

Rural Gendered Youth Perceptions:  
Food-Security, Capabilities, Rights and  
Freedoms

A case study of northern KwaZulu-Natal

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Masters in Economic History and Development Studies, in the School of Politics,  
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## **Declaration**

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Masters in Economic History and Development Studies, in the School of Politics,  
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University of KwaZulu-Natal,  
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I, Danielle Nevada Floersch, declare that this dissertation is my own work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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## Abstract

This case study is a documentation of localised gendered and youth perspectives regarding food-(in)security, capabilities, rights and freedom. This dissertation explores localised youth and gendered perceptions of food-security by applying Amartya Sen's capabilities approach. The research is situated within the village of Mboza, the peri-urban locale of Ndumo, and the town of Jozini, oriented within the Makhathini region of the Pongola floodplain of Northern KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. In this context, perceptions of capabilities, rights, and food-security are seemingly based on normative views of rights aligning with South Africa's constitutional first and second generations rights. Additionally, it is noted that perceptions and aspirations are impacted by socio-historical and economic dynamics that have resulted in segregated places and constrained opportunities. Practically and ideologically speaking, the state historically played a role in shaping these dynamics. Perceptions are further influenced by normalised capitalist ideals relating to consumption, socio-economic mobility, and success.

The research explores whether post-apartheid South Africa's incorporation of a rights-based approach to development has influenced expectations and thus affected perspectives on the roles of: the state, communities, and individuals; in securing the right to food. In this manner, perceptions of food, a primary need necessary for a quality of life with dignity, may be extended to assess the degree of politicisation of basic needs by people in this context.

South Africa has undergone a liberal democratic transition and embraces the ideology of human rights. However, the right to food, and the "expansion of the „capabilities“ of persons to lead the kind of lives they value—and have reason to value"<sup>1</sup> lays enmeshed within the rural development dilemma, the language of human rights and freedoms, and the developmental objectives of the South African State.

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<sup>1</sup> Sen.1999, 291.

## Acknowledgments

*How much does a man live, after all?*

*Does he live a thousand days, or one day?*

*For a week, or for several centuries?*

*How long does a man spend dying?*

*What does it mean to say “forever”?*

~ Pablo Neruda

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*Live as if you were to die tomorrow. Learn as if you were to live forever.*

~ Mohandas Gandhi

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*It is good to have an end to journey toward; but it is the journey that matters, in the end.*

~ Ursula K. Le Guin

I dedicate this thesis to everyone who continues to struggle, to aspire, and to hope. I owe this moment to everyone who continually supported my choices even when the years started to look like forever. I thank all the beautiful people I have met, known and grown with during this journey. I am eternally grateful for the one that showed me how to fearlessly embrace life and all the challenges and the blessings it provides. Your strength lives on in those who knew and loved you.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction and Theoretical Underpinnings

#### 1.1 Introduction

South Africa contends to be nationally food self sufficient; meanwhile household and individual food-insecurity remains pervasive. Despite the imperative to alleviate poverty and hunger, as embodied within the human-rights based language of the South African Constitution,<sup>1</sup> as well as the nation's alignment with international<sup>2</sup> and regional<sup>3</sup> commitments, conflict emerges between intent and reality.<sup>4</sup> The dynamics within South African rural contexts present a contemporary and contradictory dilemma to investigate rural development. In rural South Africa, development is a political and economic issue where the approach to fulfilling the rights entrenched in the constitution is confronted with multiple challenges.

This case study is a documentation of gendered and youth perspectives regarding food-(in)security,<sup>5</sup> capabilities, rights, freedom and development. The research is situated within the

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<sup>1</sup> Section 27 of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of South Africa states: Everyone has the right to have access to health care services, including reproductive health care; sufficient food and water; and social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants, appropriate social assistance. The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of each of these rights. [www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/index.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/index.htm)

<sup>2</sup> Internationally agreed upon Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) established by member states of the United Nations (UN). Despite the financial and food crisis, 191 member states of the United Nations remain committed to the MDG to eradicate extreme poverty and halve hunger by 2015. Goal one has three targets: halve the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day and the proportion of people who suffer from hunger; and achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people. South Africa's indicators, as of 2006, do not bode well for this achievement. South Africa's poverty gap ratio has increased from 5.2% in 1995 to 8.2% in 2000. 2006 MDG Indicators were unavailable for South Africa. [millenniumindicators.un.org/unsd/mdg/SeriesDetail.aspx?srid=584&crd=710](http://millenniumindicators.un.org/unsd/mdg/SeriesDetail.aspx?srid=584&crd=710)

<sup>3</sup> Nepad Planning and Coordinating Agency. 2010. *UN Agriculture, Food Security, and Rural Development Cluster Meeting*. The Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) is headed by the African Union Commission (AUC) and New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) –launched with the objective of revitalizing agriculture growth as a strategy to combat poverty and hunger in Africa, thus achieving the Millennium Development Goal 1 (MDG1) of halving the number of the hungry and poor by half by 2015". <http://www.nepad.org/foodsecurity/knowledge/doc/1827/un-agriculture-food-security-and-rural-development-cluster-meeting>

<sup>4</sup> Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. 2010. *The State of Food Insecurity in the World: Addressing Food-Insecurity in Protracted Crisis*. Rome: FAO. Current issues of rising food prices and food-insecurity are not unique to South Africa. The escalation of global food prices during 2007-2008 was the most dramatic increase the world has seen since the 1970s. The impact this has had on poor populations of global South is well documented. The FAO reports that nearly 1 billion people are undernourished and live in extreme poverty with hunger. This thesis will demonstrate the contextualisation of food-insecurity in rural South Africa as an outcome of its unique history; thus allowing for contextual dynamics of food-(in)security to emerge.

<sup>5</sup> The term food-(in)security is used when denoting either qualities of food-security or food-insecurity. The affirmative terms food-insecurity and food-security are used when addressing conditions that qualify specifically as each term respectively. Food-security as a concept is defined in section 1.2.2.



village of Mboza, the peri-urban locale of Ndumo, and the town of Jozini, oriented within the Makhathini region of the Pongola floodplain of Northern KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

## **1.2 Key Research Questions**

This research documents perceptions of the means and methods available, needed, or wanted, to obtain food and its applicability to a capabilities, and rights-based, approach to development. Thus, the study questions the extent of the politicisation of food as a basic need, a human right, and the relationship with capabilities and development. Documentation of individuals' expressed wants, needs, aspirations and rights in relation to livelihoods, development and food-security, will provide a starting point for assessing these dynamics. Taking into consideration the subjectivity of food-(in)security, the case study positions these perspectives within a framework that is exploratory thereby focusing on contextualised perspectives and meaning construction. Further, this study questions how food-(in)security in a micro-context enters into the perceptions of needs, rights, capabilities and opportunities, of rural youth.

The essence of these questions is expanded upon within the conceptual overview presented below in Section 1.3 and Section 1.4. Capabilities, rights and freedoms are the core concepts presented and in relation to food-(in)security, rural youth, gender, and development. The former concepts are all components of Amartya Sen's theories on human development. Section 1.3 and Section 1.4 below discusses the significance of capabilities, rights and freedoms,<sup>6</sup> and the linkages between localised perceptions of food-security, rural youth, gender, livelihoods and development.

### **1.2.1 Overview of Chapters**

The following section will provide an overview to the chapters' outlines. It must be stated at this point that this thesis will not present a conventional literature review however a systematic

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<sup>6</sup> See Sen, A. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. New York: Random House. According to Sen, human freedom, development as freedom, is constituted by multiple freedoms, such as political and civil, each with arguably intrinsic and instrumental qualities. Normatively, freedom is conceptually qualified by its qualities, i.e. intrinsic or instrumental, positive or negative. However, Sen argues that these qualities do not necessarily have to be conceived in oppositional terms. These qualities ascribed to freedom will be expanded in section 1.3.2. However for purposes of clarity, the use of freedom in the plural sense 'freedoms' is used except when referring to a specific freedom or when used to reference general human freedom in its totality as in Sen's conception of development as freedom.

overview is contained within Chapters 1 and 2. This unorthodox approach was intentional as a literature review would too closely align with the overviews presented in both the presentation of Sen's conceptual framework contained within Chapter 1 as well as the presentation of political economy of food, and food-(in)security dynamics, in Chapter 2. This systematic presentation is inclusive of international, national, and regional food-security discourses and the contextualisation of food-security and development. In an effort to avoid redundancy, the systematic overview of literature is presented in the relevant chapters; thereby replacing what is normally conceived as a designated chapter on literature review.

In Chapter 1, the documentation of localised perspectives is presented as an approach that seeks to explore the significance of rights, freedoms and capabilities in relation to gendered youth perceptions of food-(in)security. Application of a capabilities approach to development draws upon localised, and subjective, understandings of available choices and valued aspirations. Focusing on localised perspectives allows for subjective experiences, rooted in context specific dynamics, to be voiced; therefore, recognising the importance of these perceptions in relation to food-security, entitlements and livelihood discourses. This chapter concludes with the presentation of the theoretical framework used to explore perceptions of food-(in)security in rural South Africa and as this relates to perspectives on capabilities, entitlements, rights and freedoms.

Chapter 2 serves to explore the dynamics of the political economy of food in relation to food security, livelihoods, and socio-economic and political dynamics specific to South Africa. This chapter provides presentation of South Africa's position on food-security within discussion on the development of food-security discourse internationally. This is necessary to understand to what extent South Africa has aligned its policies with international ideology specifically relating to food-security and development. In order to situate the context within a broader socio-economic and political context, Chapter 2 will include the impact of the historical development trajectory of South Africa. A history of the regional dynamics of colonial Zululand is then presented. This regional contextualisation of the historical socio-economic and political dynamics demonstrates the effects on people's relationship to entitlements, capabilities, and livelihoods. This section emphasises that history, and political economy dynamics, impacts

current day opportunities and constrains the ways in which people choose to pursue their economic opportunities. These historical dynamics and processes are depicted in order to provide the basis for evaluating dynamics that affect present day perceptions.

Chapter 3 further narrows the historical contextualisation of the case study region. This is done in order to demonstrate how regional historical processes have impacted localised socio-economic and political relationships. These dynamics are presented in order to introduce the difficulties underlining the field work methodology. Chapter 3 includes presentation of the fieldwork methodology and has a strong emphasis on subjective reflexivity of the researcher and how this impacted the direction and topic of this research. This chapter is also used to connect the challenges and limitations involved in this research and to demonstrate how the research was a process and not an event.

Chapter 4 is presentation of fieldwork responses, observations and analysis. The analysis thematically focuses on capabilities, rights and freedoms in relationship to food-security and rural development, which emerged from discussions and interviews. This section discusses the significance of a capabilities approach for assessing food-(in)security in relation to gendered youth perceptions of rights, capabilities and freedoms.

The concluding chapter revisits the core components of the thesis and considers the applicability of the capabilities approach in assessing perceptions of food-security in relation to rights, freedom and development. Based on the specificity of context, and perceptions, within this research, it is impossible to make sweeping and generalised suggestions for public policy. However, it is suggested that further and more comprehensive research of rural youth perceptions in democratic South Africa may assist to facilitate policy improvements on an array of rural development issues ranging from food policy, to education, civic participation, and local economic development.

### **1.3 Why Food, Why Rural Youth and Gender, and Why Local?**

South Africa's socio-political and historical legacy continues to characterise the reconstituting processes of the productive and reproductive socio-economic relationships and dynamics in rural regions. Such a legacy is apparent in the demographic make-up of rural areas

and the livelihood activities engaged. This research is a minute view into the lives of a few who experience dynamics that research analyses into abstraction. The larger and much more complicated vision of South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy, and the motives of a 'developmental state', underlines much of this exploration.<sup>7</sup> Although the essence of this research is to capture perceptions regarding needs and expectations and their dynamic with people's perceptions of capabilities, rights and freedom in relation to livelihoods and food-security; it is unavoidably also a depiction of the development paradigms that have informed rural development. The contradictory nature of rural development is not new to development discourse.<sup>8</sup> The subtext to development is inevitably the aspirations of people and how they have been historically shaped in relation to socio-economic and political dynamics.

When taking into consideration development paradigms it becomes necessary to reflect on the people who will be impacted by the implementation of intended programmes, policies, or projects. From this position it may be possible to explore and better understand the degree to which a particular ideological and/or political framework for food-security has, or has not, taken hold in the minds of people.

### 1.3.1 Food

Food is an obscured topic often deeply entrenched within other fields of research, however as a topic it also reveals 'the analytical possibilities inherent in the multiplicity of food'<sup>9</sup> where food operates as an exploratory vehicle or as 'mediator between domains

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<sup>7</sup> Important as this discussion may be for understanding current rural socio-economic dynamics, such an extensive presentation and analysis of the theories on the role of the state, and accompanying developmental ideologies, is beyond the scope of this research. However, the ideology of liberalism, and liberal states, is briefly touched upon within discussion of rights and freedom in Section 1.3.2. In addition, Chapter 2 discusses the impact of the South African state in shaping social and economic spaces in South Africa through land, labour, and agricultural policies.

<sup>8</sup> Theorists, at a historical level, from Lenin and Marx to Chayanov and Shanin, presented comparative theories regarding the structure and dynamics of rural peasants, and agriculture production, in relation to capitalist development, revolutions and state formation. Each with varying views of the role of the peasantry and the varying degrees of class and demographic differentiation of the countryside. For an overview of this debate and the contradictions of rural development see Bernstein, H. and T.J. Byres (2001). 'From Peasant Studies to Agrarian Change'. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 1(1). For a contemporary assessment of South Africa's rural and agrarian debate see the collection edited by Bernstein (1996). *The Agrarian Question in South Africa*. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.

<sup>9</sup> Lien, M.E. (2008). *The Politics of Food: An Introduction in Sustainable Food and Agriculture*, Vol. III. London: Earthscan Reference Collection: 81.

commonly set apart”.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, Chambers states that, “few fields are of more intense concern for human well-being and development than food”.<sup>11</sup> In reference to food-security as a human right, Dowler asserts that “food is more than a bundle of nutrients: it represents an expression of who a person is, where they belong, and what they are worth, and is a focus for social exchange”.<sup>12</sup>

The need for food exists as one of the foundational necessities of life tied to the ability to pursue other subjectively defined life pursuits. Amartya Sen’s ‘capabilities approach’<sup>13</sup> connects fundamental life facilitating needs, such as access to food, to the ability to live a dignified life where “seeing the quality of life in terms of valued activities and the capability to achieve these activities”.<sup>14</sup> This research will use perceptions of food-(in)security as an exploratory device to uncover perceptions of capabilities, rights, and development. In this manner, this research seeks to understand, at a local level, how perceptions of food contribute to individuals’ perceptions, and valuations, of capabilities and rights generally. Sen’s theories provides an analytical foundation for this research; combining a political economy framework with case studies on “the perspective of those facing hunger and rural poverty”.<sup>15</sup>

### 1.3.2 Food-Security, Food Entitlements and Livelihoods

Food-security, like many concepts applied to describe the condition of societies at global, national, and local levels, has multiple dynamics and often amended meanings. The flexibility of this concept demands that definitions are provided for any research, and policy, concerning food-security. Briefly,<sup>16</sup> for purposes of introducing the conceptual connections of the research, a food-security definition will be provided combined with an introduction of Sen’s extension of food-(in)security in relation to livelihoods, capabilities, entitlements and rights.

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<sup>10</sup> Lien, 2008: 81.

<sup>11</sup> Chambers, R. (1997). *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications: 17.

<sup>12</sup> Maxwell, S. and R. Slater (2004). *Food Policy Old and New*. Overseas Development Institute, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 11.

<sup>13</sup> Capabilities, and the capabilities approach, are further elaborated in section 1.3.1 of this chapter.

<sup>14</sup> Sen, A., 2006. ‘Gender Inequality and Theories of Justice’. In Agarwal, B., J. Humphries, and I. Robeyns (eds), 2006. *Capabilities, Freedom and Equality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 430.

<sup>15</sup> Windfuhr, M. and J. Jonsen, 2005. *Food Sovereignty: Towards a Democracy in Localized Food Systems*. FIAN International: ITDG Publishing: xii.

<sup>16</sup> Chapter two provides a more in-depth historical overview of the evolution of conceptualising food-security, the institutions involved, and political-economy factors.

In a given social context, individuals establish their entitlements using the totality of rights and opportunities present in a given socio-political and economic context. However, when opportunities are unavailable, or rights are infringed upon, entitlements are inaccessible. The entitlement approach emphasises access, demand, exchange and consumption and is widely used to investigate socio-economic and political issues relating to food-(in)security. This political-economy approach to food-security discourse allows for exploration of cross dimensional concepts, and development issues, in relation to human rights. A human rights approach to food-security is reflected by yearly reports issued by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on human development. In 1994, the UNDP defined food-security:

All people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food. This requires not just enough food to go around. It requires that people have ready access to food—that they have an ‘entitlement’ to food, by growing it for themselves, by buying it or by taking advantage of a public food distribution system.<sup>17</sup>

In 1996 at the World Food Summit, an initiative of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), food-security was defined as:

Food security, at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels [is achieved] when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.<sup>18</sup>

This definition incorporated factors previously absent from international conceptualisations of food-security. In this instance, food-security began to incorporate issues of access, demand, and consumption, which also reflected Sen’s research on hunger, poverty and famines in relation to entitlements.<sup>19</sup> Sen defines entitlements as ‘the commodities over which she [sic] can establish her [sic] ownership and command.’<sup>20</sup> Conversely, if individuals are unable to secure entitlements, the outcome is food-insecurity and hunger. The underlining power dynamics

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<sup>17</sup>United Nations Development Programme (1994). ‘New Dimensions of Human Security’. *Human Development Report*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>18</sup> Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), 1996b. *Rome Declaration on World Food Security and World Food Summit Plan of Action*. World Food Summit 13-17 November 1996. Rome: FAO Corporate Document Repository.

<sup>19</sup>See Sen, A. (1981). *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlements and Deprivation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; and Drèze, J. and A. Sen (1989). *Hunger and Public Action*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>20</sup> Sen, 1999: 162.

affecting access to entitlements, or entitlement deprivation, are interconnected to structural socio-economic and political dynamics.

The Rome Declaration on Food Security<sup>21</sup> also affirmed ~~the~~ *right* of everyone to have access to safe and nutritious food, consistent with the *right* to adequate food and the fundamental *right* of everyone to be free from hunger”.<sup>22</sup> Additionally, an important outcome of the 1996 World Food Summit<sup>23</sup> was the commitment to halving the world’s hungry by 2015.<sup>24</sup> This becomes important as it underlines the change in international discourse to situate food-security within a rights framework. The rights based approach to development incorporates issues of poverty<sup>25</sup> and inequality in relation to social justice. This incorporation is theoretically extended to address livelihoods and ‘sustainable development’.<sup>26</sup> Conceptualising food-security as a human right also allows for food-security, entitlements and livelihoods to be analytically rooted within socio-economic and political dynamics.

The notion of ‘food entitlement’,<sup>27</sup> reconstituted what is conceptualised when defining food-security, rights, and livelihoods. Entitlements are mediated by political, economic and social systems and institutions. These arrangements affect individual, and social, relationships to commodities; including food. In connection to these socio-political and economic dynamics, entitlements ~~concentrate~~ on rights within the given legal structure in that society”.<sup>28</sup> Further supplementing entitlements are the varying means and activities that individuals, or households,

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<sup>21</sup> The Rome Declaration on Food Security was a key outcome of the 1996 World Food Summit.

<sup>22</sup> Food and Agriculture Organisation (1996b).

<sup>23</sup> The Declaration on Food Security was a key outcome of the 1996 World Food Summit.

<sup>24</sup> This commitment was later incorporated in the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). See FN 2.

<sup>25</sup> Sen, 1999: 87-110. Poverty, conceptualised by Sen, is the deprivation of basic capabilities. Further, Sen argues that the capability approach to poverty provides for evaluation of the variation of relationships to capabilities based on age, gender, social roles and context.

<sup>26</sup> Sustainable Rural Livelihoods (SRL) will be discussed in chapter two. At this point it must be acknowledged that the term ‘sustainable development’ is often critiqued; however discussion of the contradictions and positions held by theorists on the use of this term will not be addressed in this thesis. However, varying views do exist, most prominently emanating from Marxist ecology theorists and Eco-Feminists. Critical discourse focuses on the contentious and contradictory nature of the term and its adoption by global institutions, agencies, and non-governmental organisations for programmes, projects, and policies. The paradigm of ‘sustainable development’ has readily been appropriated by international agendas and used ideologically in the promotion of the programmes, policies, and projects. For discussion on the institutionalisation of ‘sustainable development’ see Carter, N. (2003). *‘Sustainable Development and Ecological Modernisation’*. *The Politics of the Environment: Ideas, Activism, Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. For a discussion on the contradictions of capitalism, development, and sustainable development, see Harvey, D. (1998). *‘What’s Green and Makes the Environment Go Round?’* In Jameson, F. and M. Miyoshi (eds). *The Cultures of Globalisation*. Durham: Duke University Press.

<sup>27</sup> For full development of this concept see Sen (1981).

<sup>28</sup> Sen, 1981: 49.

engage to access food. These means and activities can be viewed in terms of livelihoods, social institutions, or welfare transfers; which include wage-labour, trading, subsistence farming, social support networks and state transfers.<sup>29</sup>

Livelihoods<sup>30</sup> are obtained through access and utilisation of social and material resources in order to secure a means to live and sustain a standard of life, which includes access to food, hence a food entitlement. Livelihoods also include access to state provided services such as health-care, education, and infrastructure.<sup>31</sup> Access to, and benefits from, such entitlements and livelihoods also relates to the expansion of capabilities. Conversely, constrained, and often unequal access to, livelihoods and entitlements, adversely affects the expansion of capabilities. Both access and disparities in access are entrenched within societal dynamics.

Sen's food entitlement approach focuses on "the constellation of economic, political, social, and cultural relations determining the 'acquisition of food by individuals'".<sup>32</sup> Key defining features of this approach are that entitlements are achieved through the ability to earn, command, and take ownership of commodities.<sup>33</sup> An important contribution of Sen's entitlement approach acknowledges gendered disparities in access and command of entitlements, which ultimately impacts individuals' capabilities. For food entitlements, the approach takes into consideration that "hunger is not uniformly distributed across groups, and there are systematic differences between command over resources and commodities that men and women enjoy".<sup>34</sup> Acknowledgment of this disparity also allows for linkages between food-security, as an entitlement relationship, to connect with other challenges and dynamics of development in rural areas; including capabilities and livelihoods. The focus on gender within Sen's theory on

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<sup>29</sup> Food and Agriculture Organisation (2003). 'Food Security Concepts and Measurements'. *Trade Reforms and Food Security: Conceptualising the Linkages*. Rome: FAO.

<sup>30</sup> Chapter two further elaborates livelihoods and the conceptualisation of livelihoods within international discourse on poverty alleviation and food-security; with attention paid to rural livelihoods in Africa.

<sup>31</sup> Ellis, F. (1998). 'Household Strategies and Rural Livelihood Diversification'. *Journal of Development Studies*. 35(1): 4.

<sup>32</sup> Drèze, J., A. Sen and A. Hussain (eds) (1995). *The Political Economy of Hunger: Selected Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 3.

<sup>33</sup> Sen, 1999: 162.

<sup>34</sup> Drèze *et al*, 1995: 3.



entitlements and capabilities has also enabled the extension of his theory to include discourse on social justice.<sup>35</sup>

According to Sen's theory, assessing development within this framework places emphasis on ~~the~~ expansion of the 'capabilities' of persons to lead the kinds of lives they value—and have reason to value."<sup>36</sup> The interdependency of the various livelihood strategies accessible to individuals illustrates the relationship between livelihoods, entitlements, and capabilities. Therefore, an entitlement and capabilities analysis is applicable to youth's perceptions on securing access to food in context of their life's aspirations, opportunities and choices. Further, conceptualisations within this framework emphasise the interdependency of food-security, capabilities and rights in relation to human development and social justice.

### 1.3.3 Food-Sovereignty

The food-sovereignty paradigm engages discourse relating to the right to development, human rights, and social justice. The food-sovereignty paradigm, a relatively new food-security discourse, speaks to the need for an international food policy that promotes diversity and democratised local food systems.<sup>37</sup> This framework is presented in order to provide an example of a human rights, and rights based, approach to food-security. Additionally, the food-sovereignty framework illustrates principles of social justice that are politicised within its rights based approach to food-security. The principles are also helpful in assessing the degree of politicisation of food-security, as a human right, in relation to the need for democratic food systems locally, nationally, and globally. Food-sovereignty paradigm advocates that these principles are necessary in order to ensure peoples' right to food-security, livelihoods, and development. The food-sovereignty definition of food-security includes a constellation of entitlements closely aligning with Sen's articulation of the connections between rights, capabilities, and livelihoods. Although new to food-security discourse, a commonly used definition of food-sovereignty is:

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<sup>35</sup> Many researchers working on gendered development issues, woman's development, gender inequality, and social justice have engaged Sen's entitlement and capabilities approaches. See: Nussbaum, M. (2000). *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*. New York: Cambridge University Press; and Nussbaum, M. and A. Sen (eds) (1993). *The Quality of Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; and Agarwal *et al* (2006).

<sup>36</sup> Sen, 1999: 18.

<sup>37</sup> Windfuhr and Jonsen, 2005: xiii.

...the right of peoples to define their own food and agriculture; to protect and regulate domestic agricultural production and trade in order to achieve sustainable development objectives; to determine the extent to which they want to be self reliant; to restrict the dumping of products in their markets; and to provide local fisheries-based communities the priority in managing the use of and the rights to aquatic resources. Food Sovereignty does not negate trade, but rather it promotes the formulation of trade policies and practices that serve the rights of peoples to food and to safe, healthy and ecologically sustainable production.<sup>38</sup>

The concept of food-sovereignty, and the organisations and social movements advocating its discourse,<sup>39</sup> promotes a framework for incorporating localised definitions of food-security and accounts of the strategies used and/or needed for the obtainment of food-security. The concept of food-sovereignty emerges in context of global issues, such as inequality, poverty and hunger. This extends to debates surrounding globalisation's effects on sovereign development of "third world" countries of the global south.

The food-sovereignty movement is an attempt to reappropriate the global concepts of human rights, and community rights, from the domain of international institutions and development agencies in order to actualise rights at local levels. Currently, human rights and the conception of global citizens are subsumed within international agreements regarding human development. The UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are a popular example of these efforts. However, also within this global project, the persistent power of global corporate agri-business interests regarding agricultural production and trade, often dictate national interests and policies for food-security.<sup>40</sup> Further, as the food crisis of 2008 demonstrated, international political will for food-security initiatives wavers as subsequent economic uncertainties hit the global 'community'. International pledges and funding commitments for agriculture production in developing countries, is nothing radically new and has not altered structural political and economic dynamics underlining hunger and food-insecurity. Food-insecurity in developing

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<sup>38</sup> Windfuhr and Jonsen, 2005: 12. This definition was put forth by the People's Food Sovereignty Network in 2002.

<sup>39</sup> For more information and stated positions of the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society organisations (CSOs) involved in advocating for a food-sovereignty paradigm see Via Campesina [www.viacampesina.org](http://www.viacampesina.org), People's Food Sovereignty Network [www.peoplesfoodsovereignty.org](http://www.peoplesfoodsovereignty.org), Friends of the Earth International [www.foe.co.uk](http://www.foe.co.uk), Terra de Direitos (TDD) [www.terradedireitos.org](http://www.terradedireitos.org) and so forth.

<sup>40</sup> See Moreno, C. and A. Mittal (2008). *Food and Energy Sovereignty Now: Brazilian Grassroots Position on Agroenergy*. Oakland: The Oakland Institute and Terra de Direitos (TDD). This article addresses the connections between the bio-fuels debate, food-security, sovereign national development, and the conflict with global projects for energy and food-security strategies.

nations is most severely affected by the global political economy of food production resulting in mass deprivation of capabilities and entitlements. In 2008, the G8 convened in Hokkaido, Japan, with a focus on the food crisis and food-(in)security issues. The summit demonstrated orthodox approaches to global food-(in)security, with support for ~~the~~ development of open and efficient agricultural and food markets...and conclusion of the Doha Rounds of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) as the solution to the food crisis".<sup>41</sup> The promotion of liberalised international trade, combined with the First World's support of technological solutions often at the behest of powerful agri-businesses and bio-tech companies, clearly does not advocate for sovereign development.

Food-sovereignty has more readily been embraced by social movements of the global south that conceptualise a difference between global projects based on security and those based on sovereignty. The difference between sovereignty and security is within the ~~opposing~~ strategies and radically different views on peoples' self-determination over natural resources".<sup>42</sup> Food-sovereignty focuses on international and national frameworks while applying a human-rights approach to development. In this way, the discourse engages human-rights within national rights frameworks, ~~the~~ right to adequate food is a legal reference instrument and provides legal standards for all measures and policies undertaken by each state to secure access to adequate food for everybody".<sup>43</sup>

It is interesting that in Africa, with prevalent issues of rural development, hunger and poverty, such a perspective is not audibly included in development discourse or advocated by civil society.<sup>44</sup> This is particularly true for South Africa where the constitution is heavily based on human-rights, a relatively strong civil society exists, and issues of social and economic justice are part of the nation's developmental rhetoric.

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<sup>41</sup>Mittal, A. (2009). *G8 Summit: Feed the Hungry or Fuel Hunger?* Washington, DC: Foreign Policy In Focus.

<sup>42</sup>Moreno and Mittal, 2008: 28.

<sup>43</sup>Windfuhr and Jonsen, 2005: ix.

<sup>44</sup> It should be noted that engagement with the food-sovereignty concept and ideology in Africa is not entirely absent; however it does appear marginalised and visibility of the perspective is limited. In 2007, the World Social Forum (WSF) was held in Nairobi Kenya and 70 African civil society organisations presented a signed statement pledging commitment to work towards food-sovereignty. See: African Civil Society Statement, 2009. Africa's Wealth of Seed Diversity and Farmer Knowledge Under Threat from the Gates/Rockefeller 'Green Revolution' Initiative. In Mittal, A. and M. Moore (eds) (2009). *Voices from Africa: African Farmers and Environmentalists Speak Out Against A New Green Revolution in Africa*. Oakland: The Oakland Institute.

In South Africa, the long lasting effects of a bifurcated agriculture system, and a history of unequal distribution and access to land, has resounding impacts on the status of small-scale agriculture. Since 1994, complicit support by the South African government toward agribusiness interests, particularly surrounding introduction of genetically modified seeds and biotechnology in South Africa agricultural systems, may provide some answers from a political-economy perspective. However, this does not entirely explain why people on the ground do not advocate or articulate the principles, and ideology, of the food-sovereignty paradigm.

### 1.3.4 Rural Youth and Gender<sup>45</sup>

*The critical question...what are the challenges that our youth face today. Do we all have a common understanding and vision of the struggles into which the energies of the youth need to be channelled?*<sup>46</sup>

At a national level there exists heavy rhetoric involving the role of women and youth<sup>47</sup> in South Africa's development path in order to achieve equality and transformation.<sup>48</sup> South African governments' initiatives regarding 'capacity building' and skills training for young people refer to the need for expanded employment opportunities, as well as appropriate skills training, and both are required for national economic growth and development.<sup>49</sup> This can take many forms, as varying aspects of the economy are identified in need of skilled labour. However, in rural South

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<sup>45</sup> Discussion on the use of 'gender' and 'women' as different or conflated categories is addressed in chapter three when addressing fieldwork methodology. For purposes of this research, the focus is on youth whilst recognising the gendered dynamic amongst youth regarding the formation of perceptions of food-security, capabilities, livelihoods and development. However, the term 'women' is used when presenting and analysing these gendered dynamics.

<sup>46</sup> Mbeki, T. (2002). Address by President Mbeki. The National Youth Day Celebrations. Bloemfontein, 16 June 2002.

<sup>47</sup> Republic of South Africa (1996). *The National Youth Commission Act of 1996*. This Act defined 'youth' as all persons between the ages 14-35. This parameter was used in the selection of research participants.

<sup>48</sup> Mbeki, T. (2006). *State of the Nation Address*. Mbeki identified objectives that placed woman and youth at the centre of the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (AsgiSA), which was formally launched in 2006.

<sup>49</sup> Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA), and its coordinating and research arm the Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (Jipsa), was launched in 2006 as part of government's efforts at halving poverty and unemployment by 2014. Contained within AsgiSA's key issues document, reference is made to the need for specific skills training and opportunities afforded to youth and women: "We are convinced that to achieve AsgiSA's goal of halving unemployment and poverty by 2014, we will have to pay particular attention to the concerns of women and youth" ([www.info.gov.za/asgisa/](http://www.info.gov.za/asgisa/)). Other such initiatives geared towards youth development and gender equality is the newly established National Youth Development Agency (NYDA), which has absorbed the National Youth Commission and the Umsobomvu Youth Fund ([www.nyda.gov.za](http://www.nyda.gov.za)). It is too soon to gauge the affects of the NYDA on youth development. However, it appears that, as in the past, these youth initiatives are heavily biased towards business and entrepreneurial opportunities for urban youth.

Africa, skill development initiatives, particularly geared for youth development, have historically been neglected.<sup>50</sup>

The youth in rural<sup>51</sup> South Africa are a generation witnessing significant changes in their societies. The lives of young people demonstrate very clearly the contradictions and dilemmas of development that are impacted by changes in their economic, social, political and cultural context. Despite the democratisation of South Africa in 1994, underlying continuities between past and present remain. Extreme inequalities are part of South Africa's historical experiences and current challenges. The former homelands of South Africa remain repository areas for excess labour, the young, the old, and the sick, with marginal access to, and opportunities for, development. These populations remain primarily dependent on subsistence agriculture to satisfy basic food needs, remittances from migrant labour, and additional welfare distribution support from the government in the form of grants and pensions.

It is widely speculated that in the foreseeable future global urban populations will for the first time in history outnumber rural populations. Urbanisation and migration, a continuation of historical processes, raises the question of what is to be done for rural development and what opportunities are afforded young people. Understanding the perceptions, and valued capabilities and opportunities, of rural youth may help to define their potential roles in the future of rural development.

In a rural context, young people are expected to not only be the beneficiaries of future development but the drivers of that development. Accordingly, discussions surrounding rural development inevitably include what type of education and skills training young people require in order to expand their capabilities and lead development in their communities. The assurance

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<sup>50</sup> The neglect of youth development in South Africa is discussed later in this section 1.1.4 through the writings of: Everatt, D., S. Shezi, and R. Jennings (2005). 'An Attempt to Reverse the Failure of Rural Youth Development in South Africa'. In Helve, H. and G. Holm (eds). *Contemporary Youth Research: Local Expressions and Global Connections*. USA: Ashgate Publishing. As well as Levin, R. and D. Weiner (1996). 'The Politics of Land Reform in South Africa after Apartheid: Perspectives, Problems, Prospects'. In Bernstein, H. (ed). *The Agrarian Question in South Africa*. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.

<sup>51</sup> Statistics South Africa (2003). 'Investigation into appropriate definitions for urban & rural areas for SA'. *Statistics SA Census 2001*. Report no. 03-02-20. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa This discussion document presents the reclassification of urban and rural areas; which differs from the 1996 census. Urban and non-urban(rural) were reclassified according to "their status prior to redemarcation plus observation of the type of economic activity and land use". For the 2001 census, there were 10 enumeration areas falling within four broad category types: urban-formal, urban-informal, rural-formal and tribal. In 2001, KwaZulu-Natal had 46% of its population residing in urban areas and 54% in rural areas.

that the type of capacity building corresponds with the embodied needs, wants, and ambitions of the intended participants is a crucial juncture. Two incongruities emerge from reliance on these demographic categories as the intended ‘subjects’ of rural development. One is perpetuation of the status-quo that defines the importance of rural women to social reproduction activities and labour for subsistence and small-scale farming. Meanwhile, gendered division of labour maintains a system reliant on subordination and patriarchal gendered labour roles.<sup>52</sup> Secondly, the youth of contemporary South Africa are a much lamented category.<sup>53</sup> The state, and corresponding rural development programmes, place great expectations upon young people and their role in rural development. However, following the 1994 democratisation it has been argued that rural youth have been neglected in policy frameworks.<sup>54</sup> This necessitates constant and current documentation of the perspectives of women and youth in rural regions, and their felt needs,<sup>55</sup> in relation to food (in)-security and the perceived opportunities, capabilities and choices for obtaining a quality of life.

In a South African context, the trajectory of capitalist development, once combined with state oppression based on race, has explanatory power to frame the ways in which aspirations have changed over time and are unique to different social demographics. Generational concerns contribute to discussion surrounding the heterogeneous nature of social formations in rural South African society and can also be linked to the inherited legacy of dispossession and oppression.

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<sup>52</sup> For further discussion on history of land in relation to labour, gender and livelihoods see Binswanger, H. and K. Deininger (1993). ‘South African Land Policy: The Legacy of History and Current Options’. *World Development*, 21(9); and Lipton M. and M. Lipton (1993). ‘Creating Rural Livelihoods: Some Lessons for South Africa from Experience Elsewhere’. *World Development*, 21(9).

<sup>53</sup> This concern is not entirely unique to South Africa’s youth. At a global level the role of youth for future societal developments is a common theme and accepted standpoint, young people are the ‘next’ generation to affect change and constitute societal developments. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) has conducted extensive research regarding social issues cross cutting with unemployment and youth at a global level. South Africa is confronted with a youth population that proportionally dominates the unemployment statistics. The lasting effects of apartheid’s spatial engineering combined with separate and unequal education has impacted current opportunities for youth in rural areas. Further, the interplay of unemployment, youth and crime is another concern and common area of research. See the recently released report by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) and the Centre for The Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV) (2008). *Case Studies of Perpetrators of Violent Crime*.

<sup>54</sup> For more on this topic see the following authors: Everatt *et al* (2005); and Levin and Weiner (1996). Both writings address the marginalisation of youth in general following the liberation struggle. Additionally, the writings also historically contextualise the amplified neglect of rural youth development post 1994.

<sup>55</sup> Møller, V. (1996). *Perceptions of Development in KwaZulu-Natal: A Subjective Indicator Study*. Indicator Press: University of Natal: 81. According to Møller, the ‘felt’ needs approach is one assessment within the four levels of development needs. The other three levels of development needs are as follows: normative needs, comparative/relative needs and expressed/converted needs. Møller identifies weaknesses of each approach and suggests that ideally a synthesis of the four approaches would be useful to public policy, research and development planning.

Similar to other post-colonial African nations,<sup>56</sup> “the allure of status distinctions is irresistible in a country where youths face unprecedented contradiction between their aspirations and opportunities”.<sup>57</sup> Ideologically, contemporary South Africa has embraced upward mobility, and social status associations, of a modernising capitalist philosophy.

The commoditisation of basic needs has included a process whereby people are detached not only in the physical sense from the means and modes of production but also ideologically.<sup>58</sup> Applicable to observations during the course of this research, is the concept of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA), which legitimises and shapes people’s value formation regarding commodities and consumption.<sup>59</sup> According to the theory on ISA, ideological institutions encompass the schools, the family, religions and religious institutions, and the mass media. The concept emphasises ideology, and in South Africa this ideology is permeated through varying institutions. These institutions transmit ideas and produce knowledge; institutions such as the state, political parties and education systems. Accordingly, knowledge production falls within discussion of class formation. The impact of these influences on contemporary youth perspectives in relation to aspirations, capabilities, and livelihoods, instigates an interesting point for inquiry.

Heterogeneous societies, which are socially and economically differentiated, are impacted by institutional and knowledge-based influences aligning with ISA. In the past, these influences were controlled by the colonial state and then the apartheid state. The legacy of a colonial system of development in South Africa, often perpetuated by post-colonial successors, has impacted the emergence of varying social formations each with diverse and often contradictory features. Bernstein presents the heterogeneity of South Africa’s rural social

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<sup>56</sup>As depicted by a case study in Malawi involving youth development and the impact of ideology and education. Englund, H. (2006). ‘Transnational Governance and the Pacification of Youth: the Contribution of Civic Education to Disempowerment in Malawi’. In Beckman, B. and G. Adeoti (eds). *Intellectuals and African Development: Pretension and Resistance in African politics*. London: Zed Books.

<sup>57</sup> Englund, 2006: 148.

<sup>58</sup> This also closely aligns with Marx’s writings on ‘the fetishism of commodities’. In Marx’s economic analysis of commodity production and labour theory of value, it is put forth that objects transform through labour into useful objects and then through exchange into objects with use-value and exchange-value. Commodities are material items that have been assigned value through production and exchange. However, this value amongst material objects belies the nature of production and exchange that is fundamentally a relationship between people and labour. See Fine, B. (1975). ‘Commodity Production’. In Fine. *Marx’s Capital*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd.

<sup>59</sup> A theory and concept attributed to Althusser, L. (1971). *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, NLB. The concept of ISA is expanded by Wolff, 2004.

formations, stating that it derives from ~~the~~ most entrenched and intractable of contradictions amongst the people".<sup>60</sup> The heterogeneity of rural populations is linked to historically constructed social and political communities,<sup>61</sup> as well as gender and inter-generational contradictions. Bernstein connects the embedded contradictions of gender and youth social formations to class: ~~just~~ as class differentiation of black South Africans is shaped by capitalist development in conditions of extreme national oppression, so is it also deeply imprinted with forms and effects of patriarchy".<sup>62</sup> In this manner, youth politics of the apartheid era were in contestation of not only national oppression but also of the social construction of patriarchy within this system.<sup>63</sup> Through the enhancement of the political and economic power of chiefs,<sup>64</sup> Levin and Weiner elaborate how this hierarchical and patriarchal system can be attributed to the colonial manipulation, extended by the apartheid state, of socio-political power dynamics. Power dynamics affected the historical dispensation of land, taxation, and food distribution, and by extension, these socio-political and economic relationships interact today in context of rural dynamics and development.

Generational concerns, demonstrated by the Soweto uprising as well as other contestations within the townships, showed that historically ~~youth~~ politics centred on Bantu education and other aspects of the apartheid state rather than questions of land".<sup>65</sup> The preoccupation with youth as a term synonymous with young urban black and male rendered their rural counterparts far more under investigated, not to mention neglecting the concerns of both urban and rural young women.

Post-apartheid promises of democratic dispensation and socio-economic mobility are starting points for evaluating the mismatch between needs, aspirations, rights and real

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<sup>60</sup> Bernstein, 1996: 38.

<sup>61</sup> See Levin and Weiner (1996). The authors connect multiple issues concerning the democratic transition, social transformation, and land reform in South Africa. One aspect is the historically constructed nature of community and chiefdoms, both through colonialism and apartheid, in rural South Africa. This construction characterised political and class differentiations. This legacy poses challenges for collective organising in regards to contemporary rural development and land reform based on notions of community.

<sup>62</sup> Bernstein, 1996: 38.

<sup>63</sup> See Levin and Weiner (1996). These authors outline the ways in which rural youth played a role in the guerrilla war against apartheid. However, after the unbanning of the ANC, that generation of youth leaders were redeployed to national structures of the ANC leaving rural areas with a gap in civic leadership and development for subsequent generations.

<sup>64</sup> Levin and Weiner, 1996: 103-107.

<sup>65</sup> Bernstein, 1996:38.



opportunities for women and youth in rural South Africa. Bernstein notes that youth politics from the 1980s influences the generational dilemma currently as it relates to agriculture and rural development. This historical challenge to education and state oppression, at the exclusion of land issues brings to question “whether young people have a desire to farm, and the implications of this for the politics of land reform”.<sup>66</sup> Levin and Weiner reinforce this position, proposing that in the 1980s, organisations of rural youth focused more on political education rather than issues that would connect political rights with practical demands to land, water, and electricity.<sup>67</sup> Currently, the ideological and substantive content of education in rural schools may allude to other issues that inform the mismatch between aspirations and opportunities. Focusing on youth development and the impact of ideology and education, a Malawian case study found that “after having been fed on a diet of hopes for progress and personal advancement during their school years, the last thing most contemporary Malawian youths expect is to be identified with the poverty and disadvantage where they started from”.<sup>68</sup> It is arguable, that young people now residing in South Africa’s former homelands, also experience ideological conditioning that belies their material realities and real opportunities.

### **1.3.5 Theoretical Basis for Localising Research**

The consistent nature of the global food crisis requires a re-examination of the ways in which people perceive and experience food-(in)security at local levels. The topic of food-security in research, and as expressed through development policy, has cyclically shifted since the first modern day food crisis of 1972-74 and the subsequent establishment of the first UN World Food Council.<sup>69</sup> The discourse has revolved around issues related to global, national, household and individual food-insecurity and problematising food-security definitions at each respective level. Increasingly within research, assessments of food-insecurity are concerned with the “subjective nature of food poverty”.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Bernstein, 1996: 39.

<sup>67</sup> Levin and Weiner, 1996: 100-102.

<sup>68</sup> Englund, 2006: 148.

<sup>69</sup> Maxwell (2001). The World Food Council, established in 1974, was the first global initiative to create a coordinating committee surrounding issues of global food-(in)security and hunger. In 1996, the World Food Council’s functions were absorbed by the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the World Food Programme (WFP).

<sup>70</sup> Maxwell and Slater, 2004: 11.

When taking into consideration various development frameworks, specifically those aimed at achieving regular access to food and livelihoods, the varying perspectives of those predominantly residing in rural regions may provide crucial insights. It is argued that proper public participation effectively takes people's perspectives into consideration when establishing, or revising, development programmes. Møller, in her study on the perceptions of development in KwaZulu-Natal, states that "an analysis of people's subjective or personally 'felt' needs as expressed in terms of their articulated perceptions and aspirations should lead to planning frameworks that are highly sensitive to differences among human beings".<sup>71</sup> Therefore, localised perceptions and experiences may lend themselves to evaluation of the weaknesses in policy prescription and the contradictions of development ideology.

In order to understand the perceptions of people themselves in relation to how, and to what degree, entitlements, capabilities and livelihoods are actualised, this study applies theories that provide a framework from which the plurality and diversity of perspectives can emerge. A body of theory, that combines the perspectives and agency of individuals in context of wider economic and political systems, is applied as a way to explore the contradictions emerging from rural development agendas. The overarching theories that inform this research is the conception of human rights, and the rights based approach to food-security, combined with Amartya Sen's development theory relating to issues of food-(in)security, capabilities, entitlements and the interaction with rights, freedom and agency.

#### **1.4 Sen's Theoretical Approaches to Development: Capabilities, Rights, and Freedoms**

Sen's articulation of capabilities, rights, and freedoms provides this research with a theoretical framework to evaluate how rights have been conceptualised and constructed in relation to freedom; and hence in Sen's view, the constitutive processes of freedom as not merely the means to development but the end goal. Individuals require the necessary relevant capabilities to function in order to secure rights. The deprivation of capabilities limits human functions therefore limiting a quality of life and the freedom for development. The following section unpacks these concepts in relation to development.

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<sup>71</sup> Møller, 1996: 81.

### 1.4.1 Capabilities

Proponents of the capabilities approach<sup>72</sup> argue that it more accurately measures development compared to normative economic analysis,<sup>73</sup> which tends to focus on Gross National Product (GNP) and per capita income. The role of income and wealth as evaluations of human development does not ensure capturing the entirety of capability deprivation, and differentiated experiences, resulting from inequality and poverty. The capabilities approach is often cited for its ambiguities regarding substance; lacking a normative baseline of capabilities that any given society ought to achieve. Nevertheless, the approach is mainstreamed internationally by the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Human Development Index as a comparative approach between countries to gauge development. This is not surprising, as the approach is most closely related to the language of rights and components of the human rights approach to development.

Development focused on the expansion of capabilities, inevitably is also the expansion of human freedoms. For Sen, capabilities are the constitutive elements of freedom, where capabilities determine a person's ability, or the freedom, to live a life they have reason to value.<sup>74</sup> Now, what precisely are capabilities? In 'Equality of What', Sen presented his theory on "basic capability equality"<sup>75</sup> in contrast to normative utilitarian and libertarian evaluations of equality. In presentation of this theory, Sen alluded that a set list of basic capabilities did not necessarily need to be established.<sup>76</sup> Generally speaking, some capabilities align with many of the human rights declarations on development, including the ability to avoid such deprivations as starvation, undernourishment, escapable morbidity and premature mortality, as well as the freedoms that are associated with being literate and numerate, enjoying political participation

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<sup>72</sup> In 1979, the capabilities approach was first found in Amartya Sen's 1979 lecture 'Equality of What?' as part of the Tanner Lecture on Human Values at Stanford University ([www.tannerlectures.utah.edu](http://www.tannerlectures.utah.edu)). Capabilities were further incorporated in Sen, A. (1982). *Choice, Welfare, and Measurement*. Oxford: Blackwell. The capabilities approach was later adopted by the UNDP for its Human Development Index, as a quality of life assessment in relation to development economics.

<sup>73</sup> Sen further asserts that as an evaluative theory, the capabilities approach is superior to utilitarian and libertarian assessments of development and freedom because of its use of substantive freedoms as its factual base. For further support of the capabilities approach as surpassing normative economic, utilitarian and income based development analysis frameworks see Nussbaum (2000); and Agarwal *et al* (2006).

<sup>74</sup> Sen, 1999: 36.

<sup>75</sup> Sen, 1980: 218. Basic capability equality is presented as an alternative to equality analysis that depends on Rawlsian utilitarian equality and welfarist equality.

<sup>76</sup> Sen, 1980: 217-220.

and uncensored speech and so on”.<sup>77</sup> In response to the same question in 2006, in terms of why his framework had no list of set capabilities, Sen responded –What I am against is the fixing of a cemented list of capabilities ... and totally fixed ... pure theory cannot ‘freeze’ a list of capabilities for all societies for all time to come, irrespective of what the citizens come to understand and value”.<sup>78</sup> This is in line with taking into consideration evolving contexts, and recognises that social issues do not exist in a vacuum. Hence, Sen’s view of the capabilities approach as an adaptable method of assessing social development that may adjust to changing socio-historical dynamics.

Sen’s capabilities approach provides an analytical tool that overcomes the theoretical divide between well-being, agency, rights and freedom.<sup>79</sup> Capabilities can be identified and assessed interdependently rather than in isolation. This also allows for processes and opportunity aspects of freedom;<sup>80</sup> where public participation and discussion particular to a place in time or according to a specific context are allowed the space for negotiating these concerns and values. Further, because there is no concretised list of capabilities it is applicable to contextual specific socio-economic and political dynamics. Accordingly, –capabilities can be enhanced by public policy, but also, on the other side, the direction of public policy can be influenced by the

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<sup>77</sup> Sen, 1999: 36.

<sup>78</sup> Sen, A. (2006). ‘Capabilities, Lists, and Public Reason: Continuing the Conversation’. In Agarwal *et al*, 2006:363.

<sup>79</sup> Although the concepts well being and agency are briefly referred to within this chapter it is beyond the scope of this research to conceptually explore their evolution as terms in social research and as used in assessments of public policy, and the varying perspectives on the use of ‘well-being’ as an indicator of the quality of life, a standard of living, or a development indicator. Nussbaum elaborates on the necessity to combine well-being to agency and freedom in context of gender equality and justice. Well-being may only exist as an indicator of an individually defined state of being, or satisfaction, and not necessarily a true indicator of development goals broadly speaking. See Nussbaum, M. (2006). ‘Capabilities as Fundamental Entitlements: Sen and Social Justice’. In Agarwal *et al*. According to Sen, the use of well-being and agency to assess the state of being of an individual, changes according to value-purpose as well as the differential weighting of the constitutive elements of well-being and agency. Further, Sen presents the conceptual interdependencies between well-being freedom and agency freedom, while maintaining that well-being achievement and agency achievement are impacted by not only internal criteria (subjective assessments) but external factors (socio-political and economic) as well. The emphasis is on the assessment of context specific dynamics combined with agency which would allow for the ability to achieve and the freedom to choose; thus constituting core elements of the capabilities approach and the principal means of development. For more extensive discussions on these terms see Sen, A. (1985). ‘Well-being, Agency and Freedom: The Dewey Lectures 1984’. *Journal of Philosophy*, 82(4); and Sen, A. (1992). *Inequality Reexamined*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; and Sen, A. (1993). ‘Capability and Well-Being’. In Nussbaum, M., and A. Sen (eds) (1993). *The Quality of Life*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. For a critique of Sen’s emphasis on the importance of freedom and agency see Cohen, G. (1993). ‘Equality of What? On Welfare, Resources and Capabilities’. In Nussbaum and Sen (eds).

<sup>80</sup> Sen, 1999: 291. The two roles of freedom, discussed further in section 1.2.2, are –concerned with processes of decision-making as well as opportunities to achieve valued outcomes”.

effective use of participatory capabilities by the public”.<sup>81</sup> By not only focusing on the opportunity to engage valued processes and outcomes, the capabilities approach also focuses on participation and creating the space to see individuals as ‘subjects’ with agency, and not merely ‘objects’, within development. Hence, Sen’s central point of the capabilities approach pertains to substantial freedom, which is evaluated by individual’s freedoms and agency, where: “greater freedom enhances the ability of people to help themselves and also to influence the world, and these matters are central to the process of development”.<sup>82</sup>

Gender and feminist researchers have also found Sen’s capabilities approach a useful theoretical foundation to assess social and gender justice. Nussbaum, in *Women and Human Development*, builds upon Sen’s view of capabilities.<sup>83</sup> Nussbaum extends capabilities into a political sphere. Nussbaum argues that the capabilities approach requires operationalised normative standards, so that these normative standards become implemental constitutional guarantees and not just a vague notion of the written right to certain capabilities. Nussbaum, building on Sen’s theory of capabilities and entitlements, developed a list of ten capabilities.<sup>84</sup> However, due to ambiguities in normative standards, Nussbaum maintains the importance of contextualising the capabilities approach to “direct us to examine real lives in their material and social settings”.<sup>85</sup>

#### 1.4.2 Rights and Freedoms

Sen’s theory on freedom involves two main principles of evaluation. This framework explains that freedom is assessed by its constitutive and instrumental roles. The two roles of

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<sup>81</sup> Sen, 1999: 18.

<sup>82</sup> Sen, 1999: 18.

<sup>83</sup> According to Nussbaum, her engagement of a version of the ‘capabilities approach’ differs from Sen for two main reasons. First, the philosophical foundations and secondly her want to define what are the central capabilities. As stated previously, Sen is critiqued for lacking a very specific set list of capabilities, or core capabilities, as well as a standardised acceptable level of functioning capabilities. Sen counters this critique in Sen (2006). In Agarwal *et al.*

<sup>84</sup> Nussbaum (2000). This list consists of capabilities that are conceptualised by Nussbaum as central requirements of a life with dignity. Rather than framing it as ‘a right to’, Nussbaum’s capabilities are framed ‘able to’. For example, a right to vote does not automatically translate to the ability to do so. The ability to engage existing rights is a key indicator of social justice. Although Nussbaum argues that her list is open-ended she does argue that if all ten of the capabilities are not actualised to some extent in a given society then the society is not an entirely just society. For a critique of Nussbaum’s capabilities and entitlement list as a perspective that is Western centred and neo-liberalist see Hamilton, L. (2003). *The Political Philosophy of Needs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University: 47-50.

<sup>85</sup> Nussbaum, 2000: 71. Nussbaum states that her development of the capabilities approach extends beyond “demarcating the space within which quality of life assessments are made.”

freedom are “concerned with processes of decision-making as well as opportunities to achieve valued outcomes”.<sup>86</sup> This emphasises that freedom cannot merely be assessed by outcomes but rather must include how the outcome is assigned value. Multiple dynamics contribute to meaning construction in a given context. The two roles of freedom exist as Sen’s evaluative tool to assess the degree of participation an individual has in both of these aspects of freedom; and therefore development.

Amartya Sen’s evaluation of food-(in)security in relation to freedom and public policy, in *Food and Freedom*,<sup>87</sup> philosophically and theoretically reveals the nuances of translating constitutional rights-based language as it applies to food policy and its material manifestation in the lives of people. Sen argues that in order to create and implement practical food policy, foundational questions must be connected to conceptions of freedom, what is valuable, and how best to facilitate this for people’s development. These questions and answers are foundational because “ultimately policies have to be justified in terms of what is valuable and how various policies may respectively enhance these valuable things”.<sup>88</sup> However, what is valued and assigned meaning in particular is not static and varies with time, place, and contextual power dynamics.

The constitutive elements of freedom, according to Sen, provide evaluation of the processes of meaning construction in a particular context. Further, meaning construction affects the constitutive processes of freedom, as well as its substantive qualities, that may be assigned to development and freedom.<sup>89</sup> Constitutive freedom is dependent upon “freedoms involved in political, social and economic processes”.<sup>90</sup> In other words, the “process aspect” of freedom, involves the actualisation of these freedoms through participation in the processes that give specific freedoms meaning. The substance of freedom has to be conceptualised within a space and place that forms and shapes opportunities that include basic capabilities. For example, a basic capability of political participation may be legalistically present. However, it does not ensure that people have the ability to enjoy that freedom, or the choice to participate in a meaningful manner, due to socio-cultural contexts. This can extend to gender inequality in

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<sup>86</sup> Sen, 1999:291.

<sup>87</sup> Sen, A. (1987). *Food and Freedom*. Sir John Crawford Memorial Lecture, Washington D.C.

<sup>88</sup> Sen, 1987:7.

<sup>89</sup> Sen, 1999: 291.

<sup>90</sup> Sen, 1999: 291.

relation to political and civil rights. For example, in a given society or context, if the importance of political participation is attached to gendered power dynamics, then the societal purpose, meaning and value of political activity is mainly a prerogative of men. Hence, a gendered bias exists regarding who has the power of choice, and the achieved capability, to politically participate. Therefore, the legalistic right itself lacks substantive qualities of freedom.

The ‘opportunity aspect’ of freedom relates to “the extent to which people have the opportunity to achieve outcomes that they value and have reason to value”.<sup>91</sup> The opportunity aspect of freedom is equated with the instrumental role<sup>92</sup> of freedom, which “concerns the way different kinds of rights, opportunities, and entitlements contribute to the expansion of human freedom in general, and thus to promoting development”.<sup>93</sup> Emphasis on valuation, and opportunities to achieve, and choose, a certain life course that leads to well-being, are core elements of the capabilities approach; however, this is not to the exclusion of the importance of individual agency within conceptualisations of freedom.

Sen’s theory on intrinsic and instrumental freedoms provides a framework for discussion and exploration of rights in relation to food-(in)security. The theoretical duality often constructed between ‘intrinsic’<sup>94</sup> and ‘instrumental’<sup>95</sup> views of freedom aptly applies to debates surrounding food-security, economic growth, rights, freedom and development. The theoretical duality is not new to political philosophy, with views varying from the abstract and theoretical, to practical forms present in contemporary political discourse on governance and well-being of people.

Human needs, well-being, and conception of rights and freedoms were contemplated by political philosophers from Plato and Aristotle to Adam Smith and Karl Marx.<sup>96</sup> Throughout

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<sup>91</sup> Sen, 1999:291.

<sup>92</sup> Instrumental freedoms include political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security.

<sup>93</sup> Sen, 1999: 37.

<sup>94</sup> Sen, 1987: 3. Intrinsic freedom is defined as “freedom that is valuable in itself, and not only because of what it permits us to achieve or do”.

<sup>95</sup> Sen defines instrumental freedom as that which facilitates, and provides the means to, achieving other ends.

<sup>96</sup> Both Sen and Nussbaum connect their own independent developments of the capabilities approach to the work of early philosophers; however with great many distinctions and extensions of theory and concepts. Nussbaum is strongly influenced by Aristotle and the conception of human good and political distribution. See Nussbaum, M. (1993). ‘Non-Relative Virtues: An Aristotelian Approach’. In Nussbaum and Sen (eds). Sen acknowledges Adam Smith and Karl Marx as influences for the capabilities approach as well as the conceptual development of freedom and development in Sen (1999).

history, these philosophical underpinnings of human well-being were combined with theorising the political structures that governed societies. Political ideologies that emerged sought to theorise the role of individual rights, freedoms and the role of the state. Contemporary liberalism,<sup>97</sup> the dominant paradigm informing political and economic ideology of the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century, is often referred to as democratic capitalism.<sup>98</sup> According to Hamilton, the coupling of a rights discourse and liberalism has had a de-politicising effect where “they (rights) are an outcome of an attempt to provide secure conditions for a particular kind of political rule and order ... they entrench the status quo and undermine the need for political participation”.<sup>99</sup> Classical liberalism is now contemporarily reformulated in the form of liberalist democracies;<sup>100</sup> however conceptions of freedoms have expanded. For liberals, one of the core concepts was the pursuit of individual freedom. Freedom, as such, is defined as the “absence of restraint by coercive governments and oppressive majorities”.<sup>101</sup> In this form, freedom is associated with negative liberty, hence what is referred to as negative freedom. This freedom takes the form of first generation rights, now embodied in liberal democratic constitutions and codified civil liberties, legal rights. On the other hand, contemporary liberalism has redefined the principles of freedom to embrace second generation rights, and what is conceived as positive freedoms. Stemming in part from the affects of laissez-faire capitalism, as well as competing political ideologies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, reconceptualising the role of the state allows for extended state powers<sup>102</sup> specifically regarding national security, growth of economies, and equality for citizens.<sup>103</sup> In addition, rights reforms allowed for state intervention regarding issues of inequality, discrimination, poverty and other restraints and constraints on individuals’ capabilities. According to Sen, these positive freedoms are characterised “not in terms of the

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<sup>97</sup> Also termed ‘reform liberalism’ and is attributed to the works of John Stuart Mill in his *Principles of Political Economy*. See Mill, J.S. (1965). *Principles of Political Economy: With Some of their Applications to Social Philosophy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

<sup>98</sup> Schumaker, P. (2008). *From Ideologies to Public Philosophies*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 57.

<sup>99</sup> Hamilton, 2003: 3. Hamilton argues that “the coupling of rights and preferences in contemporary political frameworks is founded on misleading claims “justified by historical precedent and in terms of its alleged universal efficiency in guaranteeing certain political objectives” both of which he rejects.

<sup>100</sup> Schumaker (2008). However, it is argued that contemporary liberalism has variant schools of thought and pragmatism. These are: reform liberalism, corporate liberalism, welfare-state liberalism and interest-group liberalism. In a local context, the ANC’s proclaimed ‘Developmental State’, for example, demonstrates a blend of contemporary liberal principles.

<sup>101</sup> Schumaker, 2008: 60.

<sup>102</sup> Although this dissertation does not allow for extensive discussion of the role and power of the state in contemporary geo-political, economic, and ideological issues, it would extend discussion on the ability of a nation-state to support national sovereign principles regarding second generation rights and food-security.

<sup>103</sup> Schumaker. 2008: 56-60.



presence or absence of interference by others, but in terms of what a person is actually able to do or to be".<sup>104</sup> Therefore, positive freedoms are a necessary foundation for the development of individual's capabilities. South Africa is one of few modern liberal democracies that have extended their civil code to include second generation rights, and hence the underlining framework of human rights that exists in South Africa's Constitution.<sup>105</sup>

Sen expands the concept of freedom with distinctions between intrinsic and instrumental. According to Sen, "freedom must have instrumental importance as a means to other ends ... rather than being valuable in itself".<sup>106</sup> This corresponds with a utilitarian conception of freedom, which is also found in political philosophies throughout history. This utilitarian conception can also be linked to liberalism, and impacts negative and positive freedoms, and thus rights.<sup>107</sup> The intrinsic-positive freedom pairing, is what most often informs philosophies of rights, and underpins much of the language of human rights. However, economic utilitarianism prevails in contemporary economic policy, relating to negative freedoms, in the form of non-interference by the state. When these qualities are articulated in food policy it manifests particular approaches, and therefore ideological underpinnings, that affect the dynamics in everyday people's lives. Sen provides the World Bank as an example of an institution that applies an instrumental-negative freedom conception. This is illustrated by policy aligning with market regulated agriculture with limited state interventions. According to Sen, this freedom is not conceived intrinsically but rather "because it is seen to be conducive to such things as greater productivity, larger income and enhanced food output".<sup>108</sup> However, when policy is geared towards "the need to fulfil 'basic needs' for food and other essentials ... guarantee 'freedom from hunger'",<sup>109</sup> this is oriented within a positive view of freedom.

Food-security is posited either as a well being that is obtainable through economic development (and increasingly free trade) and national economic growth strategies, or as distributive welfare activities of the state. For the former, government's developmental goals are framed as utilitarian, an aggregation of human preferences and needs, to maximize the well-

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<sup>104</sup> Sen, 1987: 3.

<sup>105</sup> Hamilton, 2003: 3.

<sup>106</sup> Sen, 1987: 3.

<sup>107</sup> However, according to Sen (1987), both instrumental and intrinsic qualities can be connected with positive and negative freedoms.

<sup>108</sup> Sen, 1987: 8.

<sup>109</sup> Sen, 1987: 8.

being of the most people for the most good. The utilitarian approach is often critiqued for its conceptual and moral contradictions. Conceptual views of freedom may lie within the realm of philosophy but are of importance to central questions and solutions that public policy poses and addresses. Questions surrounding definitions of needs, interests, and well-being are conflicted with liberalism's political theories of rights.<sup>110</sup> For the latter, a welfare approach to food-security, food is seen as a right, and falls within a rights-based approach to development. This approach is evident in the globally articulated human-rights approach to development, and as is the case for international agreements for development, such as the United Nation's (UN) Millennium Development Goals (MDG).<sup>111</sup>

### 1.4.3 Rights-Based Approach to Development

The adoption of language incorporating freedoms and rights is not entirely new to the rhetoric of global politics. In 1941, United State's President Roosevelt's State of the Nation address included the introduction of the four fundamental freedoms.<sup>112</sup> The four fundamental freedoms became the basis for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the United Nations general assembly in 1948 and the latter day Declaration of The Right to Development.<sup>113</sup> The UDHR extended freedom from want to include the right to adequate standard of living, including food, clothing and housing. The inclusion of the right to food within the UN's declaration of human rights, recognised that ~~hunger~~ is not only painful; it cuts at the very dignity of the human being".<sup>114</sup> The connections between human dignity and rights at an international level have long been articulated. However, it is questionable as to what degree international frameworks founded on fundamental and universalised human rights have actually improved the lives of people, or whether the concept merely serves an ideological agenda of international institutions and governments.

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<sup>110</sup> Rawls, J. (1973). *A Theory of Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>111</sup> See FN 2. South Africa is a signatory of the UN MDGs; and the government committed itself to the eight goals of the MDGs.

<sup>112</sup> Roosevelt, F.D. (1941). In his Annual Message to Congress (State of the Union Address) on January 6, 1941. <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/pdfs/fftext.pdf>

<sup>113</sup> Declaration on the Right to Development. The United Nations. <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r128.htm>

<sup>114</sup> Vidar, M. (2003). The Right to Food in International Law. *Critical Issues in Realising the Right to Food in South Africa*. Hosted by the Socio-Economic Rights Project of the Community Law Centre. University of the Western Cape. 14 November 2003. Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO)

The language of human rights, and further a human rights-based approach to development, has increasingly been mainstreamed. The rights-based approach to development is reflected in the international discourse that integrates human rights in planning, and assessment of, development. In 2000, the United Nations Development Programme's Report on Human Development stated that "human development is essential for realizing human rights, and human rights are essential for full human development".<sup>115</sup> Thus, the rights-based approach to development has the potential to provide a framework for the conceptualisation of human needs, aspirations and freedom at both an international and national level. However, as rights-based approaches are institutionalised and mainstreamed, the framework is critiqued for its potential for appropriation, cooptation and depoliticisation of issues; thereby demobilising agency and collective action. Further, it also gives rise to the concern of what Sen termed the 'critique of legitimacy' of rights-based approaches.<sup>116</sup> In framing development in these terms, it begs the question what is the role of the state, markets, institutions, and individual agency?

The rights-based approach to development has flooded the rhetoric of international organisations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. However, the effectiveness of the rights-based approach to development, an approach that has been embraced by food-security as well as food-sovereignty discourses, is uncertain. According to Cornwall and Nyamu-Musembi, the principles of social justice and equality in distribution of resources, engrained in the rights-based approach to development, actually politicises development.<sup>117</sup> The question remains whether codifying human rights at a national level merely facilitates depoliticisation of basic needs, capabilities, and human rights, or whether it has the potential to catalyse the repoliticisation of such issues.<sup>118</sup>

It is arguable that the human-rights based approach, based upon universally defined goals for achieving basic needs necessary for human life, retains elements of both positive-intrinsic and positive-instrumental views of rights and freedoms. Sen argues that these theoretical approaches are not necessarily in opposition to one another; rather it is the combination of the

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<sup>115</sup>United Nations Development Programme (2000). *Human Development Report 2000*: 2. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2000/>

<sup>116</sup> Sen elaborates on three critiques of the human rights approach to development. The critiques are based on three main issues consisting of: legitimacy, form, and coherence. See Sen (1999). 'Culture and Human Rights'. In *Development As Freedom*.

<sup>117</sup> Cornwall, A. and C. Nyamu-Musembi (2004). 'Putting the 'Rights-Based Approach' to Into Perspective'. *Third World Quarterly*, 25(8): 1417.

<sup>118</sup> Cornwall and Nyamu-Musembi, 2004.

intrinsic considerations and instrumental analyses that can lead the way to an adequate examination of what should be done and why”.<sup>119</sup> The plurality of definitions, coping mechanisms, strategies, and livelihoods begins to infer the need for a plurality of policy responses that address positive and negative freedoms, and founded on intrinsic and instrumental conceptions of means and ends to development.<sup>120</sup>

## **1.5 Conclusion**

This synthesised theoretical framework<sup>121</sup> allows for documenting localised perspectives of the case study. Additionally, it creates a space for subjective development goals to emerge from alternative perspectives while maintaining the specificity of context within a political economy analysis. Dynamics pertaining to food-(in)security and poverty intersect multiple disciplines and sectors; thus the dimensions of the debate surrounding pragmatic solutions necessitates an analysis that expands beyond the normative conceptions of food-security hinged on production, trade, distribution and access. Therefore, the approach of this research maintains a focus on the multi-dimensional issues that intersect with food-(in)security via the documentation of localised perspectives, interpretations, values and aspirations. This provides a forum to present youth and women’s perceptions and the nature of needs, aspirations, and choices in relation to what is required for effective food policy and in relation to rural development.

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<sup>119</sup> Sen, 1987: 7.

<sup>120</sup> Drèze and Sen, 1989: 102.

<sup>121</sup> For this research, the theoretical methodology concerning concepts is different from the methodology informing the field research process. The fieldwork methodology is presented in Chapter 3.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Entitlements and Capabilities in a Historical Context**

South African rural economies have profoundly been reorganised as a result of the political economy of food production. This process involved historical dynamics of colonialism, capitalism, and apartheid. This in turn affected rural social dynamics relating to gender and inter-generational entitlements in relation to food-security and livelihoods. Historical socio-political and economic dynamics transformed rural people's access to entitlements resulting in the deprivation of capabilities. Subsequently, contemporary development programmes aimed at diversifying rural livelihoods becomes a political and economic issue intertwined with changing perspectives for food-security, rural livelihood sustainability and development.

This chapter will first give a historical overview of the evolution of international conceptualisations of food-security and food-security strategies. This will extend to include livelihoods' discourse in relation to food-security and development. Second, a broad historical contextualisation of South Africa will be presented in relation to socio-economic and political dynamics that shaped entitlements and capabilities. This includes the transformation of people's relationships to one another, to their labour, and to land. These dynamics were impacted over time and the historical overview emphasises the role of the state, and power, in shaping these dynamics. This serves to historically explore the interaction between national and localised dynamics in relation to food-(in)security, inequality, livelihoods, and development. Presenting the ways in which land, labour, and livelihoods have been shaped, and differentiated historically, provides a foundation for documenting contemporary perceptions relating to entitlements, capabilities and rights.

#### **2.1 Historical International Conceptualisations of Food-Security**

International discourse on food-(in)security was first framed as an issue of the global and national supply of food and then conceptually changed over time to articulate dynamics of access at the household and individual level. Subsequently, food-(in)security concerns returned to a

matter of production;<sup>122</sup> both nationally and globally.<sup>123</sup> Maxwell describes this as the shifting and overlapping of food-security paradigms through history.<sup>124</sup> These paradigms affected conceptual understandings of food-security. This occurred within the historical dynamics of the global political economy of food production and the corresponding ‘\_food regimes’.<sup>125</sup> Food regimes represent historical processes where the conceptual understanding of food-security changed in accordance with the macro-structural changes in geo-political power dynamics regarding trade and agriculture.

The first paradigm in food-security was represented by concepts put forth at the FAO’s World Food Conference of 1975, which defined food-security as the, ‘availability at all times of adequate world supplies of basic food-stuffs ..., to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption ... and to offset fluctuations in production prices’.<sup>126</sup> This resulted from the ‘\_food crisis’ of the 1970s, accompanied by the oil crisis, when a surplus of food production shifted to one of food scarcity, which most severely affected poor people resulting in extreme food shortages for those already most affected by food-insecurity.<sup>127</sup> Hence, food-security was defined as an issue of production and consumption rather than access or the right to food. This emphasis on production and markets, as the pathway to food-security, affected many African countries

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<sup>122</sup> This has as much to do with food-security programmes incorporated as a global project within a human rights framework as it does with the political economy of food. Neo-Malthusian analysts attribute world hunger to: production and distribution constraints, market policy failures, and failure to implement technology. The Malthusian approach emphasises that population growth would outpace aggregate food supply. A theory attributed to Malthus, T.R. (1970). *An Essay on the Principle of Population: A Summary view of the principle of population*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

<sup>123</sup> Maxwell, S. (2001). ‘\_The Evolution of Thinking about Food Security’\_. In Devereux, S. and S. Maxwell (eds). *Food Security in Sub-Saharan Africa*. London: ITDG: 13.

<sup>124</sup> See Maxwell (2001).

<sup>125</sup> Friedmann, presents the impacts that ‘\_global food regimes’ have had on international and national food-security strategies. Friedmann argues from the standpoint that global political and economic dynamics affect nation state’s agriculture strategies and that two distinct food regimes have existed in modern history. See Friedmann, H. (1993). ‘\_The Political Economy of Food: A Global Crisis’\_. *New Left Review*, 197. McMichael further elaborates that food regimes were part of dominant state-building models which structured, and were structured by, relationships of food production and consumption globally. See McMichael, P. (1992). ‘\_Tensions between National and International Control of the World Food Order: Contours of a New Food Regime’\_. *Sociological Perspectives*, 35(2). For further discussion on world historical views of agriculture, production, consumption, and value in relation to labour see Araghi, F. (2003). ‘\_Food Regimes and the Production of Value: Some Methodological Issues’\_. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 30(2). For further discussion on the tendency to essentialise the local in assessments of ‘\_populist’ social movements regarding land and agriculture see Brass, T. (2000). *Peasants, Populism and Postmodernism: The Return of the Agrarian Myth*. London: Frank Cass Publishers. For a counter position see Goodman, D. and M.J. Watts (1994). ‘\_Reconfiguring the Rural or Fording the Divide? Capitalist Restructuring and the Global Agro-Food System’\_. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 22(1).

<sup>126</sup> Maxwell, 2001: 14.

<sup>127</sup> Friedmann, 1993: 31.

throughout the period of decolonisation and nationalism. African states initiated policies to comply with an increasingly liberalised global market. Further, the modernisation of peasant agriculture was coupled with “attempts to rectify parastatal misdeeds and improve prices and commodity supply to peasant producers”.<sup>128</sup> However, replacement of marketing boards and parastatals in African countries ultimately intensified issues of production, consumption and access to food for rural small-scale and subsistence based agriculturalists.<sup>129</sup> Liberalising agriculture markets subjected African ‘peasantry’<sup>130</sup> to a transforming global commodity chain, where the issue of food was situated politically and economically, not socially. The conceptualisation of food-security remained an issue of production, which directly affected the small producer’s ability to produce and compete in the market place, as investment and technology were increasingly applied to larger farms that were capable of larger scale production for an export economy. The intention of agriculture policies was not one of providing food for social well-being, rather it was one of integrating national economies within a larger framework of commodified food production.<sup>131</sup>

The second paradigm shift, occurred predominantly after 1985, and consisted of a conceptual transition from ‘food first’ to a ‘livelihood perspective, and beyond that to a preoccupation with the long-term resilience of livelihoods’.<sup>132</sup> Rural food-insecurity was conceptually related to poverty and the rhetoric shifted to interconnect issues of hunger, poverty and inequality. Discourse concerning livelihoods, rural economic diversification and capabilities supplanted issues of mere production as a means for achieving food-security. The focus of food-security analysis shifted to assessment of household and individual food-security. This shift, combined with discourse on economic diversification and livelihoods, is still prevalent in rural development discourse. However, Bryceson conducting research in Sub-Saharan Africa, has

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<sup>128</sup> Bryceson, D. (1999). ‘African Rural Labour, Income Diversification and Livelihoods Approaches: A Long-Term Development Perspective’. *Review of African Political Economy*, 80: 177.

<sup>129</sup> Bryceson, D. (2002). ‘The Scramble in Africa: Reorientating Rural Livelihood Approaches: A Long-Term Development in Perspective’. *World Development*, 30(5): 728.

<sup>130</sup> Bryceson, 2002: 727. Bryceson’s definition of African ‘peasantry’ is as follows: —African peasantries have varied in social composition and economic structures but they have four main characteristics in common ... first, they share the pursuit of agricultural livelihood combining subsistence and commodity production. Second, their internal social organization revolves around the family as the primary unit of production, consumption, reproduction, socialization, welfare, and risk-spreading. Third, they are externally subordinated to state authorities and regional or international markets that involve class differentiation and transfers of tax and profit. Fourth, they reside in rural settlements”.

<sup>131</sup> Friedmann, 1993: 37-39.

<sup>132</sup> Maxwell, 2001:17.

argued that livelihood diversification discourse in relation to food-security objectives did not take into consideration the issues of declining rural household food production and deagrarianisation.<sup>133</sup> Such diversification eventually detracted from the overall production levels of small-scale, and subsistence, farmers as more households and individuals entered the wage-labour market economy or engaged other income generating activities.

The last paradigm shift, in defining food-(in)security, questioned methods of objective food-insecurity measurements and researchers began to develop indicators for subjective aspects of food insecurity, including lack of choice, feelings of deprivation and food acquisition in socially unacceptable ways”.<sup>134</sup> Again, this conception of food- insecurity stimulated development discourse that was concerned largely with the complexities of livelihood strategies ... with understanding how people themselves respond to perceived risks and uncertainties”.<sup>135</sup> The Sustainable Rural Livelihoods (SRL) framework centred on income diversification, and increasingly focused on individualised approaches. Similar to many development approaches, the SRL framework must be given a context, according to varying and changing social relations, individual and household differentiation, especially concerning gender and inter-generational changes in households’ entitlements and livelihood strategies.

### **2.1.1 Conceptualising Livelihoods in Relation to Food-Security**

The SRL approach gained momentum in rural development discourse in the early 1990s.<sup>136</sup> The approach resituated the conceptualisation of food-security in relation to rural development strategies intended to create individual, household and community ‘sustainability’ programmes. Proponents of the SRL approach argued for its ability to address multi-dimensional

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<sup>133</sup> Bryceson, D. (1996). ‘Deagrarianization and Rural Employment in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Sectoral Perspective’. *World Development*, 24(1): 99. Bryceson defines the process of deagrarianisation as “a long-term process of occupational adjustment, income earning reorientation, social identification and spatial relocation of rural dwellers away from strictly agricultural-based modes of livelihoods”. For further discussion on livelihood diversification and in context of deagrarianisation see Bryceson (2002). Through case studies in Sub-Sahara Africa, Bryceson argues that structural adjustment programmes and market liberalisation in Africa have instigated rural non-farm livelihood diversification strategies; which subsequently affects agricultural-based livelihoods.

<sup>134</sup> Maxwell, 2001: 21.

<sup>135</sup> Maxwell, 2001: 21.

<sup>136</sup> Chambers, R. and G. Conway (1992). ‘Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st century’. IDS discussion paper, 296. Brighton: IDS.



and cross-cutting themes.<sup>137</sup> Despite its claimed emphasis on local contextual dimensions and a focus on “how different people gain access to assets for the pursuit of livelihoods”; a theoretical criticism surfaces regarding its limited concern “with the way class, gender and capitalist relations operate”.<sup>138</sup>

The SRL approach is defined as “a response to the complexity of rural livelihoods and their growing non agricultural character”.<sup>139</sup> This approach places food-security into a broader context of rural economic viability through the diversification of occupational choices and livelihoods. Theorists vary on the determinants of this process ranging from predication on voluntary behavioural instinct, external constraints or involuntary crisis management. Diversification strategies in this manner are referred to by some researchers as ‘social insurance’ or ‘diversification as risk management’.<sup>140</sup> SRL’s unit of analysis focuses on household livelihood strategies; however, it is argued that at the household level, strategies are difficult to analyse because household incomes “fail to capture important attributes of individual and collective welfare, including spheres of individual decision-making, power relations in the social unit, and constraints on permissible courses of action by gender”.<sup>141</sup> This neglects analysis of power dynamics within the household and between family members specifically around gender and generational dynamics.

When assessing the SRL approach within a community context and at a household level, it is often noted that differentiating social relationships and social formations limit the capacity of certain individuals and households to fully engage with livelihood diversification activities. This limitation is usually attributed to class, gender and inter-generational dynamics. Access to capabilities within SRL can determine the ability of different individuals, as well as different households, to participate in off farm livelihood generating activities. Material and social capabilities are defined by the SRL framework in terms of education level, availability of land

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<sup>137</sup> Scoones, I. (2009). ‘Livelihoods Perspective and Rural Development’. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 36(1). Scoones presents how the livelihoods approach became mainstreamed within development programmes linking it to a wide array of rural developmental issues.

<sup>138</sup> Scoones, 2009: 16.

<sup>139</sup> Bryceson, 1999: 173.

<sup>140</sup> For further explanation of the causes, processes, and dynamics of livelihood diversification see: Bryceson (1999) and Ellis, F. (1998). ‘Household Strategies and Rural Livelihood Diversification’. *Journal of Development Studies*, 35(1).

<sup>141</sup> Ellis, 1998: 6.

and access to economic centres and credit.<sup>142</sup> Land and capital distribution for differentiated households, within differentiated rural communities, affects the ways in which women and young people participate in livelihood strategies.<sup>143</sup> The issue of ‘generational discontinuity’ in rural areas, is also connected to issues of land redistribution, as ‘few youth will inherit sufficient land to be farmers’ nor ‘material transfer of land and other wealth’.<sup>144</sup> Younger generations increasingly show disinterest in on-farm activities<sup>145</sup> and have tended to engage in urban migrant labour or petty trading, which delivers more immediate income returns. However, the probability of remittance to the rural areas becomes problematic and can be a source of family fragmentation.<sup>146</sup> Economic gains by formerly dependent social groups have the potential to create other developmental challenges; including out migration and dis-investment in rural homes and communities. Livelihood diversification in these respects has the potential to negate the positive effects of economic gain; by decreasing access to food-security and sustainable rural development.

The final component of discourse on livelihood diversification and food-security is the role of public policy that aims to alleviate impoverished rural communities. Contextual causes and effects can greatly be affected by composition of demography, degree of vulnerability, opportunities for income and access to education. Therefore, by emphasising the importance of context, policies must also be adapted to local dynamics and reflect the social and material assets that exist in a given environment.<sup>147</sup> This includes identifying the need for further institutional development for diversified economies. This position derives from the point that rural diversified economies are often neglected by institutional support from both governmental and nongovernmental entities. The SRL also relies on coordinated strategies, supported by national investments in education, appropriate skills training and physical infrastructure. Ironically, initial

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<sup>142</sup> Mduma, J. and P. Wobst (2005). ‘Determinants of Rural Labour Market Participation in Tanzania’. *African Studies Quarterly*, 8(2).

<sup>143</sup> Bernstein, H. (2006). ‘Is There An Agrarian Question in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?’ Keynote address, CASID Congress, Toronto. Bernstein outlines how reproduction of labour and livelihoods are affected in global capitalism according to ‘fragmentation’ or differentiation of social groupings along intersecting lines of class, gender, generation, caste and ethnicity.

<sup>144</sup> Bryceson, 1999: 179.

<sup>145</sup> Bryceson, 2002: 729.

<sup>146</sup> Bryceson, 1999: 184. Bryceson’s case studies in Tanzania observed varying outcomes of women’s roles in livelihood diversification and often ‘economic autonomy by formerly dependent social categories, namely youth and women, is at the expense of male elders’ authority’ and ‘at the expense of social cohesion’.

<sup>147</sup> Ellis, 1998: 29.

advocacy for SRL strategies corresponded with difficult challenges at a global political economy level. The approach engaged rural development at a time when the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund imposed structural adjustment programmes in Africa. These programmes affected nation's social and economic policies; which in turn impacted rural people's ability to access entitlements, livelihoods and thus food-security.

The prevailing food-security definition was derived from a 1986 World Bank Development Report on Poverty and Hunger, which stated "food-security is access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life".<sup>148</sup> Discourse on, and international conceptualisations of, food-security placed a new emphasis on "access alongside production and stability of food supply".<sup>149</sup> However, as stated, this definition corresponded with internationally dictated structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s when "poverty reduction and basic needs were made subordinate to the need for debt management, fiscal balance, macroeconomic stability, and internal and external liberalisation".<sup>150</sup> This essentially reduced the concept of food-security to one of written intent without practical policies at a national level. In Africa, structural adjustment programmes detracted from social services, as well as state investment in agriculture, and rendered rural populations reliant on livelihood diversification strategies for the acquirement of basic needs.

The processes of deagrarianisation and livelihood diversification have profound impacts on the social and economic organization of rural communities and households, as well as the choices of individuals.<sup>151</sup> However, these processes cannot be viewed in isolation and connections exist between global, corporate, and modern capitalist changes in the dynamics of previously agricultural based rural areas. Bernstein, in his work on the political economy of the maize filière<sup>152</sup> in South Africa, elaborates the affects of the food commodity chain on welfare and livelihoods.<sup>153</sup> This geo-political and capital related restructuring of the global commodity food chain affects not only production, processing, and distribution but also livelihoods, access

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<sup>148</sup> World Bank (1986). *World Development Report: Poverty and Hunger*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>149</sup> Maxwell, 2001: 25.

<sup>150</sup> Maxwell, 2001: 17.

<sup>151</sup> Bryceson, 2002: 730.

<sup>152</sup> Bernstein, H. (1996). 'The Political Economy of the Maize Filière'. In Bernstein, H. (ed). *The Agrarian Question in South Africa*. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. A filière is the connection between all stages involved in the production of a commodity; specifically food commodity chains (filière vivrières).

<sup>153</sup> Bernstein (1996).

to, and consumption of, food; and in turn food-security. Additionally, this process instigates questions surrounding food-security within a global system. Conceptualisations of food-security are influenced by geo-politics and food-security as a global project. The political economy of food on an international scale inevitably alters dynamics at a state level, and by extension affects local contexts and rural development. Food production, processing, distribution and consumption are inevitably entrenched within global politics and capital relations.<sup>154</sup> However, this is not to deny that contexts are unique and demonstrate varying dynamics concerning socio-economic and political power, which in turn affects the production of food, access to livelihoods, and food-security.

Discourses concerning livelihood diversification, policy and food-security necessitate a further understanding of context, variations in the role of the state, the impact of public policy's economic development programmes, and public perceptions. Understanding contextual socio-cultural and political processes in the livelihoods approach also helps to explore "power and politics and where questions of rights, access and governance are (were) centred".<sup>155</sup> Although the livelihoods approach emphasises exploring macro and micro dynamics of power, politics, and institutions; it is often an ideal and not the reality.

Individuals live within webs of power dynamics; which inevitably affects entitlements, capabilities, freedoms and rights. It is arguable that contextualising these concepts, through localising research, must maintain a perspective that recognises structural power and processes that affect opportunities and constraints.<sup>156</sup> These opportunities and constraints are continuously shaped by socio-economic and political power dynamics in place and time. In South Africa, the history of power dynamics underlining rural people's relationships and connections to livelihoods and needs are important processes in understanding contemporary perceptions of rural youth towards entitlements, capabilities, livelihoods, and food-security and in relation to aspirations and opportunities. The following section will provide a historical context for the shaping of these relationships in South Africa.

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<sup>154</sup> For engagement with the dynamics of the global political economy of food production see: Friedmann (1993); Araghi (2003); Goodman and Watts (1999); and McMichael (1992).

<sup>155</sup> Scoones, 2009: 7.

<sup>156</sup> Scoones, 2009: 15.

## 2.2 Historical Contextualisation of South Africa: Land, Labour and Agriculture

South Africa's former "reserves", or "homelands" have experienced enduring effects of a legacy of politically engineered social structuring. In this historical context, agricultural policies and food-security concerns were situated within a specific political and economic agenda. The Union government's initial policy plan was "triggered by the introduction of the Land Act of 1913".<sup>157</sup> The partitioning of land according to racial categories began to lay the foundations for the Union government's strategy for the expansion of white commercial agriculture as well as solidifying capitalist relations of production. However, the 1913 Land Act is only one stage in a process that forms part of the complexities of South Africa's transition to capitalism.<sup>158</sup>

It is this transition that will inform the following discussion on the development of land, labour and agrarian policies in South Africa. This will set the stage to discuss dynamics specific to the geographical sub-region of contemporary northern KwaZulu-Natal, formerly referred to as Zululand. Social and economic systems of exchange, regarding food goods, altered relationships of people to land and labour. Thus the following section provides a broad historical overview of state policies affecting land, labour, and agriculture in South Africa in order to set the premise for contextual dynamics of Zululand.

The transition to capitalist agriculture in South Africa required that the "dominant landowners would make the transition to capitalist agriculture by underlining the role of race in the society and labour market".<sup>159</sup> The state's political interventions facilitated this mode of

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<sup>157</sup> Makhura, M. (1998). 'The Development of Food Security Policy for South Africa (SAFSP): A Consultative Process'. *Food Policy*, 23(6): 572.

<sup>158</sup> The questions surrounding issues of land, labour and development in South Africa are evidently not a recent phenomenon and discourse on the complexities of such topics remain a point of contention amongst scholars of varying schools of thought. One aspect of the debate concerns the point of transition from pre-capitalist modes of production to capitalist modes of production, and the determining factors of such a historical process, otherwise referred to as the transition debate. The social historians emerged during the 1970s from the radical revisionist school of thought, when re-appropriation of history 'from below' was inspiring many South African academics. See: Bradford, H. (1990). 'Agrarian Capitalism in Revisionist South African History'. *Radical History Review*, 46/47. For a critique of social historians 'view from below' see Murray, M. (1989). 'The Origins of Agrarian Capitalism in South Africa: A Critique of the Social History Perspective'. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15(4); and Morris, M. (1988). 'Social History and the Transition to Capitalism in the South African Countryside'. *African Perspective*, 1.

<sup>159</sup> Greenberg, S. (1980). *Race and State in Capitalist Development. South Africa in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven: Raven Press in association with Yale University Press: 59.

production, transforming labour and rights to land, which deeply affected the black peasantry.<sup>160</sup> Restricting the black peasantry's access to land subsequently impacted both agriculture production for exchange and subsistence. Further, state policies increasingly controlled the mobility of farm labour. The totality of these racialised processes of appropriation, subordination, and proletarianisation, is described in terms of the state's role in a 'three pronged plundering'.<sup>161</sup>

The 1913 Land Act, as it applies to agriculture and land, outlawed sharecropping and squatting, further extending the role of the state in supporting a specific mode of capitalist-commercial agriculture for white farmers combined with ensuring a racially determined cheap labour regime. This was the initial stage in the government's goals to constrain, control and regulate labour. Blacks were resistant to becoming labour for white farms where 'necessity rather than desire drove them out of the tribal areas'.<sup>162</sup> According to Keegan, the Act 'remained the lynchpin of the settlers' drive toward proletarianisation of the black tenantry'.<sup>163</sup> As of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, surplus appropriation in South Africa was 'sporadic and arbitrary' and much of the agrarian productive relationships had yet to be restructured.<sup>164</sup> According to Keegan, surplus appropriation, or primitive accumulation, needed to escalate to such a degree as to create a 'settler elite' in order to establish a 'settler state'. Keegan argues that primitive accumulation 'may never have yielded a fully capitalist agriculture in the interior regions' without the 'mineral revolution' of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>165</sup> Industrial development created a growing population of wage-labourers, decreased subsistence agriculture, and provided the impetus for capitalist food production. However, the state's role in mediating land and labour reveals contradictions to capitalist development in South Africa and the oppositional position of agrarian and industrial

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<sup>160</sup>For a comprehensive assessment of the growth of capitalism in South Africa, its affect on the black 'peasantry' and the role of state in land expropriation see Bundy, C. (1988). *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry. Second Edition*. London: James Currey.

<sup>161</sup>Greenberg, 1980: 58.

<sup>162</sup>Jones, S. and A. Muller (1992). *The South African Economy, 1910-1990*. London: MacMillan Academic and Professional LTD: 34.

<sup>163</sup>Keegan, T. (1983). 'The Sharecropping Economy on the South African Highveld in the Early Twentieth Century'. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 10(2-3): 222.

<sup>164</sup>See Keegan (1983). Keegan's depiction of the Southern Highveld's sharecropping system and black tenancy, elaborates the affects of the 1913 Land Act on instigating capitalist relations of production. Further, the Act restricted property ownership rights and subordinated labour to the land owner.

<sup>165</sup>Keegan, T. (1989). 'The Origins of Agrarian Capitalism in South Africa: A Reply'. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15(4): 677.

interests. This strained dynamic set the foundation for much of South Africa's land and labour policies.

Since the 1880s, land and labour issues in South Africa were central points of socio-political and economic contestation. Frontier expansion<sup>166</sup> had come to completion and white rural populations were increasing. The Land Act signified the state's role in rectifying the 'poor white problem'.<sup>167</sup> Therefore, land policies facilitated development of white-owned farms and capitalist agriculture, which ultimately impacted national economic growth, labour dynamics, and food production. The act was one stage in a protracted process of state interventions, relating to concerns over land and capitalisation of agriculture.

State interventions, through policy and legislation, also affected social dynamics of the African 'peasantry'. McClendon, through his work depicting rural gender and generational relations in South Africa from the 1920s-1940s, shows how state segregationist policy also effectively reformulated African customary law in such a way that sought to extend patriarchal power over women and youth. The extension of African patriarchy in the rural regions was a means to further regulate the labour of youth (unmarried young women and men) to the needs of African elders and white farmers. However, the evolution of industry in South Africa, with the rise of the mineral-industrial complex, created a situation whereby white agrarian demands for labour supply were constantly in competition with urban industrial centres.

Codification and reformulation of African customary law was one way to prevent excessive urban migration and maintain the African family unit as the basis for subsistence, reproduction of labour, and 'social welfare', in the reserves.<sup>168</sup> The persistence of the cattle economy and customary law involving 'lobola' in Zululand, were ways in which patriarchal power was used to subordinate women and youth to the demands of colonial rule, capital, and

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<sup>166</sup>The frontier thesis forms a point of contention between various researchers. See MacMillan, W.M. (1919). *The South African Agrarian Problem and Its Historical Background*. Johannesburg: Central News Agency for the Council of Education; and Houton, D.H. (1964). *The South African Economy*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press. For a critique of the frontier thesis see Legassick, M. (1980). 'The Frontier Tradition'. In Marks, S. and A. Atmore (eds). *Economy and Society in pre-industrial South Africa*. New York: Longman Inc.

<sup>167</sup>Jones and Muller, 1992: 32.

<sup>168</sup>Wolpe, H. (1995). 'Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid'. In Beinart, W. and S. Dubow (eds), 1995. *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa*. London: Routledge: 70-71.

chiefs.<sup>169</sup> Further, pass and influx laws were used to stem the exodus from rural areas to urban industry for potential employment; albeit pass laws were aimed primarily at the regulation of male labour and were not extended to women until the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. This restriction on the mobility of rural labour deprived industry a surplus population of wage-labour to exploit. However, conflicting interests were overcome with the formation of a coalition of capitalist interests in 1924.<sup>170</sup>

The Pact government of 1924, a coalition between the Labour Party and the National Party, enacted a series of national policies that led many historians to analyse the role of the state, ideologically and politically, in the capitalisation of South African agriculture.<sup>171</sup> The ‘uneasy union of maize and gold’,<sup>172</sup> the alliance between white capitalist agriculture and the mining industry, has been widely discussed and debated regarding their respective roles in directing the state apparatus, political power and socio-economic change.<sup>173</sup>

The mining industry was also at odds with farming capital regarding food prices. It was to the benefit of the mining industry to keep the cost of food low, hence minimising the cost of labour reproduction.<sup>174</sup> Additional sites of contention between mining and farming capital concerned competition over black labourers and segregation policy regarding worker mobility and the reserves. In this manner, the development of capitalist agriculture benefited from aggressive state intervention in subsidising, protecting and regulating markets as well as measures to control people’s movements and access to land. However, both industrial and

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<sup>169</sup> McClendon, T. (2002). *Genders and Generations Apart: Labor Tenants and Customary Law in Segregation-Era South Africa, 1920s to 1940s*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers (Pty) Ltd.

<sup>170</sup> Beinart, W. and P. Delius (1986). ‘Introduction: Approaches to South African Agrarian History’. In W. Beinart, P. Delius, and S. Trapido (eds.). *Putting a Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa, 1850-1930*. Johannesburg: Raven: 16. For further debates on the functional and instrumentalist role of the state also see: Trapido, S. (1973); ‘South Africa in a Comparative Study of Industrialisation’; *Journal of Development Studies*, 7(3); Davies, R., D. Kaplan, M. Morris, and D. O’Meara (1976). ‘Class Struggle and the Periodisation of the State in South Africa’. *Review of African Political Economy*, 7, Special Issue on South Africa; and Greenberg (1980).

<sup>171</sup> Beinart and Delius, 1986: 13-14.

<sup>172</sup> A term coined by Trapido, S. (1973). ‘South Africa in a Comparative Study of Industrialisation’. *Journal of Development Studies*, 7(3): 311. For more on this political and economic alliance see Bundy (1988). Both Trapido and Bundy presented state policy as the outcome of a coalition of capitalist interests.

<sup>173</sup> Morris disputed the alliance of capital interests. See: Morris (1976). ‘The Development of Capitalism in South African Agriculture: Class Struggle in the Countryside’. *Economy and Society*, 5(3); and Davies *et al.* (1976).

<sup>174</sup> Beinart and Delius, 1986: 13.



agrarian interests, and the demand for cheap labour, benefited by a racially repressive state apparatus and “played a decisive role in shaping South African industrialization”.<sup>175</sup>

In the early phase of industrialisation, the state sought to mediate labour supply issues by denying access to land, constraining abilities to produce and exchange, and intensified taxation.<sup>176</sup> However, such initiatives remained ineffective in protecting and promoting white agrarian interests. In order to establish an agricultural sector productive and capable of absolving the ‘poor white problem’ the state had to take further measures: “taxpayers’ money was handed out to land banks, cooperatives, to agricultural education and research, levies were placed on commodities to subsidise loss-making exports, and marketing boards were set up to control both prices and the supply of commodities”.<sup>177</sup> This effectively rendered a protected market for national food supply, with prices inflated above the rates of the global market, and ‘self-sufficiency’ was the modus operandi of government’s agricultural strategies until the 1950s.<sup>178</sup>

This overview, regarding socio-economic and political changes in South Africa, does not claim to be a comprehensive presentation of historical dynamics or representative of the multitude of debates of this history. It merely offers a brief insight into the complexities involved in analysing past dynamics; dynamics that impact contemporary discussions on food-security, livelihoods and state policies. This history demonstrates that the state played a powerful role in constructing dynamics between people, the land, and livelihoods. Therefore, capitalist development in South Africa locates these issues in a wider historical context; the political economy of power, production and property. Further, it describes a process of change that leaves its imprint on urban-rural dynamics today. The main point of underscoring these dynamics is to present the ways in which policy affected social relationships and connections to land, labour, and agriculture. The history of segregationist state policies, which ensured unequal distribution

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<sup>175</sup> Beinart and Delius, 1986: 10.

<sup>176</sup> Many historians have differing views on the nature of class conflict and the measures taken by the state to control labour and land; through segregation and then apartheid. See: Mackinnon, A. (1996). ‘Land Labour and Cattle: the Political Economy of Zululand, c. 1930-50’. PhD Thesis. London: University of London; Legassick (1974). ‘South Africa: Capital Accumulation and Violence’. *Economy and Society*, (3); Bundy (1988); Morris (1976); and Davies *et al* (1976).

<sup>177</sup> Jones and Muller, 1992: 36.

<sup>178</sup> See the following authors for more on the history of the state’s agricultural strategies, economic rational, and support for national self-sufficiency in food supplies: Jones and Muller (1992); Keegan (1988); and MacKinnon (1996).

of land, proletarianised people, and restricted freedom of movement, has contemporary consequences with dynamic contextual outcomes.

This history also redefined meanings and value of land, labour, and livelihoods. Ultimately, this altered the ways black South Africans related socially and economically to meeting their basic needs for survival. This also set the foundation for a process that irreversibly altered the value placed on the production of needs; redefining recognition of entitlements and capabilities. Further, historical oppression, the denial of rights to the majority of the population, affects what is now valued in terms of entitlements, rights and freedoms. The commodification of the means of production, land and labour, commodified the means for the most basic capabilities necessary to live.

Historical dynamics, as Beinart and Delius point out, regarding pre-industrial South Africa and agriculture “illustrate the diversity of processes of change” with a focus that “emphasises individual agency, social differentiation, and regional characteristics meshed with broader patterns to condition the course of change”.<sup>179</sup> This legacy of differentiation is applicable to understanding the extent to which state policies, capitalist interests, and individual agency impacted strategies for livelihoods and food-security at micro-levels. Taking this into consideration, a brief history of the former KwaZulu Homeland will now be presented.

### **2.3 Colonial Zululand: Land, Labour and Agriculture<sup>180</sup>**

Prior to the 1930s, the far northern part of historical Zululand experienced a degree of autonomy due to the regions physical distance from the centres of colonial power as well as a primary dependence on a cattle economy.<sup>181</sup> MacKinnon reflects that this form of economy “was better than agriculture to withstand the onslaught of white commercial farming demands”.<sup>182</sup> Further north, in the Makhathini region, where this case study is situated, it was documented that the region was “atypical” when compared to other parts of Zululand. The Pongola floodplain was

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<sup>179</sup> Beinart and Delius, 1986:16.

<sup>180</sup> This section draws extensively on historical research on colonial Zululand in MacKinnon (1996).

<sup>181</sup> It should be noted that Walter Felgate presents a history of the Tembe Thonga of the region that traditionally were agriculturalists. Felgate’s research shows a population of non-pastoralists that did not historically engage the cattle economy. See Felgate, W.S. (1982). *The Tembe Thonga of Natal and Mozambique: An Ecological Approach*. Durban: Department of African Studies, University of Natal.

<sup>182</sup> MacKinnon, A. (2001). ‘Chiefly Authority, Leapfrogging Headmen and the Political Economy of Zululand’. *South Africa. Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27(3). Special Issue for Shula Marks: 569.

conducive to fishing and subsistence agriculture which, when combined with relative isolation to centres of colonial power and minimal white settlement, maintained a degree of autonomy and limited engagement with the capitalist economy.<sup>183</sup>

Zululand in the 1930s experienced recurring annual food-insecurity. Drought had always affected subsistence production in the region, and food-security, prior to this period; however, it was no longer the sole cause of the decline of reserve agriculture. Mackinnon suggests that overall decline –by in the unequal distribution of land and resources (both between whites and Africans and among sections of the reserve population), the rise in wage labour, and the impact of the white-dominated (agriculture) market.”<sup>184</sup>

There is evidence that –by the 1930s, the non-capitalist means of subsistence in the reserves had deteriorated dramatically, and close to 60 per cent of grain requirements had to be imported”.<sup>185</sup> Food production in the rural homelands<sup>186</sup> is thought to have only met 50 per cent of necessary food requirements.<sup>187</sup> At the time, Natal’s official stance towards the food-security of the reserves encouraged a ‘responsible’ system of production and storage.<sup>188</sup> However, beyond that, all available young men, those not necessary for homestead production, were encouraged to enter the wage-economy.<sup>189</sup>

Declining subsistence agriculture had major impacts on the political economy of the reserves. First, as noted by MacKinnon, –threat of famine in twentieth century Zululand accelerated the unequal integration of reserve Africans into the wider capitalist-dominated food market.”<sup>190</sup> Increasingly, a cash and commodity based exchange system was the means to obtain

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<sup>183</sup> Derman, P. and C. Poultney (1987). Agricultural Reconstruction in a Consumer Society: The Mboza Village Project. *Development Southern Africa*. 4(3): 554. Also see Felgate (1982). Both writings on the region depict a historical view of the isolation of the area as leading to delayed incorporation into the colonial economy.

<sup>184</sup> MacKinnon (1999). ‘The Persistence of the Cattle Economy in Zululand, South Africa, 1900-50’. *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 33(1): 101.

<sup>185</sup> MacKinnon, 2001: 569.

<sup>186</sup> The exact time period, as well as the causes, for the decline of reserve agriculture production is debated. See: Simkins, C. (1981). ‘Agricultural Production in the African Reserves of South Africa 1918-1969’. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 7(2): 256 – 283.

<sup>187</sup> MacKinnon, 2001: 569.

<sup>188</sup> MacKinnon, 1996: 302.

<sup>189</sup> MacKinnon, 1996: 302.

<sup>190</sup> MacKinnon, 1996: 304-306.

food. Secondly, white-store keepers largely controlled local food markets.<sup>191</sup> Particular state intervention, such as the Marketing Act of 1937, further impacted food-security in the reserves as well as African farmers' ability to participate in the maize and wheat market. Further, according to MacKinnon, the Marketing Act effectively segregated the market and this consolidation meant that "the white commercial farming sector came to dominate the market and changed the way it met African food demands".<sup>192</sup>

Thirdly, declining subsistence agriculture and reliance on a commodified food market, affected the labour system. Beinart noted, as quoted by MacKinnon, that the "central government increasingly saw the solution to drought crises primarily in terms of increased rates of labour-migrancy."<sup>193</sup> During this time, white owned commercial farms were in competition with the industrial mines for labour sources, thus outward migration from the reserves worked towards the advantage of industrial capitalists.

Lastly, the affects of a politically manipulated labour and food regime affected social differentiation within the reserves. Mackinnon demonstrates how individuals strategically engaged activities that enhanced their position in relation to the distribution of food and the market. This was facilitated by strategic positioning by African elites, chiefs and indunas, in relation to colonial powers, and to white merchants and traders.<sup>194</sup> This intensified differentiation, and resulted in unequal socio-economic relationships within the reserves. Mackinnon observes that this unequal differentiation affected food-security. While the elites of the reserves were able to ensure a steady access to food, either through colonial officials or white traders, the majority of people predominantly women, children and the elderly, faced constant

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<sup>191</sup>It should be noted that very different dynamics existed between northern and southern Zululand. As noted previously, the remoteness of the Makhathini region delayed many of these dynamics. MacKinnon (1996) notes that the Native Affairs Department (NAD) would issue licenses to white farmers and speculators to enter the reserves to deliver large supplies of grain to the local authorities, most often the chiefs and indunas. In this respect, the chiefs and indunas of the north controlled the distribution of maize, and often the terms of exchange and credit, closely functioning in a similar capacity as white-store owners of the more southern parts of Zululand. Further, MacKinnon also notes evidence of state intervention during periods of famine in Ubombo and Ingwavuma; regions nearby to Makhathini. Famine relief operated within the market economy and the state had to balance a fine line between the needs/demands of white dominated commercial agriculture, white-owned stores, urban industry, African elite and the people living in the reserves.

<sup>192</sup>MacKinnon, 1996: 302.

<sup>193</sup> Mackinnon, 1996: 305.

<sup>194</sup> Mackinnon, 1996: 195-199. Mackinnon outlines how the auctioning of cattle was one aspect of facilitating class differentiation. The sale of cattle, at first, was motivated by colonial concerns of land degradation and to contain Zulu ownership of cattle. MacKinnon further argues that auctions themselves were initiated as a means for the state to collect on levy debts relating to taxes.

shortage. Further, male migrants, due to industries' pressure on the state to ensure adequate food supplies for labour, also were not as profoundly affected by food shortages as those permanently residing within the reserves.<sup>195</sup> Food-insecurity had lasting effects on the dynamics of rural areas of South Africa. The affects were fourfold: deterioration of land, decline of subsistence agriculture, commodified food, and intensified labour migration; all of which were mediated by interacting forces of state intervention and individual responses.

State responses, politically and economically, to food-insecurity reveal much about the changes in food production and consumption in the reserves. Most interestingly, responses by the state changed over time. Between 1910 and the 1920s, during periods of drought and subsequent food shortages, the state demonstrated a semi-welfarist approach towards the reserves.<sup>196</sup> However, by the late 1920s onward a self-help rhetoric emerged. MacKinnon reports that state response retreated from providing food and instead relied on market mechanisms to safeguard against shortage. The Senior inspector of Native Reserves warned all local officials not to imply to the Zulu that the department would 'come to their rescue' again; people should go out to work and rely on the local store-keepers to supply maize.<sup>197</sup> A series of state interventions over the years to maintain a balance in interests between white farmers, white store owners, and food relief schemes for people living in the reserves; demonstrates a constant interplay between power, politics, and social stratification; all affecting differentiated and unequal access to entitlements and livelihoods.

It is arguable, that in contemporary South Africa, the state demonstrates a combination of these developmental perspectives, with similar interventions, with regards to rural development, livelihoods and food-security. The following two sections will explore the ways in which state policy, both prior to 1994 and post 1994, intervened in order to maintain a precarious balance between these differentiated relationships of production, consumption, exchange and accumulation.

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<sup>195</sup> MacKinnon, 1996: 430-431.

<sup>196</sup> Mackinnon (1996). Mackinnon notes that the Native Affairs Department (NAD) provisioned grain at times of severe food shortages. Mackinnon observes that this was semi-paternalistic but also strategic in order to contain rural unrest at a time when the state was worried about urban labour organising and striking.

<sup>197</sup> Mackinnon, 1996: 307.

## 2.4 Pre-1994 South Africa: Agriculture, Food-Security and Policy

The decade preceding World War II was a period of political and economic manoeuvring for the South African state and the economy, between conflicting national interests. State support for capitalising agriculture, in the form of state control over markets, land, and labour, had adverse outcomes. The capitalisation of larger mono-crop farms created a situation whereby supply-side productivity outpaced demand; arguably due to the majority of the population's constrained access to entitlements. Subsequently, periodic over-accumulation in food supplies occurred.<sup>198</sup> Despite this over-accumulation the demand for food could not be met; clearly, policies were not in place to ensure food-security for the majority of South Africans.<sup>199</sup>

In response to the global depression of the 1930s, the government intervened further –insulating South African farmers from outside market forces”<sup>200</sup>. The 1937 Marketing Act further consolidated political manipulation agricultural production and markets, and distribution of food commodities. This was done through a series of marketing schemes with accompanying control boards that determined: one-channel marketing, fixing and regulation of prices; registration of producers, traders, and processors; fixation of transport tariffs; and enforcement of marketing quotas and levies on all products.<sup>201</sup>

It is argued that the subsidisation and protection of South African agricultural markets was most influenced by national politics, rather than the global economic depression.<sup>202</sup> Nevertheless, since that time, agricultural policy in South Africa has –largely been directed at ensuring national food self-sufficiency in basic foodstuffs”<sup>203</sup>. Bernstein notes that this “supply side” emphasis in agricultural strategy had historical roots in reinforcing state power and capitalist development of white South African agriculture where “food security” was typically

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<sup>198</sup> Mackinnon (1996) observed that the Marketing Act of 1937 justified destroying surplus commodities at the directive of the Minister of Agriculture in order to avoid over-accumulation and deflated prices.

<sup>199</sup>This over accumulation in food goods, through national food self-sufficiency, is an effect shared by other countries practicing protectionist oriented agricultural combined with highly regulated imports and tariffs. Friedman (1993), in her discussion of global food regimes, describes this as the “surplus regime” of the post-World War II period.

<sup>200</sup>Jones and Muller, 1992: 38.

<sup>201</sup>Groenwald, JA. (2000). “The Agriculture Marketing Act: A Post-Mortem”. *South African Journal of Economics*, 68(3): 367.

<sup>202</sup>Davies *et al*, 1976: 17-19. Davies *et al* explores class dynamics within, and between, labour, capital and the state in South Africa.

<sup>203</sup>Makhura, 1998: 572.

understood as national self-sufficiency in food production, one element (and the most easily realised) of the autarchic fantasies of apartheid state capitalism. White farmers stressed food as a strategic commodity to legitimate the levels of support they enjoyed historically”.<sup>204</sup> However, evident from discourse on food-security, national self-sufficiency does not necessarily translate to food-security, particularly at the micro level of households and individuals.

During apartheid, South African trade had substantial distortions influenced by state policies embodied within regulatory state institutions, marketing boards, and parastatals. In the 1970s, amidst another global recession, South Africa’s policy agenda was influenced by the global political economy. South Africa’s position in the global economy was particularly affected in the waning years of apartheid and was increasingly isolated by the international community through a series of embargoes and trade restrictions. These restrictions threatened South Africa’s ability to engage international markets for importation of non-basic foodstuff.<sup>205</sup> However, by the late 1980s, South Africa was confronted with economic issues relating to international trade that would require review with the impending transformation in political power. It was increasingly viewed that South Africa’s economic trade position could be improved through deregulation and the abolishment of marketing boards.

South Africa in the 1980s gradually aligned its agricultural trade strategy with the dominant liberalisation discourse, despite the opposition it invoked. Bernstein notes that the trade protection that had been in place in South Africa was slowly giving way to “liberalisation and deregulation of agricultural production, finance and trade”.<sup>206</sup> At the time, the World Bank’s (1986) position maintained a “rigid assumption that the liberalisation and extension of the scope of markets is always and everywhere the route to both efficient use of resources and growth, and to eradicating poverty”.<sup>207</sup> Further external international pressure came in large part from the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT).<sup>208</sup> The world-wide phenomenon of agricultural deregulation, thus altering the entire commodity chain, was introduced by the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations resulting in the Marrakech agreement signed in 1994,

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<sup>204</sup>Bernstein, 1994: 9.

<sup>205</sup> Makhura, 1998: 572-573.

<sup>206</sup> Bernstein, 1994: 9.

<sup>207</sup> Mackintosh, M. (1990). ‘Abstract Markets and Real Needs’. In Bernstein, Mackintosh and Martin (eds). *The Food Question*. London: Earthscan. New York: Monthly Review Press: 45.

<sup>208</sup> The GATT became the World Trade Organisation in 1994.

which founded the World Trade Organisation (WTO).<sup>209</sup> The WTO's international regulation of trade policies and its implications for national markets is widely documented, particularly the impact on developing countries.

The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Marketing Act,<sup>210</sup> in December 1992, provided a historical review of state intervention in markets, such as the Marketing Act of 1937 and 1968.<sup>211</sup> This review resulted in recommendations to compensate for distortions caused by the Marketing Acts and state regulation of agriculture production. Subsequently, South Africa's policy position post-1994 "began to reduce the subsidies and support white farmers had amassed for themselves over the previous 30 years".<sup>212</sup> This move did not go unopposed and the opposition consisted of "renegade" producers' organizations, some big business interests, (white) consumer groups and a number of agricultural economists, consultants and commentators ... their main agenda is supply side efficiency and its benefits of greater "consumer choice".<sup>213</sup> This agenda did nothing for the entitlements and needs of the majority of the South African population. Bernstein makes it clear that "enlarging "consumer choice" can only benefit consumers positioned, in both income and spatial terms, to take advantage of it".<sup>214</sup> Policies geared towards market regulated efficiency, affect most acutely the communities at the margins of consumption; rural populations.

The interrelationships between production and consumption vary according to context, socially and economically. Agricultural policies prescribing market efficiency and "consumer choice" should be evaluated contextually, particularly contexts where populations have "narrow range of marginal economic options".<sup>215</sup> Deregulation, and the diversification of commodity choice, as it pertains to food merely obscures the lack of choices for rural people due to continued disparities in space and place within a South African context, both geographic and socio-economic. Rural communities become consumed by the illusion of choice in commodities

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<sup>209</sup> Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organisation. ([www.wto.org/english/docs\\_e/legal\\_e/04-wto.pdf](http://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/04-wto.pdf)).

<sup>210</sup> See Kassier Report (1992). *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Marketing Act*. [www.agriafrika.co.za/documents/Kassier%20Report.doc](http://www.agriafrika.co.za/documents/Kassier%20Report.doc)

<sup>211</sup> Kirsten, J., L. Edwards and N. Vink (2007). *Distortions to Agricultural Incentives in South Africa*. *Agricultural Distortions*, Working Paper 38. Washington DC: World Bank.

<sup>212</sup> Bernstein, 1994: 9.

<sup>213</sup> Bernstein, 1994: 9.

<sup>214</sup> Bernstein, 1994: 9.

<sup>215</sup> Derman and Poultney, 1987: 553.



meanwhile access is further constrained and solidifies the poverty of underdeveloped rural areas. Therefore, deregulation and liberalisation in economic policy has done little to rectify decades of distortion that, combined with other socio-political dynamics, disintegrated small-scale production for livelihoods and access to food.

## **2.5 Post-Apartheid South Africa: Food-Security, Agriculture and Policy**

A key outcome of South Africa's post-1994 policy construction process was the identification of food-security as a core focus and objective of agriculture.<sup>216</sup> The mission statement of the White Paper on Agriculture asserts that policy is to: "Ensure equitable access to agriculture and promote the contribution of agriculture to the development of all communities, society at large and the national economy, in order to enhance income, food-security, employment and quality of life in a sustainable manner".<sup>217</sup> The previously cited mission statement demonstrates that agriculture is still articulated as a sector for national growth however now combined with the intention to address multi-dimensional socio-economic concerns for all South Africans.

Food-security concerns, and corresponding land usage and redistribution issues, have been core elements of post-apartheid policy discussions or what Bernstein terms the "lacuna on the agrarian question in the programme of national liberation".<sup>218</sup> South Africa's international engagement with these issues, connecting land, agriculture and food-security in post-apartheid, began with participation in the Rome Declaration on World Food Security, and the World Food Summit Plan of Action of 1996. Subsequent to these international commitments on food-security, South Africa proceeded with a policy process towards the establishment of the Integrated Food Security Strategy for South Africa (IFSS).<sup>219</sup> This strategy included recommendations from the Food Security Working Group (FSWG), which issued a discussion document in 1997 stating: "The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) of the Government of South Africa

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<sup>216</sup> Makhura, 1998: 571.

<sup>217</sup> Department of Agriculture (1995). *White Paper on Agriculture*. Pretoria: Republic of South Africa: 5.

<sup>218</sup> Bernstein, 1996: 36.

<sup>219</sup> Department of Agriculture (2002). *The Integrated Food Security Strategy for South Africa*. Pretoria: Republic of South Africa.

provide the strategic framework for action to achieve food security for all.”<sup>220</sup> Herein lay the emergence of contradictory economic policy prescriptions, aimed at redressing historical inequalities, however, such prescriptions have marked the dichotomy between transformation rhetoric and economic policy that has entrenched past inequalities. Furthermore, redistributive and welfare policies reveals the contradiction between rights based approaches to development and macro-economic growth strategies.

In 1995, South Africa’s White Paper on Agriculture<sup>221</sup> articulated the need to expand the conceptualisation of the role of South African agriculture in order to incorporate the complex and wide ranging socio-economic needs of the country. This reconceptualisation was necessary to incorporate issues and concerns that previously had been neglected by South Africa’s agricultural policies. Primarily, these issues related to development of previously undeveloped rural regions of South Africa, and –given the particular nature of the South African economy, it was understood from the outset that food security was a multi-disciplinary issue”;<sup>222</sup> which inevitably involves debates on rural development. However, as previously presented, food-security is also embedded in differentiated social relationships; a result of South Africa’s political economy. Therefore, addressing food-security involves recognising political and economic dynamics.

Bernstein speaks to the importance of evaluating debates surrounding land redistribution and agrarian reform, and its subsequent dynamics –from the viewpoint of the political, as well as economic, agenda of national democratic struggle”.<sup>223</sup> However, it is argued that because of the politics of transformation, with an emphasis on national growth strategies, the ‘agrarian question’ is being reshaped by class interests.<sup>224</sup> This extends to the strategies for agriculture in relation to livelihoods and rural development.<sup>225</sup> Some argue that proposed strategies will merely reinforce class structures, including the white industrial agriculture monopoly; however now with the

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<sup>220</sup> Food Security Working Group, Agricultural Policy Unit. (1997). *Food Security Policy for South Africa-A Discussion Document*. Pretoria: Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs: 4.

<sup>221</sup> Department of Agriculture (1995).

<sup>222</sup> Makhura, 1998: 571.

<sup>223</sup> Bernstein, 1996: 32.

<sup>224</sup> Levin R. and D. Weiner (1993). ‘The Agrarian Question and Politics in the ‘New’ South Africa’. *Review of African Political Economy*, 57: 29-45.

<sup>225</sup> For discussion on class interests affecting rural development in post-apartheid South Africa see Levin and Weiner (1993); Bernstein (1994); Hart (1996). For further connections of the history of class struggle at a national level, and in relation to foreign capital, affecting social and political differentiation, see Davies *et al* (1976).

addition of the burgeoning black elite and creation of Agri-BEE ventures. Despite these concerns, the IFSS states that one of its primary objectives:

... is to overcome rural food insecurity by increasing the participation of food insecure households in productive agriculture sector activities and thereby creating both forward and backward linkages that will spread resulting in growth and development benefits to all South Africans.<sup>226</sup>

However, this stance, as critiqued by Hart,<sup>227</sup> aligns with a World Bank view on rural and agricultural development strategies.<sup>228</sup> It is stated that the World Bank view neglects to take into consideration the history of differentiated social groups; and most specifically when it comes to issues surrounding access to land and other assets, entitlements and capabilities. Further, it is argued that the perceived benefits of small-scale farming, for establishing livelihood multiplier effects, and in terms of transforming rural economies into spaces of diversified livelihoods that aids food-security, is constrained by contextual specific dynamics.<sup>229</sup> Of note, multiplier effect depends on not only ‘production linkages’ but also ‘consumption linkages’, which are shaped by structural, as much as contextual, power dynamics. The formation of consumption linkages, also a process involving history and differentiated power dynamics, will have a strong impact on not only food-security and livelihood strategies but also people’s perceptions of commodities in relation to needs, rights, and capabilities.

Prior to the IFSS, three main reports regarding food production, distribution and consumption, have informed subsequent discussion and debates post 1994 in reference to addressing food-security in democratic South Africa.<sup>230</sup> First, a report by the Board of Tariffs and Trade<sup>231</sup> addressed price formation and inflation in the food chain. Second, the Kassier

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<sup>226</sup> Department of Agriculture, 2002: 28.

<sup>227</sup> Hart, G. (1996). ‘The Agrarian Question and Industrial Dispersal in South Africa: Agro-Industrial Linkages Through Asian Lenses’. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 23(2/3): 245-277.

<sup>228</sup> World Bank (1993). *Options for Land Reforms and Rural Restructuring in South Africa*. Washington DC: World Bank.

<sup>229</sup> See Hart (1996). Hart compares what at the time was considered the ‘Asian successes’ in rural industrialisation and agro-industrial linkages to South Africa’s rural development challenges.

<sup>230</sup> Bernstein, 1994: 6-12. Presentation of the impact of these transitional reports, produced during the interim period between apartheid and democracy, on food-security discourse in South Africa relies heavily on Bernstein (1994) and his analysis of policy documents and reports that impacted food-security in post-apartheid South Africa.

<sup>231</sup> See Board of Tariffs and Trade Act 60 of 1992. (<http://www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=71915>)

Committee of Inquiry<sup>232</sup> reviewed the historical impacts on agricultural commodities of the Marketing Act; and proposed a new strategy of deregulation and limited state involvement. These two reports mostly dealt with efficiency in supply, marketing and trade of food goods, however lacked discussion on “how need translates to entitlement on the demand side”.<sup>233</sup> Lastly, the Department of Agriculture’s “development of a food and nutrition strategy for Southern Africa” (DFNS),<sup>234</sup> was the only one of the three reports to specifically focus on the state’s role in addressing, and redressing, unequal distribution of entitlements at a micro-level. However, it limitedly engaged historical macro-structural dynamics of agriculture, or the political economy of food production. The DFNS emphasised consumption, access, and entitlements and referred to the need for “skills training and asset-creating employment generation, and “small farmer upliftment in developing areas”.<sup>235</sup> This was combined with the recognition that food distribution schemes, food-insecurity targeting, and government grants were all necessary in supplementing livelihoods and rural development strategies.<sup>236</sup>

These views on food-security in post apartheid South Africa point to the general trend in South African strategies, as previously discussed regarding livelihoods and opportunities, which focuses on ways to transform historical disparities between different social groups; specifically gender, race and class. Meanwhile, the approach is a combination of a redistributive, and a welfarist, state approach; however not at the exclusion of the role of markets, private investment and individual agency. Social welfare approaches are further augmented with the ideological promotion of “self-help”, “volunteerism” and “critical self-reliance”, programmes such as Vuku‘zenzele, Letsema,<sup>237</sup> and the recent launch of the “One Home One Garden” programme.<sup>238</sup> These programmes are indicative of limited developments, thus far, in the restructuring of the political-economy dynamics of agriculture, and the creation of rural-livelihoods, as means to

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<sup>232</sup> Kassier Report (1992).

<sup>233</sup> Bernstein, 1994: 8.

<sup>234</sup> Department of Agriculture (1992). Republic of South Africa.

<sup>235</sup> Bernstein, 1994: 6. Bernstein also comments that this development strategy is founded on the Development Bank of Southern Africa’s Farmer Support Programmes which is replication of World Bank rural development prescriptions.

<sup>236</sup> Department of Agriculture, 2002: 24-30.

<sup>237</sup> Programmes launched during Thabo Mbeki’s presidency in 2002. Vuku‘zenzele emphasises the need for individuals to stand up and do it for themselves, and Letsema encourages volunteerism and communal cooperation founded on principle of ubuntu and humanity.

<sup>238</sup> Launched in KwaZulu-Natal in July 2009 by The Department of Agriculture, Environmental Affairs and Rural Development. See Johnson, L. (2009). Speech by MEC for Agriculture, Environmental Affairs and Rural Development during the One Home One Garden campaign launch.

ensure entitlements and rights of historically marginalised South Africans. Although these approaches advocate agency and participation in resolving constraints that affect access to entitlements and capabilities, it also reflects the slow pace of the expansion of rural livelihoods and local economic development, and the persistence of structural inequality.

Inevitably, the state constitutes an essential role in the transformation of agriculture, livelihoods, and food-security strategies. First, the Constitution, and the White Paper on Agriculture, both articulate the responsibility of the state to facilitate achievement of basic capabilities. Secondly because of the redistributive concerns of assets and endowments, most specifically land,<sup>239</sup> and issues of social justice and equality, state intervention is unavoidable. These responsibilities constitute the state's role in addressing inequality; and facilitating the actualisation of rights, entitlements, and capabilities in a democratic South Africa. The challenge is finding a balance between codified rights and entitlements and maintaining a participatory and active citizenry imbued with agency and opportunity.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

This chapter served to explore the dynamics of the political economy of food in relation to food-security, livelihoods, and socio-economic and political dynamics specific to South Africa. Agriculture, existing as one of the primary sectors of the historical discussions concerning capitalism's development trajectory in South Africa, and the role of the state, manifests in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as a crucial basis for political rhetoric regarding rural livelihoods and development. Agrarian reform is linked to livelihoods discourse as a means for combating present inequalities and injustices inherited from the apartheid past and in order to establish a stable socio-economic future. However, discourse surrounding the agrarian question in post apartheid South Africa reveals contradictions deriving from historical dynamics that have resulted in gendered, generational and class differentiated rural populations. This extends to social dynamics involving consumption and production and the subjective values placed on these

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<sup>239</sup> Agrarian reform is usually discussed in tandem with land reform; however, there is very different rationale for each, as well as varying strategies, and underlying dynamics regarding rights, land and tenure. The land reform issue is an important topic in restructuring rural relations, rural development and redressing inequalities; however its complexity is beyond the scope of this research and discussion.

entitlement means. Further, these historical processes, and differentiated social relationships, influence perceptions of rights, capabilities, entitlements and livelihoods.

## Chapter 3

### Historical and Methodological Case Study Contextualisation

This chapter serves to further narrow the historical contextualisation of the case study region. This has been separated from the previous chapter on South Africa's broad history in order to then connect practically, and conceptually, the field work methodology to the specific locations of the case study. Secondly, the methodology is presented in detail, reflexively and technically, in order to provide a foundation for the analysis in chapter four. The methodological processes involved in this research assist to clarify the formulation of the topic, and the subsequent analysis, of gendered and youth perceptions of food-(in)security in relationship to livelihoods, entitlements, capabilities, and rights.

#### 3.1 History of the Case-Study Region

The Makhathini Flats are in the Northeast of Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa. The Makathini region has been on the receiving end of state led development ideology since the early 1900s. According to research by T.J. Bembridge, referenced by Biowatch South Africa, as early as 1902 the Makhathini floodplains were reserved for state development.<sup>240</sup> According to Derman and Poultney, citing the 1902-1904 Zululand Commission, the area was classified as government owned land known as 'Crown Land'.<sup>241</sup> This had implications for settlement patterns, land rights, labour and development issues.<sup>242</sup> In the 1930s, labour supply was negotiated between the Natal sugar industry and the mining industry of Johannesburg.<sup>243</sup> During the latter half of the century, following the coming to power of the National Party (NP), the area

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<sup>240</sup> Pschorn-Strauss, E. (2005). 'Bt Cotton in South Africa: the case of the Makhathini farmers'. *Seedling: Biodiversity, Rights, and Livelihoods*. Biowatch South Africa: 17. [www.grain.org/seedling/?id=330](http://www.grain.org/seedling/?id=330)

<sup>241</sup> Derman and Poultney, 1987: 553.

<sup>242</sup> Derman and Poultney, 1987: 554-555. These authors note that one of the most profound implications of declaring the area Crown land for the Ingwavuma/Umbombo areas was taxation. Crown land created a squatter dynamic between the local population and what was previously indigenous land. By 1918, the additional taxes set in place for occupying Crown land went to the Natal government. Derman and Poultney put forth that this revenue essentially paid for state sponsored infrastructure that primarily benefited whites. Infrastructural and service developments, including roads, schools, water, health service etc. were not extended to the populations on Crown land despite their payment of taxes. Further, the taxation system forced people into wage labour and migration.

<sup>243</sup> Pschorn-Strauss, 2005: 17.

was further disrupted by state interventions aimed at absorbing unemployed white surplus labour populations.<sup>244</sup> Other research on the region, concerning intent and interventions vis-à-vis private-public initiated rural development strategies, has been documented by Witt, Patel and Schnurr,<sup>245</sup> Mariam Mayet<sup>246</sup> and Derman and Poultney.<sup>247</sup> Through the creation of irrigation schemes<sup>248</sup> and the opening of the Pongolapoort Dam in 1974,<sup>249</sup> now the Jozini Dam, the region has been drastically impacted ecologically, socially, and economically. The intention of such projects was the promotion of cash crops, initially sugarcane,<sup>250</sup> and in the late 1970s cotton was introduced.<sup>251</sup>

The Pongolapoort Dam irrigation scheme was intended to settle white farmer families on the arable land of the Makhathini Flats. However, when this population failed to appear for settlement, alternative settlement schemes were devised. According to Derman and Poultney's research, alternative schemes envisioned settling smallholders on farms; however the plan also involved relocation and changes to the system of land tenure already in place.<sup>252</sup> The original intent of the dam had failed. The development ideology underlying its construction was guided by socio-economic structuring plans of the Nationalist Party devoid of acknowledgment of the existing socio-economic systems already engaged by local peoples. The dam effectively:

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<sup>244</sup> Pschorn-Strauss, 2005: 17.

<sup>245</sup> Witt, H, R. Patel, and M. Schnurr (2006). 'Can the Poor Help GM Crops? Technology, Representation and Cotton in the Makhathini Flats, South Africa'. *Review of African Political Economy*, 33(109).

<sup>246</sup> Mayet, M. (2007). 'The New Green Revolution in Africa. Trojan Horse for GMOs?' Paper presented at a workshop: Can Africa Feed Itself?—Poverty, Agriculture and Environment—challenges for Africa. Oslo, Norway, June 6-9, 2007.

<sup>247</sup> Derman and Poultney (1987).

<sup>248</sup> The Pongola Irrigation Scheme, and in the 1980s the Mjindi Irrigation Scheme and the Makhathini Irrigation Scheme. However Mackinnon (1996) presents a much longer history of irrigation plans for the area. In the 1930 chiefs could apply for small dam constructions for irrigation, and water access, purposes.

<sup>249</sup> Witt *et al*, 2006: 499.

<sup>250</sup> Pschorn-Strauss, 2005: 8. This research documents that as early as the 1930s, an agreement was established between the Natal sugar industry and the Johannesburg mining houses, which allocated certain amount of labour from the Makhathini region to the sugar industry. Additionally, the author states that the Jozini Dam was built to establish a steady water supply for primarily white sugarcane farmers. It should be noted that Witt *et al*. (2006: 499), state that the intent to settle white sugarcane farmers was an incomplete initiative due to 'the fall in international price of sugar...the inability to fill the Jozini Dam due to protracted negotiations with Swaziland, and high employment rates in urban areas'. For a surveyed history of the labour needs of the sugar plantations in Natal and Zululand see Mackinnon (1996). Mackinnon also observes that people from the Makhathini region had developed immunity to malaria and therefore their labour was sought by the sugar industry.

<sup>251</sup> The exact date for initial cotton cultivation in the region is uncertain and is documented differently by different research. Witt *et al* (2006), report that records demonstrated that white farmers were farming dryland cotton dating back to 1919 and this was in areas near to Ndumo. Meanwhile, Pschorn-Strauss (2005) portrays the introduction of cotton in the 1970s by the J. Clark Cotton Company.

<sup>252</sup> Derman and Poultney, 1987: 561.



marginalised agriculture and the remaining economic activities by advancing the threat of removal and adversely effecting floodplain agriculture which had evolved as an adaptation to the previous natural flood regime...insecurity of tenure militated against productivity and the change in flood regime increased the rate of crop destruction forcing people to alter their risk management strategies in agriculture and to plant in ecologically high risk areas.<sup>253</sup>

The region has also been an area of interest for researchers and governmental departments for many decades,<sup>254</sup> as the Pongola floodplains<sup>255</sup> encompass a dynamic ecosystem that is important for environmental, agricultural and socio-economic systems.<sup>256</sup> In 1988, Mr. A.P.E. Mkhwanzi, the Secretary of Economic Affairs for the KwaZulu Government framed it as such: ~~the~~ Ingwavuma/Ubombo region is of great scientific and ecological interest as well as holding many opportunities as a generator of revenue for the KwaZulu Government”.<sup>257</sup>

The initial research agendas were concerned primarily with the ecological impact of the construction of the Pongolapoort Dam on the Pongola floodplain. Derman and Poultney observed that the Pongolapoort Dam altered the Pongola River’s natural seasonal flood patterns. This alteration caused flooding that was, and continues to be, inappropriately timed for planting and harvesting cycles. Disruption to the natural flood regime irreversibly changed people’s sources of subsistence and livelihoods.<sup>258</sup> A symposium held by the Foundation for Research Development and the Institute for Natural Resources in 1988, acknowledged that ~~in~~ any region, socio-economic concerns are the prime reason for the generation of development and management plans”.<sup>259</sup> However, through disruption to agriculture and fishing, the dam scheme proved to disrupt livelihoods and sources of food-security for people residing within the region.

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<sup>253</sup> Derman and Poultney (1989). ‘The People—Origins and Brief Historic Overview’. In Walmsley R.D. and C.P.R. Roberts (eds). *Changing Patterns of Resource Use on the Pongola River Floodplain*. Occasional Report Series No 36, Ecosystem Programmes, Foundation for Research Development. Pretoria: CSIR: 18.

<sup>254</sup> Walmsley, R.D. (1989). ‘The Pongola Floodplain Research Programme: An Overview’. In Walmsley and Roberts (eds): Table 1: 9. Walmsley outlines the institutes and organisations that have contributed to the Pongola Floodplain Research Programme.

<sup>255</sup> The Pongola River naturally extends through the Lebombo Mountains, the Makhathini Flats and onwards to Mozambique. The Flats form the flood basin for the river. The natural flooding of the Flats creates a series of lakes, referred to as pans. For further environmental, ecological, and socio-political qualities of the area prior to the construction of the Jozini dam see Felgate (1982).

<sup>256</sup> Mkhwanazi, A.P.E. (1989). ‘Opening Address to Symposium’. In Walmsley and Roberts (eds): 3.

<sup>257</sup> Mkhwanazi, 1989: 5.

<sup>258</sup> Historically, the populations settled along the banks of the Pongola River depended entirely on the river and its resources for livelihoods and were not traditional cattle breeders. See Felgate (1982).

<sup>259</sup> Walmsley, 1989: 9.

The symposium's report also explicitly mentioned the lack of a sociological analysis within research conducted on the Pongola River Floodplain.<sup>260</sup> These development schemes affected local people's livelihood activities demonstrating state interventions that exacerbated people's engagement with certain entitlements. The existing social dynamics were ignored in lieu of what potentially promised a strategy to provide economic stability for a white settler population.

Most currently, the Makhathini region is internationally known for the conflicting reports of the success, or non-success, of genetically modified cotton and its impact on the livelihoods of small-scale farmers.<sup>261</sup> The current debates surrounding rural development, poverty alleviation and food-security, still exhibit tendencies of the influence exerted by dominant rhetoric concerned with economic growth and technological solutions. Often, as history demonstrates, this is at the expense of evaluating the socio-economic and political dynamics of local people.<sup>262</sup>

### 3.2 uMkhanyakude

The entirety of this research was based within the district municipality of uMkhanyakude in KwaZulu-Natal, concentrating within the northern region of the district and the areas of: Mboza, Jozini and Ndumu. The uMkhanyakude district has distinguishing qualities as it is geographically located in the furthest outpost of the KwaZulu-Natal province with its northern border meeting Mocambique. uMkhanyakude, in isiZulu, means 'seen from afar' named for the fever tree that abundantly shows itself in the region's landscape. However, the irony of the district's name, its location in the province and continued developmental deprivation, uMkhanyakude remains distant from government goals of rural development and 'A better life for all'. Similar to former reserves throughout South Africa, inhabitants of the region experience severe backlogs in service delivery, infrastructure and social services. The area is predominantly aligned with the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and 80 percent of the land in uMkhanyakude is controlled by Traditional Authorities and the municipality's District Management Area (DMA).<sup>263</sup> Under Thabo Mbeki's presidency, the area was labelled as home to the 'poorest of the poor' and recognised as one of the specially targeted rural development areas under the

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<sup>260</sup> Walmsley, 1989: 9.

<sup>261</sup> Pschorn-Strauss (2005). Pschorn-Strauss reports that GM cotton was introduced in 1998 to the Makhathini Flats.

<sup>262</sup> Witt, H. *Cotton: Still the 'Mother of Poverty'?* Unpublished. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal.

<sup>263</sup> uMkhanyakude District Municipality Integrated Development Plan. 2009/2010. The District Management Area includes conservation areas and wetlands.

Presidential Poverty Node Programme. In 2001, the area was amongst thirteen national municipalities incorporated into the Urban Renewal and Sustainable Rural Development Strategy.<sup>264</sup>

Mboza, a village within the uMhlabuyalingana municipality, is the location of the longest duration of this research, and is located on the Makhathini Flats along the Pongola River Floodplain. The uMhlabuyalingana municipality is led by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Over the past four years, there has been a noticeable increase in African National Congress (ANC) led government projects in the municipality, aimed at making institutions accessible. Institutions that are meant to facilitate peoples' opportunities and expand capabilities. Schools have been reconstructed and, as part of the government's Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) launched in 2009, the Mboza One Stop Development Centre (OSDC) was built. The services offered at the OSDC,<sup>265</sup> seek to compensate for a backlog in service delivery and provide access to a community left largely at the margins of government services.

Jozini, designated as one of the six areas of uMkhanyakude district municipality with a semi-town status, derives from Ijozi in isiZulu, meaning the 'place of spears'.<sup>266</sup> Jozini is also one of the five local municipalities constituting the uMkhanyakude district municipality. According to Jozini's municipality's Integrated Development Plan Review for 2008/2009, a main source of developmental problems in the area is attributable to land ownership. This introduces developmental challenges related to dynamics between state owned land and tribal land. Land ownership power dynamics possibly interact with available opportunities, perceived opportunities, and wanted opportunities for people in context of entitlements, capabilities and development. It also raises issues of political affiliation, as the ANC led government has ultimate say over national integrated development plans (IDPs) meanwhile the IFP has power of implementation in the area.

Ndumo is also designated as one of the six areas of the uMkhanyakude district, with a semi-town status. However, Jozini has thrived over the past few years and is considerably more

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<sup>264</sup> Department of Provincial and Local Government. 2007. *Expanding economic opportunity in the Presidential poverty nodes*. [www.dplg.gov.za](http://www.dplg.gov.za)

<sup>265</sup> Department of Social Development. The services include a clinic, Home Affairs Offices, labour offices, legal services, a crèche, women empowerment projects with the aim of promoting livelihoods, and an office for a HIV/Aids home-based care programme. [www.dsd.gov.za](http://www.dsd.gov.za)

<sup>266</sup> Jozini Local Municipality Integrated Development Plan Review 2008/2009.

developed as a central hub than Ndumo. Ndumo is mostly known to outsiders for the Ndumo Game Reserve, an internationally recognised Ramsar site.<sup>267</sup> Ndumo's local livelihood dynamics partly derive from issues relating to state initiated land conservation and establishment of protected ecological areas, which relocated, and displaced, local people from the land.<sup>268</sup>

The Ndumo nature reserve is the source for much recent controversy.<sup>269</sup> Over the past two years, neighbouring communities have increasingly occupied reserve land, using it for agriculture. Since 2008, land occupied by the community has increased to 14 percent of the reserve.<sup>270</sup> Environmentalists worry that this land includes extremely ecologically sensitive areas of the reserve. Further, the area also constitutes part of the Lubombo Ndumo-Tembe-Futi Transfrontier Conservation and Resource Area. This initiative was created between governments of South Africa, Mozambique and Swaziland. The reserve is the responsibility of the Department of Water and Environment Affairs. The provincial department's intended strategy includes community participation in conservation management. Additionally, the South African government views the land that constitutes part of the transfrontier initiative, including the Ndumo Game Reserve, as an opportunity for eco-tourism thereby facilitating socio-economic benefits for local communities.

### 3.3 Methodology

The framework of this research was guided by a methodology that placed importance on subjective interpretations where –food security requires explicit recognition of complexity and diversity, and that it necessarily privileges the subjective perceptions of the food insecure themselves”.<sup>271</sup> Further, indicative of post-modernist elements of a food-security paradigm, is through –preoccupation with local perceptions, knowledge and strategies, as well as the use of

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<sup>267</sup> The Ramsar Convention was held in Iran in 1971 establishing an international treaty to maintain and protect wetlands of international ecological importance. Ndumo game reserve was designated a Ramsar site on 21 January 1997. According to the Ramsar summary of Ndumo it is the largest floodplain system in South Africa. [www.ramsar.org](http://www.ramsar.org).

<sup>268</sup> uMkhanyakude District Municipality Integrated Development Plan 2009/2010.

<sup>269</sup> Groenewald, Y., 15 October 2010. ‘Ndumo reserve hit by invasion, crime’. *Mail and Guardian*. Groenewald reported that: ‘Ndumo was attacked by a mob at the end of last month, which destroyed a guard outpost and swing bridge close to the camp and threatened tourists and game rangers... the attack by the 70-strong mob is the latest crisis in the reserve since the wetland and birding area was hit by a land invasion by neighbouring communities two years ago, intended to ‘liberate’ it for agriculture.’ <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2010-10-15-ndumo-reserve-hit-by-invasion-crime>.

<sup>270</sup> Groenewald, Y. (2010).

<sup>271</sup> Maxwell, S. (1996). ‘Food Security: A Post-Modern Perspective’. *Food Policy*, 21(2): 156.

participatory research methods”.<sup>272</sup> Despite the documented advantages of participatory research methods it must be acknowledged that an authentic participatory rural appraisal approach (PRA)<sup>273</sup> is limited in this case due to the experience, training, and resources of the researcher. However, with that stated, the research partially engaged aspects of PRA methodology. The perspectives/data were compiled using ethnography, semi-structured interviews and focus groups. The research sought to build upon relationships that have previously been established in the region. Most specifically, the research methodology incorporated youth of Mboza and Ndumo who participate in a learnership partnership development programme.<sup>274</sup> Samples were compiled using a snow-ball technique and pre-identified demographic groups chosen by the youth researchers: primarily small-scale farmers, subsistence farmers, teachers, nurses, students, and non-student youth. The interviews and focus groups were conducted using semi-structured research questions and were facilitated primarily by the youth researchers. Semi-structured interviews allowed individuals to give their views in an open fashion while simultaneously providing the facilitator with a degree of control in maintaining focus. This also encouraged the interviewee to introduce his/her own ideas, not just in response to questions but in suggesting areas of inquiry to the researcher. Focus groups were guided by key questions used to facilitate discussion and dialogue.

Further indicative of a post-modern approach, is the notion of reflexivity. Research of this nature is interlaced with multiple dynamics and I must constantly take into consideration the impact of my presence and participation: “participation is about power relations. It is about much else, as well; but power relations are pervasive: they are always there, and they affect the quality of process and experience”.<sup>275</sup> Taking into the consideration the potential for power dynamics to alter the course of research, the following section explores further in detail how these dynamics redirected the process of this particular case study.

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<sup>272</sup> Maxwell, 1996: 161.

<sup>273</sup> See Chambers (1997).

<sup>274</sup> Learning Partnership: Ndumo and Mboza Youth and University of KwaZulu-Natal learners. This initiative facilitates youth from diverse backgrounds learning together. Since 2004, the programme has been conducted through the Economic History and Development Programme at UKZN by Dr Harald Witt.

<sup>275</sup> Chambers, 1997: 113.

### 3.3.1 Fieldwork Methodology and Experiences

The contexts of this case study are the village of Mboza, the peri-urban area of Ndumo, and the semi-urban town of Jozini, all oriented within the region of Makhathini, located in the Pongola floodplain of Northern KwaZulu-Natal. The methodology that informed the field work component of the research was particular to the process and required flexible amendments. The case study entailed a process that redefined itself multiple times leading to three stages of field research. The initial field research took place September 2007, was continued during November 7-12 2007 and concluded in May 2010.<sup>276</sup> The aim and methodology of the initial research altered considerably. I originally set out to engage a methodology that would employ participatory research tools and methods. The limitations of my own understanding and capacity to carry out such research were eventually made apparent. With that stated, I did initially attempt a process that was aligned with this method.

I began by consulting the social and political hierarchical positions of power, which are in place within the communities. In addition, the research intent was to build upon relationships that have previously been established in the region. The context was chosen due to my involvement in a separate programme;<sup>277</sup> which provided me with two years of experience in the area. This instigated an opportunity for observational and near ethnographic research. Observations and experiences during this time period became part of the process of defining a focus for the research.

The ideal framework for inquiry was premised on aspects of the participatory rural appraisal approach (PRA).<sup>278</sup> This umbrella term also includes other research approaches and methods that have evolved since the 1970s; including participatory action-reflection research. According to Chambers, ~~the~~ term participatory action-reflection research 'is used to encompass approaches and methods which have in various ways combined action, reflection, participation, and research'.<sup>279</sup> However, field work experiences demonstrated limitations; not necessarily of the research framework but perhaps of a novice researcher trying to engage a rigorous and

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<sup>276</sup> I will address and discuss the lapse in research time periods as well as the limitations of such discontinuity in section 3.3.2: Limitations and Challenges of Fieldwork.

<sup>277</sup> The learnership programme, a partnership between Mboza, Ndumo and UKZN youth mentioned previously.

<sup>278</sup> Chambers, 1997: 106.

<sup>279</sup> Chambers, 1997: 106.

principled approach. The framework involves methods and approaches that Chambers states have “evolved so fast that no final description can serve”.<sup>280</sup> The action-reflection aspect of the participatory paradigm has a strong emphasis on critical self-reflection within the process. It is this concept that traversed my research throughout the process. The following is what Chambers states as the ‘significant contribution’ of this approach to PRA and terms the ‘normative ideas’:

- (1) that professionals should reflect critically on their concepts, values, behaviour and methods;
- (2) that they should learn through engagement and committed action;
- (3) that they have roles as convenors, catalysts and facilitators;
- (4) that the weak and marginalized can and should be empowered; and
- (5) that poor people can and should do much of their own investigation, analysis and planning<sup>281</sup>

Besides critical self-reflection, the other main component of this research paradigm that I could feasibly engage was incorporation of youth members of the learnership programme of the communities of Mboza and Ndumo. These youth were my compass, I relied on their advice and opinions as to the best way to engage community members, who those individuals should be, and what appropriate protocol was necessary. I wanted to engage a collaborative process and consult the youth members regarding the research to be conducted in their respective areas.

The goal was to have the research process proceed that was methodologically as participatory and inclusive as possible; whereby the methodology becomes the research and the research becomes the methodology: “Instead of seeing ‘method’ as a relatively insignificant matter, the well-known problems in which can be sorted out after the important questions of theory have been settled” and where the ‘how’ and ‘what’ are indissolubly interconnected and that the shape and nature of the ‘what’ will be a product of the ‘how’ of its investigation”.<sup>282</sup> This aspect of the method proved difficult and lends to my analysis of the limitations of this research, which will be addressed within the relevant discussion below. However, the methodology did redirect the research, and the process gradually guided me towards a different topic altogether; however, as alluded to previously, I found the original intended methodology problematic to maintain and continue. Although it was possible to carry on with some aspects of the

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<sup>280</sup> Chambers, 1997: 104.

<sup>281</sup> Chambers, 1997:109.

<sup>282</sup> Stanley, L. (1990). ‘Feminist Praxis and the Academic Mode of Production’. *Feminist Praxis: Research, Theory and Epistemology in Feminist Sociology*. London: Routledge: 15.

methodology, specifically concerning engagement of youth research assistants. However, this too had some challenges.<sup>283</sup>

The establishment of the initial research focus was intended to be derived by consulting small-scale farmers willing to participate in the research. This was aligned with an aspect of the participatory framework where “research is ideally conceptualised and planned jointly by the researcher and those to be researched”.<sup>284</sup> This was carried out by meeting with the chairperson of the Ubongwa farmers association, the umbrella organisation for farmers’ associations, of the area. The original intent was to express my interest in documenting the concerns of the farmers without imposing a preconceived topic and agenda. In this manner, the chairperson would consult the various heads of the other farmers associations, gain permission for the research and then proceed with consultation to determine a topic. However, it became evident that this process would take a considerable amount of time, something that was beyond my foreseeable capacity, in terms of time and resources. In approaching the topic in this manner, the hope was to establish a research focus useful to the community. Additionally, acting within the principles of participatory methodology, the research is “guided by locally constituted needs and because the subjects define the research agenda, there is much greater potential for some meaningful change to occur for those involved”.<sup>285</sup> This is not necessarily meant to imply change at an institutional, political, or economic level but perhaps the process itself can be a form of empowerment.<sup>286</sup> Therefore, maintaining that the research is merely a documentation process of experiences and concerns and is incapable of affecting aspects of livelihoods that are beyond the capabilities of the research; in other words establishing markets, improving market accessibility, accelerating service deliveries, irrigation, and so forth.

This original approach also proved problematic as I found some aspects of the methodology conflicting in terms of interactions and engagements with what seemed to be a male dominated chain of communication. This led to reconceptualising the approach. I felt that perhaps the voices of women would be obscured by my engagement with the traditional and

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<sup>283</sup> Explored further in section 3.3.2 Limitations and Challenges of Fieldwork.

<sup>284</sup> Wolf, D. (1996). ‘Situating Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork’. In Wolf, D. (ed). *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*. United States: Westview Press Inc.: 26.

<sup>285</sup> Wolf, 1996: 27.

<sup>286</sup> Wolf, 1996: 26.



patriarchal chain of protocol in this rural context. I thought it important to seek out engagement with women farmers; however this was not intended to be at the exclusion of male perspectives. I decided that documenting the concerns of small-scale women farmers, both commercial and subsistence oriented, in conjunction, and comparison, with male farmers would produce information with the potential to highlight the gendered approaches to livelihoods and food-(in)security. Two of the learnership youth members assisted me in meeting with four female small-scale cotton farmers, one woman farmer who farmed solely for subsistence, and one male small-scale cotton farmer. The interviewees were selected by the youth members and were influenced by their social and familial connections/relationships. The interviews were semi-structured and the youth members predominantly facilitated the course of the interviews; however translations were provided to me during the course of the interview so that I could ask questions as well. Based upon these interviews and the ways in which they were conducted, I began to think of an alternative course of action as I felt the interviews were awkward, for myself and the farmers being interviewed. Furthermore, cotton research has been a repetitive area of inquiry in the area, and I wished to engage with a demographic that had not been exhausted by outsiders conducting research.

The second research period involved three separate group discussions, with three different demographic groups: teachers, nurses and students, in the village of Mboza. The focuses of these discussions were aimed at unpacking perceptions of food-(in)security. This reformulation led to yet another redefinition of the topic; which ultimately became the topic of this study: gendered and youth perceptions of food-(in)security in relationship to livelihoods, entitlements, capabilities, and rights. This interest would not have been reached without going through the trials and challenges of the originally intended methodological process. The different approach, and altered selection of demographics engaged, is attributed to the perceived power dynamics that I reflected on and saw emerging during interviews with women farmers. This dynamic derived from my social status and included my reflection on the disjuncture caused by my inability to engage in dialogue due to differences in language. This positioned my presence as the unknown ‘other’ observing the dialogue. The topic itself also derived from my experiences in the initial research phases. The emergence of an important issue began to take shape through manifest comments relating to how access and food-(in)security affected individuals’ perceptions of livelihoods, choices, and aspirations. Inquiry into how this was

perceived in context of a person's daily lived life and other life pursuits led to restating the research topic. Hence, the research began to take shape to document perspectives regarding the ways food-security concerns related to person's entitlements, capabilities, rights and aspired livelihoods.

### **3.3.2 Limitations and Challenges of Fieldwork**

The preceding section was a brief illustration of the intended methodology and area of inquiry. However, experiences and dynamics encountered in the field of research instigated constant re-evaluation. This in turn was a reflection on not only the direction of the research but also my position as a researcher and the impact on the process.

The central importance of treating the researcher him-or herself as an active social agent who struggles to understand social processes through entering the life-worlds of local actors who, in turn, actively shape the researcher's own fieldwork strategies, thus moulding the contours and outcomes of the research process itself.<sup>287</sup>

Outlining the chain of events that led to the reformulation of the research is an important aspect of this research as it demonstrates the conflicts and challenges that this research instigated for me personally. To an extent the conflict arises from my own self evaluation and self reflection within the process. Based upon the initial field work phase I had come to a few conclusions.

Firstly, an entirely participatory method was beyond the capacity of my research. Secondly, previous research in the area had extensively focused on agriculture and cotton farming. Cotton farmers, specifically, were a demographic that appeared weary of engaging more redundant questions by an 'outside' researcher. However, changing the focus to listen to the concerns of women cotton and subsistence farmers did not change the power dynamic that I sensed would render faulty and inaccurate research. Again, referring to literature on women researchers' views from the field, these feelings and reflections on the fieldwork process were not unique to my experience. Daphne Patai recounted her experiences from her research

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<sup>287</sup> Annecke, W. (1992). *One Man One Megawatt One Woman One Candle: Woman, Gender and Energy in South Africa with a Focus on Research*. PhD Thesis. Durban: University of Natal: Fn 136 citing Long and Long.

conducted in Brazil in the 1980s. She expressed “to be painfully aware that although gender united her with her subjects, race and class divided them”.<sup>288</sup> The acknowledgment of these dynamics, based upon my previous interviews and the perceived power dynamics that affected interactions and discussions, reshaped my initial research focus. Thirdly, the integration of youth researchers into the process created a situation whereby the process was affected by multiple variables. These variables related to the personal schedules of the youth researchers, which impacted to a degree time commitment; this further contributed to discontinuity in research durations. Additionally, many of the research assistants had become accustomed to standards that accompanied engagement in previous researchers’ work in the area. This included a high standard of food and beverage provisions, which to an extent I felt obliged to match despite a very constrained budget. Another variable was the degree of dependence that was placed upon these assistants. Issues of social and political protocol were left for the youth researchers to define and then to direct me accordingly. However, within the group there were differing views of what these protocols entailed. Often I was left in a situation of uncertainty trying to ascertain whose advice I should heed. These limitations and challenges presented themselves during the initial phase of the research, when I stayed in Mboza for a month. It was these initial experiences in the ‘field’ that redirected this research.

The research excursion in November of 2007 further redefined the focus. The focus groups served to explore the topic of food-(in)security and new topics and ideas were presented that provoked me to further redefine the case study. The following year was used to regroup as the field research experiences had given me much to reflect on and to a degree the reflexivity of the research caused quite a crisis of doubt. In agreement with the notion that the ‘intellectual training’ of an individual is impacted and constrained by certain positions in society, I felt that entering the contexts of this research instigated many concerns on my behalf and my place in this context.

Knowledge begins with the self and interaction with others. The dynamics of social difference (race/ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality) significantly implicate how development experts and practitioners come to produce, validate and use ‘knowledge’ about marginalized communities.<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> Wolf, 1996: 8.

<sup>289</sup> Elabor-Idemudia, 2002: 231.

I was constantly compelled to take into consideration the ways in which information was obtained, my influence on the types of information and perspectives that were documented, and what the academic interpretation of documented perceptions may mean. The time gaps in research ultimately limited continuity, and provided challenges in maintaining relationships of trust and reliability within the context. Ultimately, these challenges, limitations, and dilemmas become part of the process and that is why I have felt it a necessary component to explore in this chapter.

The exploratory approach in this research, combined with the attempt at participatory principles, created a situation whereby the focus of the research shifted several times. During another fieldwork phase, when engaging women farmers, I could not avoid reflecting that the process and focus were wrong. I increasingly felt uncomfortable inquiring into the motivating factors that led woman to farm for a livelihood. The ‘why’ was clear, and asking ‘why’ felt insulting. Another comment during the course of my time in the field also impacted how I thought about the ‘what’ of this research. The way I explored the topic changed due to my interactions and experiences in the contexts. One interview with a woman subsistence farmer made a lasting impression. The woman simply told me “we are hungry, my husband no work, me no work, besides agriculture there is no other thing that can help me”.<sup>290</sup> During another conversation, when discussing individuals’ choices of which crops to farm, a community member said “people just make a decision to do something in order to live”.<sup>291</sup> It was these communicated perspectives, in addition to those cited above, combined with reflexivity of the process that guided the redirection of this research.

With hesitancy I admit that this research focus was shaped by dynamics not of my own choosing. I reluctantly found myself focusing on a gendered analysis. Herein lies the contradiction of empirical research. As researchers we are drawn to explore what seems most foreign and unknown in a quest for expanding our own conceptual understandings of numerous contexts and lived realities of this world while simultaneously avoiding the objectifying ‘othering’ stance of social research.

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<sup>290</sup> Interview, Subsistence Farmer. 29 September 2007.

<sup>291</sup> Personal conversation with member of the community, 26 September 2009.

Reflection on the research process instigates dilemmas regarding interpretations of others lived experience and the ways in which the researcher receives and presents this information. However, as demonstrated by my research into methodological-context dilemmas, this was not unique to my experience. During the 1980s, Peggy Golde,<sup>292</sup> as presented in *Situating Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*, observed “that although white females may have secondary status because of gender, they acquire authority and privilege through race, class, and Western culture”.<sup>293</sup>

My own personal conflict arises over the concept of gender. While academic research laments on either the need to be: women-centred; or gendered discourse stating that social reality cannot be understood without exploring binary oppositions that explain social dynamics and relationships; or the current feminist‘ stance that ‘woman‘ must be reclaimed from the conflated category of gender (a conceptual research debate in of itself) I found myself wondering where I stood. While I thought of the discourse surrounding food-(in)security, it was impossible to ignore the consideration of gendered differences that may arise regarding access to entitlements, and achieved capabilities, and the interaction with food-(in)security and livelihoods. However, I wanted to explore gendered perceptions without reducing the research to exploration of a binary opposition between men and women. In essence, I was attempting to capture the expressed meanings that individuals attached to food-security and its relation to other subjectively defined life aspirations, goals and pursuits. These perceptions inevitably are subject to external influences relating to a history of socio-economic and political differentiation and social stratification. Further, assessing inferred perceptions of ‘quality of life‘ and ‘well-being‘ raises numerous theoretical issues that proved to be far beyond the means of this current research. In this manner, meaning is difficult to conceptualise as issues of relational subjectivity, and philosophical conceptions, may require more rigorous theory.

Differences appear in many aspects of our daily existences when trying to ascertain meaning, relativity and understanding. Discussion and dialogue provides a means for the researcher to establish meaning; however the researcher her/himself injects another path of binary oppositions: the researcher and the researched. This opposition can be further complicated

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<sup>292</sup> Golde, P. (1970). *Women in the Field: Anthropological Experiences*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

<sup>293</sup> Wolf, 1996: 8.

by the existence of various other social categories that distinguish the researcher from the context, and population, within which the research is conducted. I found myself confronted with multiple outsider characteristics vis-à-vis the contexts of this research; that is as a white middle-class foreigner unable to speak isiZulu. Additionally, I found my own gender a paradox in these contexts as my own identity as a white woman, combined with foreigner status, allotted me privileges of engagement with traditional structures and social circumstances not normally engaged by women.

These multiple forms of ‘outsiderness’ impacted the ways in which I conceptualised executing the research as it felt that ‘othering’ was unavoidable; both by myself as well as by the participants in the research interviews and focus groups. However, I sought to understand how the contrast of differences could provide for relational meaning which potentially could provide a platform to give structure and definition to my research experiences. Within these categories of opposition I tried to acknowledge that there exists no neutrality and a dominant side prevails informing the subtext of relations of power. And it was this dynamic that weighed heavily within my reflection phases of the process. To consider that differences need not lead to a process of othering was an important lesson for me to embrace. Where the ‘politics of difference’ rather than ‘politics of othering’ can inform and further enhance the research process as well as the analysis.<sup>294</sup>

### **3.3.3 Data Sources and Collection Methods**

Qualitative methods were chosen for purposes of this research as the main aim of this research was to understand localised perspectives regarding food-(in)security, rights, and development. Social realities, and all the nuances and complexities that are embedded in perceptions, is given space for expression within a qualitative approach. Further, primary and secondary data sources were engaged to provide subtext to the information derived from participants’ expressions of their own lived experiences and perceptions. Primary data used in this instance were national documents on agriculture and food-security. Additionally, the Constitution of South Africa informs aspects of the analysis regarding human rights, and the rights-based approach to development. Further, speeches by provincial and national ministers

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<sup>294</sup> Elabor-Idemudia, 2002: 229.

were used to explore the political rhetoric regarding rural development and agriculture. This allowed for comparative analysis between what political rhetoric defined as development and what the participants in this research defined as their own hopes, aspirations, and freedoms; all of which relate to perceptions of development.

### 3.3.4 Focus Groups

Focus groups, exploratory in nature, were utilised for their ability to provoke discussion, and create a more dynamic space for exploring a topic. The focus groups were facilitated with the assistance of the youth learnership partners. Also in these instances, the researcher engaged as a facilitator, which was intended to divert the power to define the concepts from the position of the researcher to that of the participants.

The focus groups were used to explore how different demographics in the research contexts defined food-security, food-(in)security, capabilities, rights and freedom. In addition, the focus groups discussed what challenges and limitations, relating to the topic, confronted people in their ‘community’. In Mboza, five focus groups were held spanning time and demographics.

In 2007, three focus groups were held with teachers, nurses,<sup>295</sup> and students. These discussions functioned as pilot focus groups. The topics that emanated from these discussions, and the points of view expressed, were then used to refine the topic and its related questions. This process also contributed to refining the questions for the individual semi-structured interviews.

In 2010, three focus groups were held in Mboza. Two focus group discussions occurred with high-school learners. The learners were chosen by a learnership research assistant who also teaches arts and culture in the local high-school. A total of sixteen learners participated in the focus group discussions; twelve were males and four were females. One discussion took place at

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<sup>295</sup> The focus groups were inclusive of teachers and nurses who wanted to participate; however, based on the questionnaires filled out by each respective participant the age of participants was noted. It turned out that all but one nurse and one teacher fell into the ‘youth’ category as defined by *The National Youth Commission Act of 1996*. This Act defined ‘youth’ as all persons between the ages 14-35.

Esiphondweni High-School and the other took place at the Mboza Village Project.<sup>296</sup> An additional focus group was held with older youth who worked as home-based care workers in a programme housed within the Mboza One Stop Development Centre (OSDC). The focus group that took place at the Mboza OSDC consisted of female community care interns. These women, between twenty-five and thirty years old, work as home-based care interns.

In Ndumo, one focus group discussion was carried out at the Ndumo Community Centre.<sup>297</sup> This focus group consisted of matric students taking part in the 2008 learnership programme. This group's participation in the learnership programme was based upon their standings within their high-school and considered the top students of their class. This group consisted of six male students and three female students. The focus group consisted of a combination of mini-group discussions, during which questions were asked and the group would discuss amongst themselves. The groups then reported back to the larger group for discussion. Further, a questionnaire was provided for elaborated discussion answers and to further discussion.

In Jozini, the student focus group participants had access to an upgraded educational infrastructure in comparison to students in Mboza and Ndumo. The Snethezekile Combined (primary and high-school) in Makhonyeni provides facilities, such as classroom computers with internet, electricity, running water, and a two story brick building housing approximately three thousand students.<sup>298</sup> Interestingly, many students involved in the Jozini based focus groups were originally from Mboza, and other nearby areas, however they were attending Snethezekile Combined in order to access better learning facilities. The first focus group consisted of students who lived in hostel like living conditions, living amongst other young students while their

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<sup>296</sup> The Mboza Village Project was established in 1985 and was initiated by a development committee consisting of sixty-three women. The development committee, originating in 1978, was democratically elected from the community. In 1982 a skills training programme was started and in 1983 a community hall was built to house a learning centre. Skills training included sewing, electrical repair, construction, cement and block making, and agriculture. From 1978-88, Community Organisation for Research and Development (CORD- a University of Natal programme) assisted in financial management of this project. The late 1980s to 1994, the programme was challenged politically. Lack of political support due to changes in local authority and chiefs presented problems for the Mboza Village Project. Information provided in presentation to the Learnership Programme, in April 2006, by Zeph Nyathi, secretary of the 1978 Mboza development committee.

<sup>297</sup> Established by the P.E.A.C.E Foundation in 1994 with objective to facilitate a self-sustaining multi-purpose community centre. [www.peacefoundation.org.za/index.html](http://www.peacefoundation.org.za/index.html)

<sup>298</sup> Students attending Snethezekile Combined also stated there was a food programme for all learners. Additionally, these students informed me that there are no school fees, stationary is provided and the Department of Health provides free uniforms.



families resided at their respective homesteads. The participants of one focus group were all female students with the exception of one male student. This first focus group discussion occurred off school grounds. The student assisting in the research was a twenty-five year old woman attending matric at the Snethezekile Combined High-School. This research assistant selected participants that were geographically convenient and who she knew socially. The discussion took place outside in the courtyard of their student accommodation. This focus group took place in an informal atmosphere and the discussion generally was more open and relaxed in nature. The second focus group was selected by a teacher at the high-school. This discussion took place within the principal's office at the Snethezekile Combined School with a teacher present and this may have affected the openness of discussion.

### **3.3.5 Semi-structured Interviews**

Semi-structured interviews were used in this research to collect data. Semi-structured interviews provided a means to explore the topic further, and engage with follow up questions. These interviews used open-ended questions which allowed for participants to express individual perceptions at length. These interviews were used in this research to further explore topics and issues that arose during the initial interviews and pilot focus group discussions. However, the in-depth interviews were not with the same participants of either the pilot focus groups or the final focus groups.

In Mboza, in 2007, a series of interviews were conducted with small-scale and subsistence farmers. These were facilitated with the assistance of youth in the learnership programme. In Ndumo, interviews were also conducted by a male research assistant from the learnership programme. His selection of participants was based on capturing a range of perspectives according to age, gender, education levels, and occupations. His interviews consisted of one female high-school learner, one unemployed male youth, and one male educator and two female educators.

### **3.3.6 Data Analysis**

In order for the participants to express themselves more comfortably, semi-structured interviews were conducted in isiZulu. With the authorisation of participants, the interviews were recorded. These recordings were then transcribed and translated from isiZulu to English. The focus groups were conducted mostly in English; however were still tape recorded for accuracy and for instances that did require translation from isiZulu.

The research relied on qualitative analysis of the documented perspectives, assessment of policy analysis, and application of theoretical frameworks on food-security, livelihoods, capabilities, rights and development. The data from the semi-structured interviews and the focus groups were analysed qualitatively using thematic analysis. Themes that arose during the course of discussions are identified, explored and discussed in context of perceptions of food-security used conceptually as a vehicle to explore other subjectively expressed aspirations relating to freedoms, rights, and development.

### **3.3.7 Ethical Considerations**

This research project communicated with participants that engagement was based on anonymity. Participants were informed that any information documented from interviews and focus groups would be compiled, analysed and presented without the use of names. It was conveyed that participation was voluntary and that the participant could choose not to answer any posed questions that he/she wished not to engage and that he/she could choose to end participation in the interview/focus group at any time. Informed consent forms were provided for all respondents. The informed consent forms were translated into isiZulu and notified the participants about the purpose of the study, how the information obtained would be made available to them, as well as contact details. The informed consent form also ensured confidentiality, anonymity and privacy. In addition, this research was granted ethical clearance from the Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

This chapter presented a brief historical contextualisation of the specific case study region. This was presented in anticipation of the discussion on the methodological process

involved in the field research and as it related to contextual dynamics. Socially speaking, people respond to contextual dynamics that have been historically shaped and impacted by socio-economic and political structures, and processes, of power dynamics. My discussion draws on the experiences of, and the reflections on, the research process and dynamics within specific social contexts. These dynamics also manifest when conducting research and thus why reflection on my positionality within the process, and the contexts, of this research was explored in this chapter. This chapter raised the challenges of this research and presented the ways in which challenges were negotiated as well as acknowledging the limitations of the research. This chapter served to present these processes and dynamics involved in field research in order to explore conceptualisation of this research topic.

## Chapter 4 Analysis

### **Rural Gendered Youth Perceptions: Food-Security in Relation to Capabilities, Rights and Freedom**

*We don't want to live here....*

--Young girl from Ndumo, 2007

*I implore you to forget about migrating to the urban areas. In the first place these are areas of poverty and are overcrowded. There are no jobs.*

---2007 Minister for Agriculture and Land Affairs, Lulama Xingwana  
2007 Youth Summit in Agrarian and Land Affairs:  
‘Agriculture—A thousand opportunities’

*The purpose of life is to believe, to hope and to strive*

--Indira Ghandi

This analysis applies Sen's capabilities approach as a tool for assessing to what degree, and in what ways, rights and freedoms are perceived by rural youth in the research areas. Perceptions of food-security and rights are applied within a capabilities approach, using subjective perspectives of the value placed on capabilities and entitlements. Hence, an evaluation of the ways in which food-security factors within stated and perceived needs, entitlements and rights, fulfilment of which establishes basic and fundamental capabilities for human functioning. This allows for an exploration of the implications that the perceptions of rights and freedoms have on food-security strategies, rural livelihoods and development.

Amongst young people of uMkhanyakude, there were differences in perceptions according to place, age, gender, and class. However, the majority of perceptions were similar in the value assigned to capabilities and rights. There were slight differences in access to, and experiences of, varying gradations of development, in terms of infrastructure, social services and basic service delivery. Differences manifested most latently through expressions regarding aspirations and opportunities.

This analysis thematically presents perceptions. This information is discussed regarding the general patterns that emerged from all three research contexts. In addition, differentiation, according to age, gender, education levels, and livelihoods, is discussed in context of capabilities, rights and freedoms. It is observed that history has affected the construction of valued capabilities in relation to rights. In addition to the influences of historical socio-political and economic dynamics, contemporary ideology also impacts what individuals understand and value in relation to capabilities, entitlements, rights and freedoms.

#### **4.1 Capabilities and Entitlements: in context of youth perceptions on rights and freedoms**

What are needs, what are rights and freedoms?<sup>299</sup> Asking research participants exactly these questions presented the most direct approach and prompted discussion that explored multidimensional issues, and the existing conditions, in each context. Sen refers to this as positional objectivity within an ‘evaluative space’.<sup>300</sup> Sen’s evaluative space is in relation to capabilities. However, he is able to argue that ‘positional objectivity’ allows for exploration of social dynamics and to contextualise the way meaning is shaped as part of larger social contexts. These views become part of an indicator of the valuation of capabilities of a given society. Further, it is the space where meaning construction occurs, that underlines valued capabilities and as they relate to what an individual is actually doing/being, what she/he wants to do, and the real opportunities for those aspired achievements. According to Sen’s evaluative approach, capabilities can be assessed –either on the realised functionings (what a person is actually able to do) or on the capability set of alternatives she (sic) has (her real opportunities).’<sup>301</sup> In this view, freedom of choice, or the ability to have a set of options from which to choose, is dependent on achieved capability sets. This research found that expressed needs revealed attitudes and perspectives concerning the formation of values relating to capabilities, rights and freedoms. These perspectives demonstrated elements of agency and well-being achievement. In addition, these perspectives illustrated youth attitudes towards both individual initiative, collective effort and the role of the state.

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<sup>299</sup> See Annexure A,B,C for outline of focus group discussion questions

<sup>300</sup> Sen, A., 1993. ‘Positional Objectivity’. *Philosophy and Public Affairs*. Sen’s theory on positional objectivity highlights the ways in which value and meaning are assigned within an ‘evaluative space’, which is shaped by social positions and includes power dynamics.

<sup>301</sup> Sen, 1999: 75.

#### 4.1.2 Rights, Capabilities and Entitlements

This research demonstrated that rights, capabilities and entitlements are not easily accessed through subjective perceptions. However, the notion that meaning is shaped as part of larger social contexts prompts the necessity to take into consideration dynamics involving social constructions of meaning. Inevitably, positional objectivity is impacted by place race, class, gender and age. The interaction of these dynamics make it difficult to discover the meaning of a concept in general; a true value. Or in other words, it is difficult to ascertain a person's subjectively defined true interest and what is valued in life, how this is perceived and then articulated, and to what extent this reflects a normative ideal that is socially constructed. This is the conceptual confrontation that rights and freedoms encounter, particularly when assessing capabilities, entitlements and development in relation to codified rights.

Sen's firm support in leaving the basic capabilities set undefined can cause pragmatic application. However, in context of this research, this flexibility is useful to present perceptions of capabilities and entitlements and explore the dynamics that have shaped those perceptions. The vast majority of research participants recognised capabilities as needs and rights. Most participants listed needs, aligning with second generation constitutional rights, such as: housing, water, electricity, medicine/healthcare, food and education. In this manner, young people defined their own capabilities in relation to second generation rights found in the Constitution. Although most participants did not distinguish clearly between civil rights and human rights, there seemingly was general belief that the state has a moral responsibility to ensure that basic needs are fulfilled.

Nussbaum asserts that logic exists within the capabilities approach and that in order to establish "certain core areas of human functioning" that a society based on notions of justice necessitates "a public political arrangement" and "that it deliver to citizens a certain basic level of capability".<sup>302</sup> This theory is underlined by ethical political principles where fulfilment of basic needs is foundational and allows for people to live a life of worth, with dignity. A life that is "worthy of a human being".<sup>303</sup> Additionally, it is emphasised that the state must play a role in

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<sup>302</sup> Nussbaum, 2000: 71.

<sup>303</sup> Nussbaum, 2000: 73. Nussbaum articulates this with a comparison to what Marx termed as "truly human functioning" in his 1844 Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts.

facilitating the fulfilment of such basic capabilities. This corresponds with the views of participants on the role of the state and their own well-being:

–government should do development and be responsible, a person has the right to live well”<sup>304</sup>

–government should make sure that my needs are satisfied”<sup>305</sup>

–the government is the one to resolve our problems so we can be free to live a good life”<sup>306</sup>

The majority of focus group participants appreciated that food is also a basic need and seemingly recognised that many other needs exist in the Constitution as a right. Many expressed that it was the responsibility of the state to ensure basic needs for people who were unable to meet those needs on their own. This perspective of food-security was expressed when it came to those in ‘desperate need’, and most learners agreed that orphans and ‘families with no fathers’ needed help from the government. In this sense, it was perceived that some individuals within their context were eligible to make claims for state assistance. In other words, those most ‘needy’ were viewed as deserving of transfer entitlements through state assistance. However, it was also acknowledged that individuals, and families, are also responsible for providing food-security for themselves and their households. Most often this was evident in discussion surrounding family garden plots that allowed access for themselves and their family to vegetables, mealies and cabbage. Another solution presented for achieving food-security at a household, and individual level, was to purchase from the shops.

While the majority of focus-group participants acknowledged the difference between needs<sup>307</sup> and wants,<sup>308</sup> money often spanned categories. This included references to money as a need, and a right, as well as an aspiration. Although discussion made it clear there was a perceptible difference between these categories, the means to live a life aspired to often figured

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<sup>304</sup> Jozini focus group discussion with high-school students.

<sup>305</sup> Focus group with high-school students held at Espihodweni Highschool and Mboza Village Project, April 27-30, 2010.

<sup>306</sup> Focus group with high-school students held at Espihodweni Highschool and Mboza Village Project, April 27-30, 2010.

<sup>307</sup> Most stated needs were money, food, water, clothes, shelter/housing, and education/schools. Medicine and family were also frequently referenced as needs.

<sup>308</sup> Most stated wants were cars, televisions, radios, cell phones and computers. Relationships were also stated as wants regarding friends, girlfriends, boyfriends, husbands and wives. Some participants overlapped wants with aspirations and expressed the want to start a business or a shop. Although, most participants voiced aspired careers in context of goals, some articulated these as wants as well as needs.

into descriptions of needs. This may be attributable to a language use issue. During discussion some of these distinctions were made clearer however when writing answers to focus group questions, participants would use phrases beginning with I need to describe all three categories:

→need money so that I can live good”<sup>309</sup>

→need money so I can go to school”<sup>310</sup>

→need money the most because in current times life does not go well without it”<sup>311</sup>

→need money to live a life that makes me happy—a better life”<sup>312</sup>

However, most often money was linked to conceptions of livelihoods, necessary employment, and job aspirations that would contribute to the ability to live a life of value. When asked whether this goal was obtainable where they live, many participants reflected that employment, a job, was associated with urban centres. Although a few male participants expressed entrepreneurial aspirations, within their respective rural contexts, that related to establishing small businesses and shops. Most interestingly, one young male learner was the sole participant who expressed agriculture as a means to rural development.<sup>313</sup> He viewed that agriculture was a business opportunity for the area and thought more young people should be shown that farming could become a job. He also expressed that it was not the government’s responsibility to feed people. For him, education was the prioritised right and capability that demanded government’s facilitation: ~~the~~ government’s duty is to provide education and then with education we must use it to feed ourselves”. He further commented on the benefits of living in rural areas, where in his view you can survive despite lack of money: →hate Durban, if you have no money you have nothing. You can’t do anything. It’s not like here where you can at least grow food to survive. I went to Durban and there are no jobs. Even people who are educated don’t have jobs. What does that mean for me and everyone else?”<sup>314</sup> This view was unique in contrast to most of the other student participants who saw urban employment as a core aspiration. It also demonstrated that

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<sup>309</sup> Focus group held at Mboza’s Espihodweni Highschool with high-school students, April 27- 30, 2010.

<sup>310</sup> Jozini focus group discussion with high-school students.

<sup>311</sup> Focus group held at Mboza Village Project.

<sup>312</sup> Focus groups with care workers held at Mboza One Stop Development Centre, April 27- 30, 2010.

<sup>313</sup> Jozini focus group, and subsequent interview, with male high-school student participant. April 27-30, 2010.

<sup>314</sup> Focus group held in Jozini April 27, 2010. This participant was originally from Mboza however, at the time of the focus group, was living at the student hostel in Jozini.



his experiences in an urban setting had affected his perception of agriculture in context of rural livelihood opportunities. Further, the contrast between this stance on agriculture and women's views of farming were also revealing. Frequently women framed the production of food quite differently. Farming, or growing food, was framed as functional or a necessary means for daily survival by many of the female participants.

Food was stated by most participants within descriptions of needs; however when linking needs with rights, opinions of responsibility for fulfilling such rights varied. Responsibility for food-security, or preventing 'hunger', changed according to the ways in which rights were discussed. Often it was stated that lack of employment opportunities was the primary challenge. It was expressed that this challenge prevented access and individual's ability to fulfil this responsibility. However, it was also expressed that to an extent individuals must be responsible for food-security concerns within households. It was generally voiced that it was the government's responsibility to create jobs and that food parcels, school food programmes, and grants were also necessary. Further, when exploring the concept of human rights, food was also included, and within a human rights discussion most agreed that it was the state's responsibility to ensure and guarantee human rights; and this included the right to food.

#### **4.1.3 Human Rights and Freedom**

When exploring the concept of human rights, food was also included, and within a human rights discussion most agreed that it was the state's responsibility to ensure or guarantee human rights; and this included the provision of food. When discussing human rights, most learners stated that it was the government's responsibility to guarantee human rights. Human rights were referred to as 'things we must do that protect humans',<sup>315</sup> 'things that are important for people who live in a world',<sup>316</sup> 'human rights are the ways that guide every individual to be free in the country'.<sup>317</sup> During discussions there was a tendency to frame human rights in terms of security and safety. References to individuals having the right to live without abuse were prevalent. This possibly reflects recognition of what the apartheid system did physically to people. Additionally,

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<sup>315</sup> Focus groups held at Espihodweni Highschool and Mboza Village Project, April 27-30, 2010.

<sup>316</sup> Focus groups held at Espihodweni Highschool and Mboza Village Project, April 27-30, 2010.

<sup>317</sup> Focus groups held at Espihodweni Highschool and Mboza Village Project, April 27-20, 2010.

young people expressed concern about crime and ‘people hurting others’.<sup>318</sup> Human rights were also perceived as a global issue, pertaining to all human beings, however combined with the view that the South African government should make sure these rights were ‘given to us’. Also, in relating freedom to human rights, political rights and democracy were referenced. Participants expressed that political participation and voting were human rights. This was also localised to include the right to ‘be heard by the government in the area we live’.<sup>319</sup> There seemingly was conflation between democracy, freedom, and human rights.

Freedom was equated with political freedoms, and civil rights, or what is legalistically referred to as first generation rights, negative rights.<sup>320</sup> Also reflective of first generation rights, participants gave examples of the right to vote, freedom of speech, and freedom of movement, ‘to go anywhere in the country’, and freedom of association. Students referenced freedom as the ability to sit in a room with a white woman and speak English. This perspective raises many issues involving power dynamics; however may also derive from a variety of reasons, including perceptions of social status, education and upward mobility. Further, despite the option to express themselves in isiZulu, teachers, nurses and students opted to engage discussion mostly in English, mixed with isiZulu, while the written forms were also filled out in English.

Discussions surrounding the significance of Freedom Day<sup>321</sup> also uncovered statements of socio-political and economic exclusion and alienation. Regarding Freedom Day, the home-based care workers had the following to say:<sup>322</sup>

—‘We don’t know what they mean. We have no education, no jobs, no electricity, no infrastructure. We don’t know what they mean’

—‘...as far as we are free now to mix with other races we are free but it’s not enough. Politically there is still no freedom. It depends on what party you

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<sup>318</sup> In all three contexts, participants expressed concerns relating to crime and violence. However, Jozini participants discussed crime much more frequently through the course of focus group discussions.

<sup>319</sup> Focus groups held at Mboza One Stop Development Centre, April 27-April 30 2010. Focus group discussion with care workers.

<sup>320</sup> Negative rights were discussed in Chapter one. Negative rights are associated with first generation political rights which emphasises absence of restraint on personal freedom from coercive governments or majorities.

<sup>321</sup> Freedom Day is a national holiday celebrated on April 27<sup>th</sup>. The holiday commemorates enfranchisement of all South African citizens and the first democratic elections in South Africa held 27 April 1994.

<sup>322</sup> Focus groups held at Mboza One Stop Development Centre, April 27- 30, 2010. Focus group discussion with care workers.

depend on. If you don't belong to the dominating party you will not have services.”

—Free from what? I still live somewhere with no paved roads. I know I will never be able to leave here. We wait to see what happens”

Political freedom in Sen's framework is comparable to other freedoms. He argues that political freedom is one aspect of the *constituent components* of development'.<sup>323</sup> However, an issue of valuation arises. Sen argues that the strength and necessity of political freedom lies precisely in the opportunity it gives citizens to discuss and debate—and to participate in the selection of—values in the choice of priorities”.<sup>324</sup> Although, what is the significance of political freedom without an active citizenry? The capabilities approach does not entirely take account for the potentially negative interchange between codified capabilities, in the form of constitutional rights, and participatory practices and processes. The participants of this research, to a degree, demonstrated the depoliticising affects of rights language and development. Based upon discussion, it is noticeable that social and institutional arrangements in rural areas have not been properly constituted so that political freedom translates into individual freedom and agency. This is particularly important when it comes to gender equality as well as youth participation in civil society. Further, it does not address affects of structural inequality and persistent socio-economic disparities that may also impact access, opportunity and participation by certain individuals.

## 4.2 Differentiation

Differing views, according to age and socio-economic status, emerged regarding rights and entitlements. When discussing issues of food-security, education, and development, both teachers and nurses expressed opinions resonating with a modernisation and capitalist development discourse. Although these discourses have a complex history, the impact of its ideology remains unmistakable, with an emphasis that economic, social and cultural modernity is founded on *appropriate* values, educated, motivated and rational human beings, which facilitate economic growth and social change.<sup>325</sup> Teachers participating in discussion

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<sup>323</sup> Sen, 1999: 5. Emphasis is made by Amartya Sen.

<sup>324</sup> Sen, 1999: 30.

<sup>325</sup> Bernstein, H., 1971. *Modernization Theory and the Sociological Study of Development*. *Journal of Development Studies*, 7(2): 141-160

predominantly came from other rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal. Similarly, at the time of the discussions, most nurses working at the Mboza Village Clinic<sup>326</sup> were not originally from the village. Some professionals of a socio-economic and educational status, in these contexts, expressed that rural food-insecurity problems were attributable to lack of knowledge, ignorance, laziness, and the entitled attitudes of the parents of young people. These views on attitudes were in reference to the parents of young people and not necessarily young people themselves. However, nurses did voice comments referring to young women and pregnancy as a problem that perpetuated reliance on grants as entitlements. An interview with the only social worker assigned to the Mboza O.S.D.C. also expressed negative views on young people's agency citing alcohol and drugs as problems in the area. However, she also recognised that a number of social issues in rural areas affect the choices of young people, ~~the~~ schools have bad resources, there is no equipment, the teachers are not qualified...children can't cope when they come from backgrounds and families where parents are uneducated. Fathers see their daughters as investments. If students fail matric they get discouraged and give up."<sup>327</sup>

Focus group discussions with high-school learners revealed that this professional perspective was felt by students. According to students, many teachers, social workers and nurses treated them with hostility. Additionally, the students attributed this attitude to the professionals employed in their area who had not originally come from their communities. One learner said ~~they~~ are corrupt and do not have love for the job"<sup>328</sup> Another voiced that the women in these positions were ~~not~~ much older than us and so they act arrogant towards young people here because they have jobs but are not from here"<sup>329</sup>

However, similar to students, educators acknowledged that some individuals and households were unable to achieve an adequate level of food-security on their own. The teachers recognised the need for the government to provide entitlements for orphans and child headed house-holds. In these cases, programmes implemented by the government were seen as necessary interventions to provide a basic level of subsistence in order to live. However, it was also

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<sup>326</sup> The Mboza Village Clinic was the main health facility in Mboza prior to the opening of the One Stop Development Centre by the Department of Social Welfare in 2009.

<sup>327</sup> Interview with social worker at the Mboza O.S.D.C. April 2010.

<sup>328</sup> Focus groups held at Espihodweni High-school and Mboza Village Project, April 27-30, 2010.

<sup>329</sup> Jozini focus group. Sinethezekile High-school. April 2010.

expressed that because of school feeding schemes,<sup>330</sup> and food parcels,<sup>331</sup> that some families relinquished responsibility to provide food-security within households; therefore becoming ‘\_apathetic’ and ‘\_lazy’ in household production measures. Further, teachers stated that parents did not know enough about nutrition to understand what was necessary for their children’s healthy development. This included statements regarding limited parental knowledge of adequate nutrition, and quality of food, necessary to facilitate children’s ability to learn and grow.

This research observed that perspectives varied according to age, gender, and class. This was most evident when comparing discussions regarding capabilities with students, teachers, nurses and farmers. Capabilities are understood in terms of “the substantive freedom to achieve alternative functioning combinations...the freedom to achieve various lifestyles”.<sup>332</sup> The potential for achieving aspirations, and available opportunities, was most often voiced by youth still attending high-school. This was gathered from statements inferring hope for a better future; for themselves, for their families, and for their communities. Further, high-school learners’ discussion and statements relating to perseverance, hard work, education and discipline, to a degree demonstrated ideological conditioning premised on a modernising value system.

The dominant perspective expressed by students was that success in life would be reflected in where, and on what types of food, they could spend their money. However, most students agreed that individuals and households should make efforts to use available resources to make sure their families did not go without food. Although, these perspectives were generally accompanied with aspirations for livelihoods that in the future would enable them to buy solely from shops. Production and transfer entitlements did not appear to factor into a long term view of valued choices and aspired achievements. Success was recognised as the ability to engage food entitlement purely from exchange entitlement through the market place. Thus ideal consumption patterns were conceptually dislocated from the means of production and production as a route to entitlement was not highly valued.

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<sup>330</sup> The Integrated Nutrition Strategy of South Africa includes the Integrated Nutrition Programme and the Primary School Feeding Scheme. These programmes were implemented starting in 1990 with the National Nutrition and Social Development Programme. School feeding schemes have now been extended to include high-school learners; however, implementation has not been uniform.

<sup>331</sup> I was informed that the government supplied ‘\_food parcels’ to the Mboza Village Clinic for distribution to orphans, pregnant mothers, and HIV positive community members.

<sup>332</sup> Sen, 1999: 75.

Livelihoods, for students, were mostly premised on careers only attainable through tertiary education, university or technical institutes for education. Educational goals reflected aspirations relating to conceptions of socio-economic mobility, autonomy, self-confidence and independence. This demographic expressed that education established the means to achieve livelihoods, incomes, and thus a route to food entitlement. These perspectives on future food-security entitlements hinge on access and entitlement through labour and income. Again, most remarkably absent from this view was entitlement based on production. However, present perceptions of food-security for individuals, households, and communities, were expressed based upon several alternative entitlements. The recognition of various entitlements was most widely articulated in the form of household gardens combined with store purchases and the provision of social welfare grants.

The prominence of income in youth's perceptions of capabilities may also illuminate issues regarding food-security in relation to capabilities and rights in a rural context. In lieu of employment opportunities in rural areas, and hence income, participants often articulated the role of the state in providing basic needs. Within these discussions, human rights were generally referred to as rights that the government was responsible for and this included fulfilment of basic-needs.

For students, income was emphasised as a means to enhance capabilities. Ironically, a focus on income is also indicative of orthodox poverty assessments. Sen's argument is that the capabilities analysis necessarily shifts attention away from income as a primary means and instead focuses on the *ends* that people have reason to pursue, and, correspondingly, to the *freedoms* to be able to satisfy these ends".<sup>333</sup> While income played a prominent role in perceptions of capabilities and defined aspirations, this did not necessarily exclude the recognition of the dynamic relationship between capabilities and aspirations, or the means, ends of freedom, within the capabilities analysis. Education was widely recognised as a necessary capability and as the means to pursue other opportunities; primarily employment and income. Although this acknowledgment can represent aspects of substantive freedom, the freedom underlying the right to education, it does not entirely reflect on disparate access to equal education and opportunities.

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<sup>333</sup> Sen, 1999: 90.

Nearly all school age participants were silent on issues concerning ownership of land, either as a basis for livelihoods or as an asset. This could be attributable to many factors some of which relate to socio-political dynamics regarding land and conceptions of rights and private property. Additionally, the gender ratio of high-school learners participating was predominantly male students. This may have impacted conceptions of access to land, as an entitlement, due to gender differentiated power dynamics; particularly in rural areas classified as tribal land. This differentiation can also extend to the gendered division of labour within rural homesteads. Articulations of concerns regarding access to land and water primarily came from women farmers and the women home-based care interns. Reflecting that their experiences were rooted in rural livelihood strategies and that perception of rights and needs reflected aspirations based on their immediate material reality.

Unemployed youth also expressed a hope that opportunities would someday be made available through government programmes and job creation in rural areas, ~~there~~ is nothing for us to do here. We sit and watch the clouds and maybe one day there will be work. I tried to apply for government money to start an agriculture project. But it's not really what I want to do."<sup>334</sup> However, rural farmers, either small-scale or subsistence based, mainly articulated entitlement through production due to limited choices, ~~there~~ are so many things I need money for. If I don't have money we can't buy food. And we need what money we have for things like school fees. So I grow food. But we also have no land. My sister's husband lets me grow food on his land that is close to the water".<sup>335</sup> Generally, this demographic more clearly articulated issues relating entitlements and livelihoods to concerns about access to land and water. The majority of students recognised that family gardens' could supplement food-security entitlements. However, as far as a livelihood was concerned, farming' was seen as something done in the past because of oppression and exploitation. Several references were made to farming as slavery'. Seemingly, the youth associated production as a means of entitlement, and relationships to land and natural resources, with perceptions of historical oppression. One young female high-school student stated, ~~farming~~ is too hard. I don't want to have to work like a slave for my life. This is a new country. It's not like before. I want to get a job and buy the food I want to eat".<sup>336</sup> A history

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<sup>334</sup> Informal conversation with a young unemployed man at the tavern in the Mboza Village Project. October 2007.

<sup>335</sup> Subsistence farmer in Mboza. Interview October 2007.

<sup>336</sup> Focus group discussion at Mboza Village Project. October 2007.

perceived as such may influence contemporary perceptions of issues interrelated to land, agriculture and livelihoods. It would be interesting to further explore the impact of youth conceptions of slavery and apartheid to youth identity formation in relation to capabilities, livelihoods and aspirations.

In comparison to views expressed by young people still in high-school, older youth voiced lived experiences that did not lend to an ‘opportunity aspect’ or the ‘right to achieve’ positions of substantive freedom. In Mboza, home-based care interns, expressed concerns regarding lack of employment options for women. Unemployment, and poverty sustaining circumstances, represents Sen’s conception of basic capabilities deprivation. This deprivation manifests as an unfreedom, where ~~un~~employment is not merely a deficiency of income that can be made up through transfers by the state; it is also a source of far reaching debilitating effects on individual freedom, initiative and skills”.<sup>337</sup>

Optimistic views of the ‘freedom to achieve’ and choice of opportunities declined considerably when speaking with young people who had matriculated but were unable to access, or pursue, a tertiary education, and those who did not complete high-school. Unemployed men seemingly felt the effects of limited opportunities and nearly non-existent employment options. An unemployed young man commented ~~they~~ (government) tell us that opportunities are in our hands but when there is no employment where do you start?”<sup>338</sup> Further, women in their twenties also recognised the limitations of their environment and affects of political dynamics on achieving capabilities and pursuing opportunities. A home-based care intern expressed ~~the~~ municipality does have money but doesn’t want to use it for developing the community. Until the development centre (Mboza One Stop Development Centre) was built there was no helping us. But even now, it’s not going right. There are posts in the centre that aren’t filled because of politics.”<sup>339</sup> The social worker confirmed this situation when speaking of unfilled posts at the O.S.D.C., she claimed ~~no~~ one in this area could fill these posts but I don’t know why”.<sup>340</sup> One young man in response to discussion surrounding access to politicians and decision making

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<sup>337</sup> Sen, 1999: 22.

<sup>338</sup> Informal conversation with a young unemployed man at the tavern in the Mboza Village Project. October 2007.

<sup>339</sup> Focus group discussion with home-based care interns. Mboza O.S.D.C April 2010.

<sup>340</sup> Interview with social worker at the Mboza O.S.D.C. April 2007.



concerning the needs of their community, he commented “they come at election time and give out soccer balls and then we don’t see them again”.<sup>341</sup>

Political tensions were expressed in other forms through the course of the research. These perspectives were mostly in reference to service delivery, who was listened to within a community, and these comments extended to expressions of alienation from political processes. However, these views were mostly voiced by older youth and generally not from participants of high-school age. Youth currently in high-school were most optimistic and believed in their ability to pursue their aspirations and a life with value. One young woman said “my mom doesn’t want me to get married and it’s good that I go to varsity and get the skills I need so I can do the work I want to do. That way I can be who I want”.<sup>342</sup> Further, there was an expressed optimism of the government. One young male high-school student stated “our people are in government, things are getting better and we can see the light”,<sup>343</sup> while another high-school student proudly declared “I am a daughter of the ANC”.<sup>344</sup>

Within discussion regarding goals and aspirations an emphasis was placed on financial constraints and barriers to educational opportunities. This was evident in conversations with unemployed youth and the home-based care interns. However, the interns did express hope that someday it would be possible to gain more skills and knowledge that would help them to develop their community. When asked what may prevent achievement of stated goals, lack of money played a dominant role in the discussion. Although high-school students also voiced financial restraints to pursue aspirations, many also made comments referring to self-limiting obstacles such as: misbehaving, not respecting their parents, alcohol and drugs, laziness and engaging in crime.

The home-based care interns also articulated different concerns and aspirations, and perceptions of entitlements in comparison to high-school learners. The interns seemed much more interested in framing their aspirations and needs in reference to community development activities. Aspirations of furthering their education were articulated in context of bringing that knowledge back to their families and “communities”. In contrast, younger women in high-school

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<sup>341</sup> Mboza, personal conversation with young unemployed male at Mboza Tavern, October 2007.

<sup>342</sup> Jozini focus group with high-school student. Student Hostel. April 2010.

<sup>343</sup> Mboza focus group with high-school students. Espihodweni High-School. April 2010.

<sup>344</sup> Jozini focus group with high-school students. Student Hostel. April 2010.

expressed ambitions of independence, autonomy and mobility. According to these perspectives, independence was not having to rely on men or their families. Although most female students expressed the want of, and goals for, careers and employment, their choices were typically gendered occupations of nursing, teaching, and social work. Interestingly, most of these women stated that they did not want to work in their home areas. They wished to use their skills and education to be free to move about the country and live in different places.

The home-based care interns expressed concerns for future generations in their area, their own children and voiced sentiments of the need for change in rural areas. They stated that they did not want their children to grow up under the same conditions that they experienced. Most of these women also placed an emphasis on family, marriage and children, as core aspects of their wants and goals in life. There was a diminished view of the government's ability to fulfil their needs. Although, most felt that access and production of food was not the sole responsibility of individuals they also felt that could not, or should not, rely on government. These women also spoke more directly to issues of agriculture, and what individuals and the 'community' must do in order to prevent hunger. Despite perspectives that expressed that food-security was not solely the responsibility of individuals, through the many references towards the responsibility of government to 'make sure people can live', these women emphasised participation in community development and food-security concerns. Many responses involved the words 'ubamba iquaza' meaning to give or lend a hand, and participate. They were the only participants who spoke in reference to the 'One Home One Garden' programmes of government launched in January 2009. This possibly may be attributed to their interaction with the programmes within the One Stop Development Centre and access to information regarding government programmes. However, it was commented by both the interns, and the social welfare worker, that until issues involving access to water were resolved, the One Home One Garden programme was not in and of itself a solution to maintaining food-secure households. Further, that until water concerns were addressed, home gardens as a route to food-security remained the prerogative of women and young girls. These time consuming responsibilities and activities may affect the development of other capabilities of both women and young girls; thus negatively impacting future choices.

Differentiation of the valuation of capabilities and aspirations was most noticeable when it came to gender. Women often spoke of issues concerning community development. This was

most noticeable in conversations with the home-based care workers. These conversations reflected values embodied within the concepts of vuku‘zenzele and letsema. However, to an extent, young female students also expressed occupational aspirations relating to social welfare and development. Whether this reflected true interest or socially gendered occupations is debatable. What this reveals are issues regarding equality of opportunity according to gender. Sen argues that a valuation difference exists between income, capabilities and opportunity of choice. Income can be substituted through government transfers, and capability fulfilment through agency and self-help initiatives such as ‘One Home One Garden’. However, income does not address opportunity within a system of structural inequality and unemployment where unemployment has many far-reaching effects other than loss of income, including psychological harm, loss of work motivation, skill and self-confidence...social exclusion and accentuation of racial tensions and gender asymmetries”.<sup>345</sup> One student asked in reference to her mother, “what is to be done for a single mother with children other than welfare grants? Tell me what she can do?”<sup>346</sup>

Although explicit references were not made concerning perceived gendered disparity in access to opportunities, it was implicit by the composition of focus groups and perspectives expressed. While some women expressed aspirations, goals and needs that spoke to issues of family and community, men tended towards aspirations of material accumulation and income generating needs. However, uniformly, men and women recognised the potential of income to alleviate poverty and facilitate capabilities. Further, income was perceived as a means to expand choice in both aspirations and acquired capabilities, mostly expressed as commodities. However, expanded choice does not necessarily equate with expanded freedom nor does it signify expanded opportunities. In this sense, the ramifications for food-security are extensive. The question is whether agricultural<sup>347</sup> strategies for both rural development and food-security have failed to take into consideration these perspectives and realities of contemporary generations residing in rural areas. If perceptions, expectations and aspirations are changing within rural

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<sup>345</sup> Sen, 1999: 94.

<sup>346</sup> Jozini focus group with high-school students. Student Hostel. April 2010.

<sup>347</sup> I am referring to farming generally: subsistence, small-scale, and commercial. Small-scale and subsistence based agriculture systems historically have depended on family labour primarily women and youth. These systems are engaged to provide a degree of access to food security despite limited opportunities for livelihoods. The core question is also applicable to assess the future of agriculture as a means for rural development; what happens when young people aspire for livelihoods beyond a farm-based economy?

contexts, this reveals to an extent the impact of socio-political and economic effects on the valuation of rights and capabilities.

### 4.3 Democracy, Ideology and Capabilities

In South Africa's past, the struggle for rights, and defining rights, was informed by a particular history of people and place. In democratic South Africa, the Constitution defines such rights and aligns with universalised human-rights frameworks. This is directly an outcome of the liberation struggle, which focused on rights for all people. Currently, South African citizens may perceive these rights as core capabilities. This research observed many perspectives that corresponded with the normalisation of rights, capabilities, and the corresponding duties of the state. Therefore, this infers that certain capabilities have assumed a normative position. However, the South African Constitution also contains language that restrains the responsibility of the state, regarding fulfilment of certain socio-economic rights, by framing fulfilment of such rights within 'reasonable legislative means'.<sup>348</sup> South Africa's Constitutional socio-economic rights<sup>349</sup> are the second generation rights that most participants recognised as core capabilities, entitlements and rights. According to Sarkin, 'the realisation of socio-economic rights will largely depend on state ability and willingness'.<sup>350</sup> This is a source of an observed contradiction between participants' perceptions of rights and capabilities, aspired opportunities and material reality.

Applying a capabilities framework to assess development and freedom instigates query regarding normative views of rights within a Democracy. Sen's evaluative tool emphasises 'processes of decision-making as well as opportunities to achieve valued outcomes'.<sup>351</sup> However, it must also evaluate the impact of the codification of such rights on people's perceptions and participatory opportunities. It is arguable, that the youth in the contexts of this research are experiencing the affects of the depoliticisation of rights as well as the demobilisation of social contestation around these rights. Political affiliation, and voting in local elections, was

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<sup>348</sup> Sarkin, J., 1999. 'The Drafting of South Africa's Final Constitution from a Human Rights Perspective'. *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, 47(1), 77.

<sup>349</sup> Constitution of the Republic of South Africa no. 108 of 1996. Socio-economic rights are as follows: Section 24 (environment), Section 26 (housing), section 27 (health care, food, water, and social security) and Section 29 (education).

<sup>350</sup> Sarkin, 1999: 77.

<sup>351</sup> Sen, 1999: 291.

noted when discussing service delivery and access to basic needs, and this constituted the extent of what political participation represented in terms of actualising rights. It is arguable, as presented in Chapter 1, that the lack of coherent community-based civil society structures, and the general depoliticisation of rural youth, has influenced perceptions of rights and agency. Sen argues that participatory practices are enabled by the existence of civil rights and/or liberties; although still reliant on individuals' active engagement with political opportunities and processes. The importance that civil freedoms have on participatory practices, and in relation to meaning and value construction underlining capabilities and rights, is emphasised in Sen's theory of development as freedom underlining the capabilities approach. However, student participants' responses were nearly devoid of issues of civic participation and advocacy. Primarily, for this demographic, socio-economic mobility was highly prioritised with limited engagement of the dynamics underlining the availability and access to socio-economic opportunities.

When defining capabilities and the valuation placed on defining and demanding socio-economic rights, political freedoms can be directly important, instrumentally and constructively. It was observed within this research that economic needs played a dominant role in defining capabilities, rights, and livelihoods. Also evident in this research was the propagation of political rhetoric. In context of young rural people's expressed capabilities, rights, and livelihoods, the consistent repetition of 'a better life', or the well known ANC logo 'A better life for all', were embedded within participant's responses. These expressions were often related to education and its role as the means to livelihoods that produce the income necessary for a better life. A better life was envisioned through the ability to secure livelihoods that would allow for upward social mobility, social status, and physical freedom. Youth participants' expressed aspirations most revealed the institutional influences of meaning construction underlying perceptions of capabilities, rights and freedoms. This impacts the valuation of capabilities as well as the valuation of means necessary to achieve specific capabilities. In context of these dynamics, food-security is affected by needs and rights perceived as commodities. Intensifying consumption aspirations requires at some level that the ideology of consumerism is encouraged and embraced. The reproduction of capitalism partly relies upon the reproduction of a population of

consumers.<sup>352</sup> The constant generation and normalisation of new needs and wants is a process often discussed in relation to well-being and quality of life indicators included in political philosophy, development discourse, and public policy assessments. Development based on consumption, and consumerism ideals related to social mobility, without viable job creation strategies in rural areas has devastating implications for the future of food-security.

Meanwhile, political freedom was taken at face value, this was apparent through the most common reference to freedom as the ability to vote. However, the 'right to' does not guarantee participatory processes, public engagement, and actualisation of rights. The issue of actualising rights can be extended to other rights within the Constitution. The right to food does not necessarily mean the actualisation of food-security.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

This study sought to capture youth perceptions regarding needs, expectations, aspirations and their dynamic with capabilities, rights and freedom. Perceptions of food-(in)security was used as an exploratory vehicle to explore these concepts. The research documented youth perceptions from within the village of Mboza, the peri-urban locale of Ndumo, and the town of Jozini. The young people of these areas articulated a perceived relation between food-(in)security, livelihoods and development. The conceptualisation of rights, needs, and freedoms resonated between different focus groups. This was demonstrated by the connections between capabilities and the articulation of subjectively defined needs, wants, and aspirations. These subjective perspectives, in relationship to capabilities and rights, were contrasted with poverty and the lack of economic freedom. In this sense, poverty is ultimately the deprivation of capabilities and by extension the infringement of rights and freedom. There is still room for exploration and further research as to whether the politicisation of food as a basic need, a human right, and the relationship with capabilities and development, is entirely perceived by young people. Existing perceptions reveal challenges posed to rural development. The critique that a human rights approach to development is depoliticising is complicated when situating the debate within South Africa's current development trajectory. Young people's responses to a degree

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<sup>352</sup> Wolff, R.D., 2004. *Ideological State Apparatuses, Consumerism, and U.S. Capitalism: Lessons for the Left*. University of Massachusetts Amherst: Department of Economics.

demonstrated that food was conceptualised apolitically; however while maintaining an awareness of constitutional rights.

In some sense, rural development issues hinge upon continuing expectations regarding the external fulfilment of these rights and capabilities. On the other hand substantial freedom, agency, individual initiative and responsibility, is constrained by deprivation of capabilities and limited access to institutions and practices that mediate the processes of meaning and value construction. This creates a sort of circular reasoning in Sen's theory. Substantive freedom presupposes the expansion of capabilities and rights; however capabilities and rights must be engaged in a powerfully and meaningful participatory manner, the agency to construct era and context specific meanings and its relationship to the construction of value underlying conceptions and perceptions of a life with value and the necessary capabilities and rights to do so.

The influence of ideology was observed within this research regarding food-security, needs, wants and aspired livelihoods. On one hand, social mobility is an aspiration of most youth and education a perceived route to capabilities and entitlements. However, these perceptions are formed within a highly polarised society, where opportunities are also constrained and limited according to historically constructed spaces. Further, it is noticeable that ideology operates simultaneously to maintain the status quo while encouraging individual aspirations for upward socio-economic mobility. This demonstrates a contradiction between peoples' realised capabilities, real opportunities, and aspirations. It is arguable that historical processes combined with contemporary ideology, impacts what individuals understand and value in relation to capabilities, rights and entitlements. Addressing structural inequalities, and redressing social justice issues, cannot entirely depend upon such ideology without ~~devising~~ devising adequate policies for reducing the massive and intolerable levels of unemployment that make such self-help extremely difficult.”<sup>353</sup> The combination of self-help rhetoric and modernising ideology highlights what Sen refers to as a cause for social-exclusion. Rural youth are at the threshold of experiencing what happens when rhetoric does not translate into reality.

What happens when post high-school aspirations go unfulfilled? The reality of limited access to tertiary education in South Africa delimits opportunities afforded to rural students, even

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<sup>353</sup> Sen, 1999: 21.

those who matriculate. Formative years are spent acquiring knowledge that might not actualise in aspired to livelihoods and incomes. At this point, the skills necessary to carve a niche in rural development are impeded and could lead to a failure in aspired hopes and eventually create general alienation and exclusion. Meanwhile, twenty to thirty-five year old youth residing in rural areas, already illustrate the demotivating affects of unfulfilled hopes and expectations in the new South Africa



## Final Conclusion

South Africa's incorporation of human rights, and second generation rights, in the post-apartheid democratic constitution, has influenced expectations and affected perspectives on the roles of the state, communities, and individuals in securing the right to food. Beyond that, transformation rhetoric and equal opportunity principles impacts youth perceptions of rights and freedom. Mostly, this manifests as the adoption of ideals relating to upward social mobility and success. In this manner, it is arguable that basic constitutional rights, and perceptions of those rights, are adversely depoliticising issues concerning human rights and development in the rural areas of this study. The impact this has on food-security strategies in rural areas will provoke developmental concerns for years to come. This is particularly problematic in rural areas designated in Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) as agricultural development zones.

South Africa's discourse post 1994 has recognized that food-insecurity is an outcome of inherited dynamics, "poverty and hunger in South Africa are particularly shaped by the impact of apartheid".<sup>354</sup> South Africa's differentiated socio-economic and political processes impacts the extent of social and political mobilisation surrounding rural-based concerns. When evaluating perceptions on concepts, such as food-(in)security, capabilities, rights and freedoms, this contextual exploration reveals to what extent perceptions are shaped by dynamics of the past as well as hopes for the future. Ideologically speaking, political development rhetoric has seemingly inspired rural youth meanwhile rights-based rhetoric has placated expectations just enough to maintain the status quo. In this context, capabilities, rights and freedoms have been depoliticised. Instead, the concepts are articulated within concerns of economic freedom and success dislocated from structural political-economic factors that define, shape, and reshape entitlements over time.

The dilemma of rural development exposes contradictions. The theory informing the capabilities approach, premised on human-rights, provides a normative framework of underlining principles of social justice and equality. Equality, in essence, is a meaningful end within developmental goals and important within any assessment of political economy dynamics. However, as often demonstrated by the material world, actualising rights in the pursuit of social justice and equality does not always abide by theory. On one hand "extreme inequalities in the distribution of endowments and entitlements"<sup>355</sup> allows that food-security is framed substantively

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<sup>354</sup>Department of Agriculture, 2002: 4.

<sup>355</sup> Bernstein, 1994: 5.

and as an issue of social justice, human rights, and development as freedom. On the other, it provokes the argument of defining development within a historical theory of capitalist development. This involves identifying the redistributive means necessary to overcome inequitable distribution and access to productive resources; however, just enough to maintain social stability and while maintaining progressive production and growth for the national economy.

Capabilities, rights and entitlements essentially must be socially recognised in order to put pressure on political institutions that determine redistribution. This process involves power dynamics. Recognition of the social, political and economic institutions and relationships that affect identifying, defining, and struggling for rights and entitlements, may reveal insights as to why second generation rights are difficult to actualise. Entitlements become the foundation for capability sets. Limited individual recognition of entitlements, or if entitlements are constructed in such a way that is affected by socio-economic and political power dynamics and differentiated roles in society, then the outcome is a capability set unsuited for a given individual's well-being.<sup>356</sup> Further, it begs the question of entitlements and capabilities within a development agenda misaligned with lived realities. Hence, a development dilemma exists; a disjuncture between rights, capabilities, and policy strategies. This is strongly connected to institutions disseminating ideology and knowledge. Education has the power to transform societal dynamics; however it can also engrain normative ideals creating an environment that instils the hope for non-farm livelihoods and aspirations for success while neglecting to ground expectations within the material reality of structural inequality.

Sen's illustration of development as freedom retains the potential for a base-line framework for social development. Sen explores the interrelations and historical constitutive ideas that form the application of rights to development, and how "the language of rights can supplement that of freedom". Within Sen's acknowledgement of criticisms, his rebuttal counters critiques of legitimacy, coherence and culture. Sen explores the causal effects of markets, states and social opportunity and finds that classical economic theorists were not as diametrically opposed to the concept of an ethical value imposed within the functioning of the market and the role of the state in the actualisation of individuals' rights within a society. However, the human-

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<sup>356</sup> Watts. 2000. 'Political Economy of Food and Poverty'. In Clark, G., M. Gertler, and M.P. Feldman (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Economic Geography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 199-203.

rights approach to development ultimately relies upon institutional formations. A necessary interdependence and interrelationships of said institutions<sup>357</sup> is affected by substantive freedoms of a nation's citizenry and relies on moderated power dynamics and equal participation.

The effects of globalisation and modernisation will not be reversed by discovering the power of local contexts or even culture. Nation-states bound together by the system of international exchange and trade, will have to create an extremely creative solution to the crisis caused by the majority of the world's inhabitants still living in need and want. In other words, capitalism still relies upon the power of the state to moderate 'creative destruction'.<sup>358</sup> Rural contexts of South Africa currently lack quality infrastructure, proper health care and education facilities, and employment options remain extremely limited. This necessitates the state's involvement in rural development and stemming of outward migration to urban centres. However, development also relies on citizens' agency and aspirations invested in rural development

Sen's focus on development as freedom will mean nothing so long as the unit of its foundation, individual agency, in relation to rights and freedom, remains dependent and passive. Similarly, the classical, and utilitarian, economic model counts on the agency of individuals to pursue material accumulation in their own right. Individual rights and agency are seemingly at odds with a humane development agenda that seeks to address 'freedom from want' and a 'better life for all' while simultaneously advocating for a modernising project of critical self-reliance. In light of the unsustainable trajectory of redistribution of resources, and the fulfilment of basic needs through welfare grants, South Africa leans towards a welfare state rather than a developmental state. South Africa's stance towards rural development remains untenable and contradictory. Nowhere is this point more clear as when positioning the perspective through the aspirations of rural youth.

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<sup>357</sup> Sen, 1999: 9. Sen advocates for a role to development that 'permits simultaneous appreciation of roles...of many different institutions, including markets and market-related organisations, governments and local authorities, political parties and other civic institutions, educational arrangements and opportunities of open dialogue and debate.'

<sup>358</sup> A term attributed to David Harvey. 'Creative destruction' denotes the world historical process of class formation and the extraction of wealth from subordinate classes and countries. See Harvey, D. (2007). 'Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction'. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 610(21): 22-44.

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NEPAD [www.nepad.org](http://www.nepad.org)

P.E.A.C.E Foundation [www.peacefoundation.org.za/index.html](http://www.peacefoundation.org.za/index.html)

People's Food Sovereignty Network [www.peoplesfoodsovereignty.org](http://www.peoplesfoodsovereignty.org)

Ramsar Wetlands International [www.ramsar.org](http://www.ramsar.org)

Terra de Direitos (TDD) [www.terradedireitos.org](http://www.terradedireitos.org)

United Nations Millennium Development Goals [www.unmillenniumproject.org/goals/gti.htm](http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/goals/gti.htm)

United Nations Millennium Development Indicators  
[millenniumindicators.un.org/unsd/mdg/SeriesDetail.aspx?srid=584&crd=710](http://millenniumindicators.un.org/unsd/mdg/SeriesDetail.aspx?srid=584&crd=710)

Via Campesina [www.viacampesina.org](http://www.viacampesina.org)

## **Annexure A: General Focus Group Discussion Questions**

1. How do you define your personal \_well-being‘?
2. What are your goals?
3. What are your needs?
4. What are your wants?
5. Does the regular access to food fit into definitions of \_well-being‘? Why or why not?
6. What allows for regular access to food?
  - a) What types of food is it that people see as necessary to live?
  - b) What are the ways that food is obtained?
  - c) What is the ideal way to secure access to food?
7. Is access and production of food the responsibility of individuals? What role does government play in making sure people do not go hungry?
8. What are human rights?
  - a) Who is responsible for ensuring/guaranteeing human rights?
  - b) Is access to food a human right? Why or why not?

## **Annexure B: Focus Group Discussion Questions with Nurses**

1. How do you define nutrition and malnutrition?
2. How does the clinic deal with cases of malnutrition?
3. Does the clinic charge for treatments and consultations?
4. Who is most affected by malnutrition?
5. What determines an individual's ability to have good nutrition?
6. What determines a household's ability?
7. What determines a communities' ability?
8. Has this changed over time for the community?
9. How can this challenge be overcome?
10. What limits access to food in this community?
11. Who has more/less options for types of food?
12. Do women refer to issues of food/nutrition when attending the clinic for health concerns?  
If so, what are the recommendations made by clinic staff?
13. Do women express concerns about pregnancy and nutrition?
14. How do you define well-being? Do you think well-being is different for women and men, why?
15. What are the characteristics of a good quality of life?
16. How does food relate to development?

### **Extra Questions—Time Permitting**

1. What does development mean to you?
  - 1a) As a nurse?
  - 1b) As a woman?
  - 1d) In terms of the youth?
  - 1c) In terms of the community?
2. How does the government involve people from the community in decision-making processes related to development? Does this relate to the same type of development that you want to see happening in your community?

## **Annexure C: Focus Group Discussion Questions with Teachers**

1. Does nutrition affect students' abilities to learn?
2. How does the school deal with cases of malnutrition?
3. Is food provided during the school day? If so, where does the food come from and who funds this programme? And, what types of food are provided?
4. Do students refer to issues of food/hunger/nutrition as a concern in life?
5. How do you define nutrition and malnutrition?
6. Who is most affected by malnutrition?
  - 6a) How can this challenge be addressed or overcome?
7. What determines an individual's ability to have good nutrition?
  - 7a) What determines a household's ability?
  - 7b) What determines a communities' ability?
  - 7c) How has this changed over time for the community?
8. How do you define well-being?
9. How do you define success?
10. What skills/knowledge do young learners require to pursue a good quality of life and well-being?
11. What are the largest challenges for young learners?
  - 12a) What are the best ways to address them?
12. How does food relate to development?

### **Extra Questions—Time permitting**

1. What does development mean to you?
  - 1a) As a teacher?
  - 1b) As a woman?
  - 1c) In terms of the youth?
  - 1d) In terms of the community?
2. How does the government aid development?
  - 2a) For the school?
  - 2b) For students?
  - 3a) For the community?

### **Annexure C continued**

3. What other institutions exist in the area that impact development?
4. How does the government involve people from the community in decision-making processes related to development? Does this relate to the same type of development that you want to see happening in the community?