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SOCIAL CAPITAL IN COMMUNITY FOOD GARDENS IN ALEXANDRA JOHANNESBURG

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Management, University of the Witwatersrand, in 50% fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public and Development Management Sector Monitoring and Evaluation).

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Abstract

Social capital is a common outcome in community food gardens, yet detailed measurement of the concept is often unclear. Little is known about social capital in Johannesburg gardens and how it is mobilised. This research used both qualitative and quantitative methods to understand how gardeners mobilised social capital, and how Nan Lin's weak-tie position emerged in Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens. Further, it sought to understand what the theoretical and policy implications of measuring social capital were. Lin's conceptualization of social capital, resources embedded in a network, was used. The Resource Generator, a social capital measurement tool, was adapted using findings from focus groups and used to measure access to social capital. Semi-structured interviews were used to understand the mobilisation of social capital. Findings suggest social capital is present in GAGR gardens and mobilised to achieve gardeners' aims. Gardeners may also benefit from expanding gardens to serve a community purpose.

Declaration

I declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Monitoring and Evaluation) in the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.



Schlain Andrea Bhayla

21 October 2020

Dedication

This research is dedicated to all the gardeners of the Greater Alexandra Greening Route. Thank you to my friends and family for their support. To Ryan for constantly encouraging me and reminding me that I was almost at the end (even when I was far from it), and not allowing me to give up.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my supervisors, Dr Darlene Miller and Prof. Erin McCandless for their guidance and patience, their persistence in nudging me in the right direction, and their encouragement throughout the research process. Thank you to Paul Maluleke for allowing me into the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens, and to all the gardeners for sharing their experiences and making time for me. Without all of you, this research project would not have been possible.

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Glossary of Terms

Resource Generator: A measurement instrument for measuring access to social capital

Van Der Gaag, M., & Snijders, T. A. B. (2005). The Resource Generator: social capital quantification with concrete items. *Social Networks*, *27*(1), 1–29. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2004.10.001

Social Capital: Social capital is tangible and intangible resources embedded in a social structure that one has potential access to. Social capital can either be measured by access or mobilisation

Lin, N. (2004). Social Capital. In J. Beckert & M. Zagiroski (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Economic Sociology* (pp. 1–15). Rutlege Ltd.

Lin, N. (2005). A Network Theory of Social Capital. In G. W. Castiglione Dario, van deth Jan (Ed.), *Handbook on Social Capital* (pp. 1–25). Oxford University Press. https://global.oup.com/academic/product/the-handbook-of-social-capital-9780199271238?cc=za&lang=en&#

Häuberer, J. (2011b). The Resource Perspective – Nan Lin's Concept of Social Capital. In *Social Capital Theory* (pp. 117–145). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-92646-9_5

Weak-tie proposition: Relationships with friends and acquaintances

Häuberer, J. (2011b). The Resource Perspective – Nan Lin's Concept of Social Capital. In *Social Capital Theory* (pp. 117–145). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-92646-9_5

List of Abbreviations

FTFA: Food and Trees for Africa

GAGR: Greater Alexandra Greening Route

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

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Chapter 1

1.1 Background

In 2014, I began volunteering at Inkanyezi Primary School in Alexandra, Johannesburg. A colleague established a food garden that he and other volunteers worked on while I facilitated information technology classes on Saturday mornings. The food garden flourished in a small corner of the school with vegetables such as spinach, tomatoes, cabbages, carrots and green beans. The garden aimed to provide healthy meals to primary school children who often had very little to eat, relying on these school meals as their main source of nutrition.

While it was a great experience to watch the garden flourish, what was even more interesting were the dynamics that occurred around the gardening initiative. The food garden often became a place to socialize, a space to learn about gardening and community news, and a place to volunteer on Mandela Day. The most interesting part of this experience was how various people used the garden to further their agendas. School teachers asked volunteers to teach them how to use Microsoft Excel and Access, the caretaker's wife asked me for conversational English lessons, community members networked for jobs by asking parents and volunteers to share their CVs, the school principal secured paint for classrooms, and a volunteer eventually became the paid information technology teacher at Inkanyezi Primary school.

These experiences led me to think of community food gardens - an open space where individuals from a community come together to grow food, herbs or flowers (Alaimo, Beavers, Crawford, Snyder, & Litt, 2016; Draper & Freedman, 2010) - not only as a gardening space but also a place where tangible and intangible resources flowed between people. It was a perfect environment for interactions and exchange between different socio-demographic groups. Many Alexandra residents used this time together to ask non-residents who were also resource-rich volunteers to assist them in

some way. Those with resources were happy to share their knowledge, information, skills, and equipment. In trying to understand what I observed at the Inkanyezi Primary school's garden, I was led to reflect on the concept of social capital - the resources that exist within a network of people in a social structure that have tangible and intangible value. As well as how social capital plays out in and around gardening spaces (Lin, Erickson, 2008; Lin, 1999).This is the focus of this Masters research project.

Social capital is a common outcome of community food gardens. Community members have mobilised their social capital to establish community food gardens, and social capital is cultivated through participating in gardening activities (Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011; Glover, Parry, & Shinew, 2005; Kingsley & Townsend, 2006). Community food gardens are known to produce other positive benefits such as access to fresh food (Wang, Qiu, & Swallow, 2014), and economic development opportunities such as cost savings and income generation (Guitart, Pickering, & Byrne, 2012). Social capital mobilisation in community food gardens is used to access tangible and intangible resources to serve individual, community, and garden needs.

In South Africa, social capital also has a beneficial relationship with food security. In Johannesburg, poor households obtain meals from social networks and through sharing meals with others (Rudolph, Kroll, Ruysenaar, & Dlamini, 2012). The case for this research is the Greater Alexandra Greening Route based in Alexandra, a township in the City of Johannesburg, South Africa. Alexandra has a unique cultural context and history compared to most South African townships; therefore the community food gardens and the gardeners that cultivate them also have a particular culture and experience.

Alexandra, colloquially known as 'Alex', was established in 1912 less than 20 kilometres north of Johannesburg central. Nicknamed 'Gomorrah' after the wicked biblical city by residents, Alexandra is characterised by air pollution, high unemployment rates, a lack of pest and animal control, high population density, and poor sewerage and street drainage. Densely

populated, it spreads across 800 ha and houses around 750 000 – 900 000 people, yet originally was established for only 70 000 residents. It is hard to find an area that does not have informal dwellings clustered tightly next to each other in a chaotic and unplanned urban setting (Mgquba & Vogel, 2004; WorldBank, 2000). Many parts of Alexandra house transient communities with a constant influx of job-seeking migrants from rural South Africa and other parts of Africa. There is a consistent blurting of music from houses and cars competing for the attention of passing pedestrians. With its narrow streets and hardly any place to walk, drive or build houses, Alexandra is one of the unfortunate remnants of an apartheid urban township where spatial inequality remains a pressing issue. Alexandra has all the contradictions of apartheid townships as different social classes mesh together to create a South African township community.

Social and income inequality is apparent in Alexandra as some residents drive around in luxury cars, and live in well-built houses with expensive features and manicured lawns. Some residents rent out multiple properties to job-seeking migrants and own seemingly successful businesses. At the same time, other residents live in desperate poverty without running water or sanitation. Multiple residents often share small, one-room informal dwellings that are built in dangerous places such as riverbanks and on main roads. One can often see young children dodge speeding cars as they play in the busy streets.

The air in Alexandra feels thick as if everyone is competing for oxygen, space and what little economic opportunities exist. With barely any greenery, or trees that are often cut down to build houses or are used as firewood by residents, Alexandra feels hot and dry. Lodged between two major Johannesburg highways, pollution is a constant unwanted guest in Alexandra. Some residents even believe that their skin has become darker as the carbon monoxide emitted from passing cars on the highways settles on their skin. Yet between the chaos, the littered streets, the spots of burnt rubble and endless informal dwellings, symbols of hope are evidenced in the community food gardens.

The Greater Alexandra Greening Route (GAGR) was established in early 2016 as an eco-tourism project. Formed from ideas generated at a tourism workshop hosted by the South African Department of Tourism, GAGR is a community-based organisation with strong roots in Alexandra. The two main aims of the programme are to, first, ‘green’ various routes along Alexandra's streets that have been accredited as local tourism routes and, second, to create awareness about climate change in Alexandra. The tourism routes that all start at Central Johannesburg College have historical significance for Alexandra and post-apartheid South Africa. The Greater Alexandra Greening Route adopts various historic sites by establishing gardens or other forms of greening on the property. These sites include Early Childhood Development centres, schools, recreation centres, historic homes, and dumping sites that are cleaned for gardening purposes. The Greater Alexandra Greening Route supports a collection of approximately 20 gardens across Greater Alexandra. Neighbouring areas such as Bramley, Wynberg, Marlboro and Kew are part of Greater Alexandra. Gardens are supported with trees, seedlings, gardening tools and connections to private and non-governmental organisations that support urban agriculture.

In this study, I conceptualize social capital - access and mobilisation of resources to lead to action with a purpose - through Nan Lin’s definition and measurement tools. Specifically, I explore how social capital is mobilised in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens (Lin, 1999). I collected data about potential access to social capital through adapting an existing social capital instrument, the Resource Generator, through focus group discussions. I then undertook semi-structured interviews with gardeners to explore how their social capital was mobilised. My findings indicate that Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardeners have potential access to tangible and intangible resources, and have mobilised their social capital to maintain and grow gardens in some cases.

1.2 Research Problem

With rising food prices, increasing hunger among the poorest of the population, and a shrinking agricultural sector, food insecurity is a growing concern among South Africans. Before considering the food security challenges in South Africa, I start by providing a brief overview of the concept. Food security has been a historically difficult concept to define because the state of hunger is both physiological and psychological, however the most common and widely used definition is the one adopted by the World Food Summit Plan of Action in 1996. “[Food security is] …when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (FAO, 1996, as cited in Weigel & Armijos, 2015, p. 21). Further, food security can be disaggregated into four main dimensions: access, availability, utilization and stability. These dimensions can further be broken down into components of quantity (enough to eat); quality (nutritious foods); safety (contaminant-free with no health risks); and cultural acceptability and preferences (preferred diets according to culture) (Desiere et al., 2015; Leroy et al., 2015; Mertens et al., 2015).

In 2017, access to food was measured using the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale by the Department of Statistics South Africa. Findings indicated that 21.3% of South Africans had limited access to food (Statistics South Africa, 2019). At the same time, "approximately two-thirds (68%) of South African women are overweight or obese, and just under one-third of men (31%) are overweight or obese" (Statistics South Africa, 2017, p. 45). As unhealthy food that contain high amounts of fat and sugar continue to become cheaper than healthier food, many poor South Africans are at risk of contracting non-communicable diseases. These include hypertension, diabetes, heart disease and a host of ailments that come with poor nutrition and obesity. In Johannesburg there is sufficient availability of food to meet the requirements of those residing in the city, yet many have limited access to food because of unemployment and poverty (Kesselman, 2015). Further, more than 55% of households in Johannesburg source food from small

shops, restaurants and fast food outlets. These meals are often high in fat and sugar, which contribute to poor nutrition, eventually leading to non-communicable diseases. This means that limited access to healthy and affordable food compounded by a food system that produces unhealthy food cheaply is contributing to food insecurity in the city (Rudolph et al., 2012).

In Alexandra, food insecurity is prevalent, where 46% of households are food insecure with 13% mildly food insecure, 12% moderately food insecure and 21% severely food insecure (Rudolph et al., 2012). The state of food security in Alexandra remains worrying as many families plunge into poverty, and food prices continue to rise. Yet among the stark realities of poverty and the disappointing historic remnants of apartheid lie serene and flourishing symbols of hope – community food gardens (Misselhorn & Hendriks, 2017; Rudolph et al., 2012).

As noted earlier, some of the benefits of community food gardens are an increase in access to fruit and vegetables (Draper & Freedman, 2010; Guitart et al., 2012; Wills et al., 2010). Aligned to this thinking, South African policymakers, among other national and regional interventions, propose community food gardens as a partial means of addressing food insecurity in the country. The South African government's National Policy on Food and Nutrition Security 2014 by the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries views community food gardens as a mechanism for contributing to food security (*The National Policy on Food and Nutrition Security for South Africa*, 2014). One of the aims of the Integrated Food and Nutrition Programme – the tool for carrying out the policy objectives through various projects – is to establish home, community and school food gardens as a way to mitigate food insecurity at a household level (Prinsloo & Pillay, 2014). In some cases community food gardens have contributed to an improvement in economic and geographic access to food in Johannesburg (Kesselman, 2015). Even though outputs of fruits and vegetables from community food gardens are low, they are a useful addition to food security (Kesselman, 2017; Wills et al., 2010).

Critics of the National Policy on Food and Nutrition Security 2014 in South Africa note that community food gardens do not play a significant role in fresh food and vegetable consumption at the household level. Moreover, scant evidence is available to link community food gardens to food security, nor are community food gardens a viable income generation strategy for the unemployed. While community food gardens show the potential to grow the daily requirements for fruit and vegetable intake for the urban poor in high-income countries, this is not so promising for low- and middle-income countries. This is mainly because land availability is scarce due to densely populated cities in low- and middle-income countries (Badami & Ramankutty, 2015).

In South Africa there is very little rigorous evidence to support the claim of community food gardens as a partial solution to food insecurity. Some studies found that while some community food gardens do contribute to an improvement in consumption of food - depending on the productivity and size of the garden – they are not able to solve food security problems broadly (Shisanya & Hendriks, 2011). Additionally, many studies that have found community food gardens to be a partial solution to food security have poor methodological designs and weak forms of data (Webb, 2011). Where there is a contribution of produce from community food gardens to improved food security, the contribution is very modest (Ruysenaar, 2013). Further, impact evaluations that assess the impact of community food gardens on food security in low- and middle-income countries are absent. This makes it difficult to support or refute the assumption that community food gardens contribute to food security (Korth et al., 2014).

Suggestions on improving food security include developing an outcome and impact approach to food security interventions, and strategic partnerships with non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Additionally, access to land that is allocated for food security interventions should not be taken away later for housing or other development purposes. Addressing the food system systematically and holistically where community food gardens are part of several interventions to address food security in South Africa seems to be a more promising solution (Battersby et al., 2015).

The debate around the efficacy of community food gardens as a partial solution to food security in South Africa and the accompanying evidence thereof is beyond the scope of this research project. However, mobilising social capital in community food gardens contributes to the maintenance, growth and improved sustainability of the gardens (Firth et al., 2011; Glover et al., 2005; Olivier & Heinecken, 2017b). Social capital mobilisation is an important component of community food gardens as it contributes to more successful gardens. In turn, successful community food gardens have the potential to contribute to reducing food insecurity for both gardeners and the surrounding communities, depending on how produce is sold and distributed.

While the benefits of mobilising social capital cannot be ignored, little is known about social capital in community food gardens in South Africa. Further, less is known about how the mobilisation of social capital in Johannesburg community food gardens is used to preserve and grow gardens. Studies on social capital in community food gardens generally use bonding, bridging and linking social capital to explore the concept (Firth et al., 2011; Olivier, 2019; Wills et al., 2010). Very few studies have explored social capital using Nan Lin's conceptualization in the context of gardens (Glover, 2004; Glover et al., 2005). Furthermore, few studies have explored social capital in Johannesburg community food gardens (Wills et al., 2010), and there are no studies that have explored mobilisation of social capital in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens using Nan Lin’s conceptualization.

The Greater Alexandra Greening Route has a network of approximately 20 gardens in various locations across Alexandra. Some of the GAGR gardens have struggled to become sustainable, while others have flourished into small-scale farms. In Alexandra, many community food gardens face a myriad of challenges including limited access to land, water shortages, and a lack of resources. However, research in Europe, North America and South Africa indicate that gardeners mobilise social capital to benefit their personal and gardening needs including growing and maintaining gardens (Firth et al., 2011; Glover, 2004; Glover et al., 2005;

Olivier & Heinecken, 2017b). With social capital emerging as an important link in community food gardens in various literature and the mobilisation of social capital used to contribute towards the sustainability of gardens (Draper & Freedman, 2010; Kingsley & Townsend, 2006; Olivier & Heinecken, 2017b), this research aims to understand how social capital is mobilised in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens. Findings from this research project could contribute to knowledge on social capital in Johannesburg community food gardens, and possibly inform methods of increasing the mobilisation of social capital to improve the sustainability of GAGR gardens.

1.3 Research Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this research is to understand social capital in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route's network of gardens, and mainly seeks to establish how social capital is mobilised in these community food gardens. Additionally, this research seeks to explore Nan Lin's framework of social capital to determine its appropriateness for understanding social capital in Johannesburg community food gardens. Understanding social capital in the community food garden setting could contribute to a case for community food gardens as a community development tool.

The main objective of this research is to describe how social capital is mobilised in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens. Additionally, it seeks to explore the appropriateness of using an established social capital measurement instrument in the Johannesburg garden context. Through measuring social capital using the Resource Generator, a questionnaire used for measuring access to social capital, then undertaking semi-structured interviews to understand experiences of social capital, this research both explores social capital and the appropriateness of using an established social capital tool in the South African community food garden context.

1.4 Research Questions

The main research question for this study is outlined below, followed by two sub-questions:

- How is social capital, as the tangible and intangible resources embedded within a social structure that are accessible through network ties, mobilised in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route community food gardens?

Sub-questions:

- How does Nan Lin's strength-of-weak-tie proposition apply to social capital in the context of the Greater Alexandra Greening Route community food gardens? This proposition posits that weak-ties, relationships with friends and acquaintances, as opposed to strong-tie relationships with family members, are more likely to contribute to accessing better social capital for obtaining additional or new resources.

- What are the theoretical and policy implications of a better understanding of how social capital is mobilised in community food gardens?

This report is divided into five chapters. First, a review of the literature that explores the concept of social capital is described. Then social capital in community food gardens and the conceptual framework for this study is outlined. Second, the methods used in this study are described, including the research strategy and design, data collection, analysis and procedures, validity, reliability and consistency of the study. Measurement instruments and the ethical considerations and limitations of this research are also included. Third, results from this research project are presented, alongside an analysis of the Resource Generator questionnaire data, and analysis of the semi-structured interviews to understand how social capital was mobilised by the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardeners. The fourth chapter of this report discusses the results in the context of the main research questions; how social capital was mobilised by the Greater

Alexandra Greening Route gardeners. Then, the research sub-question explores how Lin's strength-of-weak-tie proposition applies to social capital among gardeners. Next, other findings garnered from the research are presented and related to the research questions. Last, the concluding chapter clarifies the implications of these findings with regard to the research questions before exploring the theoretical and policy implications of understanding social capital in community food gardens.

Chapter 2: Literature and Framing

This review of literature chapter is broadly divided into two main subsections: an overview of social capital and social capital in community food gardens. The first subsection of the chapter introduces social capital as a concept by using Nan Lin's definition and conceptualization - tangible and intangible resources embedded in a network that people have potential access to. It defines the difference between access and mobilisation of social capital and outlines Lin's four postulates and seven propositions created for his social capital theory. Further, it describes the critiques of social capital and offers a response to those critiques. This section explains how the research questions will be answered through delineating the concept of social capital into measurable components – access and mobilisation. It also frames the strength-of-weak-tie proposition which is a research sub-question of this study. The literature review then explores the measurement of social capital access through the Resource Generator - an instrument designed by Van Der Gaag and Snjiders (2005). The Resource Generator is an improved instrument based on the combine elements from previous social capital instruments; the Position Generator and Name Generator that were created by Lin and Dumin, and Laudmann, Wellman, and Fischer, respectively (Lin et al., 2001; Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005).

The second subsection of this chapter outlines an overview of community food gardens including the motivations for establishing gardens, and benefits and negative outcomes of community food gardens. Next, it defines and outlines the food security and the challenges of food insecurity in South Africa. It then visits the South African Food and Nutrition policy that proposes community food gardens as a solution to food security and the critiques thereof. Then it explores the link between food security and social capital - resources embedded within a network - followed by a description of social capital found in community food gardens. This first subsection justifies the need to understand social capital in the Johannesburg community food garden context. This chapter concludes with a conceptual framework for this study including the theoretical framework of my research project, topical

research supporting the reason for this research, and my personal position on community food gardens and social capital.

2.1 An Overview of Social Capital

Social capital has many theoretical roots, definitions and forms of measurement, but it was the work of Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam and Lin that perhaps can be credited for moving social capital in the direction of a theory (Häuberer, 2011b; Lin, 1999; Putnam, 2001). Social capital can broadly be divided into two dimensions: structural and cognitive. The former is concerned with resources embedded in a social structure whereas the latter involves the "relationships and knowledge developed within relationships that govern the exchange" of resources (Foster & Maas, 2016, p. 10). Structural social capital is measured by the resources available in a network (access to resources), and "may be measured high or low with respect to resource access" (Foster & Maas, 2016, p. 11). Cognitive social capital is measured by trust, attitudes, beliefs, norms and values. Further, social capital can be measured on the national, community or individual level (Foster & Maas, 2016).

Cognitive social capital is often associated with Putnam's conceptualisation. In this definition, social capital exists in relationships among individuals. Cognitive social capital posits that value inherently exists in social contacts, and this affects how people belonging to a social network prosper in society. Social capital is defined by what exists in relations between individuals: how individuals feel about trust, reciprocity, values and attitudes towards each other. This form of social capital is very subjective as it is linked to how people feel about one another (K. Foster & Maas, 2016; Häuberer, 2011a; Putnam, 2001). While cognitive social capital was popularized by Putnam and often the social capital definition that people most recognize about the concept, I believe that cognitive social capital does not have identifiable measurement beyond what occurs in normal social relationships – personal trustworthiness, reciprocity among groups and so on.

On the other hand, structural social capital theorist believe social capital is founded on the idea that resources can be exchanged within a network of relationships and these resources can be measured (K. Foster & Maas, 2016; Häuberer, 2011c; Lin et al., 2001). One such theorist is Nan Lin who created measures from postulates and theorems of social capital. This study focuses on individual-level structural social capital as theorized by Nan Lin. Before delving into Nan Lin's conceptualization of social capital, a distinction is helfpul. While structural social capital is defined as resources embedded in a social structure, relationships in a social structure are also an important component of social capital. Looking at it another way, removing the relationship element from the conceptualisation of social capital leaves only the resources dimension. Removing resources leaves only social relations. Both are needed to engage the concept fully. Therefore, when engaging in an analysis and discussion of social capital, both the resources and relationship of the resource owner is interrogated.

Nan Lin engages the interdependence of these issues (Lin, 1999). Lin views social capital from a resource perspective where he defines social capital as the "resources embedded in one's social networks…that can be accessed or mobilised through ties in the networks" (María Viedma Marti, 2004, p. 4), and is used to reach individual aims. In this definition, there are three important elements to social capital: (1) resources embedded in a social structure, (2) accessibility to these resources by individuals, and (3) use or mobilisation of resources by individuals engaged in purposive action (Lin et al., 2001). Further, the "concept of social capital is only valid in a hierarchically structured society" (Häuberer, 2011c, p. 127), and is produced in both open and closed social structures. A closed social structure would be a dense network where actors do not have links outside of the network, whereas in an open network an actor would have more links outside of the network (Lin, 2004).

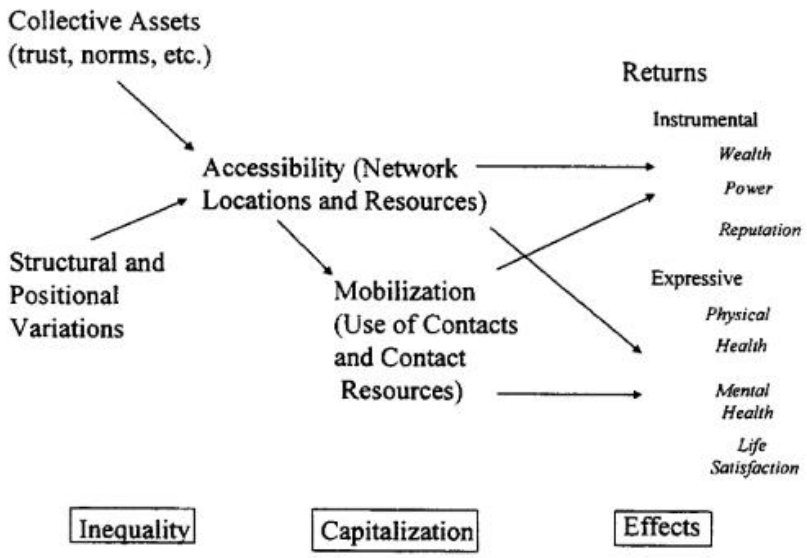
Social capital is further distinguished by access and mobilisation. Access to social capital is the pool of resources embedded in one's network and the potential to access these resources through one's ties or relationships. This is typically measured by name-generators or position

generators that measure resources and are potentially accessed by an individual in a network (Lin, 2005). Mobilisation of social capital is defined as the marshalling or use of social capital to gain a return and is measured through “access and invisible and visible use of resources embedded in networks”(Lin, 2005, p.10). Further, when measuring mobilised social capital it is important to note the position of the individual both before and after accessing the resources in order to completely reflect the process by which social capital created returns (Lin, 2005). Social capital is measured through the potential access to, or mobilisation of, available resources in a network. Therefore, the resources and the relationship of those that hold the resources are very important when measuring social capital (Lin, 2004; Lin et al., 2001; Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005).

Additionally, social capital serves two different purposes – instrumental and expressive action. With instrumental action, social capital is used to obtain new or additional resources. For expressive action, social capital is used to maintain and preserve existing resources (Lin, 2005). Closed social structures are more useful for expressive actions, whereas open structures are more useful for instrumental actions (Häuberer, 2011c).

Figure 1

Lin's Social Capital Model (Lin, 1999, p. 41)



Note. The schematic above describes Lin's conceptualization of social capital. Lin argues that social capital is another form of neo-capital and focuses on structural social capital (Häuberer, 2011c; Lin, 1999). He proposes four axioms or postulates - a statement that is generally regarded as being self-evidently true. Lin's four postulates are structural, interaction, network, and action postulates (Häuberer, 2011c).

- **The structural postulate** proposes resources in a pyramid-like structure with resource-dense individuals at the narrower top and others at the wider base. The more personal and social resources one has, the higher they are on the pyramid and can access more resources than others in the network because of their social standing. Relating this to a community food garden setting, a leader in the community might be able to access more resources (knowledge and information or garden produce) than others because they have a higher social position (Häuberer, 2011c; Lin, 1999).

- **The interaction postulate** notes that people will interact with those who have similar socioeconomic characteristics, lifestyles or social statuses to themselves. This postulate causes inequality in social capital. Some gardeners could choose to interact only with those that are from their community or gardens who are similar to them. This may cause inequality in social capital as resources only flow between similar individuals and do not extend to a wider network (Häuberer, 2011c; Lin, 1999).

- **The network postulate** states that people can only access resources embedded with others if they are part of a network or know someone in a network. Additionally, networks evolve naturally or are usually established to gather specific resources for a cause. Community members will only be able to access resources of the community food garden if they are either a

member of the network or know someone who is part of that garden (Häuberer, 2011c; Lin, 1999).

- **The <u>action postulate</u>** says that actors have various motivations for action which fall broadly into two categories: to maintain valued resources or to gain additional resources. Community food gardeners could maintain current resources through returns of being part of the garden such as improved physical and mental health. Gaining additional resources could be economic returns such as securing a loan or selling produce, and social returns such as organizing members for community activism (Häuberer, 2011c; Lin, 1999).

Further, Lin outlines seven propositions - a statement about a concept that may be judged as true or false if it refers to observable phenomena - of social capital.

- The **social-capital proposition proposes** that successful action is positively associated with social capital (Lin, 2001 as cited in Häuberer, 2011b).
- The **strength-of-position proposition** notes that if an actor already has a strong position of origin (resource-rich) they are more likely to access and use better social capital (Lin, 2001 as cited in Häuberer, 2011b).
- The **strength-of-strong-tie proposition** notes that the stronger the tie to someone, the more likely access to social capital will positively affect maintaining and preserving existing resources (Lin, 2001 as cited in Häuberer, 2011b).
- The **strength-of-weak-tie proposition** proposes the weaker the tie, the more likely one will access better social capital for obtaining additional or new resources (Lin, 2001 as cited in Häuberer, 2011b).
- The **strength-of-location proposition** proposes that the closer an individual is to a bridge (someone that connects others to a network), the better social capital they will access for obtaining

additional or new resources (Lin, 2001 as cited in Häuberer, 2011b).

- The **location-by-position proposition** proposes that the "strength of a location (in proximity to a bridge)" (Lin, 2001 as cited in Häuberer, 2011b, p.124) to obtain additional or new resources depends on the variation of resources across the bridge.
- And lastly, the **structural contingency proposition** proposes that "the networking (tie and location) are constrained by the hierarchical structure for actors located near or at the top and bottom of the hierarchy" (Lin, 2001 as cited in Häuberer, 2011b, p.124).

2.1.1 Social Capital Critiques

Critics point out that social capital is theoretically and empirically problematic. First, social capital can be viewed as any relationship in a network, and therefore anything from associations, sports clubs, Rotary clubs or, more disturbingly, gang associations can be confused with social capital. The problem with classifying all social relations as social capital is that everything social can be group under the concept. Leaving no distinction between social relationships and social capital. All social relationships become physical capital wheather they have utility or not. This means that a relationship with friends as well as a formal business relationship can be termed social capital. This critique highlights the challenges with measuring social capital. If all social relations are grouped as social capital then it would be impossible to measure the concept as one would be measuring every single variation of a relationship in an individual's network. This would lead to hundreads of relationships that create extreme difficulty in measuring social capital (Fine & Lapavitsas, 2004).

Second, social capital disregards the individual's power of choice – where individuals in a network can simply choose not to help each other even if they have the resources to do so. This criticism of the concept points out

that social capital theorists assume that individuals exist in some type of moral economy where they would share their resources out of a moral obligation to others. Where, in fact, most individuals exist in some form of a capitalist economy where competition for resources is at the core of a society. By disregarding the individual's power of choice, the concept of social capital devoids the context in which it operates; competition for scarce resources (Fine & Lapavitsas, 2004; Navarro, 2002).

Third, social capital fails to be cognizant of economic power and politics in social structures. For those that have limited resources and occupy weaker social positions – leading to limited networks of influence - it is difficult to determine what resources they can capitalize on since there are so few resources to begin with. In addition to the above, critics note that theorists of social capital dismiss class dynamics within the theory. Critics of social capital note that when social capital is measured at the societal level, social classes are ignored. More specifically, social capital does not take into account the unequal distribution of resources between social classes (Das, 2006; Fine & Lapavitsas, 2004).

A fourth critique of social capital is that it diverges from the strict definition of capital. Capital in its' proper definition is something that generates profit and is physical such as ownership of property, means of production, or something that is owed by someone that can be exchanged for goods or money. This criticism highlights that social capital is not a capital because it does not have utility like traditional capitals, and therefore should not be termed a form of capital. There appears to be an emerging consensus, that it is difficult to separate the 'social' from the 'capital'. This means that there is no a clear line between where the social relation ends and where the capital that can be exchanged for utility begins. Again, this points to the measurement challenges with the concept of social capital (Das, 2006; Fine & Lapavitsas, 2004; Navarro, 2002).

When interrogating these critiques made about social capital, it is clear that these arguments are made on the more popular theorization of social capital by Robert Putnam. When examining the first critique - social capital

can be viewed as any relationship in a network - it is apparent that this critique does not take into account Lin's definition of social capital. Lin notes the premise behind social capital as "investment in social relations with expected returns" (Lin, 1999, p. 30), and many people have relationships without any expected return. Social capital, according to Lin, is more than just a casual friendship, but rather an investment with a person who can assist in some way. Again, social capital constitutes resources embedded in a social structure and not merely the social structure itself. Therefore, viewing social capital as just a relationship is incorrect in terms of Lin's definition.

Second, the critique that social capital disregards an individual's power of choice again comes down to what is being measured. There are two areas of social capital: the first is the existence of social capital, and the second is the mobilisation of social capital. In the latter, the choice of individuals is very much accounted for as members of a network might have potential access to social capital but are unable to mobilise it as resource owners make the choice not to share their resources.

The third critique of social capital is that it fails to be cognizant of economic power and politics in social structures. In the case of Lin's conceptualization, this is not true because of the structural postulate. Lin notes that the "concept of social capital is only valid in a hierarchically structured society" (Häuberer, 2011c, p. 127). Meaning that social capital only applies in societies where there are social classes. The awareness of social classes in Lin's theorization of social capital is conveyed through the structural postulate. This postulate notes that resources among individuals are in a pyramid like structure with dense resources at the top and less resources at the base (Häuberer, 2011c; Lin, 1999). In a typical capitalist society this is generally how resources would look among classes. While it may be true that Putnam's theorization of social capital does not take class dynamics into account, this is not the case for Lin's version.

The fourth critique, states social capital is not a traditional capital. This is true when looking at the classic or traditional theory of capital as noted above. However, Lin notes that social capital falls into the neo-liberal version

of capital. Human capital such as investment in technical skills and knowledge, and cultural capital such as reproduction values that hold meaning in society are recognized by neo-liberal theorists as capital. Therefore, whether social capital is capital or not depends on which lens one is viewing social capital through; the classical theory of capital or neo-capital theories (Lin, 1999). In this study, I view social capital through a neo-capital theory lens.

Looking beyond the criticisms of Robert Putnam's conceptualization, social capital is still worthy of study – and arguably with Lin's work as a framing. Additionally, social capital is found in both the establishment of community food gardens and embedded among members of the garden. Despite the theoretical and measurement challenges, social capital functions as a positive contribution to the sustainability of community food gardens (Draper & Freedman, 2010; Guitart et al., 2012; Kingsley & Townsend, 2006; Twiss et al., 2003; Vibert, 2016; Wakefield et al., 2007).

Borrowing from Lin's approach, this research project focuses on Lin's conceptualization of social capital and an adapted version of his Position Generator measurement tool, the Resource Generator, to measure potential access to social capital. Then mobilisation of social capital is explored as part of this research project (Lin, 2005;Lin et al.,2001; Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005).

2.2 Social Capital in Community Gardens

2.2.1 An Overview of Community gardens

Community food gardens - an open space where individuals from a community come together to grow food, herbs or flowers - have arisen in the context of food security discussions over the last decade (Guitart et al., 2012). While community food gardens are established to contribute to food security in most cases, this is not the only reason gardens are established. Common motivations for establishing community food gardens are access to fresh vegetables, enjoying time in nature, and contributing to environmental

practices by supporting green spaces. Improving well-being and health (Draper & Freedman, 2010; Guitart et al., 2012), and enjoying gardening as a hobby or passion are additional motivations (Scheromm, 2015; Veen et al., 2016). Further, opportunities to socialize (Draper & Freedman, 2010; Veen et al., 2016), create a source of income (or saving money by not purchasing vegetables from food retailers), enhancing cultural practices, and improving social cohesion are other common motivations for establishing community food gardens (Guitart et al., 2012). In South Africa, community food gardens are established to curb development challenges such as hunger, malnutrition, poverty, and unemployment (Vibert, 2016). Moreover, a Health Promotion Unit within a Johannesburg University in South Africa uses a food garden to create replicable models of successful gardens, and as a hub for research and practical learning among university students and researchers (Wills et al., 2010).

Aligned to the motivations for establishing community food gardens, gardens in the global north produce many benefits including improving access and consumption of fruit and vegetables, increasing physical activity, improving health, and increasing social cohesion (Draper & Freedman, 2010; Guitart et al., 2012). Additionally, community food gardens create economic development opportunities such as cost saving and income generation (Guitart et al., 2012), enhance civic engagement and organizing/mobilisation of gardeners (Draper & Freedman, 2010), as well as creating a place to network and socialize with neighbours (Glover, 2004). In South Africa, community food gardens' benefits include health benefits such as using garden herbs for minor ailments, skills development and training, capacity building and networking, and sharing of information (Wills et al., 2010). Additionally, Johannesburg gardens contribute to access to fresh food that is accessible, preferential, affordable and safe. However, the contribution is not sufficient enough for daily dietary requirements as recommended by the World Health Organisation. Johannesburg community food gardens have also contributed as an income generation activity, and a place to gain skills and knowledge (Kesselman, 2015).

While community food gardens boast many benefits, there are negative outcomes that occur in these social structures. Some gardeners in community food gardens experience social discrimination, strife between neighbouring social groups, inequality in the distribution of labour that leads to conflict, and altercations between garden members (Kingsley & Townsend, 2006). In South Africa, food produced in the gardens often only benefits the garden members and is not made available to the wider community (Ruysenaar, 2013). This may lessen support for community food gardens from community members. These types of negative outcomes of community food gardens have negative effects on relationships, and relationships are a fundamental component of social capital. Mobilisation of social capital is therefore undermined by strained relationships and other negative outcomes of community food gardens.

2.2.2 Social Capital and Food Security

As noted earlier, in South African efficacious community food gardens are seen as an important contributor to food security policy and approaches, but many have criticised the lack of evidence to support these policy assumptions (Badami & Ramankutty, 2015; *The National on Food and Nutrition Security for South Africa*, 2014; Korth et al., 2014; Ruysenaar, 2013; Webb, 2011). Notwithstanding the critiques of community food gardens as a partial solution to food security, there is some evidence that links social capital and food security beyond South Africa. In various parts of the world such as India, Indonesia and Japan, social capital has a positive relationship with health and food security.

Studies have found that children in India are less likely to be underweight if their households are connected to an organisation via bridging social capital, connections to networks that are distant. Children with a better nutritional status come from households that also have strong bridging social capital with organisations (Story & Carpiano, 2017; Vikram, 2018). In Indonesia, rebuilding social capital in resettlement sites has had a positive effect on access to food (Quetulio-Navarra et al., 2017), and in Japan social capital has had positive effects on foreign-born labourers - specifically with

regard to their well-being and health (Urakawa & Page, 2018). Further, in Connecticut, U.S.A, social capital among neighbours contributes to improved food security. Other evidence indicates that as a mother's social capital status increases, her children's nutritional status also increases (Domingo et al., 2017).

In South Africa, social capital also has a relationship with food security. In Johannesburg, poor households obtained meals from social networks and through sharing meals with others (Rudolph et al., 2012). This reflects the value of using social capital to obtain food as a resource in a social structure. In the Eastern Cape, female-headed households who tend to be poorer than male-headed households display higher levels of social capital and food security. Often women are more innovative in finding ways to acquire resources and generally turn to local social networks to manage food vulnerabilities (Shackleton et al., 2018). Additionally, South Africa's poor communities use social capital to lessen the effects of agricultural shocks and this leads to an increase in food consumption (Tibesigwa et al., 2016).

2.2.3 Evidence of Social Capital in Community Gardens

Lin (1999) positioned social capital as the *mobilisation of resources* to lead to action with a purpose. In the community food garden setting, gardeners use social capital to access tangible and intangible resources to serve their individual, community, and garden needs. Many community food gardens are the catalysts for this purposive action as gardeners mobilise their social capital to preserve and maintain gardens (Lin, 1999). Strong ties among community garden networks help to access resources which aid in maintaining and preserving gardens through sharing of tools, accessing a water supply, skills and capacity building, leveraging ideas and providing a labour pool. Weak ties among community food garden networks give gardeners access to social circles that would have otherwise not have been available. These networks provide access to resources, skilled labourers, and recruits (Draper & Freedman, 2010; Glover, 2004; Glover et al., 2005; Kingsley & Townsend, 2006).

Further, strong social ties - relationships that are very familiar - in community food gardens allow for the provision of tools, skills and supplies that make it possible to reach collective gardening aims such as removing trees and watering a garden. Weak social ties - relationships with individuals who are less familiar - allow gardeners to access people with skills and resources outside of a garden network. Gardeners are able to gain resources such as bricks for a walkway, recruit retired community members to become involved in gardening, and get politicians to share information about people with skills and resources (Glover et al., 2005). The strength of the relationship within networks plays a vital role in community food gardens and can be the difference between the growth or the failure of a garden (Olivier, 2015).

Most research on community gardens outlines the findings of social capital using Putnam's *bonding, bridging and linking social capital* (Kingsley & Townsend, 2006; Olivier, 2015). *Bonding social capital* is connections between individuals with similar socio-demographic traits. It is demonstrated in community gardens by the ability of gardeners to use networks to maintain gardens, create awareness about social issues, and organize and mobilise for social action (Carolan & Hale, 2016; Firth et al., 2011; Foster, 2013; Glover et al., 2005; Putnam, 2001). Similarly, in South Africa, bonding social capital in gardens on the Cape Flats in Cape Town has contributed to building caring relationships among gardeners as well as assisting them in reconnecting with society (Olivier, 2019).

Community food gardens also foster *bridging social capital* - connections to networks that are distant. Through bridging social capital, gardeners foster relationships with organisations such as Non-Governmental Organisations, environmental organisations and government. Through these relationships with distant organisations, gardeners are able to secure assistance to undertake research, drive capacity building, gain participation in gardens, raise awareness about issues and improve communication networks (Carolan & Hale, 2016; Filkobski, Rofè, & Tal, 2016; Firth et al., 2011; Foster, 2013; Lanier, Schumacher, & Calvert, 2015; Wills et al., 2010). *Linking social capital* links people who are outside of a network and who

have dissimilar social demographic traits. Linking social capital in community gardens helps raise awareness about the effects of natural disasters, aids in obtaining funding resources, builds networks with agricultural organisations, and improves ties with government (Carolan & Hale, 2016; Filkobski et al., 2016; Firth et al., 2011).

In South Africa, social capital generation in urban community gardens proves more difficult than rural area gardens because of the spatial divides that exist in most cities. This is further compounded by public transport challenges in cities. Community gardens in rural areas of South Africa generate social capital more easily because of the central location of the gardens (Vibert, 2016; Wills et al., 2010). However, some city community gardens in Cape Town promote mental and physical well-being, an increase in consumption of vegetables, and a place to learn skills and gain additional knowledge. More importantly, these community food gardens have fostered bonding and bridging social capital. Through bonding social capital, Cape Town garden members have shared labour, resources and produce. Bridging social capital was cultivated through networking and training events, and through gardeners distributing free produce. This created informal safety nets among neighbours and also allowed for sharing knowledge through a wider network (Olivier & Heinecken, 2017b).

Moreover, there is also inequality in social capital. In some cases, access and mobilisation of social capital in the community food garden setting are not always equal. Depending on the status or social positioning of gardeners in the garden network, social capital could be either a cost or a benefit. Garden members with little power in a community garden are unable to exert their influence on the decision making about the garden because of their weak social position. In other words, they are unable to mobilise resources within the network to benefit their individual interests because of their lower social position in the garden's hierarchical social structure. Thus, social capital does not serve them, which is its very purpose, and while they contribute their time, and possibly other resources they do not get anything in return. This could make social capital a cost on their behalf if a gardener's main reason for participation in a garden is to access resources. However,

many gardeners participate in gardens for other reasons such as opportunities to socialize or enjoying time in nature. These reasons may be benefit enough for some gardeners (Firth et al., 2011; Glover, 2004; Glover et al., 2005).

Although social capital has been found as an outcome of community gardens, definition and measurement of social capital in community garden studies are not always clear (Martin et al., 2016). In some cases, social capital is defined and measured very differently in studies. Sometimes social capital is defined as the quality of relationships among gardeners, at other times it is the exchanges of goods and services between households, and sometimes it is defined as gardeners working together (Gallaher, Kerr, Njenga, Karanja, & WinklerPrins, 2013; Glover, 2004). It might appear that social capital has become a term to group all social outcomes found in community gardens. This speaks to the critiques of social capital where confusion with definition and measurement can lead to any relationship and anything social being termed social capital.

Social capital has been identified in research on community gardens, albeit with various definitions, conceptualizations, and forms of measurement (Firth et al., 2011; Glover, 2004; Glover et al., 2005; Kingsley & Townsend, 2006; Martin et al., 2016; Olivier & Heinecken, 2017a). There are a few quantitative studies that have been undertaken on community gardens but most research methods are qualitative in nature with the dominant research done in the social science field (Guitart et al., 2012). Interviews, both structured and semi-structured, and narrative inquiries are used as data collection methods with very few studies using questionnaires to collect data (Glover, 2004; Guitart et al., 2012). This is also true for the South African context where interviews are the predominant data collection method in community garden research (Vibert, 2016; Wills et al., 2010).

As noted earlier, while there is scant evidence that links community gardens to food security, there is research that suggests that mobilising social capital by gardeners contributes to the sustainability and success of community food gardens (Firth et al., 2011; Glover, 2004; Glover et al., 2005;

Olivier & Heinecken, 2017b). Successful community food gardens have the potential to contribute to reduced food insecurity depending on the size, quality and output of the garden.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

In this research project, I use Nan Lin's conceptualization of social capital to understand how social capital is mobilised in Greater Alexandra Greening Route among gardeners. My position - based on my experience of gardens in Alexandra, Johannesburg and Washington, D.C. - is that community gardens do provide some value to gardeners and communities where gardens are situated, even if that value is minimal.

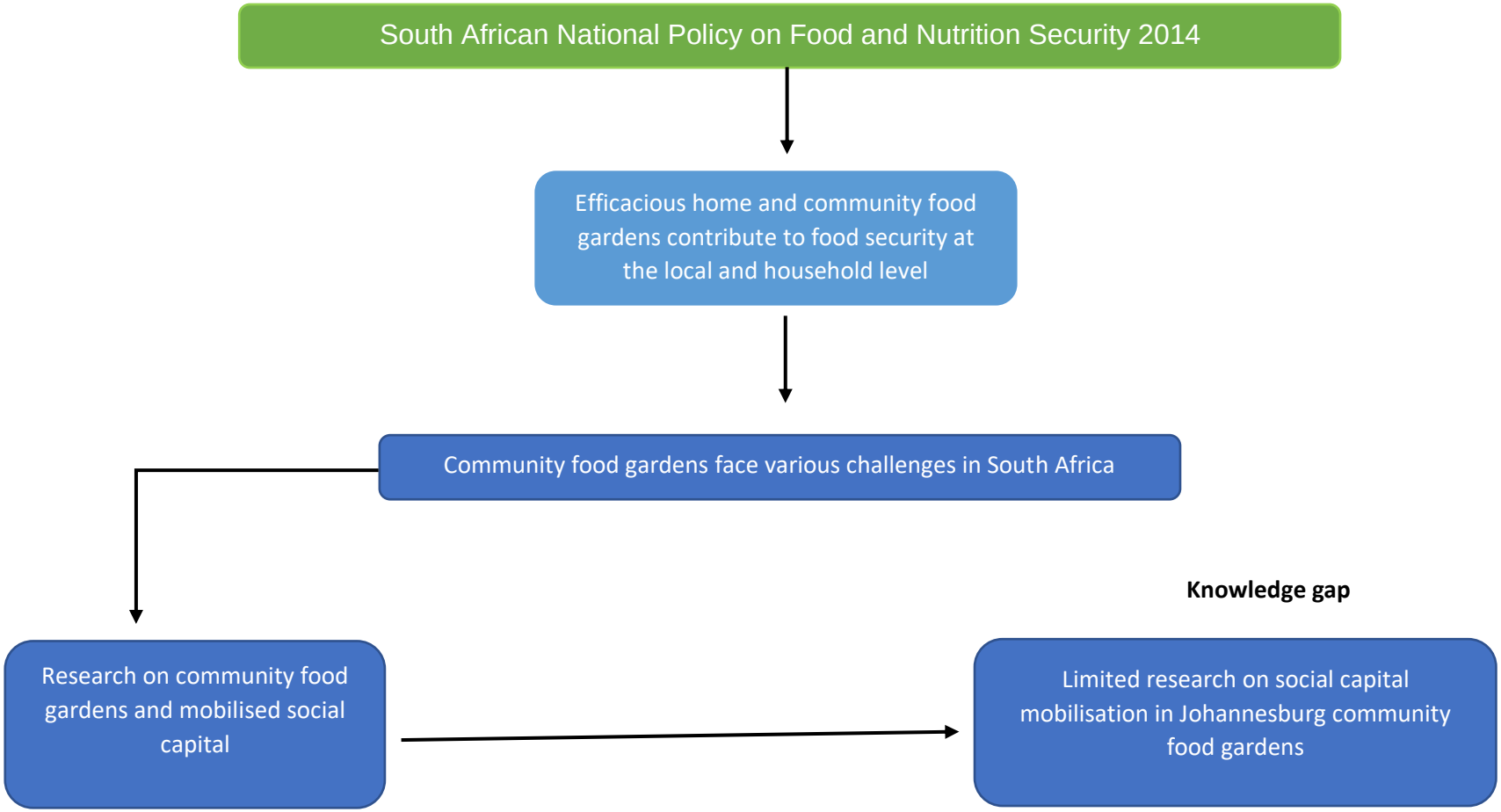
From a South African policy perspective, home and community gardens, among other nutrition and food security interventions, are seen as having an important contribution to food security (*The National Policy on Food and Nutrition Security for South Africa*, 2014). However, community food gardens have various challenges including access to land and water, limited market linkages, and a lack of skills and knowledge. These challenges limit success and sustainability of gardens (Wills et al., 2010). Although this may be true, research on community food gardens in various parts of the world and in South Africa indicate that mobilising social capital contributes to the maintenance and growth of gardens. In turn, this augments the sustainability of gardens (Firth et al., 2011; Glover et al., 2005; Olivier & Heinecken, 2017b). Yet, little is known about social capital and how it is mobilised in Johannesburg community food gardens, and no studies have been undertaken on the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens that have explored social capital.

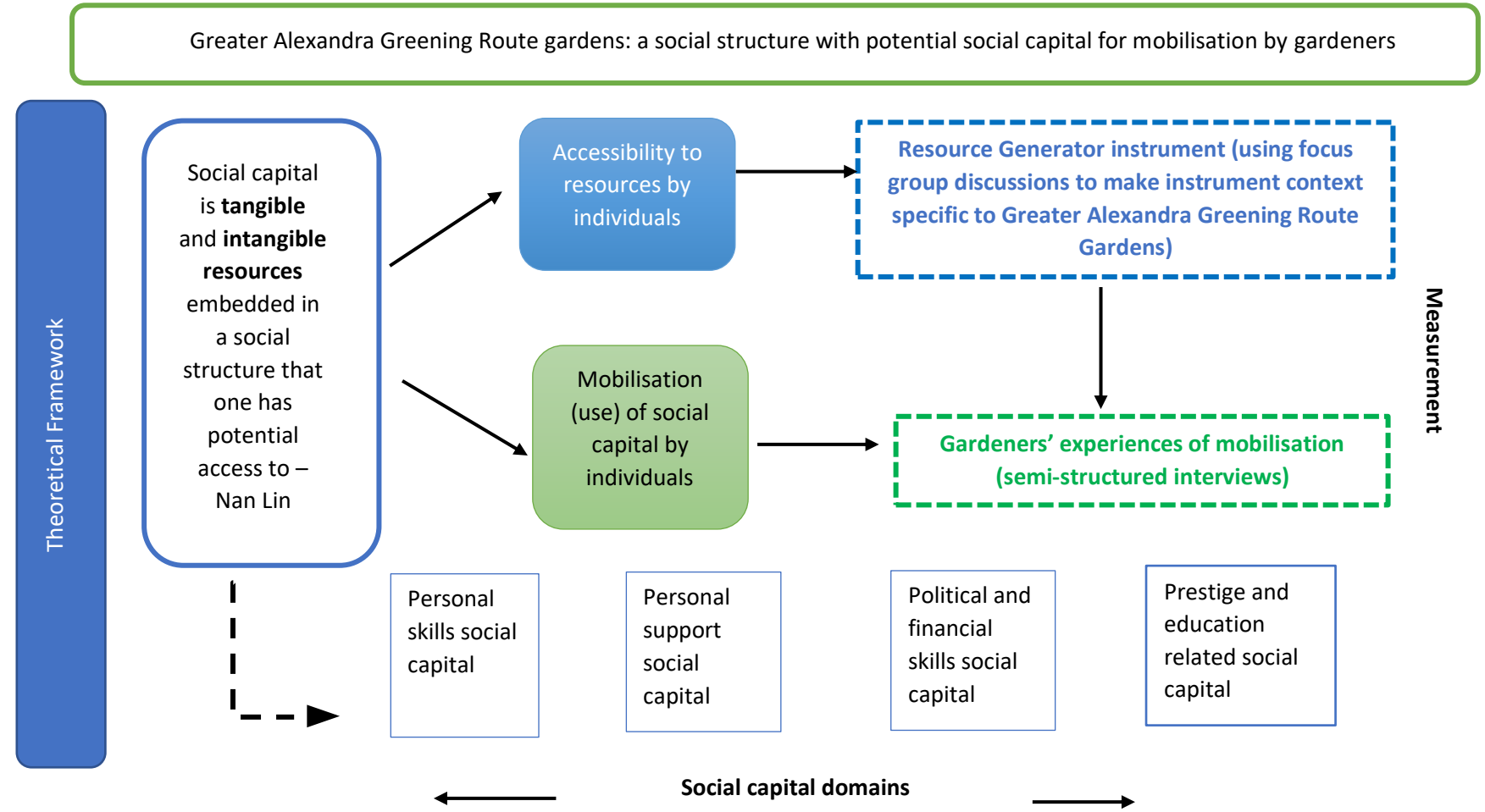
I use Nan Lin's conceptualization of social capital as the basis of my conceptual and theoretical framework to explore and describe how social capital is mobilised in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens from the perspective of gardeners. My stance towards mobilised social capital is that it can be measured through the experiences of gardeners if access and mobilisation are measured jointly, as suggested by Nan Lin. I use Lin's social

capital definition as the tangible and intangible resources embedded in a social structure that one has potential access to. Further, as Lin theorized social capital is divided into two broad areas in my research project: access and mobilisation. Measures of social capital include resouces and relationships (Häuberer, 2011c; Lin, 2004; Lin et al., 2001; María Viedma Marti, 2004). Gardeners' potential access to social capital is measured using an adapted version of the Resource Generator which is an existing tool for measuring social capital. Van Der Gaag and Snijders, used the strengths from the Position Generator created by Nan Lin to create the Resource Generator (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005). The Position Generator created by Lin and Dumin (1986) listed positions based on perceived importance in a society (for example lawyer, doctor, pilot, politician etc.) and asked respondents to indicate if they knew those contacts on a first name basis (Lin and Dumin, 1986 as cited in Lin et al., 2001). I borrow from Lin's conceptualization where social capital is measured through potential access to resources, and mobilization of social capital is explored through use. I depart from Nan Lin's theory and measurement tools of social capital during my data collection where I use an adapted version of the Resource Generator. I adapted the Resource Generator to the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens by replacing items on the instruments with questions about resources that emerged during focus group discussions with GAGR gardeners. Mobilisation of social capital is explored through semi-structured interviews with gardeners who have potential access to a high amounts of social capital as indicated by social capital scores from the Resource Generator questionnaire. Further, social capital is explored through the lens of four social capital domains: personal skills social capital, personal support social capital, political and financial skills social capital, and prestige and education-related social capital (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005). The conceptual framework of my research project is also outlined in a schematic below (Figure 2).

Figure 2

Conceptual Framework




Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens: a social structure with potential social capital for mobilisation by gardeners
Theoretical Framework
Social capital is **tangible** and **intangible resources** embedded in a social structure that one has potential access to – Nan Lin
Accessibility to resources by individuals
Mobilisation (use) of social capital by individuals
Resource Generator instrument (using focus group discussions to make instrument context specific to Greater Alexandra Greening Route Gardens)
Gardeners' experiences of mobilisation (semi-structured interviews)
Measurement
Personal skills social capital
Personal support social capital
Political and financial skills social capital
Prestige and education related social capital
Social capital domains

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This chapter on Research Methodology addresses the research approach, procedures and methods of this research study.

- First, it outlines the research paradigm, strategy and design.
- Second, this chapter describes how data was collected, including the sampling methods used, how the Resource Generator questionnaire was adapted to the GAGR context, and the data processing and analysis used in this study.
- Third, the validity and reliability processes undertaken are described including the internal reliability of the measurement instrument, and the reliability and validity of the study. Lastly, the ethical considerations are outlined before ending with the limitations of this study.

This research is situated in a transformative paradigm where my assumptions about the social reality of the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardeners are bound by the history of Alexandra and the constantly changing environment in which gardeners operate. In this instance, mobilisation of social capital is viewed through the eyes of the gardeners, and is constantly changing as gardeners form new relationships and networks, or exit existing networks or dissolve relationships.

For this study, I believed that the truth about social capital is considered knowledge if it can be turned into practical applications for gardeners. This study constructs knowledge through the gardeners' perspectives and how they view using their tangible and intangible resources in their networks. As well as understanding the context in which social capital is used through interpreting reality through the eyes of GAGR gardeners (Bryman, 2012; Wagner et al., 2012). My intention for the research was to empower the GAGR gardeners with knowledge about their social capital in the hope that they would use this social capital knowledge to grow and sustain their gardens, which in turn, would improve their lives. I believe, through the data collection processes, inklings of empowerment emerged as gardeners

started to think about potential resources within their networks and how to capitalize on them. Further, as critical social science research, this research study aimed to contribute to achieving social change in Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens. As exploratory and descriptive research, I studied the mobilisation of social capital in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route programme which has not been explored before in this context (Wagner et al., 2012).

3.1 Research Strategy

A mixed methods research strategy was used in this study which enabled me to explore how social capital was mobilised in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens in this research project. Additionally, this research strategy supported me to enhance triangulation in this study by cross-checking social capital through both qualitative and quantitative research methods. It made it possible for me to look at social capital from both a static lens, often associated with quantitative research, and a processual lens, often associated with qualitative research. Thus I viewed social capital through broad differences in social capital scores and explored the process of how gardeners used their social capital. This research strategy also aided me in instrument development. I was able to develop the quantitative data collection instrument, the Resource Generator, through qualitative data collection methods and focus group discussions.

More specifically, the research design for this study was a descriptive case study with cross-sectional (survey research) elements. A descriptive case study research design was most suitable for this research project as the focus was to determine how social capital was mobilised in GAGR gardens at one point in time. As well as to cover the contextual conditions of GAGR that were relevant to understanding social capital in this project. Further, the phenomenon of social capital may operate differently in the context of GAGR gardens compared to other Alexandra communities. It was therefore difficult to determine the boundary between the phenomenon and the context, which made a case study most suitable for this research. The case or unit of

analysis for this study was the Greater Alexandra Greening Route programme. This meant that only gardeners that were part of the GAGR network were included in this study (Jack, 2008). This report is based on three sources of data from focus group discussions, a fully structured questionnaire, and semi-structured interviews.

Additionally, the cross-sectional element of understanding potential access to social capital is relevant to understanding social capital at one point in time on a sample. This design is often used in exploratory and descriptive studies that use questionnaires or structured interviews for data collection. More specifically, an exploratory sequential design was adopted in this study, which means qualitative research was employed as preparation for quantitative research. Data collected from focus groups was used to inform the quantitative data collection instrument in this study. A cross-sectional design was most appropriate for this study; I aimed not to show causal inferences between variables as with experimental designs, but merely to describe the variable (Babbie, 2013; Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014; Wagner et al., 2012).

In this study I used Lin's theory to describe how gardeners in GAGR gardens used structural social capital conceptualized as resources that one can have access to depending on their relationship to others in a network. First, I determined perceived resources in GAGR gardens by undertaking focus group discussions. Second, I adapted an existing tool used to measure access to social capital, the Resource Generator, which made it context-specific by adding items (resources) to the tool from focus group discussions. Third, I explored how gardeners mobilised their social capital for action through semi-structured interviews.

As noted earlier, this study aimed to answer the following questions:

<u>Main research question:</u>

- How is social capital, as the tangible and intangible resources embedded within a social structure that are accessible through network ties, mobilised in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route community food gardens?

Sub-questions:

- How does Nan Lin's strength-of-weak-tie proposition apply to social capital in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route community food gardens? This proposition posits that weak-ties, relationships with friends and acquaintances, as opposed to strong-tie relationships with family members, are more likely to contribute to accessing better social capital for obtaining additional or new resources.
- What are the theoretical and policy implications of a better understanding of how social capital is mobilised in community food gardens?

3.2 Sampling

Table 1

Sample Inclusion and Exclusion criteria

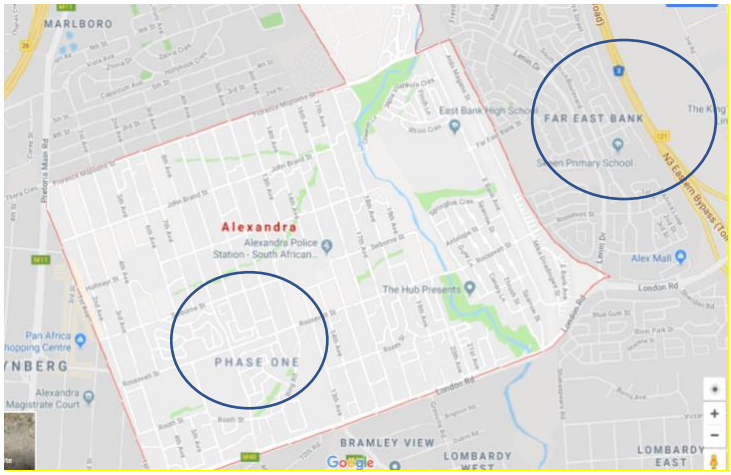
Inclusion criteria	**Exclusion criteria**
Gardeners that were part of the GAGR programme for at least three years	Declined consent
Gardens that have at least two gardeners	Declined to participate in research
Gardeners who are older than 18 years old and not learners, or in secondary school or equivalent	Members that are part of the Greater Alexandra Greening Route network but who are not gardeners

The sample for this study was selected based on the inclusion criteria outline in Table 1. The sample for this research study included gardeners from six gardens that are part of Greater Alexandra Greening Route. Two of the gardens are cooperatives; two are based in a preschool and day-care centre,

respectively; and one that was started by a group of artists who reside in the vicinity is situated between residential flats. The last garden was part of an Alexandra based cooperative, but moved to another cooperative on a small farm on the outskirts of Johannesburg to expand operations.

Figure 3

General location of gardens in Far East Bank and Phase One, Alexandra



Note. The gardens of the Greater Alexandra Greening Route are scattered across Alexandra's Phase One and Far East Bank approximately two to three kilometres apart (Figure 3). There are 20 gardens in GAGR that grow herbs and vegetables for consumption and sale to neighbouring community members.

The target population for this study was all gardeners who have been part of the GAGR programme since September 2016 or at least three years, have at least two gardeners in the garden, and who are older than 18 years of age and not learners. When these criteria were applied to all GAGR gardens listed, the target population was 41 gardeners out of approximately 200. About 159 were learners and adults who did not meet the age limit criterion. However, of the 41 gardeners, I was only able to contact 25 gardeners of which one declined to participate.

This study sample was 24 gardeners in total and I assumed a purposive sampling approach for the focus group discussions to get a variety

of perspectives from GAGR gardeners as the population was relatively small. All 24 gardeners were selected for the focus group discussions and invited to the sessions. The gardeners likely familiarity with the resources circulating or exchanged within the gardens, made them the appropriate sample for the focus group discussions. I undertook two focus group discussions with a total of 18 gardeners; six in one group and 12 in the other.

The sampling approach for the survey research was purposive sampling as well. I administered the survey to 19 gardeners. Gardeners that were surveyed in this study were the same gardeners that participated in the focus group discussions, except for one gardener.

Criterion sampling, which is a form of purposive sampling, was followed for the semi-structured interviews in this study. Criterion sampling is where a sample is selected based on a set of criteria. In this case, 15% of the gardeners were surveyed. These gardeners had the highest social capital scores from the Research Generator, and were sampled for the semi-structured interviews. This equated to four gardeners who participated in semi-structured interviews. I believed that data saturation had occurred after the four interviews as new themes from the interviews no longer emerged. An assumption made in this study was that gardeners with the most social capital, as compared to those with little social capital, mobilised their social capital to reach their individual aims. Therefore gardeners with the highest social capital scores, were likely to have experiences of social capital mobilisation. I assumed these experiences would emerge from the gardeners in the semi-structured interviews.

3.3 Adapted Resource Generator

As noted earlier, most research on social capital in community food gardens is qualitative in nature. This can be attributed to the fact that measuring and understanding social capital as it occurs in community food gardens is better understood through interviews with research participants. The participant can tell a ‘story’ of their experience and from that story researchers can make connections to social capital theory (Guitart et al.,

2012). However, there have been a few studies on social capital in community food garden research that used quantitative methodology and questionnaires as data collection methods (Glover, 2004). A solely quantitative approach would not allow understanding of how community food gardeners mobilised social capital to their advantage, and if there were instances of unequal access to social capital in community food gardens. Qualitative studies on social capital in community food gardens allow for probing of specific instances of social capital mobilisation as opposed to quantitative studies (Wagner et al., 2012). Further, additional quantitative studies are called for in the area of social capital and community food garden research (Draper & Freedman, 2010; Prinsloo & Pillay, 2014). On the other hand, it is difficult to measure potential access to social capital using qualitative studies only.

Lin (2005) recommends measuring access and mobilisation of social capital together. He suggests measuring access to social capital through Position Generators (Lin et al., 2001; María Viedma Marti, 2004). The Position Generator created by Lin and Dumin (1986) lists positions based on the perceived importance in a society (lawyer, doctor, pilot, politician etc.) and he asked respondents to indicate if they knew those contacts on a first name basis (Lin and Dumin, 1986 as cited in Lin et al., 2001). If the contact with the resource was identified, the respondent was asked to classify their tie to the contact: family member, friend, or acquaintance. Lin and Dumin (1986) found that relationships with friends and acquaintances provided the best access to resources and the most range of resources (Lin and Dumin, 1986 as cited in Lin et al., 2001). Through data from Position Generators, “Lin and Dumin (1986) constructed two measures for access to social capital; the highest status accessible (the positions accessed with the highest prestige score), and the range of statuses access (the difference between the highest and lowest accessed statuses)” (Lin and Dumin, 1986 as cited in Lin et al., 2001, p.63). To my knowledge, there have not been any studies in Johannesburg community food gardens using Nan Lin’s conceptualizing of social capital. Nor have there been studies using the adapted version of the

Position Generator instrument (the Resource Generator) to measure access to social capital (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005).

The Resource Generator, an improvement of the Position Generator created by Van Der Gaag and Snijders (2005), lists resources instead of positions and asks respondents about the relationship with the owner of the potential resource. Van Der Gaag and Snijders (2005) proposed grouping general social capital, "referring to social resources in a wide set of life domains that covers the needs of an average person in modern industrial society" into four domains (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005, p. 3). These domains, created for studying general social capital in the Netherlands, are

- prestige and education related social capital such as having a tertiary education, or good contacts with media;
- political and financial skills social capital such as being active in a political party or someone who knows about financial matters;
- personal skills social capital such as someone who owns a car or can work with a personal computer; and
- personal support social capital such as someone who can help with moving house or can give advice about conflicts with family members.

Social capital is measured high or low where the measure is the number of items accessible in each domain (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005). Resource Generators are made context-specific before being employed as data collection instruments. By using resources distinct to each sample being studied, Resource Generators are adapted to the context under study. There is no specific model of the Resource Generator questionnaire, but rather a structure of what a questionnaire could be (Foster & Maas, 2016; Kobayashi, Kawachi, Iwase, Suzuki, & Takao, 2013; Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005).

In this study, the Resource Generator questionnaire was adapted to the Greater Alexandra Greening Route context after analysis and reflection of discussions generated during focus group sessions. Specifically, resources that emerged from focus group discussions data were added as items to the

questionnaire and accompanied by a question about the relationship to the resource holder that a gardener had potential access to. If gardeners selected ‘Yes' as an answer option to any question, they were then asked to classify their relationship with the owner of the potential resource. When an answer was ‘No’, gardeners moved on to the next question. For example, the first question was – Do you know anyone who could help you with a spade? If the answer was ‘Yes’, the gardener was asked to select whether this individual with a spade was an acquaintance, friend or family member (see Appendix A). I explained an acquaintance to gardeners as someone they were on a first-name basis with, greeted or stopped to make small talk with when they came across them in public spaces – but would not share their personal life with them or invite them over to their house as a friend. The gardeners seemed to understand the difference between an acquaintance and a friend with this explanation.

I contextualized the Resource Generator because this measurement tool needed to be context-specific to the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens. Each community would most likely have a different set of resources depending on the socio-demographic status of the people in that community. This includes their income levels, education and assets. In South Africa there are many classifications of social class. One cannot compare resources for the upper and middle class to those held by the working class, underemployed or unemployed. The middle class would have more and better resources compared to the working class based on their socio-demographic profile. Certainly, one cannot compare the resources available in a developed community such as Sandton, an upper- and middle-class South African neighbourhood, to those in a marginalized community like Alexandra even if they are geographically adjacent. Thus, it was important for the Resource Generator items to be reflective of the resources in GAGR gardens located in Alexandra. I, therefore, used focus group discussions to determine the perceived resources in the GAGR network and adapted the Resource Generator items with these resources.

Since the domains created by Van Der Gaag and Snijder (2005) were specific to the Dutch population, I adapted the definition of the domains for

measuring social capital to the Greater Alexandra Greening Route context. I did this by thinking about the main factors that an Alexandra resident could need to be a successful gardener. The domains below are in no particular order of importance. The factors for success were informed by informal conversations with the GAGR Programme Manager and gardeners throughout this research project. The first factor comprised of equipment and tools needed to undertake the everyday maintenance of a garden. Here I grouped tools such as a spade, rake, and seedlings into this category as these are items required for the upkeep of a garden. This category comprised of physical resources that gardeners had access to. Since one of the gardens needed internet/WIFI to maintain everyday activities, this category also included an internet connection as a resource. I viewed these physical items as support items for the garden which were owned by individuals and therefore grouped the items as personal support social capital.

The second factor that I believe is needed to have a successful garden in Alexandra consists of knowledge, skills and ideas that could help a gardener expand gardening activities. Unlike the physical resources needed to maintain a garden and keep it afloat, these human capital resources such as ideas, skills and knowledge turned a garden from ordinary and survivalist to a thriving enterprise with multiple offerings. This category is the personal skills social capital.

The third factor is prestige and specialized skills needed to access scarce resources in Alexandra such as water or security, or an electricity connection. While water and electricity are basic necessities to most South Africans who live in suburbs, these resources are very scarce and difficult to obtain in Alexandra - especially for gardening use. A good social standing in the community is required to get access to these resources. I viewed this as prestige; widespread respect and admiration for someone. Respected elders among the community are able to use there perceived prestige to get access to scarce resources from community members. Additionally, resources such as an electricity connection would require some knowledge about electricity currents and circuit boards. Someone with a specialized skill in electricity connections would be needed to obtain electricity. Resources related to this

category of social capital is categorized as prestige and education-related social capital.

The forth factor is related to obtaining government or community resources through connections. These connections often have political influence within Alexandra. This factor would also aid in maintaining or expanding a garden through gaining resources. Either through a local politician or knowing a community leader that could help one obtain additional resources. This category of social capital is different from personal skills social capital, although the purpose is also to expand a garden, as it encompasses resources that an individual would not have general access to. For example a bigger portion of land in Alexandra. This category of social capital is political and financial skills social capital.

In summary, I adapted the definitions of social capital domains from Van Der Gaag and Snijder (2005) to the Greater Alexandra Greening Route context by thinking about factors required for establishing, maintaining and expanding a garden in Alexandra. This was based on the conversations with gardeners and the GAGR Programme Manager.

- Personal support domain means that a gardener has access to someone who can help them maintain and preserve a garden.

- Personal skills social capital means that a gardener has access to someone with knowledge or skills that can help grow and expand a garden.

- Prestige and education-related social capital means that a gardener has access to someone who has specialized skills such as assisting them with an electricity connection or procuring a fence.

- Political and financial skills social capital means that a gardener has access to a local politician or community leader.

3.4 Data Collection and Procedures

This research project took place between January and February 2019. Before any data collection, ethics approval from the University of the Witwatersrand, and permission to research the Greater Alexandra Greening Route was obtained. Participation in this study was voluntary and fully informed. Gardeners did not receive any compensation for being part of this study beyond a transport stipend reimbursement for those that attended focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews. Many gardeners had to travel via public transport from various locations in Greater Alexandra to reach the venue where the qualitative data collection was held. I reimbursed their transport costs to avoid any loss of livelihoods by gardeners during this research project.

First, the GAGR Programme Manager shared a list of all the gardens in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route programme with me. The list contained 20 gardens and the main points of contact for 10 gardens with their respective telephone numbers. However, a lot of data was incomplete on the list. Addresses of the gardens, the dates when each gardener became part of GAGR, and the number of gardeners in each garden was missing. Further, the cooperatives only had one point of contact on the list, yet were made up of multiple individual gardening plots. These individuals did not have a contact number or their names listed. The Programme Manager included a column where he asked the points of contact if they were willing to participate in the research. Only gardeners who were willing to participate in the research were contacted.

To create a comprehensive sampling frame, snowball sampling was used to obtain information and confirm interest in the participation of each gardener in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route. The GAGR Programme Manager was asked to contact the GAGR gardening group and request permission for me to call them directly. Calls were made to the main point of contact for each garden to confirm their information on the list, their willingness to participate, and their most convenient times to participate in the research. Garden points of contact were then asked to share contact

information of other gardeners who tended to gardens with them. Calls were made during different times of the day and evening to ensure that gardeners were reached. Each potential research participant was contacted at least three times and voicemail messages were left for those that had answering services.

This approach was the only option available to create a complete sampling frame as the Programme Manager did not have an up-to-date list of all the gardeners available with their names and respective contact information. I do not believe that this approach compromised the goal of the research in any way. On the contrary, it enhanced the research process by ensuring the sampling frame contained all possible research participants. I obtained the names of about 47 potential research participants on the list, but nine of those did not have any contact information. I was unable to obtain their contact details from other gardeners as they either did not have their contact information or they did not have cell phones. In total, I obtained contact information for 38 different gardeners through the various points of contact. Of these, I was able to reach 31 gardeners but seven were uncontactable after multiple calls. Further, six gardeners did not meet all the research criteria. Specifically, they had not spent more than three years in the gardens or did not work in the garden. One of the gardeners declined to participate in the research. Therefore, the final sample for this study was 24 gardeners.

All 24 gardeners were invited to participate in the focus group discussions as a strategy to cater for non-responses. I assumed that gardeners might decide to withdraw from the research process if they lost interest or had other responsibilities to take care of. Gardeners were invited via WhatsApp and text messages to focus group discussions, and the WhatsApp and text messages were followed up with a phone call to all gardeners confirming their attendance. Additionally, WhatsApp, text messages, and phone calls were made to gardeners who did not meet the sampling criteria to thank them for their willingness to engage in the research process, and inform them that they were not part of the sample based on the selection criteria. In total, 16 gardeners confirmed attendance with seven

focus group participants on a Saturday and nine on a Monday. This was still aligned to the minimum targeted sample of 10 gardeners for the focus groups split into two focus group discussions of five gardeners per session. Two focus group discussions were held on a Saturday and Monday morning at the Alex Heritage Community Centre and Museum. Gardeners were offered R30 as a transport reimbursement stipend and a light lunch after each of the focus group discussions.

On the day, six gardeners arrived at the first focus group discussion and 17 for the second. Before starting the second focus group discussion, five people were turned away as they did not work in any of the gardens, but were part of a wider group of artists that had started one of the gardens. They had heard about the focus group sessions through their artist friends and were eager to attend the sessions, but did not meet the sampling criteria.

The focus group discussions continued with six research participants in the first and 12 in the second session. While the second focus group discussion was above the planned maximum number of research participants and the recommended size of focus groups, many gardeners who did not confirm attendance arrived at the second focus group session on the day (Bryman, 2016; Wagner et al., 2012). I thought it was best to continue with a larger focus group as I did not believe the gardeners would return on a different day for a third focus group discussion, and did not want gardeners to lose interest in the research process by being asked to wait or return for another focus group session.

The gardeners were informed verbally and in writing about the purpose of the research, the reason for the focus group discussions, questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. They were also informed that participation was voluntary and that they could exit the research at any point without questions being asked. Further, gardeners were informed about the steps that would be taken to keep their information confidential such as using pseudonyms in the research report, not revealing any identifying information, and recording sessions for note taking purposes only. All gardeners chose to participate in the research after being informed about the research details,

and voluntarily signed an informed consent form and permission for voice recording form. Gardeners were then asked about the resources that they believed existed in their gardens that formed part of the Greater Alexandra Greening Route.

All 24 gardeners who were invited to the focus group discussions were also invited to complete the Resource Generator questionnaire in their respective gardens at a scheduled time that was convenient for them. After resources mentioned by gardeners in the focus group discussions were added into the Resource Generator, I then visited each of the six gardens based on the agreed time with gardeners to administer the questionnaire. I explained the questionnaire to the gardeners and gave them time to read the instructions. I then asked gardeners if they understood the questionnaire and clarified gardeners' questions. Next, I administered the Resource Generator questionnaire to each gardener where I read the questions to gardeners then marked their verbal responses. During this process, I also clarified any questions that gardeners had about the questionnaire and items. In some cases, gardeners wanted to complete the questionnaire themselves even though I offered my assistance. They made it clear that they were able to read the instructions themselves. Six gardens were visited and 19 gardeners completed the Resource Generator questionnaire in total. Of the gardeners invited to complete the Resource Generator in their respective gardens, five were not present on the days that the questionnaires were administered. Thus, the response rate of the questionnaire was 79% with 21% being non-responses.

During the garden visits, gardeners were invited to participate in a video that would showcase their gardens and their work. Gardeners were informed that the video would not be anonymous and interested gardeners were given a video consent form to complete before any video recording was started. One gardener chose to be part of the video but requested that their name not be shared on the video, and another gardener declined to participate. The Greater Alexandra Greening Route video is available via a link in the Results of this report.

Four gardeners with the highest amounts of potential social capital were then invited to participate in semi-structured interviews which were held at the Alex Heritage Community Centre and Museum. Most gardens were in noisy parts of Alexandra where voice recording was not possible and many gardens did not have a private space where semi-structured interviews could be held, therefore the museum was the most suitable location for interviews. All four gardeners arrived for the semi-structured interviews and shared their experience of gardening and mobilising social capital.

3.5 Data Processing and Analysis

First, data from the focus group discussions was transcribed verbatim with the assistance of Transcribe, an audio to text transcription tool. Transcripts were then checked for accuracy and corrected. All incorrect words were replaced, and gardeners' names were replaced with pseudonyms on the transcripts. Thematic analysis was used to identify patterns in the data, and code focus group discussion transcripts for perceived resources that existed in GAGR. As well as other codes that emerged. These codes were then converted into themes based on the similarity of the discussion topic.

Resources were inputted in the Resource Generator questionnaire that was used during the second data collection phase of this project. The first section of the Resource Generator asked demographic questions such as age, gender, education level and size of the garden. The second section had a table that listed questions about the perceived resources in GAGR in the first column. The second column on the table asked gardeners to note their relationship to the resource holder if the answer option was 'Yes' (see Appendix A for the Adapted Resource Generator). The total number of questions on the Resource Generator was 37. The resources and additional themes from the focus groups are discussed in the Results section (Chapter 4) of this report.

Questionnaire data was then carefully and accurately captured from the paper-based Resource Generator onto an excel spreadsheet for the 19

questionnaires completed. The Resource Generator questions were then captured into IBM SPSS Statistics version 26 and answer options were given numeric values to make analysis possible. For example, ‘Yes’ was coded 1 and ‘No’ coded 2 (see Appendix E for a list of codes). All blank entries were coded with 0 to ensure that SPSS did not include these in the analysis. Answers on the excel spreadsheet were then updated according to the codes on SPSS and entered into the statistical programme for analysis. The data produced from the Resource Generator was univariate (single variable) data and was analysed using descriptive statistics, including measures of central tendency, measures of variability, and graphical representations of data.

Similar to the focus group discussions, semi-structured interviews were transcribed verbatim with Temi, an audio to text transcription tool then checked for errors and corrected. Gardeners’ names were also replaced with pseudonyms before transcripts were coded during the analysis process. Thematic analysis was used to identify patterns in the data from the semi-structured interviews. While coding the data, the research questions were kept in mind as well as the theoretical framework of this study - social capital. The transcripts were read a few times to identify patterns in the data and were given a short name or code that referred to the topic the gardeners were discussing. For example, conflict in gardens was the code given to all data that referenced conflict, altercations and tension that emerged in and around the gardens. Codes were then captured onto an excel spreadsheet along with the transcript code (Transcript 1), name of the code (conflict in gardens) and line number to assist with identifying the text for each code.

When all semi-structured interview and focus group discussion transcripts had been coded and entered into excel, I began sorting the codes. By using post-it notes I wrote each of the codes down then put them in similar groups. In the end, eight themes emerged from the data. The themes were experiences of social capital mobilisation, conflict among gardeners, the relationship between gardeners and the community, gardening as a ‘dirty job’, training received by gardeners, relationships between gardeners and GAGR, labour in the gardens, and the cultural factors in GAGR gardens that may influence social capital mobilisation.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

3.6.1 Internal Reliability – Resource Generator

Table 2

Internal consistency measures of scale

Reliability Statistics		
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of items
.902	.899	26

Internal reliability of the adapted Resource Generator was tested using Cronbach's Alpha. The Cronbach's Alpha coefficient for the 26-item Resource Generator questionnaire was .90. An alpha coefficient is between zero and one with the former representing no internal reliability and the latter perfect internal reliability. Generally, an acceptable figure for Cronbach's Alpha is 0.80 which indicates an acceptable level of internal reliability of a questionnaire (Bryman, 2016). None of the questions from the questionnaire were removed as Cronbach's alpha was at an acceptable level. The adapted Resource Generator questionnaire had high internal reliability which means that questions or items on the adapted Resource Generator were all coherent and related to the same concept - resources. The internal reliability of the adapted Resource Generator for this study was similar to the measures of internal reliability in other studies where the Resource Generator was adapted. For example, the Resource Generator – UK was adapted in a UK study of social capital and was found to have good reliability (Webber & Huxley, 2007).

3.6.2 Study Credibility

Reliability in qualitative research refers to the trustworthiness of a study. The credibility of this study was enhanced through various strategies such as member checking, triangulation, presentation of an audit trail, outlining a statement of my experiences, thick descriptions of gardeners' experiences, and sampling from within the population of GAGR gardeners. The research findings were shared with the GAGR gardeners; this is known as member checking. Initially, I planned to invite the gardeners to a workshop where the findings of the study would be shared, but the timing of the workshop collided with the pandemic of the COVID-19 virus. The World Health Organisation, the South African government, and my employer advised me not to gather people in order to avoid the spread of the virus. I decided, for everyone's safety, it was best not to gather gardeners at a workshop to present the findings of this study as many gardeners were older adults and more susceptible to the COVID-19 virus. However, to undertake member checking, I created a WhatsApp group and called each gardener that did not have WhatsApp to discuss the findings. Gardeners noted that the findings seemed true and offered a further explanation as to why they thought something occurred. For example, some gardeners believed that conflict occurred in gardens that did not have strong religious practices such as praying before each work day.

Triangulation of data was enhanced through exploring social capital through more than one data source - the Resource Generator questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. The Resource Generator questionnaire was used to measure access to social capital and the gardeners with the highest social capital scores were interviewed. During the interviews they were asked about any experiences where they mobilised their social capital. This served two purposes: first to understand how social capital was mobilised, and second, to determine if the Resource Generator output was correct. In all interviews, gardeners shared experiences of mobilising their social capital to reach their aims, which may indicate that the Resource Generator did measure access to social capital.

During the focus group discussions I asked gardeners how they thought I should measure potential resources in their networks, and received their feedback. First, they suggested that I should learn about the history and additional information about Alexandra from the right sources, then understand how gardeners obtained their resources. Additionally, I should understand that Alexandra is constantly changing and therefore social capital is constantly changing. My research approach was aligned to the gardeners' idea of how I should measure social capital; first I explored the context of Alexandra and the GAGR. Second, I explored the potential resources that existed in gardens which were gained through public, private and non-governmental sector partners. Additionally, through studying social capital with a cross-sectional design, I understand that social capital in the gardens is only a view of social capital at one point in time. By ensuring my measurement of social capital was aligned to the gardeners' view of the concept, I have further contributed to the credibility of this study.

To further enhance the reliability and credibility of this study, interview and focus group transcripts are presented as an audit trail for this research project (see Appendices B and C). A statement of my experiences and possible bias is outlined in the conceptual framework of this study. Additionally, I attempted to provide thick descriptions of gardeners' experiences. A final contribution to the reliability of this study is extracting a sample from within. While the results of this study cannot be generalized to other community food gardens, it can be generalized to other gardeners in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route network who were not part of the study.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

To my knowledge, no gardeners were harmed, deceived, misled, stressed or lost self-esteem during this research process in any way. I aimed for this by providing all the details about the purpose of the research before data collection started and by reviewing all data collection instruments with the GAGR Programme Manager and my University of the Witwatersrand

supervisors. First, all GAGR gardeners who participated in this study were sent a copy of a letter from the University of the Witwatersrand outlining the purpose of this research, its voluntary nature, and contact details of my supervisors for any concerns. Even though the GAGR Programme Manager asked gardeners if they were willing to participate in the research, I followed up with a phone call to explain what the research was about, its voluntary nature, and explained they had a choice to decline participation.

Second, during each stage of the data collection, I explained verbally and in writing to the gardeners that they did not have to answer any questions that made them feel uncomfortable. As well as notifying gardeners that they could exit the research study at any point in time without me questioning their reasons for exiting. All gardeners who participated in this research study signed an informed consent form, voice recording form, and video recording form that was explained verbally and in writing. During transcription of focus groups and interviews, all names of gardeners were changed to pseudonyms to protect the gardeners' identities. All data was kept on Google Drive to mitigate the loss of data and ensure it is kept in a secure cloud-based location where it cannot be accessed by the public. Gardeners were thoroughly informed about the purpose of this study, the length of the study, and the use of the research report findings.

Third, to protect the privacy of gardeners, no personal and invasive questions were asked or shared, and the questions remained about social capital experiences. Confidentiality of gardeners was enhanced through not presenting any places or events that could easily identify gardeners. Gardeners' first names were required when collecting data using the Resource Generator so that gardeners could be identified for follow up semi-structured interviews. However, only the first name of the gardener was used and when the data was coded each gardener's name was replaced with a generic name and number; example – gardener 1 and transcript 1.

3.8 Limitations of Research

The main limitations of this research project were the timing constraints. The project was started in the middle of January 2020 as most gardeners were not available in December 2019 to be part of the research as originally planned. Further, GAGR would only provide a thorough list of the gardeners once the University of the Witwatersrand approved the proposal. When I received the expanded list of gardeners from the GAGR Manager, much of the data was missing. This gave very little time to collect the required data needed about the gardeners, delayed the data collection process and reduced the target sample size.

The technical limitations of this study are that the findings cannot be generalized to other community food gardens and are limited to the Greater Alexandra Greening Route Programme research participants who met the sampling criteria. Further, a cross-sectional research design only looks at data at one point in time and social capital might increase or decrease before or after the research. Therefore social capital was only measured at one point in time for this study and does not indicate the full view of social capital in GAGR gardens. Cross-sectional research designs also do not infer causality and therefore we cannot confirm any relationships or causal inferences about social capital.

Additionally, gardeners' responses to questions can be affected by their awareness of being part of a study (Wagner et al., 2012). It seemed that some gardeners were trying to show that they had few connections with potential resources and limited resources in their gardens during the focus group discussions. This may have been in the hope of receiving additional resources by downplaying their current resources. This limitation of the study may have affected the social capital scores of gardeners and may not be an accurate reflection of their social capital.

The next limitation of the study was the possible misinterpretation of the Resource Generator where gardeners noted verbally that they understood the questionnaire, but through the semi-structured interviews it

emerged that gardeners may have been confused by the questions. Specifically, gardeners were confused by the questions in the Resource Generator. Some may have interpreted the questions as the resources they needed versus the potential resources they had access to in their network. Therefore, the findings from the Resource Generator may have bias such as response set, specifically, acquiescence where a respondent consistently agrees to a set of questions. This was indicated during the semi-structured interviews by a gardener who noted that they just selected 'Yes' to all social capital questions because they found the questionnaire confusing. Additionally, there may have been some confusion between an NGO that supports the gardeners (Food and Trees for Africa) and GAGR. Some gardeners might have thought that the NGO was part of the GAGR network.

Further, during the semi-structured interviews it emerged that two gardeners had challenges with completing the Resource Generator questionnaire. When gardeners were asked about their experiences in completing the Resource Generator some mentioned that it was easy, but one gardener noted that it was difficult because it was hard to predict who could help them in future and who would not help, so they just randomly selected answers. Another interpreted the questions on the Resource Generator as resources that they needed in their garden instead of resources that they had potential access to, and found the Resource Generator repetitive. However, many gardeners noted that they understood the Resource Generator during the data collection process and did not have any trouble completing it. The other gardeners who were part of the semi-structured interviews noted that they did not have any challenges completing and interpreting the Resource Generator. The Resource Generator, semi-structured interview guide and focus group interview schedule was piloted with the GAGR Programme Manager before being administered to the gardeners. The GAGR Programme Manager had assured me that gardeners would easily be able to understand the research tools. The possible misinterpretation of the Resource Generator creates a limitation of the findings regarding the potential access to gardners' social capital. Further research would need to be employed to understand the extent of the possible

misinterpretation of the Resource Generator, but given the time constrains of this research project, that was not possible.

Finally, an unavoidable technical limitation of this study is the capacity of this study to be replicated. One would need to find another context that is similar to the Greater Alexandra Greening Route to replicate this study, and the GAGR has a specific character, history and culture. However, other gardens may share the kinds of resources available for potential access to the gardeners, creating the potential for some form of replication.

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter presents the results of the research. First, it describes the six different gardens that are part of this study as well as GAGR gardeners' motivations for gardening. Second, it describes the sample statistics, values that are used to describe the data collected on the sample of gardeners and their characteristics. This was done through using descriptive statistics to describe the gardeners demographic information using IBM SPSS Statistics version 26. Third, this chapter presents the quantitative data on social capital among the Alexandra Greening Route Gardens as well as the social capital scores of individual gardeners. Social capital scores were grouped into four domains. I adapted the definitions of the social capital domains created by Van Der Gaag and Snijders used to explore social capital of the Dutch population to suit the Greater Alexandra Greening Route context. Resources that emerged from focus group discussions were then group into one of the four domains. I then determined how many gardeners had potential access to a resource and the relationships of the resource holder. Fourth, this chapter illustrates experiences of gardeners mobilising social capital in a way that helps the gardeners succeed in maintaining and growing gardens. Finally, this chapter describes other themes that emerged from the focus groups and semi-structured interviews that may influence social capital mobilisation or are influenced by social capital. These findings include conflicts within the gardens, the relationship between the gardens and wider community, cultural perceptions such as gardening as an undesirable 'dirty job', and values related to sharing. Data from the semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were analysed using thematic analysis.

As noted in the Research Methodology chapter of this report, a video of the Greater Alexandra Greening Route was prepared. I recorded short videos of the GAGR gardens and gardeners during visits using a cell phone and I-pad. The GAGR video generally shows the gardens, and vegetables being grown as well as comments gardeners chose to make about their gardens. The video can be viewed through the link below by copying and

pasting the link into an Internet Explorer Browser.
https://tinyurl.com/vk8nvwd

4.1 Greater Alexandra Greening Route

4.1.1 Gardens and Cultivators

Even though some of the challenges of establishing gardens are limited water supply, inadequate space, and poor soil, the Greater Alexandra Greening Route has become a thriving community-led ecotourism programme. GAGR begun through bringing together approximately 20 gardens spread across Alexandra to form a network. GAGR was established in 2016 with 17 aims. The aims range from responding to food insecurity, creating community tourism, creating sustainable working relationships between low-income and high-income communities, and developing urban agriculture. The main aim, however, of GAGR is to create climate change awareness in Greater Alexandra. The Greater Alexandra Greening Route provides environmental educational tours along various routes that start at the Central Johannesburg College in Alexandra. Along these routes, tour groups visit historic sites that have been adopted by GAGR and have been 'greened'. GAGR 'greens' routes by planting trees and supporting gardens on the adopted premises. Some of the adopted sites include the Alexandra Heritage Community Centre and Museum, a house Nelson Mandela rented while he lived in Alexandra, the old remnants of the recreation centre where Mandela enjoyed recreational boxing, and gardens scattered across the community (Clorpique, 2016; Maluleke, 2016).

Figure 4

A common view of Alexandra houses



Additionally, the GAGR programme has a recycling training project that has trained over 40 gardeners on recycling, and creating businesses in the recycling industry. Gardeners have the opportunity to come together at Farmer's forums where they discuss their challenges with gardening. According to the GAGR Programme Manager, gardeners are invited to events such as visiting other gardens outside of Alexandra, and award ceremonies hosted by the Department of Agriculture. One of the main challenges faced by the Greater Alexandra Greening Route programme is procuring security for the adopted sites to prevent vandalism.

Some of the challenges directly faced by gardeners in GAGR are poor soil quality, theft, pests such as rats, an insecure water supply, and a lack of capacity building and training. Further, gardeners face inconsistency with regard to access to land. Most gardens are on land that belongs to the City of Johannesburg municipality. Often, land is redirected away from gardening to build houses or establish other projects when local government administrations change political parties. Many of the gardens have been transformed from previous dumping sites that were filled with litter and waste.

Gardeners often beamed with pride when they explained that their gardens were once a dumping ground. Some of the gardens were established over 13 years ago and have survived all the challenges and changes that come with gardening in Alexandra. The gardeners grow herbs for traditional medicine, and produce for resale to local Alexandra residents as well as for the gardeners' consumption.

The first garden I visited was Matsavu Cooperative where 12 gardeners tended to their small individual plots. Between houses and small businesses, the garden was situated at the corner of a street and surrounded by a high black fence. I entered through a small gate to find multiple plots with flourishing bright green spinach, chomolia, young fruit trees, onions, carrots and several other vegetables. This garden also had a large water tank, and a shaded area that had makeshift chairs made from discarded car seats, boxes, and tyres that gardeners used as a meeting and resting area. The garden was on a sizable portion of land on about a 50m by 50m area and had a portion that seemed unused in the back. It had equipment and rubble stored on it and the gardeners referred to it as their storage area. Gardeners were actively working in their plots and were eager to show me what they grew, the size of their vegetables, and how they watered their gardens.

The second cooperative I visited was Lenin garden situated on a large piece of land that was about a quarter of a hectare. This garden was opposite the Alex Mall that overlooked Alexandra. I had visited this garden a few years earlier during a GAGR community tour. At the time it was a well-maintained and impressive garden. Unfortunately the garden now looked very dilapidated and unmaintained with overgrown weeds burying the vegetables, damaged greenhouses, and a broken fence. Informal houses were encroaching on the garden land and I could see people walking through the garden to get to their homes through the broken fence. Gardeners complained about these community members taking their vegetables on their way to their homes and blamed these new residents for breaking the garden fence. A bored security guard let us in through the gate that was meant to keep people out, but it was clear that not much was done to prevent

community members entering the garden. Some gardeners mentioned that the security guard was afraid of community members thus did nothing to stop them from walking through the garden and taking vegetables. Some gardeners still tended to their individual plots, but it seemed that there was just not enough labour to manage all of the plots and remove the weeds. Some of the gardeners from other gardens mentioned that the land occupied by this garden was soon going to be turned into a fire station, and many of the gardeners had abandoned their plots after hearing this. I did not see any official notice indicating this, but the GAGR Programme Manager confirmed that the garden land would indeed be turned into a fire station by the municipality.

The next garden was the third garden I visited and was part of a preschool located in a different area of Alexandra to the cooperatives. The 6th Avenue preschool garden was located on the side of the preschool next to the playground and covered about a 13m by 23m area. At the time, the soil was being prepared for planting by a gardener so there were no vegetables growing. The manager of the preschool explained that the garden was used to teach children about gardening as well as used as a fundraising mechanism for the preschool. Vegetables were sold to preschool children's parents and funds raised from this were used to maintain the preschool. The preschool was expanding the garden to an open area on the property next door which housed a women's hostel.

The fourth garden, located at Toddler's City Day Care, was also situated next to a playground on a steep embankment in a well-fenced area with a small locked gate. The garden was about 35m by 10m and mainly had fruit trees and a few vegetables. The trees and vegetables were grown in discarded colourful tyres on raised beds of topsoil. The manager of the school showed me the area where community members had cut holes in the fence during the December holidays. She explained that most of the vegetables were taken by neighbouring community members over the school holidays while the preschool was closed. The manager explained that she was frustrated by the community for taking their vegetables.

The fifth garden that I visited, Gcwala Sibahle, was situated just off a busy main road between blocks of flats and was about 20m by 30m. The garden was smaller compared to other gardens I had seen, but was interesting because of its design. It was divided into four sections that were used to grow vegetables. A walkway led to a concrete stage in the middle of the garden. The gardeners, who were also artists, used the stage to perform local plays about the happenings in Alexandra. In the corner of the garden there was an umbrella with an old tree trunk that was used as a resting place. This garden was noisy with various neighbours playing loud music from their cars and local businesses. I noticed that this garden had very few vegetables besides some basil and a tomato plant, but the gardeners said the seeds they had recently planted had not sprouted yet. The gardeners mentioned that the neighbours were very fond of the garden and nicknamed the gardeners the ‘Green Lovers’. They had gain this name through bringing the only greenery to the surrounding area.

The last garden was in Eikehof approximately 30 kilometres outside of Johannesburg. This garden was more like a small farm run by a group of female gardeners who were part of a cooperative. Initially, this garden was part of the Lenin gardens, but the gardener was given a bigger space by the City of Johannesburg. The garden is on about a quarter of a hectare of land and has a two-bedroom house that was still being renovated by the gardener. A farmworker and his wife that assisted the gardener lived in a portion of the two-bedroom house. This small-scale farm included a successful processing herb business where herbs such as thyme, fenugreek, parsley and rosemary were organically grown, dried, bottled and then sold. Additionally, the gardener grew coriander, baby marrows, green beans and a lot of other vegetables. The garden did not have access to water or electricity and depended on the rainfall to water the vegetables. The gardener was raising funds for a water pump to get water supplied from a river nearby to the farm.

All the gardens I visited in Alexandra were such a contrast compared to the surrounding neighbouring sights. Most of the areas are stark and without any trees or greenery, and the streets are noisy and chaotic with barely any place to walk for residents. There are often sights of burnt rubble

and piles of litter on the street corners. Small children ran across the narrow streets indiscriminately without concern for their safety. Their safety is often jeopardized by reckless drivers speeding between the streets and aggressively driving through dense traffic. The gardens create serenity among all of this chaos, a place where one could go for a moment of peace and quiet. The gardens seem to bring some natural life to the concrete jungle of Alexandra. There is a poem by a musician that talks about a rose that grew from the concrete, and how its tenacity and resilience is what helped it grow. The rose, even with its damaged petals and all the challenges it experienced, still had the will to reach the sun and grow from beneath the concrete. This was my experience with the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens. They truly seemed like roses that grew from the concrete of Alexandra.

Figure 5

Garden between housing developments



Figure 6

A gardener among baby marrows on a large piece of land outside of Johannesburg



Figure 7

Garden soil being prepared for planting



Figure 8

Basil grown in garden next to busy street



Figure 9

Gardeners working in their individual plots in a cooperative



Figure 10

Houses encroaching on garden land



Note. Figures five through 10 were pictures taken during my visits to the various gardens and are some of the visual representations of the descriptions about the gardens.

Gardeners that are part of the Greater Alexandra Greening Route joined their gardens for various reasons. Some of the reasons were their love for nature, and passion for gardening. As one gardener noted: “(…) the other [reason I joined the garden] is the love for nature, I really like nature (…)” (Ryan). Another said, “I am passionate about the garden, I like the garden very much” (Amy). Gardeners also used gardens as a place to socialize, lessen boredom and get exercise: “It’s an exercise, you exercise, but when you are home (…) the high bloods [high blood pressure] is getting worse, so I just said, let me go to the garden” (Jordyn). Other motivations for joining gardens were a source of food to supplement meals for children and disabled people in the centres where the gardens were situated. Surprisingly, gardeners did not mention access to fresh food and vegetables as their personal reasons for joining gardens in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route. GAGR gardeners also noted that they participated in the garden to earn income through selling vegetables, but as indicated also by other research, financial returns gained from gardening are often minimal in low-income countries (Wills et al., 2010).

A gardener described why very little income was made through selling vegetables:

> (…) first of all we have to plant, you have to get the seeds and the seeds can take three months to grow and in that three months, what would you be sustaining your life with? (…) even though we have crops and your selling, how much money are you selling each packet of a crop for? About five or 10 rand! How many people are going to buy that who needed that day? Where are you going to sell them? At the market sometimes (…) so it's only maybe twice or three times a month or maybe twice in your trimester (…). It's still a challenge because you have to get those disinfectants, you have to maintain the garden, but on the other hand there's nothing getting in your pocket and you have to wake up in the morning at that time you have a family or maybe on your own, it doesn't matter, but still nothing in your pocket (Samuel).

Table 3

Perceived resources in Greater Alexandra Greening Route

Perceived resources in Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens					
Spade	Hosepipe	Fork	Watering cans	Rake	Water
Refrigerator	Cold room	Security	Electricity	Jojo tank (water tank)	Seeds/seedlings
Fence	Money	someone to work in your garden (labour)	Container	Signage (board with your information)	Manure (cow dung)
Land	Ideas for making money (knowledge)	Knows a counsellor	Knows a community leader	Learn about different gardening methods (information)	Facilities for children (trampoline, swimming pool, toys etc.)
Internet connection/Wi-Fi/data	Advice on which vegetables to grow				

In total, 26 resources emerged from the discussions. At first, during the focus group discussions many gardeners noted that they had very few resources and requested additional resources, information and financial support. After further probing it emerged that the gardeners did have some resources in the gardens that they gained through in-kind donations from food retailers such as Shoprite, non-governmental organisations such as Food and Trees for Africa, the Department of Social Development, and Department of Environmental Affairs.

In the table above (Table 3), the perceived resources in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route network of gardens that emerged from the focus group discussions are listed. Of the 26 perceived resources in the GAGR gardens, there are mainly resources used to maintain the gardens such as spades, forks, cow manure and seedlings. Interestingly, some additional resources such as WiFi internet emerged as a resource in the gardens. According to the 2019 report by the Competition Commission of South Africa, data and internet costs in South Africa are among the highest in the world, and more expensive than most countries in Africa (Competition Commission South Africa, 2019). Because of the high cost of internet, and widespread unemployment and poverty in Alexandra, I did not expect to find WiFi internet as part of the resources available in the GAGR gardens. However, after reflecting on this it does make sense for younger gardeners to have WiFi in their gardens in the age of social media.

While some maintained that gardens had little or no resources, I was surprised to learn about a cold room and a security guard at one of the gardens. This might indicate that the gardeners do not see these items as resources because they are of no use to them as they require additional services to function. As one of the gardeners, (Teegan), noted: “…we got a cold room but we don't have electricity (…) like now its summer. When we harvest, we don't have a place where we can put our things because the electricity (…) it was there but now I don't know where it [electricity] went”. There may be more than 26 resources in the GAGR gardens which gardeners were unwilling to talk about because of a fear of not getting further

assistance. As noted earlier, I adapted the Resource Generator to the Greater Alexandra Greening Route context. By populating it with the 26 perceived resources that emerged from focus group discussion, I used it for further data collection.

4.1.2 Sample Description

In total 19 gardeners completed the Resource Generator questionnaire. The Resource Generator also collected demographic information of gardeners as well as measured potential access to social capital. The sample of gardeners is described below which includes the nationality, gender, age, and marital status of gardeners. Additionally, the household size, education level, employment status and type of garden is described.

Figure 11

Age distribution of gardeners

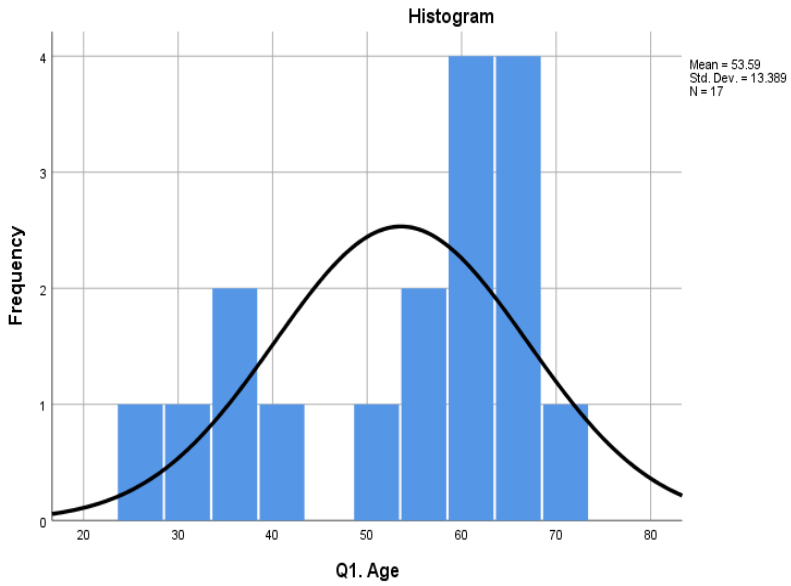


Figure 12

Employment status of gardeners

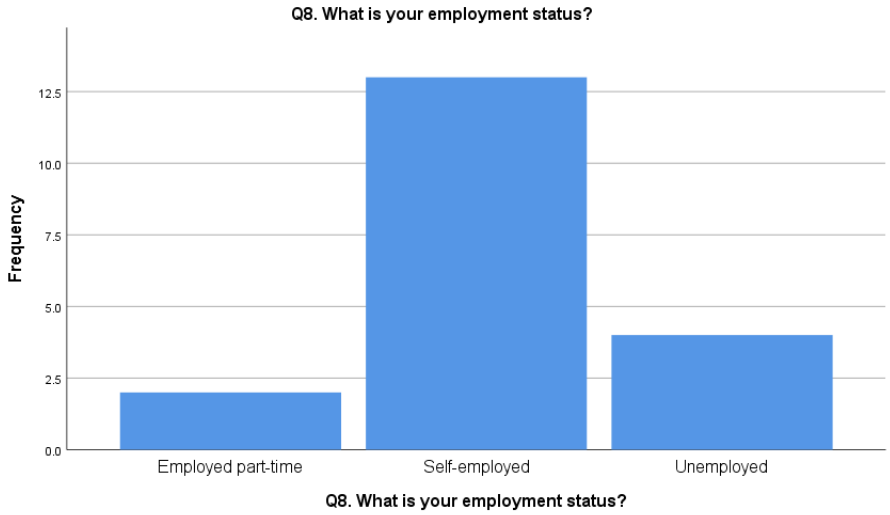
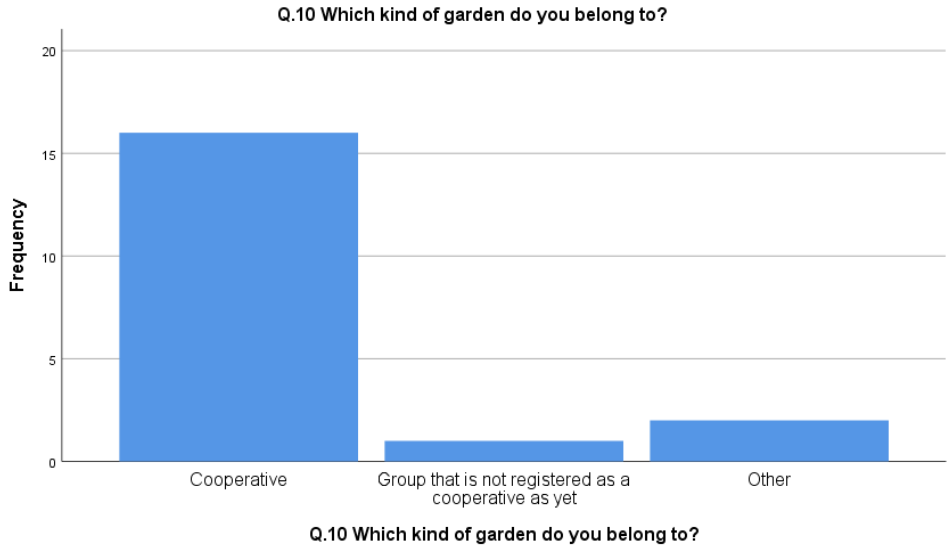


Figure 13

Types of gardens that gardeners are part of



All 19 gardeners were South African citizens and lived in Alexandra. Of those, most (12 or 63.2%) were female gardeners and seven or 36.8% were male. The median age of gardeners was 60 years old with ages ranging from 26 years old to 69 years old (see Figure 11). Most, nine or 47.4% of the gardeners were single with four or 21% that were married, and five or 25.5% either divorced or widowed. One or 5% of the gardeners chose not to answer the question about their marital status.

The median household size was four people per household with the lowest number at one and the highest at 11 people per household. Six or

31.6% of the gardeners had completed a degree or diploma, five or 26.4% had a TVET college certificate or had completed matric or equivalent, and six or 31.6% had some high school education or had completed primary school. Two gardeners or 10.5% chose not to answer this question. Most gardeners (13 or 68%) were self-employed, which was based on viewing their gardens as their own business (see Figure 12). Most (16 or 84.2%) of the gardeners surveyed belonged to cooperatives with one or 5.3% belonging to a group that was not registered with a cooperative. The remaining two or 10.5% belonging to gardens at a preschool and day-care centre, respectively (see Figure 13). The following tables (Table 4 and 5) outline the potential access to social capital of Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardeners.

4.2 Access to Social Capital

In the next section I present access to potential social capital as measured by the adapted Resource Generator. As noted earlier, I adapted the social capital domains from Van Der Gaag and Snijders (2005) as follows.

- Personal support social capital means that a gardener has access to someone who can help maintain and preserve a garden.
- Prestige and education-related social capital means that a gardener has access to someone who has specialized skills such as assisting them with an electricity connection or procuring a fence.
- Political and financial skills social capital means that a gardener has access to a local politician or community leader.
- Personal skills social capital means that a gardener has access to knowledge that can help grow and expand a garden.

Table 4

Resource Generator Analysis of Greater Alexandra Greening Route

Social Capital Domains	Question number	Perceived Resources	Yes	Yes %	Frequency of relationships selected			Missing
					Acquaintance (Weak tie)	Friend (Weak tie)	Family member (Strong tie)	
Personal skills social capital	20	Ideas about making money from gardening	13	68%	7	6	0	-
	23	Knowledge about gardening methods	12	63%	10	2	0	1
	26	Advice on growing vegetables	12	63%	9	3	0	-

Table 4

Resource Generator Analysis of Greater Alexandra Greening Route (continued)

Social Capital Domains	Question number	Perceived Resources	Yes	Yes %	Frequency relationship was selected			Missing
					Acquaintance (Weak tie)	Friend (Weak tie)	Family member (Strong tie)	
Personal support social capital	1	Spade	12	63%	8	3	1	-
	2	Hosepipe	12	63%	8	4	0	-
	3	Fork	11	58%	7	3	1	-
	4	Rake	11	58%	7	4	0	-
	5	Watering cans	11	58%	7	4	0	-
	7	Refrigerator	4	21%	2	1	1	1
	8	Cold room storage	3	16%	1	2	0	1
	12	Seeds or seedlings	15	79%	12	3	0	-
	14	Lend money	5	26%	2	3	0	1
	25	Internet connection/WIFI/data	6	32%	1	5	0	1

Table 4

Resource Generator Analysis of Greater Alexandra Greening Route (continued)

Social Capital Domains	Question number	Perceived Resources	Yes	Yes %	Frequency relationship was selected			Missing
					Acquaintance (Weak tie)	Friend (Weak tie)	Family member (Strong tie)	
Prestige and education related social capital	6	Water for garden	11	58%	6	5	0	-
	9	Security for garden	4	21%	2	2	0	1
	10	Electricity connection	3	16%	2	1	0	1
	11	Jojo (water) tank	10	53%	9	1	0	-
	13	Fence	9	47%	8	1	0	-
	15	Free labour	6	32%	0	5	1	1
	16	Container	5	26%	5	0	0	1
	17	Signage (information board) for garden	8	42%	6	2	0	-
	18	Manure (cow dung)	11	58%	11	0	0	-
	24	Children facilities (trampoline, swimming pool, toys etc.)	4	21%	0	4	0	1

Table 4

Resource Generator Analysis of Greater Alexandra Greening Route (continued)

Social Capital Domains	Question number	Perceived Resources	Yes	Yes %	Frequency relationship was selected			Missing
					Acquaintance (Weak tie)	Friend (Weak tie)	Family member (Strong tie)	
Political and financial skills social capital	19	Access to additional land	7	37%	6	0	1	1
	21	Knows a counsellor or local government official	13	68%	11	1	0	1
	22	Knows a community leader	15	79%	13	1	0	1

Table 5

Analysis of individual social capital scores

Gardeners	Social capital score out of 26	Social capital %	Acquaintance	Acquaintance %	Friend	Friend %	Family	Family %
7	25	96%	18	72%	7	28%	0	0%
11	21	81%	7	33%	14	67%	0	0%
10	20	77%	6	30%	14	70%	0	0%
1	18	69%	12	67%	5	28%	1	6%
9	18	69%	18	100%	0	0%	0	0%
19	18	69%	13	72%	4	22%	1	6%
3	17	65%	16	94%	1	6%	0	0%
2	16	62%	16	100%	0	0%	0	0%
13	14	54%	0	0%	11	79%	3	21%
17	11	42%	11	100%	0	0%	0	0%
12	10	38%	10	100%	0	0%	0	0%
5	9	35%	8	89%	1	11%	0	0%
4	8	31%	7	88%	1	13%	0	0%
14	8	31%	6	75%	2	25%	0	0%

Table 5

Analysis of individual social capital scores (continued)

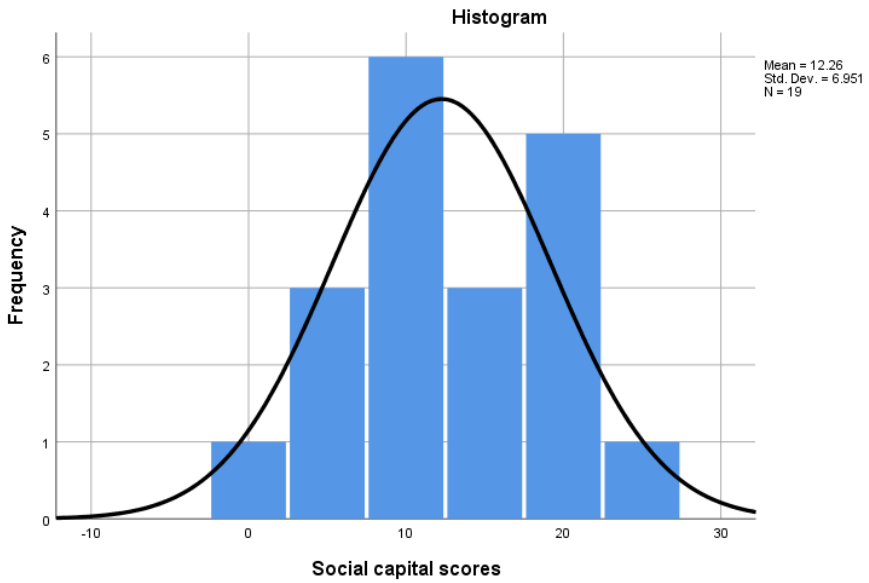
Gardeners	Social capital score out of 26	Social capital %	Acquaintance	Acquaintance %	Friend	Friend %	Family	Family %
16	8	31%	6	75%	0	0%	0	0%
18	6	23%	0	0%	6	100%	0	0%
8	3	12%	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%
15	3	12%	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%
6	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%

Table 4, above, presents the social capital scores of gardeners in GAGR and is grouped into four social capital domains as defined above. The gardeners showed higher potential access to social capital in the personal support social capital and prestige and education-related social capital domains. In the personal support social capital domain, gardeners had the highest potential access to gardening tools and resources that maintained the garden. This included items like a spade, hosepipe, fork and seedlings as well as potential access to larger items like a cold room. The second highest access was prestige and education-related social capital. This included getting free labour to help in the gardens and getting electricity connections for the garden to name just a few. Of the 26 resources that were listed in the Resource Generator, questions 12 (could give you seeds/seedlings) and 22 (knows a community leader) were the most frequently answered with a 'Yes'; 15 gardeners noted that they knew someone that could give them seedlings and knew someone who was a community leader. When asked about their relationship to the resource owner, the majority of gardeners chose 'acquaintance' when classifying their relationship.

Table 5, above, displays the individual social capital scores of gardeners where scores range from zero to 96%. The top four scores by gardeners were 69%, 77%, 81% and 96%, respectively. These gardeners had the highest social capital scores and were contacted to participate in semi-structured interviews to understand how they used their social capital. Further, acquaintance (weak-tie relationship) was most frequently selected by gardeners who had high social capital scores.

Figure 14

Individual social capital scores distribution



The graph above (Figure 14) represents a normal distribution of social capital scores with the highest social capital score at 25 out of 26 and the lowest 0 out of 26. The mean is 12.26, the median is 11, and the mode is 8 and 18 from social capital scores. The standard deviation for social capital scores is 6.951 and the variance is 48.32 and the range is 25.

To determine whether a gardener had a high or low social capital score against all the gardeners in the GAGR network, the interquartile range was used. The data was divided into two groups above and below the mean; 10 and below, and 14 and above, known as the first and third quartile. The middle number for the first quartile is 8 and the third number is 18. The interquartile range is 10 which is 18 minus 8. This means that when looking at the dispersion of social capital scores, the bulk of the scores lie around 10. Scores between 0 and 9 are considered to be low social capital scores, and scores between 11 and 25 are considered to be high social capital scores. A score of 10 is considered an average social capital score according to the distribution of social capital scores in the group of gardeners surveyed. This analysis indicates that 10 of the gardeners have high social capital scores between 11 and 25, and 8 of the gardeners have low social capital scores between 9 and 0. The gardeners with the highest social capital scores selected acquaintance most often when describing their relationship with resource owners. Many gardeners also selected a friend as the owner of a

resource but this was significantly less than an acquaintance. A family member was rarely selected.

4.3 Mobilising Social Capital

As conceptualized in this study, experiences of social capital were illustrated by gardeners in GAGR in many different ways. Some gardeners described experiences of using their relationships to obtain resources such as seeds and seedlings, advice on growing herbs from other gardeners, and obtaining a free plastic children's swimming pool. In other instances, gardeners described using their relationships beyond their garden network to obtain resources like water from neighbours to water the gardens, borrowing tools such as a wheelbarrow and spade from the wider community, getting seedlings from an NGO that supports the gardens, and getting a WiFi router.

A gardener described his experience of how he used his relationship to get a plastic children's swimming pool through another gardener:

> This is how it works, we have a collaboration with a certain group of guys. They are still part of our garden group (…) one of them works at a company that has just a whole lot of logistics [goods] (…) plastic materials (…) we talked to him about having a bigger space (…) we did realize that we have (…) [a] trampoline. He said, 'Guys, this site of yours is fine. This piece of yours is good and this could be conducive for a business (…) so this is what you [we] can offer that we have now. I work at a company (…)' he told me, 'and then this is what we have there. So now why not put a pool at the back and let the kids [swim] (…)?' We did it (…) it took about two days and then they came up (…) with a pool and then we pumped it and kids were already [so] excited about the pool, they forgot the trampoline (Samuel).

Another gardener, (Patience), was able to obtain gardening tools through community members: "(…) and if they [I] don't have this spade to go to the nearest (…) community around us, if I don't have it I can go and ask them".

Gardeners also leaned on other gardeners for seeds when needed: “Maybe I can go to Xavier, can I have this (…) maybe he can give me the seeds or the seedlings” (Charity).

Through personal relationships, gardeners were able to get resources such as tools; “And the tools as well, we get them from maybe churches. Mary’s church have [has] donated some tools and lots of them (…) hosepipes and all those things…spades, there's forks, everything you can need (…) watering cans” (Lorna).

Gardeners used their relationships outside of the garden to get tools and labour: “ (…) people came from (…) I can't remember where they from but with a bus, and they came and they helped the gardeners and they gave out tools and whatever for that day” (Hope).

Through their relationship with for-profit and non-profit organisations, gardeners received resources to maintain their gardens: “we [are] supplied with tools…and they also bring us seeds and then also we are helped by Food and Trees…we've got a tank from Shoprite but it is sometimes dry because it's drought, there is no water” (Charity).

Gardeners seemed to have had some relationships with universities who had students help them in the garden. “I can't remember when it was I think it was in 2018 there was some students who used to come out and they were doing some project… they used to come and help us at the garden…for free (…)” (Lavern).

Through relationships with the community, gardeners learned about different vegetables that they would plant:

(…) we do get advice…mostly through the customers that come and buy the stuff (…) most of the people who are interested in buying the stuff is old and matured women (…) so they have a better knowledge of gardening more than others (…) so when they come and buy they can tell you want they want to eat (…) and how they want it and how to grow it, so it's easier for you to learn from them (Michael).

Gardeners also received seedlings through relationships with community members:

(…) some of the customers they have the seedlings at home, but they don't have the space or time to start the garden…so by that network they can sometimes give you the seedlings (…) 'have this seedlings of pumpkins just try it and see' (…) (Alfred).

Gardeners got advice from community members as well: "… I hear about the garlic. Okay, when you plant like cabbage, carrots (…) you must start by chopping it and then put it before seeds…and then (…) the insects won't come" (Hope).

One gardener, (Samuel), used his relationship with a community member to gain skills and knowledge: "Currently he is helping me understand IT [Information Technology]...I love it, I'm going to learn (…)", and through his relationships could have possible business opportunities: "We have (…) a business proposal (…) that we submitted (…) so we are waiting for response, that means we could have a business opportunity".

Many gardeners used their relationships with neighbours to get water: "We also got the challenge of water, we must go to our neighbours [for water]" (Jamie). "(…) "We always ask the neighbourhood…to have water" (Faith); "we use a tap (…) or we just ask the neighbour around and you put a pipe so they can fill our tank (…) " (Robert).

Gardeners also used their relationships within the garden to raise funds to sustain the garden: "In our garden we collect money from each one…we go like R20 R20 R20 and then we go do what we want to do [for the garden]" (Hope).

One gardener's relationship with an acquaintance (weak-tie) helped him get a free WiFi router:

> So when I bought that sim card the guy who works at…that red container (…) it's an internet business. So I lent the card to him and he started using it and then he realized that it's, it's perfect for his business (…) he had two routers, they were working, that he was

> using (…) so he said, ‘What if I give you a router and we share the spots on your data (…)?’ (Samuel).

Furthermore, gardeners used their acquaintances in the GAGR garden network to gain knowledge about herbs: “…she used to specialize with herbs. I used to communicate with her and then she would tell me you can do this and this” (Martha).

Another theme that emerged from the qualitative interviews was the training received by gardeners. There were various perspectives on the training received. One gardener noted:

> According to training, we are just doing our self [ourselves] but yesterday we were approached by Ernest from the government and he said, ‘We are going to send three people to Bloemfontein in May’, so they are going to view the gardens in Bloemfontein and they can get trainings (Angela).

Another gardener said:

> I forget that [those] people that come from overseas that [to] give us about financially training. How to keep your book, how to update, how to be having a salary when you are working…but it’s a big file like that! *Yoh!* It’s too much that thing. It’s confusing I’m telling you (Eleanor).

Gardeners also learned how to make compost and received training about planting in the right conditions. Gardeners received training on making compost from discarded vegetable peels: “ (…) every time after we peel a onions [onion], cabbage, we just go in (…) compost” (Patience). Another gardener mentioned how the training had helped her improve her knowledge:

> I gain the knowledge then because I didn’t know anything, but now at least (…) they opened my eyes (…) I know these diseases (…) you don’t add plants to soil that is not good. You must make sure the soil is [good] (…) maybe get the nitrogen for the soil so you can plant [in] the rich soil (Charity).

While gardeners accessed many resources from members of the same garden that they belonged to, they also accessed resources from

community members outside of the garden through ‘bridges’. A bridge is someone that connects one to a network and vice versa (Häuberer, 2011c; Nan Lin, 2002) . In one gardener’s case, a garden member (the bridge) connected him to a community member outside of the garden network. The gardener then started engaging in business activities with that community member. This might indicate that gardeners also have access to extended networks beyond the garden through garden members. Through these extended networks they are able to leverage resources. Additionally, many gardeners obtained resources from acquaintances outside of the garden in the form of community members providing advice and seedlings to gardeners.

Even though there seemed to be limited interaction between the gardeners of individual gardens across the GAGR network, there seemed to be some gain for gardeners that belonged to the network. This came in the form of support from organisations such as NGOs and food retail stores that supplied gardens with manure, seedlings, water tanks and other resources to maintain the garden. The GAGR Programme Manager noted that he often connected gardeners to external support organisations. However some gardeners mentioned that their support had stopped while others were still receiving support. Gardeners were not always certain of who the support came from which makes it difficult to draw conclusions on the relationships and network linkages that were built through the gardens and/or GAGR network. Nonetheless, I conclude that there is some value that gardeners receive from being part of the GAGR network and support organisations. However, this value seems not to meet the expectations of the gardeners. This could be linked to a lack of continuous communication between the GAGR network, the gardeners, and the support organisations.

4.4 Conflict, Relationships and Culture

4.4.1 Garden Conflict - To Share or Not to Share?

In this next section I explore the experiences of gardeners with regards to conflict, relationships and culture in relation to social capital. Gardeners experienced conflict with other gardeners in the form of altercations and tension as well as experienced a lack of willingness to share. Some gardeners experienced poor relationships with community members around the garden, and a general lack of community support. Perceptions of gardening were that gardening was a ‘dirty job’ that was undiserable to many. On the other hand, some gardeners experienced sharing and support from other gardeners. They also experienced admiration and respect from the community with regards to their garden.

While some gardeners were able to successfully mobilise their social capital to meet their individual and garden needs, others found it more difficult to get resources through their garden network. In some cases, gardeners chose not to help each other even though they had access to resources:

> Sometimes when I ask maybe (…) my colleague there (…), ‘Can you please give me (…) something, I want to plant because I don't have money to buy the seeds’ that maybe, he doesn't want or she doesn't want [to help me] (…) she said (…)’I don't have the seeds’, but I can see she's got this seed, but she doesn't want [to give me seeds] (Charity).

Other conflicts among gardeners included accusations about selling each other’s vegetables when they were not in the garden; “(…) there was always this fights and (…), if somebody is not there and somebody thinks the other one is selling their things [produce] (…)” (Martha). Conflict between gardeners also arose through competition for customers and vegetable quality: “The bad is that (…) sometimes other people, they don't like you, others they (…) saw you, maybe (…) the vegetable is nice or maybe we are selling (…) we are selling in our garden. So others they don't like me. They don't (…) like you because maybe you've got (…) plenty of customers (…)” (Charity).

In some cases, tension and conflict arose where gardeners felt that their garden colleagues did not work in the garden regularly, but expected their share of profit from the sales of produce:

> Some people were not coming and then if you sell it means you are selling for everybody, whatever you do, you do for everybody, so we thought it was better to have our own things [individual plots] and then so that you can be serious to do your own thing (Martha).

However, gardeners did assist each other in different ways. Cooperatives were divided into individual garden plots where each gardener tended to their own plot and sold produce to the community. Gardeners assisted each other by referring customers to garden colleagues' plots that had vegetables that they did not grow: "I don't have Chomolia and then I maybe go to Edward and say, 'There is a customer, she want the Chomolia (…)' If I don't have something I must tell someone to sell to that person because I don't have it". Gardeners also assisted with watering one another's plots when they were away from the garden for long periods. This suggests that there is social cohesion among gardeners and a willingness to succeed collectively even though altercations did occur at times.

Some gardeners were willing to share their garden produce with others, which built trust among gardeners: "(…) I help somebody they come to me and want the seedling for onion and then I said, '*Ya*, you must just take it'" (Charity).

4.4.2 Relationships

Good fences do not make good neighbours after all! Some GAGR garden members experienced a lack of support from the community for their gardens: "(…) some will just walk past and say, 'These people are wasting the ground! We should be building like houses here! Why are they here wasting water!' (…)" (Charity).

Gardeners also noted that some community members cut holes in the garden fences and stole their vegetables: "So when we plant, they don't go to

their shop anymore to buy a spinach or a beetroot or cabbage. They just (…) vandalize our garden and then take whatever they want" (Patience). Through the holes in the fence, goats and other livestock entered the gardens and ate the garden produce. In one instance, community members had broken down the garden fence to build informal houses in the garden. They would often take garden produce on their way to, and from, their houses. Gardeners also noted that some community members expected free produce:

> (…) then there was this guy there by the gate when I was collecting the stuff, he says to me, 'Can you give me this spinach?' So I'm saying, 'How much do you want spinach for?' He says, 'No, I want just, you have to give it.' He was drunk and I said, 'No, I've got nothing to give you. You got money to buy beer but you don't have R10 to come and buy spinach, you want me to give it for free?' (Martha).

By contrast, other gardens experienced great support from the surrounding community through the act of purchasing garden produce and showing appreciation for the gardens: " Always when they…pass by, they tell us, 'Oh! Your garden is so nice! How do you plant this? I must come, I must come'" (Charity). Other gardeners noted that community members really valued the garden and its offerings:

> So what I can tell you is that (…) the people adore that place [garden]. They love that place! They protect the place even…if you were not there. Nobody can litter…that place was a dumping site [before] (Samuel).

While some gardeners struggled with making an income from selling vegetables, others have created additional income generation opportunities through developing their garden space into a place for the community. One of the garden spaces is rented out for local events, WiFi connection is offered at a nominal cost, and children's facilities such as a small plastic swimming pool and trampoline are available for use to children at a small fee. Additionally, the garden assists children with homework assignments and allows them to use the internet to download games and movies. 'Street shows' are available to attendees of the garden which are plays based on local events in the

community. In the densely populated and urbanized Alexandra, a place for children to play and interact is uncommon. Formed from a dumping site in the middle of unmaintained housing structures and littered streets, the garden has created a place of well-being and safety for children and families:

> We can realize that this garden here is closing a space for a whole lot of people to build [houses] (…) so we have to make sure that these people love this place because of one thing she [the garden] has to use to help them first, not because of the food but their lifestyle as well. So why did they love it? Because we keep their kids there and you [we] love their kids and you teach their kids a whole lot of stuffs too. We help them with their homeworks [homework] and the like (Samuel).

When gardeners were asked about their experience with the Greater Alexandra Greening Route some noted that they did not have a lot of interaction with the community-based organisation: “(…) I know Patrick [he] was last time (…) in our garden, but not always” (Martha). Others viewed GAGR as an organisation that collects information from them: “They’re trying to collection the information (…) about the challenges that we face as gardeners (…)” (Samuel).

Gardeners also mentioned that there was a lack of clear and relevant information from GAGR that was shared on the GAGR WhatsApp group. On the other hand, one of the gardeners had received a lot of support from GAGR: “It also assist us with the resources like (…) tank, seeds (…) spade and so on. And then they come normally to check [how] our plants [are] growing” (Patience). Many gardeners noted that historically there had been limited interaction with other gardens. Gardeners requested GAGR to bring all gardeners together more often so that they could share experiences and learn from one another.

4.4.3 Culture – Gardeners and Community Members

Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardeners explained that it was often difficult to get help from the community in the form of volunteers or

labour in exchange for vegetables; “(…) they don't work for *mahala!* [free] (…) they won't, they want money, they want money! So we don't have money (…)”. Further, even unemployed community members were not willing to work in the garden in exchange for vegetables. A gardener noted that: “(…) they want money! They don’t want veggies and we don’t have money to offer them” (Lynne). Gardeners said it was easier to get foreign nationals to work in gardens in exchange for vegetables or a lower wage. GAGR gardeners noted that community members expected R150 per day to work in the garden.

One GAGR gardener believed that community members saw gardening as a ‘dirty job’: “(…) they think that doing the gardening stuff is like dirty” (Patience). While GAGR gardeners did want youth to get involved in gardening they believed that there was little hope of this happening as youth also viewed gardening as a ‘dirty job’: “[youth say] ‘I’ll never! (…) I don't want to come to the garden. ‘*Yoh, Yoh, Yoh, Yoh*! You see my nails?’ (…) they don’t want to get dirty this [these] youngsters” (Charity).

Some of the gardeners had opinions about the culture that influenced networking and social capital mobilisation. One gardener in particular believed that no one would assist with transportation in the form of a lift somewhere if needed. On the other hand, some gardeners spoke about moral and ethical values of sharing in Alexandra:

> (…) we are living with the values of *ubuntu* so it's not easy to say you owe me or the other way, but then if I borrow you a spade I expect you to bring it back, but if I give you seedlings it's obvious that maybe one day you will also give me seedlings (Alfred).

Another gardener spoke about the importance of creativity as an important component of survival in Alexandra:

> (…) so what I can tell you about the culture of Alexandra, what works here is creativity. If you [are] creative you will get by in Alexandra, so if you murder my creativity we are going to have a problem (Sydney).

Chapter 5: Analysis and Discussion

This chapter reflects on the implications of my findings related to the research questions. First, analysis and interpretation of access to social capital measured with the Resource Generator is described and then analysed. The analysis of potential access to social capital is discussed through the social capital domains. Structural social capital may be measured high or low with regards to access to resources (K. Foster & Maas, 2016). This is the approach that I used to understand access to social capital. Social capital scores are also analysed through social capital domains. Next, I engage with the main research question – how social capital is mobilised in GAGR gardens – through interpreting the themes that emerged from semi-structured interviews with gardeners. Second, the research sub-questions - how weak ties, relationships with acquaintances and friends, apply to social capital - is explored through describing how gardens used their weak-tie relationships to mobilise their social capital. This question was also explored from data collected during the semi-structured interviews with gardeners. Third, other findings, that emerged from data gathered from the semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, are discussed such as conflict within gardens, the relationship between gardeners and the community, and how gardening is viewed by the community, including Alexandra youth. Thematic analysis was used to explore all data gathered from focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews.

5.1 Social Capital – Access and Mobilisation

Gardeners as a collective group showed the most potential access to social capital in the personal skills, and prestige and education-related social capital domains. The personal skills domain means that a gardener has access to someone who can help them grow and expand their gardens. The prestige and education-related social capital means that a gardener has access to someone who had specialized skills such as assisting them with an electricity connection.

When examining personal skills social capital, gardeners most frequently responded ‘Yes’ to knowing someone who could help them with ideas for making money from the garden (Question 20), knowing someone who could help them learn about different gardening methods (Question 23), and knowing someone who could help them with advice on which vegetables to grow (Question 26). This indicates that gardeners have higher social capital in the areas where they could engage a fellow gardener to assist them to improve their garden. Many gardeners also noted that they knew a government official or community leader, which indicates higher social capital in the political and financial skills domain. Further, many gardeners noted that they knew someone that could assist them with a spade, hosepipe or seedlings (Questions 1 , Question 2, Question 12, respectively). These results indicate that gardeners had access to advice and ideas; tangible resources such as seedlings, spades and hosepipes; and connections with government officials and community leaders. Additionally, in general, when gardeners indicated their relationships with resource owners, most gardeners selected acquaintance.

Notwithstanding the possible misinterpretation of the questionnaire by some of the gardeners, the Resource Generator findings suggest that GAGR gardeners have access to potential social capital within their garden network. GAGR gardeners mobilised their social capital to attain various resources that served their personal and gardening needs. These resources included a plastic swimming pool, a Wi-Fi router, access to water, and gardening tools. Despite the evidence of access and mobilisation of social capital, gardeners might believe that their access to resources is very limited and only extends to their individual personal possessions. This is based on the comments made during the focus group discussions where some gardeners often said that they did not have any resources.

The Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardeners used their social capital to maintain gardens, grow gardening offerings, and create business opportunities within gardens. The main research question related to this study is how is social capital, as the tangible and intangible resources embedded within a social structure that are accessible through network ties,

mobilised in Alexandra Greening Route community food gardens? In answering this question, the experiences of GAGR gardeners indicate that they mobilised their social capital through their garden relationships and relationships beyond the garden to access resources. These resources included tools, seeds and seedlings, and water, which were used to maintain and preserve the garden.

Similar, to other gardens around the world and in South Africa, GAGR gardeners used their networks to achieve individual and gardening aims (Glover, 2004; Glover et al., 2005; Olivier & Heinecken, 2017b; Vibert, 2016; Wills et al., 2010). Additionally, gardeners also mobilised their social capital with networks beyond the garden to create business opportunities, learn new skills, and expand offerings of the gardens to the wider community. This represents the relationships with weak ties (acquaintances) beyond the garden that were mobilised for individual gain by gardeners.

In some cases, even when a gardener had access to potential resources, the resource owner still had a choice of whether or not to share the resource, pointing out that access to social capital is not the same as mobilisation of social capital. Likewise, a study by Olivier and Heinecken (2017b) found that Cape Town gardeners experienced hostility from other gardeners who wanted to purchase cuttings from fellow gardeners to improve their own garden (Olivier & Heinecken, 2017b).

5.1.1 Accessing Government Resources

Some gardeners noted that they had received training from government departments and other organisations, but were unable to identify which departments or organisations provided the training. This included training related to gardening and small business management. Some gardeners participated in garden-related training such as planting, crop disease management, soil maintenance, and creating compost from vegetable peels. Others received training on running small businesses such as business management, finances and improving oneself. Gardeners seemed generally appreciative of the garden-related training; however, the

small business training modules seemed challenging for the gardeners to comprehend. They described the training as confusing and difficult. Some had only a very vague understanding of what the training was about and could not identify who provided the training. This might imply that the training provided was not tailored to the gardeners' current knowledge, education level and skill set.

Receiving training from international organisations and government departments may indicate the GAGR gardeners have the right type of relationships to improve their skills and knowledge to contribute to the growth and sustenance of their gardens. However, through the descriptions of gardeners, the relationships with government departments and organisations seem unequal. Where the power lies with the departments and organisations rather than evenly distributed between the gardeners, and their government and international organisation partners. Gardeners described these organisations as coming to give them resources such as seedlings and manure, or training without notice, collecting information from them then leaving without further contact. They did not describe the representatives of organisations and government departments as people whom they could rely on, get advice from, or someone who was willing to listen to them as partners.

On the other hand, many gardeners voiced disappointment and frustration with the local government as they felt that government officials did not provide any services of support to them, including training. This may indicate dissatisfaction with the services, including training, provided by the local government. Gardeners noted that Alexandra was weighed down by the competing political interest of various political parties and government officials. They expressed frustration at the ever-changing rules and regulations that were required by each new administration and felt disillusioned with local government officials. Relating this back to social capital, many gardeners noted that they knew a counsellor or government official, but it seems that they were unable to mobilise their political social capital to improve their gardens or get access to more land. While out of the

scope of this study, further investigation into why gardeners are unable to lobby local political leaders to assist them would help in understanding the challenges faced by gardeners in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route.

It emerged that some gardeners were no longer being supported by Food and Trees for Africa (FTFA), a non-profit organisation who often supplied gardeners with seeds and seedlings, manure, tools, training and skills development. Gardeners did not have any knowledge about why they were no longer supported by FTFA. Instead of inquiring with FTFA about why they were no longer receiving assistance, gardeners were waiting without receiving any of the resources. On the other hand, another gardener had a very fruitful relationship with FTFA and regularly received fruit trees, garden tools, seedlings and other resources from the organisation. This gardener encouraged others to call FTFA to enquire why they were not getting resources, as well as to update their details with them. One of Lin's four postulates, the interaction postulate, notes that people will interact with those who have similar socioeconomic characteristics, lifestyles or social statuses to themselves, and this causes inequality in social capital. The gardeners interacted with other gardeners as they were similar, and saw government officials and non-governmental organisation representatives as different to themselves. This created inequality in receiving resources as some saw themselves as similar to partner representatives and enjoyed more resources, while others felt uncomfortable contacting partner representatives and missed the opportunity to receive resources for a long period.

The social capital action postulate also emerged in GAGR gardeners' relationships. The postulate notes that people have various motivations for action and fall broadly into two categories: maintaining valued resources or gaining additional resources. One gardener spoke about how his relationships in the garden had helped him learn new skills, work on business opportunities and gain new equipment for their garden. In this case, his motivation for action was to gain additional resources and therefore maintained positive relationships with individuals in his gardening network to do so.

5.1.2 Knowledge as a resource in GAGR gardens

Some gardeners noted that access to information about non-traditional gardening methods was challenging for them in an environment where the effects of climate change often affected the quality and output of their produce from gardens. Some gardeners might have viewed their African-based agricultural knowledge about gardening as inferior by referring to their garden practices as backward and outdated. At the same time, gardeners mentioned learning about natural pesticides to curb pests such as rats and insects that eat plants. This knowledge was mostly learned through community members who bought vegetables from the gardens and were willing to share helpful gardening information and knowledge with gardeners. This may indicate that gardeners do mobilise their social capital to obtain information from community members but still see themselves as lacking information.

Furthermore, during the focus group discussions, it seemed that gardeners were already recognizing the resources that they have potential access to. This was indicated by gardeners asking how they could hire other gardens as venues for children's parties, and asking to exchange contact information so that they could share knowledge and skills with each other. Further, a gardener asked me how I would assist the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens through my research findings, and what sort of assistance, via information, I would provide to aid with their challenges. This may indicate that some gardeners viewed me as someone with potential access to resources and almost immediately tried to mobilise their social capital to assist themselves. This also may indicate that gardeners do see the value of weak-tie relationships such as acquaintances like myself and other visitors to the gardens.

5.2 Weak-Ties Create Better Social Capital

The sub-question of this research study was: How does Nan Lin's strength-of-weak-tie (friends and acquaintances) proposition apply as social

capital in the Alexandra Greening Route community food gardens? Lin's strength-of-weak-tie proposition proposes that the weaker the tie, the more likely one will access better social capital for obtaining additional or new resources (Häuberer, 2011c). My research findings indicate that most resources that were mobilised, as well as access to potential resources were through friends or acquaintances. Results from the Resource Generator indicate that most gardeners classified their relationship to resource holders as acquaintances and friends, with the former as the majority. In the case of GAGR gardeners, most of the potential resources were held by acquaintances, which may indicate that obtaining new resources will likely come from the relationships with acquaintances. Additionally, when gardeners described how they mobilised their social capital, the resource holders that assisted them were often acquaintances.

These experiences by gardeners support Lin's propositions that are related to strength of relationships. Lin proposed that acquaintances would likely have more new or additional resources, whereas family members might have fewer resources because they come from a similar socio-economic profile (Häuberer, 2011c). In the case of GAGR gardeners, only 15% or three gardeners classified their family members as having a potential resource on the Resource Generator. Further, when gardeners shared experiences of mobilisation of social capital, most of the gardeners noted that the resources they received were through acquaintances or friends. None of the gardeners noted that a family member had assisted them with resources. This suggests that if gardeners want to gain additional resources they should continue to build relationships with acquaintances outside of their friends and family.

While gardeners did note a strong relationship with Food and Trees for Africa, gardeners did not mention relationships outside of their network. This may indicate that their ties beyond their immediate gardening network are very limited. Robert Putnam refers to *Linking social capital* as social capital that links to people who are outside of the network and who have dissimilar social demographics traits (Putnam, 2001). It seems that GAGR gardeners did not capitalize on their linking social capital to harness the resources offered by Food and Trees for Africa. Gardeners rather noted the relationship

as someone who sometimes gave them seeds and manure, and visited their gardens, but not as an organisation that could help them further their garden aims.

5.3 Factors Influencing Social Capital

5.3.1 Conflict Among Gardeners

In addition to studying social capital in GAGR gardens, other themes emerged about the gardeners' experiences. In some cases, gardeners experienced conflict and altercations with other gardeners over vegetable quality and competition for customers. Conflict and altercation are not uncommon in community food gardens. In Melbourne community food gardens, members had altercations with each other, or just did not like fellow gardeners (Kingsley & Townsend, 2006). Correspondingly, gardeners in Cape Town reported hostile experiences with other gardeners when asking for help (Olivier & Heinecken, 2017a). While a certain amount of conflict is common in all relationships, conflict among gardeners does undermine social capital mobilisation. As noted earlier, social capital has three important elements: resources embedded in a social structure, accessibility to these resources by individuals, and mobilisation of resources by individuals engaged in purposive action. Accessibility to resources by individuals is heavily dependent on the relationship between the resource holder and the person seeking the resource.

Further, the strength of strong or weak ties or strength of relationships plays a vital role in mobilising social capital. As one of the gardeners mentioned, it was difficult to obtain seedlings from other gardeners; she was told that the seedlings were unavailable when they clearly were not. This might indicate that in that particular garden some of the gardeners' relationships were not very strong and therefore they were unable to access the resources in their network of gardeners. On the other hand, it seemed that gardeners who assumed leadership roles in gardens were more likely to access resources from other gardeners. The structural postulate in social

capital theory notes that individuals with better social standings are able to access more resources than others. Aligned to this postulate it seemed that a respected garden leader may have been able to access resources more easily because of his/her position in the social structure - a good social standing as a leader. The structural postulate seemed to emerge again as one of the gardeners, who was also an established community leader and activist, was able to access a bigger portion of land on which to garden. Alternatively, gardeners may have become a leader because of their ability to access more resources than others. One particular gardener noted that garden members often wanted her to represent views of the other gardeners to local officials because she had previously been able to successfully negotiate resources and services for the wider community. While it cannot be said for certain whether accessing more resources makes you a garden leader, or whether leaders access more resources. There is indication of a possible relationship between garden leaders and accessing additional and new resources.

5.3.2 Relationships Among and Around gardens

Policy positions community food gardens as a way to achieve food security, yet scant evidence has emerged to link community food gardens to food security (*The National Policy on Food and Nutrition Security for South Africa*, 2014). However, the benefits of community food gardens cannot be ignored. Can community food gardening be used as a community development tool? If so, what are the circumstances in which community food gardens should operate? These questions turn us to the perceptions of community members about gardening.

Many GAGR gardeners noted a strained relationship with the wider community. Gardeners often had their vegetables stolen, gardens vandalized, and their gardens looked upon as taking up space where houses could be built. This suggests that there is a lack of support for the gardens from the wider Alexandra community. However, this is not an uncommon experience in other gardens. In Israeli gardens tension often occurred between gardener members and the wider community (Filkobski et al., 2016).

Contrary to the experience of most GAGR gardeners, one group of gardeners were well supported and loved by the community. The difference between this garden and the other gardens was that it was set up to serve the community rather than creating an income for gardeners. Similar to this is the experience of gardeners in Cape Town who often gave away free produce to build community relationships and broaden their informal safety nets (Olivier & Heinecken, 2017b). According to Draper and Freedman (2010), community food gardens are different from private gardens as they are set up to involve multiple individuals to grow produce, and are meant to benefit a community (Draper & Freedman, 2010). This suggests that gardens that are valued by the community serve a larger purpose for the community beyond just meeting the immediate needs of garden members.

The limited interaction of gardeners across the GAGR network with other gardeners outside of their immediate gardens affected their access to additional social capital and potential mobilisation thereof. It was clear from the focus group discussions and visits to the gardens that many older gardeners had an abundance of knowledge about traditional herbs and vegetables. They were very willing to share their knowledge with the younger generations but believed that the youth from Alexandra did not have any interest in gardening. On the other hand, the younger gardeners had the energy and verve to grow their garden but did not have a lot of gardening experience. Younger gardeners also found innovative and creative ways to expand their gardens beyond traditional gardening, and gain the love and admiration of the community which older gardeners seemed to struggle with.

My recommendation is for GAGR to bring all gardeners together a few times a year to give them the opportunity to share experiences, ideas and challenges, and find ways to mobilise their social capital to reach their individual and gardening aims. GAGR could request sponsorship for tea/coffee and transport stipends from its existing partners such as Shoprite and Food and Trees for Africa to encourage gardeners to attend meetings. A Cape Town food garden made soup from vegetables and hosted events called ‘disco soups’ to bring young people in Khayelitsha together (Miller,

2020). Similarly, GAGR could find ways to use the existing resources of vegetables, children's facilities, and internet in the various gardens to bring gardeners and youth together in order to further mobilise their existing resources in the GAGR network (Miller, 2020).

5.3.3 Cultural factors in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route

As noted in the findings, it appears that there may be some cultural factors that influence the mobilisation of social capital in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens. In some cases, sharing what little resources are available might be seen by gardeners as negatively influencing their potential for social mobility, and this might also be true for the wider community where gardens are located. Some gardeners indicated that community members often wanted free vegetables that they were not willing to give away, and that community members were not willing to help them in any way in the garden. This might indicate a lack of trust and reciprocity which is key to any functional and positive relationship, the cornerstone of social capital mobilisation.

On the other hand, some gardens valued the principle of *Ubuntu*, generally a term known in South Africa to describe a link to humanity, caring, sharing, and recognizing the value of others. Gardeners attributed the *Ubuntu* principle to the exchange of resources in their networks. Social capital mobilisation may be influenced by *Ubuntu* as it seemed that gardeners who valued the principle saw mobilising their social capital as commonplace in their way of life.

Another cultural factor that may influence the mobilisation of social capital is the survival strategies that gardeners used to survive in Alexandra through unemployment and poverty. Gardeners mentioned creativity as a way to get by and saw their creative thinking as key to generating livelihoods for themselves. Social capital mobilisation may be influenced by the number of creative survival strategies that gardeners employed to grow and maintain their gardens. This type of creative survival strategy was indicated in one of

the gardens where gardeners used their creativity and artistic skills to generate additional income streams for their garden through providing internet connection, a children's swimming pool and trampoline at a nominal cost. In this case, gardeners might have seen the potential access to resources – money parents were willing to spend on entertaining their children in a safe space – and mobilised those resources for action to achieve their individual and gardening aims.

Another factor that influences social capital mobilisation is perceptions about gardening by community members. GAGR gardeners noted that community members, including the youth, thought of gardening as a 'dirty job' and were not willing to get involved in gardening even if they were unemployed. Miller (2017) refers to this aspect of South African culture as the *Isidingo-isation* of society where body image and glamour have become significant factors in how young South African women are viewed in society (Miller, 2017). In the GAGR case, the experience indicates that young women would choose their manicured nails and image over working in the garden because society values the former. With youth unemployment rates hovering at 40% and a shrinking agricultural sector, this is cause for concern (Statistics South Africa, 2020).

In contrast to the Greater Alexandra Greening Route experience, in Cape Town, South Africa, young 'Enchanted gardeners' use their garden based in a primary school as a way to mobilise the Khayelitsha township community through social events (Miller, 2020). They use poetry and music to make gardening 'cool' and appeal to youth. These gardeners use their garden to help educate young people in the township and focus their efforts on self-reliance in a community that has limited access to resources and jobs. Additionally, vegetables are distributed to mothers in the community for consumption.

Many GAGR gardens viewed community members as lazy for not being willing to work in the gardens without pay and in exchange for produce. They noted that community members would expect at least R150 per day to work in the garden. In a way, one can understand why community members

might decline unpaid work in gardens. Many migrants come to Johannesburg in search of paid work in low skilled jobs. This helps them either support families in rural areas or move up the socio-economic ladder. Therefore, it is not surprising that community members ask for the minimum wage to work in the garden. However, in an economy that is not growing as predicted to create the required jobs needed to reduce the unemployment rate and with rising food prices, working in gardens in exchange for food might be a good option for unemployed community members. The scope of this study did not allow for adequate time to get perspectives from the community about gardens and their willingness to work in them. Future research could aid in understanding the relationship dynamics between GAGR gardeners and community members where gardens are situated.

The perceptions of gardeners in GAGR about the youth are that many would not participate in gardening even though gardeners would welcome them to learn about gardening, yet gardeners in Cape Town have managed to make gardening attractive to urban youth who are often disconnected from gardening practices (Miller, 2020). Further, perceptions of community members from GAGR gardeners were that they often were unsupportive of their gardeners and somewhat jealous, yet one GAGR garden was able to earn the love and respect of the community. Could gardens in GAGR be used as a community development tool? Findings suggest that community food gardens can be accepted and cherished by the community if the garden serves the community in some way. In the case of the GAGR garden that was loved by the community, the garden's aim was to serve the community through providing internet, helping with homework and a gathering place, while still growing produce. This is similar to research on the Cape Town community food garden that used a garden as a place for education and mobilising the community (Miller, 2020).

GAGR could benefit from involving the community in learning experiences such as information sessions on herbs and vegetables, and recipes on how to cook vegetables grown in the gardens. School children could also learn about gardening through partnering with gardens in GAGR. This may also mitigate the risks gardeners face of community members

vandalizing and stealing from the garden, while increasing community support through sales and appreciation of the greenery in Alexandra. By the same token, gardeners could use artists' talents such as poetry, local 'street shows' and music to make gardening attractive to youth who think of gardening as a 'dirty job'. However, this would require all gardens across the Greater Alexandra Greening Route network to collaborate and share resources with each other. Most gardeners interviewed and who were part of the focus group discussions requested that GAGR bring gardeners together more often to share challenges and difficulties as well as to find ways of working together. Some gardeners noted that the focus group sessions were the first time that gardeners had met each other and they were happy to collaborate in future to support each other.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This last chapter outlines the conclusion of this report and serves two purposes: one, it relates my findings and the discussion to my research questions, and two, it answers the last research question as to the theoretical and policy implications of understanding social capital in Johannesburg community food gardens. At the end of this chapter, references and appendices are attached, including the Resource Generator questionnaire, transcripts from the focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews, and letters from GAGR and the University of Witwatersrand about the research.

6.1 Greater Alexandra Greening Route Social Capital

The aim of this research project was to explore social capital in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens. This study sought to understand how social capital was mobilised by GAGR gardeners, how Lin's weak-tie proposition applied to social capital in the gardens, and what the theoretical and policy implications for understanding social capital were.

As the findings suggest, GAGR gardens have mobilised their social capital to maintain their gardens and achieve individual aims such as creating an income for themselves. The Resource Generator results indicate that GAGR gardeners have a range of social capital scores with some having access to more social capital than others. However, it seems that many gardeners are not aware of the potential resources that exist in their personal and gardening networks. Gardeners, therefore, fail to capitalize on their networks and the potential access to resources that exist. The findings also suggest that acquaintances are better relationships for gaining additional resources and that gardeners with higher social capital mostly have acquaintances in their networks that can help them with resources. This is aligned to Lin's proposition where he proposes that weak-ties – acquaintances and friends - serve as better social capital for gaining new and

additional resources rather than strong-ties - family members - who serve better as maintaining existing resources (Lin et al., 2001).

Further, there were factors that influenced the gardeners' potential to mobilise their social capital. These factors were conflict among gardeners, relationships with community members and the Greater Alexandra Greening Route, and cultural factors such as values around sharing, and perceptions of gardening. Conflict among gardeners affected their relationships with each other and their ability to access resources from other gardeners. In some cases, possible strained relationships between the gardeners and community members negatively affected social capital mobilisation beyond the garden network. Additionally, limited interaction between the Greater Alexandra Greening Route and gardeners, as well as, between the six gardens may have inhibited social capital mobilisation. Cultural factors such as *Ubuntu* seemed to propagate social capital mobilisation for gardeners whereas hinderance may have been influenced by negative perceptions of gardening as a 'dirty job'.

6.2 Reflections – Methodological, Theoretical, Policy

This research study set out to understand how Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens mobilised their tangible and intangible resources embedded in their networks - social capital. Findings indicate that GAGR gardeners do have potential access to social capital as measured by the Resource Generator in this study. And in some cases, gardeners have mobilised their social capital to contribute to the sustainability of their gardens. Moreover, one of the implicit goals of this research study was to contextually adapt and test the utility of the Resource Generator as an appropriate tool for measuring access to social capital in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route context. This was done, and the adapted version of the Resource Generator was easy to administer to gardeners and flexible in terms of adding items to the questionnaire. However, including all the resources in the questionnaire made it lengthy and arduous. Moreover, some gardeners found it repetitive and difficult.

Gardeners in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route come from diverse cultures and languages compounded by the fact that English is a second or third language to most. While many gardeners did speak a basic level of English, it was evident that there was some misinterpretation of the Resource Generator questions. Specifically, the word '*could'* seemed to confuse some gardeners. Some of the gardeners interviewed noted that they read the Resource Generator questions as what resources they needed rather than which resources they have potential access to. On the other hand, some gardeners noted that the questions were clear and they understood that the tool was measuring potential resources in their network. It is difficult to determine how many gardeners did indeed misinterpret the Resource Generator questions.

Based on the experiences by gardeners of the Resource Generator and my observations, I conclude that measuring potential access to social capital in community food gardens using adapted Resource Generators may not always generate accurate results, as questions may be easily misinterpreted and the questionnaire can become lengthy depending on the amount of resources in the study area. Theoretically, this means that measuring access to social capital in the South African context, specifically the gardening and Johannesburg context, still requires further development and research. Structured questionnaires are not always the best method of data collection among certain groups in South Africa because of the diverse languages, cultural backgrounds and education levels of South Africans. Perhaps adapting the questions on the instrument could remove possible confusion. The items on the Resource Generator could be changed to say 'imagine you were in your garden and needed a fork to dig out your carrots. Do you have a friend, family member or acquaintance that you could ask to give you a fork?'. This might clarify that the questions on the Resource Generator are about potential resources in the respondents network. Another possible way to strengthen the administration of the questionnaire would be through gamification of the items. This could include using pictures instead of a questionnaire to collect the data required.

Further, domains created by Van Der Gaag and Snijder do not seem to fit the GAGR context. I suggest using these domains for any future research on social capital in GAGR; personal assets social capital, personal skills and knowledge social capital, and political social capital. First, personal assets social capital could encompass all assets that a gardener may have acces to such as gardening tools and equipment that is used to maintain a garden. Second, personal skills and knowledge social capital would include all resources that are used to expand a garden such as knowledge about modern farming methods. Third, political and prestige social capital would include connections to local politicians and community leaders, and respect and admiration among the community that lead to additional access to resources. While it is evident that the Resource Generator needs further development, semi-structured interviews undertaken to understand social capital mobilisation proved to be an appropriate data collection method. Interviews allowed me to probe and clarify what the gardeners said as well as give them an opportunity to 'tell the story' of how they used their social capital to gain resources.

Notwithstanding the continuing measurement challenges of social capital, a better understanding of social capital in the community food garden setting indicates that community food gardens in Alexandra are used for more than what policy indicates. In contrast to the policy goal - using community food gardens to contribute to improving household food security – GAGR gardeners participate in gardening to sell produce and create businesses from their gardens as opposed to using the garden to lessen food insecurity. Many gardeners have plans for using the gardens to grow flowers and herbs to supply to the wider Alexandra community or provide produce to supermarkets in the vicinity. These plans may indicate that gardens are use more as an income generation mechanism than a food security tool.

Understanding social capital in Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens suggests that even though gardeners do not have all the resources required to grow their gardens, they are able to use their social capital to maintain their gardens and increase garden offerings. From a policy perspective, community food gardens may serve a function beyond just

creating livelihoods for gardeners, as findings indicate. These other functions are income generation activities, creating a space for children to play, and a stepping-stone from gardening to commercial farming operations.

In Cape Town, South Africa, social capital in community food gardens has contributed to repairing and building caring relationships among gardeners and family members on the Cape Flats. Further in Cape Town gardens bridging social capital has also assisted in developing links among hostile community members (Olivier & Heinecken, 2017b). Perhaps community food gardens can serve as a community development tool for building social cohesion among community members, and the gardens' main purpose should not be to reach food security. Rather, improving food security could be among one of the many goals of community food gardens such as contributing to the ecology of the surrounding environment, mental and physical well-being of community members, and as a way to bring communities together. Future policy aimed at reducing food insecurity should include a broader approach than just community food gardens (Battersby et al., 2015) as a contributor to food security. Rather, community food gardens can also be viewed as a mechanism for mobilising social capital that in turn positively affects food security and health (Kobayashi et al., 2013; Quetulio-Navarra et al., 2017; Vikram, 2018)

In conclusion, this study sought to understand social capital in the Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens and did this through understanding the experiences of GAGR gardeners. Access to potential resources does exist in Greater Alexandra Greening Route gardens and this social capital can be mobilised to serve gardeners' individual aims to expand and grow gardens. However, critically, gardeners need to be aware of their social capital and how to harness it to serve their own interests.

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Appendices A – Resource Generator

Name_____ Contact no._____

Survey to measure access to social capital in Greater Alexandra Greening Route Programme Community gardens.

Dear Greater Alexandra Greening Route Programme Garden Member,

I am a Master in Management student at the School of Governance of the University of Witwatersrand who is undertaking a research project as part of my degree. This survey is on access to social capital in community gardens and is part of my research project to complete my degree.

This survey is voluntary, and findings will not include any information that could identify you. All names will be replaced with pseudonyms for the report (example person A or B). Additionally, you fill out this survey voluntarily and by your own choice.

If you choose to participant in this survey, please complete the information below. The survey will take about five minutes of your time to complete.

If you have any queries or would like to be informed about the research findings, please contact me or one of my supervisors on Schlain Bhayla – 074 634 7093, or Supervisor Dr. Darlene Miller – Darlene.miller@wits.ac.za or Erin McCandless on erin.mccandless@wits.ac.za

Thank you for your time.
Schlain Bhayla

1. **Age:**___

2. **Gender:**

- Female
- Male
- Choose to not answer

3. **Nationality**

- South African
- Zimbabwean
- Mozambican
- Batswana
- Other: Please specify_____

4. **Country of birth**

    - South Africa
    - Other: Please specify _____

5. **How many people live in your household?**

- I live alone
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- More than 10: Please specify:_____
  _____

6. **What is your highest level of education?**
    - Primary school
    - Some high school
    - Completed Matric (high school/equivalent)
    - TVET College Certificate
    - Diploma
    - Degree
    - Postgraduate: Please specify:_____

7. **What is your marital status?**
    - Single
    - Married
    - Living with boyfriend/girlfriend but not married
    - Divorced
    - Windowed

8. **What is your employment status?**
    - Employed full-time
    - Employed part-time
    - Self-employed
    - Unemployed

9. **If you are employed, what kind of work do you do?**_____

10. **Which kind of garden do you belong to?**
    - Cooperative
    - Group that is not registered as a cooperative as yet
    - I am the only person in my garden
    - My garden is a family garden
    - I do not belong to any garden
    - Other:_____

11. What is the size of the garden? (e.g. hectare, kilometres/meters)

_____

12. Please complete the table below:

Do you know anyone that you met in Greater Alexandra Greening Route Programme or in your own garden who…	**If yes, please state whether this person from the garden is a;** ○ **Acquaintance** (means that you would greet them and know their name but not consider them a close friend). ○ **Friend** (you share your personal life with them) ○ **Family member**	**If no, use an X**
Could help you with a spade?		
Could help you with a hosepipe?		
Could help you with a fork?		
Could help you with a rake?		
Could help you with watering cans?		
Could help you with water for the garden?		

Could help you with a refrigerator (fridge)?		
Could help you store your vegetables in a cold room?		
Could help you get security for your garden?		
Could help you with an electricity connection?		
Could help you with a jojo tank?		
Could give you seeds/seedlings?		
Could help you get a fence?		
Could lend or give you money?		
Could help you get someone to work in your garden for free?		
Could help you get a container?		
Could help you get signage (board with your information) for your garden?		
Could help you get manure (cow dung)?		

Could help you get more land for your garden?		
Could help you with ideas for making money from your garden?		
Knows a counsellor or government official?		
Knows a community leader?		
Could help you learn about different gardening methods? [modern methods, hydroponics etc.]		
Could help you with facilities for children (trampoline, swimming pool, toys etc.)?		
Could help you get internet connection/WIFI/Data?		
Could help you with advice on which vegetables to grow?		

Appendix B – Semi-Structured Interview Transcripts

Semi-structured Interview 1 - Transcript

Researcher: Are we ready? I'm going to put that near you so it picks up your voice. Okay. So the first question is, um, can you tell me how you started to be part of the garden or how you started the garden? What's the story? It's all about yourself.

Participant: Must I introduce myself first?

Researcher: It's about yourself, ya

Participant: Okay. My name is Patience [pseudonym]

Researcher: Oh! introduce yourself. No, it's fine because I'm not going to say Patience said, I'll just say a gardener just to protect your identity. Yeah. So don't introduce yourself but carry on.

Participant: Okay. We started the garden in 1990 whereby we were feeding the disabled then the children at our centre. So those years they got in the garden, they, their plan, the plants were growing nicely without disturbing by people or by the goats, you know. We were depending from the garden. We sell the the the vegetables to the community. And then even we were feeding the children and the disabled with the vegetables.

Researcher: So the garden started in 1990. Were you there in 1990?

Participant: Yes, I was still young coming from school? So I enjoy to work with communities.

Researcher: That's very nice. And why did you, okay, so the garden was started, you started working in the garden. Why did you continue keeping the garden there?

Participant: The garden its help us a lot because without garden, we cannot eh, success because of we don't earn a lot and then we don't make it profit with eh vegetables and fruits. We can, we feed our kids and our disabled people. That is why we stick. We keep on ploughing.

Researcher: Okay, so it's additional income because you get some money from the kids and the disabled. Do they pay, I'm assuming they pay you, right?

Participant: The disabled, they don't pay anything. They depend from their social grants. So we depend from the money from the kids. So that is why we must, eh keep on planting.

Researcher: To sell to the community for money and to eat?

Participant: Yes

Researcher: Okay. Okay. And then what has your experience in the garden been? I mean you've been there for how many years?

Participant: [Laughs]. I think it's 20 years. Ya, 21 years this year.

Researcher: So what's your experience been?

Participant: Okay. My experience in the garden, I experienced that in when you working in the garden, your vegetables must have a manure, fertilizers and then you must water them maybe twice a week and then you must change according to this season so that you have, eh, eh, eh, eh, a good vegetables so that it can grow. And then we know which season we plant maybe tomato or do we

plant, eh, onions. Onions I think is right through the year, because even if it's winter it doesn't die or what and then we plough until it grow big so that we must have another seed from, from the spinach, from the carrots, from the (…) even the onions.

Researcher: Oh. Okay. Okay. Okay. And I mean, so throughout the years, I mean, has it been good to have the garden, has it been bad? I know you were saying the people from the hostel come and take the stuff. Do you want to talk a bit about what's the good, what's the bad of the garden?

Participant: Okay. Nowadays our garden doesn't grow, we don't benefit anything because in Alex there's a lot of influx; people coming from different home home, what do we call them? homelands like as we stay next to the hotel where this hotel is a lot of a lot of eh, Zulu a lot of Zulu nation. So when we plant, they don't go to their shop anymore to buy a spinach or a beetroot or cabbage. They just, eh, vandalize our garden and then take whatever they want. So that is the bad of the garden. But the good this when we plant our vegetable grow and then when we can sell it to the community and then we can cook for the kids and then for the disabled. mmm.

Researcher: How long have the people at hostel been taking the plants? How many years?

Participant: Yoh! I think it's more than four years now.

Participant: Okay. I never used to before? Only now.

Participant: No, because nowadays you know, they, turn hotel into the families. That is why before,

Researcher: Oh, before it was it? Before it was just a(…) what do we call it(…) for single mothers and then single father staying in the without their families.

Researcher: And then you said the goats? Goats get in the garden.

Participant: Ya, they, because nowadays a family hostel they've got a livestock like goats in the hostel.

Researcher: Have you tried to get them to not take it or rather you don't ask them to not take it?

Participant: We try! They say they will help us but they don't.

Researcher: Who? Who says they are going to help you?

Participant: People from the (…) we talk to them because their children are attending the creche next to (…) the creche. So we try to communicate with them, say that, please guys help us not to vandalize our garden.

Researcher: So you tell the parents that live in the hostel to speak to other people to say please don't take anything from the garden?

Participant: Yes mmm (…)

Researcher: Okay. And then so that's your experience in the garden. Um, what you experience like with Alex Greening Route, John, the organization John runs?

Participant: Eh there garden route. It also assist us with the resources like, eh, tank, seeds, eh, spade and so on. And then they come normally to check our plants is growing.

Researcher: Is that Food and Trees? Food and Trees or Alex Greening Route?

Participant: No, even even even John.

Researcher: Okay. Okay. That's good. And if you could ask him to do more, what would you ask for in the garden?

Participant: Okay. I will ask the same like a tunnel if we've got a tunnel so then he can plough the things inside. So that the goat musn't come in. Even the people maybe they will and never vandelise it. I think the tunnel and then even the, the seedlings.

Researcher: Okay. Okay. That's good. And then, okay, so then my next question is, um, can you describe a time or can you think of a time when you used your network (…) so you have a network was John and then maybe other people that work in the garden to get something you needed.

Participant: Okay. The time is, I think in the, in the morning, like 10 o'clock where they can come and see it even in the afternoon time is a good time.

Researcher: A good time. Okay. So the other people said in their gardens if they need seeds, right. They'll go to the people they know and they'll ask them for seeds, seeds or spades or forks or anything. Anything. Do you do that? Do you go and ask different people for (…)

Participant: No, only the green routes and trees for food.

Researcher: Food and trees, okay ya

Participant: In our township, we didn't, eh, visit one another.

Researcher: Okay. So you haven't really seen the other garden before and whatever.

Participant: Mmm Mmm [affirmation] Only the garden with Paul that is at the technical college. That's the one I saw.

Researcher: So in your garden it's just um, you and the guy there that we saw, the gardener?

Participant: Mmm, mmm

Researcher: Okay, but you did visit John's garden at CJC. So if you want something do you ask John, sometimes?

Participant: Yes.

Researcher: Whatever you asked for in the past?

Participant: Eh, the the herbs and then seedlings, like spinach and cabbage and, you know.

Researcher: And then would you consider John a friend or an acquaintance? Acquaintances, you know him, but he doesn't come to a house. A friend who is a close friend. What would John be to you?

Participant: I think it's a, you see what that acquaintance,okay.

Researcher: Okay. And then so often do you see John?

Participant: Nearly, I think most of the time.

Researcher: Once a week?

Researcher: No

Researcher: Once a month?

Participant: Every week. He passes then he can check.

Researcher: Okay, cool. And then why do you think John helped you? Helps you with the seeds?

Participant: Because I think he is interested in the garden and then he even once to see the disabled people and the children having maybe a vegetables to eat or to sell up to, to the community so we can benefit from, from the garden.

Researcher: Okay. And then have you helped other people with things for the garden or have you helped Paul with something?

Participant: Because those is the first time meeting them here. So I did not.

Researcher: Okay. So do I understand your garden is set up in the school to help feed and sell to the community? Do you get a lot of support from the community? Do they try and come help you in the garden or only buy?

Participant: no, our community even in the hostel they are just lazy. When we plough they just come and look

Researcher: and they don't say, let me help you?

Participant: Ah no

Researcher: And if you say, can you come help me, what will they say?

Participant: Oh we didn't ask them because we know that they are not interested about it. They only the disabled people. They are the one who's interested about the garden. They work hard in the morning, in the afternoon.

Researcher: Oh okay. But the, the community does buy, they're buy from the garden?

Participant: Yes, even we just, eh, tell the parents that we are selling spinach, onions and beetroot they are the ones who support us and then they are going to tell their friends that at the creche they sell cabbage, spinach, beetroot and carrots

Researcher: Okay, and then do you remember you did that survey? Remember I came to you Monday, right? To do the survey. I'm trying to understand how did you find the survey? Is it difficult? Is it easy? You know, I'm trying to understand what your experience of the survey was.

Participant: It was not difficult, it was easy questions

Researcher: And um, the question remembered him like it had, like, is there anyone in Alex Greening Route that could you with a spade? could help you with the fork? Did you find these questions easy to answer?

Participant: Yes, it is easy. Okay. Because it's simple. you know yourself , I'm having a garden. And if they don't of this spade, I go to the nearest ya(…) Even the community around us, if I don't have it I can go and ask them.

Researcher: So you do ask the community sometimes?

Participant: Yes.

Researcher: What do you ask them for?

Participant: Maybe four wheebarrows..mmm.

Researcher: And they lend you? For free?

Participant: Yes!

Researcher: Okay. Okay. That's good. So the communities, they don't, they just know you, the principal or the manager at the school and then they will lend you the wheelbarrow?

Participant: mmm.

Researcher: Okay, are they your friends or just acquaintances?

Participant: No, that is my acquaintances

Researcher: Oh, okay. Okay. No, that's good. So do you have any suggestions to improve the survey or was fine?

Participant: It was fine. The questions were just relevant. Okay, great.

Researcher: So then my last question Patience is, um, if you imagine, okay. So you know, I work and then I go to school part time right? But just imagine I'm a government official. I'm not but imagined. What would you ask me for?

Participant: Yoh, lot of things they can ask us. Okay. number one at our premises we have a problems of electricity. We are in darkeness. I will ask you to help us with electricity so that they can maybe reduce the(…) I don't know because I don't know how they rigged us they just come in and they just check the box and then just write it down.

Researcher: So it's very high?

Participant: It's very high high.

Researcher: Okay. The cost of electricity.

Participant: And then the other thing that garden itself, we need eh proper wall and then at the back and then we needed tunnels so that our plants can grow, not disturbing by anything, ya.

Researcher: Okay, and there's no water problem, right?

Participant: No, we still have water inside, even the tools, because sometimes it's lost you know because we went to a, to make it big, our garden to be bigger.

Researcher: Okay. Okay.

Participant: To have more resources like spades and seeds and so on. And then I don't know if I'm asking money who can help you feel like government?

Researcher: Okay. So, okay, so money. What would you do with the money?

Participant: The money? Yoh! There is a lot we want to do like people who works in the garden, they don't have proper uniform. And then maybe to, to hire to help maybe to to give eh stipend for, for the people who works in the garden because they are disabled too.

Researcher: So right now they just volunteering for free?

Participant: Yes. Okay.

Researcher: Is there anything else you want to say? You want to tell me, you want to be in the report.

Participant: Okay. What I like to say, I like to say thank you very much.

Researcher: Thank you [laughs]. Okay. Thank you for coming!

Participant: Okay, and then I like to say thank you very much to be the part of the research and then the the interview because I learned a lot because it's not their first time doing a research. Last year there were another student coming from Wits for interview about entreprenuers so they sent the lecturers on the behalf of this students and very very much chapter, you can send another student.

Researcher: Hmm to come do more research and anything else you want to say about the garden, community or anything?

Participant: Okay. In a fture like to see our garden, it's, it's we success we sell to, the nearest mall like, and you've got Alex mall, pan-african mall you know we can sell our veggies there, and the community knowing that at the creche Toddlers people are are seeding and people are plowing some vegetables, we can work together with pan-african mall and Alex mall becuase they got checkers and ShopRite and pick n pay.

Researcher: yeah. So you want to grow the garden, supply the malls. Okay. How's the soil? Do you have any problems with the soil by your garden?

Participant: Not soil because we've got the manure, they show us how to do a manure

Researcher: who showed you.

Participant: people from eh, trees for food or food and trees. Because every time after we peel a onions, cabbage, we just go in.

Researcher: Oh, you make compost?

Participant: Compost, mmm.

Researcher: Okay. Nice. Nice. Okay. So your soil is good.

Participant: Mmm, it's rich.

Researcher: Okay. Okay. Anything else? We at the end now of the interview.

Participant: Thank you.

Researcher: Okay. I'll put this off and save.

Semi-structured Interview 2 – Transcript

Researcher: Okay. Great. Let's start. Okay. So my first question is, can you tell me how you became part of the garden from the beginning? How did it start?

Participant: Oh(…) you know, I was passionate about the garden, I like the garden, very much. Even at home I grow, I plan something like, eh, eh, vegetable, let me say vegetable(…) so, and then eh(…) other guy told me that they're going to open this a cooperative Matsavu, 2016 ya. Then I said, ya, I'm coming because I like getting very much. ya. And you know that our garden was eh.. it's where they.. it was a trash(…) it was a dumping, dumping place. And then ya, we started to clean it, clean it and then after we clean it we start to plant our vegetables..mmm yes, yes.

Researcher: Okay, and why did you personally get involved in Matsavu? Why? I know you're passionate, but what was your reasons? because you have a garden at home, right?

Participant: Yes. I've got the small one.

Researcher: Small one at home. So why did you get involved?

Participant: You know what they like to, I like the people to ya. To, to know, to know more about the garden because I don't know. ya, I want to know maybe more, maybe sometimes we are going to somewhere they teach us about the garden and then how the, what do you call it? This diseases and what, what I didn't know about it but now I know and that is why I, I, I said that you don't know. You know what I like to go there, to know, to to to get knowledge about the garden.

Researcher: Okay. So you wanted to learn more about gardening and different methods.

Participant: Yes, yes.

Researcher: Okay. Okay. Did you also join just for the socialization to like make friends or did you know everyone already in the garden?

Researcher: No, I didn't know anyone. I only know, only three people, ya others I don't know them but at least ya, at least now ya. ya. we are friends, you know in the garden yes.

Researcher: Okay, that's nice. So now you have a network of people.

Participant: Yes, network of people yes.

Researcher: Okay, that's very nice. So you joined for learning. Okay, that's nice. Is there any other reasons why you joined?(…) To be healthy or(…)

Participant: Yes! Other reason is because you know they retrenched me in 2014 so I just said I must do something(…) . ya, I must, you know, it's it's it's an exercise you exercise but when you are at home, you know, the high bloods is

getting worse. So I just said, let me go to the garden and then, ya, ya.

Researcher: Okay. So to get some exercise ..

Participant: to be healthy ya,

Researcher: some exercise(…) so where were you working?

Participant: Before I was working in eh, eh, Wynburg that side. We're doing this, eh, the, the, the seats of Mercades Benz. Oh, okay. And what do you call it? BMW(…) ya, but the the the..not this, the, what do you call it? This, the hard one. The the the(…)

Researcher: leather?

Participant: Not leather. Eh? What'd you call it? CP, man. Eh, there's something, you know this, eish..I don't know.

Researcher: Take your time, take your time. The seat in the BMW?

Participant: Ya, the inner one.

Researcher: Oh okay, like frame?

Participant: Yes! Before they, before they put the leather one.

Researcher: You worked in the factory?

Participant: Factory, yes yes.I was, ya, I was working there for 29 years.

Researcher: Oh, wow. Long time. Almost my age.

Participant: [Laughs] ya.

Researcher: Okay. Okay. That's nice. Okay. So you joined because you wanted to exercise, you wanted to do some learning

about gardening, and then what has your experience been so far? So when did you join? 2016?

Participant: 2016 yes.

Researcher: And what has it been like? What is the experience?

Participant: The experience, you know, the teach us um, you know, because sometimes we are going to, you know, this, uh, what'd you call it? Oh, maybe for, you know, they teach eh how to plant maybe, eh, maybe a, eh, let me say what you call this. Um, mustard, mustard. Don't eh eh plant mustard in summer you must plant it in winter because they don't like the hot. They teach us about the disease in the garden, you see there is many disease, like um aphids, like um(…)

Researcher: Those little small things, right?

Participant: ya. ya. That small thing, the diseases. ya.

Researcher: Okay. So you've been on training.

Participant: Yes. Yes. I was in training many times.

Researcher: Do they come to you to do the training? who did this training. Can you tell me some more?

Participant: ya, ko Lerato, Lerato from(…) 8th avenue ya,

Researcher: Does she work for(…) ?

Participant: Ya, they work for maybe for government(…) ya. They teach us how to. And then now we, we, we were attending school, ya. We are at school on eh, eh, eh, eh, this, uh, no, eh, February. February maybe we are going to finish our course, ya. They are teaching us many

things. Like why finance and then agriculture(…) ya(…) ya.

Researcher: Do you like it? Do you enjoy it?

Participant: Ya, I like to enjoy because ya, I gain the knowledge then because I didn't know eish anything, but now at least, you know, they opened my eyes and then they know how to(…) eh I know these diseases, I know the soil must, you know, you don't add plants on the soil that is not good. You must make sure that the soil is, eh, must maybe get the nitrogen from the soil is so that you can plant the rich soil, you see?

Researcher: ya. ya. Okay. So do you go to the school with Tricia?

Participant: Yes, yes! Did she tell you?

Researcher: On finance, and how to run a business by yourself. I think it's about running your business. Right.

Participant: yes, yes, yes, yes.

Researcher: Okay that's very nice. Very good. Okay. And what other experiences did you have in the garden? Good and bad, both.

Participant: Good and bad. Okay. The bad is that, you know if we are many, sometimes other people, they don't like you, others they, maybe they saw you, maybe they, they, the vegetable is nice or maybe we are selling because ya, we got..ya, we are selling in our garden. So others they don't like me. They don't, they don't like you because maybe you've got a maybe a plenty of customers. ya(…) And then the good one is that..ah we communicate to each other always. ya. ya. ya(…)

Researcher: Okay. So you're saying, so sometimes they can be fights because maybe I have more vegetables then you have(…)

Participant: yes.

Researcher: and I'm selling more because mine looks better so

Participant: and more money then.

Researcher: and people get jealous?

Participant: ya, jealousy, yes, yes.

Researcher: oh okay. And then if, if there's a fight between you and me, then does someone come and intervene and help it? Or you just work it out or you just leave it?

Participant: No. Maybe someone come and then eh, talk to us(…) no man, don't, don't fight, don't fight. We are one, we are Matsavu's don't fight to each other. You see like, that's, ya, ya.

Researcher: Okay. and who is..is Xavier, like the main person at matsavu or not? Xavier

Participant: Doctor, ya. Is the main(…) Xavier, Norman, Edward, Alfred(…) And then the other one is, eh, that's Micheal, the one I was next to sitting next to(…) Ya. ya.

Researcher: So they started it or?

Participant: No, we just chose the, the, the, the, the, eh, the committee.

Researcher: Oh, they are the committee

Researcher: The commitee, so that maybe if maybe, eh, maybe we contribute a R50 somebody, maybe Xavier must take this money to to the bank because it's going to help us next time. ya. If maybe we need something in the garden, that money will help us. ya.

Researcher: Okay, awesome.

Participant: and then Edwards ya, Edward ya is looking for the garden. Maybe. Maybe the jojo doesn't have the water. Maybe. ya. Edward ya. Is the chairperson [laughs].

Researcher: Is the what? Sorry.

Participant: Chairperson [laughs].

Researcher: Chairperson, okay, okay. Nice. No, that's very good. That's very good. Okay. So how was your experience with Alex Greening Route, John. Alex Greening Route? Have you had an experience with them? Have you had interaction?

Participant: ya, I had , but I, you know, I had to, because John sometimes(…) aye, you know, I don't know Paul. I know Paul. ya, I know Paul last time was there in our garden, but not always(…)

Researcher: Not often?

Participant: Not often, yes

Researcher: And why do you think Paul and Alex greening Route because Paul's part of Alex Greening Route, the organization, what do you think he could do more or Alex Greening Route can do more?

Participant: Hmm.

Participant: Uh, Alex screening can do more. Uh(…) maybe(…) umm we must grow the flowers. ya, the flowers. The herbs. ya(…) because our garden has lack of the herbs and the flowers is so that you can sell them(…) or maybe there is function somewhere maybe they want the flowers, they must come to us and ya, I think so.

Researcher: Okay. So my next question is can you explain or describe a time when you used your network? So your network is [garden], other people, John, all in Alex Greening Routes, right? Maybe you don't speak too much to the gardens, but can you describe a time when you used your network to get something you needed?

Researcher: Eish, I don't understand.

Participant: You don't understand. Okay, so, for example, say I was in the garden and I needed seeds and you'd say, maybe I went to Xavier and I said, Xavier, can you help me get seeds? Or I went to John or another garden. Did you ever have an experience, not seeds(…) anything. Did you ever have an experience where you, maybe you have to think about, so take your time.

Researcher: ya, ya, ya, ya. Like, eh, ya. Like the seeds. ya. Maybe I can go to Xavier, Xavier can, can I have this? ya. Maybe he can give me the seeds or the seedlings maybe the food and trees donates eh, eh, eh, this seedlings for us. Can you give me the seedlings? And then, ya. He gave me(…)

Researcher: That happened?

Participant: ya. That happened yes, ya.

Researcher: Okay And is there others times that you needed something and you're asked?

Participant: ya. Sometimes when I ask maybe, um, uh, maybe to my my colleague there maybe to somebody(…) can you please give me the, eh, eh, something I want to plant because I don't have money to buy the seeds that maybe he doesn't want or she doesn't want. Then I said, okay, it's fine. ya. ya.

Researcher: So who's your colleague that you ask?

Participant: Maybe a Agnes or eh(…)

Researcher: Oh, in the garden?

Participant: In the garden yes yes maybe somebody. Can you give me some, eh, maybe the, the seed for what what?...maybe she said, maybe I don't have the seeds, but I can see she's got this seed, but she doesn't want maybe.

Researcher: So they don't always share, sharing is not(…)

Participant: ya, we always share but others they don't want to share. ya ya

Researcher: Okay, why do you think they don't want to share?

Participant: I don't know. Maybe it's jealousy and then we hate each other. ya. ya. Even even now, maybe you know I surprise(…) i'm surprised you said, ya, I'm going to make this a final interview. Others they say and then, what about us, what about us!

Researcher: It's only 4 people that's why [laughs].

Participant: [laughs] ya

Researcher: Oh ya. So they felt, okay, that's good to know.

Participant: Why, why, why! You know, if maybe sometimes somebody is jealous or maybe hate you. Why choose Esther? You see like that, ya. something like that to see. Hmm. And then it's not nice. ya. ya. Because you don't know. You don't know us. ya. You don't know us(…) you just

Researcher: You know how I chose I took the survey and depending on your answers I selected four people, so there's you two, there's one from Lenin, there's one from Gwala with the young guys. Do you know them? I'll tell John to introduce you. So it's all different. It's not just your garden it's all different people did what you said on the survey that's how it was, but I'll, I'll speak to them so they understand that I didn't choose you, it's not like I didn't exclude the them. It's just what the survey said, okay, so sometime there's fighting and sometimes there's jealousy. Okay. And then, um, when you guys sell, you all sell individually from your, your plot or do sell as [garden name]?

Participant: no, in my plot,ya, in my plot.

Researcher: then what do you think of selling from your plot or do you prefer everyone sells or what?

Participant: you know, if maybe someone come and then maybe came and say, I want a, maybe a Chomolia, I don't have Chomolia. And then maybe I go to somebody, maybe to Edward(…) eh Edward, there is a customer. She want the Chomolia. you see? Yes. If I don't, I don't. If I don't have something I must, eh, maybe it tells someone to, to

sell to that person because I don't have it. They have it. I don't have it you see. ya, you see.

Researcher: Do you all grow different things or you grow the same things?

Researcher: ya. Different sometimes. ya. ya. Difference. Because I don't have Chomolia. They've got Chomolia others. And then I've got onions. They don't have onions, you see? ya. But if, if, if I'm not in the garden, sometimes Nicole, she can sell it for me. Yes. ya.

Researcher: Because you're friends?

Participant: No, we are not friends we just know each other. If I'm not here, if somebody wants onion you must sell it to them. ya. I don't mind. I don't mind. ya.

Researcher: Did you choose what you wanted to plant? Do you choose?

Participant: No. Just eh, we are we are we are planting anything. We are planting same thing, same thing, they've got spinach, I've got spinach. ya. But sometimes eh, this, eh, Chomolia doesn't grow it doesn't grow in my plots. ya. I don't know maybe it's a soil, the soil and the, you know, the birds, the rats ya. I don't know, maybe the soil is not good. You see, maybe their soil is maybe good. ya.

Researcher: Okay. Okay. So there was a time when you asked for seeds and you can ask Xavier or ask whoever for seeds and they gave you seeds. Right. So how would you(…) is Xavier a friend? Just someone you know? He's not your family, right?

Participant: No, not my family.

Researcher: Do you think he's a friend or just someone you know from the garden?

Participant: No, he is someone I know in the garden.

Researcher: Okay. And then how long do you know him? How well do you know him?

Participant: You know Xavier neh, I attend school with Xavier.

Researcher: Oh really? Okay.

Participant: Here in Alexandra High, long time 1980 something ya. But you know, I surprised again Xavier ya,ya, here again [laughs] but we are just, eh, ya, ya, we are working together. Nothing at all, nje [just]

Researcher: Okay. So you went to school with him and then you found him all these years later in the garden.

Participant: [Laughs] ya, later in the garden

Researcher: that's very nice. And then why do you think Xavier helped you?

Participant: No, he doesn't help me alone. He helped me and the others(…) helps everybody. Everybody yes, ya, he helps everybody, not me alone. ya, help it everybody and ya. ya.

Researcher: So he helps anyone? if anyone wants seeds he tries to help. He's part of the committee, right?

Participant: Yes. ya. ya. He's part of committee.

Researcher: Okay. Okay. And then now, since he helped you, did you try and help him back or did you help someone else or?

Participant: Yes, I help him back, maybe, eh, he went something maybe then I can help. Yes. Yes. Maybe if it didn't come, I want somebody want a spinach can you please come and help me with spinach or maybe they want too much spinach. Maybe they, maybe they bought, eh, eh, R30 spinach. I'm going, I just go to a Xavier and then help him with this spinach. And then you see(…)

Researcher: You give him some of your spinach?

Participant: No, to help eh pick it in his garden then ya, I gave the customer.

Researcher: Okay. If there's lots of customers that come then you help him pick, you help serve the customers.

Participant: yes, yes, yes, yes

Researcher: Okay. And you help other people in the garden?

Participant: yes, I help yes.

Researcher: with what? You don't have to say the names, but what do I, what do you help them with?

Participant: No, I help somebody a come to me and want the seedling for onion and then I said, ya, you must just take it. And then maybe I help her or him to maybe to water the garden. Maybe he's not in, maybe ya, she's absent or, you know? ya, I help watering plots, yes, ya.

Researcher: Okay. Okay, great. So then you know, you did that survey, right? What did you think of the survey? So just be honest, it will help me. I got the survey from someone else overseas and now I want to look. How does it work for South Africa? Was it difficult? Was it easy? Was it difficult to understand? Was it too long? Was it too

short? Can you tell me what you thought of the survey? The one, you know, the survey you wrote when we were there right?

Participant: Yes, I think it was not so difficult. Okay. ya, it was not difficult. I don't think it was difficult. You, you, you said the one that you were at the garden neh?

Researcher: when I came to the garden ya, the one that you put X friend or member or, ya, like (…) I don't have a copy but it had like, friend, family(…) could help you with land.

Participant: Yes, yes, I still remember that

Researcher: Did you think it was easy to understand?

Participant: ya, it was easy, but other(…) eish it was not easy.

Researcher: some of the question?

Participant: questions, yes.

Researcher: Do you remember which questions?

Participant: umm(…) the one that's maybe(…) they bought us the jojo or what the tank jojo ya, and oh, I forget, I forgot is eh, eh the hector.

Researcher: Oh, the how big it is?

Participant: Ya, ya, ya. That one. ya.

Researcher: So Jojo question, was it difficult because you already had a jojo?

Participant: yes

Researcher: so was it difficult to understand if you wanted another jojo.

Participant: another jojo yes.

Researcher: but when you read it, it was..?

Participant: yes, because I don't think we need another jojo. We still need another thing not jojo again, we still need another thing. ya. ya.

Researcher: So when you read the survey, did the questions come like? What do you need? That's how you read it. Like, do you need a Jojo?

Participant: mmm, mmm, mmm [affirming].

Researcher: And then you said yes or no?

Participant: ya.

Researcher: Do you need a refrigerator?

Participant: ya, refrigerator again. Yes. Yes.

Researcher: Why was that one?

Participant: The refrigerator, we don't have refrigerator, and then we need the refrigerator in our garden because sometimes eh, we are going to the market, they don't buy, they don't buy this vegetable. Every month you are going to maybe Sandton or 8th venue to sell? They don't buy. So this thing is too much for us. If we've got the refrigerator then ya, I think it's going to help us.

Researcher: a Cold room or something?

Participant: Ya, a cold room, you see.

Researcher: Okay, okay, is, Oh, see. Um, the other thing I wanted to ask is, so sometimes with the(…) can you get the community to help you in the garden?

Participant: hmm(…) I don't think so. You know, aye, this our chairperson doesn't want anyone in our garden. I like someone to come and maybe help us, but they don't want anyone in our garden(…)

Researcher: Why?

Participant: I don't know. I don't know. Maybe, aye I really don't know. You see in our garden, aye, they don't they don't want aye strangers in our garden(…)

Researcher: But if, if he did allow it, do you think you could get someone to help you for free?

Participant: Yes. Who would you get..your friends or?

Participant: ya, maybe a friend can come and help work there and then at the end of the day she can maybe, eh, eh, pick the spinach or the beetroot or whatsoever.

Researcher: Because some of the other people said that it's very difficult because the community wants money.

Participant: ya, ya. I heard that

Researcher: Do you think that true? From your, your opinion.

Participant: Ya, it's true. They, they, they, they don't work for mahala [free] [laughs].. they won't, they want money, they want money [laughs]. So we don't have money, at least if someone can come and help me, maybe my friends, I would say pick eh Spinach or whatever you want in my plot, then ya(…)

Researcher: Then they'll come?

Participant: ya

Researcher: And do you think you could, and youth, like other people were talking about, they'd already like youth, you know, young people to be involved in gardening. What do you think?

Participant: ya, you know what they youth they must come and help us or we must teach them how to plant the vegetables but you know the youth, they don't like this(…)

Researcher: Why?

Participant: I don't know, maybe it's because they don't like this, eh, because it's dirty, maybe the youth doesn't like it or I don't, I don't want to lie. The youth doesn't like it, but we must teach them. ya, they must come.

Researcher: How do you know they don't like it? Do they tell you?

Participant: ya, others ya.

Researcher: What do they say?

Participant: Just like mine.

Researcher: What do they say? [laughs].

Participant: I never..I don't want to come to the garden. Yoh, Yoh, Yoh, Yoh! You see my nails? Hey, my what! [laughs].

Researcher: They don't want to get dirty [laughs].

Participant: Yes, they don't want to get dirty [laughs] this youngsters, yes, ya(…)

Researcher: Okay. Is there anything else? That's the end of the questions, but I just want to check. Is there anything else you want to tell me that you want to share? Anything about the garden about the community, anything that you want to share with me?

Participant: Anything..umm ya(…) let me think(…)

Researcher: think, take your time, take your time! It's only 10 o'clock. Take your time. You've got enough time.

Participant: ya(…) [long pause].

Participant: by the way, what is the question? [laughs]

Researcher: Anything you want to say? Anything? Anything else you want to add?

Participant: Add neh(…) okay(…) [long pause]

Researcher: you know Schlain, I like, uh, I will let the community maybe to..to come and help us maybe in the garden. Maybe once a week. ya, but no, we don't pay them. Maybe(…) maybe..let me say, I get maybe five people neh [slang affirmation] and then I said to them, can you please come and help us in our garden? And then maybe I will teach you something that you don't know because others, they like eh the garden, our garden, but they don't know how to plant you see(…) sometimes they ask me maybe how do plant, eh, eh, maybe Beetroot, how do you use(…) and then you see maybe, or like, eh, ya, the community maybe or our ya(…) my friends and come to the to the garden and then teach them how to plant and then so that they can plant in their home, yes, ya.

Researcher: Okay. So you want the community to be more involved(…)

Participant: involved yes.

Researcher: so you can teach them about gardening and they can take that and do it at home?

Researcher: Yes. Yes. And now the community's not so evolved, right?

Participant: ya. It's not involved, but they like the garden, our gardens - always when they, they, they passed they passed by, they will tell us. Oh! your garden is so nice. How do you plant this? I must come, I must come. I must come and see like that. Something like that. ya ya..hmm..ya

Researcher: And then the last thing is if I'm.. I'm a student at Wits right?

Participant: ya.

Researcher: But imagine you're speaking to a government official, what do you want to ask for?

Participant: Oh, I want to ask maybe the government too(…) You know what, maybe to [laughs](…) maybe to the fund to give us the money.

Researcher: Money for?

Participant: Money for maybe for, for bore holes, ya. Because ya you know what even now, there is no water. ya. You know the water that is that side..eish. You know man..eish..they water man, the water(…) there is no water even in our home there is no water. But if the

government can help us with water maybe from the borehole, yes, ya, yes.

Researcher: So right now who water do you use?

Participant: Maybe a water tank and then the other guy we are using, we are using the water from other guy, the neighbour, and it's not nice. ya. It's not nice because(…) next time we we are going to pay and then it's going to pay a lot of money.

Researcher: So right now he gives you for free, but you worry that at some point to say no no, that's too much.

Researcher: ya, ya, ya.

Participant: Okay. So borehole and funding. Okay, is that all?

Participant: ya(…) I think so [laughs]

Researcher: I think so. Okay, good. That's perfect. Nothing else you want to say or you done?

Participant: I think, um(…) let me see. Let me think. ya, let me think. ya. Even the, the government must help us with, you know, this eh funds so that you can buy ourself the, the, the, the uniform, maybe the aprons, the gloves, the boots, we don't have such thing ya. You see, because we are working with our clothes, ya, ya. ya(…)

Researcher: Okay. Awesome. Okay, then let's wrap up. Let me just save this and see

Semi-structured Interview 3 – Transcript

Researcher: Okay. Awesome. So I mean please take your time, you know, don't rush we have some time here. So yeah. So can you tell me how you started being part of the garden?

Participant: Me personally?

Researcher: Personally, it's all about you, ya.

Participant: I started around, let me say 2009 whilst is the garden itself started around 2005(…) So me being part of it was due to the fact that Tony (pseudonym) is a friend of mine we school together. So he trusted me to manage the project and see it's okay.

Researcher: Okay, okay awesome. Um, and I mean, what were your reasons for joining? Why did you decide you want to be part of gardening?

Participant: Okay. Not that I decided because I wanted to but because one of the things, it's loyalty one of the things, loyalty for my friend and then the other is the love for nature, I really like nature not to put that aside. That's the reason I think

Researcher: Okay. So, so nature and then loyalty for your friend. Is there any other reasons?

Participant: I don't think so, mostly, actually , I think even on my own I would have done the same thing. Yeah, just that it happened that one of my friends has it. So why not doing it because, uh, my interest, most need it is between the construction site, the construction part where we draft the structural designs and the likes. I love architecture and I love nature as well. So I like to combine nature and architecture and see what can come up.

Researcher: So did you help design the stage section or was it there?

Participant: I found it been designed but I helped with some logistics. I found the design and the platforms and everything, but I helped with the logistics part, the material used to design.

Researcher: Okay. So you got the material from somewhere?

Researcher: Yeah, we've got it from mostly when the bridge was building. We kind of took it upon ourselves to help ourselves. Because the concluding was already done, and the material was being stolen so we asked for it and they said you can use it.

Researcher: Okay. okay That's cool. And then you guys built that nice walkway and stuff. Okay. That's pretty cool. Um, okay, so I understand your reasons for joining. And how has your experience in your garden been so far?

Participant: With regards to?

Researcher: just generally your experience, your experience with the community you experienced with other gardeners? It's a broad question

Participant: Okay. My my experience in the garden, okay so far is that mostly people who went into gardening. Um, these people that they have a reason because of food security, poverty and such and then they cannot, maybe it's for most of them is for household food security and then they like to secure, uh, what food at the table I think and then maybe a sort of an income so of can put the kids in schools and put the clothes behind the back but we know it is not really in conductive. I just know it's not enough. That's what I can say.

Researcher: it's not conducive to make an income?

Participant: mhm (yes).

Researcher: Why not?

Participant: First of all, we have to to to plant, you have to get the seeds and the seed can take three months to grow and in that three months, what would you be sustaining you live with? You know what I mean. Even though we have crops and your selling, how much money are you selling each packet of a crop for? About five or 10 rand. How many people are going to buy that, who needed that day? Where are you going to sell them? At the market sometimes, sometimes the market in city centre. You know what I mean. Yeah, so it's only maybe twice or three times a month or maybe twice in your trimester. I'm not sure. Yeah,

Researcher: that you can actually go to the market and sell a decent amount?

Participant: They have quality recommendation, that they tell you you what I mean. They have the credentials, what's in the market, the market itself, the pros and cons of making or selling the product, what type of product they want and how they liked would prefer them to be. It's still a challenges because you have to get to those disinfectants, you have to maintain the garden, but on the other hand there's nothing getting in your pocket and you have to wake up in the morning at that time you have a family or maybe on your own, it doesn't matter, but still nothing in your pocket. So me in my experience, most is that people go into gardening because they want

to sustain their self. That's all. And it's not really enough just trying to, I'm not sure. Trying to hold onto something.

Researcher: hmm, and then your personal experience. So you were saying it's also not enough to give you regular income because it's maybe once every three months, right?

Participant: Yeah, it's so it's probably be similar the same as going to answer some gave you because the conditions are the same for everyone and as told you for you to, to understand how we maintain our garden or what material to be using the garden, you have to be part of it. Yeah. It's not going to be straight forward. That the ones that we know this is how we plant, this is how you do your thing. And then this is how it's going to grow up and then this is how you're going to sell your stuff. You know what I mean. So before you get to get something in your hand, you have to wait about nine months, probably.

Researcher: And is that why you guys rent out space and try and do other income generating(…)

Participant: That's the reason why. Of course, mostly then that that's where I come in. Yeah. Trying to broaden the ideas and you know what I mean..yeah, to come to maybe to intensify the garden itself. The project itself. Yeah. Know what I mean? It should not because we are artists and they have talent as well and then they got love to help kids as well. So let's collaborate everything and put it in one context and then say, did you say [name] project but the problem is that you don't have the resources enough to collect the information or data to activities that most of them are on our home phones and most of them are on our WhatsApp groups and most of them are not really captured. And then we once registered, I'm not sure if it

still our existence our registered exists. There's a group called hmm(…) changed makers it's a global group.

Researcher: Oh yeah, yeah. Okay. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

Participant: We registered with them, long time ago maybe 2009, yeah.

Researcher: Is it orange, orange logo, red?

Participant: Ya, it changed twice. Ashoka change makers.

Researcher: Yes, I know them.

Researcher: We were part of them.

Researcher: okay, you were okay.

Participant: We still are because I checked at one point and we still have our, umm..profile still is not updated though still things that are maybe left there. So I was trying to update the project the the profite but I couldn't because they got quotes, I have to do it or to my own email because there is someone else that used his own email(…) so they have to check it first and then use the different email and then put the quote and all that stuff. So that is the only programme or project, global project that we are part of and that has put us under their website a page(…) actually if we want to get something about [name] programme you can have a [inaudible]

Researcher: Okay, cool. I'm going to ask you to speak a little louder just so it picks up right. Because the other one I was struggling to hear your voice. Okay, awesome thank you. And then what is your experience been like with Alex Greening Route you know this organization John [psydeomyn] represents.

Researcher: Okay, Alex Greening Route or, let's see, we started being part of the Alex Greening to my understanding, to my knowledge last year. Yeah, that is that it's not really that it's a challenge. It's not(…) because John knew about us. He just had, we did not really be under there, the route as much just that there was another program that they open it with Greater Alexander Heritage cluster or something we are part of that. So you open this one, I'm not sure how long did you open or when did he the open, ya. So we became part of it, but there's no way I understand it and its programs or its mandate or its focus as his vision is that they're trying to collect the information. That type is just like you about the challenges that we face as gardeners and local gardeners and how are we going to make sure or how are we going to collaborate our plans or programs together so that you can create either a sustainable household food security or job creations. Yeah, we need to do to make sure that atleast we accommodate a whole lot, bunch of people because we realized from each and every sector that you live in(…) the problems are the same (…) it's poverty, it's unemployment it's the same thing. The space it's a challenge as well. People come from outside and then do one space here because they want work as well and there's no denying. You cannot deny people to gain life a better life for themselves. So the space is a challenge. Like we said before and now even the income sustainability with the project itself. If you remember I told you that all these guys are artists so the challenge in art is still the payment. They are under paid, they are still struggling. So by now realize that you were together for more than 10 years now or more than probably 10 or more, but still on the same level. You know what I mean. Although they

do appear on the television screens and the likes but they're still in the same rate. They can maintain their lifestyle, they cannot live on it. You cannot even live on what we produce. So how would you sustain our lives, or our livelihoods or our households. So the challenge is this funding institution. So probably we know how the funding goes, it's a challenge. The process is in the likes and then yeah, the corruption, blah blah, blah stuff. Yeah. Even if you were to get the money doesn't get to you and serve the purposes that it's suposed to serve.

Researcher: And if you wanted Alex Greening Route to do something else, what would you ask them to do? How could they do more?

Participant: But I think to me, I think more first and foremost we should come together(…) together with the Alex Greening Route and all the gardens that are under garden route and then create a structure that was open to work for everyone cause at the current state said we only on the, uh, on the need to know basis with Greening Route because we don't know their programs. Like even now that we're talking now, I mean, we didn't even know how you were, you're supposed to explain first why are you coming to me from Wits. So if it were possible that the, before you came here, we knew(…)

Researcher: And John didn't tell you why?

Participant: I don't even know why you are here unless you told me. And then what I can tell you is that , um, John would, you'd say that, eh, okay he posts most of the stuff on the WhatsApp. That's true. But the problem is that most of the stuff that he post is not useful to all of us. To some of people and it's selected you know what I mean. And

most of the time you get to ignore some of the messages he posts because you think nah man(…) that's the story

Researcher: Okay. Well I hope my letter explained why I was here, but we can talk afterwards. But I think you are giving me example. Right. Okay. Awesome. So then my next question is, um, so can you describe a time when you used your network in the garden or other gardens, um, to get something that you needed.

Participant: The network..err..the heritage cluster network?

Researcher: your network, your personal network in the garden. So it's you and Mdu and Moses and the other guys. Have you ever(…) and the answer could be no as well(…) use your network to get something you need. So for example, another lady gave me example that she said, um, she needed seeds. So she reached out to another gardener and she got seeds. Have you ever experienced(…)

Participant: Well what I can say is ya(…) because that is what we do most of the times because we realize that it's more like, it's easier to get resources from different people that we work with because there's a trusting and you know probably what is it that you want to do it for(…) so for a good cause is that to get the stuff that you need around the people that you know around the garden.

Researcher: Okay. Can you give me(…) can you tell me the story of a specific experience that you remember? Take your time. We have time(…)

Participant: This is going to be challenges because most of the times I would say 95% of the time that you need anything that the garden, we use our network.

Researcher: which is your network, artists?

Participant: Yeah. We use to get anything. Even to get you to get there. The artists that we are talking about are people who are practicing right here in heritage. Yeah. They know John, John knows them(…)

Researcher: So there's the garden network and then there's the wider artist network. Right. And if you need something for the garden, you asked this wider the network?

Participant: you start from a smaller circle first [garden network] and then get information from the small circle then it spilts out(…)

Researcher: And what did you get though?

Participant: I could say almost everything(…)

Researcher: Like the trampoline?

Participant: Trampoline, the trampoline we bought but uh, let me say what is this one. A swimming pool. Yeah. We used the network to get a swimming pool

Researcher: Can you tell me that story? How did that happen.

Participant: This is how it works, we have a collaboration with a certain group of guys. They are still part of our garden group neh so there's two guys. One of them works at a company that has just a whole lot of logistics. He told me all of plastics material, most of them handle containers and it likes, so uh, his partner is our friend, so he works at the garden. So this friend of us, Nate lives at 12th avenue if I'm not mistaken. Tspeho is a partner to this guy who works at a company that is practicing logistic now yeah, we talked to him about having a bigger space

and through that we collaborated as companies and make a joint venture. So through that joint venture we did realize that we have it jumping(…) eh a trampoline. The kids we're jumping ion the trampoline, they we're interested as well. He said guys, this site of your is fine. This piece of yours is good and this could be conducive for a the business(…) so this is what you can offer that we have now. I work at a company, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. He told me and then this is what we have there. So now why not put a pool at the back and let the kids(…) we did it(…) it about two days and then they came up about two days and then it came back with a pool and then we pumped it and kids were already as excited about the pool. They forgot the trampoline.

Researcher: It's a plastic pool, right? That you pump up and put water in.

Participant: Ya, I should have showed you but I'll show you with the picture(…) the video

Participant: Yeah, so that, that's how we got it. And then all the excited of the kids and blah blah blah. And then they started, they started making money and then we realize guys eh, we need to get a bigger one for us now for put in(…) At the center we put the trampoline and then trampoline we find another space for it. Somewhere at that the garden, the spaces(…) restrictive ya.

Researcher: Okay, okay, that's nice and so did the guy sponsor you the pool or did he(…)

Participant: Man, they're just a network. They didn't sell it for us..

Researcher: He just give it to you?

Participant: He just gave.

Researcher: He is part of your network right?

Participant: Ya, even where I got the the wifi router it's still another story, ya

Researcher: okay. Tell me(…)

Participant: The wifi router I got it through a friend of mine that I was a partner to because I bought a rain SIM card. So when I bought the a rain sim card, I'm not sure if it's still..

Researcher: Rain's that internet company, right?

Participant: Yeah, so when I bought that sim card the guy who works at a container that red container it is a internet(…) err(…) an internet(…) and internet company(…) it's an internet business. So I leant the card to him and he started using it and then he realize that it's, it's perfect for his business. Now he, you found out about another(…) he had two router they were working that he was using(…) so he said, what if I give you a router and we share the spots on your data(…) no problem bra? Ya, let me get anther sim card and then you pay your monthly, yeah(…) mxm installment of R260 per month(…) ya that's nothing.

Researcher: So he gave you a router in exchange for this sim card?

Participant: Ya, but I didn't give him the sim card. He just bought in the shares in the sim card, you know what I mean. It's more like partnership.

Researcher: Oh, okay. So you contributes to the monthly fee?

Participant: Yeah, contribute as much 50 50. So that's part of the project that we have already got through the network.

Researcher: Okay, that's awesome. And then do you guys like sell the internet to people or it's not free wifi? So you can come for five minutes, or what? How does it work?

Participant: So this is how it works, because when you get there, you need the password. You need to know the wifi maybe we give you the password once you have to pay, you have to pay first. You pay about R15 and then you can sit here for the whole day, no problem. Everyday. And you subscirbe, when you subscribe and then you can change the passwork anyday neh. But when you subscribe, that means you pay monthly installment or interest(…) I don't know how to call it(…) monthly, monthly payments and then we put you on our list of people who are always on the wifi. You pay 100 bucks [R100] that is fine each and everyone pays 100 bucks neh, but we only pay 260 ya.

Researcher: So you make money, you make profits?

Participant: and there are about 13 people who pay monthly.

Researcher: Okay. That's a very clever story.

Participant: But it's only been two months with the wifi connection. you know what I mean

Researcher: Okay, that's great. Um, so my next question is that, these(…) so the guy with the pool, would you consider him a friend or more of a acquaintance.

Participant: I think he is a friend.

Researcher: He's a friend because he's in this artist network? So you guys are friends, right?

Participant: Because before we even became partners in business or before we even became business partners, we already knew each other. We were friendly, we could check or do anything. And then his place becomes my place

Researcher: He is a friend. Okay, cool. And then the one with the wifi router, is he a friend or an acquaintance? Acquaintance means(…)

Participant: What consistutes a friend and acquaintance? Is an acquaintance just a person?

Researcher: It's just a person you see or like, I think John would more be your acquaintance like this. John come to your house and hang out?

Participant: Not really. Not really.

Researcher: He's an acquaintance. You know him, you know he's John, you know he does. But your friend is like your bra [slang - friend] [Laughing] I don't know how to explain better.

Participant: I understand bra, neh, nay hey is nie my bra nie [Afrikanns - no he isn't my friend].

Researcher: Okay. So that one is an acquintance.

Participant: Yes, he is an acquiantance ya.

Researcher: Okay. I'm glad we understand [laughs] sometimes you must take all this complicated research words out and just say your bra [slang for friend]

Participant: My bra neh [Slang - my friend hey] [laughs].

Researcher: okay, cool. So why do you think, um, those two people chose to help you? So why does your friend, why do you think he helped you?

Participant: The friend one?

Researcher: The friend with the pool friend right.

Participant: The friend with the pool, okay(…) he saw a business opportunity firstly and then he, secondly, I think it's because he wanted to cement his relationship. Ya, that's part of it

Researcher: Cement his relaionship in?

Participant: within the garden and within our circle as well. Like I told you we don't really relate ahhh on getting services. Yeah. But most on business, err construction business and the garden services and a friend as well. So he's trying to cement his ya(…) his place.

Researcher: His place there. He wants to be part of it because he can see it's potential.

Participant: Ya, you know what I mean, yeah, he can see the train running so he wants book his(…)

Researcher: tickets?

Participant: No no, he's got a ticket already(…) his place. [laughs]

Researcher: That's funny(…) Okay, cool. And then the acquaintance with the wifi, why do you think he helped you?

Participant: I think more, especially since it's still the same along those lines, but again I think it's because he was struggling(…) he was struggling with his(…) the internet

connection . He was struggled with the data payments because every time he had eh, he had somebody to go for internet and someone to google, he had somebody trying to get this email to retrieve his emails and then he will have a challenge of network or he would have a challenge of a data itself. So do the coverage of rain is beautiful, you know I mean(…)

Researcher: I've hear you're the the second person that told me about rain(…)

Participant: So the coverage was good for the business and it's even the data itself. It does not run that much and actually the connection is perfect. That's what I can say. So he realized for his business won't close and he is going to get to more profit. This is good for him. And then again to secure his space in network. yeah. you know what I mean

Researcher: Oh okay. Okay. So it's also a business opportunity. He was struggling to secure. Okay. And then what has happened since then? Like have you helped him? Has you know, is there been, besides this internet thing and the pool, have you guys exchange more for help?

Participant: information(…) ya, because currently is helping me understand IT. ya because I'm the kind of person I would like to open a new company at school to build apps. I'm not sure if I can do anything this lifetime, but I'll try. So I was on on on an idea which I am to teach kids neh IT(…) I didn't do it at school. You know what mean(…) .so he's, he's teaching me IT and he knows it. We went to France and he told me about those X and zeros and once(…) Brother man you're talking German now but fact that I love it, I'm going to learn(…)

Researcher: Like programming?

Participant: Programming everything he knows everything.

Researcher: So he's exchanging information?

Participant: Information(…) you know what I mean

Researcher: Okay. This is the wifi guy?

Participant: Wifi guy yip.

Researcher: Okay. And then the friend with the pool. What has happened since then?

Participant: The friend with the pool today we have(…) .a business proposal, that we(…) that we mxm(…) submitted in WBHO (…) in WBHO office yeah(…) and in Sandton(…) . somewhere in Sandton(…) so we are waiting for response that means we could have a business opportunity of construction together as subcontractors themselves.

Researcher: Okay. So you guys are working together basically on the side. Okay. Awesome. Um, that's my questions about social capital unless you want want to tell me anything else. I just have two more, but is there any(…) so those questions I'm asking you about, can you describe(…) it's all about social capital and how you use your social capital basically. Remember I said I'm studying social capital, right?

Participant: Okay, ya ya ya.

Researcher: So these questions break down how you as a person have used your social capital to get something(…) you

got money, you got the the wifi, you got the pool, you've got the proposal.

Participant: Yeah.

Researcher: Yeah, so that's what it was. Okay. So do you want to add anything else to that social capital section? That you want to tell me?

Participant: You would have to be specific because there(…)

Researcher: no, just anything about(…) has there been any other experiences where someone in your network helped you(…) or I mean you guys seem like you help each other, you know, you exchange information. Was it your partner? There's no specifics. If you have nothing to tell me, it's quite fine. I don't know if you want to add(…) if you want to add anything else.

Participant: oh(…) the the the app part neh. The talent part(…) .umm what I can tell you is that uh, we were talking amongst ourselves as guys(…) guys, we need to make sure that for us to be recognized(…) rr to be recommended for other projects because they are a whole lot of projects in this township. Let's first meet uh(…) a philanthropists for this township and you worked with them before initially, so we won't be a first time, it won't be that much of a challenge to go to talk to them ya(…) they know us already. So we talked about the Taylor. I'm not sure if you know about Taylor?

Researcher: No, I don't know them

Participant: Well he is the father of the township(…)

Researcher: Is it? Okay.

Participant: You can't talk anything without putting Taylor in, or try to get any information or history(…) So the beginning there ya..so his family is the first family in Alexandra(…) .

Researcher: Wow okay, that's old.

Participant: So baba Taylor has no problem helping us actually..mxm(…) he is a community developer? I'm not sure what the word philanthropists in a simple term. That's the type of person you go collect money and then give it towards community to everyone. If he is looking after the indigent and the old age homes. So when you get to go to him, he was happy. He even gave us other ideas more because he told us that(…) Guys, whatever is it that you're trying to do, just write it down first, give it to me or my management and then don't worry about the resources and anything else and that's how it works. Yeah. So I told this guy(…) people, let's, let's try and help firstly the indigents in the schools in our schools neh(…) So they came up with a program of street shows without any budget, we went to street shows and then there were kids along with it and then we sort of (…) our daily routines plays(…) we just go collect them kids and then do like play all around the place, the garden and all over the place, even at the heritage here and then give them the lunch. But I mean just to enjoy the day. A single day it doesn't have to be a special day any other date on our calendar, ya(…) .so that's all part of the programs that we came around and came along with. Just on the side within the programme, you know what I mean. That's what they like to do most of the times(…) they have the profiles, but the challenge is most of us that we had no funding non whatsoever. But you learn to perfectly still. Just that the challenges

without the(…) we could not take them from what they know. This is what they know. So we would like to take them from what they know to what they can experience, but with the same conditions(…) you know what I mean.

Researcher: ya ya ya, so funding to take them to see a different life in a different way. Is that what you're saying?

Participant: or the same lifestyle but in a different condition. I'm not sure if you understand.

Researcher: No, what do you mean? Same lifestyle different condition meaning?

Participant: Okay. Okay. We live in a township full of people(…) full of complex races. Yes, now but our, like our kids, all these kids that are coming like this they are feeling this other people are feeling the pressure(…) I like to send me, like I would like to them to, to be sent to a place where there is still a lot of multiple people live in the same, same, same roof, but living(…) eh in harmony, everyone's benefit you know what I mean? in a mutual relationship live, you know what I mean. Yeah. Simple like it could be done, it's not the people that are around you that are doing this in that making you to live this way, not the people around you(…) But if you work to get along with them, you can get what you're looking for. All of you, you know what I mean

Researcher: That's awesome. That's awesome. Okay, cool. So I just have two last questions. How has the community involvement in the garden, do they help? Do they want to help? Do you to sell in your garden?

Participant: Ya, we do sell. It's not that, the problem is that we don't depend on selling.

Researcher: Oh ya, you told me. You said you sell every few months.

Participant: Ya, you saw some of the beds, beds are not planted. We plant most of the times when people like you come over to the garden and like to see what's going on. (…) Yeah. So what I can tell you is that okay, in the, in the garden, the people adore that place. They love that place. They protect the place even because even if you were not there, you're not there. Nobody can litter or nobody can(…) they'll tell you that a man you would like sjambok [leather wipe] at your back? Once you doing that(…) you know what I mean because that's the only solution that's played(…) That place was, was a dumping site and you saw how the flats look like, they don't really look beautiful. So(…) being a dumping site in those buildings, you know what I mean(…) eish man(…) it seemed like it's not at the place where people can live. Yeah. So you tried to take off to clean the dumping site, the the the filthy place(…)

Researcher: and you guys took away all the dirt?

Participant: All the stuff, there are shots(…) there are the the the document at least for that.

Researcher: There's what?

Researcher: Documented history you have photos,

Researcher: Send me the photos before and after so I can put it in the report.

Participant: Ya don't worry, I had all of them, but I don't know. I'm not sure why I forgot about them. Just that they want to try to put the way I wanted to put them in the place, yeah. I would have to put them in our profile or if we put this, it's

possible that you could help(…) ehh the cluster the heritage to, to, to, to build a website just for us, but for the whole group, for the focus group, so that each and every garden or Gardener can get to know each and every other programs and projects(…) So that when I come to it and to the other person, I know what I'm going to get.

Researcher: we are going to talk about that after. I'm going to tell her what we were talking about. Okay. But let's just finish the interview. Okay. So for community involvement you say they love the area(…) it was a dumping site and now it's something beautiful to them and does the community come help or do you guys have enough help or(…) ?

Participant: The community is eager to help at any moment given that's why when you said the the the(…) what's that(…) that when you said the radio that's picked up, I just picked up one finger(…) these are people who are looking, even though they don't say anything(…) they are always watching.

Researcher: Ah okay

Participant: So did they have the name for all of us? They they they(…) the whole place the people living around there, the whole circle they call us the Green Lovers(…) that's what they say.

Researcher: The Green Lovers?

Participant: Ya, that is what they say.

Researcher: I like that(…) Green Lovers.

Participant: The same guy I told him to shut the radio that's the guy that came up with the name so ya(…) he says everything is green there.

Researcher: And you know actually this is different from the other gardens. So in other gardens, and this is from research that I've read at the research in South Africa and overseas, the community's not always happy with the garden. So why do you think they're happy with your garden?

Participant: Maybe that's an actual why as I'm say I say that's why we got together for neh(…) Me and my friend I told him, brother man if we can realize that this garden here is closing a space for a whole lot of people to build first of all, so we have to make sure that these people love this place because of one thing she has to use to help them first, not because of the food but their lifestyle as well. So why did they love it? Because we keep their kids there and you love their kids and you teach their kids a whole lot of stuffs too. We help them with their homeworks and the like, that's what I told(…) that's what we said you(…) we said to you we need to build a double story building, it should be permanent structure or even if it's just a mobile structure it doesn't matter, but at least the impact need to be significant, you know what I mean(…) and it needs to be from the grassroots(…) my vision, mostly of these that I would have tried to, I'm trying to teach our boy kids mostly how to respond to life. That's mine mine, that's mine only.

Researcher: Your personal goal?

Participant: Ya, ya, Just boy kids and trying to put them onto(…) guys this is not how it is. Nobody's pushing you towards

that. You're pushing yourself there. You need to look at ourselves, not at the outside.

Researcher: okay. Yeah. Awesome. So you think they'd love the garden because it serves the community

Participant: because yeah, I can say that because now(…) even on the weekends now is already(…) Uh, no, it's already usual. Yeah. On the weekends they come over at the morning. Even today, they open, they knock at my door. You have to wake me up so that I can go and pump the garden thing and then, yeah(…)

Researcher: The trampoline and the pool? So what do you help with the kids, you have homework and have the trampoline. You have the pool, place to play. Oh and the place, the artists, the performances, right.

Participant: So(…) but what about the wifi? You know, we, we, we let them download a few games. We let them download the the the moves. Yeah. Even the, they get to, to do their work, the homeworks with it, you know, because people, because kids would come over and then say this is our project at school. Our life orientation project(…) ah what do you do? We did this and that. Alright then Google it. Instead of me giving them answers, that not going to build them. Yeah. I just say ah Google it. What is it that I'm not sure? Even myself. I don't know what this is. Just one time. One time. No, of course. Most of the time I know the answers because at one time one of the kids told me uh uncle, they call us uncles(…) uncle I'm looking for a a a tent. Um, refugee camp tent. What is that? As if like I don't know, it's something like you don't know, I'll teach you, it's like this and that and that. Okay. Let's see. Refugee camp oh ah, I always write

that, they try to make this one, give it to him. Click it, Click it, Click it, click it(…) oh okay which one should we go for? Or this is one of those, there another one I saw tat the township(…) eh eh he at the school and then you Google it and then you scroll you scroll. Okay, this one? Yeah, this one. Okay, let's go. Let's do it and then scan it and then print it out for you. You can do that. Yeah, let's go man. And we went there at the club, told the guy, take this up, and then he said(…)

Researcher: Where did you go print?

Researcher: The internet cafe, he just oh this one and he googled it on his computer today instead of program.

Participant: Now you just see this is the guy with the wifi one?

Researcher: Ya, it's not problem he just said zzzzzzz [printing sound]. This one, this one. Ya, ya, ya, how do you get this ah man? Come on. This is technology.

Researcher: That's great, that's amazing, so you empower the kids to learn?

Participant: Ya, we empowered them. We(…) ya we motivate them.

Researcher: And it's the kids from the flats or just the wider community?

Participant: The whole place, most of them I can tell you, 80% I don't know. I don't want to lie to you, 80% I cannot recognize them, but they still say I'm Uncle! And I say, yeah, yeah! Even the ones that never came to the garden, yeah.

Researcher: And the people from the flats don't complain that the kids are they or whatever. No?

Researcher: They want their kids there because then most of the, uh, most of them that live at the top neh(…) so they can see, everything that is happening there, you know what I mean.

Researcher: So they don't mind that it's a safe space for their kids.

Researcher: And now, while how I know that human nature is that, uh, the mothers are not looking at their kid, they're looking at the who is taking care of the kids. Yeah. So once you get to to to that part, you don't pretend, you have to be who, what you doing. You have to be, what do you do that you're doing then(…) be part of it. Yeah.

Researcher: Okay. That's amazing. Really, really interesting. Okay. Then my last question and then I'll just let you say anything you you know anything you want to say is, so you did that survey right there. I came to do with you guys. I'm trying to understand(…) I got that survey from this other professor person overseas and I was trying to test it in the South African context, in our local context because it hasn't been tested. How did you feel about the survey was complicated? Was it too long or is it too short? Why is it easy? Just generally so I can get a sense of how to improve, you know, if, if it's a good thing, if we mustn't use it or what?

Participant: Well, I cannot conclude how can it say(…) It's just this is how I want it to be because I'm not sure of the results or the outcomes of it. But what I can hope for is that once you, you, you do your research, make sure that there's a program for you to counteract the challenges that you're going to find. Remember I told you once.

Researcher: And we're going to talk about that. I'm gonna tell, I'm gonna talk about the website and the web or whatever. Cause I understand what you're saying is I can't just do research and go. I must give back. Right. And that's the video and all that other stuff. But if you're talking about the survey, your experience of the survey when you were doing it, was it uncomfortable? Was it(…)

Participant: well, I think it's professional. It's fine. It's okay. And it's right then it was done in a good manner. Not anything unprofessional at all. And the problem is one. Yeah. I just thought you needed more time. More time to do it first. Secondly, I would like you to have resources because you had limited resources. Yes.

Researcher: Limited resources on the survey or what do you mean on, or let me say like(…) when you do research neh,when you do a research you are going to sit with us neh, but we need to have something that we can search on when, both of us when you're looking for, let's say like we're looking for a equipment, or a funding or looking for a type of implementation on the garden we need to go there. Okay. That's why we have a WIFI on our.

Participant: Oh, okay. Okay.

Participant: More like the information or the applications that we need to get to get our program running, but I think it was perfect. Yeah(…)

Researcher: and then the questions in the survey, like a, I don't know if you remember, I didn't bring a copy but the one said(…) um, did you ever have an experience, wait, sorry. Do you think anyone in the Alex Greening Route

could help you with a spade, could help you with a fridge.

Participant: oh okay! Those ones.

Researcher: the questions confusing or were they straightforward or ?

Participant: Okay, the problem was personal, it was mine neh. I found them to be too low in standard. That's my, yeah. Too simple for me. That's that's mine, so to be a bit confusing, it's the truth. Yes. Because I didn't think(…) did I answer this or must I repeat the same thing or did they the same question twice.

Researcher: Ok, so it's very repetitive?

Participant: Ya, so, we are the type of people who read. Yeah.

Participant: Okay. Yeah. So some other people said it was confusing when I asked someone that could help you with the spade because if you say, could you don't know if they actually going to help you or not. So for them(…)

Participant: Maybe you are looking for potential people who can help, yeah?

Researcher: Potential, ya, so I think you get it. It's potential people that could help, it's potential social capital and I think for them they were like, ah, but we have a fridge. ah, but we have a(…) okay, but that's helpful feedback that is was repetitive. Okay. Okay. No, that's very helpful. So we're almost at the end. Anything you want to share? When I did with the others is, you know, I'm a student, right. And I work full time and I'm a student part-time. But imagine I was a government official. Right. And you wanted to ask

me for stuff. Is there anything you want to, share, say ask, tell? You have the floor.

Participant: Okay. Well problem is one, I know that my government is working as you are a government worker, I know you are working, but the problem is uh, are there any institutions, independent institutions or programs or committees or commissions or set up sort of there that would oversee all the process of the government? Do you understand what I'm trying to tell you?

Researcher: Ya, ya, ya,

Participant: Who's going to cop the cops? Yeah, who's going to, yeah, who's going to police the policeman?

Researcher: And related to the garden, is there anything(…) ?

Participant: what I'm saying I'm trying to say is that if, if you take(…) if you give the funds to your garden, to the gardeners and your programs who projects, your cooperatives neh, make sure that they get there in the, they are used for the purpose they are intended for because most of the times we go claim some cash and then use it for own personal growth, you know what I mean(…) so that's what happened. Even in our garden, yeah, before I arrived there and I told him my friend no this is how it works and he didn't understand(…) he didn't do it on purpose because he won the awards in 2009 and 2011, position two on both occasions and then he won number eight globally, the same Gwala Shable project. So there's a bit of history here that we can learn from. I would like us once we went through the stuff that you just talk about the internet and stuff. I would like us to go

to build a profile again rebuild our profile and then to send it back to the Ashoka Changemakers and the likes.

Researcher: Okay, so you got funding and then didn't understand how to use the funding or something.

Participant: Ya, he thought the funding was for his pocket and then he went to spend(…)

Researcher: And you must report after.

Participant: Ya, he didn't have any. And, and understand..I understood because he had no management or no proper management or a proper committee, you know what I mean. He did not understand the position and what they are there for yeah.

Researcher: Okay. Awesome. So any closing thoughts? Anything else you want me to include in this report?

Participant: In your report neh. umm(…) I'm not really sure, apart from the I think the report is useful and I appreciate your time coming over here and choosing our garden and choosing us as part of your research. And I hope that this would give us some sort of an exposure and uh, I just, wish you can continue more because in this you talk about only one month and we have any information from 2009 about 15 years(…) so what I'm trying to say is that um(…) time(…) we need more time, we need more resources because I don't want to say we need cash because we need to show what is that cash fall and we need a like I told you before I, I, I suggested before we start, we need to to to do the cultural exchange programs you know what I mean, where you learn how other people are handling the situation that's that same as us but they are in a different condition. What I mean

about conditions, different conditions that climate conditions could different and we are on the garden services(…) so we need to learn how other places are doing it the way we do it. Because sometimes we plant a tomato and it went up, it grew up and it blossomed and you thought it was a very red one but it was a different colour, I'm not sure why because it was a different seed because it comes a different crop, you know what I mean(…) .so when I asked about they said no it's the climate conditions, so it's not rain enough, it's not hot enough, it's not cool enough or something, ya, and they get deformed.

Researcher: Who told you that?

Participant: Umm(…) ahh..the offices where we get the seeds from(…) umm(…) it's not umm(…) John knows about these offices(…) umm but it's the department office.

Researcher: Of social development?

Participant: Ya, that one

Participant: So I went to them and those them ahh man this seeds are not the ones I'm looking for(…) you gave me the seeds of the red, spherical. I don't know what that type of tomato come from. He said, no, it doesn't..it's still a tomato but now it's spherical because of the conditions(…) And I say, so this are the GMOs and they say these are not the GMOs(…) so they still need to them between the gym and the organic food and how they differ or how they impact on a lifestyles you know what I mean, you don't have that in our program, even if we're are going to the workshops or go to the school.

Yeah. They don't teach you about that. And that's where I think is the most important part.

Researcher: That's a knowledge transfer. Yeah. Okay. Awesome. Let me end this, put the recording off.

Semi-structured Interview 4 - Transcript

Researcher: Okay. Awesome. So I mean please take your time, you know, don't rush we have some time here. So yeah. So can you tell me how you started being part of the garden?

Participant: Me personally?

Researcher: Personally, it's all about you, ya.

Participant: I started around, let me say 2009 whilst is the garden itself started around 2005(…) So me being part of it was due to the fact that Tony (pseudomyn) is a friend of mine we school together. So he trusted me to manage the project and see it's okay.

Researcher: Okay, okay awesome. Um, and I mean, what were your reasons for joining? Why did you decide you want to be part of gardening?

Participant: Okay. Not that I decided because I wanted to but because one of the things, it's loyality one of the things, loyality for my friend and then the other is the love for nature, I really like nature not to put that aside. That's the reason I think

Researcher: Okay. So, so nature and then loyalty for your friend. Is there any other reasons?

Participant: I don't think so, mostly, actually , I think even on my own I would have done the same thing. Yeah, just that it happened that one of my friends has it. So why not doing it because, uh, my interest, most need it is between the construction site, the constuction part where we draft the structural designs and the likes. I love architecture and I love nature as well. So I like to combine nature and architecture and see what can come up.

Researcher: So did you help design the stage section or was it there?

Participant: I found it been designed but I helped with some logistics. I found the design and the platforms and everything, but I helped with the logistics part, the material used to design.

Researcher: Okay. So you got the material from some where?

Researcher: Yeah, we've got it from mostly when the bridge was building. We kind of took it upon ourselves to help ourselves.Because the concluding was already done, and the material was being stolen so we asked for it and they said you can use it.

Researcher: Okay. okay That's cool. And then you guys built that nice walkway and stuff. Okay. That's pretty cool. Um, okay, so I understand your reasons for joining. And how has your experience in your garden been so far?

Participant: With regards to?

Researcher: just generally your experience, your experience with the community you experienced with other gardeners? It's a broad question

Participant: Okay. My my experience in the garden, okay so far is that mostly people who went into gardening. Um, these people that they have a reason because of food security, poverty and such and then they cannot, maybe it's for most of them is for household food security and then they like to secure, uh, what food at the table I think and then maybe a sort of an income so of can put the kids in schools and put the clothes behind the back but we know it is not really in conductive. I just know it's not enough. That's what I can say.

Researcher: it's not conducive to make an income?

Participant: mhm (yes).

Researcher: Why not?

Participant: First of all, we have to to to plant, you have to get the seeds and the seed can take three months to grow and in that three months, what would you be sustaining you live with? You know what I mean. Even though we have crops and your selling, how much money are you selling each packet of a crop for? About five or 10 rand. How many people are going to buy that, who needed that day? Where are you going to sell them? At the market

sometimes, sometimes the market in city center. You know what I mean. Yeah, so it's only maybe twice or three times a month or maybe twice in your trimester. Im not sure. Yeah,

Researcher: that you can actually go to the market and sell a decent amount?

Participant: They have quality recommendation, that they tell you you what I mean. They have the credentials, what's in the market, the market itself, the pros and cons of making or selling the product, what type of product they want and how they liked would prefer them to be. It's still a challenges because you have to get to those disinfectants, you have to maintain the garden, but on the other hand there's nothing getting in your pocket and you have to wake up in the morning at that time you have a family or maybe on your own, it doesn't matter, but still nothing in your pocket. So me in my experience, most is that people go into gardening because they want to sustain their self. That's all. And it's not really enough just trying to, I'm not sure. Trying to hold onto something.

Researcher: hmm, and then your personal experience. So you were saying it's also not enough to give you regular income because it's maybe once every three months, right?

Participant: Yeah, it's so it's probably be similar the same as going to answer some gave you because the conditions are the same for everyone and as told you for you to, to understand how we maintain our garden or what material to be using the garden, you have to be part of it. Yeah. It's not going to be straight forward. That the ones that we know this is how we plant, this is how you do your thing. And then this is how it's going to grow up and then

this is how you're going to sell your stuff. You know what I mean. So before you get to get something in your hand, you have to wait about nine months, probably.

Researcher: And is that why you guys rent out space and try and do other income generating(…)

Participant: That's the reason why. Of course, mostly then that that's where I come in. Yeah. Trying to broaden the ideas and you know what I mean..yeah, to come to maybe to intensify the garden itself. The project itself. Yeah. Know what I mean? It should not because we are artists and they have talent as well and then they got love to help kids as well. So let's collaborate everything and put it in one context and then say, did you say [name] project but the problem is that you don't have the resources enough to collect the information or data to activities that most of them are on our home phones and most of them are on our WhatsApp groups and most of them are not really captured. And then we once registered, I'm not sure if it still our existence our registered exists. There's a group called hmm(…) changed makers it's a global group.

Researcher: Oh yeah, yeah. Okay. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

Participant: We registered with them, long time ago maybe 2009, yeah.

Researcher: Is it orange, orange logo, red?

Participant: Ya, it changed twice. Ashoka change makers.

Researcher: Yes, I know them.

Researcher: We were part of them.

Researcher: okay, you were okay.

Participant: We still are because I checked at one point and we still have our, umm..profile still is not updated though still things that are maybe left there. So I was trying to update the project the the profite but I couldn't because they got quotes, I have to do it or to my own email because there is someone else that used his own email(…) so they have to check it first and then use the different email and then put the quote and all that stuff. So that is the only programme or project, global project that we are part of and that has put us under their website a page(…) actually if we want to get something about [name] programme you can have a [inaudible]

Researcher: Okay, cool. I'm going to ask you to speak a little louder just so it picks up right. Because the other one I was struggling to hear your voice. Okay, awesome thank you. And then what is your experience been like with Alex Greening Route you know this organization John [psydeomyn] represents.

Researcher: Okay, Alex Greening Route or, let's see, we started being part of the Alex Greening to my understanding, to my knowledge last year. Yeah, that is that it's not really that it's a challenge. It's not(…) because John knew about us. He just had, we did not really be under there, the route as much just that there was another program that they open it with Greater Alexander Heritage cluster or something we are part of that. So you open this one, I'm not sure how long did you open or when did he the open, ya. So we became part of it, but there's no way I understand it and its programs or its mandate or its focus as his vision is that they're trying to collect the information. That type is just like you about the challenges that we face as gardeners and local

gardeners and how are we going to make sure or how are we going to collaborate our plans or programs together so that you can create either a sustainable household food security or job creations. Yeah, we need to do to make sure that atleast we accommodate a whole lot, bunch of people because we realized from each and every sector that you live in(…) the problems are the same (…) it's poverty, it's unemployment it's the same thing. The space it's a challenge as well. People come from outside and then do one space here because they want work as well and there's no denying. You cannot deny people to gain life a better life for themselves. So the space is a challenge. Like we said before and now even the income sustainability with the project itself. If you remember I told you that all these guys are artists so the challenge in art is still the payment. They are under paid, they are still struggling. So by now realize that you were together for more than 10 years now or more than probably 10 or more, but still on the same level. You know what I mean. Although they do appear on the television screens and the likes but they're still in the same rate. They can maintain their lifestyle, they cannot live on it. You cannot even live on what we produce. So how would you sustain our lives, or our livelihoods or our households. So the challenge is this funding institution. So probably we know how the funding goes, it's a challenge. The process is in the likes and then yeah, the corruption, blah blah, blah stuff. Yeah. Even if you were to get the money doesn't get to you and serve the purposes that it's suposed to serve.

Researcher: And if you wanted Alex Greening Route to do something else, what would you ask them to do? How could they do more?

Participant: But I think to me, I think more first and foremost we should come together(…) together with the Alex Greening Route and all the gardens that are under garden route and then create a structure that was open to work for everyone cause at the current state said we only on the, uh, on the need to know basis with Greening Route because we don't know their programs. Like even now that we're talking now, I mean, we didn't even know how you were, you're supposed to explain first why are you coming to me from Wits. So if it were possible that the, before you came here, we knew(…)

Researcher: And John didn't tell you why?

Participant: I don't even know why you are here unless you told me. And then what I can tell you is that , um, John would, you'd say that, eh, okay he posts most of the stuff on the WhatsApp. That's true. But the problem is that most of the stuff that he post is not useful to all of us. To some of people and it's selected you know what I mean. And most of the time you get to ignore some of the messages he posts because you think nah man(…) that's the story

Researcher: Okay. Well I hope my letter explained why I was here, but we can talk afterwards. But I think you are giving me example. Right. Okay. Awesome. So then my next question is, um, so can you describe a time when you used your network in the garden or other gardens, um, to get something that you needed.

Participant: The network..err..the heritage cluster network?

Researcher: your network, your personal network in the garden. So it's you and Mdu and Moses and the other guys. Have you ever(…) and the answer could be no as well(…) use

your network to get something you need. So for example, another lady gave me example that she said, um, she needed seeds. So she reached out to another gardener and she got seeds. Have you ever experienced(…)

Participant: Well what I can say is ya(…) because that is what we do most of the times because we realize that it's more like, it's easier to get resources from different people that we work with because there's a trusting and you know probably what is it that you want to do it for(…) so for a good cause is that to get the stuff that you need around the people that you know around the garden.

Researcher: Okay. Can you give me(…) can you tell me the story of a specific experience that you remember? Take your time. We have time(…)

Participant: This is going to be challenges because most of the times I would say 95% of the time that you need anything that the garden, we use our network.

Researcher: which is your network, artists?

Participant: Yeah. We use to get anything. Even to get you to get there. The artists that we are talking about are people who are practicing right here in heritage. Yeah. They know John, John knows them(…)

Researcher: So there's the garden network and then there's the wider artist network. Right. And if you need something for the garden, you asked this wider the network?

Participant: you start from a smaller circle first [garden network] and then get information from the small circle then it spilts out(…)

Researcher: And what did you get though?

Participant: I could say almost everything(…)

Researcher: Like the trampoline?

Participant: Trampoline, the trampoline we bought but uh, let me say what is this one. A swimming pool. Yeah. We used the network to get a swimming pool

Researcher: Can you tell me that story? How did that happen.

Participant: This is how it works, we have a collaboration with a certain group of guys. They are still part of our garden group neh so there's two guys. One of them works at a company that has just a whole lot of logistics. He told me all of plastics material, most of them handle containers and it likes, so uh, his partner is our friend, so he works at the garden. So this friend of us, Nate lives at 12th avenue if I'm not mistaken. Tspeho is a partner to this guy who works at a company that is practicing logistic now yeah, we talked to him about having a bigger space and through that we collaborated as companies and make a joint venture. So through that joint venture we did realize that we have it jumping(…) eh a trampoline. The kids we're jumping ion the trampoline, they we're interested as well. He said guys, this site of your is fine. This piece of yours is good and this could be conducive for a the business(…) so this is what you can offer that we have now. I work at a company, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. He told me and then this is what we have there. So now why not put a pool at the back and let the kids(…) we did it(…) it about two days and then they came up about two days and then it came back with a

pool and then we pumped it and kids were already as excited about the pool. They forgot the trampoline.

Researcher: It's a plastic pool, right? That you pump up and put water in.

Participant: Ya, I should have showed you but I'll show you with the picture(…) the video

Participant: Yeah, so that, that's how we got it. And then all the excited of the kids and blah blah blah. And then they started, they started making money and then we realize guys eh, we need to get a bigger one for us now for put in(…) At the center we put the trampoline and then trampoline we find another space for it. Somewhere at that the garden, the spaces(…) restrictive ya.

Researcher: Okay, okay, that's nice and so did the guy sponsor you the pool or did he(…)

Participant: Man, they're just a network. They didn't sell it for us..

Researcher: He just give it to you?

Participant: He just gave.

Researcher: He is part of your network right?

Participant: Ya, even where I got the the wifi router it's still another story, ya

Researcher: okay. Tell me(…)

Participant: The wifi router I got it through a friend of mine that I was a partner to because I bought a rain SIM card. So when I bought the a rain sim card, I'm not sure if it's still..

Researcher: Rain's that internet company, right?

Participant: Yeah, so when I bought that sim card the guy who works at a container that red container it is a internet(…) err(…) an internet(…) and internet company(…) it's an internet business. So I leant the card to him and he started using it and then he realize that it's, it's perfect for his business. Now he, you found out about another(…) he had two router they were working that he was using(…) so he said, what if I give you a router and we share the spots on your data(…) no problem bra? Ya, let me get anther sim card and then you pay your monthly, yeah(…) mxm installment of R260 per month(…) ya that's nothing.

Researcher: So he gave you a router in exchange for this sim card?

Participant: Ya, but I didn't give him the sim card. He just bought in the shares in the sim card, you know what I mean. It's more like partnership.

Researcher: Oh, okay. So you contributes to the monthly fee?

Participant: Yeah, contribute as much 50 50. So that's part of the project that we have already got through the network.

Researcher: Okay, that's awesome. And then do you guys like sell the internet to people or it's not free wifi? So you can come for five minutes, or what? How does it work?

Participant: So this is how it works, because when you get there, you need the password. You need to know the wifi maybe we give you the password once you have to pay, you have to pay first. You pay about R15 and then you can sit here for the whole day, no problem. Everyday. And you subscirbe, when you subscribe and then you can change the passwork anyday neh. But when you subscribe, that means you pay monthly installment or interest(…) I don't

know how to call it(…) monthly, monthly payments and then we put you on our list of people who are always on the wifi. You pay 100 bucks [R100] that is fine each and everyone pays 100 bucks neh, but we only pay 260 ya.

Researcher: So you make money, you make profits?

Participant: and there are about 13 people who pay monthly.

Researcher: Okay. That's a very clever story.

Participant: But it's only been two months with the wifi connection. you know what I mean

Researcher: Okay, that's great. Um, so my next question is that, these(…) so the guy with the pool, would you consider him a friend or more of a acquaintance.

Participant: I think he is a friend.

Researcher: He's a friend because he's in this artist network? So you guys are friends, right?

Participant: Because before we even became partners in business or before we even became business partners, we already knew each other. We were friendly, we could check or do anything. And then his place becomes my place

Researcher: He is a friend. Okay, cool. And then the one with the wifi router, is he a friend or an acquaintance? Acquaintance means(…)

Participant: What consistutes a friend and acquaintance? Is an acquaintance just a person?

Researcher: It's just a person you see or like, I think John would more be your acquaintance like this. John come to your house and hang out?

Participant: Not really. Not really.

Researcher: He's an acquaintance. You know him, you know he's John, you know he does. But your friend is like your bra [slang - friend] [Laughing] I don't know how to explain better.

Participant: I understand bra, neh, nay hey is nie my bra nie [Afrikanns - no he isn't my friend].

Researcher: Okay. So that one is an acquintance.

Participant: Yes, he is an acquiantance ya.

Researcher: Okay. I'm glad we understand [laughs] sometimes you must take all this complicated research words out and just say your bra [slang for friend]

Participant: My bra neh [Slang - my friend hey] [laughs].

Researcher: okay, cool. So why do you think, um, those two people chose to help you? So why does your friend, why do you think he helped you?

Participant: The friend one?

Researcher: The friend with the pool friend right.

Participant: The friend with the pool, okay(…) he saw a business opportunity firstly and then he, secondly, I think it's because he wanted to cement his relationship. Ya, that's part of it

Researcher: Cement his relaionship in?

Participant: within the garden and within our circle as well. Like I told you we don't really relate ahhh on getting services. Yeah. But most on business, err construction business and the garden services and a friend as well. So he's trying to cement his ya(…) his place.

Researcher: His place there. He wants to be part of it because he can see it's potential.

Participant: Ya, you know what I mean, yeah, he can see the train running so he wants book his(…)

Researcher: tickets?

Participant: No no, he's got a ticket already(…) his place. [laughs]

Researcher: That's funny(…) Okay, cool. And then the acquaintance with the wifi, why do you think he helped you?

Participant: I think more, especially since it's still the same along those lines, but again I think it's because he was struggling(…) he was struggling with his(…) the internet connection . He was struggled with the data payments because every time he had eh, he had somebody to go for internet and someone to google, he had somebody trying to get this email to retrieve his emails and then he will have a challenge of network or he would have a challenge of a data itself. So do the coverage of rain is beautiful, you know I mean(…)

Researcher: I've hear you're the the second person that told me about rain(…)

Participant: So the coverage was good for the business and it's even the data itself. It does not run that much and actually the connection is perfect. That's what I can say. So he

realized for his business won't close and he is going to get to more profit. This is good for him. And then again to secure his space in network. yeah. you know what I mean

Researcher: Oh okay. Okay. So it's also a business opportunity. He was struggling to secure. Okay. And then what has happened since then? Like have you helped him? Has you know, is there been, besides this internet thing and the pool, have you guys exchange more for help?

Participant: information(…) ya, because currently is helping me understand IT. ya because I'm the kind of person I would like to open a new company at school to build apps. I'm not sure if I can do anything this lifetime, but I'll try. So I was on on on an idea which I am to teach kids neh IT(…) I didn't do it at school. You know what mean(…) .so he's, he's teaching me IT and he knows it. We went to France and he told me about those X and zeros and once(…) Brother man you're talking German now but fact that I love it, I'm going to learn(…)

Researcher: Like programming?

Participant: Programming everything he knows everything.

Researcher: So he's exchanging information?

Participant: Information(…) you know what I mean

Researcher: Okay. This is the wifi guy?

Participant: Wifi guy yip.

Researcher: Okay. And then the friend with the pool. What has happened since then?

Participant: The friend with the pool today we have(…) .a business proposal, that we(…) that we mxm(…) submitted in WBHO (…) in WBHO office yeah(…) and in Sandton(…) . somewhere in Sandton(…) so we are waiting for response that means we could have a business opportunity of construction together as subcontractors themselves.

Researcher: Okay. So you guys are working together basically on the side. Okay. Awesome. Um, that's my questions about social capital unless you want want to tell me anything else. I just have two more, but is there any(…) so those questions I'm asking you about, can you describe(…) it's all about social capital and how you use your social capital basically. Remember I said I'm studying social capital, right?

Participant: Okay, ya ya ya.

Researcher: So these questions break down how you as a person have used your social capital to get something(…) you got money, you got the the wifi, you got the pool, you've got the proposal.

Participant: Yeah.

Researcher: Yeah, so that's what it was. Okay. So do you want to add anything else to that social capital section? That you want to tell me?

Participant: You would have to be specific because there(…)

Researcher: no, just anything about(…) has there been any other experiences where someone in your network helped you(…) or I mean you guys seem like you help each other, you know, you exchange information. Was it your

partner? There's no specifics. If you have nothing to tell me, it's quite fine. I don't know if you want to add(…) if you want to add anything else.

Participant: oh(…) the the the app part neh. The talent part(…) .umm what I can tell you is that uh, we were talking amongst ourselves as guys (…) guys, we need to make sure that for us to be recognized (…) rr to be recommended for other projects because they are a whole lot of projects in this township. Let's first meet uh(…) a philanthropists for this township and you worked with them before initially, so we won't be a first time, it won't be that much of a challenge to go to talk to them ya(…) they know us already. So we talked about the Taylor. I'm not sure if you know about Taylor?

Researcher: No, I don't know them

Participant: Well he is the father of the township(…)

Researcher: Is it? Okay.

Participant: You can't talk anything without putting Taylor in, or try to get any information or history(…) So the beginning there ya..so his family is the first family in Alexandra(…) .

Researcher: Wow okay, that's old.

Participant: So baba Taylor has no problem helping us actually..mxm(…) he is a community developer? I'm not sure what the word philanthropists in a simple term. That's the type of person you go collect money and then give it towards community to everyone. If he is looking after the indigent and the old age homes. So when you get to go to him, he was happy. He even gave us other ideas more because he told us that(…) Guys, whatever

is it that you're trying to do, just write it down first, give it to me or my management and then don't worry about the resources and anything else and that's how it works. Yeah. So I told this guy(…) people, let's, let's try and help firstly the indigents in the schools in our schools neh(…) So they came up with a program of street shows without any budget, we went to street shows and then there were kids along with it and then we sort of (…) our daily routines plays(…) we just go collect them kids and then do like play all around the place, the garden and all over the place, even at the heritage here and then give them the lunch. But I mean just to enjoy the day. A single day it doesn't have to be a special day any other date on our calendar, ya(…) .so that's all part of the programs that we came around and came along with. Just on the side within the programme, you know what I mean. That's what they like to do most of the times(…) they have the profiles, but the challenge is most of us that we had no funding non whatsoever. But you learn to perfectly still. Just that the challenges without the(…) we could not take them from what they know. This is what they know. So we would like to take them from what they know to what they can experience, but with the same conditions(…) you know what I mean.

Researcher: ya ya ya, so funding to take them to see a different life in a different way. Is that what you're saying?

Participant: or the same lifestyle but in a different condition. I'm not sure if you understand.

Researcher: No, what do you mean? Same lifestyle different condition meaning?

Participant: Okay. Okay. We live in a township full of people(…) full of complex races. Yes, now but our, like our kids, all these kids that are coming like this they are feeling this other people are feeling the pressure(…) I like to send me, like I would like to them to, to be sent to a place where there is still a lot of multiple people live in the same, same, same roof, but living(…) eh in harmony, everyone's benefit you know what I mean? in a mutual relationship live, you know what I mean. Yeah. Simple like it could be done, it's not the people that are around you that are doing this in that making you to live this way, not the people around you(…) But if you work to get along with them, you can get what you're looking for. All of you, you know what I mean

Researcher: That's awesome. That's awesome. Okay, cool. So I just have two last questions. How has the community involvement in the garden, do they help? Do they want to help? Do you to sell in your garden?

Participant: Ya, we do sell. It's not that, the problem is that we don't depend on selling.

Researcher: Oh ya, you told me. You said you sell every few months.

Participant: Ya, you saw some of the beds, beds are not planted. We plant most of the times when people like you come over to the garden and like to see what's going on. (…) Yeah. So what I can tell you is that okay, in the, in the garden, the people adore that place. They love that place. They protect the place even because even if you were not there, you're not there. Nobody can litter or nobody can(…) they'll tell you that a man you would like sjambok [leather wipe] at your back? Once you doing that(…) you know what I mean because that's the only solution that's

played(…) That place was, was a dumping site and you saw how the flats look like, they don't really look beautiful. So(…) being a dumping site in those buildings, you know what I mean(…) eish man(…) it seemed like it's not at the place where people can live. Yeah. So you tried to take off to clean the dumping site, the the the filthy place(…)

Researcher: and you guys took away all the dirt?

Participant: All the stuff, there are shots(…) there are the the the document at least for that.

Researcher: There's what?

Researcher: Documented history you have photos,

Researcher: Send me the photos before and after so I can put it in the report.

Participant: Ya don't worry, I had all of them, but I don't know. I'm not sure why I forgot about them. Just that they want to try to put the way I wanted to put them in the place, yeah. I would have to put them in our profile or if we put this, it's possible that you could help(…) ehh the cluster the heritage to, to, to, to build a website just for us, but for the whole group, for the focus group, so that each and every garden or Gardener can get to know each and every other programs and projects(…) So that when I come to it and to the other person, I know what I'm going to get.

Researcher: we are going to talk about that after. I'm going to tell her what we were talking about. Okay. But let's just finish the interview. Okay. So for community involvement you say they love the area(…) it was a dumping site and now it's

something beautiful to them and does the community come help or do you guys have enough help or(…) ?

Participant: The community is eager to help at any moment given that's why when you said the the the(…) what's that(…) that when you said the radio that's picked up, I just picked up one finger(…) these are people who are looking, even though they don't say anything(…) they are always watching.

Researcher: Ah okay

Participant: So did they have the name for all of us? They they they(…) the whole place the people living around there, the whole circle they call us the Green Lovers(…) that's what they say.

Researcher: The Green Lovers?

Participant: Ya, that is what they say.

Researcher: I like that(…) Green Lovers.

Participant: The same guy I told him to shut the radio that's the guy that came up with the name so ya(…) he says everything is green there.

Researcher: And you know actually this is different from the other gardens. So in other gardens, and this is from research that I've read at the research in South Africa and overseas, the community's not always happy with the garden. So why do you think they're happy with your garden?

Participant: Maybe that's an actual why as I'm say I say that's why we got together for neh(…) Me and my friend I told him, brother man if we can realize that this garden here is

closing a space for a whole lot of people to build first of all, so we have to make sure that these people love this place because of one thing she has to use to help them first, not because of the food but their lifestyle as well. So why did they love it? Because we keep their kids there and you love their kids and you teach their kids a whole lot of stuffs too. We help them with their homeworks and the like, that's what I told(…) that's what we said you(…) we said to you we need to build a double story building, it should be permanent structure or even if it's just a mobile structure it doesn't matter, but at least the impact need to be significant, you know what I mean(…) and it needs to be from the grassroots(…) my vision, mostly of these that I would have tried to, I'm trying to teach our boy kids mostly how to respond to life. That's mine mine, that's mine only.

Researcher: Your personal goal?

Participant: Ya, ya, Just boy kids and trying to put them onto(…) guys this is not how it is. Nobody's pushing you towards that. You're pushing yourself there. You need to look at ourselves, not at the outside.

Researcher: okay. Yeah. Awesome. So you think they'd love the garden because it serves the community

Participant: because yeah, I can say that because now(…) even on the weekends now is already(…) Uh, no, it's already usual. Yeah. On the weekends they come over at the morning. Even today, they open, they knock at my door. You have to wake me up so that I can go and pump the garden thing and then, yeah(…)

Researcher: The trampoline and the pool? So what do you help with the kids, you have homework and have the trampoline. You have the pool, place to play. Oh and the place, the artists, the performances, right.

Participant: So(…) but what about the wifi? You know, we, we, we let them download a few games. We let them download the the the moves. Yeah. Even the, they get to, to do their work, the homeworks with it, you know, because people, because kids would come over and then say this is our project at school. Our life orientation project(…) ah what do you do? We did this and that. Alright then Google it. Instead of me giving them answers, that not going to build them. Yeah. I just say ah Google it. What is it that I'm not sure? Even myself. I don't know what this is. Just one time. One time. No, of course. Most of the time I know the answers because at one time one of the kids told me uh uncle, they call us uncles(…) uncle I'm looking for a a a tent. Um, refugee camp tent. What is that? As if like I don't know, it's something like you don't know, I'll teach you, it's like this and that and that. Okay. Let's see. Refugee camp oh ah, I always write that, they try to make this one, give it to him. Click it, Click it, Click it, click it(…) oh okay which one should we go for? Or this is one of those, there another one I saw tat the township(…) eh eh he at the school and then you Google it and then you scroll you scroll. Okay, this one? Yeah, this one. Okay, let's go. Let's do it and then scan it and then print it out for you. You can do that. Yeah, let's go man. And we went there at the club, told the guy, take this up, and then he said(…)

Researcher: Where did you go print?

Researcher: The internet cafe, he just oh this one and he googled it on his computer today instead of program.

Participant: Now you just see this is the guy with the wifi one?

Researcher: Ya, it's not problem he just said zzzzzzz [printing sound]. This one, this one. Ya, ya, ya, how do you get this ah man? Come on. This is technology.

Researcher: That's great, that's amazing, so you empower the kids to learn?

Participant: Ya, we empowered them. We(…) ya we motivate them.

Researcher: And it's the kids from the flats or just the wider community?

Participant: The whole place, most of them I can tell you, 80% I don't know. I don't want to lie to you, 80% I cannot recognize them, but they still say I'm Uncle! And I say, yeah, yeah! Even the ones that never came to the garden, yeah.

Researcher: And the people from the flats don't complain that the kids are they or whatever. No?

Researcher: They want their kids there because then most of the, uh, most of them that live at the top neh(…) so they can see, everything that is happening there, you know what I mean.

Researcher: So they don't mind that it's a safe space for their kids.

Researcher: And now, while how I know that human nature is that, uh, the mothers are not looking at their kid, they're looking at the who is taking care of the kids. Yeah. So once you get to to to that part, you don't pretend, you

have to be who, what you doing. You have to be, what do you do that you're doing then(…) be part of it. Yeah.

Researcher: Okay. That's amazing. Really, really interesting. Okay. Then my last question and then I'll just let you say anything you you know anything you want to say is, so you did that survey right there. I came to do with you guys. I'm trying to understand(…) I got that survey from this other professor person overseas and I was trying to test it in the South African context, in our local context because it hasn't been tested. How did you feel about the survey was complicated? Was it too long or is it too short? Why is it easy? Just generally so I can get a sense of how to improve, you know, if, if it's a good thing, if we mustn't use it or what?

Participant: Well, I cannot conclude how can it say(…) It's just this is how I want it to be because I'm not sure of the results or the outcomes of it. But what I can hope for is that once you, you, you do your research, make sure that there's a program for you to counteract the challenges that you're going to find. Remember I told you once.

Researcher: And we're going to talk about that. I'm gonna tell, I'm gonna talk about the website and the web or whatever. Cause I understand what you're saying is I can't just do research and go. I must give back. Right. And that's the video and all that other stuff. But if you're talking about the survey, your experience of the survey when you were doing it, was it uncomfortable? Was it(…)

Participant: well, I think it's professional. It's fine. It's okay. And it's right then it was done in a good manner. Not anything unprofessional at all. And the problem is one. Yeah. I just thought you needed more time. More time to do it

first. Secondly, I would like you to have resources because you had limited resources. Yes.

Limited resources on the survey or what do you mean on, or let me say like(…) when you do research neh, when you do a research you are going to sit with us neh, but we need to have something that we can search on when, both of us when you're looking for, let's say like we're looking for a equipment, or a funding or looking for a type of implementation on the garden we need to go there. Okay. That's why we have a WIFI on our.

Researcher: Oh, okay. Okay.

Participant: More like the information or the applications that we need to get to get our program running, but I think it was perfect. Yeah(…)

Researcher: and then the questions in the survey, like a, I don't know if you remember, I didn't bring a copy but the one said(…) um, did you ever have an experience, wait, sorry. Do you think anyone in the Alex Greening Route could help you with a spade, could help you with a fridge.

Participant: oh okay! Those ones.

Researcher: the questions confusing or were they straightforward or ?

Participant: Okay, the problem was personal, it was mine neh. I found them to be too low in standard. That's my, yeah. Too simple for me. That's that's mine, so to be a bit confusing, it's the truth. Yes. Because I didn't think(…) did I answer this or must I repeat the same thing or did they the same question twice.

Researcher: Ok, so it's very repetitive?

Participant: Ya, so, we are the type of people who read. Yeah.

Participant: Okay. Yeah. So some other people said it was confusing when I asked someone that could help you with the spade because if you say, could you don't know if they actually going to help you or not. So for them(…)

Participant: Maybe you are looking for potential people who can help, yeah?

Researcher: Potential, ya, so I think you get it. It's potential people that could help, it's potential social capital and I think for them they were like, ah, but we have a fridge. ah, but we have a(…) okay, but that's helpful feedback that is was repetitive. Okay. Okay. No, that's very helpful. So we're almost at the end. Anything you want to share? When I did with the others is, you know, I'm a student, right. And I work full time and I'm a student part-time. But imagine I was a government official. Right. And you wanted to ask me for stuff. Is there anything you want to, share, say ask, tell? You have the floor.

Participant: Okay. Well problem is one, I know that my government is working as you are a government worker, I know you are working, but the problem is uh, are there any institutions, independent institutions or programs or committees or commissions or set up sort of there that would oversee all the process of the government? Do you understand what I'm trying to tell you?

Researcher: Ya, ya, ya,

Participant: Who's going to cop the cops? Yeah, who's going to, yeah, who's going to police the policeman?

Researcher: And related to the garden, is there anything(…) ?

Participant: what I'm saying I'm trying to say is that if, if you take(…) if you give the funds to your garden, to the gardeners and your programs who projects, your cooperatives neh, make sure that they get there in the, they are used for the purpose they are intended for because most of the times we go claim some cash and then use it for own personal growth, you know what I mean(…) so that's what happened. Even in our garden, yeah, before I arrived there and I told him my friend no this is how it works and he didn't understand(…) he didn't do it on purpose because he won the awards in 2009 and 2011, position two on both occasions and then he won number eight globally, the same Gwala Shable project. So there's a bit of history here that we can learn from. I would like us once we went through the stuff that you just talk about the internet and stuff. I would like us to go to build a profile again rebuild our profile and then to send it back to the Ashoka Changemakers and the likes.

Researcher: Okay, so you got funding and then didn't understand how to use the funding or something.

Participant: Ya, he thought the funding was for his pocket and then he went to spend(…)

Researcher: And you must report after.

Participant: Ya, he didn't have any. And, and understand..I understood because he had no management or no proper management or a proper committee, you know what I mean. He did not understand the position and what they are there for yeah.

Researcher: Okay. Awesome. So any closing thoughts? Anything else you want me to include in this report?

Participant: In your report neh. umm(…) I'm not really sure, apart from the I think the report is useful and I appreciate your time coming over here and chossing our garden and choosing us as part of your research. And I hope that this would give us some sort of an exposure and uh, I just, wish you can continue more because in this you talk about only one month and we have any information from 2009 about 15 years(…) so what I'm trying to say is that um(…) time(…) we need more time, we need more resources because I don't want to say we need cash because we need to show what is that cash fall and we need a like I told you before I, I, I suggested before we start, we need to to to do the cultural exchange programs you know what I mean, where you learn how other people are handling the situation that's that same as us but they are in a different condition. What I mean about conditions, different conditions that climate conditions could different and we are on the garden services(…) so we need to learn how other places are doing it the way we do it. Because sometimes we plant a tomato and it went up, it grew up and it blossomed and you thought it was a very red one but it was a different colour, I'm not sure why because it was a different seed because it comes a different crop, you know what I mean(…) .so when I asked about they said no it's the climate conditions, so it's not rain enough, it's not hot enough, it's not cool enough or something, ya, and they get deformed.

Researcher: Who told you that?

Participant: Umm(…) ahh..the offices where we get the seeds from(…) umm(…) it's not umm(…) John knows about these offices(…) umm but it's the department office.

Researcher: Of social development?

Participant: Ya, that one

Participant: So I went to them and those them ahh man this seeds are not the ones I'm looking for(…) you gave me the seeds of the red, spherical. I don't know what that type of tomato come from. He said, no, it doesn't..it's still a tomato but now it's spherical because of the conditions(…) And I say, so this are the GMOs and they say these are not the GMOs(…) so they still need to them between the gym and the organic food and how they differ or how they impact on a lifestyles you know what I mean, you don't have that in our program, even if we're are going to the workshops or go to the school. Yeah. They don't teach you about that. And that's where I think is the most important part.

Researcher: That's a knowledge transfer. Yeah. Okay. Awesome. Let me end this, put the recording off.

Appendix C – Focus Group Discussions

Transcripts

Focus Group Discussion 1 - Transcript

Start:1:46

Thank-you very much for coming and thank-you for making the time. There's only two questions that I am going to ask. The first one is what type of resources - a resource can be tangible which means you can touch it, feel it, you know like a spade or a tool (…) one second

interruption - [another gardener came in]

My question is - what type of resources do you think are in your garden - right. So they can be tangible meaning things you touch like money and tools or things intangible like knowledge or skills or information that exists within Alex Greening Route. So I'm not sure how much you guys interact across the gardens but it could also be in your specific garden. While you guys are thinking, I'm going to help [gardener to understand the form].

Indistinct chatter among gardeners.

Can you talk louder for the recording. You are an actor after all, right.

[laughter]

Participant: We get resources directly from government like department of agriculture other ones we get them from our homes. Yeah and intangible ones are the ones that we are in trouble because we don't have information. We don't have information on how to implement the latest methods in

gardening. Especially in this harsh environment of weather conditions. We don't have an exposure on how other places or countries via their social class or whatever. We don't have that information access.

Researcher: Okay. So then what type of stuff do you get from the Department of Agriculture or [Department of] Environment? What are the types of things you get from them, examples.

Participant: Most of what we get from the Department of seedlings, and we get the tools as well, and *sometimes* if it happens, we get financial support. When we apply and then qualify we get financial support. And it's the recognition as well like an endorsement of some sort. We were given contract, a sort of a lease, a 5 year lease between the Department and us - we signed it but it is not yet approved. My worry from [garden name] side is that intangible one - that information.

Researcher: Look like you want to say something?

Participant: Ya no, I just wanted to affirm on the intangible tool because for now we only use our African based knowledge of how gardens should be because as Africans we grow up being gardeners informally so because we used to have those backroom gardens back in our homelands you know where we used to plant something there. So that's the knowledge that we use so far and then umm just to get on his point of them of the financial support through the Departments, we got, we once got the financial support through the competition. It was a competition in fact, it wasn't an application. We joined the competition the that was from the Department of Agriculture?

Participant: The MTK awards

Participant: Yes! Thank you. It was the MTK awards and we were one of the top threes. yeah

Participant: Ya, 2009 - 2011 (…)

Participant: Ya that helped us a lot in order for us to umm have tools, seedlings, so umm, now the main challenge is the space, we don't have enough space for [garden name] our garden is too limited via space, you know. It's in between the flats were people live and some they just have just invaded the space and being their rooms so it's not in a conducive environment - the space is limited because we have a vision of to grow it further as an organisation, it's not a business (laughs). So the thing is that the space limits us but we have the vision but the space limits our creativity as well.

Researcher: okay, hmm, go ahead

Participant: Okay, Lydia here from Matsavu. Like the other guys and what they were saying, we supplied with tools, we are supplied with ground and they also bring us seeds and then also we are helped by Food in Trees and umm (…) Our challenge is water, we haven't go water. We always ask the neighbourhood because to have water for that, but at the moment we've got a tank from Shoprite but it is sometimes dry because it's drought, there is no water. And umm (…) what else (…) financial we are not supported with anyone's support (…) And according to training, we are just doing our self but yesterday we were approach by the garden Craig from the government and he said we are going to send three people to Bloemfontein in May, so they are going to view the gardens in Bloemfontein and they can get trainings sort of a thing in May and then whatever (…) otherwise we haven't got so much resources in our garden. Everything we do for from ourselves, from our pockets and also we umm (…) just (…) and also our challenge, we haven't got a big space to like other other gardens are saying because Alexandra is too small and we haven't got (…) in future we like to have bigger places so we can develop ourselves and so (…) what else (…) what else do we need in our garden? I don't know. And water as well what do I say about water? (laughs)

Researcher: The lack of water?

Participant: Ahh, the other lady that is Sis Thembi, he used to give us some seeds but he's come from the Food and Trees and he's help us and come and check our garden that it is going okay, and he is an organizer for Shoprite, come from this lady and then so far is the training that they give us (…) I forget that people that come from oversea that give us about financially training how to keep your book, how to update, how to be having a salary when you are working (…) but it's a big file like that! Yoh! It's too much that thing. It's confusing I'm telling you.

Participant: That one is your course [tells Participant] for not all of us are going

Participant: Ya, but they said when we are finished they are going to take another one which means all of them is supposed to get that knowledge - how to deal about yourself? How to maintain your business

Participant: Oh business management?

Participant: Yes

Researcher: Okay, okay

Participant: I'm just hearing from what she is saying, it's a business management course

Participant: Everything, ya, e-accounting, at the same time how to manage your money, how to use the tools, how to behave yourself when you are working

Researcher: Okay, okay

Participant: How you choose someone to be your manager (…)

Researcher: Okay, so how to run your garden. Okay

Participant: They are going to train each and everyone, on March we are going to graduate and they are going to take another group but I think it keeps us busy

Researcher: Okay, so for example, say you wanted to get a personal, say you needed a lift or something - can you use the resources in your network to help you?

Participant: No

Researcher: Not really?

Participant: Umm (...) for instance do you mean for transport and stuff?

Researcher: I'm thinking about like (...) what beyond tools, seeds and support - this is a network that you guys have right. Well this network (points to three in the same garden). What resources do you have in your gardens network besides the normal seedlings, tools and stuff?

Researcher: I mean, the answer can be there is nothing - I'm just asking

[00:15:54]

Participant: umm okay (...) apart from the garden service itself (...) we create an open space for kids to play, so at the moment we have a open jumping castle (...) It's an everyday things but we prefer to do it on the weekends and then there is a pool as well - you get to swim there everything, so apart from those two our guys artist as well. That's what we have (...) so with them being artists they get kids from school, after school, and then we perform some activities and them we teach them some other things or we help them with there homeworks (...) that's part of the whole thing (...) sometimes they even went to the street shows and make street shows and all of that (...) awareness campaigns (...) so most of the things (...) we do a whole lot of stuff but it's just that there is no financial, there's no recognition (...) limited resources

Participant: ya umm (...) I always second..I always second them

[laughter]

Researcher: it's okay, it's a conversation, anyone must talk [laughter]

Participant: [Garden name] is unique in this manner, we are a garden project but what make us unique is that ummm (...) we have (...) aaahh (...) a space where it's a stage inside the garden. Where creatives can come and perform (...) so it's a garden but there's a stage and then there's an isle where people sit, can place place their seats and then the creatives can go through to the stage and then there's an undeveloped space behind the stage for behind the stage preparations. So (...) we are we are we are (...) combining creative creativity and gardening like at the same time (...) So umm (...) to answer your question..umm (...) some people do come to our garden to host events. Like when they want to do some celebrate their birthdays they hire that space because it's conductive for people as well the way we created it. There is space to sit and space to perform, so people come and hire the space and we give them the space in an affordable price, you know. yeah (...) to maintain the garden

[00:18:51]

Researcher: That's interesting

Participant: So can I ask a question (...) where is your garden I'm interested in that you know (...)

Participant: You see finesburg [area]..cnr Lenin Drive and Moses Thabete [street address]

Participant: [street name] I know [street] yes - and then?

Participant: Moses Thabete [street name] in the old flats there. The far side of [Some directions given to the garden in vernacular]

Researcher: Sandra [name] I think you wanted to say something

Participant: Good morning everyone I'm interested about your garden and networking (...) that is why the lady says we must has networking group because I work with children and we also have a garden, so if we want to do celebration for the kids (...) we can hire your space (...) that is why the networking is (...) it can work (...) because

Participant: And we've got the WIFI connection

Participant: I think we are going to give each other a connection

Participant: Like as Benny said that we allow kids to play on this thing, they call it the bumper (...)

Participant: Jumping castle

Participant: Jumping castle yes!

Participant: It's a trampoline

Participant: Oh! Oh, trampoline actually so we often put it there in that open space and kids come

Research: Okay, Okay, seems like your trampoline is a resource right?

All: yes, yes, yeah

Participant: There is a trampoline and a WIFI connection router and that we have a pool (...) the intangible resources that we have apart from the garden resources that we have are the trampoline, pool..okay it's a tiny pool but it's enough for 5 or 6 kids

Participant: And then there is the router

Researcher: It's better than them doing that [local children climbing up the high outside walls of the museum]

Participant: ya ya [laughs] you can put them in the pool and they swim (...) and then there is the WIFI connection that we mostly use for downloading

their games and music and even the movies they like..that's how we are trying..it's just that the space that we have is too limited like he says (...) the resources we have are too much and we are trying to accommodate all of them (...) .that's why I asked you before the research that you are going to do and the findings that you are going to get - are we going to get a turnaround strategy or are we going to get the help or information on how to get the help because we have challenges (...) because we do have progress but the challenges are resources, networking, connections, and financial muscles.

Researcher: okay, John? Anything to add?

Participant: Ya, I think umm (...) err (...) the question is fair but it comes with excitement again because now the most important thing was for each and every Garden space to develop their own gardens, but err.. I think (...) umm how we mostly can we encourage each other is true like moral support because now you can hear that there is still a lot of struggle in terms of individual guidance. So but in those other gardeners they are already there is some networks that they have created, so I just wanted to clear it that we are working towards unity, but at the same time we're still developing our own spaces (...) just to make them unique.

Researcher: Okay, but you're saying some of the resources is moral support or, you know someone to rely on to talk about..?

Participant: to encourage each other (...)

Researcher: Do you have anything to add?

Participant: No, they covered almost everything that I wanted to say, but I'll just need to add the issue of of information of which I think is very vital. If it will have information it will help us because in our garden sometimes you you may have those small insects that eat your plants there but you may never know how to deal with it, if you don't know the relevant with chemical to use those particular plants you see.. so if we will have information needed to help in terms of that.

Researcher: so did you have anything to add about resources in your garden [asks other participants]

[00:24:16]

Participant0: Okay, mine at our site. So John is going to help us a lot with the resource and with the sort of training things and another thing the Food Trees [Food and Trees. org] they are the one that help us the resource again, but our challenges at our site is the (...) we live next to them hostel, those people [laughs] (...) you know (...) we cannot do things according to our plan because when we plough ne' (...) maybe after a six month when the plans are ready to err (...) what do you call it (...) err (...) harvest..they come before us and then they take (...) and even the goats that side..we've got the goats because weekend we are not working so they can take (...) its a church so those people they don't close the gate (...) and the goat come.

Participants 6: *Eish*, security issues

Participant: We did a new fence but they cut the fence during festive they stole (...) come on. Flock and security issues. So that is one of the biggest challenge about all the gardens like vandalism (...) just to put it bluntly ya

Researcher: Vandalism ya, and then food and trees what did they give you?

Participants 6: They give us seedlings, tools and they put the fence

Researcher: So what type of tools have you guys got from different? like spades or what?

Participant: spades,

Participant: Rake

Participant: wheelbarrow, fork

Researcher: okay (...) how did you guys get your trampoline?

Participant: we bought it ourself (...) we bought it from our own pockets

Researcher: So do you guys get gardening advice from people? So you were talking about the *gogos* [insects]..that come and eat the stuff. Like how do you guys learn about the different types of herbs that prevent that (...) or I think catnip prevents rats right or something? How do you guys get advice?

Participant: Oh, we do get advice because umm (...) mostly through the customers that come and bye the stuff (...) because umm (...) most of the people who are interested in buying the stuff is old and matured women like our parents here (...) so they have a better knowledge of gardening more than others (...) so when they come and by they can tell you want they want to eat (...) and how they want it and how to grow it, so it's easier for you to learn from them. Okay, this is what I should plant (...) you know, this is what they they want to eat. This is what they want to eat and then how to grow it as well because some of the customers they have the seedlings at home, but they don't have the space or time to start the garden. So by that Network they can sometimes give you the seedlings (...) have this seedlings of pumpkins just try it and see

researcher: so the actual community (...) and the customers are from the community, right?

Participants: ya, ya

researcher: and how do you guys get advice or give advice about the gardening?

Participant: I hear about the garlic. Okay, when you plough like cabbage, carrots (...) err you must start by chopping it and then put it before seeds..and then the what do you call it (...) the insects won't come

researcher: And where did you hear about that? Who told you?

participant: I hear from the people from the (...) err (...) Food Trees

Researcher: Food and Trees, okay okay. Where do you hear?

participant: we also hear from Food and Trees (...) only a challenge to us is rats..oh my (...) I don't know what to do with rats (...) ya *eish* (...) oh, they are eating everything even the fruits if you plant with they will eat

participant: but there is another solution, I don't know where it does come from (...) they say if you get those old rats, that dry one but if you take that old rats and burn it next to your garden they are going to be out there

Participant: serious?

Participant: serious! you can just take that rat (...) it's working

researcher: maybe because they smell the dead rat?

participants: they smells the dead rat..they afraid now they going to be die

participant: for how long?

participants: it's different on you that today you see it but tomorrow not you see it but when it is coming back (...) I think you must take this again..ya..but it's smelling so horrible (...) but it's better to chase all these rats away

researcher: and where did you learn about that?

participants: as they people say, someone come and give us the information (...) ya so we take that information and it's working

researcher: okay, okay (...) [00:30:41]

participants: Can I say something (...) about the rats (...) we have certain people in our group that deal with these pests (...) they do have the traps and they've been doing for the last 4 years but why we stopped is sometimes when we used poisons that are harmful to rats..you don't know how they are going to be (...) or how people are going to respond to them or how they are

going to effect kids or anyone else so the challenge was that if any point when we using our methods and then somebody get harms or someone gets sick and you don't even know who they are and they die [inaudible] so we are looking at all aspects of that kind of symptoms

researcher: oh okay ya, well, that's a good point. And then how do you guys get water?

participants: err..okay we collect it first thing but secondly tap water..but we collect

researcher: rain water?

participant: ya, but it's not enough because our garden is too big (...) as you can see from our whatsapp group[00:32:09] there are still pictures..so it's too big for collect water (...)

researchers: And you? how do you get water?

participant: we use a tap (...) or we just ask the name around and you put a pipe so they can fill our tank (...) sometimes the water is very very slow because they all use the water and some do washing and you want to water the garden (...) and there are busy (...) there is no water there is just a drop

Researchers: okay then. I think that covers the first question, we almost done. So the second question is some measuring this thing called Social Capital right this how does an individual use their resources? Like for example, you asked the neighbour for water means you use your Social Capital with the neighbour to get the water (...) in this environment in the garden space and in Alex, how do you think is a good idea to measure this? I know, it's a bit of a difficult question. Yeah.

participants: How do we?

researcher: how do you think would be good to measure social capital? is it a confusing question? so (...)

participant: ya, okay let me (...) umm..it's obvious like we are living with the values of ubuntu so it's not easy to say you owe me or the other way..but then if I borrow you a spade I expect you to bring it back but if I give you seedlings it's obvious that maybe one day you will also give me seedlings (...) but then we don't have like this a measuring tool to say how is our relationship (...) umm (...) how are we running our relationship (...) I'm trying to make them understand.

researcher: it's basically asking how do you measure your the resources in your network..so for example Trudi (name) has a network where she can ask people ask people for water, that's her resources because she has a network of people that she can get water from. Do you think the way I'm measuring it is right or do you think it's crazy or (...)

Participant: okay my opinion, how I think you should have conducted the research (...) I think you should have go to the sources and then have an information on the township and it's history first..and then how do we get our resources then how do us the government and our people (...) firstly, the water does not belong to the government so how do we maintain the water system in our garden (...) so you need to be in the space where we work for you to understand the whole system (...) because if you ask me about my neighbour I have 2000 neighbours (...) you understand (...) they change every month (...) so you can't really measure it and say this is how social capital of Alexandra Greening Route and (name) works (...) it's always changing.

researcher: ya, it's always changing and the resources are always changing (...) so if someone else comes who has a tractor then a new resource will be here?

Participant: so what I can tell you about the culture of Alexandra, what works here is creativity. If you creative you will get by in Alexandra, so if you murder my creativity we are going to have a problem..

researcher: hmm..okay, okay

participants 3: the thing is umm (...) you know the challenge is umm (...) we don't know each other well as gardeners (...)

researcher: ah okay, so it's separate gardeners right? you only know people in your garden?

Participant: ya, for example this is my first time to see umm (...) to meet my lovely parents here (...) maybe I know the projects but I don't know who's behind (...) you see (...) so sometimes it limits our growth as greening project as a whole and exposure as well because of lack of network among us..you see (...) the more we know each other and communicate (...) is the more we grow..is the more we are able to get enough exposure ..you know..because what we need as Alexandra Greening Route we need a voice (...) we voice that is going to be out there to represent us, our services first! then our needs and challenges because you can't go and publish your challenges without your service. you need to go and tell people what you saying is (...) what can you provide for the community [00:37:48] before you mention your challenges - so we need a voice for example mama Trudi [name] said something about the security challenge that they plough and then when..oh my mum here (...) when the season of harvesting comes someone harvest what he didn't plough (...) that's very unfair, you see. So umm..that's why I'm saying that we need a voice..so that one day maybe it can be a big merger project in different forms.

Researcher: Do you guys have anything else you want to add/

Participant: I want to add..our people in Alexander..they need lots of workshop about the greening routes (...) how can we help and how can we help them (...) and they must know when you plough or when you plant it's a good thing because we live with food.

Participant: I just want to ask these guys, to you now (...) because you said it's the first time you see me..okay. Like me I don't even know who you are, or if I saw you somewhere. But I just want to did you ever go to the meetings because we've got the meeting of all the gardens in Alexandra. We got the meeting 8th Avenue, which is done by the agriculture, social development of agriculture in Alexander. We all have meetings, like the school Terry [name] was talking about, it's organized by the agriculture. Yes, in 8th Avenue there is Lester of social development - we got the meetings..Lenin and all the other gardeners here we are always meeting. Sometimes we got them and 12th Avenue what's that (...) *Sankopani* . Sometimes we go to Eighth Avenue, which is Lerato is there, sometimes they propose we go to other (...) we always go there to that place. Agriculture is doing everything in fact.

Research: Patience [name] I have some lunch and then maybe you guys can network and talk about this after, but just for the purpose of this so that we can finish and wrap up because I'm sure people have places to go

Participant: I want to say something, they give us a fence around our garden and they come from 8th avenue to social development, there is a gate we lock out, but although the are some there it is not so much (...) so people still go under the fence but not so much (...) maybe once after a long time but it is a small kid it is not the big people

researcher: So I'm going to go around and then your last thoughts about resources if you don't have anything that's fine and then we'll wrap up. John resources from your perspective from Alex greening route that could exist?

Participant: Yeah, I think the biggest resource is its us, number one, and number two is for us to create this space for each other and the number three to take advantage of the formation of the group because it is a whole lot of attachments like from well established institutions more especially the environmental and the tourism side. So it's important to have these conversations, to have this focus groups. So I think from here to a good start

for us to continue from here and then some other things I think yeah.. It's we just have to say like sustain this this initiative in and then move forward.

Participant: umm (...) I think what we need is just networking, networking and information as as my mother just said right now, that we need some workshops (...) I think that's very vital. That's what I see is vital, that we need right now

researcher: and you think we've covered all the resources or anything to add.

Participant: ya, nothing (...) I don't know, I cannot speak for other people

researcher: no no, that's fine, we are going around so (...) ya, any final thoughts on resources that exist?

Participant: I think about the resources that we have tangible, are almost complete (...) I'm not really complain about them. My challenge is one, the information (...) I think that's a whole as a group as a consumer or a focus group. We should mostly focus on cultural exchange, I'm not sure if you can do the tours or like in your capacity you can propose something as a group or would it be legitimate or (...) but we need to propose something as the weather changes a concern (...) okay..err..the method that we used that we've been told by our community that we should do this and that (...) those are primitive they are the ones that we've always been using but they are backwards. The weather is changing everyday, so what I'm trying to say is that we need to be acquainted or be on the forefront using technology now, using new methods. How do we Implement them now?

researcher: Okay, great resources that exist in the garden?

Participant: umm..in actual fact what we need right now (...) I think we for now we are surviving with the with the limited resources that we have but according to the vision that we have (...) we we still backward (...) that's why

I quoted the point of land before, we the biggest space because besides umm.. being being a combined greening project and entertainment. We want to supply as well. No, we need to be supplier as township greening projects. It can't be just they are smaller projects that have no bigger vision. We need have vision. We need to make this as a legacy. We need to be out there, you know, for an example now in in the Township's we have the biggest brands like your Shoprite, your Pick n pay, so those people are being supplied by people from (...) for an example from Mpumalanga or Limpopo. Why a kind we have our own (...) why can't you supply our own stores or shops here in our townships? Because they come here they make money and they go out, but there's nothing that they are giving back to the community. So what they should give back is one of the ways for them to give back is to give us an opportunity to be in business with them to supply them with something from our own township. They can't just make money and ran away. We we we expect deserve the piece of the cake. So that's the bigger vision of each other.

Participant: umm (...) I think I have nothing to say but to my (...) what I like now (...) we need to know each other, that is most important. So like these guys they say they doing trampoline and doing with the children now so if I am in my garden, I want to learn more so to add in my garden because actually now we just doing planting and selling, but I see this guy they doing more than the garden. They doing other activities, that is what I'm interested in so (...) the most important thing to us is to know each other. That is what we want to know or to do right your name and your everything so I can come to your garden and see what you are talking about. So is it implementing or what [00:47:29] so I can learn more that is what I'm so interested in. I don't just want to plant and go on, I want to learn more.

researcher: hmm, ya, and after this you guys can network while you have lunch, but are there any other resources that you think we missed like besides seedlings and tools and spades and rakes. Is there anything else?

Participant: And for us (...) I don't know what do to with that one, we are working with men, we are women working with men and we haven't got a

container where we can get change or do something like that (...) it's very difficult to us in our garden that is a challenge in our garden.

Participant: at our site we need a tunnel were can we plough..hmm.

researcher: and is there any existing resources that we've missed on the list that you have already or you might think you have?

Participant: in our garden I think we lack of that bore holes that can supply water all over, not to hold a hosepipe every day because we are not of the middle of 12. So during the day we are waiting for someone to water his garden and finish before they go to the other one and you see the time is moving. So end of the day, the other lady didn't water because of this small water

researcher: and is there any resources that you think in your garden you have that we don't we haven't discussed?

Participant: I think so far. Everything's covered.

Researcher: Okay, great. Thanks so much. Thanks. I'm going to get the food and then you guys should talk and exchange numbers and chat.

End

Focus Group Discussion 2 - Transcript

Researcher: Okay, great. So we're recording now. So there's only two big questions that I want to ask right - currently, now in your garden what resources exist right? So resource can be something that you can touch like money, tools, whatever or can be something you can touch like Knowledge and Skills. So I want us to have a conversation and you know agree debate, argue, disagree with each other on the current resources in your gardens.

Participant: Are you asking individual or (...)

Researcher: I'm asking the group, anybody can talk, it's a free thing? I'm not going to say - you talk, you talk, you don't talk!

Participant: In our garden right, we are from [name] gardens, the only resource that we have is tools, when it comes to financial whatever we don't get any help whatsoever from anybody unless it maybe we try and get some donors from somewhere, but we've been trying for 13 years of our lives, but we've never been successful to get from anybody. And the tools as well, we get them from maybe churches. Mary's church have donated some tools and lots of them (...) hose pipes and all those things but (...)

Researcher: hosepipes and what type of stuff?

Participant 2: Yoh! it's a lot there's spades, there's forks everything you can need them (...) watering cans. Ya, we were sponsored by Christ Embassy church (...) but when it comes to people who are supposed to help us because I think in this area we've got a manager for the region E who supposed to help us when it comes to all these things. I don't know what is happening. She side-lined us (...) she doesn't even come to our garden. She doesn't even help us, you know, a person should come with ideas and say you can do this. I meant she's the manager for reaching e for the gardens, but she's of no help to us (...) Maybe she's helping other gardens but as for us, sorry, we don't get anything from her And then financial help we don't get at all, at all, totally don't get..

Researcher: is the manager of what? manager (...) what does she manages?

Participant: she mangers all the gardens, I think (...) that's what she said (...) I'm scared to mention her name because you are recording

[laughter]

Researcher: so anything recorded is not going to say you said this or that (...) if it says department of (...) there is many people in departments

Participant: social development [laughter]

Researcher: we are not going to say the name

Participant: that's the department of social development

Researcher: okay so there is someone at the department of social development (...) a man or woman but we don't know

Participant: it's a she

Researcher: no, no, we don't know

[laughter]

Researcher: okay, do you guys agree, or is (...)

entire group: yes yes we all agree

Participant: we also have the same problem, she not helping us with anything. We were battling until we met with the Food and Trees and things started changing a little bit. But before then you also have the same problem - no water, no tools, no nothing. So I'm seconding her.

Participant: I think yeah, our leads here they are correct but the Social Development I don't know how many times they've call me to apply for the grant so that we assist the older people (...) the pensioners (...) to assist them on using our own gardens so that they bring more (...) maybe a stipend for themselves so that they are able to sustain their lives (...) so now the thing of social development, the application is still there it's still on, the thing is now everybody was supposed to go as a team and regroup themselves and redo this name of applying for an NPO. So like they're in the database accordingly because hence to get financial but you need to register with the NPO in Pretoria and then you go to Social Development and you get those forms of apply through them and get the stipend of the financial assistance. So just *nje* [just] you are not going to get any financial assistance because they're not in a database (...) is only individual people like they gave them from

under social (...) that just started project. Give them the project to start but it's not there on the database like hence they are not going to get any finances.

Participant: but like she's saying now if she knows that she's got pensioners working under her (...) and then we don't know what's happening (...) was she not the one that was supposed to apply for us? (...)

Participant: no because this is you guys as a team, this is for you guys as a team may be grouped together you make you you form a team of maybe three people or four people becoming an NPO with those compliance then go to social development

Participant: but we know nothing about it (...) it's the first time I'm hearing..

Participant: and it's a problem because the grant is not correct

Researcher: okay so I hear that challenges with this mysterious person from the Department of Social Development but currently how do you use your network to get stuff (...) because your garden is running right now. So what current resources even if you got them from your neighbours or yourself do you have and how do you use your network to get those (...) so I understand there's a challenge and that's noted

Participant: As the mother was saying that they don't have a challenge now as the gentleman's was saying that they need to know each other. They have to follow a group of what's up so I can have the contact details and number two she mentioned that they have tools that's the only things that they have in the garden but most resources, the manure or whatever, that meant to sustain the garden it is not linked because it needs money. The truth is easy to get but the main resources that they have to get for the garden there are all the gardens that are around in Johannesburg (...) they can't because of the lack of financials. So they need as we're here let's form a network (...) immediately the WhatsApp group, so that we assist each other. They are already in groups, they know themselves then they form that NPO. I can assist them for the NPO registration for free, everything for free through the

Social Development, for free so that they can get their grants. Then they can go on with your business, but otherwise its lack of communication most of the time and the number two we black people who don't support each other. That's the worst thing that we experience (...) if I'm doing this I don't want another person to know that I'm doing this. That's the problem of us (...) so if they can just become one team and they form whatever that we need to do I think it will be easy to go to social (...) I'm under social development. So it will be easy for me to guide..

Researcher: oh, so you work for social development?

Participant: No, my school is under social development department (...) so it's easy for me to share information

Researcher: so I think after this focus group will we're going to have a light lunch and then you have plenty of opportunity to form your group and network and so on, but purposes of this (...) do you want to say something

Participant: ya, I want to say something (...) you know what (...) we were encourage to perform like Cooperative now I can hear you talking about an NPO. So I'm getting like confused (...)

Participant: you need to know projects (...) they start NPO because there's no tax master there, nothing as such won't be involved, to be an NPO, it's better than to be PTY there will be tax, there will be clearance and so many things that they will need from you whereby when tax man needs money, it's going to be a problem. So when you're under NPO it's better because you're doing for the community at the same time you'll be gaining something - that's the difference.

Researcher: Okay. Do you guys have…can we move a bit away, we can talk about forming the NPO afterwards and all of that. For the purpose of this? what do you think about the resources that are in your garden?

Participant : I think there is resources but not a lot of them like lack of water, there is water so if you want to water you must come early because if you

don't come early the water will be finished, or the water will be coming out a little bit not too much [00:08:32] because everyone wants to water, so if you want to water you must come early.

Researcher: sorry can you [be quiet] (...) do you mind (...) just because we are recording otherwise it's going to pick up all muffled if you don't mind. Don't worry we are going to have time afterwards, then we can talk (...) so you were saying you have to come early for the water?

Participant : yes, come early for the water

Researcher: where is the water?

Participant : in the taps, there are taps there by the garden but not a lot of them so you must come early if you want to water your garden

Researcher : and then if you don't wake up and you miss it? then?

Participants : you won't water

Researcher : and you can't ask your neighbour for water?

Participant : no, there is no neighbour there is a big garden so if you don't come early you don't water

Researcher : so what other resources? you said that there is some? What other things (...) other resources are in the garden?

Participant : I can say a fridge where they stock (...) where they put the veggies (...) yes

Researcher: and any others?

Participants : workers but not a lot of them

Researcher: Do you others (...) Xavier ? resources in your garden…are there workers? is the water? Is there no resources?

Participant : We also got the challenge of water, we must go to our neighbours but something (...) . but sometimes, you know either people are doing washing or whatever and they did so we're just giving me a little bit (...) until they finish then the water comes in, in this weather that's why we are in need of a borehole.

Researcher: Okay. Okay.

Participant : but now these days I think that the borehole is too expensive but now you don't have any people so as they can help us (...)

Participant : and there is security there by the garden.

Researcher: Okay, there is a security guard. Okay. Okay,

Participant : yes

Researcher: your garden is?

Participant : there by Engen garage

Researcher: okay, [name] okay, okay. Anything to say?

Participant : ya, it's water

Researcher: Lack of water is a problem?

Participant : ya, lack of water, and then we need the container (...) ya and the tools, we are short of the tools

Researcher: Do you have current tools now?

Participant : Yes, but it's not enough

Researcher: okay, like what do you have?

Participant : may a watering cans (...) and umm (...) spades (...) ya (...) and the other

Researcher: but you need? a hosepipe maybe instead of a watering can?

Participant : ya, ya,ya, but the water is the main problem.

Researcher: Okay, sorry, you wanted to say something?

Participant : I think we can get maybe like a mini jojo that maybe can take the water from the ground and put in the jojo and then we train from the children to continue and then we can make

Participant : ya, I think that's the main problem of water (...) the water tanks (...) if the Joburg water (...) because they are going around giving us water on the jojo tanks so if they can get extra jojo from the department of *Joburg* water so that they can be able to water their plants

Participant : I also think to talk about again with water, but again we got a cold room but we don't have electricity (...) like now its summer. When we harvest, we don't have a place where we can put our things because the electricity (...) it was there but now I don't know where it went

Researcher: okay, how do you guys get seeds? anything to say? [laughter]

Participant : We plant some seeds and then (...)

Participant : we buy our own seeds

all: ya, ya, we buy, you buy your own seeds

Researcher: okay, you buy your own seeds?

Participant : ya, the only problem is the water

Researcher: but there is also a problem with not enough tools right?

Participant : and not enough workers, that's the main problem

Researcher: not enough people to help in the garden?

Participant : ya, because if you want someone to help you you must pay them (...) and it's R150 per day and you must give them lunch on top of that R150, so if you don't have money how do you get a helper?

Researcher: ya, did you want to say something?

Participant : no, I'm okay

Participant: we the nets, we don't have the nets (...) we need the nets for the rats.

Participant : like tunnels you know (...) I think like in winter the spinach you know you cannot grow properly in winter but if it is in those tunnels you see those green tunnels, most farmers are using those green tunnels (...) if we get all those tunnels I think our things will be much better and we will be able to sustain ourselves (...) because you know (...) the thing that we do here we plant all these things to sustain ourselves and our families so every time we plant anything, maybe spinach or whatever we sell them to the community right (...) and the communities always come to the gardens to come and buy (...) some come and stock so they should go and sell (...) it's a way of making money for us as unemployed people (...) so that we should sustain our families so that we should be able to buy food for our children and our grandchildren, but the problem the government is not helping us at all, at all! We need them to come and help us. They said you must register cooperatives, we did! As unemployed women should register Co-operatives, we did register some Cooperatives, but we don't get any help whatsoever! At gardens (name) we've been there for 13 years now that place it was a dumping site and we worked with our own hands (...) we didn't even have tools when it started working there (...) we worked so hard to get the place right to what it is today. It's our hard earned, you know efforts to make it to be green as it is today. But from the government side, no help at all. They always say register operatives but when it comes to help – nothing!

[00:15:54]

Participant : in our garden, and since the manager of 105..our soil they said it needs the hydrogen, but they promised us when (...) last time! they promised us that they are going to come and check our soil (...) I think that now the thing is that if you plant something like spinach then when it goes up and then sometimes it doesn't give that green then become yellow. So there's a problem. How can you plan something that you cannot eat?

Participant : another thing it's a fence (...) because that fence is not secure enough. still there is security but the fence is not secure enough so anybody can get in, get out (...) people are walking there going to their houses so there's no way to (...) so the fence, a new fence is needed bad in the garden

Researcher: do you have anything to add?

Participant : I think the fence as well

Researcher: so, okay so what I'm hearing is that is very little resources right? very little, you know. So how do you guys *currently* cope then to make your gardens thrive because they are thriving gardens. So I mean, I understand (...) so the government's not helping, that lady Social Development, we need to register cooperatives so, there's very little resources there's a water problem, tools problem, fence problem all of that. But currently what do you do? like how you make your (...) your garden is running 13 years…what have you done?

Participant : In our garden we collect money from each one (...) each person (...) we go like R20 R20 R20 and then we go do what we want to do

Researcher: oh okay does everyone do that? Like a collection?

Participant : ya we put R50 every month, everyone of us (...) so if there is something that we need we take out the money from there [00:18:08]

Participant : ya, we put R50 everyone of us so if there's something that we need we take out the money from that money

Researcher: is it contribution or what do you guys do?

Participant : yes, we are from the same garden

Researcher: oh okay, from the same garden

Participant : how many are you?

Participant : we are 12

Researcher: Xavier how do you all?

Participant : we are from the same group

Researcher: oh okay

Participants : we are different gardens all in the same area

Researcher: so it's cooperatives right

Participants : yes,

Researcher: So you all put money together (...) and then say for example you wanted to (...) okay rather has there ever been experienced or time where you were able to get something you needed from your garden through someone else? So did you network with someone to get a fence or whatever?

Participant : No, not a fence just a helping hand,

Researcher: a helping hand, okay who helped you? can can tell me a bit more help me?

Participant : a helping hand like (...) people came from (...) I can't remember where they from but with a bus, and they came and they helped the gardeners and they gave out tools whatever for that day

Researcher: oh, the place is called Helping Hand?

Participant : No, they came. No, I don't remember their name but they came and helped for one day, gave us tools and see how the garden is working

Researcher: oh okay. Have you guys had any?

Participant : I got some tools last year and some 2-3 trees, I think it was Food and Trees (...) they donated last year

Participant : we are still working with them, they are helping us a lot

Researcher: oh okay

Participant : but to be honest, they don't come anymore to us, I don't know what is it

Participant : but they've been helping even when (...) last week she came

Participant : maybe check your contact (...) they try to contact everyone in Alex (...)

Participant : is it?

Participant : yes, last year

Participant : and Shoprite

Researcher: what did Shoprite give you?

Participant : we got err (...) this *zozo* container (...) that big one from Shoprite

Researcher: oh okay, a jojo tank?

Participant : yes, yes, jojo tank (...) they also made us the what do you call this, the what do you call this thing (...) the board there on the gate (...) the board

Researcher: oh okay, a board

all: yes, yes

Researcher: Oh, that's nice. So is that all of you guys have received, are there other examples? I don't know. Maybe through Alex Greening Route?

Participant (20:49):

We are still struggling for years with a gate (...) but for years we need a big fence (...) a big gate. . But sometimes if they got something then they bring something and they just pour it there and then you must take it (...)

Participant (21:00):

Like they send manure with the truck (...) food and trees.

Researcher (21:00):

oh, they just dump it there?

Participant (21:00):

[inaudible] all **Participant**s talking at the same time (...) mmm,

Participant (21:00):

but at least you guys are getting something, what about us , we don't get anything. Truly, you guys are laughing

Researcher (21:00):

so food and trees used to help you guys but not anymore

Participant (21:26):

before like two years ago, they don't come anymore to our garden, I wonder what is happening there

Researcher (21:39):

So you saying they come and leave the manure there and you guys (...)

Participant (21:39):

Ya, but we are saying if he comes and we are there we cut he fence as soon as he is coming. if we got a driver that is okay, we will wait for us to open up, some of them just dump and leave.

Researcher (21:39):

Who cuts the fence?

Participant (21:39):

we are cutting the fence.

Researcher (21:39):

oh, you guys cut the fence so the truck can (...)

Participant (21:39):

ya, ya, ya because we don't have a gate.

Researcher (21:39):

oh okay, and the community? Beyond the garden (...) does the community help (...) Do they come work in garden, do they come ask for vegetables?

Participant (22:28):

they are coming by and leave (...) .

Participant (22:28):

and ask as well (...)

Participant (22:28):

not everybody (...)

Participant (22:28):

when they have like funerals counsellors send those families to the garden so that we must make some donations but they don't help us but when they have maybe they have funerals, there's a death in family. They'll go to a counsellor, they'll bring a letter so that all the people (...) all different cooperatives in the garden should donate (...) you give cabbage, this one will give spinach (...) mmm.

Multiple Participants (22:50):

inaudible [all **Participant**s groaning at once].

Researcher (22:50):

Are what role has the counsellor played?

Multiple Participants (22:50):

Nothing, nothing, nothing, that one is useless (...)

Researcher (22:57):

so the land you are on (...) is it the city's land?

Participant (22:57):

That's the city's land, yes, but they are going to remove those people there because they are doing a fire station (...) so that land is not their land, they are not going to be there for a long time, the government is taking the land

Researcher (23:19):

Do they also come to your garden to get donations for funerals?

Participant (23:19):

Ya, my mother is donating there is a funeral this weekend. My mother already donated green peppers and they want..they must donate cabbage and spinach.

Researcher (23:19):

And you guys aren't happy about donating?

Multiple Participants (23:19):

No! No!

Participant (23:19):

No, we are not happy because they are not helping us. If they were helping we were going to help them also.

Participant (23:19):

especially the government (...)

Participant (23:52):

they are not helping us.

Participant (23:52):

they are receiving but not putting.

Participant (23:52):

The counsellor will write a letter saying that we must donate but he is not doing anything for us.

Participant (23:52):

he's not come to the garden and see what resources we need because he is a counsellor, he can go far, us we can't go as far as him. Him he can call his people do everything fast, but he's not doing anything and people are complaining and people are angry (...) are getting angry at him.

Researcher (24:21):

I can hear (...) frustration

Participant (24:22):

Frustration yes and angry.

Researcher (24:26):

so if you ask people around, come help me in the garden I'll give you spinach (...)

Participant (24:29):

They don't work for free, they say we don't work for free.

Participant (24:29):

They want money (...) they don't want spinach.

Researcher (24:29):

Do you guys agree? They don't work for free?

Multiple Participants (24:29):

Yes, yes, they don't work for free.

Participant (24:29):

The only people who work for free can be your family (...) .but other than your family they want money they want spinach, they want money they want cabbage, you can't give them cabbage and say go (...) they want money plus cabbage

Researcher (24:29):

okay, so any other things you guys want to talk about happening in the garden?

Participant (25:07):

another thing it's helping is when they go to markets that's when you can make money but no everyday make money.

Researcher (25:17):

So you, your family goes to the markets?

Participant (25:20):

Everybody goes to the market, everybody here.

Researcher (25:21):

The market here in Alex or ?

Participant (25:25):

no, the market there by city deep, we have been given by the city by by, by these people…by the manager, but it's once a month, we take our things and go and sell there . But now sometimes that lady, she's not doing well because sometimes when she promised us we must go to region what what (...) there are that offices (...) Sandton but if we come there then those people doesn't know us, they say no, how can you come and sell here without our knowledge but now you've got everything, you've taken it too much from your garden and when you get there (...)

Participant (26:12):

they don't know you are coming and then you go back with the bags of spinach (...)

Participant (26:12):

and you hire transport to go there and you pay them but you pay them again to go back you didn't sell (...) you didn't make money.

Researcher (26:28):

So they turn you away when you come there they say we don't know you and you can't sell here?

Multiple Participants (26:30):

yes! yes!

Researcher (26:30):

but it is set up by the department of social development?

Multiple Participants (26:38):

Yes! Yes!

Participant (26:38):

I think we can use the SWOT analysis here (...) that our strength that we are working, we are dedicated when it comes to our weak, we are not getting any support from the community or the government itself and coming to the treats, the stealing, the running out of the resources, the birds are killing our our (...) the worms (...) we have to get all these things to to, to, to, to kill (...) the the the

Participant (27:11):

the rats (...)

Participant (27:11):

especially the rats (...)

Researcher (27:11):

the rates are worse (...)

Participant (27:11):

the opportunities are there but we don't able to get into the market and market ourselves (...) those are things (...) .

Multiple Participants (27:16):

mmm, mmm, yes yes.

Researcher (27:16):

So do you guys have a big problem with vandalism and stealing?

Multiple Participants (27:21):

yes!

Researcher (27:21):

Who has a fence? Who has a fence? You guys have a fence?

Participant (27:34):

We do have a fence but they go under the fence or they break a small hole and at night, they come they steal (...) when you wake up (...)

Participant (27:34):

the next day everything is gone.

Participant (27:34):

We need a brick and mortar for them to survive (...) the fence is not working, not in Alexandra.

Participant (27:50):

no, the fence is not working (...)

Participant (27:50):

and the security is not that side (...) .there is security everything but the security doesn't have anything to (...) let's say there is thief to protect (...)

nothing, he is just there to sit the whole day doing nothing. He can't do a round and check if (...) because it's a big garden and he can see far if someone is stealing but he can't do anything also. The security needs resources also, for himself to protect the garden.

Researcher (28:17):

How did you guys get a security ?

Participant (28:22):

The government gave the security for the garden, so the security is paid by the government, not the people that are working in the garden.

Researcher (28:33):

oh okay. because. is there multiple small gardens where you are?

Participant (28:41):

No it's just a big (...) just one big garden.

Researcher (28:42):

Okay, any other thoughts?

Participant (28:57):

the other thing maybe transport, if we can get to maybe a small bakkie [truck]. If we are going to market, maybe we can use (...) we can use to tour on our garden (...) to pick up the stock and go sell there and the transport can help us all. Not for one (...) .not for one garden because if you can stop here, take the smaller stock you money is going to be finished on transport (...) I think that can work for us (...) all of us.

Multiple Participants (29:21):

mmm, ya, ya

Participant (29:41):

and another suggestion (...) in extension seven, there far. There is a guy goes within a trolley *neh* and sells vegetables (...) . to us it doesn't come (...) for the people who are lazy to go to the mall or to the garden to come and buy. I was telling my mother, we should find a trolley and put our veg and then somebody must go around (...) that way you are making an income and you not spending anything (...) it's just the trolley. And then because people, are lazy to go to go to the mall. So when you come with the trolley know they are going to buy, so it is the suggestion to everybody, if they can do that it's a means of income because there by extension 7 there is a guy going with a trolley selling veggies. Then there's another way to make an income.

Researcher (30:35):

Or like a bakkie that goes around (…)

Participant (30:35):

I think a bakkie can work

Participant (30:38):

we selling once a month (…) it's not work everyday (…) if each and every garden you know and we go to market. Then we just make this spinach then we writing down. This garden we got so much, this garden we got so much

Multiple Participants (31:02):

indistinct chatter

Participant (31:02):

Because what I do on my garden (…) I sell it to my parents. They buy from me because I cannot like give it for free because we are fundraising with our garden (…) So whatever they need the mint (…) the the…whatever they need in my garden they buy because they're sponsoring they are donating for their centre (…) that's how I do my garden (…) I'm not selling to the public, only for my parents.

Researcher (31:20):

the parents of the kids?

Participant (31:31):

Yes.

Researcher (31:31):

Okay, okay. did you want to say something?

Participant (31:35):

I wanted to say the biggest opportunity it's umm (…) .have a industry to establish because all these issues, problems, challenges. They belonged to an industry they cannot do everything on their own. Because remember something that eh (…) the reason for them to be in the garden, it was to make money so that they can feed their families. But if there's no support from the government, from the state, it's a problem because there is budgets for what they want to do but then that money doesn't reach them (…) you see

Participant (32:14):

it's not utilized (…)

Participant (32:14):

(…) so another thing like in Alex, Alex it's very politically motivated. So like Alexandra Greening Route it's a role it's coming from the tourism perspective . We are also coming plough a seed, Alexander Greening Route cannot take the whole responsibility of the gardens but in the community I again, I think there must be an awareness programs because number one *neh* when coming to adding to a problem they have (…) it's dumping in front of the gardens and then at the same time, eh, where the pain is coming from it's when they don't have anything like as she was saying when there's funerals they are coming to ask for donations. So they're sort of like, eh, an education that must go to again for the community in terms of those spaces and also respecting the people that are working within the gardens. So but the biggest opportunity that we have is to make sure that we develop this is an industry

because you have people who deal with transport, you'll have people who deal with trainees, people who deal with security. So for now as a gardener you have to take care of this space, you have to water the garden, you have to be the security, you have to harvest you have to go and sell, we have to market (…) you cannot do those things on your own. So that's the biggest problem alone (…) administration on it's own. So if you can get our administration right, because now we don't have an office. Where we can say if you have a complaint, you must go. Because the same person that they're talking about is the person that was assigned to say if you have a problem you can go to that office. So that's like (…) on Saturday we met, we also spoke about the same issue, and then the problems is still the same (…) there is no assistance and all that stuff but then this sister she is right to say (…) we are the resources on our own because number one if you are able to say let's take out money and contribute to our self. So which means there is a cost it's just that said we just have to do it more…maybe on a larger scale (…) coming to registrations they were right. They were encourage to register cooperatives and stuff and at the end of the day it's a problem again. You see (…) So even now like there plus minus, 1 billion rand that is seated that they must access. but that information they don't give it to the (…) they won't disseminate that information and they know once they apply again their applications for some reasons they won't be successful and then the same people that must help them they are the government officials who are assigned to help them but then when they are talking about food and trees in a private sector (…) it's a private sector (…) just like (…) they also want to make money in the process. So we cannot really count on them but then why we keep our mentioning government because most those spaces, they belong to government. They must give us lease agreements, they must make sure that we take of those spaces and support us but then none of the things that are happening. But through your institutions like your Wits and other people its like were we are getting courage and then we are getting confidence to say, let's go back to the garden you are our hope actually (…) but then if it was government we should have left those gardens long time ago.

Researcher (36:29):

Ya, ya so just I think we can wrap up unless anyone else wants to bring anything important.

Participant (36:38):

I want to say something (…) another thing is.

Participant (36:38):

Maybe if we can be like hands on together, maybe we have a meeting with the counsellor, we give him a due date (…) we want this (…) we write whatever we want then we tell him, in this date we want this because he is the person who can help us for now. We cannot go anyway. He's the only person who can help us. So if we don't force him to do it, he'll never do it. If you come once, you don't come again (…) he won't do it, we must force him to do it. He must do his job, he is not doing his job, yes.

Participant (37:11):

And another thing, as they are saying (…) not the say the money it's not coming out (…) it is. It is coming out. Hence, there's a security there (…) the money is resourced out but where is it going? It's coming out but where is it going? Because that security company (…) it is a security company (…) it is a tender whereby the place, different securities in different gardens. It's not only in Alexandra, we've got a lot of gardens. So the money is coming out to the same pocket, but where, to who (…) so that's the things we need to know.

Participant (37:46):

If we are going to dig deeper it's going to be a war (…) so let's not make it a war, let's just help each other with the counsellor (…) yes it's going to be a war (…)

Multiple Participants (37:46):

[indistinct chatter].

Participant (37:46):

Yes! If they going to dig deeper it's going to be a war. they going to fight and burn things, we don't to burn things. We just want to go to the counsellor and make him do his job! We must make him do his job! Then we will be okay because (…)

Participant (38:19):

That's war! That a smaller war.

Researcher (38:19):

Okay, okay. We will talk about peace and war after [laughter] Okay, so last round I'm just going to go around if you guys have any last thoughts about (…) I heard you there is very limited resources, but any last thoughts about resources that are there and that you need and just everyone so everyone get something to say right.

Participant (38:41):

Oh yeah, you know what? I can just see something about what she is saying counsellors have been there all the years but they haven't, they didn't even do a thing to help us. We have been struggling (…) in Lenin drive we have been there for 13 years of our lives and when they say we should (…) you know the essence of cooperatives (…) when we started they said it is to alleviate poverty but it's not because we are taking out the money from our pockets. The money that we sell, we must go buy seeds, hire people to come in (…) you know immediately after December everybody was not there, if you can see the L gardens. Oh my goodness me! If you can see the weeds, it's like a mad house. So everyone there we just had a meeting that were must contribute R100 so that you should get people to come take out those weeds. The place is dirty, it's no longer green. So can you imagine but there is money from the government where is it going to, who is it helping? We need answers, if we go into that and go and try to find out (…) it's a problem. Alex, Alex, you know Alex with all of their *tsotsi* [thieves].

Participant (39:46):

In our garden, I never saw the counsellor to come and see what we are doing and what we are selling. The only thing is instruction. They don't know where did we get the seeds, what happening in the garden, that's the only thing I can tell you because really there is nothing more than that because we are all the same, struggling every time.

Participant (39:46):

In our garden, we got a big problem (…) we are facing a big problem, there are people now who are building houses inside our garden. We report, there is no one that is taking any action, and those houses not they are coming in towards the garden.

Participant (41:07):

I have nothing to say sorry.

Researcher (41:07):

I think by the time I get here then you can (…)

Participant (41:11):

No, I will pass [laugher].

Participant (41:11):

Umm (…) I think the government is, it's, it's, it's, you know, we are in that place between the hard place and the rock every time. The thing is the government comes election they will assist us after elections we are done. Every time when they assist us, it's when we need to vote after that, it's all over. We've been puppets, it's enough. We are human beings, we are not robots, we understand that, that Rome wasn't built in a day, we understand that but you don't play with our hearts and minds. I mean really, it's straining is too over whelming. Especially, these people they are old. I mean they are getting old, they are not getting younger. How long are they going to survive? How long? We need really we need a break though, really! If it's not done the

way she's saying if it's not done, it's not going to be done. All counsellors are supposed to sitting here. We need to sit with all, not only one counsellor because it involves all the counsellors, when they sit in the meetings, they are saying they are helping the community and it's a lie (…) so that's the problem that we have amongst our communities. This is what we are facing every year, every day, every second, every minute. This is what we're facing.

Participant (42:35):

The thing we are having a problem with is with our manager. If some people come and they want to help us, she just stop them…She said no, I didn't have anything to do with you so you must come with something (…) why is this? If you are doing something like vegetable what what (…) we must meet her and tell her and know they doesn't want to.

Researcher (43:05):

She stops the people from coming?

Participant (43:09):

If only they can meet our needs (…) we don't have security, we don't have water, you understand. They are many things we are short of, we don't have sheep nets (…) I can talk the whole day (…) they can only just meet our needs.

Participant (43:23):

Me I see, maybe help we can get from this CWP [Community works program] they can help us those because we other one being old, you can give us maybe three or four people to help us because that one maybe we can make help us and we don't pay because they are already there.

Participant (44:34):

We can umm (…) maybe call this counsellor and address the issue of the garden next time so that we can (…) mmm.

Researcher (44:34):

Nothing? If you like her and you think then maybe you can say something.

Participant (44:42):

I want to say that other said, we must call CPW to come and help us. Yes, we can call them to come. Maybe we can get, I don't know a sponsor who can give out lunch maybe if they come and work. They know after a certain time, they eat because you cannot work on a empty stomach. And another thing maybe we can find someone (…) you know those things that can scare the birds? They mustn't come and eat.

Participant (45:11):

scarecrow.

Participant (45:11):

maybe if we get somebody who can built it for us like donation in the gardens, that will be a help for the gardens

Researcher (45:39):

nothing? you sure? you sure? did you think?

Participant (45:47):

No, I don't have a problem - it's just that everybody has been saying something so I just feel like whatever I wanted to say they are saying the same thing.

Participant (45:47):

Okay, okay, do you also feel the same.

Participant (45:47):

yes.

Researcher (45:47):

okay great thank you. I'm just going to end this

Appendix D – Permission Letters



Dear University of Witwatersrand,

As the Programme Manager at Alexandra Greening Route, I give Schlain Bhayla (student number 1243537) permission to undertake research about social capital with our gardeners.

Schlain approach me about a research project for her Master in Management degree where she would like to undertake research on Alexandra Greening Route.

I am happy for Schlain to undertake research with our gardeners where she will speak to gardeners that are part of the Alexandra Greening Route about their resources and experiences in the various gardens. Schlain has committed to following all the required processes and procedures outline by the University of Witwatersrand during her research project.

Should you have any questions please contact me on 084 056 5331

Regards

Paul Maluleke

Project Director

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Google: Alexandra Greening Route for more information

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND JOHANNESBURG

WITS SCHOOL OF GOVERNANCE

28.11.2019

Dear Alexandra Greening Route Member,

Schlain Bhayla, Master of Management student at the University of Witwatersrand – School of Governance (student number 1243537), has received approval from the research panel to undertake research on social capital in Alexandra Greening Route. As such, Schlain will follow all the ethical guidelines as outlined by the University of Witwatersrand when undertaking this research. Participation in this research is voluntary and confidential.

Should you have any concerns or comments please do not hesitate to contact research supervisors Dr. Darlene Miller (darlene.miller@wits.ac.za) or Erin McCandless (erin.mccandless@wits.ac.za).

Warm regards,

Dr. Darlene Miller

Prof. Erin McCandless

Appendix E – Coding Frame

Resource Generator Codes

Question Number	Answer Option	Code in SPSS
2	**Gender**	
	Female	1
	Male	2
	Choose not to answer	3
	Missing	0
3	**Nationality**	
	South African	1
	Zimbabwean	2
	Mozambican	3
	Batswana	4
	Other: Please specify	5
	Missing	0
4	**Country of birth**	
	South African	1
	Other: Please specify	2
	Missing	0
5	**How many people live in your household?**	
	I live alone	1
	2	2
	3	3
	4	4
	5	5
	6	6
	7	7
	8	8
	9	9

	10	10
	More than 10: please specify:	11
	Missing	0
6	**What is your highest level of education?**	
	Primary school	1
	Some high school	2
	Completed matric (high school/equivalent)	3
	TVET Collect Certificate	4
	Diploma	5
	Degree	6
	Postgraduate: Please specify:	7
	Missing	0
7	**What is your marital status?**	
	Single	1
	Married	2
	Living with boyfriend/girlfriend but not married	3
	Divorced	4
	Windowed	5
	Missing	0
8	**What is your employment status?**	
	Employed full-time	1
	Employed part-time	2
	Self-employed	3
	Unemployed	4
	Missing	0
10	**Which kind of garden do you belong to?**	
	Cooperative	1
	Group that is not registerd as a cooperative as yet	2

	I am the only person in my garden	3
	My garden is a family garden	4
	I do not belong to any garden	5
	Other: Please specify	6
	Missing	0
12	**Resouce Generator**	
	Yes	1
	No	2
	Missing	0
	Acquaintance	1
	Friend	2
	Family member	3
	N/A	4
	Missing	0