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Growing Food and Community: An Exploration of Local Food Initiatives in Cape Town, South Africa

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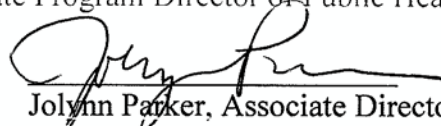
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Abstract

Local food has recently arisen as a social movement, a diet, and an economic strategy. While the concept is abstract, it is characterized by an emphasis on organic production, conscious consumption, and the convergence of the farm and table. In Cape Town, South Africa, efforts exist across a wide variety of businesses, organizations and communities defined geographically, socially, and economically. This study explores the role of local food initiatives in sustainable community development with a focus on the notions of food sovereignty, community capacity, and social capital. It aims to compare diverse schemes in the movement to identify commonalities in goals, principles, and impact. Through a series of in-depth interviews, conversations with participants, and observations of community gardens, markets, and other food-focused organizations, findings suggest that such initiatives empower community development, economically and socially, through principles of food sovereignty, social capital and education.

Executive Summary

The local food movement is a global trend in how people view, consume, and interact with food. Although it is a broad term encompassing a range of ideas about how food should be produced and consumed, it is commonly referred to as "a collaborative effort to build more locally based, self-reliant food economies-one in which sustainable food production, processing, distribution, and consumption are integrated to enhance the economic, environmental, and local health of a particular place" (DeLind, 2010, p. 274). The initiatives comprising the movement include an array of efforts spanning the global, national, community, and individual levels to encourage local food production and consumption with goals of socioeconomic empowerment, environmental protection, and community development. The movement is especially evident in Cape Town, South Africa, where innovative and diverse initiatives have arisen in the form of community gardens, locally sourced restaurants, and educational programs to name a few.

This study analyzes the local food movement in Cape Town in a social science context, focusing on measures of community development. There are multiple definitions of (and approaches to) community development. The United Nations (1948) defines community development as "a process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation and fullest possible reliance upon the community's initiative" (Ontario Healthy Communities Coalition, 2015). Approaches to development conceptualize it as both a process and a product and often employ principles of community capacity building, social capital formation, and sustainability. The theories of Paulo Freire (empowerment through education) and La Via Campesina (food sovereignty) are central to the discussion of community development through local food initiatives.

Education, food sovereignty, and social capital are major concepts identified in this

series of case studies. Social capital refers to the structures, institutions, and shared values

making up a community (Firth et. al., 2011). It is a widely accepted pillar of community

development and indicators of the concept are thus used in an analytical framework in the study.

The concept of food sovereignty is also used as a measure of development in the study, as it is a

key element of the local food movement. Coined by La Via Campesina, an international peasant

farmer's organization in 1996, the term asserts that those who produce, distribute, and consume

food have the right to determine food and agricultural policies, rather than the large corporations

that have come to dominate the global food system (US Food Sovereignty Alliance, 2014). It is

essentially about giving people control over their food; it is a major theme identified in this

study. The work of Paulo Freire, describing how education should empower the oppressed to

overcome their condition, is also identified as a major inspiration of local food initiatives in Cape

Town.

The comparative case study analysis uses indicators of the aforementioned concepts to

compare the structure and impact of diverse initiatives, commonly referred to as schemes, to

identify commonalities in goals, values, and outcomes. By analyzing the schemes through direct

observation and in-depth interviews, triangulated by outside research of written materials, the

study explores the schemes from a critical social science lens to better define the abstract but

prolific local food movement.

Four initiatives are included in the study: Oranjezicht City Farm, Pure Good, Fountain of

Hope, and Harvest of Hope. Oranjezicht City Farm is a non-profit community garden and

farmer's market in an affluent neighborhood of the city, funded by the market, City of Cape

Town, and private donors. Pure Good is an almost completely locally sourced restaurant in the

city. Fountain of Hope is a youth development project which supplies produce to Pure Good.

Due to the close partnership these organizations share, the study of Pure Good and Fountain of

Hope was combined into one case study. Harvest of Hope is a CSA (Community Supported

Agriculture) project of the non-profit development organization Abalimi Bezekhaya. Together,

these initiatives represent the diversity of the "locavore" movement and the various ways

organizations work towards localizing the food system.

 The comparative analysis led to the identification of three major guiding principles

shared by the schemes analyzed: the importance of partnerships and social capital, food

sovereignty, and empowerment through education. It is evident that all of the organizations rely

on partnerships to generate social capital through mutually beneficial relationships. These

relationships exist within and between organizations. For example, Harvest of Hope connects

growers in impoverished townships with urban-dwelling consumers, while Oranjezicht City

Farm offers a common space for neighbors to meet in a neighborhood otherwise confined by

cement walls. Pure Good and Fountain of Hope work together to ensure a steady food supply and

demand and foster relationships between disadvantaged youth and the wealthier business class.

Although the creation of social capital is clear, it raises the question of whether it is distributed

equally.

 The second major theme is the value of food sovereignty principles. Although the

schemes differ in structure, goals, and target community, they all share a commitment to the

basic concept of food sovereignty, giving the people more control in the food system. They

bridge the gap from farm to table, geographically and socially, giving more power to the

producers and consumers and cutting out the large corporations that have come to dominate the

food system. One way or another, all of the schemes empower impoverished populations to grow

food, sell it for a fair price, and better their socioeconomic condition. This focus on poor farmers

and disadvantaged populations is essential to community development in post-apartheid South

Africa as the nation works to reduce socioeconomic disparities and better the conditions of

historically marginalized populations.

The tenets of philosopher Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* are also evident as

guiding principles of development among the schemes. Freire asserts that participatory education

can liberate oppressed peoples, enhance community, and build social capital. In *Pedagogy of the*

Oppressed he argues, "no pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the

oppressed by treating them as unfortunates...The oppressed must be their own example in the

struggle for their redemption" (Freire, 1970, p. 54). In this study, the value of equal participation,

dialogue, and learning is clear. Informal education through experience is used to harness the

potential of marginalized groups to generate a product and improve socioeconomic status. The

education is largely agricultural and the product is food, demonstrating how local food initiatives

can contribute to economic development at the community level.

The study explores diverse initiatives and identifies these themes with the goal of better

understanding the complexity of the local food movement. Case studies allow for comparative

analysis of unique projects and organizations to discover how they employ principles of Paulo

Freire, food sovereignty, and social capital. DeLind's study (2010) of the local food movement

found that activity at the ground level contained the adaptive possibilities that could offer

stability to higher, more abstract levels of a system and resilience to the system as a whole

(DeLind, 2010). Further study of initiatives focusing on barriers, outcomes, and impact is

recommended to form proposals for how local food initiatives may be successful.

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1. Introduction

A global focus on sustainability has fostered the growth of local food movements as a means to development. One result of this is the proliferation of "locavore" food values in diverse localities, businesses, and cultures. These values include food sovereignty, community cohesion, and education. While these values are pillars of the crusade for local food, they are also key principles of sustainable community development, which encourages the use of local resources to enhance economic outcomes and improve social conditions. Community development is commonly defined as asset building that builds capacity to improve the quality of life among residents of neighborhoods or multi-neighborhood areas (Gough et. al., 2013). It encompasses partnerships, community capacity, and social capital-all principal concepts explored in this study. The locavore movement has seen the emergence of a broad range of local food initiatives supporting these principles, such as community gardens, locally sourced restaurants and grocery stores, and educational programs to revive home gardening. As a newly democratized country with immense socioeconomic disparity and agricultural opportunity, local food initiatives may play a major role in the development of South Africa at the community level. Through interviews and direct observation via volunteer participation, this study aims to identify how diverse locavore schemes may support development through concepts of food sovereignty, social capital, and education.

1.1 The Local Food Movement and Food Sovereignty

With the surge of attention to sustainability at the individual, community and global levels, food has recently come into focus as a pillar of socioeconomic development. Three of the eight United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) directly relate to the food system; 1) eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; 7) ensure environmental sustainability; and 8) global

partnership for development (United Nations, 2011). The philosophy of sustainable development is that it will most effectively operate at the grassroots, community level via a bottom-up approach. As opposed to the traditional economic development model of assuming national policies will trickle down to communities regardless of their appropriateness, sustainable development at the local level encourages community participation and the development of local solutions to local problems: "think globally, act locally" (Holland, 2004, p. 286). The democratization of food raises the idea that food is more than a consumer product-rather, it can be viewed as a means to development and sovereignty. In combination with emerging environmental, cultural, and health foci on food, the local food movement arose as a social movement, a diet, and an economic strategy.

The "locavore" culture is broad and wide-ranging, encompassing a variety of initiatives, sub-movements, and concepts. A range of distinct sub-movements has followed the local food movement, including what Werkheiser and his colleagues (2013) refer to as the individual-focused sub-movement, the systems-focused sub-movement, and the community-focused sub-movement. They may be utilized or targeted collectively within any campaign, organization, or individual action, adding to the confusion of defining the food movement. The community-focused sub-movement can be seen as a combination of the local food movement and the food sovereignty movement, intertwining food and people. Food is viewed as more than a consumer product; it is a collectivizing force and a way to create and reproduce communities and culture (Werkheiser et. al., 2013). The related food sovereignty model "considers human relationships in terms of mutual dependence, cultural diversity, and respect for the environment" (Werkheiser et. al., 2013, p. 208). The author of this study views food and people in this context, as inseparable and dynamic concepts with great influence on community, culture, and development.

The notion of food sovereignty is a key element of the locavore movement and is a major theme identified in this study. Essentially, it is the democratization of food and culture. La Via Campesina asserts seven principles to achieve food sovereignty. These include 1) food as a basic human right; 2) agrarian reform; 3) protection of natural resources; 4) reorganizing food trade; 5) ending the globalization of hunger; 6) social peace; and 7) democratic control (Windfuhr et. al., 2005). The crusade goes beyond food security and aims to enable people to reclaim their power in the food system by rebuilding the relationships between people and the land, and between food providers and those who eat it. Food sovereignty puts the people who produce, distribute, and consume food at the center of decisions on food systems and policies, rather than the demands of markets and corporations that have come to dominate the global food system (World Development Movement, 2012). State-run projects, governmental policies, community-based organizations, and individual action can all contribute to a food secure, sustainable, and sovereign society. By empowering individuals and communities to regain control of the food system in which they live, food sovereignty is a fundamental approach to sustainable development.

1.2 Local Food Initiatives

The flexibility and creativity of grassroots level initiatives may support the sustainability of the wider, global food system, but the local food movement more directly supports development at the local community level. The community garden is a common example of such an initiative. While community gardens vary greatly in definition, goals, size, and nature, they are distinguishable as common spaces that bring people together and inspire shared action (Firth et. al., 2011). Holland (2004) cites a model of community gardens as agents of change, acting 1) through the promotion of physical and ecological sustainability by food growing; 2) through

social sustainability by communal interaction; and 3) through economic sustainability by the use

of gardens for training, research, and skills development. Substantial previous research supports

this model, suggesting local sustainability initiatives such as community gardens have positive

community building outcomes, creating a variety of benefits for both individuals and

communities. These include opportunities to improve food security, human health, local ecology,

and social capital (Firth et. al., 2011). In terms of food sovereignty, community gardens allow

consumers to become producers and allow localities to create and control their own mini-food

systems, away from the grasp of large corporations. Local food initiatives such as gardens offer

significant community health benefits, ranging from social cohesion to physical activity.

Local food initiatives, as defined in this study, go beyond the traditional view of a

community garden as a block of land where neighbors can grow their own produce. It refers to

any organized effort to 1) promote sufficient, healthy, and culturally appropriate food; 2) to value

those who grow, harvest, and process food; 3) to localize food systems; 4) to support the rights

of food providers and reject the privatization of natural resources; 5) to build knowledge and

skills of sustainable production; and 6) to improve the resiliency of food systems in the face of

climate change. These are central principles of food sovereignty (US Food Sovereignty Alliance,

2014). The movement, as defined in this study, includes everything from farmer's markets to

restaurants buying local produce to non-governmental organizations teaching people gardening

skills.

Food has become a strategy to enhance personal and social health, provide opportunity to

organize around other issues, and build social capital. Grassroots initiatives nurture community

capacity-the sum of total commitment, resources, and skills that a community can mobilize and

deploy to address community problems and strengthen community assets (Twiss et. al., 2003). A

range of initiatives using assets-based approaches to development and frameworks focused on social capital support sustainable economic development from the ground up, frequently through the practice and promotion of food sovereignty.

1.3 Study Overview

Food sovereignty, community development, and the all-encompassing goal of sustainable global development involve communities, policies, and organizations across the socioeconomic and geographic spectrums. This study examines four schemes in a diverse range of settings to provide a comprehensive case study analysis of local-level initiatives representing a variety of communities and localities.

It is important to clarify that community may or may not be place-based. Community can be defined as a group of residents acting on a common interest, such as a school or road issue. Or, it may be defined as a group sharing a common interest that is not necessarily place-based, such as religious beliefs, professions, or ethnicity (Green et. al., 2012). In this study, it became evident that communities are often the same when defined geographically, racially, or culturally, likely due to the immense socioeconomic and racial segregation of post-apartheid South Africa. Further, the essence of the study focusing on *local* food initiatives supports conceptualizing communities geographically. The Oranjezicht community, for example, is defined by place but is also mostly white and wealthy. Selective sampling is employed in this study to identify schemes representative of a range of communities distinct in their locations, populations, and roles within the local food movement. The sampling includes a community garden and market in an affluent area (Oranjezicht City Farm), a community garden in an impoverished township (Fountain of Hope), a CSA project of micro-farms (Harvest of Hope), and a locally sourced restaurant (Pure Good).

Four local food initiatives were studied in-depth through a combination of participant observation, interview, and informal conversation with directors and participants. The multiplicity of data collection methods increases the likelihood of analysis that is comprehensive, thorough, and accurate. Oranjezicht City Farm, Pure Good, Fountain of Hope youth project, and Harvest of Hope are explored thoroughly to identify distinguishing features, common themes, and their respective roles in community development. Oranjezicht City Farm, a non-profit Design Capital 2014 project funded largely by private donors and the City of Cape Town, is a historic community garden providing organic produce to an affluent urban neighborhood. Pure Good, owned by MasterChef SA finalist Shannon Smuts, is a locally sourced restaurant in Cape Town's city center focused on healthy, ethical eating and the support of local community development projects. Fountain of Hope, a center in the Philippi township for disadvantaged youth who have aged out of the foster care program, operates a micro-farm providing vegetables to Pure Good and the Baphumelele children's home. Harvest of Hope is a non-profit development organization based in the Cape Flats townships, supporting nearly 5000 micro-farmers with resources and a market for their goods through a box program. The selected schemes demonstrate the diversity of the food sovereignty movement and locavore food culture in the greater Cape Town area.

Organizations, businesses, and projects are studied rather than entire communities because they tend to play major roles in development, socially and economically. Often, the development of a sense of community involves the existence of social institutions or organizations that provide the opportunity for regular social interaction among members (Green et. al., 2012). The purpose of the study is to explore how and to what extent the initiatives play a role in community development, focusing on community capacity and social capital. The identification of

achievements, themes, and challenges may provide insight into how food-related projects can

succeed individually and support greater development goals.

2. Terminology

AFSA-Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa

CBO-Community-based organization

CSA-Community Supported Agriculture

FGNT-Farm & Garden National Trust

HoH-Harvest of Hope

NGO-Non-governmental organization

OZCF-Oranjezicht City Farm

WDC-World Design Capital

3. Literature Review

3.1 Community Development

Assessments of community development must grapple with the breadth of the term.

Nobel Prize winner economist Amartya Sen, as referenced by Green and colleagues (2012),

defines development as freedom. From his perspective, high levels of social and economic

inequality present obstacles to development because the poor do not have the same opportunities

to develop their capacity. Sen argued that development should encompass five different types of

freedom: (1) political freedoms, (2) economic facilities, (3) social opportunities, (4) transparency

guarantees, and (5) protective security (Green et. al., 2012). Although Sen's analysis focuses on

national and global development, many of these elements are applicable at the local level.

Development cannot simply be reduced to income or job growth. It is a broader process that

improves the opportunities and quality of life for individuals.

Essentially, community development is a planned effort to build assets that increase the capacity of members to improve their quality of life. A distinguishing characteristic is that it involves the creation of community-level organizations to help build assets. Compared with nonlocal organizations, community-based organizations (CBOs) offer numerous advantages for carrying out place-based programs-they are rooted in place and have extensive contacts and information about the neighborhood (Green et. al., 2012). Because local food initiatives are often place-based in nature and the communities in the study are conceptualized geographically as well as socially, two of the schemes in this study are CBOs; Harvest of Hope and Fountain of Hope. This study is inclusive of local businesses and organizations and exclusive of larger national organizations and projects. Often, larger institutions are unsuccessful at small-scale development because they are unaware of the community assets, needs, and goals.

Local-level projects more in tune with the community may find success using an assets-based approach to development. Communities frequently turn to outside assistance because they believe the issues or problems are too complex for local residents. By relying on outsiders for help, communities become more dependent on outside resources and often lose control over the development process. This does little to help build community capacity (Green et. al., 2012) or development that is sustainable. Through an assets-based, self-help approach to social and economic change, rather than a needs-focused method that relies on outside resources, people learn to identify, manage, and leverage existing resources to the benefit of their community. Much of this is dependent on developing social ties and relationships that enhance the ability of residents to act collectively to address concerns (Green et. al., 2012). Asset building has similarities to social capital theory as well as the theories of Paulo Freire and the concepts of food sovereignty.

3.2 Local Food Initiatives and Social Capital

The study assesses the nature of "community" in community food initiatives in measures of social capital and community capacity. Social capital is a sociological construct and pillar of development. It refers to a collective asset that grants members social "credits" that can be used as capital to facilitate purposive actions (Glover, 2010). The theory is that an investment in social relations will result in a return to the individual. Relationships built through projects like working together at a community garden can foster trust, norms of reciprocity, and willingness to help neighbors (Glover, 2010). Members of disenfranchised groups can realize and extend power through networking with others, both inside and outside their own social groups (Dugan, 2003).

Firth and his colleagues (2011) use social capital as an analytical framework to do this in an evaluation of how community gardens function in Nottingham, UK. Social capital is used to refer to the structures, institutions, and shared values making up a community. It explains ways in which individuals and communities connect in a variety of community, civic, cultural, or economic structures and contexts. As a framework, social capital "provides a means by which to investigate the levels of ties and networks in and across communities" (Firth et. al., 2011, p. 558) on the assumption that social networks have value. Participation in local organizations and associations builds social relationships and trust that are essential in mobilizing community residents. Social capital becomes the basis for building other community assets, such as human and financial capital (Green et. al., 2012). Community gardens increase social cohesion, support networking and enhance levels of social capital by providing a shared "third space" and joint activities. However, social capital as a pillar of development can be an unequally distributed resource. It may be used as a resource for public good or for the benefit of an interest. Firth and his colleagues (2011) argue that communities are socially constructed through people sharing

and interacting with a common purpose. Thus, a strong community is one built by members with

economic and environmental assets, supported by social networks and organizational structures.

This sense of community participation and empowerment is what links examples of community

gardening (Holland, 2004). However, many community gardens define community in a place

context rather than a social one. This study explores how community food initiatives, including

gardens, define and create community and how the social capital fostered by such initiatives

benefits group members or the greater community, however defined.

Substantial research demonstrates the value of community gardens, but how and for

whom this value is created needs further study. A study of lessons learned from community

gardens in California found that community gardens are beneficial in that they can 1) enhance

food access, nutrition, and physical activity; 2) provide opportunity to organize around other

issues; 3) build social capital; and 4) build and nurture community capacity (Twiss et. al., 2003).

However, such benefits are not always equally available to the greater community. A study of

community gardens in Toronto (Glover and Firth et. al., 2011) found that mainly white people

gained most and those outside the core group felt left out. Employing social capital as an

analytical framework, this study will explore the benefits of local food initiatives on the social

capital and community capacity of participants as well as the community in its entirety. Social

capital is difficult to define and measure. One of the most commonly accepted ways to measure

the concept is to focus on issues around trust and civic participation, such as membership of

voluntary organizations (Firth et. al., 2011). Conversations with project leaders and participating

community members investigate membership, accessibility, skills-building opportunities, and

educational endeavors among initiatives to draw connections amidst such organizations and

projects regarding development in the context of social capital and Paulo Freire's theory of empowerment through education.

3.3 Food Sovereignty

Just as food is a pillar of life, food sovereignty is seen as a pillar of development. The movement and its related policies and framework have become a focus of interest not only for farmers' organizations, but also for fishermen, pastoralists, and indigenous peoples' organizations as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society organizations (CSOs) (Windfuhr et. al., 2005). Poor food producers, laborers, and landless peasants across developing countries have formed movements opposed to the globalization of industrial agriculture as a means to gain land and regain control over the food system. Many of these movements put food sovereignty principles into practice. In Brazil, the Landless Workers Movement organizes landless people to occupy parts of large unused landholdings and then pressures the government to use the existing land reform laws to transfer the land to them. This allows families to gain access to agricultural land, feed themselves, and make a livelihood (World Development Movement, 2012). Food sovereignty principles are adopted in a variety of ways, from government-supported land policies to the creation of co-ops to the sharing of knowledge at schools for urban farmers.

Food sovereignty empowers marginalized populations in the democratization of the food system. Kudumbashree, a state-run project in Kerala, India, has enabled poor women farmers to become self-sufficient in food. A quarter of a million women have formed farming collectives, cultivating diverse crops organically to meet their consumption needs and selling any surplus in the local markets (World Development Movement, 2012). Innumerable similar efforts exist worldwide. The Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa (AFSA) is also working towards

sustainable development and food sovereignty with a focus on women. It is a pan-African

coalition comprised of farmer networks that represent smallholder farmers, pastoralists and

indigenous groups committed to realizing food sovereignty in Africa (Chow, 2013). Under

AFSA is the We Are the Solution campaign, led by rural women in six countries in West Africa.

It was born out of the struggle of African farmers and peasant movements against market driven

agricultural policies for the purpose of creating alternative models, systems and practices that

promote food sovereignty (fahamu, 2014). Rural women are the world's main producers of

staple crops in sub-Saharan Africa, where women produce up to 80% of basic foodstuffs for

household consumption and for sale (World Development Movement, 2012). AFSA and the We

Are the Solution campaign help to build capacity to help women fight for food sovereignty. The

strengthening of AFSA is vital at this time, as multinational companies are increasingly seeking

to tighten their grip on African agriculture and its natural resources. Africa "has been the target

of institutional and rich government initiatives which, regardless of their spin, are actually about

increasing corporate control of the African food system…Meanwhile, destroying the way of life

of ecologically sustainable and productive small scale farmers-who already feed 70% of the

world's population" (Chow, 2013, p.1). While the local food movement is a global trend, it is

particularly relevant to newly democratized South Africa.

　　　　The notion of food sovereignty is a method of community development in itself.

Principles of food sovereignty include food as a right not a commodity; valuing producers;

localizing food; democratic control; building knowledge and skills; and working with nature

(World Development Movement, 2012). Efforts to put these principles into practice are based on

democratic development ideals. For example, seed swaps preserve varieties beyond the few

products sold by supermarkets and commercial seed companies; this asserts democratic control

of production by the farmers themselves. Urban growing can enable inner city communities to

produce healthy, affordable food; this is a means of localizing food, improving food access and

nutrition, and cultivating community capacity. Half of the world's hungry people are smallholder

farmers who live off a limited area of land without adequate access to productive resources. 22%

of the hungry are landless families, who often survive from income earned under precarious

working conditions as laborers. Secure access to productive resources such as land, water, seeds,

and livestock, are therefore key to improving the situation of these families (Windfuhr et. al.,

2005). Empowering individuals to improve their quality of life is paramount to development. Not

only can the enactment of food sovereignty improve the sustainability of the food system, but it

can also be a tool to bring communities together and achieve localized development.

4. Methodology

4.1 Qualitative Measurement

The study uses qualitative methodologies, including interview, informal conversation,

and direct observation via volunteer participation to explore food in a social context. Face-to-

face, conversational interviews are the primary source of data. Following a social capital

analytical framework with a focus on measures of community development and food

sovereignty, the study investigates sectors of the food system in Cape Town to draw comparisons

on the role of local sustainability initiatives in their respective communities and in development.

In studying vast concepts such as food sovereignty, community capacity, and social capital from

a social perspective, qualitative methods are more applicable than quantitative ones. The

exploratory nature of the study lends itself to an interpretative methodology. Social capital has

provided a useful framework for gaining insights into how community gardens function (Firth et.

al., 2011) and the model is broadened in this study to include other types of initiatives. Case

studies are utilized to identify themes and draw comparisons amongst selected organizations and projects representing various types of initiatives.

4.2 Selective Sampling

Selective sampling is employed in this study to represent a range of schemes, locations, and ideas within the local food movement. Sampling was based partially on Holland's (2004) representative scheme selection to identify a model of local sustainability, but it was broadened to include projects other than the traditional community garden. In Holland's study, interviewees were chosen to represent food growers, an ecological scheme, educational/children's schemes, a therapeutic employment scheme, established 'traditional' community gardening schemes, renewed models of allotment-style gardening, and city/urban farms. In this study of local food initiatives, the schemes are similar to Holland's. They represent the diversity of the local food movement and present multiple perspectives on the principles and practice of food sovereignty. Holland included city farms in the study partially because they are active in certain aspects of community development, including education, training, and health awareness (Holland, 2004). Following Holland's success in comparing diverse food growing schemes in the context of community development, this research includes a variety of innovative and diverse food-related projects and enterprises.

The range of emerging local initiatives demonstrates the concept of sustainability at the local level, but the ambiguity and breadth of the local food movement and the concepts of food sovereignty and sustainability may contribute to misunderstanding. Holland (2004) cites the need for a model for the implementation of sustainable development at the local level. Academic research has largely focused on individual organizations and projects. There is a need for the evaluation of the community-level food movement as a whole to further understand the models,

challenges, and progress of local initiatives. Accordingly, this study examines a range of

projects, organizations, and businesses representing various sectors of the community and the

food system to examine connections and distinctions within the movement. Selective sampling to

represent a range of schemes, reviewed with in-depth interviews, observations and

questionnaires, reveals similarities and themes across the local level (Holland, 2004). The variety

of initiatives is wide-ranging and without clarity of initiatives, models, and impact, "there is a

danger of a muddled movement without clear priorities, and one that is unable to move forward

until some standard of ideological purity is met" (Werkheiser et. al., 2013, p. 209). The success

of projects such as community gardens suggests that the schemes could act as a model for the

implementation of economic, environmental, and social policies at the local level.

Within the city of Cape Town and the surrounding area, case studies were chosen to

provide variety in organization, structure, mission, and community. In an analysis of community

within community gardens, Firth et. al. (2011) sampled case studies according to the nature of

community involvement, whether the garden appeared to represent an interest or place-based

initiative, and the nature of the management structure, i.e. top-down or bottom-up. Schemes were

selected accordingly in this study, varying in structure, purpose, and geographic, economic, and

social aspects of community.

Organizations and projects were selected to represent various sectors of the local level

food system, and individual interviewees and participants within these organizations have been

selected to accurately represent their organizations. At Oranjezicht City Farm, interviews with

program directors were conducted first to gain a preliminary understanding of the farm. Then,

interviewees were selected via snowball sampling and based on attendance at the farmer's

market on the days the researcher volunteered at it. At Fountain of Hope youth center,

conversation with the program staff and all six youth residents at the center ensures that the case

study is comprehensive. At Harvest of Hope, data was collected via conversation with those

whom the program director provided access to at the micro-farms and pack shed.

4.3 Interviews and Observations

Interviews are modeled to extract information about the operations, motivations, and

influence of community projects and to provide a picture of the initiative's commitment to, and

impact on, community development. When directly observing each scheme and conversing with

participants, conversations included questions regarding reasons for participation, education and

skill-building opportunity, perceived benefits, and visions for the future. Building skills,

relationships, and opportunities are essential components of community development as

analyzed in a social capital context (Gough et. al., 2013).

Holland's model of evaluation was applied to interview question formation (Holland,

2004). Questions are designed to identify the main goals and motivation for each project as well

as organizational structure, membership, evaluation, and partnerships. These topics provide a

comprehensive background on each scheme, allowing for a contextual and thorough comparative

analysis of local food initiatives. In an analysis of community garden programs funded by

California Healthy Cities and Communities, Twiss et. al. (2003) also used qualitative, open-

ended interview questions to create a table of garden location, leadership, funding, priority

population, and results. The consistency and specificity of questions allows for credible

comparisons and data analysis. Much of the interviewing conducted in this study was informal

and conversational rather than written via questionnaires and surveys. The free flow of

conversation allows for personal, detailed, and genuine information to be shared. Furthermore, it

allows for follow-up questions to be asked, providing context, explanation, and credibility. Many

of the interviews occurred as conversations with particular effort to not use terms such as social capital; rather than asking about development explicitly, the researcher chose to surrender much of the control over the conversation to the participants to uncover patterns and themes.

In-depth and semi-structured interviews offer valuable insight into schemes, often providing both factual and personal information regarding the project and the community. Firth et. al. (2011) conducted case studies by interviewing the manager of the community garden, project staff, volunteers, community garden users and a staff member of an external organization connected to the garden. Questions varied somewhat due to relevancy and situation, but the summary provided knowledge of the neighborhood, location, motivation for participation, types and levels of community involvement, links with other associated networks, and levels of external control (Firth et. al., 2011). Interviewing was conducted while the researcher directly participated in the initiative, through volunteering and observing. Some interviews were formal and direct; others involved friendly conversation while harvesting vegetables. The multiplicity of sources and styles of data collection allows for comprehensive exploration. The breadth and variety of interview questions is guided by the overarching social capital framework and the concepts of community development and food sovereignty.

4.4 Case Studies

The specific schemes are explored contextually in the form of case studies. Contextual analysis, a matter of determining what the key processes and structures of a system are at one level and how that system is influenced by the systems above and below it, is useful in understanding and enabling a sustainable food system across system levels (Dahlberg and DeLind, 2010). The schemes explored in this study represent the connections between and among individuals and their communities. The study is innovative in that it investigates different

types of local food initiatives in diverse settings to explore the local food movement beyond

existing research that only compares traditional community gardens. A series of representative

case studies of sustainability projects illustrate diverse perspectives on the food movement and

provide insight into community development via local initiatives. Case studies include interviews

with project directors, direct observation via volunteering, and informal conversation with

participants, triangulated by outside secondary sources, to provide for comprehensive analysis

and comparison. Data analysis is done on a contextual case study basis, studying each scheme in-

depth individually to identify commonalities and differences, due to the comparative nature of

the study. The studies of Pure Good restaurant and Fountain of Hope Youth Project were

combined into Case Study B due to the close partnership they share, the codependency of the

initiatives, and because direct observation was done for both initiatives simultaneously. The

schemes were explored with the principles of food sovereignty and Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of

the Oppressed in mind, as well as the concepts of social capital and community capacity,

throughout the observation and interview process. This social analysis approach of community

development allows for the schemes to be studied individually and comparatively.

4.5 Data Analysis and Themes: Food Sovereignty and Social Capital

Data is compiled from a series of interviews, questionnaires, and observations to identify

major and minor themes within and among the schemes studied, contextualized by secondary

sources. Responses from multiple sources were sorted by topic area. For example, responses

from both organization leaders and project participants regarding opportunities for skill building

are compared to identify commonalities, discrepancies, and themes. Inconsistencies may point to

unequal creation or distribution of social capital, uncertainty of initiative goals, or disparities in

community impact. Identification of themes in regard to common responses from diverse

respondents provides insight into social cohesion, community development patterns, and

awareness of the food initiative and its impact. Two major themes explored subsequently are

social capital and food sovereignty. Other themes were identified post-data collection, such as

education, and will be addressed in the findings and analysis section.

Food sovereignty, a major objective of many local food initiatives, was hypothesized to

be a major thematic area based on background information. Hence, participation and questioning

was tailored to collect data on the concept. This was based on the definition and principles of

food sovereignty asserted by the founders of the term, Via Campesina, and the US Food

Sovereignty Alliance. In his paper describing how food sovereignty involves a shift away from

the industrial and neo-liberal paradigm for food and agriculture, Dr. Michel Pimbert (2009)

compares the dominant model of production to the food sovereignty model. Issues compared

include production priority, market access, control over productive resources, and value of

farmers. For example, in the dominant model, control over productive resources like land,

forests, and water is privatized. In the food sovereignty model, it is local and community

controlled (Pimbert, 2009). Table 1 (Pimbert, 2009, p. 8-9) demonstrates the differences in the

models. In this study, it is used as a guiding framework to assess the extent to which local food

initiatives operate in the food sovereignty and industrial paradigms. Thorough assessment and

comparison is made possible by the compilation of related data from program directors, direct

observation of projects, conversation with farmers and other participants, and secondary outside

resources.

Observation and interviews are structured to examine schemes and development in a

social capital context. Social capital emerges as individuals participate in groups. Measures are

largely qualitative. Because it is subjective, data was collected from a variety of sources across

within each organization. Questions about partnership, membership, skills building, and benefits

provide a picture of social capital creation. Firth et. al. (2011) suggests four main ways in which

community gardens generate social capital. These include: 1) bringing people together with a

common purpose to participate in a joint activity or venture; 2) creating a meeting place, which

enables people to interact and contribute to the creation of community; 3) activities such as

growing, cooking, and eating of food, which are all sociable and allow people of all ages,

ethnicities and socio-economic backgrounds to interact informally; and 4) helping to build links

with institutions and authorities (Firth et. al., 2011). Accessibility, diversity, and inclusivity in

project membership and outreach is important in studying the extent of community development

and the scope of social capital generation. Observation and conversational interview focuses on

diversity, consistency, and ease of participation. Responses assess the extent to which the project

is a part of the community, either explicitly (because the membership is wide) or implicitly (by

wide access) (Holland, 2004). Analysis of these questions and related observations helps to

identify membership and accessibility of each scheme. Qualitative data obtained via interview,

questionnaire, and direct observation is evaluated in this framework to draw conclusions

regarding the extent to which each scheme builds and bridges social capital through membership,

partnership, and structural adaptation.

5. Findings

5.1 Case Study A: Oranjezicht City Farm

Oranjezicht City Farm (OZCF) is a non-profit project "celebrating local food, culture and

community through urban farming" (OZCF, 2014). It was selected as a scheme due to its focus

on food education and community cohesion, its long history as an important urban farm in Cape

Town, and for its geographic location. Located in the suburb of Oranjezicht, the farm is most

accessible to an affluent neighborhood. Volunteering at the farm and at the weekly market, observations and conversations with members, and secondary information from sources like OZCF's website provide insight on the operations, objectives, and accomplishments of this well-resourced community garden project.

The site of the Oranjezicht City Farm encompasses part of what was once the largest farm in the Upper Table Valley, providing produce to the city and large trade ships. After demolition of the original farm in 1957, a bowling green was briefly put in its place by the city council. However, this fell to disuse and the land became rundown, abandoned by all but vagrants and drug dealers (Kirk-Cohen, pers. comm.). Thus, when a number of local civil society organizations including Oranjezicht Heritage Society and Oranjezicht-Higgovale Neighbourhood Watch began to take interest in the site in 2009, the council agreed to allow the organizations to lease the land and convert it to a community garden (OZCF, 2014).

In late 2012 and early 2013 the land was converted to Oranjezicht City Farm. Farm operations began in November 2013 and, largely due to support it has as a World Design Capital 2014 Project, has been wildly successful. Due to the history of the area, the farm's design is based on historical Dutch design. It utilizes every possible space for growth (Kirk-Cohen, pers. comm.). This is evident throughout the property. The 3-foot dirt walls enclosing the recessed garden are covered with herbs and other plants capable of growing on sloped land, and the pathways are lined with flowers and shrubbery that prevent pests from harming the produce. Sustainability is also considered in the farm's design. For example, no permanent structures can be built (Kirk-Cohen, pers. comm.). The design contributes to the organic nature of the farm-not only does OZCF reject the use of fertilizers, but it also uses natural methods of plant and land protection.

OZCF is exceptionally well resourced, as evident at the farm, the market, and in conversations with members. The organization receives a lot of support from individuals and companies in the form of money, time, publicity, and tangible donations like compost and tools, (Kirk-Cohen, pers. comm.). Major supporters include Madame Zingara, a local group of restaurant companies, which provided start-up funding to cover costs of preparing the land. Other companies contribute pro-bono services, including CNdV Africa Planning and Design, MH&A Consulting Engineers, Lema Civils PlantHire, Derrick Integrated Communication, Reliance Compost, David Hellig & Ambrahamse Land Surveyors, and Michell's Wholesale Nursery (OZCF, 2014). Colleen Kirk-Cohen, a teacher and volunteer in charge of educational opportunities at the farm, says the farm receives an incredible amount of support from the community. People have donated the tools for irrigation and earth breaking, solar panels, and benches, amongst other supplies. Additionally, community members are funding the publishing of a book on the history of the Oranjezicht neighborhood, and proceeds from the book will go directly to OZCF (Kirk-Cohen, pers. comm.).

Aside from private donors, the City of Cape Town is also a major source of funding. Oranjezicht City Farm is an official Cape Town World Design Capital Project, contributing to the funding, resources, and publicity that have made the farm successful thus far. The World Design Capital distinction is awarded to cities that recognize design as a tool for social, cultural and economic development. In 2014, Cape Town is hosting over 460 design projects aimed at transforming the city (WDC Cape Town, 2014). OZCF is classified as a sustainability solution. The transformative project supports the city's overarching design and development goals as it "seeks to build social cohesion, develop skills, educate residents and their children about food and environmental issues, and champion under-utilized public green spaces in the city" (WDC

Cape Town, 2014). The World Design Capital organization has numerous global and local Cape Town sponsors, directly and indirectly funding OZCF.

OZCF's vision is to encourage change at the individual and community level in food choices (Kirk-Cohen, pers. comm.). To achieve this and other goals, the vision also includes improving under-utilized public green spaces by creating demonstration gardens for hands-on community-wide food gardening education, thereby increasing access to fresh vegetables (thundafund.com, 2013). "Together, we can assume more control over at least some of the food we eat, by understanding where it comes from, who has grown it, how it has been grown and how it has arrived on our plates. And we can even get actively involved in the process by growing our own, or helping a farmer, or setting up a food buying co-op, or influencing decisions made locally that will support a better local food system" (OZCF, 2014). Rooted in principles of food sovereignty and community cohesion, the organization seeks to reconnect the Oranjezicht neighborhood and the city of Cape Town to this heritage site through gardening, education, and outreach.

OZCF aims to act as a community catalyst, building social cohesion across communities, developing skills among the unemployed, and educating residents about food, environmental and related issues. A variety of activities support these goals, including educational tours, the employment of men from a local homeless shelter, the creation of a weekly market, and educational and skills-building opportunities such as a food talk series.

The OZCF Market is held every Saturday from 9am to 2pm at Homestead Park, adjacent to the farm. The market features produce from the OZCF garden, supplementary produce from a township garden through partner organization Abalimi Bezekhaya, and other food goods from private vendors. OZCF brings in goods from Abalimi, an organic farmer in the Philippi

township, and even brings in specialty goods like figs from an hour away (Storey, pers. comm.).

While OZCF aims to increase people's awareness of where their food comes from, it is

noteworthy that the OZCF and Abalimi produce are sold together at the market with no

distinction. Thus, consumers don't know whether the produce they buy is from Oranjezicht or

Philippi unless they ask the market coordinator. As the market aims to reconnect the consumer

with the land and the producer, it is essential that they are aware of where and from whom

exactly the food comes from. Unclear provenance of food may result in inaccurate knowledge of

the consumer and lack of recognition and compensation for the producer, perpetuating the

disconnect between the two.

The goods offered and the private vendors vary somewhat with the seasonality, demand,

and availability of goods. During the month of April, they included lunch foods such as burgers,

wraps, and curry, as well as spices and herbs, juice, fruits and vegetables, and homemade nut

butter and dried fruits. In selecting vendors, OZCF encourages food goods over non-food ones,

especially healthy and organic goods (Kirk-Cohen, pers. comm.). The market aims to offer

organic, fresh, relatively locally produced goods to residents and act as a meeting place to

cultivate relationship building and community cohesion. As a volunteer at the market, the

researcher observed that the market was extremely busy, brimming with families, young adults,

elderly people, and everything in between. Most market visitors said they were residents of the

Oranjezicht community. Some, however, said they had come from other areas of the city

because, while there are other farmer's markets closer to home, they enjoy the atmosphere and

social aspect of the OZCF market. This feature fosters social capital through networking and

relationship building.

Social cohesion is not only promoted among visitors to the market, but also among volunteers. A small group of regular volunteers have been with the farm since the market began and have formed friendships and partnerships through volunteering. While many are regulars, they don't do it every Saturday. This allows for an influx of new volunteers, such as the researcher, to partake and learn about the group. In this sense, social capital opportunities are accessible and not exclusive to the existing OZCF community. Based on conversations with volunteers and the market director, as well as direct observation, the group dynamic is strong. People are hardworking, friendly, knowledgeable, and helpful to one another. They are welcoming to new volunteers and to market visitors. The market manager is present and busy, selling produce and making sure things run smoothly, while also conversing with workers and buyers. In an effort to build social cohesion and provide an inviting, open community meeting space, the positive attitude of members and energy of the atmosphere are essential. OZCF encourages people to volunteer in any way they can. There are four broad categories of volunteering; farming and operations, education, communications, and administration (OZCF, 2014). Recruitment is done by individual members, social media, the OZCF website, and indirectly through publicity and the media. There is a mailing list to keep interested people informed and aware of OZCF activities and news. According to the website, OZCF has plans for a membership scheme that can help all residents and supporters get involved more easily (OZCF, 2014). Additionally, volunteer orientation sessions are run at the farm every Wednesday morning and afternoon, acquainting people with the organization, the farm, and its history. The organization is very accessible to those wanting to get involved, fostering cohesion and the creation and bridging of social capital.

The organization is run entirely by volunteers, with the exception of a few modestly paid

directors and two full-time farmers. The farmers were introduced to the farm via a local NGO

and homeless shelter, through which OZCF recruited and paid men to help lay the groundwork

of the farm. Because of the small budget of the non-profit organization and the fact that many of

the men at the shelter have a drinking problem, it's difficult to find reliable, committed farmers

to work full-time (Kirk-Cohen, pers. comm.). Instead, managers assess when the farm will need

more hands to help with tasks like harvesting, asks the homeless shelter to send a certain number

of men, and pays them for the day. The two full-time paid farmers, however, have a tremendous

role in the success of OZCF. Clinton, who calls himself one of the "original founders" of the

farm, has been with OZCF since he was recruited to lay soil and prepare the land. This

opportunity changed his life. He works every morning from 8-12, planting, caring for, and

harvesting the produce. He also directs volunteers who stop by the farm to do various tasks.

Every afternoon, he takes classes to work towards becoming a civil engineer. He works at the

farm so he can further his education, start a career, and turn his life around. As he hopped off the

stairs from a storage shed with seemingly endless energy, he said "every morning I wake up and

I am smiling because I get to come to the farm" (Clinton, pers. comm.). He says he used to be

shy, but since he began working at the farm and spending his days talking to other workers,

volunteers, and visitors, his confidence has grown. Now, he's personable, outgoing, and

passionate about his work and his life. He enjoys networking and says he's always learning and

meeting new people. For Clinton, the employment opportunity at OZCF led to social capital

creation, relationship formation, skills building, and a better quality of life.

Skills building and education are major focuses of OZCF. Organizational goals for the

future include 1) developing the skills of the farm workers; 2) developing an education program

to partner with schools and other groups on issues of environment, food, waste, water, and

energy, to extend the impact; and 3) partnering with the city and other stakeholders to create a

heritage museum and cookery school in the barn next to the farm (OZCF, 2014). OZCF serves as

an educational resource on small-scale organic food production for City Bowl residents. A major

goal is to build capacity and skills of youth and adults seeking work in urban food production

(thundafund.com, 2013) as well as other community members. Educating the community on

their food choices and offering skill-building opportunities support the organization's goals to

unify the community through food and empower individuals to be more cognizant of their food

choices. Returning the locus of control to the locality and its people supports principles of food

sovereignty and community development.

School programs use the farm to teach children and adolescents about gardening, the

environment, and nutrition. The educational director leads tours and games for primary school

field trips and is currently organizing a food security project for a group of high school students.

The project is unique in that it is merging two nearby high schools-one is private and affluent

and the other is relatively underprivileged. The project aims to educate the youth on food

security while overcoming differences and fostering relationships. OZCF also hosts companies

doing team building activities, chef school classes, and tourist groups. The farm is not only

educational for children in school programs, but also for adults involved with in the farm. "Our

food often comes from so far away that people have no relationship with it. They don't know if it

grows on a tree or in the ground or if it has a flower on it" (Kirk-Cohen, pers. comm.). Teaching

people about production empowers them to support an ethical food system. Colleen Kirk-Cohen,

educational director for OZCF, says they get a lot of criticism because they are in an affluent

area rather than a township. But, she says, these people need food education too. The theory is

that they will learn about food and gardening and this knowledge will spread to other people and

communities. Adult education occurs through volunteering, visits to the market, and the

distribution of informative resources on social media. OZCF also offers guided self-harvests

every Wednesday afternoon, allowing people to come to the farm and pick their own produce

(sold by weight). It teaches people about the landscape, harvesting, and other aspects of

agriculture, directly bridging the gap between the consumer and the land. Additionally, a recently

developed food talk series will bring experts on topics such as sustainability, home gardening,

and indigenous plants to the farm for weekly informative sessions.

These educational activities, among others, allow people to better understand their food

values and choices. Oranjezicht City Farm utilizes its historical significance and recognition as a

Design Capital project to secure funding and resources that make it possible to have a significant

impact. OZCF fosters social capital and a sense of community, bridging the gap between

producer and consumer through education to encourage food sovereignty and ethical food

choices.

5.2 Case Study B: Pure Good and Fountain of Hope

In 2013, Cape Town resident Shannon Smuts decided to follow her success of being a

top 16 finalist on the television show Master Chef SA to pursue her dream of working with food.

While working an office job near Cape Town's City Bowl, she noticed the lack of fresh, healthy,

affordable lunch options for businessmen and women. She decided to open her own restaurant

centered on healthy, inexpensive food, founded on the values of local and ethical production and

community development. It was founded with a twofold aim: to support local food projects and

"to make nutritious, ethically produced fare both more accessible and more appealing to busy

City Bowl workers in search of tasty, well-priced lunch options" (Cape Town Magazine, 2013).

Based on values of nutrition, ethical business, and social development, Pure Good exemplifies a

business with a key role in local food and development.

Smuts uses her fame from Master Chef SA and her restaurant to promote social

development efforts and ethical eating. One of the local production projects Pure Good partners

with is Fountain of Hope Youth Project. Established in 2012, the center provides young people

aged 18-21, who have been raised in foster care, have recently been orphaned, or are otherwise

vulnerable, with a safe and nurturing environment and resources to improve their lives. When

Smuts got involved with the Fountain of Hope farm, she immediately conceptualized Pure Good

as a place that could operate as an endpoint for the fresh produce grown there (Cape Town

Magazine, 2013). Soon, the partnership also led to expanded benefits for the farm, including

cooking lessons, business ventures like the iced tea, and internship opportunities. Many of the

young people at Fountain of Hope are otherwise out of school or unemployed. The program

gives them motivation and the relevant skills to consider returning to school or get a job. Smuts

hopes to help put this vision into action using her connections in food and business. "I'll buy

everything I can from the farm and when they build their kitchen on site I hope to get more

involved in helping train the youth for the hospitality industry" said Smuts (Good Housekeeping,

2013 and Smuts, pers. comm.). Although the kitchen has not been built, Smuts has utilized her

position to secure internships for interested youth. Origins Coffee, a major Cape Town

establishment and the coffee supplier for Pure Good, has an internship program for young adults.

It costs about 3500 rand for students to come in, shadow employees, and learn about the

industry. As an important buyer and promoter for Origins, Smuts used her partnership to

influence Origins to offer some of these internships to Fountain of Hope kids for free (Smuts,

pers. comm.). The youth have not yet completed these internships because school is in session

and they need to identify which kids would be interested and capable. Smuts has no problem

assertively using her fame and restaurant to create opportunities for the communities and

disadvantaged youth she works with.

Smuts saw an opportunity to begin this endeavor and open her own restaurant when a

restaurant in her office building moved. After taking over the restaurant's lease, equipment, and

staff, she opened Pure Good in July 2013. She knew there was a need for a reliable, well-run

lunch spot, and she aimed to fill this gap. One of the restaurant's main goals is to enable Cape

Town businesspersons to eat healthier lunches. Smuts says that the restaurant is well supported

by, and popular with, her former colleagues in the building (Smuts, pers. comm.). She offers pre-

packed meals, to-go options, and a delivery service, which a staff member drops off at the desks

of the staff upstairs (von Ulmenstein, 2013). A July 2013 interview revealed that Smuts appeared

to have a good relationship with her staff-this continues to be apparent in April 2014. She

dedicates time, resources, and patience to training the staff in baking, cooking, small-business

operations, and managerial duties. Many staff members were previously waiters and waitresses,

and the training provides them with skills and knowledge valuable to furthering their careers.

A major emphasis is placed on food that is healthy and ethical. Except for the "naughty

corner" of sweet treats and sodas, all Pure Good items are made from unprocessed, nutrient-rich

ingredients and are free of preservatives, trans fats, refined carbohydrates and sugar (Cape Town

Magazine, 2013). The only products with added sugar are caramelized onions, which by nature

require sugar as an ingredient. Smuts says that she provides healthy, organic food but doesn't

feel the need to advertise it as such because people can make food choices without being

bombarded by claims and advertisements (Smuts, pers. comm.). When everything on the menu is

healthy, there's no need to promote one food over another. This innovative approach makes health and organics the norm, whereas many businesses assert the claims as a marketing device.

While the nutrient quality may benefit her customers, the production values of Pure Good benefit local communities and farmers. Smuts makes a point to use local sources wherever possible and uses very few imports. While products like wraps must be ordered from outside processing centers, she uses local farmers and community gardens to supply all of her vegetables. The menu varies with food availability and centers on foods that are indigenous to the region or produced nearby. The focus on seasonality and locality contributes to business and environmental sustainability as well as the promotion of local farming.

When Smuts was introduced to the Fountain of Hope Youth Project, she saw immense possibility for a business partnership and also to make a huge difference in the future of the residents. Fountain of Hope is an outreach initiative of Baphumelele, a not for profit company and community project that encompasses numerous initiatives in the Cape Flats townships. These include a respite care center, hospice program, children's home, bakery and soup kitchen, and woodwork shop (Baphumelele, 2014). The center is located on farmland in the Philippi Horticultural area. It houses a group of young people in a farmhouse and residential buildings. Other facilities, proudly exhibited to the researcher by Fountain of Hope youth, include a classroom, recreation and storage area (soon to be made into an industrial teaching kitchen), a small greenhouse, and an expansive gardening area. There are currently six youth living at the center. According to director Kirsty Hunt, the current living situation is temporary, and more residential housing will be developed to accommodate more youth (Hunt, pers. comm.). Hunt's personal vision is to expand the facilities to accommodate as many as 30 to 50 adolescents when they acquire the necessary resources.

Youth are selected to live at Fountain of Hope through formal placement. They must be "in the system"-identified by the government to be from homes deemed unsafe or abusive, foster homes, or children's homes. HIV, single parent households, and other problems plaguing the Cape Flats area has left many youth homeless or in foster care. Fountain of Hope aims to provide shelter and opportunity to youth who have aged out of the foster care program and might otherwise be living on the street. The program does not accept youth with criminal records. It does take in people with a history of drugs and alcohol, as long as they have shown improvement and stability (Hunt, pers. comm.). Each participant stays for one year. If they have an ongoing project at the center or have a skill they can teach to new members, they can stay longer. This system was set up to maximize outreach and to encourage youth to learn and share a skill. After one year, the youth go on to live in flats, find employment, go to university, or back to homes deemed safe. Currently, there is no evaluation mechanism in place to monitor where the youth go after leaving the center.

Through the youth project, residents are taught a new skill set including life skills, computing, and how to grow their own food. They are given educational support and are assisted in matric exam preparation and school tutoring, empowering them to build a positive future for themselves as self-sufficient adults (Hunt, pers. comm., and Baphumelele, 2014). There is also a non-residential program that runs each month and teaches members Baphumelele's child-headed homes program, for adolescents and young adults who care for children, similar skills. The program operates under a guiding framework and independent living program model. The model includes recreation and talent, work readiness and IT skills, finance management, health and wellbeing, career development, housekeeping, agricultural skills, and personal development. The on-sight farm contributes to many of these goals and ideals. Two full-time farmers work on the

farm and teach youth how to plant, grow, and harvest while supplying produce to Baphumelele's other projects. They sell excess produce to Pure Good, varying with seasonality and crop turnout. This is generally easy-to-grow, organic, local vegetables, such as cabbage, spinach, parsley, beetroot, and tomatoes. The farm operates as a local food initiative in supplying food to community organizations and local businesses such as Pure Good.

Skill building and education are also important objectives of the Fountain of Hope farm. In supporting the organization's program model, the farm teaches youth about careers in agriculture, health and nutrition, food shopping and preparation, home gardening, and personal values and identity. Although channeling the energy of adolescents and essentially teaching them to become young adults can be challenging (Hunt, pers. comm.), the youth were excited about the farm and proud of their gardening. Alongside the community farm, the youth have individual seedbeds. The youth that gave the researcher a tour were anxious to show off their work in the greenhouse and their knowledge of how to put a seed in soil, wait for the seedling to sprout, then plant it in the ground and care for it. However, when it came to the seedbeds in the ground, the tour guides were quieter. Not much was growing and the beds appeared very dry. Smuts, who was visiting the farm to check on produce and teach the kids a cooking lesson, reiterated to the youth that caring for plants is not a one-time chore. It requires dedication. Smuts has talked of buying produce from the youth's individual plots, in addition to the community farm, if they are able to produce adequate supply.

Fountain of Hope and Pure Good have partnered in a mutually beneficial way, providing affordable produce to city residents and supporting community and youth development projects. Fountain of Hope provides fresh, organic produce to Pure Good, and Pure Good provides development opportunities and cooking lessons to Fountain of Hope. Every Tuesday afternoon,

Smuts goes to the youth center to give the kids cooking lessons. She teaches them how to use what is donated to the farm, what grows there and other basic ingredients to make different meals. Lessons have included gnocchi, rice pudding, tomato sauce, and other products. The residents make dinners for the group on a rotating schedule, so teaching them how to use the ingredients they are given benefits the entire group and ensures that food is not wasted. The lessons teach the kids about grocery shopping, health, and cooking, all essential life knowledge for them to have to be successful after leaving Fountain of Hope.

The weekly timeslot is also usually utilized to bake with the kids, but the oven recently broke. In response, Smuts and Hunt set up a marketing scheme to use their partnership to finance a new oven. On one of her weekly visits, Smuts brought recycled glass bottles and iced tea packets. She taught the kids how to make iced tea-a relatively simple process of heating water, adding the tea mixture, and refrigerating it. She then taught them about marketing, advertising, and pricing so that they could collectively set a price to sell the bottles for. The iced tea is now sold at Pure Good and 100% of the proceeds go towards a new oven for the center. Smuts argues that this set-up benefits the youth more than if an oven was simply donated to them because it teaches them how to work for what they want and shows them what they are capable of achieving (Smuts, pers. comm.). This develops their skills and confidence. Youth development and support of local initiatives is important to Smuts, and this is clear in the amount of time and effort she dedicates to the Fountain of Hope program. The partnership offers skill building, education, social capital creation, and food consciousness. In the future, Smuts and Hunt also hope to introduce youth to the hospitality industry through work experience on farms, in restaurants, and specifically at Pure Good.

5.3 Case Study C: Harvest of Hope

"Give a person an apple and they will eat for a day; teach a person to garden and they will have

food forever." S. Rothgeisser (F&G National Trust, 2009)

Harvest of Hope is an agricultural business scheme that connects micro-farmers in the

Cape Flats townships with a guaranteed market of box buyers in Cape Town. It is a project of

Abalimi Bezekhaya ("Farmers of Home" in isiXhosa), a non-profit development organization

based in township communities like Nyanga and Khayelitsha that supports the revival of the

family farm. Supplied with physical resources, a guaranteed market, and skills-building

opportunities, residents in the townships are educated and encouraged to grow their own organic

vegetables to feed their families and sell surplus produce to box buyers in the city.

Abalimi was founded in 1982 with the mission to revive the family farm (Small, pers.

comm.). Harvest of Hope (HoH) later introduced a commercial element on top of the family

farm mission because food surpluses provided an opportunity for profit, and "without commerce

there is no farming (Small, pers. comm.). Residents are supported in growing food for their

families, and if they meet high quality and organic standards, they can become micro-farms

participating in the box program. A micro-farm is any piece of land up to 1 hectare that produces

for the market-whether it's corn, milk, or flowers. Abalimi and HoH now support over 4,000

micro-farmers in the Cape Flats townships with over 50 gardens supplying to the HoH box

scheme (Small, pers. comm.). Most of the micro-farms consist of 3 to 8 farmers per group,

farming on a piece of school or council-owned land the size of a few classrooms. Most of the

growers are women. However, more men are getting involved as they see as an opportunity for

decent, dignified, sustainable living out peri-urban farming (Harvest of Hope, 2014). To partake

in the box scheme, farmers must produce high quality vegetables and use strictly organic

principles. Harvest of Hope provides training and support to make more of the micro-farmers

eligible to partake in the program. HoH takes a 3-pronged approach to the family farming

movement, tied to Abalimi's Farmer Development Chain. The approach involves 1) provision of

permanent, affordable agricultural inputs, training, advisory, and scientific services; 2)

guaranteed markets and fair prices; and 3) targeted capital investment (Small et. al., 2013). These

principles support farmers in supplying for their families and encourage them to become micro-

farmers and supply excess produce to the HoH box initiative. By offering resources to help

family farms become micro-farms, HoH builds community capacity and people's ability to

participate in the box scheme. There is little to no access to markets outside the immediate

township neighborhoods. HoH offers a crucial, reliable market for business.

HoH is funded by a variety of partnership organizations and international donors under

the umbrella organization Farm and Garden National Trust (FGNT). FGNT "provides free and/or

subsidized services, training, networking and resources to community-based projects for poor

and needy persons in order to improve their quality of life and raise them out of poverty" (F&G

National Trust, 2009). The organization has a strong network of local and international partners

and resources, including School Environment Education and Development (SEED), Participatory

Land Use Management Association (PELUM), Global Giving, the Urban Agriculture Unit of the

City of Cape Town, and many others (F&G National Trust, 2009). Additionally, individuals can

donate by sponsoring a trainee gardener. Pledging R50 per month supports one trainee gardener

to star up and R100 per month supports one gardener to expand their skills and progress to

become a Harvest of Hope supplier (Small et. al., 2013). FGNT believes in building a sustainable

lifestyle in which people re-learn how to feed themselves through the planting of their own

vegetables. By cultivating natural resources such as land, developing the skills of township

residents, and offering organic and locally grown produce to Cape Town residents, Abalimi and

Harvest of Hope supports food sovereignty and community development. The initiative

empowers individuals to improve their quality of life through job creation, poverty alleviation,

skills building, access to healthy foods, and building relationships through business ventures and

community gardening. The premise of re-distributing control over food and empowering

marginalized individuals to produce for themselves is rooted in food sovereignty principles and

an educational means to individual and community development.

      Abalimi Bezekhaya describes Harvest of Hope as a marketing project that is first and

foremost a social enterprise (Harvest of Hope, 2014). Poverty relief and sustainable, responsible

consumerism are at the core of the initiative. Large corporations and commercial enterprises tend

to set people up for failure by bringing in resources, money, and management, getting the

program up and running, and then backing out. Abalimi seeks to avoid this by operating as a

collectivist group with ethical leadership within the community, supplying a steady stream of

resources, and providing members with the skills and education to support themselves. Abalimi

supplies manure, seeds, training, ongoing mentoring, assistance with business logistics and

accounting, on-sight follow-up, and a steady market. Additionally, once farmers reach the semi-

commercial level of production (based on revenue per square meter of land), Abalimi can start

distributing micro-loans to support farm commercialization (Small, pers. comm.). In the near

future, founder Rob Small hopes to also start a school to teach micro-farmers about tax forms,

legality in commercial farming, and how to succeed in moving up to the commercial level. An

overarching theme of the operation is empowerment through education; Abalimi teaches

producers how to sustain themselves.

The box scheme is crucial to the success of Harvest of Hope as it provides a market and steady stream of buyers for the goods produced by the micro-farmers. It is a Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) scheme that facilitates the commitment between the micro-farmers and the consumers (Harvest of Hope, 2014). HoH sells the produce on behalf of the farmers, providing an outlet for excess produce and an opportunity for profit. Harvest of Hope contracts with the farmers in advance-guaranteeing to purchase their produce and thus giving them some income security (Small, pers. comm.). The project supports Abalimi's objective to foster growing connections between the farmers and members. As a local food initiative valuing conscious consumerism, Abalimi also encourages members to volunteer or simply visit the pack shed and farms. Bridging the gap between producer and consumer, HoH can simultaneously localize the food system and facilitate social capital creation, relationship building, and community development.

In June 2013, HoH reached the target figure of 400 vegetable boxes delivered every week to 29 collection points throughout Cape Town (Small et. al., 2013). As of April 2014, this number had already gown to 431 (Small, pers. comm.). Founder Rob Small says the demand is high enough that they could have thousands of box buyers, but the supply is simply not there yet. The growing demand encourages existing farmers to increase production and new farmers to get involved. "If you don't have a guaranteed market, small farmers cannot compete with the big guys backed by Monsanto and all of that" (Small, pers. comm.). The HoH market scheme is organized to guarantee top price and product. Otherwise, Small says, disagreement arises over cost differentiation. Another researcher visiting Abalimi called the principle "ethical capitalism"-everyone contributes his or her high-quality product, which is sold collectively at a steady rate, and everyone gets equal share of profit. Small also says the morality of consumers is valued in

the marketing scheme. The box buyers must be members of Harvest of Hope, meaning they pay

a membership fee on top of a monthly or quarterly box cost. Small boxes for families of 1-2 cost

R87 per week, while medium boxes for families of 4+ are R121 per week (Harvest of Hope,

2014). Small asserts that the organization is not interested in selling as much as possible for lazy

consumers wanting food delivery; rather, they value ethical consumers and promote conscious

consumerism (Small, pers. comm.). Uncollected boxes are given to a charity of HoH's choice.

The pack shed and inner workings of the system are organized, impressive, and

encouraging. The pack shed is located at The Business Place in Philippi, partnering with and

supporting other NGOs there. The property includes a learning center, community development

offices, and small containers that can be leased for start-up businesses. It provides an opportunity

for entrepreneurs in the townships to transition from informal to formal operations at the early

commercial stage, offering training courses and resources as well as affordable rent and security.

These people, says Small, are carrying the country (Small, pers. comm.). The economy relies on

the working class to provide commercial goods and food, as well as a market for these goods,

should their socioeconomic status improve so they can afford to buy what they produce.

Boxes are prepared and distributed every Tuesday. The researcher observed the packing

process and experienced firsthand the organization and teamwork that make it run smoothly and

successfully. The vegetables are picked from 6:30 in the morning, collected by HoH's drivers,

sorted by weight and quality at the pack shed, and made ready for packing by 10:30 (Harvest of

Hope, 2014). Then, an assembly line system delegates certain vegetables and tasks to the HoH

women and volunteers assisting in the process. The pack shed is run entirely by peasant farmers

with little to no formal education, operated entirely by women with little help of volunteers and

professionals (Small, pers. comm.). Although most have not completed formal school, they are

clearly knowledgeable about the pack shed process. The operation is fast-paced, crowded, and structured to ensure consistency and top quality goods. Produce varies with seasonality and availability. For the week of April 22, the vegetables to be boxed included chilies, avocado, spinach, kale, butternut, green peppers, beetroot, green beans, and baby marrows, among others. The appearance and aroma of the produce attested that the vegetables were top quality. The colors and textures were alluring. The goods were clearly fresh, clean, and well grown and the women working were friendly, hard working, and organized. The pack shed provides an opportunity for them to take part in another part of the HoH process besides gardening and offers relationship and skill building.

The alliance of 4000 micro-farmers, the pack shed operation, and the educational and resource support of Abalimi encourage community development through the creation and bridging of social capital and community capacity. The scheme also enables individual development and supports the Cape Flats communities from the bottom up, empowering individual farmers and families. Tembakazi Sotyantya is one example of this. She built up a garden on empty space between a busy highway and informal settlement. She works for Western Cape Association of People with Disabilities and coordinates a group of about 15 mentally and physically disabled people who live in the nearby settlement. Sotyantya manages the garden and shares her gardening skills, acquired by Abalimi's training, with the group. Gardeners can take their harvests home to their families, and for Sotyantya who is HIV and TB positive, the health benefits are a major advantage to working in the garden (Small et. al., 2013, p. 1). The role of the garden in the informal settlement is significant. The micro-farm supplies a steady source of food and money that guarantees some degree of security in an environment that is meant to be temporary. For the disabled people working at the garden, it provides emotional benefits as well.

It gives them a daily task, a feeling of accomplishment, and a chance to be creative-major

opportunities for people who are often excluded from the labor market. The Association of

People with Disabilities group also collaborates with a neighboring garden run by a group of

HIV positive people, fostering relationships and community cohesion.

A weekly "fact finding" tour takes researchers, community members, and all those

interested on a tour of Harvest of Hope's pack shed and multiple micro-farms. One of these stops

includes the Nyanga People's Garden Centre, operated by Mabel Bokolo. Mama Bokolo, as she

is called, manages Harvest of Hope's most productive micro-farm completely independently.

She has no formal education, but with the help of an Abalimi accountant and numerous training

sessions, she has become a staple to the Nyanga farming community. As Small recants, success

has little to do with formal education. Peasant farmers who have the drive to succeed and the

access to training as a means to release it have the power to change the food system (Small, pers.

comm.). Bokolo is one of these exceptional farmers. She covers all of her own costs by

producing, buying, and reselling resources like seeds and compost. She provides garden

resources to a whopping 2000 micro-farmers in Nyanga and surrounding communities (Small,

pers. comm.). She also mentors young people, hosts young apprentices, gives food to her

neighbors, and shares her knowledge with other gardeners. Recently, Bokolo used the money she

made from the garden center to buy a car. She's now one of very few women driving in the

township, and this alone gives her a sense of empowerment. Her work ethic and commitment to

HoH contribute to her success and the success of other micro-farmers in Nyanga. "If you want to

be successful in a place like this, you need a woman like her", Small praises (Small, pers.

comm.). She offers her garden as a teaching scheme and sets up sessions with interested

community members and an Abalimi field worker to disseminate information and foster

community capacity. As she plans to retire in 2017 and start a farm in the Eastern Cape, she is prepping a field worker to take over the Nyanga People's Garden Centre.

Most of the HoH micro-farms, including the Masincedana Food Project, are run entirely by women. Most have not reached the semi-commercial level of production that Bokolo has. The Masincedana food garden is currently at the mid-late subsistence level. Located in the township of Gugulethu, it is situated on a 500 square meter piece of land between a community court and offices and is managed by 4 women. They choose to work half days and stay at this level, which allows them to each feed families of five, rather than accelerate labor to produce at a commercial level. According to Small, while these women do not profit as much as they could, they are happy because they have a steady income and a pension and have enough food to feed themselves, their families, and their neighbors (Small, pers. comm.). Additionally, the garden could accommodate up to 10 gardeners to greatly increase output. But, the 4 women currently working there refuse to take in new gardeners unless the new workers agree to work for a year before getting a cut of the pay (Small, pers. comm.). This may be due to a close-knit group dynamic and a desire to stay at current production and pay levels, but it is also an example of how social capital can be exclusive.

Harvest of Hope is a local food initiative connecting peasant farmers to a steady market, bridging the gap between producer and consumer. However, it is as much a social development scheme as a commercial one. When asked about challenges, Small says "it's simply a mindset. Not land, not money-those are issues, but it's mindset. A project doesn't start with capital-it starts with spiritual capacity" (Small, pers. comm.). Abalimi and Harvest of Hope supply the education, physical resources, and market to empower micro-farmers to compete with large corporations and make a better life for themselves. "The issue isn't food security-it's food

sovereignty. The issue is freedom" (Small, pers. comm.). Harvest of Hope gives small-scale

farmers control of their food system and enables city residents to support local development.

They receive top-quality organic goods and concurrently support development in impoverished

townships. Harvest of Hope is an example of how a successful local food initiative uses

education and empowerment to support a sustainable food system and community development.

6. Analysis

An exploration of diverse local food initiatives in a social context led to the

identification of three key themes regarding the role of such initiatives in community

development. Though different in physical setting, target community, resources, and objectives,

the organizations and projects studied all support community development through social capital

formation, food sovereignty principles, and education as a means to empowerment.

6.1 Theme: Social Capital and Partnerships

The exploration of Oranjezicht City Farm, Pure Good, Fountain of Hope, and Harvest of

Hope found that frequently, community food initiatives are more about community than food.

The gathering of community members over the mutual concern of food, in one way or another,

can foster mutually beneficial relationships. Gathering around a common goal aids individuals

through group work as the asset of social capital is created and distributed.

At Oranjezicht City Farm, the variety of activities offered by the well-resourced

organization promotes the creation and distribution of social capital among members. Through

active participation, people build relationships through volunteering at the farm and market,

visiting the market and conversing with neighbors, and networking at the weekly food talk series,

recipe exchange program, and team building events. Like many in South Africa, the Oranjezicht

neighborhood is one where protective walls enclose homes and hence many people don't know

their neighbors (Kirk-Cohen, pers. comm.). OZCF offers a "third place" outside of work and home where neighbors can gather and build social cohesion. The opportunity for networking and gaining social capital has been life changing for OZCF farmer Clinton. His role as one of two full-time farmers has led to him constantly meeting new people and conversing with members, partners, and community members, raising his confidence and opportunity to reach his goal of gaining an education.

At Pure Good and Fountain of Hope, the network of relationships allows both projects to progress towards their goals. Pure Good is as much a social development project as it is a business venture and the Fountain of Hope partnership allows Smuts to provide Cape Town's business center with healthy, locally-produced food while simultaneously using the restaurant as a means of supporting youth development. Her lessons on gardening and cooking and connections in the hospitality industry provide the youth with positive role models, educational and internship opportunities, and a market to sell goods to finance needs at the youth center. Selling the iced tea made by the youth, for example, provides a channel for them to help themselves and simultaneously allows Pure Good customers to support a local NGO on their lunch hour. The partnership bridges otherwise separated communities through food, enabling reciprocity, supporting local development, and fostering participation in the local food movement.

Social capital is central to the model of Harvest of Hope and the network of micro-farms. Women work together on the farms and split the profit, fostering relationships with common goals of production and profit. The production of each group of farmers is greater than the sum they could produce individually. The cohesion of the garden network enables them to work collectively and the market partnerships offered by the HoH box scheme empower the farmers to

use social capital to improve their quality of life. However, HoH is also an example of the exclusivity of social capital. Some of the farmers questioned said they don't want any new farmers to join their micro-farm because the percentage of the profit they each take home would decrease. While the farm has created close-knit, loyal relationships among gardeners, it can also lead to leaving other community members behind. The high level of unity and communication exhibited at the box packing shed also illustrated the importance of social capital for successful organizational functioning.

Social capital exists at the organizational level in addition to the individual one. Research showed that an astonishing number of partnerships exist between local food initiatives. Pure Good and Fountain of Hope, for example, were originally going to be studied separately, but after learning the extent to which they are intertwined the researcher deemed it would be best to study both together in one case study. While conversing with other visitors to Harvest of Hope and asking about funding and partnerships with all of the initiatives, the extent to which organizations and associations work together to reach their respective and mutual goals was clearly evident. Consistent with social capital theory, those involved in the local food initiatives recognized their individual and organizational goals could be achieved more successfully if pursued collectively through teamwork and partnerships.

6.2 Theme: Food Sovereignty

Food sovereignty is "the right of people to determine their own food and agriculture policies; the democratization of food and agriculture" (US Food Sovereignty Alliance, 2014). While none of the initiatives studied target governmental agricultural policies, they aim to empower marginalized populations and farmers to compete with the large corporations currently ruling the food system. The food sovereignty approach focuses on people and communities, unlike the top-

down, market-driven policy approaches of big business. Food sovereignty goes beyond food

security; it asserts that people must reclaim their power in the food system by rebuilding the

relationships between people and the land, and between food providers and those who eat (US

Food Sovereignty Alliance, 2014). The initiatives explored in this study are similar in that they

seek to build relationships between consumers and producers and reconnect farmers with the

land.

The food sovereignty framework addresses core problems of the marginalization of farms

through the provision of resources, education, employment, and land. It opts for a family

farm/community-based rural development model (Windfuhr et. al., 2005). Harvest of Hope

follows this model with a primary focus on the revival of the family farm followed by the

creation of individual and community micro-farms if producers are interested in expansion for

profit and committed to high quality and organic production. The provision of physical resources

and training enables family farms to make this transition. Fountain of Hope utilizes a

community-based development model as the youth care for the center's garden collectively. Pure

Good supports this system by offering a market for the community garden's goods and

educational opportunities. Food sovereignty gives the youth control over the food they grow,

cook, and sell. In turn, the lessons and skills learned from farming foster a sense of freedom and

"life sovereignty" that empower them to make the transition from adolescence to adulthood.

Oranjezicht City Farm also employs a community-based development model, though in

a more urban area. OZCF utilizes an available plot of land to reconnect urban dwellers with the

land and offer a space for community gathering. Though the target population is not

marginalized or impoverished, the organizational structure helps residents to become more food

conscious and socially unified and empowers men from a homeless shelter to gain employment and assist with the farm.

Food sovereignty asserts the importance of freedom to decide where food comes from. Responsible consumerism is a major value for all of the local initiatives studied and food consciousness is a common tool used to promote food sovereignty and ethical food choices. At Oranjezicht City Farm, weekly guided self-harvest, a food talk series, an informative newsletter, and the organizational basis in volunteering encourage community members to be more conscious of the impact of their food choices on the environment, producers, and health. This model directly supports the food sovereignty principle of localizing food, enabling an inner city community to produce healthy, affordable, and locally produced food that they control (World Development Movement, 2012).

Harvest of Hope follows many food sovereignty principles, most notably valuing producers, working with nature, and building knowledge and skills. The World Development Movement states that farmers' markets and box schemes help reconnect producers and consumers, cutting out big retailers and ensuring producers get a better price for their products (World Development Movement, 2012). The HoH box scheme does just this as an initiative to transform the current corporation food system model. HoH and the parent organization Abalimi Bezekhaya also value the "working with nature" food sovereignty principle through an insistence on organic farming and the use of agroecology, such as in composting methods and seed distribution. Furthermore, HoH operates under the premise of building knowledge and skills. Numerous opportunities exist for family and micro-farmers to develop skills and be educated on agriculture techniques and farming as a commercial enterprise. Building knowledge as a means

to empowerment is a fundamental principle of food sovereignty (US Food Sovereignty Alliance,

2014).

6.3 Theme: Empowerment through Education

Strategies for empowering disenfranchised and impoverished people can be grouped into

three general approaches: education, organization, and networking. The initiatives explored in

this study use a combination of these approaches with a particular emphasis on education,

borrowing from the tenets of Paulo Freire. The primer on education for empowerment is Freire's

Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Its underlying theory is that the disempowered know about the

sources of their oppression and what must be done to overcome it, but they do not have an

organized approach to translate this knowledge into action (Dugan, 2003). The appropriate

educational approach, in Freire's philosophy, is a dialogical method in which participants

empower themselves by learning about their communities and how they are affected by current

and potential policies and structures. Equipped with this understanding and self-assurance,

participants can act to better meet their needs (Dugan, 2003). The idea of disseminating

knowledge and equipping individuals with valuable skills to help them help themselves is

fundamental to the local food initiatives studied.

Membership to community organizations provides individuals with opportunities for

networking, working collectively, and gaining an education that allows them to change their

conditions. Local food initiatives have various educational roles, including teaching people how

to garden, how to identify and prepare produce, how to operate a micro-farm, and how to

consume in a more environmentally, economically and socially ethical way. While Oranjezicht

City Farm, Harvest of Hope, Pure Good, and Fountain of Hope focus on different aspects of

development and education, they are similar in their use of Freire's ideas about empowerment through education to support community and individual development.

At Oranjezicht City Farm, the educational component of the organization enables participants to reconnect with production, food, and land and to make more informed food choices. This occurs in the form of tours for primary and secondary schools, a weekly guided self-harvest that teaches people to identify and harvest their own produce, and a food talk series with lectures from experts on topics such as food sovereignty, indigenous foods, and healthy cooking. Most notably, volunteering at the community farm and speaking with other producers at the market educates community members on the environment and food system in which they live. OZCF uses education to encourage change at the individual and community level mainly among food consumers. Pure Good does the same, while Harvest of Hope supports change among producers.

Resources including education are exchanged in the partnership between Pure Good and Fountain of Hope. The restaurant raises awareness of community development projects and enables customers to support them, such as through the iced tea produced by Fountain of Hope and sold by Pure Good. Smuts, owner of Pure Good, also uses education to teach the youth about working in a restaurant, farming, cooking, and personal responsibility. Education is used to give the youth valuable life skills and an opportunity to further their education or employment in the future. The farm reconnects the young generation to the land, using the farm to teach them about responsibility, business, the hospitality industry, home gardening, cooking, and nutrition, among other topics and skills. This training supports the independent living model of Fountain of Hope (Hunt, pers. comm.). The food-related lessons empower the young generation to transition into adulthood and sustain a high quality of life.

Education and skill building are the foundation of Harvest of Hope. A significant amount of funding and resources goes into offering training sessions to support the 4000+ micro-farmers of HoH. Giving them the physical resources and knowledge they need to have a highly productive farm, HoH encourages family farms to become micro-farms and participate in the box scheme. HoH training also supports current micro-farms to sustain production and increase productivity to move up the levels of commercialization and profit. This process occurs as a key aspect of Abalimi's Farmer Development Chain. Providing small-scale farmers with these resources empowers them to be able to compete with large corporations and regain control over the food system. In this way, education is a means to alleviate poverty, foster a personal and communal sense of achievement, and localize and democratize the food system.

The initiatives draw on the work of Freire, utilizing informal education to empower communities to better their socioeconomic conditions. By assisting individuals and communities to regain power over their role in the food system, local food initiatives enable communities to help themselves in other aspects of development as well.

7. Conclusion

This exploration of diverse local food initiatives in Cape Town found that such initiatives often have roles other than simply supporting a local food movement. They act as community-focused organizations seeking to build social capital and community capacity by empowering individuals and groups through education and food sovereignty principles. While great differences in objectives, resources, target community, and actual impact exist, the schemes are similar in their goals to localize the food system as a means to economic development at the community level. Local food has environmental, economic, and physical health consequences,

but when studied in a social context, projects and organizations employ food sovereignty and educational components to empower social and economic community development.

8. Limitations and Recommendations for Further Study

This study provides insight into the role of a community garden, box scheme, restaurant, and youth center in community development. While they represent the vastness and diversity of the food system, it would be beneficial to further study local food initiatives such as a farmer's market, individual farmers, and an organization using innovative forms of rooftop gardening. The time frame and difficulties in communication and scheduling inhibited the researcher from exploring these types of initiatives. Analyzing how various projects support a localized food system and food sovereignty as well as aspects of development like social capital and education would be beneficial in identifying how organizations can better support both goals. Additionally, while social capital theory is explored in this study, a more in-depth look into how social capital is created, bridged, and made exclusive in such schemes would provide understanding on the equality of impact of such initiatives on participants.

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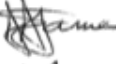
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Appendices

Appendix A: Local Review Board Action Form

SIT Study Abroad
a program of World Learning

Human Subjects Review
LRB/IRB ACTION FORM

Name of Student: Megan Bradley

ISP Title: The Role of Local Food Initiatives in Community Development

Date Submitted: March 28, 2014

Program: SIT Community Health + Social Policy

Type of review:

Exempt ☐
Expedited ☒
Full ☐

Institution: World Learning Inc.
IRB organization number: IORG0004408
IRB registration number: IRB00005219
Expires: 22 December 2014

LRB members (print names)
Mr. John McGladdery

Dr. Angela James

Mr. Clive Bruzas

LRB REVIEW BOARD ACTION:

____ Approved as submitted
____ Approved pending changes
____ Requires full IRB review in Vermont
____ Disapproved

LRB Chair Signature:

Date: 04/01/2014

Form below for IRB Vermont use only:

Research requiring full IRB review. ACTION TAKEN:

__ approved as submitted __ approved pending submission or revisions __ disapproved

IRB Chairperson's Signature   Date

Appendix B: Example Informed Consent Form

SIT Study Abroad
a program of World Learning

CONSENT FORM

1. Brief description of the purpose of this study

The purpose of this study is to learn about the role of local food initiatives in building social capital and supporting sustainable community development in Cape Town, South Africa.

2. Rights Notice
In an endeavor to uphold the ethical standards of all SIT ISP proposals, this study has been reviewed and approved by a Local Review Board or SIT Institutional Review Board. If at any time, you feel that you are at risk or exposed to unreasonable harm, you may terminate and stop the interview. Please take some time to carefully read the statements provided below.
  a. *Privacy* - all information you present in this interview may be recorded and safeguarded. If you do not want the information recorded, you need to let the interviewer know.

  b. *Anonymity* - all names in this study will be kept anonymous unless you choose otherwise.

  c. *Confidentiality* - all names will remain completely confidential and fully protected by the interviewer. By signing below, you give the interviewer full responsibility to uphold this contract and its contents. The interviewer will also sign a copy of this contract and give it to you.

I understand that I will receive no gift or direct benefit for participating in the study.

I confirm that the learner has given me the address of the nearest School for International Training Study Abroad Office should I wish to go there for information. (404 Cowey Park, Cowey Rd, Durban).

I know that if I have any questions or complaints about this study that I can contact anonymously, if I wish, the Director/s of the SIT South Africa Community Health Program (Zed McGladdery 0846834982).

_____   _____
Participant's name printed   Your signature and date
 Megan Bradley_____   Megan Bradley 3/19/14_____
Interviewer's name printed   Interviewer's signature and date

I can read English. (If not, but can read Zulu or Afrikaans, please supply). If participant cannot read, the onus is on the researcher to ensure that the quality of consent is nonetheless without reproach.