funeral also spoke to the close-knitted community I had gotten to know. There were close to a hundred people at the service, children and seniors alike, and they were all there to grieve a collective loss. The people I had spoken to in Hangberg had told me so much about violence and murder and robbery and other horrible things happening in their community. Now, I got to witness such losses and the effects it had on the community first-hand. It was disheartening to see so many children present, knowing this was only one of many funerals they had attended and would attend. I, at the age of 25, had been to three funerals prior to this. I was one out of two white people at the service. The other white person was a woman who worked with Melanie in the art workshops down by the harbour. We were both outsiders to this community and decided to sit together in the back. The funeral service was held in Afrikaans, a language I do not speak, but the woman was able to translate some of it for me.

I had interviewed the women participants about their lives and experiences and taken part in the positive work that they do for the community. Now, through attending the funeral, I also got a sense of the difficulties and struggles the women participants are faced with and go through such as crime and violence.

3.10 Conclusion

The research was guided by the research question, 'What are the experiences of empowerment and agency among local women involved in development activities in Hangberg, South Africa?', and guided by an ethnographic research approach. Participants were identified through purposeful and snowball sampling methods, while semi-structured interviews and participant observation were used as means of data collection. I carried out 7 semi-structured interviews and wrote 17 field notes after visits to the community between March and July 2019.

In collecting data in Hangberg, I was positioned as an outsider. There were times where I felt I occupied 'the space in between' insider and outsider (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009) but overall I was a clear outsider to the group studied in this thesis. Three ethical dilemmas arose. These included dilemmas about my own safety, the presence of some participants during interviews with other participants and the death of one of my participant's children. I was able to work through these dilemmas and figure out how to proceed by reflecting and communicating with my supervisor, my participants and other researchers.

During data analysis I made sure to document all steps taken in the analysis process so that I show that the findings of the study are the outcome of a vigorous inquiry and not the product of personal biases (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 319). Through the inclusion of participant quotes in the findings section (Chapter 4) I further attempted to show how my findings are grounded in data collected from the participants and not my own interpretations of them. Inevitably, my understandings and interpretations will differ from that of an insider researcher but they are just as valid (Merriam et al., 2001).

The following chapter presents an overview of the findings.

CHAPTER 4: CONSTRAINTS, DEVELOPMENT OF AGENCY AND EMPOWERMENT OUTCOMES

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to voice the lived experiences and understandings of empowerment and agency among women in Hangberg who are involved in development activities. In total, I conducted seven in-depth interviews and spent approximately 50 hours in the community. This chapter presents the findings of the data analysis. The focus is on exploring the links between how the women participants exercise their agency and the empowerment outcomes of such actions. I further set out how the women participants experience these dynamics.

I draw on existing literature, Sharaunga et al.'s (2016) dimensions and sub-dimensions of empowerment and parts of Mosedale's (2005) framework for assessing empowerment to analysis the data. Mosedale's (2005) framework includes identifying constraints to action, identifying how women's agency have developed over time and identifying how women's agency have changed constraints to action. Empowerment is defined as a process in which women gain the ability to redefine gender roles and the ability to extend possibilities for being and doing.

In this section I look at how the women participants exercise their agency, how they came to be involved in development activities in Hangberg, and what inspired such pursuits. I further explore the empowerment outcomes of such actions. I focus specifically on the following sub-dimensions of empowerment: human, financial, social and familial capital empowerment.

Three points will be argued. Firstly, I argue that the women participants are effective agents in their community. As agents, the women help children, those afflicted by drug and alcohol addictions, as well as elderly and vulnerable people in Hangberg. This aids the development of the community.

Secondly, I argue that the women participants have gone through a process of empowerment through developing and exercising their agency. Empowerment outcomes are found in the women participants' personal lives where they have redefined and extended their roles and possibilities for being and doing.

Nevertheless, I find that the women participants are unable to overcome broader social, economic and political constraints to successfully reach empowerment in all spheres and dimensions of their lives. I argue that women participants have achieved empowerment in certain sub-dimensions, but that this does not transfer to all dimensions of empowerment.

However, overall, I find extraordinary accounts of women exercising their agency for the benefit of themselves and their community. The women participants are exemplars of finding alternative ways to cope with economic and social despair in their community and in South Africa at large.

4.2 Constraints to action

Empowerment, as set out, is a process that occurs at various levels and in various spheres (Kabeer, 1999; Malhotra and Schuler, 2005; Alsop et al., 2006; Ibrahim and Alkire, 2007; Sharaunga et al., 2016). It

requires resources and agency (Kabeer, 1994). Resources in this sense are material assets such a financial means as well as human and social resources such as social relations and knowledge (Kabeer, 1999).

I focus on economic, social and civic empowerment, and sub-dimensions of empowerment within these. The women participants exercise their agency in their private and public lives, in their homes and in their community.

I look to Mosedale's (2005) framework for assessing empowerment among the women participants. The first component of this framework includes identifying constraints to action. This includes mapping out the state of gendered power relations and constraints to action identified by the women participants themselves. The findings of this part present the most significant constraints to action as identified by the women participants.

4.2.1 Growing up in poverty and under apartheid

Six of the women participants grew up in South Africa under apartheid. Five of them grew up in Hout Bay. Elinor, the oldest participant, grew up in the Hout Bay village before moving to Hangberg under the Group Areas Act. Hangberg was the area designated for 'coloured' people during white minority rule. Melanie, Elna, Daliah and Angela, all born after the Group Areas Act came into effect, grew up in Hangberg. All of these women are 'coloured' according to the racial classifications set by the apartheid regime. All of these women also identify as 'coloured'[2] and see Hangberg as a 'coloured' community, even though there are African and 'Indian' people residing in Hangberg today.

Being 'coloured' limited their access to and opportunities for education, employment and enhanced mobility. Their mothers worked in the fish factories and their fathers as fishermen. 'Coloured' labourers were heavily exploited by 'white' people in Hout Bay during this time (Froestad, 2005), but had few opportunities for changing the labour landscape or getting out of poverty as laws and regulations restricted their opportunities for doing so (Andrews, 2000; Waylen, 2007).

The women participants recognised this. They set out how they grew up poor in that their parents struggled to put food on the table and did not have enough money for shoes and clothes. Angela said she and her sister had to take turns with the one pair of shoes they had at their disposal and how they used plastic bags to carry their books. Elinor had to leave school early because her parents could not afford the fees. Melanie also left school early, but this was because her parents passed away. Both took up work in the fish factories. The women participants saw this as the only available source of employment. As 'coloured' women, their only option was to find work in the fish factories. They could not become fishermen. Work in the factories also provided housing, which was not accessible otherwise (Froestad, 2005). As Melanie sets out, she had to "fall into a job just so we had roof over our heads" (Melanie, 13 April 2019). She said:

> Due to circumstances I had to work at a very early age… At that time it was in apartheid years we were actually forced. There weren't some proper income in the household. If your father or mother worked in the fishing industry, in the factories… and in those years the factories gave houses to the people, for their staff. And what happened is that if you don't work for the company you would have been chucked out and that is

[2] During casual conversations with the women participants and other members of the Hangberg community, they would always refer to the community and themselves as 'coloured'. They would say things like, "you know, we are a 'coloured' community…" or "as 'coloured' women…" when talking about their community and their personal lives.

> why I decided to work. (Melanie, 13 April 2019).

The women participants recognised that being 'coloured' and being women restricted them during their childhoods.

4.2.2 Precarity in post-apartheid South Africa

At the time of data collection, the women participants' main concern was around employment and securing their livelihood needs. Melanie and some other women from the community told how me how they are living from "pay check to pay check", always worrying about how they are going to pay rent and feed their families (personal communication, 21 March 2019). They set out that South Africa's political transformation and the first decades of democracy had not brought about the structural changes they had been promised. Many of the women participants saw their lives under apartheid as better compared to their current socio-economic situation. They stated that as citizens in a democracy, they had voting rights and freedom of speech, but that other rights remained inaccessible to them.

In particular, the women highlighted the changing labour market and its impact, alluding to work as a basic right that they no longer had access to. As stated in the brief overview of the women participants in Chapter 3, four out of seven women participants are unemployed. At the time of data collection, Melanie was working as a community liaison for the City as part of the Public Works Programme – a programme aimed at alleviating unemployment in the Western Cape. This was a 3-month contract. Melanie has no formal employment outside of this job. She does occasional "piece jobs"[3], small jobs in an around the community, but these are often far and few in between.

Out of the women participants who were previously employed in the fish factories, none were still. Most of the factories had closed down. Daliah used to be a supervisor at one of the factories. When the factory closed down and she lost her job, she took on a cleaning job at the supermarket Woolworths. She said:

> I was paid loads of money there [at the factory] every week. Then I had to humble myself and I had to take this job at Woolworths cleaning the floors. And then there's people knowing me and I had to put a smile on and greet them. I had to mop that floor. (Daliah, 9 May 2019).

Elna used to work in another factory. She started out in data capture and worked herself up to a junior bookkeeping position. Her employer sent her to University of Cape Town to do bookkeeping courses. After an uprising in the Hangberg community in August 2018, the factory burnt down. Elna lost her job and her employer was unable to pay for her courses anymore. Elna is now unemployed, but volunteers for the Hout Bay CARES clinic.

The women participants emphasised that having a job and "keeping busy" was important to their sense of self and their sense of belonging. This speaks to Barchiesi's (2011) 'work-citizenship nexus'. This is based on the idea that in South Africa, work is linked to citizenship: being a citizen means having a job. Many of the women participants, similar to the workers Barchiesi (2011) speaks of, longed for the stable work they had during apartheid and their sense of "standing their own" during that time (Melanie, personal

[3] Many of the women participants would speak about "piece jobs" when talking about work and available sources of income. "Piece jobs" refer to small jobs that are done informally and 'under the table' such as helping out a fisherman with preparing his catch. Melanie, in particular, would often take on such jobs as she was well-known among the fishermen in the area. During my visits to the community, Melanie would often be contacted by fishermen who needed help with various fishing-related tasks.

communication, 2 April 2019). The women participants also recognised constraints to employment that were previously not there. Especially, Melanie and Joy set out limited and incomplete education as a barrier in access to employment opportunities. Melanie (13 April 2019) said: “You even need matric to sweep the roads… for us that don’t have that, it’s very difficult”. Joy (11 May 2019) said: “Like matric… I need to finish matric”, when asked about how she saw her job prospects.

In all, the women stated that the structural conditions that shaped their lives had not been changed since the end of apartheid.

4.2.3 Crime and drug and alcohol-related social issues

Crime, violence and gender-based violence is particularly rampant in South Africa (Stats SA, 2018c). The women participants spoke of crime in the community and how they, as women, were particularly vulnerable and how this has changed over time.

When Elinor was younger, she would walk home from her work in the factory at 2 or 3 in the morning. Nowadays, she cannot even go out after dark. While she has not been a victim of crime herself, both her son and daughter have. Her daughter was recently robbed, while her son got stabbed in 2018. He survived the attack and got away with only minor injuries. Elinor said: “a lot of people coming. Gangsters and that. We had a lot of that… Now with all these things going on here… drugs… we must be afraid” (Elinor, 17 July 2019). Joy also spoke of increased crime. She said:

> People get stabbed. People get shot. People get beaten up. Why? Because they are robbing people now. And when… When I was little, they did not rob once. You know what, when I was small my mother always told me I could be drunk at 3 o’clock at night, coming down the road… the gangsters would help me out. Today, they would kill me along the way. Yes. (Joy, 11 May 2019).

The women all recognised that crime had gone up since the end of apartheid. Drug-related crime, poverty, lack of service delivery, ineffective local governance, alleged police brutality, unemployment and underdevelopment, have taken place in the community in recent years (Knoetze, 2014; Tefre, 2015; Payne, 2017; Rio, 2018). Melanie set out how drugs became an issue after 1994. In her view, ‘black’ and ‘coloured’ people were too scared to sell drugs during apartheid because of strict policing and racially discriminating laws. Post 1994, however, Melanie said corrupt policing practices have made it easier to bribe police and that people previously afraid to venture into the drug business are not afraid to do so anymore. As a result, drug sales have become business and are seen as a way out of poverty.

The women consider the issue of crime in their community out of their control. The issue of drug and alcohol addiction is something several of the women were faced with but have since overcome. In this, the women participants were agentic and made a strategic choice to quit their addiction to better their lives and the lives of their families.

4.3 Development of agency

Agency is considered critical for empowerment. In Sen’s capability approach, agency is considered an important goal in itself. To be empowered, women must be able to make strategic choices “which are critical for people to live the lives they want” as opposed to “less consequential life choices which may be

important for the quality of one's life but do not constitute its defining parameters" (Kabeer, 1994: 437). To be able to assess empowerment, one must therefore look at agency and how women exercise or act on their agency. Are their choices strategic or not? If not, it is not empowerment.

The second component of Mosedale's (2005) framework involves analysing possibilities for action and actual action taken by the participants. The focus here is on agency or the "power within" (Kabeer, 1999). Thus this part of the findings look at how the women participants came to identify their agency and explores the ways in which their agency has developed over time.

4.3.1 From girls to 'strong' women

The women participants identified that their upbringings made them capable human beings who can take care of themselves.

Angela was raised by her father and older sisters. She lost her mother when she was four years old. While she was able to matriculate, she had to help in providing food and amenities for her family from the age of 14. She said: "they [her sisters] raised us to become very strong no matter what. You will need to stand on your own two feet" (Angela, 9 May 2019). Angela alludes to finding her agency in that she was able to see herself as capable of providing for herself. Growing up in poverty and during apartheid helped them find creative ways to earn money which in turn made them able to support themselves in life. It made them "strong" women (Angela, 9 May 2019; Melanie, 13 April 2019).

Elinor spoke of eating fish caught by local fishermen and limpets, periwinkels and mussels when growing up. During the season "where there is nothing" she said they ate pickled fish caught in earlier seasons. She said: "if you know what you can eat out of the field… if you know what you can eat from the mountain side or whatever, then you survive" (Elinor, 17 July 2019). She remembers walking to Noordhoek Beach, about 15 kilometres from Hout Bay, to pick shells she would paint and make into necklaces. Later she would sell these necklaces to tourists and locals in Llandudno or Chapman's Peak. She said: "It actually made us stronger people. The way we grew up. So we know we can stay ourselves now" (Elinor, 17 July 2019).

During my visits to Hangberg, many of the participants as well as other community members would speak about how, when they were children, some children would find food in the sea while others would steal a piece of bread or whatever they could find at home. Then they would all come together and share a meal. Melanie said:

> … We were like a whole family in the whole of Hout Bay. There was nothing, there was never a thing where people didn't share or whatever. We all shared with one another. Played games together, did everything. (Melanie, 13 April 2019).

In this, the women participants recognised that while they did not have financial resources, they had many human and social resources, including networks, experience and knowledge. The women participants are now able to rely on their networks and the 'survival skills' gained through growing up poor.

In reflecting on their current status and standing in society the women participants agreed they had rights and opportunities that they were denied in their childhoods. The women participants said:

> We can be free from everything. If I say everything I mean we can go to the same toilet as the 'white' people go, eh, the children can play rugby now where they only used to play 'white' people rugby. (Daliah, 9 May 2019).

> … And as for freedom of speech, that is also a thing. Because back in the day, you couldn't say what you wanted to say. You just had to think it and not think it loudly. You had to even make like you're not thinking that. You had to think it in the privacy of your own home, if you had to think of, 'oh, I wish I could do that'. But since the apartheid ended, our children can go to the same schools and have the same opportunities and be treated equally as everybody else. I like that thing that 'white', 'black', 'coloured' and 'Indian' children have the same opportunities, and be treated equally. (Elna, 9 May 2019).

The women participants further referred to being "better off" in terms of housing and material belongings[4]. All of the women either owned or rented a house of their own, whereas many of their parents had only ever lived in housing provided by their employers. Their children had toys, clothing and electronics – belongings that the women themselves never had growing up.

4.3.2 Social and political participation

In the early post-apartheid years, many South African women went "through a process of consciousness-making in which they linked their various forms of social discrimination, political oppression and class exploitation to the broader structures of domination" (Williams, 2017: 525). Many women became active in politics and took up active roles in their communities in the hope that broader structural change was about to take place (Williams, 2017).

Some of the women participants engaged and continue to engage in political efforts in the belief that this would accelerate transformational processes. Melanie is active in the Hangberg Solution Seekers Association in response to housing issues and the threat of evictions in her community. This association is part of a wider anti-eviction campaign in the Western Cape. She is also involved in various protests for fishing quotas and rights, especially for women in her community. Melanie's engagement speaks to the literature of women being politically (McEwan, 2000; Waylen, 2007).

Angela, too, has actively sought out political participation in various forums in Hout Bay. In these forums, local residents and outside actors discuss what is happening in the area and what can be done to tackle established and emerging social issues.

As citizens of a newly democratic South Africa, Melanie and Angela participated in "invented" political spaces (Miraftab, 2004) to affect change. In 2015, Angela spearheaded the initiative Proudly Hout Bay Women's Forum (PHBWF) to bring together women from the wider Hout Bay community to "take the area back and affect positive change" (PHBWF, 2019). While positively received by members of the wider Hout Bay community, the forum has somewhat dwindled and the regular community meetings do no longer take place. When asked why, Angela said she and other members lack the resources and time to commit to the project, while others misunderstand what the forum is for. She said: "People think of the forum as you must get a job from the forum… and the forum is not for that. We have such a group of strong women, eh, working with us. The rest of the women, they are here, but they think the forum is just there when they are in need" (Angela, 9 May 2019).

Such misconceptions and lack of sustained engagement hint at women's decreased interest in partaking in local politics as they "continue to find themselves on the margins of society, struggling to eke out an

[4] The women participants told me about being "better off" on several occasions. In showing me around their homes, for example, the participants would show off their TVs, books, films, children's toys, and so forth, and tell me that these were things they did not have when they were younger.

existence in the face of continued patriarchal norms, political demobilisation, widespread poverty, and few economic opportunities" (Williams, 2017: 526).

Jokingly, both Melanie and Daliah set out how they should be presidents of the country. They both stated that they, as active members in their community, were more in tune with the issues affecting regular South African citizens. When asked about her dream job, Daliah promptly said president.

When questioned why, she said to "make the rules and a better future for everyone" (Daliah, 9 May 2019). She elaborated:

> You know, I want to be in people's lives. And I think if you have a job like that, you need to be more on the ground. You need to be more on the ground that you can put yourself in that people's shoes. Then you will have a better understanding. And, then, you will get the vote every year if you do that. (Daliah, 9 May 2019).

Melanie said:

> I would have loved to be president. To bring South Africa right. And especially because a lot of the leaders in our societies don't come down to the people and work with the people. And for me to be president, I would have been able to know exactly what's happening… The president moves everywhere, but not in the communities that really needs it. (Melanie, 13 April 2019).

4.3.3 Challenging gender norms and tackling social issues

In South Africa, the woman's role is situated within the household, with the primary responsibilities of childcare, nutrition and other household-related matters (Bak, 2008; Mosoetsa, 2011; Goebel, 2011). Men's traditional role is to provide financially for the family (Mosoetsa, 2011). However, a changing labour landscape coupled with various social issues including the HIV/AIDS epidemic have affected gender roles in recent decades (Mosoetsa, 2011, Moore, 2013; Button et al., 2018). Many women now act as both carers and primary breadwinners in their households (Schatz, 2007; Mosoetsa, 2011; Button et al., 2018).

Angela runs the Little Angels organisation. Her decision to start up the organisation was a direct result of an event involving her own children. At the beginning of 2011, crystal meth – known as *tik* – was becoming increasingly common in Hangberg. Angela's cousin had become addicted and would repeatedly boost of increased energy levels and encourage Angela to try. Angela never did. One morning, Angela was in her home when her son called her to come outside. In the street outside her house, Angela found a group of kids playing with an open, white package of drugs.

> That Tuesday I decided that I must do something in my community to keep the children from the streets… I told my family that I was going to start something small like a playgroup where I was going to try and keep some of the kids where I live… I'm going to try and keep them away from the flats where we see drugs and alcohol and stuff… So, that same week, by Thursday, I started a little playgroup next door. (Angela, 9 May 2019).

In this, Angela identified drugs as an issue in her community. She had witnessed her cousin become addicted and saw that drugs posed a threat to her own children. These were the pre-conditions for her decision to start the playgroup. As a woman, she saw herself as a caregiver able to contribute to the welfare and safekeeping of children in Hangberg. This aligns with the literature on women as caregivers in South Africa (Bak, 2008; Maswikwa et al., 2018). However, Angela and the other women participants provide care outside of their household. In this way, they recognise their own abilities and make choices that has the potential to help those in their community. Angela was agentic in her decisions not to try the drug, but also in her decision to stop others from becoming addicted.

Melanie, Elna and Joy work with children through the Fisher Women for Change organisation. Although the organisation officially registered as a non-profit organisation in 2017, it has been operating for several years prior to that. Providing food was the first point of entry. Melanie saw that people in the community were going hungry and began doling out food to those in need. From that point on, the organisation took on other pursuits such as helping out local children and youth with their schoolwork, keeping the children off the streets, introducing the children to arts and crafts, and taking the children on educational outings around the province. Again, these activities relate to what is considered women's roles in South Africa, with the tasks performed by the women in the organisation relating to childcare and nutrition (Bak, 2008, Mosoetsa, 2011; Goebel, 2011).

In their respective households, many of the women act as both caregivers and breadwinners. Melanie's husband, a fisherman, drowned at sea in 2005, and Melanie has been alone in raising her children ever since. During the time of data collection, Melanie who had lived alone after her children moved out of the house, came to live with and take care of two of her grandchildren after the death of her older son. Her son got caught in the crossfire when taxi-related shootings broke out in the township of Manenberg, about 20 kilometres from Cape Town (SAHO, 2018). At the time of writing, it is not certain whether Melanie's grandchildren will stay with her in the long run as she does not have custody, although she would prefer them to do so. Melanie wants to be a 'good' grandmother. She wants to take care of her grandchildren.

Daliah quit drinking and doing drugs when she fell pregnant with her first child. She said:

> I had to shift my mind and my choices because I'm going to be a parent, I'm going to be a mother, and this person is going to look up to me… There is a lot of stigma in Hout Bay if you done something wrong, it can be a small thing, people gossip. And I was just thinking… If my child walks down the road I don't want other people to tell him 'you know your mummy this, your mummy that' (Daliah, 9 May 2019).

Daliah was concerned about being a 'good' mother and what that meant. To be a 'good' mother and parent she had to give up drinking and drugs. She had to become a role model, someone her child could look up to and someone who is respected in the community.

Elna is the caregiver and breadwinner of her household. Joy does not live with the father of her child, although he provides financially for her and her son, and the pair plans to get married and move in together. Patricia has lost two of her sisters, one in 2000 and the other one in 2017. Both left children, whom Patricia has taken in. She and her husband take care of these four children, and consider them their own as they do not have any biological children of their own. All of the other women live with either some or all of their children and their husbands or partners.

That some of the women act as caregivers and breadwinners in their homes speaks to the literature around changing gender roles and the destabilised South African labour market. The women, too, recognised the shift in gendered work relations. The women set out how the community has gone from a historic fishing community to one riddled with crime. Men, previously employed as fishermen, are out of commission. Some have turned to poaching and illegal activities instead, whereas many go unemployed. Elna said:

> I will see the men on the corner sitting… in the past it used to be the females sitting. Females is going out and bringing the bacon home now. Whereas men, I don't know what is wrong with our generation from now. They are just very relaxed, they don't care. (Elna, 9 May 2019).

"Females bringing home the bacon now" refers to the uptake in women providing financially, and a decline in men doing so. The women largely echoed this view: "Some don't work" (Daliah, 9 May 2019), "they just

don't care" (Elinor, 17 July 2019). At the same time, men continue to be absent from children's lives, a trend reflected in communities all across South Africa (Hall and Budlender, 2016). Melanie set out how men "don't want to be involved" with the children and youth, unless they could be their 'sugar daddy'. In terms of working with women, the women participants perceived care work as something only women could do. Melanie said:

> You know how I see this whole situation? The earth is a woman and the woman understand what is happening to another woman. That is why it is much better to work with women. (Melanie, 13 April 2019).

Daliah, Joy and Elna were all addicted to drugs or alcohol at some point in their lives but are not any longer. For all women, having children was the determining factor that made them change their ways. Daliah's experience with drug abuse further enabled her to work with people with similar addictions in her community. At the time of interviews, 23 clients had graduated from the treatment centre in 2019. Daliah said: "we can serve the community, the people. And if I say people I'm talking about our whole community because we are not just focusing only on the person who misuse substance" (Daliah, 9 May 2019). In this sense, Daliah is combating an issue that goes beyond the realm of own household or self. But the issue of crime in the community was not something either of the women felt they could battle.

4.4 Empowerment outcomes

The third component of Mosedale's (2005) framework questions whether or not identified moderation of constraints has come as a result of women's actions. As previously set out, empowerment is something that women must claim for themselves through individual or collective action (Mosedale, 2005; Kabeer, 1999; Batliwala, 2007; Cornwall, 2016). Women, themselves, must utilise their resources and exercise their agency to become empowered.

In this section, I explore the empowerment outcomes found among the women participants. I draw upon Sharaunga et al.'s (2016) dimensions and sub-dimensions of empowerment to distinguish between the various empowerment outcomes. This, again, is rooted in the assumption that empowerment in one dimensions does not translate into empowerment in all.

4.4.1 Human and financial capital empowerment

Human capital empowerment refers to outcomes linked to personal skills and attributes. These include knowledge, social and personality attributes. Financial capital empowerment, on the other hand, refers to outcomes linked to access to and control over personal and household finances. Such outcomes were found among the women participants.

Through her work for the Hangberg Seniors Project, Elinor has learnt about accounting. This is something she, in an ideal world, wanted to work with professionally. Through her work with Isolabantwana, Elinor received training in how to spot and take care of abuse, neglected and exploited children. Thus her voluntary work has abled her to gain practical skills and attributes. Joy aspires to become a chef. Through her voluntary work with Fisher Women for Change, she has honed her cooking skills. She cooks and prepares the food for the children who partake in the after-school activities of the organization.

Angela's Little Angels started out as a playgroup that eventually grew to a multitude of crèches in the

community. In the beginning, the work was done voluntarily. Now, working for Little Angels is Angela's main source of income.

Melanie, too, has gained leadership and organisational skills through her work with Fisher Women for Change, as well as in her work with political activism and in the fishing industry. She has become a well-known figure in her community. Many of the women participants and other members of the community come to Melanie for help, advice and employment. As mentioned, Melanie occasionally does "peas jobs". These will often include helping out local fishermen. During my visits to the community, Melanie would often help organise such jobs for local women and for herself. "My phone never stops ringing", Melanie would often say. Though she would often complain, she would also be appreciative of the responsibility many people in the community entrusted her with.

4.4.2 Social and familial capital empowerment

The dimension of empowerment that relates to social empowerment includes social capital, informational capital and familial empowerment (Sharaunga et al., 2016). In this, social capital empowerment focuses on co-operation between individuals and groups that is used to derive collective, economic, development and/ or livelihood benefits. Informational capital empowerment refers to knowledge that is productive or beneficial to women's everyday life and development activities. Familial empowerment relates to women's positions, intra-household relations and decision-making power within the household.

The women participants in this study co-operate to better and develop their community. Daliah got her job at the Hout Bay CARES clinic through Angela. Angela, as mentioned, would often go to community forums in which people from the wider Hout Bay area would come together and 'speak about their problems' (Angela, 9 May 2019). Angela had witnessed first-hand how drug addiction and abuse had come to flourish in Hangberg and was pleading to the community for help for her community. One day, a man stood up and said he would start up a rehab facility in Hangberg. He submitted proposal to the government and the Hout Bay CARES initiative got the green light.

Initially, the man wanted Angela to help the start up and run the project. With too much on her plate in terms of the Little Angels project, Angela did not have time to partake. Instead she insisted Daliah would be a good person to talk to. She said:

> I can remember that I was looking for a job for Daliah and they asked, 'do you know anyone?' and I said, 'yes, please, giver her a call'. She was looking for a chance because she was also a drug addict. And she always said, 'Angela, people who was working with that will know'. So I said, 'guys, give her a chance'. And they did. And she started there. (Angela, 9 May 2019).

Angela helping Daliah get access to such work is an example of how women in this community co-operate. Patricia, too, spoke of how she derives development and livelihood benefits from participating in the activities of Fisher Women for Change.

Elize, too, spoke of how her friendship with Melanie was very important to her. She said: "I'll to go her [Melanie]. I'll come to her house. I maybe sit and have a cup of tea, something like that. Afterwards I feel better and go home again" (Elize, 11 May 2019).

In my participant observations I witnessed how the women worked together for their various development projects. The women of Fisher Women for Change cooperated to make best use of their resources so that

the children and youth of the community had access to educational services outside of the classroom. Daliah and Elna worked with Angela in that they helped each other out, talked about their issues, and furthered their work in the community. Elinor spoke about how pyjamas, blankets and other things the seniors in her group created were given to the children in Angela's crèches. Thus the women banded together to improve their own lives and their community.

The women further reflected on how their work in the community made them find purpose and meaning in their lives. For Melanie, her work with Fisher Women for Change keeps her busy and "out of trouble". It further makes her feel young and "lifts her spirits". For Joy, her work through Fisher Women for Change has enabled her to gain perspective. Before she joined the organisation, she was smoking dagga (cannabis) and drinking a lot. She would go days without washing herself, with her only concern being when she would be able to smoke and drink again. Now, she said:

> I'm actually bringing a change to the community. Because as you can see… [Referring to people hanging out on the streets]… some people don't even like the kids playing in the roads. Then I would actually spend my afternoon with the kids, you see? And they would say, 'no, you're stupid. Why are you doing that?. Ehm. I'm not drinking.. So I have a better perspective over these things that I'm doing. Like other people they drinking. They're only thinking about themselves. Smoking dagga, laughing. Why? It's not right. I went through it and I'm glad I'm done with this. (Joy, 11 May 2019).

Elinor, who has been involved in development and voluntary work since she was young, also referenced how such activities made her feel good. She said that "you feel good when you see you can help somebody" and that her work in the community kept her young (Elinor, 17 July 2019). At 71, Elinor said that without her work in the community she would feel old.

Elize, in particular, mentioned how her work with children through Fisher Women for Change had improved her relationships with her own family. She got involved in the organisation after seeing Melanie with the children and saw this work as positive for the community and for Melanie's own wellbeing. She said:

> I didn't even have this connection with my boys because they're like 'daddy's boys'. But, ever since I started out with these children, I had this connection with my own children… It's a wow, It's something nice that I have with my own kids. So these children [the children she works with through Fisher Women for Change] they even left an impact on my own personal life. And I think that's good. I feel good. I feel excellent… And I've got a much, much better relationship with my own children. And why my husband. And with my mum staying with me. (Elize, 11 May 2019).

Thus engaging in development work empowered the women in the social dimensions of empowerment. Daliah and Elna also spoke of this sense of purpose they found through their work with drug and alcohol addicts in the community. Elna said: "to see, in the eyes, that recovery is beautiful. And the eyes is speaking how they will maintain their sobriety. For me, that is priceless" (Elna, 9 May 2019). Daliah further stated:

> This morning… we are on a WhatsApp group with the clients. And I think that uhm Carl*[5] is now six years sober… he finish his programme here six years ago. But we are still in contact with him. You know when I get a message like that, when someone say in a WhatsApp group like that, 'I'm six years sober', and you know? That gives me the motivation to move forward because at least there is one person that has recovered. If we just get that message I feel like, yoh, I can go on now this way if there is another person that needs you.

[5] The client's name has been changed to protect his anonymity.

(Daliah, 9 May 2019).

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have set out the findings of the data analysis. I looked to existing literature to make sense of the data. I focused on parts of Mosedale's (2005) framework for assessing empowerment and Sharaunga et al.'s (2016) dimensions of empowerment to distinguish between the empowerment outcomes found among the women participants.

The women participants in this study identified poverty, apartheid and its legacy, precarity and vulnerability as a result of increased crime as barriers to exercise their agency. They developed their agency through identifying their social and human resources, and acted on their "power within" through establishing, participating and engaging in development activities in their community. As such, they made strategic choices that are "critical for people to live the live the lives they want" (Kabeer, 1994: 437).

Consequently, the outcomes of such actions are empowerment outcomes. They are a direct result of the women participants acting on their agency to make choices that will better their lives and the lives of those in their community.

However, the empowerment outcomes identified among the women participants relate to their personal lives and not the broader social, political and economic environment they inhabit. Their actions have a positive effect on the women participants and that of their community. But their actions do not affect wider change. The women participants remain poised precariously between economic uncertainty, crime, and responsibilities of care.

CHAPTER 5: WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AND AGENCY IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICA

5.1 Introduction

This thesis sought to draw attention to the experiences of empowerment and agency among women in local contexts for the purpose of development and add to understanding of gender in South Africa. The research was guided by the following research question: What are the experiences of empowerment and agency among local women involved in development activities in Hangberg, South Africa? Through interviews and participant observations with seven women involved in development activities in Hangberg, I aimed to gain a deeper understanding of how the women participants experienced social, economic and/or political constraints to exercise their agency, how they acted upon or planned to act upon their experiences, how they located their agency and sense of empowerment, if any, in their various development efforts, and, lastly, whether the women participants experienced their agency as able to change constraints to action.

The data analysis, set out in Chapter 3, drew largely on Mosedale's (2005) conceptual framework for assessing empowerment using the following three components: identifying constraints to action, identifying how women's agency has developed, and, lastly, identifying how women's agency have changed constraints to action. The findings presented in Chapter 4 focused on constraints to action, development of agency and the empowerment outcomes identified by the women participants.
This chapter discuss the findings in relation to existing literature. I focus on the following themes: purpose and belonging, responsibilities of care and active agency.

5.2 Purpose and belonging

The findings show that engaging in development activities can indeed contribute to women's empowerment. Empowerment outcomes were, however, limited to the personal level. The women had not realised empowerment outcomes in relation to ownership and control over material assets (Uphoff, 2003), nor the process of systematic change through which women are protected and enabled to use the law to advance their rights and their interests as citizens and economic actors (Masser, 2009).

The women acknowledged that they did not have freedom of speech or many opportunities for work and education during apartheid, but also that employment opportunities were scarce in democratic South Africa. The women struggled to come to grips with the actuality that some aspects of their lives had been somewhat simpler during white minority rule. That is not to say that the women longed for apartheid, but that new challenges after 1994 made aspects such as finding employment more difficult. New challenges included lack of education and the closing down of fish factories in the area. Before 1994 not having a secondary or tertiary education was not necessary in obtaining work, while the then-operating fish factories provided stable employment opportunities.

The women's decision to take up voluntary or development work in the face of employment hardship shed

light on the importance of work in relation to citizenship in South Africa. The first democratic elections in South Africa turned all South Africans into 'citizens' (Gouws, 2019), and there were high expectations for what this would entail. Barchiesi (2011) sets out how the South African state, and much of the liberation movement before it seized power, aligned its conception of the citizen as someone who is entitled to rights and services, with the normative idea of the worker. He calls this the 'work-citizenship-nexus'. In this, South Africans who are not included in formal work are not considered "complete citizens" (Barchiesi, 2011). Unemployment rates have, however, only increased since 1994, and the economy is not progressing as fast as had been hoped.

Barchiesi (2011: 225) explains, "workers do not just miss decent jobs as part of irretrievable past expectations. The loss of prospect of decent jobs, rather, determines perceptions of the self as mutilated subjectivity as it motivates psychic projections of ideal social orders". In the interviews, the women participants struggled to come to grips with the fact that they had stable employment under apartheid but did not have access to such employment now.

Only one of the women were able to secure an income from her development work. The other women were dependent on their partners, social grants or the small income they got from infrequent domestic work or small, low-paying jobs such as domestic work in and around the community. During the time of field work, Melanie had injured her leg and received a small social grant. This was only for a couple of months, and she had no plan in place for how she would make an income after the social grants stopped coming.

Partaking in development activities did not provide an income, but it did provide a sense of purpose. In this, the women participants were able to effectively contribute to their community and act on their citizenry in a time when formal employment were not on the table. Furthermore, several of the participants used their time voluntary work as a way to work on and enhance their skills. One of the participants developed her cooking skills through preparing food for children in Hangberg and wanted to one day become a chef.

In her study of how women practiced their agency in Ivory Park, a township in Johannesburg, Williams found that women exercised their agency for the purpose of survival, rather than "freedom from want or oppression" (Williams, 2017: 540). The women participants in Hangberg took part in development activities not only for survival, but to find purpose, as well as belong to and help their community.

The spaces in which the women exercised their agency were 'invited' spaces, created by the women themselves. Miraftab (2004: 1) argues that such spaces are "geared mostly towards providing the poor with coping mechanisms and propositions to support survival of their informal membership". Engaging in development activities supported the women's informal membership to their community, their sense of belonging and purpose.

5.3 Responsibilities of care

As set out in Chapter 2, women in South Africa's role is situated within the household with the primary

responsibilities of childcare, nutrition and other household-related matters (Bak, 2008; Mosoetsa, 2011). The women participants also took on voluntary work that was deeply gendered in nature, although it was outside of the home. The women acted as caretakers in their own homes but decided to bring this caretaking to the community by caring for its children, elderly and vulnerable members through various organisations. At the same time, many of the women had also taken on financial responsibility for their families. This supports the literature around how apartheid's legacy of family disruption and destruction, a changing landscape, and the HIV/AIDS epidemic have altered men's role within the home and led to an increased reliance on women as mothers, carers and financial providers (Budlender and Lund, 2011; Mosoetsa, 2011).

The uncertainty of their financial situation affected the women's feeling of being 'good' mothers and grandmothers (Button et al., 2018). The women who did not have partners were always worrying about their finances and how they would support their dependants in the long run.
In all, the women participants took care of the vulnerable members in their community and were at once mothers, carers and financial providers. They took pride in their development work and the fact that they were doing something productive with their time. Taking care of the members in their community was of importance to them.

5.4 Active agency

Agency is the "ability to define one's goals and act upon them" (Kabeer, 1999, 438). It is the meaning motivation and purpose people attach to what they do (Kabeer, 1999; Cornwall, 2016). From my engagements with the women participants set out in Chapter 3 and the findings set out in Chapter 4 it is evident that the women were agentic and able to make strategic choices.

The women participants identified that they had found their agency, or 'power within', through growing up in poverty and under apartheid. This, in turn, made them "strong women" who were able to take care of themselves and their families. Several of the women made the conscious decisions to quit drugs and alcohol to better role models for their children and was able to overcome their addictions because of their convictions that it would make them better parents. This also showcase how goals can change over time. When younger, the women participants used drugs and alcohol to forget about their troubles but came to realise that they wanted something different for themselves as they got older and were to take care of someone else.

In discussions around my research and whom in the community would be good participants, Melanie and Angela acted on their agency to find the most suitable participants and helped me arrange interviews, knowing full well that it would be beneficial for them too. In partaking in the study, they raised awareness of their work and added to understanding of the issues in their community.
Many of the women participants attributed their ability to 'make do' and 'stay ourselves' to growing up in and around poverty and during apartheid. But their resilience speaks to literature around the strong role of women and how women act as active agents who respond to social change (Beall, 2002; Mosoetsa, 2011). Which is what the women participants did. Moreover, they were able to recognise the positive outcomes of their actions.

Yet, there were some barriers the women participants could not overcome or change. This included economic uncertainty and crime. Both of which they felt they had no power over, or ability to change. Meanwhile their chosen development activities strongly correlate towards activities that are, in South Africa, considered the responsibility of women.

5.5 Conclusion

For the women participants, the transformation to democracy in South Africa was a precarious liberation. The changing landscape, the loss of employment opportunities, and the increased crime limited the women's economic and social mobility in new ways. Though they were now citizens, being unemployed meant that they did not feel as such. Engaging in development work, even if it was on a voluntary basis, gave the women a sense of purpose and belonging.

The choices they have made in both their personal lives and outside of the home in engaging in development activities are strategic. And the outcomes of such work are thus empowerment outcomes. The women considered themselves empowered women, even though they did not overtly use the term, and recognised that they had made choices that was of benefit to themselves and to their community. Through forming and participating in social groups, forums and organisations, the women are exemplars of an alternative 'solution' to cope with and move beyond social and economic despair. Yet, the women participants remained poised precariously between economic uncertainty and responsibilities of care. They were unable to change or overcome barriers to secure stable employment and high levels of criminal activity in their community.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The empirical findings of this thesis provided a nuanced understanding of empowerment processes among women in Hangberg. Such findings verify theories of agency and empowerment (Kabeer, 1994, 2005; Mosedale, 2005; Sharaunga et al., 2016), and contribute to the growing literature around such themes, as well as raise awareness of empowerment in relation to development. It further adds to understanding of gender in South Africa.

The women participants developed their agency through identifying their social and human resources and acted on their agency through establishing and participating in various development work in Hangberg. Taking care of their community was of importance to them. Thus, their decisions to partake in the development of Hangberg were strategic and critical for them to live the lives they want (Kaveer, 1994).

Participation in these 'invented spaces' also speaks to the women's need to act as citizens and their want to be included in society, in whatever way they can. The empowerment outcomes of such action relate to human, financial, social and familial capital sub-dimensions of empowerment (Sharaunga et al., 2016). The women saw themselves as empowered women who attributed their personal growth to participating in development activities in Hangberg. While admirable, these outcomes were constrained to the personal level.

The women identified poverty, apartheid and its legacy, precarity and vulnerability as a result of increased crime as barriers to exercise their agency. These barriers limited empowerment in all of its dimensions. The women did not see themselves as able to affect structural change and identified that their aspirations were limited in terms of level and reach. The structural changes needed for these women to be empowered in all aspects of their lives would require action from outside actors or larger groups.

The findings of this thesis are relevant for policymakers and scholars. The focus on the ways in which women in disadvantaged communities exercise their agency and their experiences of empowerment adds to understanding of gender in South Africa. Empowerment is not something that can be bestowed upon women. Women must claim it for themselves. But understanding how and what it means to women in such contexts will enable policymakers and other stakeholders to create the enabling environment in which women can and will flourish. For the women participants in this thesis, an enabling environment would include safety and stability. Better policing, less crime, housing, education and a steady income would enable empowerment in all dimensions and sub- dimensions.

I found that parts of Mosedale's (2005) conceptual and Kabeer's (1994, 2005, 2012) theoretical frameworks provided a good basis for understanding and analysing the empowerment process. Sharaunga et al.'s (2016) dimensions and sub-dimensions of empowerment were useful in understanding the various levels of empowerment and empowerment outcomes. It helped differentiate and specify the outcomes identified by the women participants and group them together. Studies like this thesis contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics and complexities involved. It also highlights the need for measures of empowerment to move beyond visible forms of agency and explore the reflections, perceptions, behaviours and experiences of women.

To achieve SDG 5, “gender equality and empowerment among all women and girls” (UN, 2015), there needs to be a focus on what empowerment looks like in local contexts. As such, I encourage further research into how women exercise their agency and the barriers and limitations they face, as well as what resources are needed to facilitate the empowerment of women. Moreover, Mosedale’s (2005) framework should be put to use in further studies. This framework focuses on the empowerment process and not just the outcomes. As such, it allows for a greater insight into how empowerment comes about.

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Appendix A: Consent form

Participants were asked to sign this consent form after details about their participation had been discussed. The participants signed this form prior to each interview.

Interview consent form

I ……. consent to being interviewed by Ida Åkerstedt for her master's research project at the University of Cape Town (UCT).

I understand that even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without any consequences of any kind.

I have had the purpose and the nature of the research project explained to me and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research project.

I agree to my interview being audio-recorded.

I understand that the information I provide for this study will be treated confidentially.

I understand that my identity will remain anonymous. This will be done by changing my name and disguising any details of my interview which may reveal my identity or the identity of people I speak about.

I understand that extracts from my interview may be quoted in Ida Åkerstedt's master research project.

I understand that signed consent forms and original audio recordings will be retained by Ida Åkerstedt.

I understand that I am free to contact Ida Åkerstedt to seek further clarification and information.

Signature of research participant

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Signature of participant Date

Signature of researcher

I believe the participant is giving informed consent to participate in this study

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Signature of researcher Date

Appendix B: Interview schedule

Below is an overview of when the interviews took place. Not all of the interviews took place at the time and date when originally scheduled, due to unrest and violence in the wider Hout Bay area. For instance, the interview with Angela was supposed to take place at an earlier date, but due to an outbreak of taxi violence, Angela considered it unsafe for me to come into the community. Likewise, the interview with Patricia was rescheduled a couple of times. This was mostly due to her own changing circumstances. For instance, one time she cancelled the interview as she had a personal matter to attend to.

Participant	**Date**	**Place**	**Comments**
Melanie	13 April 2019	Home	Melanie's grandchildren were in the room next door.
Patricia	8 April 2019	Car	The interview was scheduled to take place at Patricia's home. But during the night, her house had been broken into so Patricia had to go to the police station. Due to taxi violence and unrest in the Hout Bay area, Patricia did not feel it was safe to bring me to the police station. Instead, she parked her car outside the local petrol station, and we conducted the interview there.
Elize	11 May 2019	Melanie's home	Melanie was in the other room during this interview. She did not listen in, but came into the living room, where the interview took place, one time.
Joy	11 May 2019	Patricia's home	The interview took place in the kitchen, while Patricia and some other women were sat outside. Joy did not want to bring me into her own home, but felt comfortable being interviewed at Patricia's house.
Elna	9 May 2019	Hout Bay CARES clinic	The interview took place in Elna's office.
Daliah	9 May 2019	Hout Bay CARES clinic	The interview took place in Elna's office.
Angela	9 May 2019	Little Angels office	The interview took place in Angela's office.
Elinor	23 July 2019	Hangberg library	This interview took place during the Senior Group's weekly meetup at the public library. We were sat at a table and had privacy, but there were other people around.

Appendix C: Interview guide

This is the semi-structured interview guide used for the interviews.

Questions about the community	
- Explanation of research project and formal consent of interview - Emphasise importance of respondents' experiences: no right or wrong answer, no limit on how much is spoken about - Stress anonymity	
Introductory questions	
Birth and childhood Schooling	Can you tell us where you were born and grew up? - What was your experience of growing up in …? What were our school years like? - How did you feel about school? - How far did you get with your studies? How did you feel about this? - What did you do after school? If not from Hangberg, when did you arrive here? Would you ever leave this community? Why/ why not?
Family	Where is your family from? - If from Hangberg, how long have they been in here? - How many of your family members are still here? -
Employment	What do you do for a living? - If has a job, how long have you had it? - How often do you work? - How do you feel about your work? Do you like it? - What is your dream job? Why this? - Is it difficult finding employment? Why/ why not?
Household	How many members are there in your household? - Who of them contributes to the household? What are their different tasks? - How is it living together?
Questions about the community	
Social networks	Who do you ask if you need help or if something bad happens?

	Who do you confide in?
Religion	Are you religious? - How important is religion to you? - Are you part of a church community?
Hangberg	What are the good things happening in this community? - How do you feel about this? - How is it affecting you? - What are you doing about it? What are the bad things happening in this community? - How to you feel about this? - How is it affecting you? - What are you doing about it Would you say the community is better or worse off now compared to 20 years ago? - Why/ why not? Probe
Questions about development work	
Fisher Women for Change	What is the organisation all about? - What is the mission? What is the vision? - When was it established and why? - How do you get funding and find resources? What is your role in this organisation? - Tasks and involvement - Why do you do this work?
Other organisations	What is the role of the organisation in the development of this community? - What are the opportunities of doing organisational work in this community? - What are the limitations of doing organisational work in this community? - How do you feel about the work you do? How is it affecting you? Probe What are other organisations or people doing to develop or better Hangberg? - How do you feel about these organisations or people? What are they doing that you are not/ what are you doing that they are not?

Appendix D: Field note example

Below is the field note I wrote up after one of my visits to the community. After every visit, I wrote up similar field notes to document these visits.

Field note 2/04/2019
Last night I stayed over at Melanie's house with Natasha (another researcher who is doing field work in Hangberg). We came to Hangberg at around 7 on Monday and parked by the Hout Bay market.
We first went to Patricia's house as we had to give back a myCiti card Natasha had borrowed. At Patricia's house, we met her daughter. The daughter gave me a tour of the house and asked me to sleep next to her in her bed. I politely declined and said we are staying over at auntie Melanie's house tonight.

Patricia, Natasha and I sat at her kitchen table for some time before Melanie came over. When she arrived at the house, the four of us walked back to Melanie's house together. Natasha and I had brought some vegetarian sausages and veggies for dinner. We first had tea and talked in the living room. Patricia told us how the girl she introduced us to is not her daughter, but her sister's daughter. She had two sisters who both died at a young age. Patricia also told us how out of the four children staying with her, neither are her biological children. She said she is in a court battle with the father of the girl, who, according to her late sister, may be or become a child molester. The father wants to take the girl, but Patricia wants to keep her. For now, the girl seems to be staying with Patricia.

Patricia and Melanie told us stories from the Hangberg community and from the nearby Imizamo Yethu settlement. They told us this one story of a young girl, aged 13 or 14, who got pregnant after her stepfather raped her when her mother was out drinking. They said these things are happening all over the community.

A man kept calling Melanie. She said he wanted her to work for him on Friday. Melanie did not want to pick up the phone because she did not want to work for him. This, she said, was because he had not paid some girls working for him the week before. She also mentioned that he paid them very little, just R25 an hour. Melanie was angry with this low wage, but Patricia made clear that R25 an hour is more than the minimum wage of R20 an hour.

After talking for a bit, we had dinner. Neither Patricia nor Melanie had tried vegetarian sausages before, but they both liked them. After dinner, Patricia went home to put her children to bed. We said goodbye and continued to talk in the living room. Natasha wanted to formally interview Melanie about her role in the anti-evictions campaign a few years earlier. I sat in and listened.
Melanie told us about how her family were removed from the central Hout Bay area to the Hangberg settlement many years ago. She built her house in Hangberg in 1992. After people were evicted, she joined in on the campaign against evictions.

Melanie further talked about how she doesn't believe in party politics and that there is no such thing as democracy. She said she just use politicians when they come into the community, and that she would never do anything that would harm the people of Hangberg in any way. She also made clear how women are the backbone of all organisational work in her community, and that other organisations she has been part of have failed when the women leave. We also talked about our home countries. Natasha is from

Australia but lives and studies in Denmark (close to Norway, where I am from). I told Melanie how I have taken out a student loan to study in South Africa. She said she thought my parents were the ones paying for me to come study here, and that she was surprised that I was in debt. She said she thought all white people from overseas who came to Cape Town were rich.

After hours of talking, we went to bed. Natasha and I stayed in Melanie's room, while Melanie stayed in the guestroom. In the morning we had a cup of tea and chatted for a little bit, before Natasha and I left to go back into town.

I felt a strong sense of female bonding after the visit. I felt we had become friends. Before we got dressed and left, Melanie walked around the apartment naked, saying how nice it is to 'be just us girls'.

Appendix E: Coding framework

Theme	Sub-theme
1. Childhood	1.1 Growing up under apartheid 1.2 Experience of education 1.3 Experience of leaving school early
2. Family life	2.1 Household 2.2 Experience of marriage 2.3 Experience of being alone 2.4 Children 2.5 Experience of raising non-biological/ foster children
3. Financial situation	3.1 Income 3.2 Experience of finding employment 3.3 Views on finding employment
4. Support	4.1 Family 4.2 Friends 4.3 Community 4.4 Church
5. Empowerment	5.1 Experience of empowerment 5.2 Views on empowerment
6. Agency	6.1 Experience of agency 6.2 Perception of agency 6.3 Agency in work 6.4 Agency at home
7. Social life	7.1 Religion 7.2 Health/ wellbeing 7.3 Aspirations/ dreams 7.4 Career goals
8. Community	8.1 Experiences of community 8.2 Views of community

Appendix F: Overview of visits to Hangberg

I spent and average of 3 hours during each visit to the community, totalling about 50 hours, besides the one time I stayed over at Melanie's house.

Date	Place	Comments
26 February 2019	Fish on the Rocks, Hout Bay harbour	Initial meeting with Melanie, founder of Fisher Women for Change. During this meeting, I got a sense of whether Melanie and other members of the community would want/be able to take part in my study. In my field note after the visit I wrote how I got a sense of Melanie's openness towards strangers, her strong belief in the importance of the work she was doing with Fisher Women for Change, and how much she cared for her community.
2 March 2019	Hangberg	Melanie took me on a tour of the Hangberg community. I attended a fundraiser for the local primary school and was introduced to members of Hangberg. This was my first proper visit to the community itself. During the tour and in my conversations with various community members I felt a little hostility but at the same time acceptance when members found out that I was a friend of Melanie's. My first impression was that of a well-knit community in which Melanie was a well-known and respected member. She knew and greeted about every single person we came across.
21 march 2019	Patricia's house, Hangberg	I had lunch with Melanie, Patricia and other women from the community. There was another white researcher there, Natasha, who were collecting data for her thesis about civic resistance to housing and forced evictions (she herself was living in Christiania, Copenhagen). Her questions gave me some insight into Melanie and the Hangberg community's resistance to forced evictions and housing issues.

2 April 2019	Melanie's house, Hangberg	Another researcher, Natasha, and I stayed over at Melanie's house. In the evening, Melanie, Patricia, Natasha and I made dinner together. See field note example for details.
8 April 2019	Petrol station, Hout Bay	Interview with Patricia. Originally, I was meant to interview Patricia in her home. This was the second time I came to Hangberg for the interview, the previous time I went to the community only to find out Patricia could not do the interview at that time after all. This day, she was available, but the previous day someone had broken into her home and she had to travel to the police station to report the break-in. There were protests close to the police station and Patricia did not feel it safe for me to come with her there. Instead, we met at a petrol station close to the police station and carried out the interview in Patricia's friend's car. This experience spoke to the intricacies of Patricia's life, yet how quickly she adapts to new and unforeseen situations. In the end I chose to omit her interview from the data analysis as Patricia is from Malawi and was not 'coloured', but spending time with her and the interview itself aided my understanding of the community and as an outsider coming into it.
13 April 2019	Workspace, Hout Bay harbour/ Melanie's house, Hangberg	I took part in Fisher Women for Change and Intle Art Club's Saturday art workshop with children where I was introduced and chatted with Joy. Afterwards, I went back to Melanie's house to interview her. Taking part in the voluntary work with the women participants allowed me to see how much work, care, and passion the women put into their voluntary work.
9 May 2019	Little Angels and Hout Bay CARES, Hangberg	Introductory meetings and interviews with Angela, Elna and Daliah. Angela showed me around one of the Little Angels' crèches and introduced me to Daliah and Elna. Daliah and Elna showed me around the Hout Bay CARES facility. Again, seeing

		the women talk about their work and actually carry out the work aided my understanding of how important this work were to them.
11 May 2019	Melanie and Patricia's houses, Hangberg	Interviews with Elize and Joy. During these interviews Melanie and Patricia would be outside the room, but occasionally they would come in to grab something quickly or to ask Ellize or Joy questions. This was at times a bit distracting. And it was clear, to me at least, that Melanie and Patricia were the ones in charge, they were the ones in control of the situation, allowing me to interview the other women in their voluntary group.
1 June 2019	Workspace, Hout Bay harbour	I took part in Fisher Women for Change and Intle Art Club's Saturday art workshop with children. Again, taking part in the voluntary work with the women participants allowed me to see how much work, care, and passion the women put into their voluntary work. This time I also got to speak to Joy outside of Melanie's home. Joy was the woman closest to me in age and I felt that there was a bit of a different power dynamic between us. The other women were in their late 30s, 40s or 50s, whereas Joy was in her early 20s. We talked about studies and our wants for the future, and she seemed more relaxed in this setting.
22 June 2019	Sentinel Ministries, Hangberg	Funeral for Melanie's son. This event is elaborated on in Chapter 3.
29 June 2019	Workspace, Hout Bay harbour	I took part in Fisher Women for Change and Intle Art Club's Saturday art workshop with children.
13 July 2019	Workspace, Hout Bay harbour	I took part in Fisher Women for Change and Intle Art Club's Saturday art workshop with children.
20 July 2019	Workspace, Hout Bay harbour	I took part in Fisher Women for Change and Intle Art Club's Saturday art workshop with children.
23 July 2019	Hangberg public library	I took part in the Hangberg Seniors Project's weekly meeting, where I was

		introduced to Elinor. I then interviewed Elinor and spoke with other members of this group. I had spent some time with the women doing voluntary work with children, but not so much the seniors. This was a very different setting, though the volunteers taking part in this group showed just as much pride in their work as the ones working with children. An the seniors seemed just as glad to be there as the children did for the Saturday workshops. It was clear, to me at least, that Elinor was a volunteer veteran in this community. All the seniors knew her well, as did the health personnel there to check up on the seniors. We conducted the interview in the hall where the seniors were gathered but away from the crowds to get some peace and quiet. Still, other volunteers and some of the seniors came to interrupt time and time again. They needed to ask questions and needed help with this and that. Elinor was the go-to person for everything, it seemed.