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HOPE AS A CRITICAL RESOURCE FOR SMALL SCALE FARMERS IN MPUMALANGA

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Abstract

I contrast formal institutional structures that are part of water resources management policy and practice with more fluid 'outside' spaces that I claim are more apt for participatory engagement around food production. I link these ideas to a discussion on hope. I make three distinct contributions. First the paper expands on the theoretical concerns of the Capability Approach by bringing to the fore the linkages between subjective well-being and emotions. The paper thus connects the Capability Approach and discourses of affect and emotions explicit. The Capability Approach (CA) is a helpful entry point into the idea of hope in particular and emotions in general. Second, I claim that emotions are of public concern and that they are embedded structurally. In these spaces the dimension of power is crucial in determining the nature of the emotions that are experienced, and there is a connection between hope and power. I argue that emotions mediate and inform social action and are a function of social processes. Third, I affirm that in the essentially technical and masculinised world of water, rural women farmers are more likely to experience positive feelings, such as self-esteem, hope, pride and dignity, in informal 'outside' spaces. Within the context of an ethics of care, the idea of 'particularism' places value on concrete circumstances and individual experience and the incorporation of emotions and compassion into a social justice discourse. I propose that hope be considered amongst a range of mental states contributing to valuable and complex social functionings that are relevant for assessing poverty and human development. Looking at emotional life might help answer the question: what makes people do what they do – and whether and in what ways they take on (or do not take on) board opportunities that present themselves? The article concludes that hope is a mental state that helps command commodities and helps achieve functionings. As such hope is an input as important as seeds and fertilizer for small-scale farming.

Keywords: capability approach, emotions, social justice, power, public space, water resources management

La esperanza como un recurso para pequeños agricultores en Mpumalanga

Resumen

En este trabajo comparo instituciones formales para la gestión del agua con espacios externos y fluidos. Propongo que este tipo de espacios son más adecuados para el abordaje participativo alrededor de temas como la producción de alimentos. Este planteamiento se encuentra conectado con la discusión sobre la esperanza para hacer tres contribuciones. Primero,

el artículo desarrolla los postulados teóricos del enfoque de capacidades (EC) mediante la exposición de las conexiones entre el bienestar subjetivo y las emociones. Posteriormente, se precisan las conexiones entre el enfoque de capacidades y los discursos del afecto y las emociones. Se propone que este enfoque de capacidades (EC) permite el abordaje de la noción de esperanza y de las emociones en general. En segundo lugar, señalo que las emociones son de interés público y que están conectadas estructuralmente. En estos espacios, las relaciones de poder influencian las emociones, por lo que se observa una conexión entre la esperanza y el poder. Propongo que las emociones influencian los procesos sociales y también son influenciadas por estos. Tercero, afirmo que la gestión del agua está dominada por factores técnicos y masculinos, por lo que las mujeres campesinas tienen mayores posibilidades de experimentar sentimientos positivos, como esperanza, orgullo y dignidad, en espacios informales y externos. En el contexto de la ética del cuidado, la noción de lo particular le otorga valor a las circunstancias concretas, la experiencia individual y a la incorporación de las emociones al discurso de la justicia social. Propongo que la esperanza sea considerada entre los estados mentales que contribuyen a los procesos sociales que se utilizan para evaluar la pobreza y el desarrollo humano. El análisis de la vida emocional puede contribuir a responder la pregunta sobre los factores que determinan el comportamiento humano y las razones por las que las personas aprovechan o desaprovechan las oportunidades que se les presentan. El artículo concluye que la esperanza es un estado mental que favorece el buen funcionamiento de la sociedad. De esta manera, la esperanza es tan importante para la agricultura en pequeña escala como las semillas y el fertilizante.

Palabras clave: enfoque de capacidades, emociones, justicia social, poder, espacio público, manejo del agua.

1. Unfreedom and hopelessness

In Samuel Beckett's play *Act Without Words* (1957) the lone central character is flung onto a bare stage under mercilessly harsh light, from which there is no escape. He is flung back onto the stage each time he tries to leave. He is systematically offered a number of items, which are always withdrawn the moment he reaches for them. The audience sees that, among his many sufferings, he is excruciatingly thirsty. Over and over again he tries to take the carafe of water that is lowered to him, but it is always withdrawn the moment he reaches for it. In the final telling moment, when the carafe of water is lowered to him for the last time, and remains dangled close to him, he no longer makes any attempt to move towards it. He sits in silence, looking at his hands.

The central character in Beckett's "Act Without Words" is a metaphor, an archetype of 'unfreedom' and hopelessness representing a character who is completely 'unfree' in every sense of the word, prevented even from committing suicide. A rope given to him is taken away as soon as the character makes a noose with it. The image from Beckett's play is universal and has no locality. But I am using this image to hone in on a real character in a particular place.

The place is the Ehlanzeni District Municipality, Mpumalanga Province, South Africa and the character is Ithmeba[1]. Ithemba treads slowly uphill towards her food garden. She carries a hoe over her shoulder. Sometime later, she reaches the place where she will spend another day working in the field – under a baking-hot sun until it sets in the late afternoon and she returns down the hill, once again a long walk back to her home. Her back is curved, her feet cracked, engrained with dust from the field and the road. Ithemba tells us that there isn't enough water in her dwelling to soak them when she gets home in the evenings and not washing feet is a trade-off that ensures that there is water to cook and to drink for her household. She'll make her meal, go to bed and be ready to rise again with the rooster's crow, heading out to her field with purpose for another similar day caring for her crops.

Since the rollout of water reform policy in South Africa (in particular the National Water Act of 1998 calling for multi-stakeholder engagement in water resources management), farmers like Ithemba are

1 Ithemba is a pseudonym and means 'Hope' in Zulu and SiSwati

invited to take part in formal spaces such as water committees. Ithemba is head of a farmer's group called the Vukani Women's Group. She has been invited to take part in a new structure pivoting around the topic of water in her village, but she says 'I don't have time to sit and talk'. She agrees to sit on a water committee only because she feels that she is making a contribution on behalf of other farmers from Vukani but iterates that 'meetings are for men and people who like to talk a lot' and 'I feel lazy' sitting there talking about those things I can't understand'. This is what Baglieri (2012) refers to as an apt and intelligent reaction to the perception of things making sense on her own terms rather than having an expected response to things. Women as part of the Ehlanzeni[2] Women's Group meet on their own terms:

> It [the meetings] helps a lot because we sit down and give each other advice. One will say which way should we take, and one will say, maybe the short way. Whenever we have our meetings we sit under this tree. We give each other advice whenever there is a problem. I'll keep quiet now – someone else talk…. We really get inspired (interview Ithemba, Ehlanzeni August 2012)

The context of this study is 'An Integrated Rainwater Harvesting Programme' (IRWHP) that focused on water and food security in the Mpumalanga Province of South Africa. IRWHP built four technologically appropriate and cost effective rainwater harvesting solutions to water scarcity in four villages. The research project started with a baseline study where 832 households were sampled in four villages.[3] The survey was designed to capture intangible assets such as trust, hope, feelings of belonging and also control over one's own life as a proxy for empowerment. The qualitative component of the study was comprised of semi-structured interviews with key informants and focus groups with the Vukani Women's Group as well as small farmer groups in the four villages.[4] The survey findings profiled communities with multiple deprivations or 'unfreedoms.'[5] The average income in Ehlanzeni, for instance, is 750 rand per month ($US 57), the average education is grade 5, there are no taps or toilets in any of the dwellings, 27% of the population have HIV/AIDS, and there are large numbers of child headed households. Because emotions mediate and inform social action, and are a function of social processes, development can be enriched through a deeper analysis of emotional life. I draw on ideas of social justice and well-being within the context of the Capability Approach (CA), a broad conception of human wellbeing.[6] In this article I contrast formal institutional structures that are part of the state agenda with the more fluid 'outside' spaces which, I claim, have value as spaces that are instrumental in securing food and also have intrinsic value as spaces where people are more likely to feel good about themselves. I link these ideas to a discussion on hope. In so doing I make three distinct contributions. First the paper expands on the theoretical concerns of the Capability Approach by bringing to the fore the linkages between subjective well being that are part of a broader on-going debate within the CA framework, and emotions. The paper lodges the Capability Approach within discourses of affect and emotions. Next, as with my earlier work on shame, like Zemblyas (2011), I claim that emotions are of public concern and that they are embedded structurally where the dimension of power plays a pivotal role in determining the nature of these emotions. Thirdly, I affirm that in the essentially technical and masculinised world of water, women such as Ithemba, are more likely to experience positive feelings, such as self-esteem, hope, pride and dignity, in informal 'outside' spaces. This has significant implications for policy and development where the focus is largely on formal spaces. Development processes can be enriched through a deeper analysis of emotional life. Hope is a mental state that helps command commodities and helps achieve valued functionings. My concern is with the notion of emancipatory hope where I ask the question, what makes people do what they do? As Bozalek et al (2013) claim, there is an

2 Pseudonym

3 See also Owen, G and Goldin, J (2015) and Ncube, G (2013)

4 Narratives from focus group and semi-structured interviews with Ithemba anchor the discussion that follows.

5 Khosla, R. and Samuel, J. (2005)

6 Comim, Qizilbash, Alkire 2008, Sen 1999, Sen 2012, Nussbaum 2011, Clark 2002

important distinction between critical hope[7] and naïve hope. Megan Boler claims that 'critical hope entails a responsibility – a willingness to be fully alive' (2013:36). Critical hope is distinct from a vague pervasive dream that promotes generic forms that lack substance. Critical hope is a driver for social action. I also make a link between risk taking and hope. The article concludes with six main points that have emerged from discussions presented in the paper.

2. Theoretical underpinnings of 'a good life'

I find the Capability Approach (CA) helpful as an entry point into emotions in general and the idea of hope in particular. My purpose in the discussion that follows on the CA and on subjective well-being, is to make these linkages more explicit, considering how 'intangible' goods constitute a 'good life.' As an alternative framework for thinking about well-being, the focus of the CA is on human capabilities or the substantive freedoms people have reason to value, giving primacy to these ideas of freedom and opportunity rather than the distribution of material goods. The main premise of Amartya Sen's (1999) *Development as Freedom* is that individuals either achieve or fail to realise important freedoms due to social, political and economic constraints or opportunities. The CA takes us beyond the simple economic metrics of human well being (resources and utility) with its focus on opportunities (capabilities) and choosing valued doings and beings (functionings). In recognition of the limits of current measures of community well-being, many of which fail to capture comprehensively all of the multi-dimensional aspects of poverty and development (Sen:1985, 1999; Clark:2002), economists working on commodities and capabilities within this framework (Alkire: 2002, Alkire and Foster:2004, Zavaleta:2002; Clark:2002) have identified capabilities and earmarked critical 'missing dimensions' for measuring human development. Recent contributions have, in particular, emphasized three missing dimensions: empowerment, physical security and shame. Human emotions are implicit in all three missing dimensions.[8]

Human affect[9] is particularly evident in the work of Nussbaum (2001) who lists emotions as being one of the essential components of human wellbeing.[10] By way of contrast, in development discourses, manifestations of the affective lives of people have been largely sidelined.[11] There is only a precarious place for human affect in a quintessentially technological world, where development or aid is often limited simply to technological intervention. Even when there is a focus on institutional and management reform not much attention is given to the quality of life within institutional spaces. There are exceptions, interrogated by several theorists working within the CA framework, for instance, Clark (2005), Unterhalter (2007) and Robeyns (2002, 2009), whose field of investigation is education, as well as other recent authors such as Frediani (2007) who deals with housing, Mehrotra (2007) who focuses explicitly on HIV/AIDS and on the quality of life within health organisations, or Prah Rugger (2012) on health care resource allocation.

The theoretical framework that grounds this discussion is aligned with what Robeyns in her closing presentation at the 2011 Human Development and Capability Conference in Delft coined "Capabilitarianism. " This term aims to open up more space within the CA to emphasise social justice and ethics and invites scholars to expand the framework to suit their own work. I have found it helpful to develop the framework of the CA by drawing on the work of human geography with authors such as: Nigel Thrift (2004) writing on intensities of feeling; feminist geographers such as Bondi (2003, 2005); feminist philosophers such as Marion Iris-Young (1999, 2006) on recognition and misrecognition; feminist political

7 Like Horton (2013) we take 'serious' hope to be a clustering concept that seemingly melds with a family of related notions, words like emancipate, imagine, transform, flourish which are all verbs that connote action and imply agency

8 The Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) has identified five missing dimensions of poverty that deprived people cite as important in their experiences of poverty (quality of work, empowerment, physical safety, social connectedness and psychological wellbeing

9 The terms affect, emotion, feeling, sentiment are semantic equivalents

10 Nussbaum's first list in 1990 did not include emotions but in 2000 this was added to her list

11 A notable exception is Visions of Development, Clark (2002)

ecologists such as Harris (2006) and Sultana (2011); Wolff and de Shalit (2007) on Advantage and Disadvantage; Nancy Fraser (2009) on justice; Michalinos Zemblyas and Bozalek's (2010) work on emotions; and Tronto's (1993) contributions around the ethics of care. The ethics of care recognizes the importance of emotions in moral deliberation. From a care perspective, responsiveness and attentiveness are important as guides for how best to meet particular needs, rather than generalized principles which are applicable to all (Tronto, 1993; Held, 2004). In line with this idea of 'particularism,' the ethics of care places value on concrete circumstances and on the incorporation of emotions and compassion into social justice discourse.

The dimension of power is crucial to our discussion of emotion. Young (1990) cautions that distributional theorists of justice disagree on how to approach power. Joanna Rowlands (1997) makes the helpful distinction between 'power over' which is a controlling power and 'power to' or 'with.' 'Power to' is a generative power and creates new possibilities and actions without domination. For this reason it has close links to hope. Rowlands sees 'power with' as having a sense of the whole which is greater than the sum of the individuals, especially when a group tackles problems together (1997:13).[12] I see a connection between hope, power and agency. Elsewhere, in my work on shame and trust (Goldin, 2003, 2005), I take up the idea of trust, risk and power. And it is worth noting here that there is a similar relationship among risk, hope and power. Unequal relations of power inhibit trust forming and they can activate shame-based feelings. Someone who does not have power will be unlikely to take risks and will not 'soar', nor will they hope.

Philosophers across the ages have given attention to the non-material. The Greek god Prometheus, for instance, has been seen as a symbol of hope. Kant too can be considered through the lens of hope because of his leadership in the Enlightenment movement and his faith in human progress. Hegel's story is a quest for freedom and hopefulness in society. Marx and Hegel also showed that history 'rather than being a giant jumble of random events represents a hopeful story of human progress' (Bozalek et al 2013). Yet, in 20th century socio-cultural theory, emotions are considered a topic unfit for an analysis of social structures and development and, as argued above, they are largely sidelined. Because of the antipathy between science (masculine) and emotion (feminine), more acute in regimes that are positivist and 'technical' in their focus, emotions are then excluded as 'proper' topics for study. Defined as private they are not usually socially articulated. Dating at least from Darwin's classic study (1872) '*The expression of the emotion in man and animals,*' emotion was studied on the basis of behaviour and displays that are essentially communicative in nature – studies of verbal communication of emotion have only recently begun to emerge.[13] For the rationalist, the emotions are 'if not symptoms of the animal in the human at least disordering and problematic; they are vague and irrational' (Lutz and White 1986: 409).

Social emotions such as embarrassment or shame have been a topic of scrutiny in the works of Scheff (1990), Seligman (2000), Goffman (1959), Goldin (2003, 2005, 2010), Heller (1985) and Lynd (1958), Van Wijnendaele (2011, 2014), among others. Emotions are not, however, systematically linked to power and social structure. In general, social scientists tend to emphasize the cognitive and moral aspects of human experience. Anthropological studies of the emotions have emphasized the ways in which culture frames the outlook of a society and establishes what experiences are permissible or appropriate (Henricks 2012). 'When we have emotions, we are engaged in an attempt to make sense or meaning out of that intersection of possibilities … in such a way we 'read' situations and those readings lead us to subsequent thoughts, feelings and actions' (2012:109). Hope is raised and expectations are focused on possibilities. Yet, as Henricks posits, 'a hopeful person is unsure how these anticipated events will play out. When we are hopeful, we know what we want but we do not know that we will get it' (2012:169). Thrift (2004) considers affect as a 'different kind of intelligence about the world.' Thrift struggles to find a 'stable defi-

12 See also Samman and Santos (2009) and Ibrahim and Alkire (2007) work on Agency and Empowerment. Ibrahim and Alkire provide 27 definitions of empowerment

13 For instance JT Irvine's Language and affect: some cross cultural issues in Lutz and White (1982:423)

nition of affect' and claims that hope is an emotion or affect bearing in mind the problematics in applying a definition of emotion/affect:

> The problem that must be faced straight away is that there is no stable definition of affect. It can mean a lot of different things. These are usually associated with words such as emotion and feeling and a consequent repertoire of terms such as hatred, shame, envy, jealousy, fear, disgust, anger embarrassment sorrow, grief, anguish, pride, love, happiness, joy, hope, wonder (Thrift 2004:59).

Bondi examines emotion at the cusp between psychotherapy and feminist geography. She claims that, although the term 'emotion' may not have featured prominently in the work of humanistic geographers, they do call to consider subjective dimensions of human life (2005:435). Humanistic geographers made a concerted effort to focus on how people feel and how they experience everyday life. According to Bondi then, it follows on that humanistic geographers would argue that it is important to bring in experiences of people and to do so by allowing for the inclusion of subjectivity. In so doing, the work of humanistic geographers 'was deeply concerned with feelings evoked by places, whether of love, hate, pleasure, pride, grief, rage, guild, remorse and so on (2005:435).[14] Missing from this list are the attributes of shame and hope that Thrift and others (Goldin 2003, 2010, 2013) capture. It is also important to distinguish between emotions that are individual, subjective and private, and emotions that influence social action. Zemblyas (2011) reminds us, that emotions 'stick' to the body and move from one public (or private) space to another. According to Zemblyas emotions circulate between bodies and are located in movement – they are actions and practices. Hope is one such emotion that mobilises and motivates people to do what they do.

Emotional geographies seek to understand emotions in the context of particular places as it is in particular spaces that they make sense (Zemblyas 2011). People engage or are silent, withdraw, feel discriminated against, are angry, envious or feel shame – in relation to others and in relation to what happens in a particular public space. These emotions reverberate through the systems and create vicious or 'virtuous' cycles (Goldin 2005). Where there are too many historical memories of the Beckett type, the rational choice is to disengage or exit from formal spaces. Social structures don't constrain in the form of visible coercion because theirs is a subtler, less direct accumulation of circumstances that block possibilities for individuals like Ithemba. I contrast these structures to the 'outside' spaces where Ithemba flourishes and is 'fully alive.' I have seen how emotional discourses are produced differently in formal and informal spaces. For me, emotions do, as Zemblyas claims, stick to the body and are carried on the body into new spaces. I am also convinced that formal spaces can stifle 'positive' experiences and that for farmers like Ithemba the 'outside' spaces are more likely to foster and promote intangible assets and have intrinsic value whilst at the same time they are instrumental in protecting tangible goods.

3. Structure as the subject of justice – and as an incubator of hope

I work in the world of water that has a predominantly positivist and rational worldview. One of the key focuses in the water sector has been the new paradigm of integrated water resources management (IWRM) and the building of an institutional and governance framework to support this ideal. Over the past decade, there has been a remarkable amount of time and resources spent on promoting 'suitable' institutions or structures for the application of integrated water resources management.[15] The concept of IWRM has dominated as an all-pervasive dream. Its implementation has proved to be much more difficult

14 Bondi (2003, 2005) claims that psychotherapy's theory of practice has relevance to emotional geographies. We do not explore here the depth and breadth of concerns of emotions and affect introduced by Bondi and that are so relevant in disciplines such as psychology or psychiatry

15 A recent project funded by the Water Research Commission (K5/1971), entitled 'Towards an institutional adequacy index using the multi-dimensional poverty framework,' considered intangible aspects of 'suitability' of water resources management institutional settings

than was expected. For there to be 'suitable' institutions, as proposed by IWRM discourse, not only must local level structures have representatives from a wide spectrum of water user groups, such as the Ehlanzeni Women's Group, but the representatives should be able to make choices, and voice these choices. The new institutional forms call for vigilance to affective contexts because these forms might be corrosive to social justice and could, instead of promoting participation in water resources management, do the reverse by reinstating disadvantage and in the extreme, shame-based feelings.[16] Hegemonic discourses of participation tend to focus on form rather than substance and formal institutions offer generic spaces predominated by discourses about technical aspects of water management, the pipes, weirs, river flows and so forth. As such they are rarely fit for 'private' emotions. This is heightened by the fact that the world of water remains predominantly masculine and technical with agendas driven by engineers rather than social scientists, thus paying very little attention to the emotional life of water users. My work on shame (Goldin 2012, 2008, 2003) shows that unequal relations of power and knowledge have caused people to exit, to be silent or to withdraw from public spaces and that isomorphic spaces, such as those created within the context of IWRM, can end up being incubators for feelings of shame, fear, distrust and so forth.

Issues of power and inequality are public not private concerns; they involve and impact upon community. In the formal spaces constructed for the control, management, use, protection and conservation of water, intangible goods that people carry around in their hearts and heads are seen to be 'messy' and unsuitable topics for scrutiny. In my previous work on trust and shame I looked specifically at formal institutional spaces where agendas were preset and it was technical discourse that propelled the meeting forward. Those who were unfamiliar with this discourse were left behind. Furthermore, as already stated, these types of formal spaces disapprove the unmasking of emotions. My inquiry into hope is motivated by my work within water resources management institutional spaces at multiple scales where people are not engaging in new social spaces as intended and where there are often feelings of despair that leads to withdrawal, silence or exit. If we are interested in social action – the way people engage in public spaces – in this case spaces for multi-stakeholder participation (in the ideal at least), then we ignore emotions at our peril.

The building of an all pervasive official national IWRM dream is far from complete.[17] The dreams of conquering nature – building dams and infrastructure to tame the wild have now been replaced by rhetoric and new 'big discourses' such as that of IWRM. These discourses sweep through the social and geographical landscapes that dominate the water world since the Dublin Principles of 1992[18] with little to no attention to emotions that are evoked in these landscapes. There is an impulse to create a dream and mould a myth of 'community' that supposedly happens through stakeholder engagement where differences don't exist. As we have seen from the discussion above, Bozalek et al (2013) distinguish between critical hope and naïve hope and, as do these authors, I make a clear distinction between discerning or critical hope that propels individuals such as Ithemba to take action, and that myth or all pervasive dream which can have serious political implications because it ignores issues of social justice and power.

4. Emotions in the context of particular places

Multiple emotions such as anger, disgust or hope shape the way in which farmers relate to land and water and they result in engaged or disengaged relationships between stakeholders. These emotions are varied across a broad spectrum of scales and spaces. We see

16 Elsewhere (Goldin 2003, Goldin 2005 and Goldin 2010) I have made the linkages between power and other 'intangible' goods such as trust, difference and

17 For research on this topic see Goldin, J (2013) "An Institutional Adequacy Index using the multi-dimensional poverty framework" WRC Project No K5/1971

18 The four Dublin Principles presented at the World Summit held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 are 1) fresh water is a finite and vulnerable resource, essential to sustain life, development and the environment 2) water development and management should be based on a participatory approach, involving users, planners and policy-makers at all levels 3) women play a central part in the provision, management and safeguarding of water 4) water has an economic value in all its competing uses and should be recognized as an economic good

below a cognitive and emotional response to the small scale farming experience of Ithemba and, importantly, this is the type of experience that happens outside of the 'big' global and hegemonic discourses of IWRM – that is in informal spaces rather than in formal spaces that are all too often controlled by those with power to do so:

> They taught us to water the plot with the grass on top (explains this technique) so that the water doesn't evaporate so quickly. For example, if you water today, on Monday, you can water again on Friday. It's not like when you water in a place like this, the sun might come the following day and the soil get dry. Since we started using the NGO way, last year we are able to reap and eat. We ate from everything that they taught us. We are not finished yet, we are still learning more. We used to plough in one line, thinking that we were wasting the space in the soil, but now we have a way that helps you reap more.

Ithemba is herself robustly individual, and yet a team player. She doesn't expect uniformity of experience or personality in the community meetings. Nonetheless there is a common task of growing crops which commands an egalitarianism of purpose. Women depend on each other for the success of the project – but in line with what we identified as the ethics of care above, there is tolerance for particularism and difference.

> We are still learning. Some people know how to do the plots, and some don't. We become patient with those who don't know. Sometimes I leave my own plot and go and help the others (Ithemba interview: Ehlanzeni August 2011)

Sameness of purpose is reinforced through gatherings infused with spiritual song, fervent prayer, celebration, ritual and hope. There is no limit to the emotional permutations that are intertwined with technological innovation. In this case, the technological intervention works because there *is* an affective process, not as a by-product, but as an integral component in project success. Within this context, I propose that hope is likely to be instrumentally important for water and food security. Differences, otherness, misrecognition, recognition, inclusion/exclusion, pride, and honour/shame binaries reflect the way in which social spaces influence emotional geographies – and vice versa. In contrast to purely cognitive patterns, emotions engage our bodies and ready them for action and they are 'experiences, forms of participative awareness that reflect the concrete, sensuous, and ever-changing aspects of existence' (Henriks 2012:103). In Ithemba's words:

> We are not lazy at all, we like to work. The problem is water. If we had water there would be a lot of trucks coming to take [our]) vegetables to orphanages and hospitals. We can even take the little we grow home to eat with our kids. We get mealies (maize) and nuts. Working together as women has helped us a lot. It helps us physically because our bodies are always weak, but working. We don't lose hope in our garden, we like it a lot. We tried everything, even now our kids are at university because of these arms…until today, as you came and told us to stand up and do it for ourselves we succeeded (saphumelela). We are going to eat a two rand potato (it means you are rich) (laugh)

Ithemba's is not a naïve hope because 'we are going to eat a two rand potato' is a reasonable and reasoned aspiration.

5. Hope as utility

Hope is not groundless, or naïve, but is anchored in something that is feasible, a struggle for achievement. Hope is an adjustment of aspirations to what is seen as possible. Adjusting aspirations can occur in two different ways, 'the first involves adjusting aspirations downwards to reflect disadvantaged circumstances and hardship' whilst the second 'involves adjusting aspirations upwards to reflect new opportunities' (Clark 2012:63).

Although hope is not happiness it is arguably part

of subjective well-being. We need to consider what hope – as distinct from subjective well-being more generally – can contribute to the study of human well-being. It is obviously important to command resources (commodities) but they are simply means to other ends. Well-being is neither the capacity to command resources, nor the ability to just experience utility, because it is the ability to achieve valuable and valued functionings. This means looking beyond standard 'capability' inspired critiques of well-being which are critiques of utility as happiness, desire or choice. The standard view of utilitarianism does, as Clark (2005) claims, provide an incomplete account of human well-being and it cannot be used to gauge human development. On the other hand, the CA is able to address an 'expanded' utility approach that includes subjective well-being such as self-esteem, pride, dignity and so forth.[19]

Utilitarianism resembles the CA in expanding mental states to include self-esteem, dignity, inspiration and hope. This is often forgotten in capability type critiques of utility as happiness. In a series of papers and books dating from the publication of 'Equality of What?' in 1980, Sen has examined the moral and political implications of viewing development in a variety of different spaces, and he outright discards happiness as a metric for well being. "If a starving wreck ravished by famine, buffeted by disease, is made happy through some mental conditioning (say, via the "opium of religion") the person would be seen as doing well on the mental state perspective, but that would be scandalous" (2012:64). Clark (2005) makes the argument for expanding utility to include a range of psychological functions – confidence, peace of mind, feeling relaxed as well as things like hedonistic pleasure and avoiding shame.[20]

When one brings a set of intangible goods into a poverty assessment, deprivation may turn out to be more or less acute overall. For instance, a person may not be deprived in terms of tangible goods (such as a dam, a water pump, food, etc), but may still suffer from multiple emotional deprivations, such as feelings of shame, humiliation or fear. Taking pleasure, in riding a bike, says Sen, helps to facilitate the functioning of moving about. Functionings themselves depend on mental states. Nonetheless, the distinctions between commodities (and their characteristics), human functioning and utility is less robust than Sen implies. For Sen, utility has intrinsic but also instrumental value and helps achieve functionings and is in fact, as Ibrahim and Alkire (2007) state an essential part of good functioning (Clark 2005:1359).

What we have stressed in this section is that neither commodities (opulence)[21] nor utility (happiness or mental states)[22] represent all aspects of human development (Clark 2005), as the former is preoccupied with materiality, while the latter is preoccupied with mental states and subjective wellbeing. A focus simply on commodity, or simply on utility, therefore gives a misguided understanding of well-being.

In this paper we treat hope as an example of a valuable functioning. Like commodities, hope has instrumental and intrinsic importance; it's a means to an end because it has the propensity of mobilizing individuals such as Ithemba, for social action, but it is also an end in itself. Non-material, intangible goods are intrinsic elements of human wellbeing and they affect and are affected by social structures. These intangibles are part of a deep and significant emotional and affective dashboard reflecting despair, anger, envy, fear, shame, trust, and hope. As Lutz and White note, emotions can be seen as 'markers of the points of tension (or fulfillment) generated by its structures' (1986:421)

A ceremony of hopefulness and in CA language, an enhancement of 'beings and doings' reverberate in the words that follows:

> We would go around preaching, as if we were preaching the gospel, house to house.

19 See also Sen's paper on Plural Utility (1980 – 1981)

20 See also Ibrahim and Alkire (2007) for discussion on the expanded utilitarianism and Clark (2005) and Clark (2013)

21 Clark (2005) also notes that the ability to command resources is at the centre of Sen's (1981) pioneering analysis of poverty, starvation and famine

22 Sen argues the three most common interpretations of utility are happiness, desire fulfilment and choice which all provide unsatisfactory accounts of development (Clark 2005)

> We were appealing to all the woman in the village to come for a meeting where we would discuss our living conditions. We even invited men. Every woman we told, told others, and we also continued to knock from door to door and within no time everyone knew about the meeting (Interview Ehlanzeni Women's Group 2010 from Ncube 2013)

In summary then, hope is a mental state that helps facilitate action and as an opportunity (capability) helps achieve functionings (doings and beings). The idea of opportunity and freedom engrained in the CA also resonates in the two extracts that follow:

> When they look at us, they think we are playing. But when they see the results, they will be more motivated to get involved, just like now, we have 60 children working in our garden. They come and help us with the work that we do. The only thing that will stop us, is to be sick or die (interview Ithemba, Ehlanzeni August 2011)

> We are going to sell a lot, you are going to see cars coming to buy. If this water arrives you should come back and see what we are doing. The crates will be filled with vegetables (interview Ithemba, Ehlanzeni August 2011)

The case of Ithemba, and others like her, graphically illustrate the importance of emotional states such as hope – even if these notions are difficult to conceptualise and apply in the real world. Martha Nussbaum in *Women and Human Development* says, that 'we probably should not encourage people to persist in unrealistic aspirations … such as wanting to fly like a bird' (2000:137 in Clark 2012, p. 9). Conradie (2013) takes up this concern in her work on aspirations in Khayelitsha, noting that about a third of the group that she worked with 'seemed overly ambitious for their circumstances and personal abilities' (2013:216). It may not be prudent to set aside questions such as 'what is possible and what is improbable' or 'what is desirable and what is feasible', even if there is scope for arguing about the appropriate answer to such questions. Clark (2012), in his discussion on Elster, considers the idea that aspirations adjust to 'what is seen as possible' (2012:62). What does need to be taken on board, however, is that 'hope' can play a constructive and highly important role in promoting human well-being and development by propelling people into action and realising agency – even if the 'hopes' and 'aspirations' in question might at times be unfounded. For sure Ithemba's persistent dream mimics the flying bird. Hers is a world of possibility and opportunity. The role that hope plays in facilitating development merits further investigation.

I move away from Ithemba for a moment to the words of Matshepo Kumbane, a legendary farmer who pioneered rain water harvesting, and its role in providing food security for rural women in South Africa. Here again, it is hope that drives Kumbane to action. Matshepo's approach is unabashedly 'emotional' and she is infused with critical hope – nothing naïve about it as it embraces the struggle to achieve and move forward. The following extract is pertinent:

> "We can walk this road together. And I am saying I have walked the road of hunger and poverty and persecution and all those things. The same as all of you have been walking this road in different ways. And I am saying, here, I have got no gold and silver. Neither do I have any bags of mielie meal, nor a bag of sugar, nor a loaf of bread. I have nothing. I have got ten fingers. I have got a very strong wind that pushes my emotions out. To say, I see you my dear; you are like me. I am stretching my hand to hold your hand. And I ask if you can accompany me and go and share and see what I am able to do to silence the drums that are beating and confusing me and disempowering me everyday. So I am focussed. And I must march to the road that I say is never ending. And I have got a vision out there that poverty can be tackled. We can do it, and all of us can do it. If only we start" (Matshepo 2009).

6. Emancipatory hope

Looking at emotional life might help answer the question what makes people do what they do – why do they take on (or not take on) board opportunities that present themselves? Why is it that some farmers, like Ithemba or Matshepo will take on the risky business of farming and be prepared to walk two kilometres a day to their field and work the land, while others will not? What motivates individuals? Some people do things because they are angry (mobilization to action), because they are fearful that they might be scorned (withdrawal), because they are shameful (exit), or hopeful (aspire upwards) and so forth. There are any number of permutations between action and emotion/affect. Human affect helps us understand the way in which people move in and out of public and private spaces and the way they feel about these spaces and the tangible goods that are part of their lives, the institutions, dams, the food gardens, the borehole pumps and irrigation canals etc.

Let me contextualise this discussion within the specific project, the IRWHP, of securing water for food that has been introduced above. The IRWHP harvesting project built low cost rain water harvesting appropriate technology that included 2 earth dams of 1000 cubic meters each, a roof harvesting technology that captured water from the roof of an abattoir and an unusual rock harvesting technology. What is crucial is not simply the construction of the 1000 m^3 earth dam, nor the in-field harvesting and soil conservation technologies, seed provision, the vetiver grass to improve soil contours or/and mulching, that together boost the value of crop per drop but other intangible goods. There are hybrids of emotion that are connectors for technological innovation and vice versa. The crux here is what has happened in the affective and the agency enhancing opportunities that the project has brought for women. As Ibrahim and Alkire (2007:1343) posit, this rainwater harvesting project shows that "any plausible concept of development must take account of a person's physical condition as well as his/her mental state". The conversion of commodities (and their characteristics) into personal achievements of functionings is subject to a range of personal and social factors and includes achievements of subjective well-being such as hope. I see hope as a resource – as important as seeds and fertilizer as an input – for small-scale farming. Effective water harvesting is only partially about technology but also about growing co-operative strategies around the use of the resource - fostering hope between and amongst water users. Co-operative use can extend the usage of a limited water supply and ensure its agricultural productivity.

7. Conclusion

With hope, present action is premised on an expectation that there will be a future advantageous response. The particular narratives presented above illustrate an engagement with agrarian concerns outside of the formal state machinery where the emotional life of small-scale farmers is largely stifled. Gender, class and race are materialized through emotional discourses. By giving life to emotional geography in particular places and spaces one can open up new pathways for thinking about power and social justice in development discourse. Ithemba's discourses have not been shaped by new governmental institutional forms, but by 'outside' spaces and places where there is a more equal distribution of power and where one notable emotion that has 'stuck to the body' is hope. The logic of distribution explicitly or implicitly conceives power as the kind of stuff possessed by individuals in greater or lesser amounts (Iris Young 1990:31). This is pertinent to our discussion on hope because within the formal structures, the powerful reproduce their power and the powerless are more likely to feel hopelessness.

In conclusion six points are worth stating: firstly it is risky to be hopeful and there is a no-risk/no-hope equation. Hope, being essentially risky widens the potential for action, someone who is risk-averse is unlikely to command hope. Secondly, as Lutz and White (1986) claim, emotions have been granted a cultural status and thus they allow for a comparison and translation between systems of emotions in different societies. Thirdly, emotions mediate social action and arise in social situations. In order to understand social behavior within the context of development it is helpful to study emotions and the way they inform social action and shape the develop-

ment agenda. Emotions are embedded structurally and they cannot be distributed as they are a function of relations and processes. Fourthly, emotions carry implications for future thought and action. As such they are indicators of development processes. Fifthly, the core of the attempt to understand the emotion lies in ethnographic description of the emotional lives of people in their particular social contexts and lastly hope is a mental state that helps command commodities and as an opportunity (capability) helps achieve functionings (doings and beings). As such it is an important attribute to be considered when engaging with an expanded Capability Approach.

As Davidson and Milligan (2004) state, the imagined or projected substance of our future experience will alter in relation to our current emotional state. This means that the dimension of power, recognition and misrecognition is critical, because misrecognition or disadvantage can stifle hope. Hope soars in the 'no-wall-room' where differences are recognized and where there are more equal relations of power. These spaces are in contrast to the dis-organised formal structures struggling to take root and often generating feelings of despair. Identifying which spaces reflect 'high' hope or 'low' hope is one way to gauge issues of power, recognition, advantage, opportunity and freedom. Sen does not endorse a list – and like Sen I agree that this could be paternalistic. Therefore I do not advocate that hope be put onto some cast-in- stone list or mausoleum of attributes for human well being. I propose that it be considered amongst a range of mental states contributing to valuable and complex social functionings that are relevant for assessing poverty and human development. Looking at emotional life might help answer the question what makes people do what they do – why do they take on (or not take on) board opportunities that present themselves? As discussed above, emotions mediate and inform social action and are a function of social processes. Hope is an input as important as seeds and fertilizer for small-scale farming.

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