

Local Food Governance in the City of Johannesburg

By

Neo Kimberly Andronica Madime

**Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master
of Arts in Political Science in the Faculty of Political Sciences,
University of Pretoria.**

September 2022

Declaration

I, **Neo Kimberly Andronica Madime**, hereby declare that the dissertation titled *Local Food Governance in the City of Johannesburg* is my work. Where secondary material is used, this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced per university requirements. I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of university policy and its implications in this regard.

It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at this or any other university.

Neo Kimberly Andronica Madime

Pretoria, 2022

Ethics Statement

The author, whose names appear on the title page of this dissertation, has obtained, for the research described in this work, the applicable research ethics approval.

The author declares that she has observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's Code of ethics for researchers and Policy guidelines for responsible research.

Abstract

Food issues are complex and cut across several spheres. Food policy in South Africa tends to be fragmented, incoherent, and top-down with mandates spread across the three spheres of government. Despite this, research and analysis tend to focus on a national government level, ignoring the possible contributions that local level governance can have. The fuller involvement of the local level in food governance could help encourage a bottom-up, inclusive culture towards governance and ultimately improve the effectiveness of food policy.

This study investigates local food governance in South Africa, using Johannesburg as a case study. Particular attention will be paid to three things. Firstly, to understand the role that cities play in food governance. Secondly, to identify existing policies, programmes, and strategies relating to food in the City of Johannesburg. Lastly, to ascertain whether there is policy integration of food issues in the City of Johannesburg. The research is based on a qualitative design, using documentary analysis as well as in-depth interviews.

The study established that the role of the city in relation to food governance is largely misunderstood, by government officials and public representatives. Firstly, there are minimal partnerships and collaboration among stakeholders. Specifically, between the City of Johannesburg and other stakeholders. Secondly, there is no unified approach to food issues. This is counter-intuitive seeing as food issues require a multi-pronged approach. Thirdly, policy integration is weak and incoherent. Food issues and objectives are not incorporated into the city's policies. There is no clear roadmap as to how the city's food issues are to be addressed, and by whom. Ultimately, there is potential for Johannesburg and other cities within their own contexts to be involved in food governance processes, but there is still a long way to go.

Dedication

To my mother, Mpho Emily Madime, for her constant and unwavering support in everything I do. To my little sister, Keleabetsoe, who is always in my thoughts. To my daughter, Oratilwe, for allowing me to take time away from her to complete my work.

Acknowledgements

I have been honoured throughout the entire research process to be given unwavering support, guidance, and motivation.

I would like express gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Camilla Adelle from Centre from the Study of Governance Innovation University of Pretoria, and the Centre of Excellence for Food Security, University of Western Cape. And my co-supervisor, Mr Florian Kroll, Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), University of the Western Cape. I am eternally grateful for the consistent guidance, support, and motivation from both. Their consistent insights and comments steered me in the right direction, allowed me to improve my work and reach a higher academic standard. It has been a sincere pleasure.

I am eternally gratefully to the support I received throughout this journey. Thank you for the constant encouragement to carry on, and finish. I am forever grateful for the role you played in walking with me throughout this journey.

I would also like to express my sincerest gratitude to the participants who availed themselves and offered their time and insights and contributed to this research project. I had many thought-provoking conversations which added depth to my research, a deeper understanding for the topic and a passion for food issues.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the financial assistance of the *DSI-NRF Centre of Excellence in Food Security (CoE-FS)* towards this research. Opinions and conclusions reached by the author are not necessarily attributed to the DSI-NRF Centre of Excellence in Food Security.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Introduction and Positioning

Food security is a cross-cutting issue that has been described as a ‘wicked problem’ because it tends to be “complex, unpredictable, open ended, or intractable” (Heard and Alford 2015:712). This suggests that wicked problems such as food security have multiple causes and are not easily resolved (Heard and Alford 2015; Drimie 2016; May 2017). Achieving food security requires an approach that cuts across several sectors of government and the economy such as “health, education, and environment protection, as well as ... agricultural development” (DAFF 2013:6). Food issues are a result of “interlocking factors, which together produce a crisis” (Drimie 2016:6). Food security (or food insecurity) is an outcome of the food system. Food systems speak to how food systems is connected to other processes and can broadly be understood as “the entire food value chain, from agricultural input markets, through food production, processing, distribution, retail, consumption and waste handling, as well as regulatory functions and support services” (Drimie and McLachlan 2013). According to May (2017:13), food security issues operate within food systems which are “problem-determined”. This suggests that the problems are socially constructed and solutions to these problems are not evidence based but driven by the perspectives of actors who attempt to address the issue. Consequently, ‘wicked problems’ such as food security may temporarily be addressed but will re-emerge requiring novel solutions (May 2017).

Post-1994, the South African government declared the need to achieve food security as a priority as outlined in the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) and most recently, expressed through the National Development Plan (NDP) (RSA 1994; NPC 2012; Hendriks 2013). The legacy of this ideal is seen across various departments and sectors through different strategies, programmes, and “reprioritised public spending” by the government to assist historically disadvantaged groups and address the food security problem (Hendriks 2013:3). The right to food is stated in the Constitution, specifically section 27 and section 28(1)(c), which highlights the right to access sufficient food for everyone and the right for children to have access to basic nutrition (RSA 1996). Although the right to food is constitutionally mandated in South Africa, many people in South Africa still struggle to access this right.

The South African government has implemented policies, programmes, and strategies to try and address the growing issue of food security. The Integrated Food Security Strategy 2002 (IFSS) focused primarily on “household food security without overlooking national food security” (Department of Agriculture 2002: 14). Koch (2011:14) argues that the IFSS was intended to be a multidimensional strategy focusing on a household level and rural areas. Although argued to be good on paper, the IFSS did not fare well during implementation because of an over-emphasis on agriculture and reforming institutional structures thus failing to acknowledge the role played by other actors and the coordination between state and non-state actors (Pereira and Drimie 2016: 24). Following this strategy, in 2013 the National Policy on Food and Nutrition Strategy (NPFNS) was adopted with the goal to “to ensure the availability, accessibility and affordability of safe and nutritious food at national and household levels” (DAFF 2013:6). The NPFNS subsequently lead to the development of the 2015 implementation plan. According to Pereira and Drimie (2016:24), the formulation of the NPFNS failed to collaborate and incorporate actors outside the state, particularly those who have experienced food insecurity. This exclusion led to a weak analysis of the existing problems in the food system. To address food security, a multisectoral approach is required involving actors both inside and outside of government. The implementation of such a strategy has been argued to be challenging for the South African government (Pereira and Drimie, 2016:18). Responses to growing hunger and food insecurity by the South African government have been “fragmented, piecemeal, and difficult to scale” (Pereira and Drimie 2016:19).

Government responses to food security and the right to food in South Africa have largely been concentrated on a national level largely ignoring the role that the other two levels, provincial and local, can play in food governance. This is not to say that provincial governments and local governments have not respectively contributed to food issues. However, there is a lack of coordination and synergy between the three spheres, with the national government setting the tone for how food issues are approached. For example, the Gauteng 20-Year Food Security Plan is guided by the Integrated Food Security Strategy set at the national level in 2002 (Gauteng Department of Agriculture and Rural Development 2014).

Although policy direction is most likely to be set at a national level, local government has the power to “develop policies incrementally within this broader framework” (Yeatman 2003). However, local government initiatives have been less studied. Therefore, there is a gap in the literature when it comes to the involvement and impact of local government on the state of food security in cities (Smit 2016: 85). According to de Visser (2019:25), there are several functions allocated to local government by the Constitution which allow “for municipalities to make meaningful contributions to the realisation of the right of access to food”. Local government thus have powers allocated to them that intersect with food security but how have these powers translated into initiatives on the ground?

This research is primarily concerned with investigating initiatives taken by cities in relation to food governance by exploring the policies in place and the actors who are part of the process using the Johannesburg as a case study. Johannesburg is a metropolitan municipality in Gauteng Province, South Africa. According to Mark *et al.* (2008:12) “Metro areas, in the most literal accounting, join cities, their suburbs, and adjacent exurban or even rural areas together to delineate local economies that by virtue of their interwoven labor and housing markets share common economic destinies”. A brief overview and profile of the CoJ is offered later in Chapter 5.

1.2. The Concept of Food Security

As a concept, food security is often poorly defined and misused. The concept of food security dates to the 1970s and originally focused on the self-sufficiency at a national level and was intended to limit the reliance on international markets (Pereira 2014). The initial focus was primarily on food availability which was increased through food production both internationally and nationally (Rahman and Zaman 2017; Haysom and Tawodzera 2018). This understanding and approach to food issues places a heavy focus on the national level and often does not translate into food security at a household level. This is largely because accessibility is key when considering food security. Haysom and Tawodzera (2018) point out that this interpretation of food security largely ignored the issues of food access.

The realisation that availability does not necessarily translate into access, came to the forefront in the mid-1980s during the African food crisis where areas with enough

food availability still had instances of food insecurity (Haysom and Tawodzera 2018). This realisation resulted in a shift to include the interplay between policy, social, cultural, and social factors both at a micro and macro level. Food security can thus be argued as impacting and encompassing daily human life.

1.2.1. Food security definitions

The concept of food security has a variety of definitions and over time it has come to mean different things (Pinstrup-Andersen 2009; Rahman and Zaman 2017; Mc Carthy *et al.* 2018). The plurality in understandings of food security is a result of the issues associated with food security make the concept more complex. Food security does not only deal with food issues but needs to incorporate and acknowledge factors such as education and health.

Conceptual clarification can be argued to be an issue of semantics; however, it is necessary for policymakers and others who predicate their work on these concepts. Maxwell (1996) points out that having so many understandings of food security can limit the usefulness of the concept. However, Haysom and Tawodzera (2018) point out that the changes in how food security is conceptualised has affected the way food security issues are approached by governments and aid organisations.

For the purposes of this research, the basis of understanding food security comes from the 1996 World Food Summit, where:

“Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life”. (World Food Summit 1996)

This conceptualisation of food security displays food security as a multi-dimensional concept that acknowledges the role of a range of factors such as political climate, climate change and food prices as contributors to the state of food security (Mc Carthy *et al.* 2018). It is important to note that although widely accepted, the FAO definition remains widely debated (Crush and Frayne 2011; Gibson 2012).

1.2.2. Components of food security

The World Food Summit definition focusses on four dimensions (1) availability of food, (2) economic and physical access to food, (3) utilisation of food and (4) the stability of the other three dimensions over time (FAO 2008; Mc Carthy *et al.* 2018). Food Security is only achieved when all four dimensions are realised simultaneously (FAO 2008). However, according to the HLPE (2020: 7), although the four dimensions are central, they miss essential aspects necessary for “transforming food systems in the direction needed to meet the SDGs [Sustainable Development Goals]”. As such two more dimensions, agency, and sustainability, have been added to the framework (HLPE 2020).

The food availability component focuses on the physical availability of safe and nutritious food for consumption (FAO 2008). Food access concerns itself with whether individuals and households have access to healthy, nutritious, and safe food that is available (FAO 2008). Food utilisation looks at the ability of an individual to absorb the food they eat (Gibson 2012b). According to Franjee and Lee-Gammege (2018) the fourth component, stability, cuts across the other three components and requires that availability, access, and utilisation of food be constant as opposed to temporary.

The HLPE (2020) points out that part of the process of development is agency. The component of agency is linked to human rights and was added because it includes the factor of empowerment whereby individuals can take steps that contribute to the improvement of their overall wellbeing. Agency is the ability of persons to be able to partake freely to achieve what they regard as important (HLPE 2020). Agency is important to food security because it helps include food insecure people into the process of making decisions that affect their food systems (HLPE 2020). Sustainability has been integral to policy initiatives and is argued to be recognised as being important to the realisation of food security (HLPE 2020). Incorporating the idea of sustainability, acknowledges the need to think long-term by considering how decisions made today can affect future generations (HLPE 2020). Sustainability will ensure that food systems are governed and protected in such a way that the links to economic and social systems are considered when looking into ensuring food and nutrition security (HLPE 2020).

HLPE (2020) reasons that the inclusion of both sustainability and agency is in line with the widely accepted definition of food security. All six components can be found within the current definition for food security (HLPE 2020). Agency is the component that underpins the other components because it stresses that *all people* should have the freedom to partake in processes that affect all other dimensions of food security. Also, the fact that the definition protects persons *food preferences*, suggesting that individuals have freedom to choose the foods they consume to meet their dietary needs, but also access to safe and nutritious foods. Stability and sustainability respectively point to the short term and long-term goal that food security always exists. The definition further indicates that all people should have *physical, social, and economic access*, the availability of *sufficient foods* and lastly utilization of *safe and nutritious foods* that enables all people to meet their dietary needs (see Figure 1).

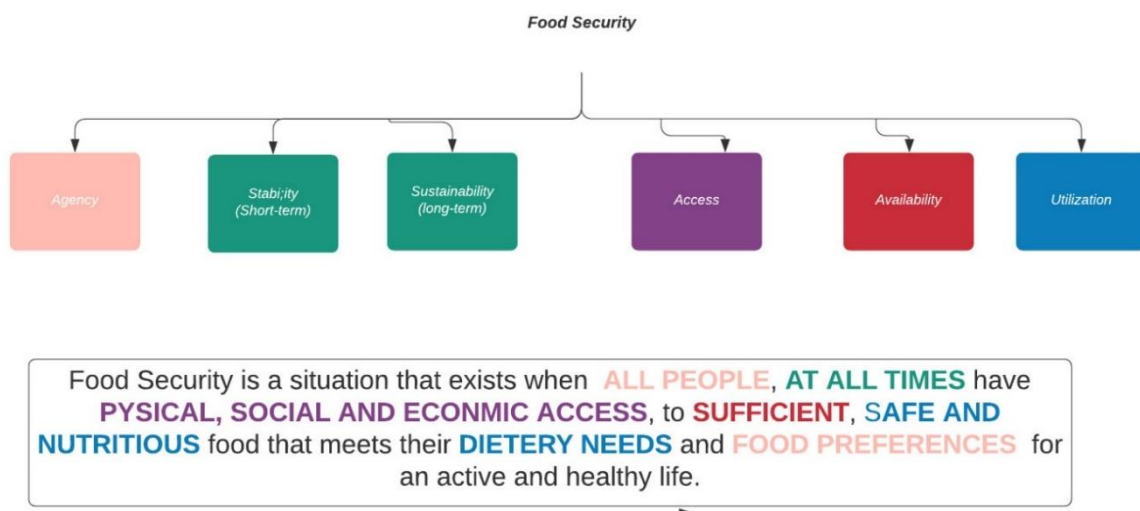


Figure 1: Food security definition and components (adapted from HLPE 2020)

1.3. Food security globally

Food security issues are not limited geographically but span across borders and have become an issue globally. Despite advancement made over the past several decades, which have contributed to the modernisation of the production and distribution of food, hunger and inadequate access to food still threatens millions of individuals and households globally (HLPE 2017). Food security issues are complex, connected to a plethora of challenges influenced by environmental issues, food demand raised by an exponentially growing population, unstable food prices, economies, political systems, the health sector, and other issues faced by society (Termeer *et al.* 2018). In the foreword of the High-Level Panel of Experts report 12 on Nutrition and Food systems, chairperson Peter Caron states that currently, 1 in 3 people globally are malnourished. This is estimated to go up to 1 in 2 by 2030 if there is no targeted action towards eradicating hunger and achieving food security (HLPE 2017).

Global instances of hunger and malnutrition persist despite continuous efforts to combat them. It is argued that the number of people who experience hunger and malnutrition has fluctuated between 800 million to 1.2 billion people globally over the past 40 years (Gibson 2012b). Data indicates that micronutrient deficiencies, wasting and stunting levels are increasing or have stopped declining with 149 million children suffering from stunting contrasted to 40 million children recorded as overweight (FAO *et al.* 2019). The number of individuals who are overweight and obese has double since the 1980s reaching a high number of 2 billion adults globally who are part of this category (*ibid.*). These rising statistics are argued to be the cause of rising data of non-communicable diseases such as diabetes and cancer (HLPE 2017). Tacoli (2019) argues that at least 2 billion people worldwide lack access to “safe, nutritious and sufficient food” with one out of nine individuals facing chronic food deprivation. The growing ‘food security’ problem is reflected in the statistics around nutrition (Barilla Centre for Food Nutrition 2009).

According to the FAO (2018), the world is no longer on track to eradicate hunger by 2030 as set out by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Between 720 and 811 million people globally were recorded to be hungry in 2020 (FAO 2021). Hunger continues to rise in relation to economic fluctuations; with a global rise of overweight and obese individuals whilst Africa is argued to have the highest number of people

with malnutrition (FAO *et al.* 2019). Hunger reduces the potential that human beings have, creating physical and physiological barriers that prevent people from working, learning or being innovative. Koc *et al.* (2001) argue that global food security is limited by multiple factors such as the economy, the ecological and political system, particularly in the developing world. The United Nations (UN) estimates an increase of 1,7 billion in population globally by 2050, which will further place pressure on food systems (Mc Carthy 2018: 12). Scholars contend that currently a malnutrition burden exists globally where different forms of malnutrition, whether it be overweight or obesity, undernutrition, or micronutrient deficiency, co-exist within the same spaces (HLPE 2017; Termeer *et al.* 2018). The existence of these forms of malnutrition is not limited but is experienced in both developed and developing countries.

1.4. Food security in South Africa

Despite South Africa producing enough food to ensure an adequate diet for all citizens, instances of hunger and malnutrition continue to rise in the country with only 45,6 percent of the South African population reported to being food secure (Crush *et al.* 2012; Shisana *et al.* 2014). Additionally, issues of stunting and obesity co-exist in the same spaces, pointing to South Africa being in a nutrition transition (Chitiga-Mabugu *et al.* 2016; Battersby and Peyton 2014; Haysom 2015). Nutrition transition refers to the changes in dietary patterns that occur as a result of various factors such as “urbanization, globalization and economic growth, and their resulting impacts on nutrition and health outcomes.” (HLPE 2017”1).

Malan (2015) and Kushitor *et al.* (2022) argue that it is necessary for South Africa to take into consideration the legacy of inequality that has shaped its political, economic, and social landscape and begin to shift from an overall focus on production towards thinking of ways to facilitate access. Furthermore, food security in South Africa is argued to be largely dependent on income, with many households lacking the purchasing power to afford and maintain adequate diets (Kushitor *et al.* 2022).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, instances of hunger became prevalent “in historically marginalised neighbourhoods” (Food Dialogues Report 2020:16). According to van Gass and Matola (2021), South Africans became more susceptible to food insecurity because of COVID-19 due to the economy shrinking. There was an

increasing awareness that Johannesburg and South Africa did not have the capacity for top-down solutions to the increasing problems of hunger. Former Gauteng Premier David Makhura prioritised food security as part of the strategy to fight COVID-19 and appealed to various stakeholders outside the government sphere to continue assisting (Gauteng 2020). The pandemic highlighted a greater need for ground-up solutions to food issues in the metro. There is a growing need for partnership between various stakeholders, not just participation of civil society in government initiatives. Adelle and Haywood (2021: 55) note the importance of civil society in assisting the government to connect with “vulnerable individuals and groups of people who are hard-to reach, especially those who are outside the grant system”. It is noted that the relationship with government, particularly on food issues, tends to be strained (*Ibid.*). This raises the question of governance within the food system.

1.5. Food System Governance

Food system governance requires the acknowledgment that traditional modes of governance are incompatible with food security issues. Governance speaks to how society is steered in collaboration with all the stakeholders in society. It moves away from top-down approaches. Briassoulis (2004) notes that traditional top down policy responses tend to focus primarily on a certain aspect of an issue as opposed to adopting a holistic approach. This tends to be ineffective when dealing with complex and wicked issues like food. Due to the complex nature of food, food governance transcends boundaries set up between different spheres of government and sectors of the economy. In turn it requires interdependencies. According to Termeer *et al.* (2018:86), a food system is a concept that covers:

“...the interconnected relationships between various activities in the commodity chain (producing, distributing, trading, consuming of food); various issues linked to food security outcomes (access, availability, utilisation, nutrition); various interactions across scales (time, space, jurisdiction) and levels on them; and various socio-economic and environmental constraints and impacts”.

Food system governance is important because the state of food security “can be considered as the principal outcome of food systems (Eriksen 2008: 243). A food

system approach is holistic as they tend to “influence not only what is being consumed how it is produced and acquired, but also who is able to eat, and how nutritious their food is” (Capone *et al.* 2014:14).

The food system is complex, comprised of an intricate process with multiple inputs and outputs from various points. Aptly put, the food system should be understood and approached as “a network, consisting of feedbacks and nonlinear relationships defined by concentrations of power and resources across different scales and levels” (Pereira 2014:4). The failure of food systems can have many devastating outcomes such as price changes, food shortages or the disruption of the availability of foods. Kushitor *et al.* (2022:884) “Failing food systems have impacts beyond health, contributing to global environmental change, impeding economic growth, and exacerbating socio-economic inequalities”.

The intricacies of the food system thus require a governance approach that captures the interaction, role, and contribution made by multiple actors in the process of governing. This requires a form of governing that shifts from “state-controlled governing to more soft forms of governance where the state effectively enrolls private actors, such as corporations, sectoral groups such as farmers, and civil society organizations to undertake the administration of policy” (Eriksen *et al.* 2010:36). Food system governance require interdependencies and synergy with various stakeholders across various social, economic, and political domains.

1.5.1. Governance of Global Food Systems

Although there is no convening global government, there are several governing institutions such as the United Nations and regulations in place that guide interactions between states on the world stage. Globally, the right to food for all individuals is outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and has been reiterated during the 1996 World Food Summit (HLPE 2020). Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states that “everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food...” (UDHR 1948: 5). Similarly, under article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the right to food is recognised by the States Parties to the Covenant. In paragraph two of Article 11, the right to be free from hunger is also recognised (ICESCR 1966: 11).

Clapp and Fuchs (2009) note that the rules that are put in place for global food governance provide guidance and serve to govern the activities of corporations and actors within the global food system. The HLPE (2020) however, argues that despite these legal frameworks providing guidance on the right to food, the implementation is argued to be inconsistent across governments. Global food governance faces four issues, namely increasing populations placing greater strain on resources; the integration of nations in the international market; the increasing vulnerability of domestic markets to international markets and price fluctuations and lastly, the fact that not all nations are food secure (McCalla 2009).

In South Africa, there isn't an appropriate food system governance approach in place nationally to assist the various actors to adequately come together and tackle issues related to the state of food security (Pereira and Drimie 2016). Although there have been attempts "towards developing urban food system strategies in South Africa" it has been noted that governance of food systems is fragmented and uncoordinated (Smit 2016: 82). The issue of coordination is argued to be a result of often conflicting mandates given to government departments. This is further reinforced by the idea that different departments focus on addressing specific issues (Drimie 2016). Several other notable issues with food system governance in South Africa have been attributed to lack of consultation, mis-conceptualisation of the food security issue, the complexity of the policy process and a general lack of political will (Boatema *et al.* 2018).

1.6. The South African State and the role of local government

The South African Constitution (1996) established the current system of three distinctive yet interrelated spheres of government, namely national, provincial, and local. Each sphere of government has legislative and executive mandates conferred to them by the constitution. The Constitution delineates the relationship between the three spheres as follows: national government has the power to intervene in provincial matters. Similarly, provincial over local "where a municipality fails to fulfill an executive obligation" (van Wyk 2012:288).

The power for law and policy making primarily lies with national government, which has a direct bearing in matters relating to food security. de Visser (2019) highlights the argument that Section 27, which outlines the right to food, is argued to be the responsibility of the national government. This line argument tends to exempt local government from taking up the responsibility to actively participate in the realization of food security. However there are instances where the Constitutional Court has interpreted the roles and responsibilities of local government, which then result in local government having responsibility (de Visser 2019).

According to Section 152(1), local government should:

- provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;
- ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
- promote social and economic development;
- promote a safe and healthy environment;
- encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government. (Section 152, The South African Constitution 1996).

Municipalities are further directed by Section 152 (2) to ensure, “within their financial and administrative capacity”, that the responsibilities contained in section 152 (1) are fulfilled. Furthermore, section 153 goes on to outline the developmental responsibilities of municipalities which direct municipalities to “give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the social and economic development of the community” (The South African Constitution 1996, emphasis added). Food security is generally understood as a basic necessity.

Furthermore, the schedules which allocate functions to the three spheres of government as they appear in the Constitution do not list or assign the responsibility of food security. Currently, there is no direct mandate which outlines the responsibility for municipalities to govern food. There are several functions of local government which intersect directly with food security. These are discussed in further detail in section 1.7. The complexity and multidimensionality of food security result in the competencies of local government intersecting with many aspects of

food security. Local government is made up of municipalities and is arguably the sphere of government that is closest to the ground and the lived experience of people in communities. Despite the lack of a clear food security mandate, local governments can leverage their position and responsibilities to influence the right to food for members of their communities and essentially all South Africans.

1.7. Research Problem: a better role for local government

Traditional modes of governing are incompatible with issues as complex as food. Traditional modes of governance tend to focus heavily on the role of the state and view governance as the way in which a government functions, exercises its responsibilities, “make and enforce rules” (Fukuyama 2013:3). Fukuyama (2015:62) describes governance as “the act of steering or regulating social behavior”. Traditional modes of government tend to be incompatible with complex issues because they limit the range of stakeholders who can be involved in tackling the problem. Where complex problems are effectively dealt with by a range of stakeholders who bring different perspectives to the table in tackling an issue. What is needed is a governance approach that transcends the borders of government to include all stakeholders.

Food system governance on the other hand adopts a more holistic approach, on the global stage, food governance governs the actions of all the actors involved in food governance. Food governance in South Africa is fragmented and incoherent (Pereira and Drimie 2016). However, most of the analysis focuses on the national level, neglecting the role that local governments can play in contributing to food security. Jaap de Visser (2019) argues that local level food governance is important in South Africa. Nevertheless, there is little research available that looks at the process and actors involved in policy formulation at a local level. Yeatman (2003:126) argues that aspects of the policy process important to the local level include “agenda setting, ...political power and policy making”. With respect to the policy process, the nature of the policy agenda is largely influenced by the amount of political power or political capital involved actors have, to steer local-level policy setting (Yeatman 2003).

De Visser (2019) argues that based on municipal responsibilities and functions allocated to local governments by the Constitution, municipalities are strategically

positioned to contribute to the right to access food as stipulated by Section (27). Haysom (2021) notes that cities are often viewed merely as recipients of as opposed to active participants within the food system. It is suggested that while many municipalities do not have specific policy documents relating to food security, they can still indirectly affect and govern the food system through other mandates (SACN Programme 2015: 58). Some of these competencies are discussed below:

Planning and Land Use

How food is distributed is an important point of governance that local governments can intervene in, to ensure a positive contribution to food security in the City of Johannesburg. This includes the infrastructure, namely “provision and maintenance of roads, managing traffic, ensuring roadworthiness of vehicles” (Smit 2019:97). This also affects the accessibility of the food that is available which speaks to the importance of spatial planning on the part of the city. Planning plays a pivotal role in the food system by “directly influencing the flows and a variety of other systemic activities” (Haysom 2021:13).

Part of the powers that municipalities have through spatial planning and management of land use allows for them to directly “influence the availability of food through the protection of agricultural land” (de Visser 2019:22). One of the responsibilities under this power is though zoning. All local governments can “change agricultural land into land used for residential, commercial or other non-agricultural purposes” which in turn can negatively impact agricultural production and food security (de Visser 2019:16). Municipalities have the power to enforce multiple use zoning as single use zoning has been argued to be an impediment on the path to realising food security (de Visser 2019). Low-income areas in South Africa often have the co-existence of the flow of residential and informal business activity. By understanding how interconnected and interrelated several processes are to the state of food security, cities can then begin to make the necessary changes in the planning phases to begin thinking about food. Municipalities can tune into the needs of their communities by tailoring zoning laws and regulations to adapt to specific contexts. Cities need to consider the collaboration between all districts to ensure equal distribution of foods.

Water and Electricity

Water and electricity play an important role in the realisation of food security for many households. Water enables the preparation of clean and nutritious food whilst electricity allows for preparation and storage of foods. Johnstone (2020) notes that water and sanitation has shifted from being understood only through an agricultural lens to encompass all the dimensions of food security. De Visser (2019) notes that cities are constitutionally mandated through the Bill of Rights to provide access to water and electricity to everyone.

To ensure access to water and electricity by everyone is a responsibility that falls squarely on local governments. This is one of the many ways in which cities can play a role in achieving food security for its residents. What is interesting to note is that in the City of Johannesburg and many cities across South Africa, is the fact that even today, there are many households without the proper infrastructure that provide them with a constant supply of both water and electricity which speaks to a failing on the part of municipalities in fulfilling their responsibilities.

Water and electricity directly impact food security as it affects the ability of individuals and households to store and prepare food. Data indicates that access to basic services in the city is relatively high. Access to water, sanitation and electricity is reported at 99,5 percent, 92,8 percent, and 78 percent respectively (City of Joburg 2022). However, due to migration, increase in population and informal settlements, not all households have access to these services. Cities need to shift towards a stance that is cognisant of these two intersections to provide communities with the necessary services to alleviate and contribute positively to food security.

Food Trade

Local food trade is an important aspect of local municipality powers that directly impact food security. de Visser (2019:11) notes that the Constitution lists “trading regulations, markets and street trading” as local government competencies which have significant ability to allow cities to actively place food issues on the agenda. This places local government firmly within reach to actively participate in the food system through how they approach trading regulations. Municipalities tend to have a more hostile and oppressive approach when interacting with street traders (Skinner 2008). Policies and regulation tend to be hostile and adopt a policing approach rather than encouraging an enabling environment for traders to participate in the

market, However, through understanding the effects of trade regulations on food security, and the contributions made by the informal sector, cities such as Johannesburg can begin to directly impact food security.

The food retail market in South Africa is highly diverse and is made up of both formal and informal spaces. Smit (2019) views the notion of 'formal/informal' to be on a continuum as opposed to being understood as a dichotomy. The informal sector remains largely important for many South Africans. During the COVID-19 lockdowns, especially when there were many restrictions, many people were not able to access the informal market which resulted in an increase in hunger (Shoprite 2021). The estimated market share of the informal sector which is made up of a variety of outlet is at least 40 percent (Pick-N-Pay 2021). Battersby *et. al.* (2016) notes that despite rapid transformation of the food sector and concentration by big companies, many poor households still rely heavily on sourcing their foods from the 'informal' sector. This is primarily because there are readily accessible being closer to places of residence; have longer operating hours compared to traditional outlets and offer cheaper prices and smaller quantities of foods that will render them more affordable (Wegerif 2020).

Transportation

Transportation intersects with food directly by facilitating access to places where food is sold. It is important for the city to maintain adequate infrastructure and institutional support. Historically, townships and areas largely dominated by black and coloured individuals are more often further away from cities and points of access to food than not. These areas are often characterised by low-income earners. Cities are usually the epicentre of economic opportunities, and households located outside of this nucleuse tend to spend a big chunk of their incomes on transport. Transport, like other costs, contributes to the shrinking of households purchasing power and allocation of money to food. Battersby and McLachlan (2013:716) note that

“Low-income earners, living long distances from jobs and facing inadequate public transport, have lengthy commutes and spend a large proportion of their incomes on transport, leaving less money to buy food”.

The limits in accessible, reliable, and affordable transportation can quickly add to the costs of food. This results in households opting for foods that are cheaper, quicker to

cook and unhealthy. This points to multiple factors such as transportation which contributes to food choices and by default food insecurity. Sasidharan (2017), notes that improving road infrastructure, and increasing access can positively influence food security and reduce hunger. Structural issues, urban design and transport can either be enablers or barriers in the food system by shaping the type of foods that are consumed, accessible and affordability.

The competencies discussed above are not the full extent of the responsibilities which local municipalities have which intersect with food. They show how cities can participate in food governance and already do, though seemingly unbeknownst to them. Steyn (2011) suggests that there is a perception amongst local government official that the food security mandate fall squarely within and be guided by the national framework. This often leads to the neglect of food security responses at a local level. The logic is that food issues constitute an unfunded mandate and fall outside the purview of local governments (Haysom 2021; de Visser 2019). An unfunded mandate refers to policy decisions being made without the allocation of needed resources or funding to enforce and implement. Basdeo (2012) notes that there a several implications of unfunded mandates mainly pointing to a weakness of national government.

The perceptions that food issues do not belong in the purview of local government creates gaps in food governance. This is primarily because “national strategy has not made it into the policy and planning frameworks of local government” leading to incoherence between the two spheres (Steyn 2011:6). Furthermore, the insistence that food issues do not form part of local government responsibilities results in the role of cities in relation to food being misunderstood. Particularly seeing as there are several responsibilities conferred to local governments which intersect with food (Haysom 2021; de Visser 2019). The general approach in South Africa is that all things food related will be resolved or handled by the market and or national government which tends to absolve local governments of responsibility. The current operational framework does not allow for local governments to operate outside of their silos to try and attempt to govern food. However, researchers have shown that there are many points of intersection between the city and food and have urged for a reimagined governance process (Haysom 2021; de Visser 2019).

Seeing as governance procedures are fragmented and incoherent at a national level, it would be reasonable to assume that the same issues may exist at a local level. If the right to food is to be realised, it will be important that all levels of government have appropriate and effective governance measures in place. Furthermore, it has been noted that local food governance can encourage a bottom-up culture towards issues. There has been literature around the correlation between governance and food security (McKoen 2011; Haysom 2015; Mazenda 2021). For food security interventions to have a positive impact, there must be an integration between food security and governance systems (Mazenda 2021; Haysom 2015). This is particularly important with food issues, which necessarily involve actors from across several sectors so relegating unilateral action by any one government department ineffective and calling for more collaboration with actors inside and outside the state. Therefore, an understanding of local level of food governance is required.

Up to now, this area has been neglected in the literature because it has only recently been widely recognised that local government has several competencies that intersect with food that they can use to contribute to food security in South Africa (de Visser 2019). There is a need to understand the leverage and functions allocated to municipal governments but also the actors involved in the process. As such this research seeks to explore food governance at a local level, the policies in place, and the actors who contribute to this process. Furthermore, this research seeks to understand whether food policy is coordinated in one specific local jurisdiction, and if not whether there are opportunities available for better and improved integration of policy.

1.8. The Conceptual Framework

This research utilises a conceptual framework which serves as a lens through which to gain a deeper understanding of the topic explored. A conceptual framework is a roadmap of two (or more) concepts that complement each other and offer a broad understanding of the phenomenon being explored (Jabreen 2009; Kumar 2011). It is a lens through which to view and understand the data that will be collected throughout the research process.

Part of this study focuses on understanding the role that cities play in food governance. Two concepts, namely governance, and policy integration, are used to

guide and provide a comprehensive understanding throughout the research process. Below is a brief exploration of both governance and policy integration and how they relate to food. A more detailed exploration of the two concepts, and how they will benefit the research will be discussed in *Chapter 3, The Conceptual Framework*.

1.8.1. Governance

Governance is used to help understand that there are multiple actors who participate in and contribute towards the process of governing. Applying governance as a lens recognises that multiple actors with differing vantage points, experiences, knowledge, and resource exist in decision-making processes. The governance lens also offers insight into understanding the various actors and their relationships in relation to each other (Smit 2019:95). A more in-depth discussion is offered in chapter three.

Literature does not have one understanding of governance, but generally it speaks to a lens used to understand the process of decision-making and the relations between government and non-governmental actors (Bevir 2011; Smit 2016). Governance removes the emphasis placed on hierarchy and opts for networks or top-down approaches in decision-making processes.

1.8.2. Policy Integration

The concept of policy integration allows the researcher to explore the policies, strategies, and programmes in the City of Johannesburg by offering a set of criteria used to ascertain whether there is integration. Ardil Underdal introduced the concept of policy integration (PI) in 1980 and explains it as a process that brings together different parts “to a single, unifying conception” (Underdal 1980:159).

Scholars such as Briassoulis (2004) and Candel and Biesbroek (2016) view PI as one way to address complex issues, coordinate cross-cutting policies and create synergy across various policy sectors. This study uses the literature on policy integration to further differentiate the concept of PI so that it can be applied to the data collected from Johannesburg on food governance. This is used to see and understand the extent to which food policy is integrated in the metro and identify any areas for improvement. Applying a lens of policy integration to food governance further offers insight as to whether these multiple actors are working and coordinating together.

1.9. Aim and Objectives

According to Thomas and Hodges (2010) a research aim is a statement that expresses the overall purpose of the proposed study and tend to be broad as opposed to narrow and specific. Objectives on the other hand, tend to be more specific, outlining the key issues that will form the focus of the research (Doody and Bailey 2016; Thomas and Hodges 2010). Put simply, research objectives express the goals the study hopes to reach (Kumar 2011).

This study aims to investigate and understand local food governance in South Africa. To be able to achieve this, the study will first identify the actors who contribute to and influence the various policies, programmes and strategies relating to food at the local level. Secondly, the study will explore and describe key policies relating to food issues. Lastly, the study will assess the level of integration of food policy.

1.10. Research Question

Research questions state what the proposed study hopes to investigate and understand (Smith *et al.* 2008). The question that is posed, directs the why in which data will be collected and analysed. Doody and Bailey (2016), point out that research questions can either be (1) descriptive, (2) comparative or (3) relationship questions. According to Thomas and Hodges (2010), research questions can sometimes be used in the place of research objectives.

This research explores the question about local level involvement and the role that cities play in food governance. In particular, to what extent does the integration of stakeholders and policies involved in the governance of food in Johannesburg enable coherent engagement with the complex and cross-cutting issue of urban food insecurity? This research is guided by the following sub-questions which will contribute to the main question:

- i. Who are the actors involved in food governance in the City of Johannesburg?
- ii. What are the main food policies, programmes, and strategies in place in the City of Johannesburg?
- iii. How integrated is the food policy for the City of Johannesburg?

1.11. Methodology and Research Design

In terms of methodology, this study makes use of a case study approach and the following methods of data collection (1) documentary analysis; (2) elite interviews, and (3) stakeholder workshops. The following sections will offer a brief overview. A more detailed description is offered in *Chapter 4, Methodology and Research Design*.

1.11.1. Case Study: Johannesburg

Using a case study assists with understanding a particular context and offers an in-depth analysis of a phenomenon (Burnett 2009; Eisenhardt 1989). Case studies allow for flexibility and the adoption of several methods of data collection during the research process (Ponelis 2015; Leedy and Ormrod 2021). This research used a case study methodology to answer the questions about local food governance in South Africa. The decision to use the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) is based on the existence of the Gauteng Food Governance Community of Practice (CoP). Access to this network is leveraged throughout the research processes.

1.11.2. Methods

Documentary analysis is used to gain an initial understanding of the phenomenon this research project explores. Documentary analysis is a systematic process for analysing selected documents, to assist with gaining knowledge or understanding (Schiffer and Waale 2008). To access the various documents pertaining to food security, the City of Johannesburg website will be searched to find the relevant documents, policies, programmes, and strategies using keywords such as '*policy*'; '*strategy*'; and '*programme*'. This was done prior to engaging with the various actors in the food system.

Additionally, this study makes use of elite interviews. Interviews were conducted with selected actors based on the institutions they work for and the positions they occupy. According to Huggins (2014:2), this method is used to “target actors who are in a privileged position in relation to a particular activity or are of policy” which will contribute to answering the question posed by this research. This approach will enable a more in-depth understanding on the processes of food governance at a local level, particularly in the COJ.

1.11.3. *Timeframe*

The research commenced amidst the Corona Virus pandemic (COVID-19). To limit the spread of the virus; organisations and governments alike have recommended social distancing because the virus spreads with close contact. The South African government implemented a nationwide lockdown beginning Thursday 26 March 2020 allowing only essential services to remained operational.

At the time of finalising this research, the regulations around COVID-19 in South Africa had been cancelled. However, seeing as data collection commenced during the time when some regulations and guidelines were still in place, it was opted to do online interviews as opposed to face-to-face interviews. Different online tools were utilised to communicate with research participants and to conduct interviews

1.11.4. *Ethical considerations*

Ethical considerations were made throughout the research process. These exist as a form of guidance to the researcher and to protect participants (Smith *et al.* 2009; Struwig and Stead 2017). It is important that the researcher points out any ethical issues that may come up during the research process by being cognisant of bias that may alter or affect the research findings (Kumar 2014).

Part of the data collection method that will be used in this study are elite interviews and stakeholder workshops. All considerations and possible implications are in line with the University of Pretoria's research ethics policy. The following considerations will be made, namely informed consent, confidentiality, and anonymity. These considerations are described more in detail in *Chapter 4, Methodology and Research Design*.

1.11.5. *Study Delimitation*

Two delimitations will guide the process of the research namely geographical and conceptual. Firstly, the geographical delimitation has been limited to the City of Johannesburg, Gauteng. Secondly the use of two concepts, namely governance and policy integration, as the basis which guides the focus of the research. More detail on this is explored in *Chapter 4, Methodology and Research Design*.

1.12. Research Structure and Demarcation of Chapters

The study comprises of six chapters. **Chapter One:** *Introduction*, which introduces and positions the research to offer a clearer scope of this research.

Chapter Two: *Literature Review*, explores existing literature pertaining to food security and food governance in South Africa. The chapter is organised around key issues pertaining to food issues in South Africa and offers a discussion of the context which underpins this research. This chapter discusses the history of food security, current food security statistics, the link between covid-19 and the food crisis and drivers of food insecurity in South Africa. It proceeds to discuss food governance in South Africa by delving into the current institutional arrangements available to address food issues at both a national and local level. The chapter also explores local food governance in South Africa.

Chapter Three: *Conceptual Framework*, will provide a discussion of the conceptual framework that underpins and guides this research. This chapter explores two concepts, namely governance and policy integration. The governance literature offers an understanding that multiple actors with different interests and framings operate in the process of governing. In addition, the policy integration literature offers insights and criteria that will guide this research in exploring how coordinated and joined-up policies are. This chapter goes on to discuss a criterion to assess policy integration which will be pivotal in analysing the data collected.

Chapter Four: *Methodology and Research Design*, discusses and outlines the research methods used during the research process for this study. It explores the various research techniques used for data collection and data analysis. Subsequently, this chapter also delves into the limitations and ethical considerations of the study.

Chapter 5: *Results and Discussion* begins by presenting the findings gathered by this research. These findings are then interpreted through the conceptual framework that is discussed in chapter 3..

Chapter 6: *Conclusion and Recommendations* will conclude based on the previous chapters. This chapter gives a summary and overview of key findings. Chapter six will also provide some recommendations for policymaking and food governance for local level governments.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

Food security persists in South Africa despite various attempts to find solutions. The object of this literature review is to properly understand the food security problem and draw linkages between several key issues to provide a thematic context and understanding. The literature review is meant to provide in-depth understanding and context to pursue the research objectives. This chapter begins by looking at food security within a South African context. It briefly explores how food issues are inextricably linked to and shaped by historical processes. From there, current food security statistics are explored to offer context of the issue in the country. This includes the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic and drivers of food insecurity. Secondly this chapter explores the governance mechanisms implemented in an attempt to improve food security in South Africa. It looks at the Right to Food (RTF) found in the Constitution of RSA (1996), existing policies, programmes, and strategies aimed at alleviating food issues and offers policy and critiques of these. Lastly, this chapter explores the role of the local government and the contribution they can have in shaping the food system and contributing to food and nutrition security.

2.2. Food Security in South Africa

2.2.1. *Historical Overview of Food Security in South Africa*

Food has been a driver of South African politics shaping the history of South Africa since the seventeenth Century (Hendriks 2013; Hanoman 2018). Hendriks (2014) notes that food security needs were the primary driver of the arrival of the Dutch East India Company in South Africa in 1652. Food was recognised as a necessity to ensure the functionality of the crews thus leading to the formal establishment of agriculture in Cape Town (*ibid.*). Hanoman (2018:19) points out that it was during

this time that “Afrikaner pastoral farms spread across what is today the Western Cape Province” enabling the growth of the farming industry.

The Land Act of 1913, which has ceased to function, still to this day defines the food security context of South Africa. This legislation set aside only 7,5 percent of land or reserves for the Black population and prohibited black farmers from purchasing land outside the reserves with the aim of creating a low wage black labour force (Hall and Cousins 2015; Hanoman 2018; Hendriks, 2013; Rudolph *et al.* 2012). The way land was distributed, shaped accessibility to food and resources for many households. Notably the Land Act determined the nature of food security in South Africa “in terms of the character, composition and contribution of the agricultural sector; shaped consumption patterns and influenced rural livelihoods” (Hendriks 2013:2). The Land Act resulted in the displacement of black people, enforcing the systemic institutionalisation of black people to a lower social standing, and prohibiting them from acquiring land. Hendrick (2013) notes that only 8 percent of farmable land was allocated to black people, whereby often agricultural production was lacking thus contributing to food insecurity. The Land Act benefitted white farmers greatly by eliminating any competition and solidifying their stance in the agricultural market (*ibid.*). Even today, the South African food system is characterised by systematic inequality (SACN Programme 2015).

Pre-1994, through several administrations, the South African food system was heavily focused on agriculture in relation to sustaining and contributing to food availability in the country (Hendriks 2013). This rural and production-oriented bias is still apparent in the South African governments framing of food security and approaches (Boatemaa *et al.* 2018; Thow *et al.* 2018; Termeer *et al.* 2017; Taylor 2013). The studies of food insecurity in South Africa have primarily focused on rural areas, which were “the former homelands where many Africans were restricted under apartheid” (Hanoman 2018:12). The institutionalisation of racial segregation shaped a socioeconomic context that made it possible to disadvantage and deprive many black households and define their experience of food insecurity (*ibid.*).

Post-apartheid era, the government acknowledged the effects of past administrations on the current state of food security, distribution, and accessibility of resources (Hendriks 2014). The need to achieve food security for all citizens of South Africa

was set as a priority by the government and the RTF as enshrined in the Constitution (1996). This is seen across different sectors through various strategies and programmes and the reallocation of public spending by the government to assist historically disadvantaged groups (Hendriks 2014 :4).

2.2.2. Current Food Security Statistics

Nationally, South Africa has enough food available for all its citizens through domestic food production and food imports (Stats SA 2019). However, many households are either food insecure or at risk of food insecurity. This is because availability does not necessarily translate into accessibility (Drimie and McLachlan 2013). Stats SA (2019) notes that although household hunger and households experiencing inadequate food intake is steadily decreasing, this is not at a rate that is enough to reach the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) goal of eradicating hunger by 2030. Data indicates that 10,5 percent of all South African households are vulnerable to hunger (*ibid.*). Only 78,7 percent of households in South Africa have adequate access to food, leaving 15,8 percent with inadequate access and 5,5 percent with severely inadequate access to food (Stats SA 2019:14).

Household food insecurity is a structural problem in South Africa, primarily worsened by poverty and lack of employment posing an issue of access (Altman *et al.* 2009; Stats SA 2019). This points to the fact that there is a strong correlation between poverty and susceptibility to food insecurity. Altman *et al.* (2009:8) note that food security is a multidimensional issue, that requires taking the contribution of other developmental factors into consideration to understand the issue better. Food insecurity is further worsened by lack of access to productive land (Masipa 2017). This affects households' ability to access the food necessary to sustain themselves.

Fluctuations in food prices, rising beyond the means of households, because of related factors such as oil prices, the price of electricity, are factors which further exacerbates the issue of household food insecurity in South Africa (Altman *et al.* 2009). Poorer households are particularly vulnerable to the volatility of food prices forcing them to compromise on both quality and quantity of foods purchased (Faber and Drimie 2016; Mkhawani *et al.* 2016; MacLachlan and Landman 2013; Altman *et*

al. 2009). This will inevitably have an impact on the quality of foods and diets consumed as households adjust to the economic fluctuations. Mkhawani *et al.* (2016) and Faber and Drimie (2016) note that the volatility in food prices could have negative ramifications on the state of food security in South Africa but also alter eating behaviours. This has an impact on nutritional standards of the poor which negatively affects “health in the short-term (hunger) and long-term (food insecurity)” (Mkhawani *et al.* 2016:73).

Pereira (2014) argues that the South African food system is currently displaying a nutrition transition which is reflected through the co-existence of obesity, overweight, underweight, and stunting in a population (Tathiah *et al.* 2013). A nutritional transition is defined by Rhazi *et al.* (2020) as the “changes that populations experience in quality and quantity of dietary behaviours and patterns”. According to the South African Department of Health (2016:13), “45% and 37% of households where there is a stunted or underweight child respectively, there is at least one obese adult”. It is further recorded that obesity affects 39,2 percent of women whereas the number is at 10 percent for men (South African National Department of Health, 2016). Instances of obesity are becoming increasingly prevalent not only in adults but children as well (*ibid.*). Obesity has further been linked to socio-economic status of individuals and families who rely on high energy foods that are easily affordable (Shisana *et al.* 2014). Obesity, along with an unhealthy diet, is concerning seeing as it has been linked to four non-communicable diseases, namely “cardiovascular disease, cancer, chronic respiratory disease and diabetes” (Shisana *et al.* 2014:221). These NCDs are noted to be particularly apparent amongst black women (Pereira 2014). Goedecke (2017) states that black South African women have a 42 percent prevalence of obesity which is linked to sedentary lifestyles and quality of diets. The diet consumed by South Africans has been argued to be nutrient deficient, lacking diversity and overall indicating a low micronutrient intake (Labadarios *et al.* 2011). South Africa is seeing an increase in the consumption of fast food which are low in micronutrients and energy dense. Despite various attempts to address and improve food and nutrition security in South Africa, stunting and wasting among children is still widely prevalent in the country. According to SANHANES-1 2014, data indicates that there is a high prevalence of undernutrition (stunting and micronutrient deficiencies). The highest being with boys and girls under

3 years of age at 26.9 percent and 25.9 percent respectively (Shisana *et al.* 2014). In the 0-14 age group, the data indicates that 15,4 percent of children are stunted. Furthermore, the study concluded that although the prevalence of wasting amongst children was decreasing in South Africa, data indicates that there has been an increase in stunting (Shisana *et al.* 2014:211).

2.2.3. COVID-19 crisis and Food Security

The South African government implemented a nationwide lockdown beginning Thursday 26 March allowing only essential services to remain operation in an effort to prevent further spread of the contagion and ‘flatten the curve’. Part of the lockdown was to introduce and enforce policies which placed restrictions on movement of people and the closing down of shops and informal trade (include informal food traders) and the closing down of schools associated with feeding schemes. These measures have had a negative impact on the livelihoods of millions of South Africans and has directly impacted food security. Although South Africa was already experiencing a food crisis prior to Covid-19, the pandemic worsened the situation. Within two weeks of the hard lockdown, an estimated two thirds of the urban poor population was unable to purchase food due to lack of funds (HSRC 2020). Government and civil society organisations came together to distribute food parcels. However, these initiatives were undermined by corruption at the local level (Broadbent *et al.* 2020).

The National Income Dynamics Study – Coronavirus Rapid Mobile Survey (NIDS-CRAM), 2021 found that household hunger during the COVID-19 lockdown was reported to be 23 percent (van der Berg 2021). During wave one of the NIDS-CRAM studies, where data was collected between May 7th and June 27th 2020, 48 percent of households reported to run out of money to buy food. This number reduced to 38 percent when lockdown regulations were eased and rose again to 40 percent during wave three of the study conducted during November 2nd to December 13th 2020 (*ibid.*). Child hunger on the other hand was reported at 15 percent during wave one, 11 percent in wave two and 16 percent during wave three (*ibid.*).

2.2.4. Drivers of Food Security in SA

The state of hunger and food insecurity in South Africa is argued to be caused and perpetuated by systemic issues such as poverty that manifest social inequalities. Both unemployment and low wages are contributory factors to food insecurity in South Africa. As such, job creation is highlighted in policy such as the National Development Plan (NDP) and the National Policy on Food and Nutrition Security (NPFNS) with the expectation that this will positively contribute to food security. In a media release about the 'Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) – Q1: 2020' StatsSA (2020) notes that unemployment rose to 30,1 percent in the first quarter of 2020 leaving 7,1 million South Africans without employment. Inequality and poverty are coupled with unaffordable food prices.

Many households are unable to sustain themselves and end up using most of their incomes on food thus reducing their spending power. Many households are becoming increasingly at risk of being unable to sustain and provide for themselves because of the alarming rate at which food prices are increasing. The cost of a food basket for households living in low-income areas increased by 13,2 percent between August 2019 and August 2020 (Pietermaritzburg Economic Justice and Dignity Group (PMBEJDG) 2020). The average cost of feeding a family of 4 people nutritious meals for a month is estimated at R2519,57 while the median wage for South Africans is R3 500 (*ibid.*). Although the data reflects low-income households in Pietermaritzburg, "the household food index may provide a picture into food price inflation as experienced by households living in low incomes in South Africa" (PMBEJDG 2020:2). This is particularly problematic seeing as incomes are not rising at a similar rate as food prices, leaving many households unable to allocate larger percentages of their incomes to other essentials.

Pereira (2014) argues that vulnerability to food prices is a contributor to food insecurity but certainly not the only one. Food poverty in South Africa is intensified by the large gaps between rich and poor. This income inequality means that many individuals at the bottom of the income ladder are susceptible to malnutrition, hunger and at a greater risk food insecurity being forced to either spend less or spend money on poorer quality foods.

The increasing dominance of the fast-food industry is affecting the types of food that is consumed by South Africans (Pereira 2014). This increase has been linked to the

argument that healthier foods are less accessible and affordable for many households. It has also been linked to the idea that many individuals spend a significant part of their time travelling and thus have less (1) money allocated for food and (2) less time to prepare cooked foods. Contributory factors to the state of malnutrition are in part a result of shifts in diets which include ultra-processed foods high in salt, sugars, and saturated fats (Willet *et al.* (2019).

The role of businesses and corporations is important in understanding the current food system. Scholars note that there is a culture of corporate concentration that is changing the landscape of food systems in South Africa (Hunter-Adams *et al.* 2019; Greenberg 2014, Pereira 2014). Greenberg (2014:1) and Hunter-Adams *et al.* (2019) argue that the concentration of corporations in the food sector is a result of deregulation in the 1980s and 1990s. This transition is argued to have largely affected transparency within the food system (Hunter-Adams *et al.* 2019.). Monopolisation of big businesses is a result of the deregulation of the South African market which allowed commercial farmers to retain control has made it difficult for small-scale entities to enter the industry (Termeer *et al.* 2019). This openness further makes it easier for international price fluctuations to affect the local market affecting poorer households.

Corporations determine the types of foods, prices, availability, quality, and nutritional value consumed by citizens. Commercial farmers account for 91 percent of production. This is particularly a large percentage seeing as there are an estimated 40 000 commercial farmers, compared to 1,3 million small scale farmers. The issue is not only in production but also in manufacturing. The market is monopolised by several large corporations who have been investigated for price fixing in recent years. The issue of price fixing impacts whether households can afford the foods that are available in market. Thirdly, the retail industry is dominated by a handful of retailers, which tend to be expensive, inaccessible and promote foods that are process, low in quality and nutritional value. An estimated 60 percent of the market is controlled by the top four retailers (Ledger 2015). Furthermore, 97 percent of sales in the formal food market are accounted for by four major companies (Pereira 2014). This domination has resulted in the displacement of small food retailers by controlling the food system, from production of foods to the sale thereof making it incredible difficult for small farmers to gain entry into the market (Battersby and

Peyton 2014; Skinner and Haysom 2016; Ledger 2016). It has been highlighted that despite the monopolisation by businesses and corporations, the informal market in South Africa still plays a significant role in the food system by assisting poor households with access (Skinner and Haysom 2016).

2.3. Food Governance in South Africa

South Africa has several policy frameworks to address food. Institutionally, the state is arranged in such a way that power, responsibilities, and functions are divided between three spheres of government: namely local, provincial, and national. The Constitution underpinned by the Bill of Rights offers a framework that stipulates the right to food within which the government can operate to realise this for all its citizens. Nationally, South Africa has several policies that are aimed at improving the state of food security in the country, however these have been argued to have gaps and lack coordination. Thus, failing in their objectives. This section begins by briefly discussing the right to food as stipulated in the constitution and the NDP. The section then goes on to discuss policies, programmes and strategies that have been implemented nationally to address food issue. Lastly, it looks at the policy and governance critiques offered by scholars.

2.3.1. The Right to Food

The Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa together with the National Development Plan (NDP) offer a mandate for the South African government to operate within, to achieve food security. The Right to Food is entrenched in the Constitution under section 27(1)(b) which states that all citizens are entitled to “sufficient food and water” (RSA 1996). It is also mentioned in section 28(1)(c) which outlines the right for all children to basic nutrition and finally in section 35(2)(e) which outlines the right to food and nutrition for detained persons. The Constitution, states that it is the responsibility of government to take measures within its capacity to achieve the realisation of the right to food, water, and basic nutrition (RSA 1996). In other words, the right to food is a progressive right except for children and prisoners (where it is an absolute right). Prior to 2020, this right had remained unchallenged. In 2020, papers were filed by Equal Education to compel government to continue

providing learners with food through the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP) which had been suspended in March 2020 due to the Covid-19 lockdowns. The failure of the government to continue the NSNP was a direct violation of the rights enshrined in the Constitution.

2.3.2. Policies, Programmes, Strategies

The Integrated Food Security Strategy (IFSS) in 2002 was the first comprehensive policy that focused on food security. This due to multiple food security programmes across different departments being unsuccessful and thus resulting in the need to have a national strategy with the intention to “streamline, harmonize and integrate the diverse food security programmes” (DAFF 2002:5). The IFSS was also in response to the 2002/3 food crisis and was introduced by government with the intention of ending hunger by the year 2015 (Termeer *et al.* 2018). The strategy was led by the Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry (DAFF) and was an attempt to coordinate various programmes across different departments. The strategy aimed to focus its efforts on previously disadvantaged groups and a reprioritisation towards social programmes (DAFF 2002). The IFSS focused on improving agricultural activities, particularly those of small scale and subsistence farmers (Drimie and Ruysenaar 2010; Boatemaa *et al.* 2018). This was largely because the mandate for the IFSS was assigned to the Department of Agriculture. Candel (2018:105) notes that the approach to solving food security issues is framed within “institutionalised norms and beliefs”. This suggests that the framing policy is influenced and shaped by the vantage point and governance procedures of a given institution. Thus, with reference to the IFSS, the way in which the Department of Agriculture viewed, framed, and understood the issue of food security, can be noted, and was translated in the policy.

The IFSS adopted a more development focused approach as opposed to an agricultural one, during the implementation phase however, the policy lapsed into a more agricultural production focus, aimed primarily at a national level neglecting provincial and local (Termeer *et al.* 2018). Furthermore, although the importance of stakeholder inclusiveness was recognised, this objective was not adequately met in practice. Termeer *et al.* (2018) argue that multi-stakeholder dialogue was minimal

with focus being primarily on white commercial actors leaving black actors unaccounted for in the process. This is particularly problematic seeing as the black population suffers most from food insecurity. Despite the attempt, the strategy has been critiqued as lacking coordination between different stakeholders, crippled by maladministration and not being properly implemented at the local level (Oxfam 2014).

Replacing the IFSS, the National Policy on Food and Nutrition Security (NPFNS) was introduced in 2013 and gazetted in 2014. The NPFNS is to date the most comprehensive policy in South Africa dealing with food and nutrition security (Delpont 2019). The policy focused specifically on access, affordability and accessibility and safe and nutritious foods for households (DSD and DAFF 2014: 6). The policy is guided by the NDP and aims to contribute to food security in South Africa through land tenure and improved education around nutrition (NDP 2011; Chonco 2015). Upon analysis the policy also shows several gaps, with poor analysis of the issues it aims to address notably with climate change, gender, market volatility, food prices and the issue of access (Oxfam 2014). Chonco (2015) points out that following from the IFSS, the NPFNS also has an underlying production bias. According to Drimie (2016), although the policy gained traction, it has been criticised as lacking consultation with non-governmental actors.

In 2012, the National Development Plan (NDP) was introduced by the National Planning Commission (NPC) after the realisation that addressing poverty and inequality was important to development and social cohesion (NPC 2012). Part of the aims of the NDP, is to address inequality and poverty to improve the quality of living for South African citizens which includes adequate nutrition (Hendriks 2013). However, it is argued that the strategy fails to properly acknowledge and address the food security realities in the country. Hendriks (2013) argues that the NDP only references food security on two occasions. Firstly, through creating jobs and developing the agricultural sector with the aim of increasing productivity. Secondly through mention health care for mothers and infants which could indirectly have an impact on food security. This failure of properly acknowledging food security is in conflict with the framework set out by the Constitution.

There are other initiatives introduced by government to try and ensure the right to food for its citizens. The National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP), initially established in 1994 as the Primary School Nutrition Programme (PSNP) coordinated by the Department of Health was moved in 2004 to be coordinated by the Department of Education. The NSNP aims to feed Primary and Secondary learners from disadvantaged schools. According to the Department of Basic Education (2019), the aim of the programme is to feed learners with the intention “to make them alert and receptive” to improve learning ability and introduce healthy lifestyles for both learners and parents alike. In 2013, the *Fetsa Tlala* initiative was approved by cabinet with the objective to end hunger and improve production to alleviate food and nutrition insecurity of citizens (Mclaren *et al* 2015). Other programmes include the price monitoring programme under the Department of Agriculture and the zero VAT rating on basic goods introduced by National Treasury. The National Food and Nutrition Security Plan, 2017-2022 was implemented with the goal to improve governance systems and institutional arrangement. The first strategic objective notes the need to improve multisectoral engagements with the hope of policy alignment, coordination and implementation which will result in addressing food and nutrition security in South Africa (DAFF 2017).

2.3.3. Policy and Governance Critiques

Despite these efforts, the South African government is argued to have failed to adequately address food security (Delpont 2019; Boatemaa *et al.* 2018). The current state of food and nutrition in South Africa points to a need for policy and governance measures that are not only comprehensive but also focus on supply and demand of healthy foods (Thow *et al.* 2018). The challenge is argued to arise from the policy making process, defining the problem of food security and implementation (Boatemaa *et al.* 2018). Part of the issue is the lack of participation when drafting policies, discourse relying heavily on a production and rural vantage point to frame issues and a general lack of civil society participation (Mclaren *et al.* 2015). It is also noted that for food policy to succeed, there needs to be an acknowledgement of entrenched power in the food system and a shift should be made towards “transparency, accountability and diversity” (Hunter-Adams *et al.* 2019: 18).

Food security initiatives were uncoordinated, and adopted by various departments post-1994 (Boatema *et al.* 2018). Despite there being policies in relation to food and nutrition security, Boatema *et al.* (2018) have argued that these policies have proved ineffective partly as a result of the policy process, the framing of the food security problem and the implementation phase. Similarly, Hunter-Adams *et al.* (2019) notes that food policy in South Africa lacks the multidimensionality required to solve food issues. This suggests that although policies do exist, the framework in which policy is formulated lacks the ability to solve the complexity of food issues. Coordination is an important and necessary aspect of the policy process, particularly for cross-cutting and complex issues such as food, a fact that has been acknowledged by both the IFSS and NPFNS. Thus, warranting a cross-cutting approach. Pereira and Drimie (2016) points out that under the leadership of the DAFF, food initiatives tend to singularly focus on the production of food, largely ignoring other factors. Drimie (2016) argues that the lack of coordination may be a result of the narrow lens adopted by government departments with different and often conflicting mandates and the notion that departments focus their attention on addressing specific issues.

Boatema *et al.* (2018) contend that previous policy documents identify government officials, non-governmental organisations, the private sector, members of communities and donors as stakeholders necessary and integral to policy formulation. The coordination was proposed to occur on two levels. Firstly, between different governmental departments and sectors. Despite this, analysis of the Listeriosis outbreak (2017-2018) in South Africa, shows that governance in the food system is particularly difficult because of the overlap and conflict of roles between various departments in fulfilling their mandates (Boatema *et al.* 2019). The second proposed level focuses on engagement between government and non-governmental actors. Despite this, policies are developed and formulated by departments without collaboration without non-governmental actors who could have improved understanding and framing of issues and solutions proposed (Boatema *et al.* 2018; Hunter-Adams *et al.* 2019) This lack of collaboration and coordination with non-state actors has been noted as part of the reason the state continuously fails to reach its policy objectives and developmental goals (Boatema *et al.* 2018; Battersby 2013; Drimie 2016; Haysom 2015). What is important is for government to find new ways to

incorporate actors from various levels both inside and outside the government sphere to achieve inclusivity.

Scholars argue that the challenge of addressing food security in South Africa, is in part due to the misconception that only rural areas are adversely affected by food insecurity (SACN Programme, 2015). This is despite the fact that data indicates that over 60 percent of South African reside in urban areas (Drimie 2016). The rural bias continues despite overwhelming evidence that urban informal areas have the highest levels of insecurity (Boatema *et al.* 2018). Battersby (2013) cautions against transferring the knowledge used in rural areas to address urban food insecurity because it largely ignores the systemic causes that shape urban food insecurity. This perspective does not consider the fact that there are other factors such as rising food prices, food access and inequality in livelihoods that contribute to food challenges in urban areas. According to scholars, food governance in South Africa “remains hierarchical and rural-oriented” with many cities not taking responsibility and leaving it to be taken by other actors both government and private (Haysom 2015:265).

Drimie (2016) further points out that the lack of South African government to properly address food issue is also linked to the fact that currently, South Africa’s economic strategy aims for economic growth. There is an incoherence between economic and food policies where the former focuses on liberalisation, incentivising trade, and investment (Thow *et al.* 2018). Food policies on the other hand “aim to reduce the availability and affordability of unhealthy, highly processed ...foods”. It has been noted that economic policies implemented in South Africa are neoliberal in nature proving to conflict with social development objectives as those who have benefitted are in a better position leaving those in dire need excluded (Habib 2003). Sebake (2017) posits that neoliberalism is inherently capitalistic and as such does not favour citizens but capital. Other noted issues include the lack of political will, whereby food issues are not being viewed as 'top priority' on the agenda of policymakers has in turn affected implementation (Drimie 2016; Boatema *et al.* 2018). All these factors in the governance procedures in South Africa have resulted in policy that is uncoordinated, ineffective, and fragmented. Hunter-Adams *et al.* (2019) note that there is an obvious lack in state capacity and disconnect of governance procedures in South Africa.

Despite the mandate offered to achieve food security, the problem lies in the fact that food issues are largely seen as agricultural (Termeer *et al.* 2018). As such departments and institutions that have an agricultural mandate are usually the ones that make interventions within the food system. Discourse on food issues in South Africa primarily focus on availability and accessibility (Hunter-Adams *et al.* 2019). This siloed approach negates the recognition that cross-engagement is a necessary approach to food issues. In fact, most of the South African population resides in urban areas and as such, traditional approaches that are heavily reliant on agriculture or those that adopt a rural lens are inadequate (Haysom 2015).

2.4. Local Food Governance in South Africa

The responsibility of addressing food security is thought to solely be that of national and provincial (Chonco 2015). However, de Visser (2019) shows that local governments in South Africa have power mandated to them that enable them to be active in creating and implementing policies, programmes and strategies pertaining to food security. Local governments are positioned to actively play a role and contribute to food governance (Rose and Hearn 2017:6). However, it has been noted by scholars that despite all spheres of government being allocated powers that allow them to play a role in the realisation of the right to food for all citizens, food issues are often seen as largely agricultural and mandated to provincial and national departments (de Visser 2019; Johnstone 2019). Johnstone (2019:146) further notes that local government lacks initiative and innovation and “has become increasingly compliance-driven and risk averse” which affects their abilities to create impactful solutions to problems faced by their constituencies. This is further exacerbated by the fact that the current political system does not enable local government to actively participate in the policy making process (Hickman and Stehle 2019).

Despite the noted challenges, local governments have powers allocated to them which allow them to contribute towards food security. These include competencies such as (1) water services, (2) electricity “which is essential for cooking and cold storage”, (3) waste disposal, (4) local food trade regulations (5) planning and use of land or spatial development (de Visser 2019: 10-15). Electricity is the primary source

of cooking for many South Africans (Oxfam 2014). In 2014, data indicated that 73,8 percent households depend largely on electricity despite the constantly rising costs associated with it (*ibid.*). The way municipalities provide these services and structure their tariffs indirectly affect food security because “food insecurity is inextricably linked to poverty” (de Visser 2019:11). Furthermore, the determination of land use and allocation for street trading can contribute greatly to the realisation of food security (de Visser 2019:15). Additionally, powers that are exclusive to municipalities can be found under schedule 4b and 5b, some of which intersect with food security such as “(1) trading regulations, (2) markets and (3) street trading” (de Visser 2019:11).

That said both Chonco (2015) and de Visser (2019) show that despite the powers that local governments have, their actions are limited to operate within the framework given by national and provincial governments and do not offer enough room for local governments to contribute. This in turn leads to the neglect of the role that local government can have. This is a flaw seeing as local governments are in close proximity to communities and are uniquely positioned to tailor approaches and solutions based on the specific needs of each community.

Local governance can serve to help remove barriers, enable positive change and advocate for changes within the food system (Rose and Hearn 2017). One of the areas identified is through their constitutionally mandated power to regulate billboards in public spaces and through urban planning, local governments can become drivers of change and promote public health (de Visser 2019; Rose and Hearn 2017). It is important however to acknowledge that local government often “lack the support necessary to deliver systematic change” (Rose and Hearn 2017:10). As such, de Visser (2019) argues that local government can utilise constitutionally mandated powers to actively contribute towards food security. The complexity of food security means that local government cannot address these issues unilaterally.

2.5. Summary and Conclusion

The literature in this chapter has explored food security and governance in South Africa. It is organised around key issues to draw linkages, but also to provide a context that informs this research. There is a gap in the literature, particularly around local food governance which this research seeks to fill.

Different forms of malnutrition co-exist in the same space causing what has been referred to by scholars as a nutrition transition within the food system. In South Africa, current food issues are inextricably tied to historical process that have left many disadvantaged, deprived and displaced. It is argued that the South African government has a history of being more inclined to focus on agriculture and food production. This approach is still apparent in current governance approaches to food issues despite critiques by scholars that it is one dimensional and tends to result in initiatives not being efficient. Furthermore, despite high prevalence of food insecurity it is argued that these issues are not gaining enough attention from government officials because they are not considered to be high priority. As such food governance in South Africa is argued to be fragmented, lacking inclusion with both a rural bias and one-dimensional focus on production.

Current frameworks and institutional arrangements that are in place to address food and nutrition security in South Africa tend to be hierarchical. Available research that investigates food governance in South Africa, tend to be more focused on the national level. The research has identified several issues with regards to policy integration and a general lack of stakeholder inclusion. What has become apparent from available literature is that although local governments have powers which can be used to contribute to and shape the food system, there is little research on this. It is clear that the role of local government is largely ignored despite the possible contribution they can make towards food governance in cities. Based on this, this research will be exploring the role that cities can play in food governance and contribute positively to food security in South Africa.

Chapter Three: The Conceptual Framework: Governance and Policy Integration

3.1. Introduction

By definition, a conceptual framework is “a network, or a ‘plane’, of interlinked concepts that together provide a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon” (Jabareen 2009:51). A conceptual framework underpins the research problem of the study and serves as a basis for directing the research question, aims and objectives (Kumar 2011). Characteristics of a conceptual framework include (1) an approach to society that is interpretive, (2) they serve to provide understand of the problem, (3) they are inherently indeterminist and lastly, each concept is integral (Jabareen 2009:51).

The aim of this study is to explore the extent to which the integration of stakeholders and policies in Johannesburg enables coherent engagement with the complex cross-cutting issue of food insecurity. To achieve this, the study seeks to identify actors who are involved in the process of food governance withing local government structures in the City of Johannesburg. It also seeks to understand how the policies, strategies, and programmes in place and to ascertain how integrated policy is. The two concepts that guide and inform the research process of this study are governance and policy integration. The concept of governance helps to understand that there are multiple actors with differing interests who operate in the process of governing and contribute to shaping policy. The policy integration literature offers a set of criteria by which this study will be able to ascertain how coordinated and harmonious policies are and also how well governed they are.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Firstly, the chapter begins by exploring the concept of governance. The second part of this chapter explores policy integration, firstly by offering a definition. Secondly it will evaluate the usage of the term policy integration in literature tracing it from debates around sustainable development. From here, this section will investigate the criteria to measure policy integration. This chapter then evaluates how both governance and policy integration relate to food governance. Lastly, it details the criteria selected for this research project that will help determine whether policies that influence food issues are coordinated, consistent and joined-up.

3.2. Governance

Although governance is a popular concept, it can have multiple understandings and approaches. Generally, it is a term that is used to explain a process that contrasts with the concept of government (Bache 2003; Candel 2014; Katsamunskaja 2016; Rhodes 1996). Governance is understood as a concept that is used to describe the process of governing. The concept of government denotes more “hierarchical and state-centred modes of managing public affairs” (Candel 2014:586). Government denotes the exercise of power by the state through formal institutions and formal processes which function “to maintain public order and facilitates collective action” (Stoker 1998:17). The role of government has evolved throughout various understandings of governance.

Governance captures the process of governing which is inclusive of multiple actors and institutions from different sectors and levels. Katsamunskaja (2016) and Peters (2010) emphasise that the ambiguity and multiple understandings of the concept of governance, demands that it be defined according to the way in which it is used and understood in research. Peters (2010:2) further argues that this “to some extent obfuscates meaning at the same time that it perhaps enhances understanding”.

3.2.1. Theoretical Roots of Governance

The term governance has multiple theoretical roots and can be used to signify different things (Stoker 1998; Bevir 2007). Bevir (2007) points out that the understanding of governance should consider the theoretical context it is used in. The concept of governance is rooted in rational choice theory, the new institutionalism, systems theory, regulation theory, interpretive theories, and public policy.

Neoliberal reforms in the public sector during the 1980s to 1990s gave rise to the term governance by capturing the shift in the role played by the state (Bevir 2007). Neoliberals believed that the state was becoming unmanageable and thus advocate for the minimal state whereby service delivery is based on an entrepreneurial driven system.

Generally, the term signifies a shift in authority and the exercise thereof. Governance then is a concept that captures the idea that the state cannot perform its duties or mandates without relying on other actors, or organisations outside the state (Bevir 2007).

3.2.2. *Defining Governance*

Governance can be viewed as a lens to understand the process of decision-making and the relationships that exist between government and non-government entities in any given environment (Smit 2016:81). Rhodes (1996) points out that governance refers to the process of governing. Governing is rooted in the idea of 'steering' (Peters 2010; Katsamunskaja 2016). To view the concept as a process of steering, is relevant in contemporary societies that face a range of problems that cannot be addressed singularly but instead require collective action. Despite governance being viewed as a process, Peters (2010) notes that it can also be understood as a "conception of accountability for the actors involved in the process to be held accountable to some degree.

According to Bevir (2011:1) governance is a term that is widely used across several disciplines which generally describes modes of governing or "patterns of rule". Similarly, Stoker (1998:15) argues that although there are several usages and interpretations of governance, a general consensus is that governance highlights a process and focuses on mechanisms used to govern and refers to the style of governing where there exists no visible boundary between the public and private spheres.

Governance replaces the formality of traditional setting and recognises the ability for informal and diverse interactions to contribute to the process of governing (Bevir 2011:2). Smit (2016), on the other hand, argues that governance operates on a continuum between formal and informal decision-making processes both contributing to the process of governing. Thus governance reflects a "hybrid, multijurisdictional and plural phenomenon" with governing arrangements being connected through networks of actors (Bevir 2011:2-3). These networks influence several aspects of government activities (Stoker 1998).

3.2.3. *Actors involved in Governance procedures*

The concept of governance defies traditional perceptions of the state as rigid and points instead to a process which includes all types of stakeholders in governing (Bevir 2011:1). As such, the concept of governance signifies the transcendence of the division between state and other actors by emphasising that the state does not

bear sole responsibility but rather that the process of governing is a collective effort (Stoker 1998).

Governance can be used to express a situation whereby governing or “any pattern of rule that arises either when the state is dependent upon others or when the state plays little or no role” thus pointing to the acknowledgement that rule and order can be instilled without the presence of a state (Bevir 2007:364). An important aspect of governance is the participation of non-state actors in the process and recognises their contribution “without reliance on the formal resources of government” (Stoker 1998:21).

Governance has redefined the relationship between the state and society by acknowledging that political actors are often constrained by their mandates and thus share governing with other actors in society (Bevir 2011:2). Actors who are key in the governance of food systems include, but are not limited to, government officials from all levels, the private and commercial sector, non-governmental or civil society groups, “marketing and distribution networks, traders associations and community groups” (Smit 2016: 82).

3.2.4. Multilevel Governance

It is becoming increasingly difficult to manage and address the complexity of issues societies face. Therefore, it is important to govern across boundaries. Multi-level governance (MLG) refers to a form of governance that is based on the understanding that there is a distribution of power, resources, and responsibility across various levels of government and society. Various levels or spheres of government speak to national, provincial, and local government which are distinct yet connected.

Central to the concept of multi-level governance is the critique against the arbitrary dichotomies between sectors and levels of government (Bache and Flinders 2004). Daniell and Kay (2017:4) highlight that MLG calls for “coordination and continuous negotiation across multiple levels and sectors”. Thus, multi-level governance can develop out of both formal and informal structures and consultation from various actors from differing backgrounds and levels of power to collaborate and reach mutually beneficial outcomes, goals, and policies.

3.2.5. Horizontal Governance

Horizontal governance on the other hand involves the coordination across different sectors or departments. Various departments and ministries often have clashing objectives and often implement programmes and initiatives that are "contradictory, redundant, or both" (Peters 1998:295). Tosun and Lang (2017:559) note that horizontal governance emerged as a replacement of traditional siloed government structures to assist "networks of different governmental units to increase policy coordination, collaboration, and shared responsibility". The move from hierarchical modes of government, encourages inclusion and an increase in "interaction between government, citizens, firms and social organisations" in tackling complex societal issues (i.e. horizontal governance) (Termeer 2009: 1). This highlights the fact that complex issues faced by societies today cannot be addressed in silos but rather require a coordinated effort across various sectors both inside and outside government and multiple actors to be effective.

3.3. Policy Integration

Policy integration (PI) as a term was introduced in 1980 by Arild Underdal who argues that policy integration is policy that brings together different parts "to a single, unifying conception" (Underdal 1980). PI is considered to have the potential to be a solution to address complex problems (Briassoulis 2004). The concept is based on a top-down notion of understanding policy making (Tosun and Lang 2017). Generally, policy integration captures the need to move away from siloed approaches and accommodate growing cross-cutting problems. Policy integration is not without its critiques and pitfalls (Peters 2018; Candel 2021). According to Meijers (2004) there are interpretive and contextual factors which need to be taken into consideration as they may serve as facilitators or obstacles to policy integration. She mentions that "structural elements have more impact on the 'coordinative environment'" (Meijers 2004:6).

3.3.1. Policy Integration Definition

There is a plethora of terminology used to describe policy integration. This is because PI is defined from different perspectives and policy sectors (Tosun and Lang 2017). However, simply put policy integration is the coherent cross-sectoral

collaboration and coordination of multiple actors to seamlessly combine policy goals from different sectors. Candel and Biesbroek (2016:217) define policy integration as:

“an agency-driven process of asynchronous and multi-dimensional policy and institutional change within an existing or newly formed governance system that shapes the systems and its subsystems’ ability to address a cross-cutting policy problem in a more or less holistic manner”.

At the core of PI, is the need to manage cross-cutting issues that are not confined to traditional policy fields and often transcend mandates of individual departments and institutions (Meijers and Stead 2004). The aim is to overcome the limitations associated with specialised policy. The concept of PI has particularly been associated with climate governance (Tosun and Lang 2017). Arguably, this applies to the complexity of food issues. Ultimately, PI offers an alternative approach to single policy making. Peters (1998:302) argues that integration is a form of bargaining from all stakeholders to create a “set of mutual agreements and understanding” when approaching an issue.

Tosun and Lang (2017) note that there are two approaches in policy integration. The first seeks to “create interdependencies between two or more policy domains” using coordination to achieve integration (*ibid.*: 555). The second approach views policy integration as a process “at a meta-level and involves the use of specific policy instruments” with the aim of integrating several factors including actors, problems, and goals across various policy sectors (*ibid.*). Candel and Biesbroek (2016:211) argue that policy integration is processual in nature and should be viewed “as a process that entails various elements that do not necessarily move in a concerted manner but may develop at different paces or even in opposite directions”.

Policy Integration uses the concepts of policy coherence and policy coordination to offer a more holistic approach that seeks to “improve efficiency in policymaking (and effectiveness in policy output and implementation)” (Dupont 2015:58). Both concepts focus on different parts of policy integration. Policy coherence avoids “conflicts between the objectives of different policy areas”, whereas policy coordination minimises redundancy in policies and programmes by striving to reach similar outcomes (Dupont 2015:58).

3.3.2. *Policy Integration usage in literature*

The understanding of policy integration has largely been informed by the debates surrounding sustainable development and Environmental Policy Integration (EPI) (Candel and Biesbroek 2016: 212). EPI has its foundations in the *Brundtland Report 1987* and has the broader goal of achieving sustainable development. This understanding calls for prioritisation of environmental objectives. EPI ultimately has the purpose of merging and creating synergy between “economic competitiveness, social development and environmental protection” goals to achieve sustainable development (Jordan and Lenschow 2010:147). According to Persson and Runhaar (2018:141) the advantage of EPI is that it allows for a more targeted approach that deals with and focuses on “the underlying driving forces, rather than symptoms, of environmental degradation, and complements specialised environmental policies”. Despite extensive usage of EPI, the term remains fragmented. Jordan and Lenschow (2010) argue that this is the result of interpretations on the meaning of EPI and the various outcomes.

It is argued that EPI aims to unify and mainstream “environmental concerns in non-environmental policy domains” by moving them from the periphery and inserting them into decision making processes (Bowen 2009: 27). Linked to EPI literature is Climate Policy Integration. Climate Policy Integration (CPI) is argued to be a component of EPI (Adelle and Russel 2013). CPI emerged during the growing concerns regarding climate change. Adelle and Russel (2013) note that both EPI and CPI can be understood not only from a normative perspective but also as a *process* of governing which can enable policy integration. EPI can be understood as prioritising environmental objectives in the policy process (Jordan and Lenschow 2010). Lafferty and Hovden (2003) advocate for principled priority which refers to the practice of placing environmental objectives as the starting point in the policy making process.

Despite the acknowledgement that integration is necessary to tackle the problems within society such as climate change, food security, poverty and unemployment, Policy integration is not without its issues. Candel and Biesbroek (2016) note that challenges emerge when complex issues are approached from traditional and hierarchical perspectives. There needs to be a criteria established through which to

measure the level of PI observed. Various criteria have been suggested in the literature.

3.3.3. Policy Integration Criteria

Persson (2004) argues that it is important to distinguish between the type of criteria applied in that it is either used to evaluate the process or the output of integration. As such criteria can either be procedural or substantive. The former suggests the way things ought to be done; whereas the latter focusses on “the properties an output should have” (Persson 2004:37). Looking at the EPI literature, there are several criteria one can draw on.

Various authors have tried to identify criteria for policy to be considered integrated (i.e. as an output). These include (1) comprehensiveness (2) consistency and (3) aggregation (Underdal 1980:161-163). Alternatively, Candel and Biesbroek (2016:217) argue that there are four dimensions needed for policy integration. Each of these dimensions should be regarded “in relation to a specific cross-cutting policy problem that a governance system seeks to address” (Candel and Biesbroek 2016:217). Firstly, policy frame, the way a problem is approached and understood within a governance system (*ibid.*). Secondly, the involvement of various actors and institutions or ‘subsystem involvement’ (*ibid.*). The third dimension requires the policy goals that are pursued in addressing the problem. Lastly, “the substantive and/or procedural policy instruments within a governance system” (Candel and Biesbroek 2016:222). Russel *et. al.* (2018) offers a scale to measure policy integration that is specified to climate adaptation. This scale is based on four indicators: inclusion, consistency, weighing and reporting. Each of these indicators have key aspects which need to be considered when measuring the degree of policy integration.

3.4. Governance and PI in relation to food governance

The nature of ‘the food security problem’ faced by states has rendered traditional hierarchical governance models ineffective and has placed greater importance on networked governance models that require an interplay of both formal and informal actors. In South Africa, food governance is argued to be fragmented and uncoordinated and there is also a lack of consultation with non-government actors and those affected by food insecurity (Pereira and Drimie 2016; Boatemaa *et.al* 2018). Pereira and Drimie (2016) argue that the complexity that characterises the

South African food system requires new governance arrangement to have positive results.

Using governance as a lens acknowledges the fact that there exist multiple actors with differing knowledge and resources both within and outside government spheres in decision-making and governance processes (Smit 2016). According to Briassoulis (2004), traditional policy responses tend to focus primarily on a certain aspect of an issue as opposed to adopting a holistic approach. She argues that a single sectoral policy approach should not be applied to cross-cutting issues as they tend to be ineffective “sectoralized, uni-dimensional, uni-disciplinary and uncoordinated” which in turn do not provide a satisfactory and sustainable solution required by complex problems (Briassoulis 2004:2).

The governance lens also offers insight into understanding the various actors and their relationships in relation to each other. Actors who are key in the governance of food systems include, but are not limited to, government officials from all levels, the private and commercial sector, non-governmental or civil society groups, “marketing and distribution networks, traders’ associations and community groups” (Smit 2016: 82).

The cross-cutting nature of food security transcends traditional boundaries of governance and policy sectors (Candel and Biesbroek 2016). Traditional top-down governance approaches will not be efficient in addressing the food problem, which as noted defies boundaries and is comprised of various stakeholders with differing perspectives and as such requires more networked governance strategies to bring together actors to address the wicked problem of food security (Pereira and Drimie 2016:20).

Governance was chosen as a concept that underpins this research for several key factors. Firstly, it is a concept that goes beyond a top-down approach and opts to adopt a process that is more interactive in nature. The state is not viewed in isolation but rather in relation to other facets of society. Governance blurs the line between the public and private spheres and encourages a space of collaboration, constant interaction between various stakeholders from varying backgrounds whereby a bottom-up approach can contribute to understanding and defining societal problems. A key feature of governance is that it acknowledges that there are various

stakeholders involved in the process of governance (Smit 2016). Adopting a governance approach is useful because (1) it will allow exploring the role of both state and non-state actors in the process of food governance, and (2) to look at the interactions between actors in relation to influencing policy. The understanding of governance used in this research is from Rhodes (1996:660) who refers to governance as “self-organizing, interorganizational networks” characterised by interdependency, consistency of interaction, trust and sharing of knowledge with some separation from the state.

Policy integration is one way to address complex issues, coordinate cross-cutting policies and create synergy across various policy sectors (Briassoulis 2004; Candel and Biesbroek 2016). There are multiple understandings and definitions of policy integration as a concept. The one that guides this research is offered by Meijers and Stead (2004) who view policy integration as a concept that:

“...concerns the management of cross-cutting issues in policy-making that transcend the boundaries of established policy fields, which often do not correspond to the institutional responsibilities of individual departments.” -(Meijers and Stead 2004:1)

This study makes use of the literature around policy integration and creates a conceptual framework to apply to data collected from Johannesburg on food governance. This will be used to see and understand how integrated food policy is in the metro and identify any areas for improvement. Applying a lens of policy integration to food governance further offers insight as to whether these multiple actors are working and coordinating together.

Given that part of this study seeks to investigate the extent to which food policy is integrated in the City of Johannesburg, it is important to have criteria which will help evaluate this. This research adopts a modified framework put forward by Candel and Biesbroek (2016) and Russel *et al.* (2018) and Underdal (1980) to investigate this (see Table 1). The criteria that will be used is as follows (1) Policy frame (2) Subsystem Involvement (3) Policy goals/Inclusion, and (4) Consistency and Coordination. Using *Policy Frame* as a criterion determining whether policy integration has been achieved is important because it takes into consideration how the problem of food security and food governance is understood, framed, and

approached by actors involved in the governance process. In this instance, there is a high occurrence of policy integration when a holistic approach is adopted and the recognition that a governance approach is necessary to achieve success. The second criteria, *subsystem involvement*, considers the range of actors involved in the policy governance process to addressing complex and cross-cutting problems. This also entails a high instance of collaboration or interaction between various actors from differing backgrounds. *Policy Goals/Inclusion* recognises the need for food objectives to be identified during the policy process but also focusses on the range of policies that exist across different spheres addressing food as an issue. Lastly, *consistency and coordination* which speaks to harmony. Underdal (1980:161) notes that “a consistent policy is one that is in harmony with itself” and can include both vertical and horizontal dimensions. The understanding of coordination used is offered by Peters (1998:296) who argues that coordination is present when there is “minimal redundancy, incoherence and lacunae”.

Table 1: Framework to evaluate policy integration – specified to food issues

Criteria	Understanding/Key Aspects observed
<i>Policy Frame</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problem definition of food issues • Governance approach adopted
<i>Subsystem Involvement</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involvement of various actors and institutions in the governance of a cross-cutting problem • Frequency of interactions between actors
<i>Policy Goals/Inclusion</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A range of policies across sectors that identifies <i>food</i> as an issue or objective • Food objectives need to be identified
<i>Consistency and coordination</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coherence and compatibility between food issues and other policy • Minimal instances of redundancy and discordant of objectives

*Table compiled by the author

3.5. Governance and Policy Integration as a framework

Interwoven into the research question is the pursuit to understand the extent to which ‘the integration of stakeholders and policies involved in the governance of food’. Food issues are argued to “require some level of policy integration” (Candel and Biesbroek 2016:212). Policy integration should aim to be holistic in the sense “that does not privilege one sector at the expense of others” (Buizer 2015:2). PI has both vertical and horizontal dimensions. Horizontal policy integration can refer to the integration of policy across different departments at a local level. Thus, requiring horizontal governance, and moving away from traditional siloed approaches by adopting more flexible and inclusive modes of governing which transcend institutional borders (Termeer et al 2018).

Following the assertion made that complex problems require the involvement of various actors from different governmental departments and sectors of society, it calls to reason that policy integration operationalizes governance. For the purposes of this study, both horizontal and multilevel governance is to be considered. Hence governance is considered as a cornerstone of this research.

The concept of ‘governance’ serves as an important pillar within this study. As discussed, the concept is complex with multiple understandings attached. This study understands governances to denote a process of ‘steering’, involving multiple relations and connections between various stakeholders from differing levels of government and society. Governance of ‘wicked problems’ requires an approach such as multilevel governance that transcends societal and governmental dichotomies. This study understands multilevel governance as “initiators and initiatives originating primarily from the local level and policies and policymakers from other levels interact across multiple levels to realize their ideas or to implement their policies” (Buizer 2015:4).

This study seeks to explore the issue of food. A complex and cross-cutting issue that is often described as a ‘wicked problem’. This covers many issues which transcend policy sectors and require collaboration between varying actors to resolve. A wicked problem is one that “defies resolution because of the enormous interdependencies, uncertainties, circularities, and conflicting stakeholders implicated by any effort to develop a solution” (Lazarus 2008:1160). Food issues are affected by a number of various policy domains such as economic and social development, transportation,

planning, and waste management to name a few. Due to the complexity of food, traditional approaches are rendered incompatible and ineffective demanding efforts that “transcend the boundaries of existing jurisdictions and for that reason requires integrated policy approaches and boundary-spanning governance arrangements” (Candel and Periera 2017:89). For optimal results when approaching wicked problems such as food, both concepts are necessary.

Drawing on governance approaches, wicked problems require (1) the involvement of multiple actors across different sectors of society and (2) for those actors to collaborate in crafting novel solutions. Policy integration would then create synergy between different departments to (1) create a holistic food policy or (2) have food objectives present in different policies from different sectors. The two concepts come together to assist with exploring the question posed by the research: to what extent does the integration of stakeholders and policies involved in the governance of food in Johannesburg enable coherent engagement with the complex and cross-cutting issue of urban food insecurity? Governance focuses on the involvement of stakeholders, who come from varying departments and backgrounds. The concept offers a lens into how actors interact, who they are and whether they are integrated into the governance processes of food within Johannesburg. Policy integration offers insight as to whether or not food issues and objectives are adequately engaged with by the city, to what extent and by which functional departments and actors.

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter investigated the concepts of governance and policy integration which underpinned the understanding of this research study. Governance has multiple meanings and understandings. Scholars have noted that meaning can change according to the researcher. Generally, governance denotes the shift from government, and the idea that it cannot perform its duties without the input from stakeholders from other sectors. It is viewed as a process of governance. The chapter then looked at the concept of policy integration. Like governance, policy integration can be understood in multiple ways and has various manifestations. Generally, it is used to speak to the coherent cross-sectoral collaboration and coordination of multiple actors to seamlessly combine policy goals from different sectors both vertically and horizontally. Policy integration has been extensively used

in environmental policy and climate policy literature. This chapter then investigated the two concepts in relation to food governance. Both governance and policy integration are useful in understanding complex issues such as food governance. In the context of this research, governance will help understand the type of actors involved in the process of governing food issues in the City of Johannesburg. Applying the lens of policy integration will help with understanding of how integrated food policy is in the metro and find areas for improvement. It will also offer insight as to the actors involved in the process of governing.

Chapter Four: Methodology and Research Design

4.1. Introduction

The overarching purpose of this study is to evaluate the extent to which the integration of stakeholders and policies in food governance processes within Johannesburg enable *coherent engagement with the complex and cross-cutting issue of urban food insecurity*. To support this, this study aims to understand the actors involved in governance procedures; the main policies, programmes and strategies available for the City of Johannesburg (COJ) and finally, the extent to which policy is integrated. Accordingly, this chapter offers a look into the methodology and design employed for the data collection and analysis. The components covered in this chapter include: the research approach, the research strategy, data collection, ethical consideration and the identified limitation associated with the study. In conclusion, this chapter offers the key aspects of the methodology used during this study.

4.2. Research Approach

A research paradigm determines the approach that will be adopted during the process of conducting research. A research paradigm is a set of beliefs that explain how the world is perceived by the researcher (Wahyuni 2012). It is argued that although the philosophical underpinnings are usually implicit, it is important to acknowledge their existence because this influences meaning and analysis (Babbie and Roberts 2018; Creswell 2014; Wahyuni 2012; Smith *et al.* 2009). A research paradigm has two philosophical dimensions, ontology, and epistemology (Wahyuni 2012). Epistemology is a theory of knowledge which concerns itself with how we know what we know (Tuli 2010). Cohen *et al.* (2007:7) defines epistemology as a theory that explores knowledge, “its nature and forms, how it can be acquired, and how [it is] communicated to other human beings”. They further elaborate that the assumptions made about knowledge and the way a researcher positions themselves will influence what we know about social behaviour. Ontology on the other hand

focuses on reality or being (Tuli 2010). It is the study of '*what is*' and researchers take a position regarding how reality is understood (Scotland 2012).

This study adopts a post-positivism lens. Post-positivism emerged as an alternative to positivism championing the idea that there can be no absolute truth especially when studying human behaviour (Creswell 2014; Wahyuni 2012; O'Leary 2011). Knowledge according to post-positivists is a by-product of and conditioned by society thus operating from the assumption that truth and reality can be understood in multiple ways (Wahyuni 2012; Tanlaka *et al.* 2019). In essence, post-positivism offers alternative ways of knowing (O'Leary, 2011). Post-positivism is underpinned by both the epistemology and ontology of this study. For the former, post-positivism understands the world as constructed where knowledge is understood and experienced by individuals through interactions with others and societal systems. Post-positivism serves as the ontology by understanding reality as a social construct.

Based on the post-positivist paradigm, this study will employ a qualitative research design. Using a qualitative research design allows the research to view social constructs in a way that a quantitative research design would not allow. A qualitative research design is a research strategy that translates the principles of the research paradigm into "guidelines that show how research is to be conducted" (Tuli 2010:102). In essence, a research paradigm (ontology and epistemology) influence which research methodology can be chosen whereas the methodology speaks to how knowledge is gained or how the research process is conducted. A qualitative research design offers an approach that explores meaning around social phenomena (Creswell 2014). This research design offers both a descriptive and narrative approach in exploring a phenomenon (Astalin 2013:118). This aligns well with the epistemology that underpins this research which understands knowledge as being influenced by interactions with others and society. Qualitative research encompasses multiple methodologies, and focuses more on explaining, exploring, and gaining understanding of phenomena using deductive logic as a tool to analyse data (Kumar 2014:100).

A qualitative research strategy allows the researcher to make use of multiple methods during the research process (Panhwar *et al.* 2017). This is particularly useful for the research questions being investigated by this research. The complexity

and multidimensionality of the questions being addressed by this research require multiple approaches which will be addressed through multiple research methods offered by a qualitative research study. One of the instruments used by post-positivist include interviews which will be used in this research to develop a deeper understanding of stakeholder views and perceptions and of food governance processes in the City of Johannesburg (Tanlaka et al. 2019). This aligns well with the epistemology of this research. Interviews are viewed by post-positivists as a tool that can be to “increase researchers’ abilities to infer” from what is known about a phenomenon (*ibid*: 741). Furthermore, it enables both the researcher and participants to limit biases by allowing the subject to be viewed from more than one perspective. According to post-positivists using multiple methods to investigate the complexity of social phenomena reduces the risk of bias by approaching a problem from various vantage points and serves “to maximise confidence in resultant research knowledge” (*ibid*).

4.3. Research Strategy: Case Study

Qualitative research has multiple research designs that can be used in the exploration of social phenomena. Research design explains the process through which the research questions, data and conclusions are made (Blaikie 2010:39). A case study design was used to gather data that informs this research.

Using a case study enables understanding within a particular setting (Eisenhardt 1989; Burnett 2009; Wahyuni 2012; Yin 2016). According to Ponelis (2015:535) using a case study design provides “an intensive, holistic description and analysis” to offer insight into a real-life situation. More importantly, case study design “can be used for theoretical elaboration or analytical generalisation” (Yin 2016:68). Leedy and Ormrod (2021:261) note that case study methodology can focus on a single case “perhaps because its unique or exceptional qualities can promote understanding or inform practice for similar situations”. Case study designs are flexible and adaptable and allow for different methods of data collection to be utilised during the investigation process such as “observations, interviews, [and] documents (Leedy and Ormrod 2021:261).

The case study chosen in this research is the City of Johannesburg situated in Gauteng Province, South Africa. An overview and profile of The City of Johannesburg (CoJ or Joburg) is offered later on in the thesis in Chapter 5. The decision to use the City of Johannesburg is based on the existence of the Gauteng Food Governance Community of Practice (CoP). A CoP refers to a group of people from differing backgrounds who gather to exchange experiences and or knowledge around a particular issue. The COP is organized by the research supervisors and will be helpful because of the exchange of knowledge that takes place in this forum and also the stakeholders that attend (and can be approached for interviews and focus groups. Joburg is used to gather answers about local food governance in South Africa. Case study methodology is employed in this research because it allows for the learning and exploration of a situation where little is known or poorly understood (Leedy and Ormrod 2021).

4.4. Data Collection

In terms of methodology, this study uses multiple methods, namely: (1) document analysis; (2) elite interviews and (3) stakeholder workshops.

4.4.1. Document Analysis

Documentary analysis is used to generate an initial understanding of the phenomenon being studied before engaging with actors in the food system. Documentary analysis is a systematic process for analysing selected documents, to assist with gaining knowledge or understanding (Bowen 2009; Bhattacharjee 2012). Bowen (2009) notes that documentary analysis requires the researcher to draw data from at least two other sources, often referred to as 'triangulation' where multiple methodologies are used in combination to one another as a means of studying the same phenomenon. This protects the research against potential bias from use of a singular methodology. Furthermore, "document analysis is particularly applicable to qualitative case studies" (Bowen 2009). This process will involve both primary documentary sources and secondary sources.

Primary documentary sources – these refer to policies, or original data. To access the various documents pertaining to food security and food governance, the City of Johannesburg website will be searched to find the relevant documents, policies, programmes, and strategies using keywords such as ‘policy’; ‘strategy’; and ‘programme’, ‘food governance’, ‘food security’. *Table 1* outlines some of the key policies, programmes, and strategies both nationally and locally that are deemed relevant to the study.

Secondary sources – are documents, reports, articles which are analysis of the primary sources collected. The secondary sources supplement the primary documents. A search through Google and the University of Pretoria library database conducted using the same criteria. The main purpose of this was to enable a review and analysis of existing documents and to gain a clearer understanding of governance within the City of Johannesburg by including documents and research done by stakeholders outside the government sphere. These documents include academic articles, media reports and online commentary, press releases and stakeholder reports.

Table 2: Key Policies, Programmes, Strategies in review

Department	Year	Title
Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries	2002	Integrated Food Security Strategy (IFSS)
	2014	National Policy on Food and Nutrition Security (NPFNS)
	2015	National Food and Nutrition Security for South Africa 2017-2022
Environment, Forestry and Fisheries, Industry and Competition, Science and Innovation	2020	GREEN ECONOMY POLICY REVIEW OF SOUTH AFRICA'S INDUSTRIAL POLICY FRAMEWORK
National Planning Commission	2012	National Development Plan, Vision 2030
Department of Economic Development	2010	New Growth Path: Framework
Gauteng Provincial Government	2010	A strategy for a developmental green economy for Gauteng
		Ggt2030
City of Johannesburg	2019	Environmental Sustainability Strategy and Action Plan for the City of Johannesburg
	2018/9	Integrated development plan 2018/19 review

	2016	Spatial Development Framework 2040
	2008	Economic Development Policy and Strategy Framework
	2009	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG BROADBAND POLICY FRAMEWORK
	2012	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG DISASTER MANAGEMENT PLAN

4.4.2. *Elite Interviews*

Elite interviews are conducted with selected actors based on the institutions they work for and the positions they occupy. According to Huggins (2014:2), this method is used to “target actors who are in a privileged position in relation to a particular activity or area of policy”. Interviews allow participants to reflect about their experiences in their own words (Yin 2016:34).

This approach enables a more in-depth understanding on the processes of food governance at a local level, particularly in the COJ. It will particularly help with understanding the role that local governments assume in relation to food governance. Interviews are crucial to the research process because they will help achieve the research aims set out for this research project. Interviewing actors who participate in food governance will help gain a clearer understanding of the governance processes, but also offer a unique insight into the difficulties encountered during this process. The interviews also illuminated the types of initiatives local governments are taking to contribute to food governance processes. Most importantly, the interviews allow for varying perspectives which will not be accessible from other tools such as use of public documents to be captured.

Qualitative research generally makes use of purposeful sampling strategy which requires the researcher to select settings or people in order to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Creswell 2007; Omona 2013; Palinkas *et al.* 2015). It is important to note that there are several types of purposeful sampling designs but for the purposes of this research, a random purposive sampling strategy was adopted. According to Creswell (2007: 127), a random

purposeful sampling is important in adding credibility to the research process particularly when the “potential purposeful sample is too large”. Furthermore, a random purposeful design does not assume to be representative of a population (Palinkas *et al.* 2015). Purposeful sampling not only involves selecting individuals that are knowledgeable about the phenomenon being studied but also take into consideration availability, the willingness to participate in the study and “the ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate, expressive, and reflective manner” (Palinkas *et al.* 2015:2).

In the case of this research, the unit of analysis refers to actors in the food governance space. In addition to representatives of the City of Johannesburg, it will also include academics, traders, and activists who are active in this governance space. The selection of these individuals will be through public documents but also through the GP Food Governance Community of Practice.

This research will take place amidst the Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic. To limit the spread of the virus, organisations and governments alike have recommended social distancing because the virus spreads with close contact. Although COVID-19 restrictions and regulations have been eased, the existence of COVID-19 will pose a challenge in conducting face-to-face interviews. Different tools such as online platforms will be utilized to perform interviews.

The participants sampled for this research generally fall into three broad categories of government officials, civil society, and academics. The list of participants is shown below:

TABLE 3: Broad Categories of Research Participants

List of Respondents	Categories Respondents fall into (*respondents fall into two or more categories)		
	Government Officials	Civil Society	Academics
Respondent 1*		✓	✓
Respondent 2			✓
Respondent 3			✓
Respondent 4		✓	
Respondent 5			✓
Respondent 6		✓	
Respondent 7		✓	
Respondent 8		✓	
Respondent 9	✓		
Respondent 10	✓		

The interviews were conducted between 17th February 2022 to 27th May 2022. An anonymized list of the interviews and when they were conducted can be referenced in *Appendix I*. These interviews were conducted via the Zoom platform and lasted between 20-40 minutes. The interviews were conducted using semi open-ended questions prepared and delivered in English (*Appendix H*). Participants are individuals who are part of the stakeholder workshops discussed below in section 4.4.3. The interviews were relatively easy to conduct seeing as all participants were knowledgeable around the food space either at a national, provincial, or local level in South Africa. Although respondents were selected according to the positions they hold, either in government, academia or civil society, their participation in this research project is conducted within their personal capacity and not professional capacity.

4.4.3. Stakeholder Workshops

Thirdly, the initial intention was to collect data through the GP Food Governance Community of Practice. However, after March 2020, the GP CoP meeting was combined with the Western Cape CoP meetings. The data collected will be from both the GP CoP meetings which were held prior to March 2020 and the combined CoP post-March 2020. These workshops are convened by the Centre of Excellence on Food Security, records of which are publicly available and used to inform the research process. A Community of Practice (CoP) is made of various individuals who regularly meet with the intention to share knowledge and collectively learn from one another. It is a space whereby there is potential to “link knowledge, policy, and practice” across various spheres (Hearn and White 2009:2)

4.5. Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are guidelines that assist researchers at every stage of the research with regards to moral and legal standards (Smith *et al.* 2009). Ethics exists to ensure that researchers do not engage in misconduct, plagiarism, impeding on peoples’ confidentiality, deception, falsifying results and forcing participants to be part of the study against their will (Struwig and Stead 2017). As such, the principles

that researchers should adhere to include protecting the integrity and quality of the research conducted, offering informed consent to participants, ensuring confidentiality and anonymity where it applies and protecting participants from harm (Smith *et al.* 2009). Kumar (2014) points out that it is important that the research be cognisant of their own bias throughout the research process to ensure that it does not affect or skew research findings. As such, it is important that the researcher points out any ethical issues that may come up during the process of conducting the study.

The ethical considerations that came up throughout the course of this study are detailed below. All considerations and possible implications are in line with the University of Pretoria's research ethics policy. The steps put in place to overcome any ethical challenges are discussed. Part of the data collection method that this study uses are elite interviews. The consideration of all participants who are interviewed in this research is important. Using the understanding of research principles offered by Struwig and Stead (2017), several considerations have been made, namely informed consent, confidentiality, and anonymity.

The first consideration made is that of informed consent. Israel and Hay (2006) note that guidelines for research require consent which is both informed and voluntary. The former requires participants to understand the nature of research and what it entails before giving permission for their involvement. This includes but is not limited to "information about the purpose, methods, demands, risks, inconveniences, discomforts and possible outcomes of the research, including whether and how results might be disseminated" (Israel and Hall 2006:61). The voluntary nature of consent on the other hand requires autonomy, whereby participants commit their involvement in the research intentionally without coercion and manipulation. This research acknowledges that consent is dynamic. According to Steinsberkk *et al.* (2013), this refers to the fact that participation in the research is voluntary, and that it may withdraw from participating at any point before publication. As such, the research should inform participants of new developments during the research process.

Confidentiality forms the second ethical consideration. The privacy of the participants details will always be respected and maintained. This fact will be mentioned and

made clear to participants from the commencement of the study. Seeing as this study aims to interview individuals in high standing, no organisations/institutions will be mentioned in the research.

Lastly, anonymity is considered and enforced. As such, no names, positions, or places of work will be used or made public by the researcher. In the context of a metropolitan such as the City of Johannesburg whereby city officials will be interviewed, it becomes important to maintain anonymity of participants to protect them against potential legal prosecution, reputational harm and or loss of employment. The scope of anonymity that will be maintained excludes information that is publicly accessible, particularly pertaining to the Food Governance Community of Practice documents.

Permission was sought and granted from the Centre of Excellence in Food Security (COE) to use the *Food Governance COP Workshops* to ask individuals to participate in the research study. A letter granting permission from the Centre of Excellence in Food Security to access the CoP Meetings, as well as recordings, minutes of meetings and associated documents, was obtained (Annex C and D). Each potential interviewee received a consent form and letter requesting permission (Annex F and G). The informed consent form included the contact details of the researcher and supervisor so that the participant can make contact with questions or to withdraw consent at any time. It further clarifies that although stakeholders that will be approached will be from government, NGO and academic spheres, they will be participating in the research study in their personal capacity and not the offices they hold or organisations they represent. Despite this, considerations were made and an official request was sent to the City of Johannesburg seeking permission to conduct the research (Annex A). A permission letter to conduct the research was granted to the research by the City of Johannesburg on 16 March 2021 (Annex B). Due to this research taking place post the COVID-19 context, all interviews will occur virtually on the Zoom platform.

4.6. Study Delimitation

Two delimitations will guide the process of the research namely geographical and conceptual. Firstly, the jurisdictional delimitation has been limited to the City of Johannesburg, Gauteng. The decision to use the City of Johannesburg is based on the existence of the Gauteng Food Governance Community of Practice (see Section 4.4.3).

Secondly the use of two concepts, namely governance and policy integration, as the basis which guides the focus of the research. Governance is chosen because it is an important lens to view decision-making processes and guides the research to identify actors both inside and outside the government sphere. The second concept that underpins this research is policy integration, which guides the focus of this research to include a range of policy sectors that impact on food, as well as policies specific to food issues. A detailed discussion of these two concepts is offered in the previous chapter (*chapter 3: The Conceptual Framework*).

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the methodology, paradigm and research strategy that was employed throughout the process for this study. The chapter began by indicating the paradigm which underpins this study, namely post-positivism which posits that there is no single truth. As such, reality can be viewed and understood from multiple perspectives. From this research paradigm, a qualitative research design is chosen which allows the use of multiple methods throughout the research process. The research strategy for this project was a single case study. This was selected because a case study not only allows for understanding within a specific setting. Thereafter, the methods used for data collection were accounted for which included elite interviews, document analysis and stakeholder workshops. This is followed by the ethical considerations that relate specifically to this research project. In conclusion, this chapter offered a study delimitation which guided the research process.

Chapter Five: Results and Discussion

5.1. Introduction

This chapter will present the research findings sourced from documentary analysis and interviews. The findings relate to the question posed by this research which aims to explore the extent to which *integration of stakeholders and policies involved in the governance of food in Johannesburg enable coherent engagement with the complex and cross-cutting issue of urban food insecurity* as discussed in Chapter One. The overarching research question is underpinned by three sub-questions. Firstly, who are the actors involved in the food governance processes in the City of Johannesburg. Secondly, what are the main policies, programmes, and strategies in the CoJ? Lastly, how integrated is food policy in the CoJ? The data presented in this chapter relate to the chosen case study of this research: the City of Johannesburg (CoJ or Joburg).

This chapter begins by briefly offering an overview and profile of the City of Johannesburg. The chapter proceeds to present and discuss the research findings collected from interviews and the documentary analysis. The organisation of this section is primarily organised according to the research sub-questions discussed in chapter one. Following from the presentation of the findings, the next section will offer a discussion of the findings within the context of the role that cities can play in food governance.

5.2. The Case of The City of Johannesburg: Overview and Profile

The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality is situated in the Gauteng Province in South Africa. Johannesburg (Joburg) shares boundaries with two other metropolitans: Ekurhuleni and Tshwane (Figure 1). Joburg covers an area of 1 645km² with an estimated population of 5.74 million people (Joburg 2022). Population growth for Joburg is in decline, from 3.5 percent to 2.4 percent (COGTA 2020).

The city is characterised by the co-existence of wealth and poverty in the same spaces or in close proximity to each other. It is understood as a very unequal city with a Gini co-efficient of 0,624. According to the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) (2020:5), the city had 2,35 million people living in poverty in 2018 “using the upper poverty line of R 1227 per person” monthly.

The city’s economy is characterised by a low skill base, a low level of education and low formal job growth all of which are deemed “incompatible with the current economic structure of the City” (City of Johannesburg 2022:14). Joburg is described as an advanced city because of its economic and commercial capabilities, it is viewed as the financial capital of the continent and is home to majority of the wealth on the African continent estimated at \$248 billion dollars (COGTA 2020:9). The economy is highly diverse with a growing informal economy. Based off population, size, and economy, the CoJ is considered the largest municipality in South Africa (COGTA 2020). Notably, the history of Johannesburg is deeply rooted in segregation, inequality, and spatial inequality. Murray (20011: xi) notes that

“Johannesburg is the place where the architects of racial segregation were the most deeply invested in implanting their vision of "separate development" into the social fabric of the urban landscape.”

Elsewhere, Turok and Borel-Saladin (2013) note the effects that the legacy of spatial inequality in Johannesburg has on poverty. They note that there is a “spatial disconnect between the economy and population” whereby people residing outside of cities were lagging behind in terms of their job share. This inevitable translates and feeds into the lived experiences of people regarding poverty, proximity to job opportunities, and food insecurity. Grant (2010: v) summarises that spatial inequality is directly linked to development over time just as much as it is about “physical proximity to services, infrastructure and jobs”.

i. Governance, Administration and Politics in Joburg
Metropolitan areas were formed as a “response to the deep history of racially defined and fragmented local government” (Pieterse 2021: 22). The mandate at the time was

to try to create a more unified society bridging the social division that existed. City of Johannesburg has deeply entrenched systemic issues that characterise the governance landscape. Issues such as high unemployment, biased economic opportunities and racialised economic inequality are issues that are still being tackled today (*ibid.*). However, it is increasingly becoming apparent that this mandate has not been fully fulfilled (*ibid.*).

ii. Food Security in Joburg

Food security in Johannesburg, is a severe problem. Rudolph *et al.* (2021) notes that most households within the city employ strategies such as reducing portion size, eating less preferred food, and borrowing money to stay afloat. The recent Household Affordability Index conducted by the Pietermaritzburg Economic Justice and Dignity Group (PMBEJD) in May 2022, found that in the space of a year, the price of a food basket in the city has increased by 10,5 percent to R 4 626,51. The rise is inextricably linked to both local and global factors. Key in the methodology employed by the PMBEJD is the use of individuals based in surveyed communities to monitor food prices. The rise in food prices, is negatively impacting households who are now forced into a situation where households now allocate continually increasing proportions of their income to food if they want to maintain the same dietary quality . There is a direct correlation between rising food prices and food insecurity (Frayne *et al.* 2009).

Issues of poverty, rising food prices and related factors impact the types of food consumed by households. Dietary diversity has been noted as a big problem because it associated with multiple health outcomes such as child stunting, cardiovascular problems, and a range of non-communicable diseases (Drimie *et al.* 2013). In a study conducted by Frayne *et al.* (2009), Johannesburg rated 8 out of 12 on the dietary diversity scale. This is understood as the ability to “ensure adequate nutrition” (*ibid.*:21). The scale indicates whether nutritious foods are consumed and is also affected by where food is accessed. In the case of Joburg, there is an indication of relatively adequate dietary diversity. This data was collected from three poor neighbourhoods in Johannesburg and thus cannot be considered as representative of the city as a whole. However, it was noted that the high score could be influenced by the higher income within the city. In a more recent study conducted in Joburg by Rudolph *et al.* (2021:46), dietary diversity is described as

“poor for at least a third of households”. Furthermore, dietary behaviour indicates that there is a primary reliance “starches, sugar, meat and sweetened beverages”. This raises a concern regarding the long-term health consequences of diets consumed (see discussion in Literature Review).

5.3. Actors Involved in food governance processes

1. City of Johannesburg

Discourse suggests the need for inter-departmental collaboration when approaching food security (Candel and Biesbroek 2016; Candel and Pereira 2017). There are several departments which contribute either directly or indirectly to food security and food governance within the city.

The **Department of Social Development** is primarily mandated with dealing with food related issues in the metro. The Department of Social Development (DSD) presents itself and adopts a pro-poor approach in servicing and supporting vulnerable groups in the city by responding to the conditions of poor household poverty in Johannesburg and inequalities among residents with a specific focus on addressing generational inequality and social exclusion among residents (CoJ 2018).

Another important actor within the CoJ is the **Food Resilience Unit**. The Food Resilience Unit is said to be a flagship of the Department of Social Development in the City of Johannesburg which aims to advance the state of food security and promote urban agriculture in the CoJ. According to the CoJ (2019), this unit has been mandated to implement food resilience and security strategies to alleviate poverty and create sustainable opportunities for indigent families in the city. Some of the programmes that this unit is involved in include (but are not limited to); providing food parcels to poor households, breaking cycle of inter-generational poverty by establishing household food gardens, agri-parks/ or food empowerment zones, “Special programme on sustainable organic farming, a programme established in partnership with UNEP, GEF and DBSA to promote sustainable organic farming across the city”, agro-processing projects and farmer market days (Joburg 2018).

Economic Development (CoJ-DED) focuses primarily on the facilitation of private sector investment to the city, growth and reduce unemployment. The COJ-DED works and collaborates with other departments and municipal entities to ensure transformation of Johannesburg’s economy through addressing “unemployment, poverty, and inequality” (IDP 2021: 203).

Health Department focuses primarily on public health with the vision of one city one health. The department seeks to promote “health in all policies” to improve the daily lives of people considering multiple factors such as background, employment, and place of residence (IDP 2021:29). The Health Department is said to collaborate with other departments or sectors seeing as there are several contributing factors to health issues are outside the health domain. Respondent 10 noted that DSD, often collaborates with the Health Department especially with providing emergency nutrition for indigent persons.

This list is not exhaustive and does not include a full picture of departments that are and could be participating in food governance but do not. There are other departments that should be involved in contributing to food security. Department who in their current roles, affect different functional parts of the food system and inevitably shape the food environment whether directly or indirectly. Despite this, they may not be in touch with this. This includes the Department of Environment and Infrastructure Services who contributed to the Climate Action Plan (2021) and municipal entities such as PikItUp and Joburg Market who are said to play a role in contributing to food security. The Department of Social Development works with several departments to try and reduce hunger and food insecurity within the city through their several initiatives. According to respondent 10, DSD works with *the Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development (DAL-RRD)* (on a national level) through several projects spearheaded by the DSD, particularly in the agricultural space. On a local level, there are several city entities (listed below) which the DSD partners with to ensure that the department fulfils its mandate.

- **Joburg market** assists DSD by supplying produce to the department which is given out as part of the department’s initiative.

- **JPC (Joburg Property Company)** are the custodians of land in the city. If there is farmable land available, they release the land to Social Development which assists in their farming projects.
- **Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo:** which assists the department with things such as compost and trees which aligns well with the departments initiatives to try and increase farming.
- **Joburg water (Johannesburg Water):** who always ready to assist the department when there is a need for intervention.
- **Joburg Power (City Power Johannesburg):** able to assist in providing services to vulnerable groups who are unable to provide for themselves to assist in contributing towards improving their quality of life.
- **JOSHCO (Johannesburg Social Housing Company)** assist DSD through rooftop gardens. JOHSCO manages city owned properties. Through their work, they identify buildings eligible for rooftop gardens. There is currently consideration for the expansion of this initiative, although at the current moment, the respondent was able to note that it the programme has not yet been finalised.
- **Environmental Infrastructure department** “is available to assist us in terms of compliance with environmental management legislations and bylaws for the city”.
- **Department of health** often recommends people to DSD for emergency nutrition and assistance.

The list of departments and municipal entities that DSD partners with, offers an idea of the types of actors within the city space that are not directly mandated with food issues but can contribute towards its fulfilment. However, literature has shown that often, the food security mandate is misunderstood and not taken up, especially by cities because it is not within their purview (Haysom 2021).

// Private Sector and Corporations

The private sector plays a significant role in the governing of food. The role of the private sector spans from serving communities, financing projects or contributing to policy formulation. Scholars such as Crush and Frayne (2011); Battersby and Peyton (2014) have noted that supermarkets are increasingly becoming dominant in the

food security space in South Africa. The increasing dominance by supermarkets “is undermining retail diversity” (Battersby 2017: 419). The monopolisation of the market by big businesses has further been critiqued as making it difficult for small scale entities to enter and participate in the market (Teermer *et al.* 2018). This is supported from the evidence recovered during the interviews, where respondent 2 notes that policies are structured in such a way that, small farmers are unable to participate in the supply chain because of the standardised tons expected which results in “closing down opportunities for farmers, small farmers, especially small black farmers and for trade. [Which] would be a very bad path to go down” (Respondent 2). Respondent 1 notes that policy tends to be skewed to favour retailers and big corporations over informal traders. Recent history points to this bias during the COVID-19 lockdown where only big retailers and financial outlets were considered to be ‘essential services’ (Bernstein 2020). This is regardless of the fact that majority of the population is serviced by the ‘informal market’ who play a critical role towards food security and the economy as a whole. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) released a research report *The Impact Of Covid 19 On Micro And Informal Businesses In South Africa* in 2021 that reflected on the difficulties experienced by small business and the informal market (UNDP 2021). The study found that the impacts of the lockdown on the informal sector was direct, and they experienced huge losses either in terms of stock or income.

III. Civil Society

Civil society in the context of this research is “understood as something distinct from the state” (Kaldor 2003: 584). It is a space occupied by groups or organisations operating not for profit but for public interest and social development. This group is an umbrella term for communities, households, organisations, non-governmental organisations, non-profit companies, and individuals who organise themselves and participate in initiatives that aim to contribute to food security. During the Covid-19 lockdown, the importance of the contribution and impact offered by civil society organisations should be noted. On the onset of the food crisis that came with the lockdowns, civil society organisations reacted and adapted quickly to the situation “by collectively shifting their focus to emergency food aid to address what they saw as an acute need” (Adelle and Haywood 2021:18). Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) mobilised and responded in numerous ways, even outside of food

interventions (Jobson *et al.* 2021). Food specific interventions include but are not limited to food relief schemes, distribution of food and food vouchers (*ibid.*, Kroll *et al.* 2021, Adelle and Haywood 2021).

Table 3: Overview of actors in food governance within the City of Johannesburg

Public Sector	Private Sector	Civil Society
National Government		
Regional Government (Gauteng Province)		
Local-(City of Johannesburg) - Food Resilience Unit - Social Development - Economic Development - Health - Environment and Infrastructure Services - PikitUp - Joburg Market	- Informal traders - Small scale farmers - Supermarkets (eg. SPAR, PicknPay) - Businesses - Corporations	- Communities - Households - Community Based Organisations - Non-governmental Organisations - Non-profit companies Examples of entities in the civil society space: HEALA; iZindaba Zokudla, WWF, Food Forward South Africa, Nosh Food Rescue

5.4. Main policies, strategies, and programmes

In South Africa, local government forms the lowest tier of government influenced both by the National and Provincial arms of government. To properly discuss the policies, programmes and strategies implemented by the City of Johannesburg, it is necessary to contextualise the space within which the city operates. An in-depth discussion of the Gauteng Province is not within the scope set for this research. However, it is necessary to contextualise what is happening at a provincial level because it funnels down to local municipalities and informs how they frame and approach issues such as food.

i. Gauteng Province

Gauteng Province has various policies that set out its objectives. For the purposes of this research, three policies were selected to help contextualise how the province understands, thinks about and approaches food issues. *Growing Gauteng Together*

2030 (GGT2030), is in response to the fast-evolving world we currently find ourselves in. GGT2030, aims to introduce “adaptable and resilient long-term plans and transformative policies that will meet the needs of the growing populations” (Gauteng Province 2020:6). It focuses on addressing issues that are faced by Gauteng and its residents whilst keeping in line with the national objectives. Through the health sector, the GGT2030, strives to implement intersectoral action to improve food security and nutrition and reduce stunting” (*ibid.*:35). Food security is a stated priority of the Gauteng City Region (GCR), noting that residents go hungry as a direct consequence of poverty.

In 2014, the Gauteng Province introduced the *Gauteng 20 Year Food Security Plan* which outlines a range of programmes that will provide food to vulnerable groups with the long-term goal of reducing food insecurity by 2030. This will be measured through several targets that focus on reducing hunger and vulnerability and poverty and increasing access to adequate foods. To reach these targets collaboration from local municipalities is noted as necessary (GDARD 2014). The plan is underpinned by 6 pillars which are in line with the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Plan with the long-term goal of reducing food insecurity levels by half by the year 2030 in the Gauteng region. The plan was drafted by the Gauteng Department of Agriculture and Rural Development and acknowledges that food security is cross-sectoral and requires the involvement of multiple stakeholders. According to the plan “this will include all social sector role-players in government (provincial and municipal), in collaboration with the private sector organizations of civil society” (GDARD 2014: 3). The *Gauteng 20 Year Food Security Plan* uses the Constitution (1996); the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994) and Integrated Food Security Strategy (2002) as guiding documents.

The *Gauteng Social Development Strategic Plan 2020-2025* puts forwards a strategic plan and outlines the priorities for the Gauteng Province Department of Social Development. The department aims to ensure social development through poverty eradication and social protection initiatives for the most vulnerable groups in society. The strategic focus for this plan is to create a society that is self-reliant and to better quality of life through “the provision of accessible, integrated, comprehensive, sustainable and developmental social services” (GDSD 2020:24). This plan takes direction from the National Development Plan.

From these three policies and plans, the Provincial government gets its directives from and operates within a framework set by the National government. Food security is framed within the 1996 World Food Summit Definition that states that:

food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active healthy life” (World Food Summit of 1996).

Using this definition focuses food security initiatives on production, access, utilisation, food safety and preferences. From the policies discussed there is a significant focus on agriculture as a solution to food issues. This approach has been noted as a trend in South Africa. In a study conducted by Kushotor *et al.* 2022, almost half (23 percent) of the policies they analysed in the South African food governance space have an agricultural focus.

ii. The City of Johannesburg

One of the most important guiding documents for local governments, is the *Integrated Development Plan (IDP)*. An integrated development plan is a framework that outlines the initiatives of local government and other spheres to ensure development and improve the quality of life for the people living in a stated area. Haysom (2021) has noted that the COJ IDP has scant engagement with food issues. The city has adopted a *good resilience* approach whereby agriculture and food production are viewed as important aspects of efforts necessary for food security, development, and poverty alleviation. Most importantly is the acknowledgement that the cities food security approach has its foundations in the Integrated Food Security Strategy (2002) (COJ 2021: 163).

Aligning to the IDP, is the *Expanded Social Package (ESP)* spearheaded by the Department of Social Development in collaboration with the HEALTH Department. The ESP was established by the City of Johannesburg in 2008 outlining an initiative to provide certain basic services for free to poor households with the aim to enhance food security in the metro. The ESP was revised in 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic to cover groups in distress. The objective is to ultimately create a city that prides itself on equal access to basic service. As such, these services such as water and electricity are subsidised to vulnerable groups not only to ensure survival but facilitate access. Part of the programme includes food banks where food packages

are provided, food resilience initiatives and interventions. This link enables vulnerable households and those who are unable to provide for themselves access to food to meet their dietary needs. The ESP targets disadvantages residents or 'indigents' who are required to register with DSD, which must be renewed on a six month basis. According to the city, to qualify for the ESP, one must be a South African citizen, and reside within the boundaries of COJ. Applicants with an income, must not exceed R6 086.37. Other parts of the policy focus on "skills development, social service interventions, food resilience, youth programmes and intervention programmes for the homeless that would enable beneficiaries to exit the social assist programme" (Mazenda *et al.* 2021: 3).

Another plan critiqued for not engaging enough with food issues is the *Spatial Development Framework (SDF), 2040* (Haysom 2021). The SDF is policy that focuses on the spatial inequality that characterises Johannesburg caused by multiple factors such as apartheid spatial policies and car-oriented developments funded through the private sector. The goal is to create a city that is spatially just; ensuring development through several investments that aim to boost Joburg's economy enabling things such as food security. This policy is particularly of importance in contributing to food issues in the COJ because of the unequal settlement patterns that characterise Johannesburg. Majority of residents live in areas that are far from economic opportunities because of apartheid spatial policies. Where people live in relation to where they work factors in greatly to their sense of food security (Battersby 2012; Battersby and Peyton 2014). Throughout the SDF, food issues are understood and approach within the context of facilitating the expansion of trade that flows through Joburg.

Joburg has a guiding blueprint *Growth and Development Strategy, Joburg 2040* (2012) which outlines a strategy of what the city hopes to achieve by the 2040. This is all within the context of the past injustices that have shaped the landscape of Johannesburg with the aim of "working towards a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and just city" whilst allows acknowledges factors that influence the present and future. The GDS adopts agriculture and food security as one of its objectives which are framed in such a way that would contribute to the national agenda. Food issues are mentioned and understood in the context of natural resource scarcity, rising food prices and poverty which will have a negative impact because the city relies largely

on a “globalised food supply system that is under threat as a direct result of resource exploitation” (City of Johannesburg 2012a:7). The strategy seeks to encourage localised food production, provide support for small scale actor whilst facilitating partnerships with retailers and national government.

In the same year within the context provided by the GDS, the COJ Department of Social Development introduced the *Food Resilience Policy, 2012*. This is noted as a strategy document that acknowledges (1) food secure at a national level does not necessarily translate to “whether the poor in particular have sufficient access to food” and (2) to understand the production, distribution, sale, and consumption of food in the city. The *Food Resilience Policy* seeks to understand which areas within the CoJ are particularly affected by food insecurity, to support food production for households and entrepreneurship, increase availability of healthy foods, educate communities, and promote healthy lifestyle (Department of Social Development 2012). The policy acknowledges that food is primarily a mandate for national and provincial government. Despite this the document notes that the framing of food issues offered by the national government is limited and does not necessarily translate or become relevant to the context within the City of Johannesburg. As such the city needs to deviate from the prevalent logic that informs national government and focus specifically on the factors that affect the state of food security in the city itself (Department of Social Development 2012: 21).

In 2013, the Department of Economic Development introduced the *Green Economy Strategic Framework and Proposed Implementation Plan*. The framework was drafted in response to calls to local governments by national government to work towards “low carbon economies while stimulating conditions for job creation and poverty alleviation” (Department of Economic Development 2013: 9). The framework seeks to have a resilient city that has a decentralised regional food production system; with urban agriculture forming an important part of food security provisions. Emphasises should be placed on producing food products domestically rather than importing (Department of Economic Development 2013: 33). Food security is acknowledged as a mayoral priority and is understood in the context of climate change which has an adverse impact on agriculture. One of the strategic goals is to have “decentralised regional food production systems” (Department of Economic Development 2013: 34). Furthermore, the plan notes that the price of food is a major

problem in the city. Food vulnerability is increased by the fact that majority of cereals, fruits and vegetables are imported (*ibid.*). The plan advocates for urban agriculture policy and food security to be incorporated into integrated development plans.

5.5. Integration

Looking at policy integration, seeks to understand whether there is synergy between policy sectors. This is effective for complex, cross-cutting issues that require a more joined-up effort across departments. Part of objectives of this study, is to investigate the extent to which food policy is integrated in the City of Johannesburg. As such, it became necessary to develop a framework or criteria to help evaluate this. As earlier mentioned, the framework developed has been adapted from existing literature on policy integration which seeks to offer criteria to measure integration. For the purposes of this research, the criteria selected include (1) policy frame; (2) subsystem involvement; (3) policy goals/inclusion and (4) consistency. This following section will use this criterion to discuss the extent of which there is integration of food policy in the City of Johannesburg.

5.5.1. Policy Frame

This dimension seeks to understand the way food security and food governance is understood and framed in the CoJ space. It is evident that there are several ways in which the food crisis is framed and understood in Joburg. The themes picked up from the CoJ documents are grouped by the researcher according to the following: a productionist lens; a nutrition lens; an environmental lens and finally a development lens.

From the IDP, 2021 the productionist frame comes out prominently, whereby there is an emphasis on urban agriculture as the solution to food insecurity and hunger. Respondent 6 argues that it seems almost counterintuitive to focus on producing food when there is already so much food being wasted. In a study conducted by Oelofse *et al.* (2018), they found that 0.69kg per week of food waste was disposed of by households in Johannesburg. They found that per annum, urban households disposed of 51 462.46 tons of food. There is a general acknowledgement throughout

the policies in the CoJ that one of the biggest contributors to food insecurity in the metro is attributed but to poverty and lack of income. The relationship between food security and poverty is highlighted as inextricably linked. The IDP states:

“Food security is critical to development and poverty alleviation: without food, people cannot lift themselves out of poverty, while poverty in turn fuels food insecurity, creating a destructive cycle of impoverishment.” (CoJ 2021:163)

The productionist lens has been critiqued as lacking understanding of the multiple dimensions of food security. This is because an increase in production does not necessarily “translate into food security at either the household or the city scale” (Haysom 2015:81) This lens also tends to be problematic when being translated to cities such as the City of Johannesburg (Crush *et al.* 2012). This way of framing the food security problem often neglects issues that households in cities experience such as accessibility and affordability. Furthermore, this way of framing the food security problem tends to display a lack of understanding of the issues faced by the urban poor in accessing diets that are nutritious and adequate (Tacoli 2017:2). *The City of Joburg’s Food Resilience Policy (2012)* acknowledges that the framing of food security based on availability of food is limited and does not consider issues of access particularly for vulnerable groups. As such, the city itself needs to focus specifically on certain areas that are relevant to the context and should refrain from adopting from the prevalent logic that informs national government.

Another way of framing food in the CoJ, is through a nutrition lens which tends to focus on addressing underlying causes of dietary and diseases such as diabetes and cholesterol. This is a particularly important lens to consider seeing as almost a third of households have poor diets which contribute to “health problems related to non-communicable diseases and infections diseases alike” (Rudolph *et al.* 2021: 46). This frame is underlying in policies such as the Food Resilience Strategy (2012) and the IDP (2021). In the Food Resilience Strategy, the objective is to aid the hungry through (a) food parcels and food banks; (b) assist with emergency nutrition through regional clinics by assisting with malnutrition in children under five years and pregnant or breast-feeding women; and an overall encouragement of healthier eating.

The environment and nutrition lens focuses on the environmental impact of dietary behaviour and aims to “reduce GHG emissions and increase resilience to environmental change” (Matsuda *et al.* 2020: 165). This frame comes across in the *Food Resilience Strategy (2012)* with the aims to support farmers and those who grow food and assisting with nutrition. It also comes across in the Climate Action Plan (2021); the Growth and Development Strategy (2012) and the Spatial Development Framework (2016). This frame tends to be future facing by taking into consideration the expected expansion of the population in cities, thus deeming it “necessary to prepare a nutritious and environmentally-friendly food environment in newly developed areas and to transform the food environments of existing urban areas” (Matsuda *et al.* 2020: 165).

Coming out prominently from several policies in the City of Johannesburg is the development frame which centres predominantly on poverty alleviation. There are high instances of inequality and poverty in Joburg with 46,4 percent estimated to be living in poverty in the metro (City of Johannesburg 2021:24). Poverty, like food security, is a complex issue that requires multiple considerations when being addressed (Matsuda *et al.* 2020). The underlying objective of framing food security within this lens is to enhance market function and enabling people to improve their quality of life.

There is a general mixture in the way that food security is framed by the city from different perspectives. Food issues are not understood the same across the various policies. This general lack of a unified approach contributes in the city’s failure to adopt a multi-pronged approach necessary in food security. Food issues rather, are seen as standalone as opposed to being intrinsically linked to the systemic issues that characterise the city of Johannesburg. Food issues will persist and be difficult to address because there “isn’t a proper understanding and acceptance of the holistic nature of food” (Respondent 5). The city frames and looks at food security

“...as discrete pockets. You know, and you can’t address a systemic problem, like the food problem we have like that. You know, and I understand that cities are limited in terms of funds, they’re limited in terms of human capacity. But there needs to be a clear thinking around food governance as a system.” (Respondent 4).

Framing is important because people don't really understand what food security entails. This is regarding the necessity of a multi-pronged effort to address complex issues such as food security. The major problem highlighted in that food issues are mandated primarily to Social Development whereas food should be a mandate that straddles various departments. Respondent 9 argues that by locating food security within social development directly implies that food is framed from a vulnerability point of view. Food security is a complex issue that should not be primarily tasked to one department because by doing so:

“...you're simply reducing it to be a problem for those that are marginalized.... The truth is that it is bigger than that. We need sustainable agriculture, we need people to view urban agriculture not for subsistence, but as a business which is a function for economic development. We need [the] transportation department to play a role because if you've got employees [you need a functional] transportation system where people can easily access from markets [which will result in] the prices going down.” – respondent 9

Furthermore, the perception that giving out food parcels alone is a solution to the problem misses the deeper and intricate systemic issues that are interlinked to the food security problem.

Respondent 7 counters that the framing of the food issue is not necessarily the problem. Policies and documents say the right things when it comes to issues of food systems, multi-stakeholder engagement, interconnectedness, and resilience. The respondent further goes on to highlight that the bigger problem “is more [around] how African government structures aren't set up to address those kinds of challenges”. The stark reality is that there are deep fault lines in government structures which renders them incapable of responding in a way that is effective or even beginning to address the issue at all. The city is far off from having a holistic understanding of food. Food is understood not from a sustainability lens but is rather understood more along the line of being ‘pro-poor’. Respondent 8 notes that the solutions that the city implements are more short term and have raised expectations amongst people that dealing with food means distribution of food parcels, which is in and of itself very ‘devastating’ to the overall food crisis in the city.

5.5.2. *Subsystem Involvement*

Subsystem involvement looks at the range of actors that are involved in the process of governing in the CoJ. Complex and cross-cutting issues such as food require participation from and interaction between actors from different backgrounds. Participation is understood as the way the state and civil society relate to each other when it comes to decision-making processes. Laurian and Shaw (2008:294) note that participation deviates from a top-down approach to one that “seeks to increase popular influence over government policies”. Participation from the public is vital as it links government to the needs of citizens and promotes shared responsibility amongst all stakeholders. In South Africa, public participation is viewed as a mechanism used to incorporate civil society within decision-making processes whereby the intended outcome is to hold government to account and improve living conditions (Mngoma 2010: 32). The legislative framework in South Africa has multiple legislations and policies that outline and emphasise the need to foster an environment whereby participation can thrive. Mngoma (2010) highlights that “the White paper on Reconstruction and Development (1994), the Constitution of the RSA (1996), the White paper on local government (1998), the Municipal Systems Act (2000)” are among several key documents in South Africa which champion public participation.

There is a general acknowledgement of the need for multi-stakeholder engagement to address the issues that are present within the City of Johannesburg. In the *Integrated Development Plan 2021* the CoJ acknowledges the importance of local collaboration with all types of actors with the city. This is viewed as particularly important within the context of “interconnectedness and interdependence that exist now in the world” (CoJ 2021:10). The IDP (2021:12-13) strives towards a resilient city whereby one of its underpinning themes is to be achieved through *Connecting and engaging communities and stakeholders*:

- Community Based Planning
- Co-production of service delivery
- Smart communication and engagement
- One Plan, One Vision – DDM implementation
- Partnerships and alliance-building.

It has been legislated in Chapter 4 of the *Municipal Systems Act (2000)* that municipalities need to foster an environment for participation by communities within municipal affairs. The CoJ has created a process for consultation when drafting the IDP

“...for residents to participate, submit inputs and receive feedback into the IDP and thus ensuring a credible IDP that responds to the community needs and priorities as a way of setting delivery and development agenda” (CoJ 2021:42).

The process of consultation has also been noted in several other policies such as the *Growth and Development Strategy, 2012*. With reference to the drafting of the strategy, the GDS notes a 9 week engagement process:

“including the community; ward-level engagement and participation; a conference with leading global, regional and local experts; a City Lekgotla; and a final GDS Stakeholders’ Summit. It aimed to include all stakeholders, using a wide-ranging stakeholder and community consultation process to drive the development of an inspiring, visionary and implementable local government strategy. The Joburg 2040 GDS therefore serves as a strategy through which all can be galvanised in a shared sense of ownership. It forms a foundation document for the period ahead, against which the City’s stakeholders can hold the City to account.” –(City of Johannesburg 2012:10).

Additionally, the city strives for a more people centred approach through Community Based Planning adopted in 2007. According to a *South African Cities Network* report from 2014, the Community Based Planning Approach (CBP) involves citizens in planning local development interventions. This approach also allows for the city to be cognisant of the issues faced by communities and ideally strive towards finding targeted solutions to problems. In the *Growth and Development Strategy (2012: 100)*, the city notes that “local government cannot function without an informed view of the realities and needs of all the stakeholders it serves”. In contrast, policies such as the *Food Resilience Policy (2012)* make no mention of other actors being involved or consulted in the drafting processes of the policy.

Outside of the mandatory consultative processes, a scan of the policies and strategies make note of actors both within the government space and outside who

are deemed pivotal in ensuring successful implementation of the visions, objectives and plans set out by the city. These types of actors involve municipal entities, private sector, civil society, experts, communities, traditional healers, youth organisations and all levels of government. There is a general acknowledgement for the need for and importance of a multi-pronged stakeholder relations to achieve objectives. Of the policies consulted, Department of Social Development and Health Department are regularly consulted, and spearhead objectives related to food. Several policies IDP (2021), GDS (2012), Expanded Social Packages Policy (2008/2020) make mention of working collaboratively with national government or in some instances taking lead from the framework set at the national level. The concern with this approach is that issues, whether social or administrative, differ from city to city. Cities are in closer proximity to issues on the ground and can thus tailor their solutions to target the problems that arise in their respective jurisdictions.

According to respondent 10 there have been discussions going on around the need to create a formal forum where stakeholders are invited to try and tackle this. The underlying aim would be to reduce the duplication of efforts both within and outside of the government sphere. Interestingly, respondent 1 also made mention of the same forum. However, the critique levelled against the city was that the forum in and of itself lacked inclusivity, as majority of the people who were invited to be part of the forum are from big corporations. Interestingly, even though the respondent is relatively active in the food governance space in the city, the invitation was not extended by the city itself but through another monthly discussion forum that is predominantly run by the private sector. This raises questions and concerns regarding the type of stakeholders that are deemed relevant in food governance procedures. It speaks to the current processes which afford certain stakeholders more decision-making power, more access and more visibility.

The notion of whether the city is accessible and collaborate s with other stakeholders is debatable, seemingly based on positionality. Respondent 9, who is positioned within the city, argues that there is “an ecosystem that exists around food resilience innovations,” which includes corporations, NGOs and academics. In contrast, another respondent who is outside of the government sphere, has mentioned that consultation is more of a ‘ticking the box’ exercise as opposed to approaching the people who deal with this issue (Respondent 8). In essence the biggest issue with

collaboration in the City of Joburg and most city across South Africa is representation. Who are the people who get a seat at the table? Do they have a say that tends to influence or impact the outcome of processes, projects, policies, and strategies the city hopes to implement? Respondent 9, who has insider knowledge of the processes within the city notes that there is room for public participation. Legally, the city is mandated by law to be consultative and to approach the public to make an input in the policy making process so that they can have an input with regards to how the policy is structured, what is included and so on. The question raised by respondent 9 is that there is a need to consider whether there is appropriate infrastructure available to be able to carry out public consultation as mandated by the law. Are people able to participate and get heard without their voices being drowned out by more prominent members or sectors in society. Furthermore, the methodology in which public participation is approached makes a difference in making sure it is more than a 'box ticking exercise'. By methodology, the respondent is referring to being as inclusive as possible by being cognisant of class stratification. However, it is noted that the shortfall (and mainly from the cities end) is a general lack of inclusivity of the entire value chain. The city when looking at food issues tends to look more at marginalised groups. This failure in leadership from the city sends signals to actors that food issues are primarily a 'poor person problem' as opposed to a society problem. This speaks to an issue of framing.

The city adopts a very siloed approach. Many departments lack the know how or the incentive to take on the food crisis in the city because the food mandate is unfunded and falls beyond their purview. Furthermore, many departments outside of Social Development lack the proper understanding of how their respective departments intersect directly with food. Respondent 9 notes that there is starting to be some traction with Economic Department actively being involved in policy formulation and understanding how that specific department can intersect and influence food security in the city. Currently, there is a policy within its infancy stages that seeks to address these gaps. It is a policy that is explained as not being from a social development or economic development point of view for example but seeks to be inclusive of all actors in the city, to be 'transversal in nature'. Respondent 9 describes the policy as one that intends to include metrics of all relevant stakeholders, and how all

departments within the city have direct and indirect influence over food security so that they can be effective within their efforts.

5.5.3. Policy Goals and Inclusion

This criterion considers whether food objectives and goals have been recognised within the policy sector. Are food objectives easily identifiable? Is there consideration for the effect on the food system? This is not limited to policy that directly deals with food but across different areas and sectors. The intention should be for policies to advocate for the inclusion of food objectives in all policies.

An analysis of the policies highlights the fact that although food objectives are present, food issues are minimally engaged by the City of Johannesburg. Food issues seem to be part of a larger plan to achieve sustainable development for the city. In the *IDP (2021)*, food issues are included mainly as an outcome to eradicating poverty or as a function thereof, understood as part of the human and social development agenda and acknowledged as a major challenge in the CoJ. Haysom (2021: 12) notes that “city-scale strategic engagement in the food system is largely absent, bar some mention of urban agriculture projects or the “formalisation” of hawkers and traders”. A quick scan of the 7 policies analysed shows that besides for the Expanded Social Package Policy & Strategy and the Food Resilience Policy, the concept of urban agriculture is supported by the CoJ as a means to addressing the food issues that are identified in the city. Though this analysis is done for policies at a National Level, Thow *et al.* (2018) notes that objectives that are centred around agriculture focus more on creating jobs, alleviating poverty and economic development as opposed to focusing on issues such as nutrition, and access.

There is an obvious lack of holistic approach to policies adopted in the city. Of the 7 policies scanned and analysed, neither of the policies, except for the *Climate Action Plan (2021)*, make mention of or engage the concept of food systems. Even so, food systems are mentioned in the context of ensuring that food systems are ‘drought proof’ by 2050. A food system approach would engage issues across the city, even those that seemingly fall outside the scope of food issues and fall outside of the purview of ministries and departments that traditionally handle food. Food systems can be understood as “the embedding of food in multifaceted and multi-layered

processes, linking food production, processing, distribution, and consumption” (Dekeyser *et al.* 2020).

Generally, respondents were not aware of what was happening within Joburg regarding policies, programmes or strategies being put in place to address the food crisis. This highlights a problem with transparency and openness. Respondent 4 was able to list initiatives that are currently being undertaken by other cities such as eThekweni, Tshwane, and Cape Town but “little to nothing is happening that I’m aware of in Joburg”. The only initiative by Joburg that respondents were aware of, is the Joburg Fresh Produce Market. Despite this, it is noted as lacking the awareness and sensitivity to the current food issues within the city. Interestingly the by-laws have not been revisited or amended since 1978 which supports the assertion that they’re out of touch with the current situation on the ground. Respondent 8 argues that a big chunk of resources) is funnelled into the market which is essentially classified as a short-term solution by the respondent. From a governance point of view, despite the multitude of existing initiatives within the city, the budget is highly skewed towards the Joburg market which is deemed problematic. Some of the other initiative the city has include aquaponics, roof top gardens, and several food programmes. All of which one can argue, are highly skewed towards (1) agriculture and (2) short term interventions. DSD has the ESP policy which outside of providing electricity and water for residents, is also said to provide numerous opportunities to recipients (Respondent 10). The types of opportunities were not elaborated on, however within the same interview, the informant mentioned that the DSD focusses on solving immediate hunger whilst simultaneously finding solutions for people to be able to feed themselves in the long term through encouraging gardening. The aid offered is through knowledge sharing but also the department has a budget for the procurement of “seeds and tools” to encourage farming.

Respondent 7 raised a concern that the City of Johannesburg, and South Africa in general, have a history of creating good policy on paper. The problem comes in the implementation stages where the institutional frameworks tend to fall short and become incapable of addressing the problem. According to respondent 4, cities are failing to actually implement policies. They are navigating within broken systems coupled with deeply rooted systemic issues. What is needed are policies and programmes that tackle the root problem which is aiming to address a broken

system and instilling more enforcement. Essentially, policies are good on paper yet lack the foresight to understand the intricacies that exist within the systems of South Africa. However, understandably “... cities are limited in terms of funds, they're limited in terms of human capacity. But there needs to be a clear thinking around food governance as a system” (Respondent 4).

A critique that came across from respondents when it comes to the policies, programmes and strategies is linked to the issue of framing (previously discussed). Policies that deal with food, do not necessarily fall short on framing the food security issue. The policies, programmes and strategies that exist look good on paper, which point to a need for further investigation around how policies are created, who is consulted and the processes around this. As is, current policies, programmes, and strategies mention all the right things such as

“...systems, they talk about resilience, they talk about interconnection. I think it's more how African government structures aren't set up to address those kinds of challenges, I think is the bigger problem” – Respondent 7, 2022

Respondents feel as though the city fails to holistically engage food issues and understand the multi-dimensionality of the problem. Typically, the city will focus on the hunger aspect, and think that food parcels is the solution to the problem not really engaging with the deeply rooted issues and causes such as poverty. The scant mention of food issues in policies is purely lip service and focuses primarily on short-term resolutions and fails to address the systematic causes and consequences of lack of access to food. Respond 4 mentions that the city approach is like ‘placing a band aid on a gaping wound’.

5.5.4. *Consistency and Coordination*

This criterion considers whether there is compatibility between food and other policies with minimal instances of redundancy and discordancy between objectives and goals. Ideally, there should be harmony across the board.

There is some evidence consistency and coordination. There seems to be consistency in policy goals across various sectors, such as striving towards the alleviation of poverty, creating jobs and opportunities and sustainable development. By positioning food and viewing it through a development lens allows it to fit

seamlessly with other goals such as job creation, poverty reduction, and sustainable economy to name a few. Specifically, food issues seem to be part of a larger plan to achieve sustainable development for the city. Some policies seem to align to one another, such as the Food Resilience Policy (2012) linking to *Expanded Social Packages Policy (2008/2020)* created roughly around the same time under the leadership of Jak Koseff who was then Director of Social Assistance between January 2009 to June 2013. However, there is some contradiction and inconsistencies. There are instances where policies and programmes do not support the informal sector but rather tend to alienate them and make it harder for them to trade by enforcing licensing regulations (Respondent 2 and 5). Respondent 2 further notes that documents such as the IDP and SDF tend to ignore street traders despite their contribution and “accounting for 50% of sales” in the informal market. This highlights a policy gap in the South African context. The informal sector in South Africa is often excluded and relegated to the margins because it is viewed as a welfare issue (Masuku and Nzewi 2021). Furthermore, informal traders are often associated with criminality and subsequently treated with hostility (*ibid.*, Skinner 2016).

There is seemingly a lack of an established process for ensuring consistency and coordination across policies. At a national level, policy development occurs in silos which has proven to be ineffective (Kushitor *et al.* 2022). There is nothing that suggests that this general approach to policy development has not filtered down to the local level. As such, there is an increasing need to have a more joined-up approach to policy making. Food issues can no longer be addressed in a siloed approach seeing as they are relevant to other domains such as health, education, social development, trade and so on. The traditional siloed approach will leave food issues wholly unaddressed.

The city has a siloed approach, and a general lack of shared understanding across departments when it comes to food security problems. Respondent 5 goes on to note that because of this, food security is not regarded as a problem across the city, rather it is thought of as ‘another departments problem’. This is not to say that food security is not important or regarded as something that does not affect the city, “it just means that it’s lower on the list of priorities, or they haven’t been able to see the connection with the department with which they’re in so one side doesn’t see how

they connect to the next silo and that they have a shared problem.” (Respondent 5). This further serves as a stumbling block to enabling food issues to become more visible on the cities agenda because although city officials will respond and say that food issues are important, they would not have the capacity to respond and explain how their own department or portfolio directly intersects with, affects, and influences food issues and the broader food system.

5.6. The Role of Cities: The Case of Johannesburg

Governance contributes significantly to food in/security and how it is experienced on the ground by citizens. There are multiple dynamics to consider that vary and are unique to each geographical area. Cities have significant abilities to actively engage food issues however food security mandates at a local level are often “isolated in poorly resourced units in departments low in the institutional hierarchy facing budget and personnel constraints and political uncertainty” (Kroll 2021:8). This suggests that food issues are rarely engaged or acted upon by cities, due to multiple issues such as resources, framing of the issue and bureaucratic obstacles. From the findings, it is apparent that there are multiple competing ways in which food security is framed and understood. Various scholars have pointed out this issue as a general ‘culture’ in the South African context (Kroll 2021; Haysom 2015; Haysom 2014). This creates tensions and disfunction within the food system making it difficult to address food issues. The fragmentation is seen throughout the city where there is general poor integration of food issues within the policies of the city. One of the respondents notes that Johannesburg is a microcosm of South Africa, where inequality characterises the food system. Although availability exists, access is a huge impediment. The Covid-19 situation made it noticeably clear that cities are wildly ill-prepared to respond to the food crisis that exists. Part of the problem comes from locating the food security mandate within one department. In part, another contributing problem could be the fact that cities are often viewed merely as recipients of food from other areas as opposed to active participants within the food system (Haysom 2021).

Generally, cities are positioned to engage with food issues directly and indirectly through some of the powers allocated to local level government as discussed in the literature review. Directly by actively taking on the food mandate and incorporating it and having it centre focus in policy, programmes, and strategies. Indirectly through the several competencies that do not traditionally fall within the realm of food but

have an impact such as transportation, water, and electricity to name a few. Although the policy and fiscal mandate in South Africa, places food issues squarely on the provincial and national level of government it has been apparent through literature that local government can also actively participate through the actors they engage, and the policies, programmes, and strategies they implement. From the findings presented in this chapter, it is clear that cities do participate in the food system, the question remains whether they are sensitive to this. Some of these do not necessarily have to be crafted from scratch. Some of the tools and mechanism already in place that cities can utilise to contribute to governance of food issues include Integrated Development Plans and Spatial Development Framework by including food issues within their existing policy frameworks (Haysom 2021). However, merely including the objective of food is not enough but requires thoughtful engagement with the intention to lead to tangible results. This ideally requires a more nuanced understanding of food issues within the metro and how the different departments fit together in the greater scheme of things. As mentioned previously, food issues require multi-pronged interventions. However, the findings from the study indicate that despite these mechanisms, food issues are minimally engaged with the city. Although there are several initiatives within the Department of Social Department that try to fulfil the food security mandate, the efforts have been described as short-term and focused on a specific sub-set of society. Furthermore, it became apparent that these initiatives were not known to or in collaboration with stakeholders outside the government sphere.

Civil society is highly active in the work that they do and strive towards impacting or having an influence over food governance. Governance is really lacking, and this as highlighted by Covid which showed just how unprepared the city is when faced with crisis (respondent 7). This speaks to cities inability to address issues such as food in the long term which is why we saw a huge reliance on civil society although there is a noted critique that despite the willingness of civil society to engage, this same interest has not been noted on the part of the city of Joburg. There is a concern that is raised that the way in which things currently operate, corporations have a big footprint in the food governance space. Findings show that with an upcoming forum organised by the city (details of which were not shared), there was a dominant representation of corporations. Based on the fact that (1) a respondent within civil

society who can be deemed prominent in the food governance space was not invited directly, and (2) none of the other interviewees were aware of this initiative, that there is a bias skewed in favour of corporations. There are gaps that exist in food governance because of competing interests between stakeholders. Another respondent quite aptly noted that the city does have partnerships across various sectors in society (mainly big corporations), the main issue is the *depth* of partnerships which they seemingly lack. This is speaking to the issue of not being able to get a hold of people within the City of Joburg.

Interaction with the City of Johannesburg can be described as badly organised. A common theme that arose from the research process is the issues of accessibility to city officials or rather lack thereof. Respondents raise concerns around the accessibility of government officials at a national or provincial level. However, there is a challenge in connecting with government officials from local municipalities. This raises the question of whether it is fruitful to consider local governments ability to govern food 'moot'. On the other hand, it highlights the general approach which officials have in relation to their mandate. The lack of capacity and thinly stretched resources has been raised as a concern throughout the interviews. Wilson (2000) notes that instances where issues of capacity are of concern, governance may be lacking.

Haysom (2021) makes an observation that initially, the demographic allowed for agriculture to be central to food issues. However, as societies urbanised, the approach to policy and governance has failed to evolve and keep up with the changes. With the City of Johannesburg, some of these issues can be seen in how the Joburg Food Market by-laws have not been revised since 1978. The face of the city and the food security context has evolved since then. The way in which the policy framework is structured for South Africa, places primary responsibility for food issues and successfully ensuring the Right to Food on both the national and provincial governments. More often than not this results in food security responses being neglected at a local level. The logic is that food issues constitute an unfunded mandate and falls outside the purview of local governments (Haysom 2021; de Visser 2019). The current operational framework does not allow for local governments to operate outside of their silos to try and attempt to govern food. This results in food security measures missing "both the urban demographic profile, but

also the changing nature of the food system” (Haysom 2021:2). This current operational framework does not allow for local governments to operate outside their silos to try and attempt to govern food.

Although the Constitution (1996) places the responsibility to ensure food security on national and provincial governments, it is argued that “municipalities are responsible for those part of the fulfilment of the right of access to food that intersect with what is regularly done by municipalities” (de Visser 2019:3). The role of cities in relation to food is often overlooked and misunderstood. Haysom (2021) notes that cities are often viewed merely as recipients of food from other areas as opposed to active participants within the food system. Despite the way the constitution is structure which centralises the national government as the “epicentre of law and policy making” there are significant powers allocated to local government which need to be explored that can have critical influence over food security (de Visser 2019:3). Local level analysis is important to be taken into consideration and was chosen as the central focus of this thesis because of the ability for local level government to make an impact. It became apparent from the interviews conducted that the general sense was that local government lacks the capacity to act. Although there is a recognition that the city can be doing more when it comes to food security, respondents feel that there is easier access to national and provincial level government. When it comes to food governance the lack of mandate and the siloed approach does not incentivise departments to go out and network or engage with people in the city because food security essentially falls outside of the purview of their portfolio. This is also compounded by the general lack of understanding by city managers, department heads and city officials on the role they can play to influence food security. Respondent 6 has noted that the COVID-19 pandemic should have been the reflection that local governments can be and should be doing more, by actively engaging food issues and food system problems and working towards fixing a system that serves particular interests.

5.7. Findings and Conclusion

This chapter presented the research findings of this study. The findings were presented according to the sub-questions posed by this research as discussed in the introductory chapter. The findings indicate that there is some collaboration between departments within the City of Johannesburg. Although the food security mandate is located within the Department of Social Development, they do tend to collaborate with other departments in fulfilling their objectives. The list offered is not exhaustive and does not offer a full picture of the departments that should be participating in food governance but do not. The main problem arises from a lack of understanding of how certain departments and mandates intersect with food security and how to utilise them to make an impact. There is some concern around the role of the private sector and corporations within food governance. Some respondents highlighted the fact that policy is often skewed in favour of big corporations, leaving the voices from other actors shut out. This bias tends to affect the informal space and leads to the monopolisation of the market by corporations. On the other hand, civil society is active in the space as was seen with the COVID-19 pandemic. Their role in Johannesburg contributes to the alleviation of hunger and food insecurity through several programmes and schemes, advocacy, and networking.

There are several policies and strategies in Joburg that touch on food issues. The policies all come from different departments and vantage points. Although there is minimal engagement with food issues within the metro. There is a tendency to link poverty alleviation and job creation to facilitating food security. Another theme that rose up from the policies is the favouring of urban agriculture. There is an acknowledgement that the food mandate primarily lies with the national and provincial government. This logic could speak to why food issues are not actively and consciously taken up within the city.

From the findings, subsystem involvement is weak and fragmented. Each broad category of actors: Johannesburg, civil society and private sector seemingly operate in discrete pockets. Each having their own initiatives to address food issues in the metro, but minimal partnerships and collaboration is present across the board. There is a lack of a single overarching way in which food issues are framed which in turn impacts the types of solutions implemented by the city to address food security. Specifically, when it comes to the issue of framing, the city needs to be more strategic. There needs to be a more unified, all-encompassing understanding of food

security which in turn will guide how food issues are addressed in the metro. Understanding the deeply unequal and non-inclusive society could go a long way in understanding the best way to frame, and approach food issues. Johannesburg is like many other city hubs in that the city is characterised by inequality. Furthermore, the food crisis in the city can be understood as it not being an availability problem but rather one of access. And this is configured by the elevated levels of poverty coupled with rising unemployment, inequality, and race dynamics. The issue of framing in turn contributes to a lack of coordination and coherence directly impacts the efforts which the city seeks to implement, in affecting food issues in the metro positively. From the policies, it became apparent that food issues are minimally engaged. All of these findings point to there being weak integration. Lastly, the findings indicate that the role of cities in relation to food governance is misunderstood and by extension under-utilised.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the main findings and conclusions of this research study. The study has shown that although it is not constitutionally mandated, cities have several competencies which intersect directly and indirectly with food. Cities, specifically the city of Johannesburg are still far off from realising the potential, and capabilities they have and can utilise to be actively involved in the strive towards ensuring food security for citizens.

The pursuit of this research was to explore whether the integration of stakeholders and policies in food governance within Johannesburg enable coherent engagement with the complex cross-cutting issue of food security. An analysis of this was facilitated by the sub-questions stated and outlined in chapter one. These objectives included firstly understanding the policies, programmes and strategies in the City of Johannesburg, the case study for this research. Secondly, the research explored the

actors that are currently active in the food governance space. Lastly, it looked at whether there is policy integration within the metro.

6.2. Overview of Findings

The research study sought to explore the extent that integration allows for coherent engagement with complex issue of food insecurity within the city of Johannesburg. To be able to support this, three sub-questions were posed. Firstly, what are the main policies, programmes, and strategies? Secondly, who are the main actors in food governance. Lastly, the study sought to understand the extent of which food policy is integrated. The case study of the city of Johannesburg was utilised to be able to conduct this study. Underpinning and guiding this research are two concepts: governance and policy integration. Both of these concepts together have allowed for the sub-questions to be explored and answered.

a) Who are the actors involved in food governance in the City of Johannesburg?

The misunderstanding of how cities can influence food is compounded by the food security mandate being solely located within the Department of Social Development. There are multiple ways in which food security can be addressed by various departments within the city through already existing roles and responsibilities. The more obvious responsibilities that can be leveraged to address food issues include but are not limited to water, electricity, sanitation, planning, and transportation as discussed in *Chapter Two: Literature Review*. The findings highlight a minimal level of subsystem involvement. There are other stakeholders involved in food governance in the city although it has become apparent that the public and private space often operate within silos (barring the influence that corporations have on decision-making in the city). Outside of the government sphere, there is seemingly a lack of involvement within governance processes from civil society and other actors outside of the private sector. This speaks to an undue influence of the food governance process by big corporations whereby food objectives generally lack inclusivity as are highly skewed to favour corporations as opposed to the actors that are directly affected by the food crisis. In *chapter Two: Literature review*, the effects of the monopolisation of corporations on the markets is discussed. This is also apparent within the food governance processes in the city, evidence of which can be

seen in the blatant disregard of certain stakeholder by not extending an invitation to a supposedly inclusive forum to discuss food issues in the city. Although this is the only instance noted, one cannot be certain whether it is a norm or merely an isolated incident.

Ultimately, the subsystem involvement is fragmented and lacking collaboration. Within the city, the DSD is primarily tasked with food security and apparently reaches out to other departments and entities within the city to achieve its food mandate. Stakeholders outside the city are doing work towards the realisation of food security. This is from a civil society and an academic point of view. The importance of actors participating and collaborating towards creating effective solutions is discussed in *chapter 3: The Conceptual Framework*. However, despite this the findings from this study indicate that there is difficulty collaborating with the city or knowing what the city is doing. From both the findings and experience throughout the research process, it became apparent that city officials are generally inaccessible. This points to a lack of accessibility on the one hand and a lack of transparency on the other. Kroll (2021:1) note that part of the obstacle posed towards local governments include “fragmented institutional structures, policy patchworks, intersecting logics of control, and divergent ideologies constitute an ambiguous governance terrain”.

b) What are the main food policies, programmes and strategies in place in the City of Johannesburg?

The findings indicate that not much is known about the policies, programmes and strategies implemented by the city to address food issues. The City of Johannesburg has made some effort though minimal towards including food issues in the governance procedures and policy processes. Most policy that has been adopted by the city mentions food issues, though not comprehensively, in one aspect or another. Several programmes and initiatives exist, such as food gardens, which aim to alleviate food insecurity in the city. There is acknowledgement from the city that the food mandate is primarily located at national and provincial level. This logic might influence how the city engages with food governance and the policies they create around the issue.

c) How integrated is the food policy for the City of Johannesburg?

The findings indicate that there are general pitfalls regarding food governance in the City of Johannesburg. Within Joburg, food issues are generally dealt with through the Department of Social Development which inevitably influences the framing of food security to be within a 'pro-poor lens'. What this does, is provide the perception that short-term initiatives are enough with dealing with the complexity of food issues. The department further seems to lean heavily towards an agricultural approach through several of its programmes and initiatives. This approach lacks understanding of the current reality of the food crisis. Several assertions have been made in literature that argues that food security issues in South Africa, and inevitably the City of Johannesburg, are not linked to issues of availability of food but more specifically to issues of access.

Johannesburg is a microcosm of South Africa and is characterised by a society that is deeply unequal, non-inclusive and hostile. Not considering this aspect throughout food governance processes is deeply problematic and fails to address the food crisis in a way that is adequate and effective. What is required is a system based on a multi-pronged approach. However, from the findings it became glaringly evident that departments within the city itself failed to understand how they can influence food security within the metro. A big step that needs to be taken towards understanding the role of cities would be the realisation of how each portfolio impacts food. Through this, cities can begin to be cognisant of their role and impact in the food system during the planning stages. Put quite aptly by the City of Johannesburg, in the context of rapid global development "cities are at the nexus of change and have to learn to cope, adapt and respond positively to an increasingly volatile and rapidly changing world." (City of Johannesburg 2022: 11).

This section highlights the following key findings:

1. The research has shown that there is minimal stakeholder engagement within the city. Despite the recognition by the city through several documents, of the necessity to collaborate with various stakeholders in addressing and tackling food issues, this does not seem to translate in practice.
2. Surprisingly, collaboration amongst city departments is seemingly present. However, it does not take away the fact that the mandate for food issues is

located in one department (Department of Social Department). It is through the initiatives implemented by DSD, that other departments and municipal entities get involved. This, however, does not take away the fact that many departments in the city still fail to understand how their departments directly or indirectly intersect with foods. Which in turn, slows down the possible efforts that are coming out from the city in trying to tackle food issue.

3. Another notable finding that requires further investigation is the role and influence that corporations have on food governance processes. So much so that policies are skewed in favour of corporations.
4. Despite the little to no stakeholder engagement, the findings indicate that there is work being done by actors outside of the government space. This is either by non-profit companies, community-based organisations, or academics for example.
5. Efforts are made in isolation. There is a minimal collaborative effort amongst all stakeholders. This is despite an evident acknowledgement echoed by all stakeholders that this is key in addressing and tackling food issues.
6. The policies, programmes and strategies that come from the city have minimal engagement with food issues. Perhaps this is influenced by the lack of a unified approach in framing food issues by the city. The findings indicate that there are multiple ways in which several policy documents frame food. The lack of a unified approach could potentially have an impact on food issues in the metro being addressed. Framing is a noticeably big aspect because it shows whether the complexity of food issues is understood.
7. The issue of framing is linked to municipal departments failing to see how they can positively influence food security within the metro. These two in combination result in a weak approach, whereas food issues require a multi-pronged approach.
8. Interestingly, two themes emerged from the findings. Firstly, the issue of institutional capacity. As is, the current local government departments in South Africa may lack the institutional capacity and notably, the resources to take on food issues. Secondly, government officials in the City of Johannesburg are inaccessible. From the experience of the researcher and other stakeholders, Joburg officials are difficult to reach and thus cutting off

possibilities to engage, collaborate and partner with other stakeholders in addressing issues. Both speak to an overall issue of governance.

6.3. Recommendations for cities and future research

Food Security is by nature a complex issue. Based on the research conducted in this study, one can make the following observation: cities have a significant role to play in food issues. Unfortunately, this responsibility is not always realised as noted in the case study, the City of Johannesburg. In South Africa, the problem is attached to a myriad of deeply rooted historical, social, economic, and political factors. There is no one approach to solving the issue, however, the measures that are required need to be inclusive, collaborative, and innovative. The approaches need to pay great attention to the initiatives that are already active within the city space. Something else that needs to be taken into consideration is collaborative problem-solving or governance. Cities need to get to a point where collaboration becomes a norm for solving or approaching some of the prominent issues in society, in this case, food issues. It is important to acknowledge that any recommendations made by the researcher cannot be implemented simultaneously. This researcher recommends that the following measures be considered for implementation in the city of Johannesburg to address the food issues that exist:

6.3.1. Reconceptualising Responsibilities: Breaking silos

The findings of the research as previously discussed point to there being a siloed approach within the city of Johannesburg. Although the evidence shows that there is attempts at partnering up, there needs to be more collaboration when dealing with a cross-cutting issue such as food security. One of the key solutions this research proposes is for government departments to move away from the barriers created by silos and shift into a culture that is more collaborative. This can be implemented through the utilisation of already existing structures such as the Community of Practice.

Silos by nature foster a culture and environment that tends to be counterintuitive to collaboration unless “there is political commitment to the objective and if sufficient resources are provided” (Scott and Gong 2021:22). Alongside inefficiencies, silos tend to be critiqued because they result in weak communication between stakeholders, lack of consultation and collaboration with actors outside of the government sphere, and an overall “failure to resolve cross-cutting “wicked problems”” (Scott and Gong 2021: 21).

For the City of Johannesburg, reconceptualising responsibilities and breaking down silos can go a long way into helping the city address food issues effectively. The city needs to begin by first reaching a point where food issues are not mandated primarily to one department, namely the Department of Social Development. Food issues require inter-departmental collaboration and targets action. Departments needs to start thinking about the way in which their respective departments directly and indirectly intersect with food and move towards including food issues in their planning. One of the ways that can facilitate this process is to have a unified conceptualisation or approach to food issues.

6.3.2. Towards a Food Systems Approach

The research picked up and showed that there is no one way in which the city conceptualises food security. From the policy documents, there emerged several approaches to the food issues that exist in the city. The lack of a unified approach affects the possible efforts that the city can implement to try and address food issues. This research suggests moving towards a food system approach which can allow departments to have a more unified approach, and assist multiple departments needed in addressing food issues understanding their roles, responsibilities and how they can influence food security through actions, planning, programmes, strategies, and policy. A food system approach would offer a more holistic understanding of the food issues faced by the city, by understanding the interlinked causes of the issue that exist within the food system.

There is increasing literature and advocacy for a move towards a food systems approach (see Eriksen 2008, Dekeyser *et al.* 202; Kugelberg *et al.* 2021). Food systems have become the buzzword recently and with good reason. Food issues are

linked to a myriad of sustainable issues that require a targeted system approach from stakeholders when addressing. Food systems can generally be conceptualized as

“...the embedding of food in multifaceted and multi-layered processes, linking food production, processing, distribution, and consumption, while recognising that these processes are underpinned by complex political, economic, social, and ecological relationships.”- (Dekeyser *et al.* 2021: 3).

Understanding food issues within this approach is all encompassing and understands that food is affected and shaped by a myriad of socio-economic, political and environmental factors. Through this approach, cities can begin to reimagine their roles in how they can contribute towards food issues. More specifically, the food security mandate can be removed from being the responsibility of one department as is the case with City of Johannesburg and can now be assigned across several departments such as economic development, transportation, education etc. This is because a food system approach requires a multi-sectoral, inter-departmental approach in order to be effective (Grant 2015).

6.3.3. Strengthening governance through stakeholder involvement

The complexity of food issues requires involvement from different stakeholders who have the ability to bring to the table different perspectives, resources and experiences. However, the findings indicate a lack of inclusivity by the city and weak subsystem involvement within Johannesburg. This is despite the fact that actors outside of the local government sphere tend to be open for opportunities to engage and partner with local officials. The city of Johannesburg can benefit greatly from including a more diverse range of stakeholders in their decision making and planning processes.

The city does not need to create new networks but can rather leverage on existing mechanisms such as the GP Food Governance Community of Practice. A community of practice (CoP) is a process of knowledge sharing and learning on a given topic. Fostering multi-stakeholder engagement has been proposed by several scholar as a solution to the hierarchical decision-making approach that is prevalent in South Africa (Drimie and Ruysenaar 2010; Drimie 2016; Pereira and Drimie 2016;

Boatema *et al.* 2018). Having different perspectives tends to increase the probability of discovering gaps in knowledge, could lead to more innovative and relevant solutions to the food issues that are prevalent in the metro.

6.3.4. Recommendations for future research

There are a lot of opportunities for future research on the topic of this study. As previously discussed, there is a gap in the research being conducted in South Africa regarding the role that cities can play in food governance. Crises such as COVID-19 have highlighted the weaknesses in the current food system and there is more work being produced around this topic. The difficulty and challenge experienced throughout this research was the complexity of food issues but also, the minimal data and literature that existed for South African cities in food governance. There is so much work that can be done to understand and assess local level governance, map out the actors in food governance (inside and outside government) and be able to investigate issues of (horizontal and vertical) integration.

Furthermore, as highlighted by the findings of this research, local level functionality is complex and intricate. It is apparent that more needs to be done around understanding institutional capacity of government departments, accessibility of local level government officials and participation of stakeholders in governance processes. All these issues speak to a need for the restrengthening of governance processes which in turn will influence how complex issues are approached and resolved. Lastly, there are several themes that arose such as the relation of cities to the informal market, working towards improving regulation of the food space and outdated municipal by-laws which are for further investigation and research. However, these were beyond the scope of this research.

6.4. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has outlined the main findings made by this research study and summarised the answers to the original research questions outlined in

chapter one. Firstly, local governments such as Johannesburg can play a pivotal role in food governance process. However, there is still a long way to go for Johannesburg to achieve this. Besides the institutional and systematic barriers that need to be broken down, there is a misunderstanding of how cities as a whole and not just one department can work together and contribute towards the food security mandate. Local governments, such as Johannesburg, are still far off from achieving this but need to begin reconceptualising and repositioning themselves to become the foundation of approaching and attempting to resolve the complexity of food issues.

Annexures

A: Permission Letter Request: City of Johannesburg



Department of Political Science

University of Pretoria

01 March 2021

Dear Sir,

RE: Permission to conduct research in the City of Johannesburg

I am a student currently enrolled in the MA Political Science programme at the University of Pretoria and am in the process of writing my Masters' thesis. The study is entitled Local Food Governance in the City of Johannesburg and will contribute to the Governance and Policy Programme of the NRF-DST Centre of Excellence for Food Security <http://www.foodsecurity.ac.za>.

The study is purely for academic purposes and seeks to contribute to knowledge around food governance in South Africa, with a specific focus on the local level. To be able to achieve this, the study aims to identify the actors who contribute to and influence the various policies, programmes and strategies relating to food. Secondly, the study hopes to ascertain how integrated the food policy in the City of Johannesburg is. Questions that will be asked will be around existing policies, programmes and strategies that influence food, experiences of participants in the food governance space and the role played by individuals in relation to food governance.

As such, I am seeking permission to approach officials from several institutions within the City of Johannesburg to conduct interviews in relation to the abovementioned project. You can reach me through my email: u15311024@tuks.co.za or my supervisor Dr. Camilla Adelle: camilla.adelle@up.ac.za

Kind Regards,

Neo Madime

Department of Political Sciences | University of Pretoria

Cell: (+27)65 894 1412

Email: u15311024@tuks.co.za

B: Permission Granting Letter – City of Johannesburg



City of Johannesburg
Department of Corporate & Finance Services
www.joburg.org.za

FOIPA: B 2004
Mabuse, Lineo Centre
111 G. J. Pooze Road
Braamfontein

FOIPA: 2004
Joburg.org.za
South Africa
2004

Tel: (011) 407 7147
Fax: (011) 407 1075
www.joburg.org.za

Memorandum

TO : Ms Neo Madine

FROM : Lineo Mabuse
Acting Deputy Director: Employee Relations and Development

DATE : 16 March 2021

SUBJECT : **RESPONSE ON THE REQUEST TO LOCAL FOOD GOVERNANCE
IN THE CITY OF JOHANNESBURG.**

The above matter refers to the letter received on the 14 March 2021 in which a request was made to conduct a research in the City of Johannesburg.

I, Lineo Petronella Mabuse, as delegated authority of the City of Johannesburg Municipality (the City), here by give permission to the primary researcher, Ms. Neo Madine to the following:

- To collect and publish information about the City is publically not available, for the research project titled:
Local Food Governance in the City of Johannesburg.
- This authorization is based on mutual understanding that the City's name can be revealed in her/his project; and
- The information provided by the employees or any other means (such as company's archived documents or reports) of the City is purely for academic purposes and cannot be used for any other purpose.

Please note that on completion of the study, a copy of the research report should be submitted to the City of Johannesburg in honour of your commitment.

The City of Johannesburg wishes you the best during the period of research.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if we can be of further assistance.

Kind Regards

PP.  16/03/21

Lineo Mabuse
Acting Deputy Director: Employee Relations and Development
Tel: (011) 407- 7147
Cell: 0794074934
Email: LineoM@joburg.org.za

C: Permission Letter to Food Governance Community of Practice



Department of Political Science

University of Pretoria

16 July 2021

To whom it may concern,

RE: Permission advertise research and use Food Governance Workshops

I am a student currently enrolled in the MA Political Science programme at the University of Pretoria in the process of writing my Masters' thesis. The study is entitled Local Food Governance in the City of Johannesburg and will contribute to the Governance and Policy Programme of the NRF-DST Centre of Excellence for Food Security <http://www.foodsecurity.ac.za>.

The study is purely for academic purposes and seeks to contribute to knowledge around food governance in South Africa, with a specific focus on the local level. To be able to achieve this, the study aims to identify the actors who contribute to and influence the various policies, programmes and strategies relating to food. Secondly, the study hopes to ascertain how integrated the food policy in the City of Johannesburg is. Questions that will be asked will be around existing policies, programmes and strategies that influence food, experiences of participants in the food governance space and the role played by individuals in relation to food governance.

I am seeking permission to utilise the Food Governance COP Workshops hosted by the Centre of Excellence to a) advertise my research and invite stakeholders to participate in my research and b) to utilise documents and meeting minutes as part of

Room 21-14, Level 21,
Humanities Building,
University of Pretoria

Faculty of Human
Fakulteit Geesteswetenska
Lefapha la Bomo

D: Letter of Support – Food Governance Community of Practice



DSI-NRF
Centre of Excellence
in Food Security

School of Government Building
University of the Western Cape
Robert Sobukwe Road,
Belville, Cape Town, 7530
Tel: +27 (0) 21 859 3848
Email: coeinfo@gmail.com
www.coeifs.co.za

9th July 2021

To whom it may concern

FOOD GOVERNANCE COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE

This letter is to confirm that the DSI - NRF Centre of Excellence in Food Security co-hosted by the University of Pretoria and the University of the Western Cape gives permission to Miss NKA Madime to participate in the meetings of the Food Governance Community of Practice, to access recordings and minutes of the meetings, and to recruit participants for her research through disseminating invitations and information through the meetings.

Yours faithfully



Dr. Elaine Sinden
Research Manager

E: Ethical Clearance Letter



Faculty of Humanities

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho



19 September 2021

Dear Miss NKA Madime

Project Title:	Food Governance in the City of Johannesburg
Researcher:	Miss NKA Madime
Supervisor(s):	Dr C Adelle
Department:	Political Sciences
Reference number:	15311024 (HUM004/0820)
Degree:	Masters

I have pleasure in informing you that the above application was **approved** by the Research Ethics Committee on 19 September 2021. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should the actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely,

Prof Karen Harris
Chair: Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: tracey.andrew@up.ac.za

Research Ethics Committee Members: Prof KL Harris (Chair); Mr A Bicos; Dr A-M de Beer; Dr A dos Santos; Dr P Guturu; Ms KT Gowinder Andrew; Dr E Johnson; Dr D Krige; Prof D Nerece; Mr A Mohamed; Dr I Noomé; Dr J Okeke; Dr C Puttergill; Prof D Reyburn; Prof IM Soer; Prof E Toljard; Ms D Mokolapa

Room 7-27, Humanities Building, University of Pretoria, Private Bag X20, Hatfield 0008, South Africa
Tel +27 (0)12 420 4855 | Fax +27 (0)12 420 4501 | Email pghumanities@up.ac.za | www.up.ac.za/faculty-of-humanities

F: Request for Interviews Letter



Department of Political Sciences

University of Pretoria

Pretoria 0002

012 420 2034 (office)

31 January 2022

Dear

RE: Invitation to take part in a research study conducted by the DSI-NRF Centre of Excellence in Food Security (University of Pretoria)

We would like to invite you to take part in a study is entitled Local Food Governance in the City of Johannesburg as part of the Governance and Policy Programme of the NRF-DST Centre of Excellence for Food Security [DSI-NRF Centre of Excellence in Food Security](#).

The purpose of this study is to contribute to knowledge around food governance in South Africa, with a specific focus on the local level. We believe that the local level of government is uniquely positioned to contribute towards the goal of attaining food security in the country, even if this role is often not widely recognised or budgeted for. This research seeks to understand the role that local governments have, the policies in place and how these are formulated and coordinated across government as well as with other stakeholders outside government and if there are any opportunities for improved integration of policies that impact on food security.

As part of this research, I would be grateful to interview you. This interview will form part of my research for my Master's thesis. Please let me know if it would be possible to interview you and when it would be convenient to schedule a meeting on the telephone or zoom. Your willingness to contribute to this study will be greatly appreciated.

I have attached an informed consent form that I would be grateful if you could sign and return to me if you are willing to take part in this research. You can reach me through my email: u15311024@tuks.co.za or my supervisor Dr. Camilla Adelle: camilla.adelle@up.ac.za

Yours Sincerely,

X 
Neo Madime
Principal Investigator

Department of Political Sciences | University of Pretoria
Cell: (+27)65 894 1412

Email: u15311024@tuks.co.za

Room 21-14, Humanities Building
University of Pretoria, Private Bag X20
Hatfield 0028, South Africa
Tel +27 (0)12 420 2034 | Fax +27 (0)12 420 4921
Email victoria.graham@up.ac.za | www.up.ac.za/faculty-of-humanities

G: Research Consent Form



Department of Political Sciences

University of Pretoria

Pretoria 0002

012 420 2034 (office)

Dear ...

INTERVIEW: INDIVIDUAL INFORMED CONSENT

TITLE OF STUDY: Local Food Governance in the City of Johannesburg

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Neo Madime

INTRODUCTION:

You are kindly being asked to participate in a research study conducted by an MA student University of Pretoria, which will result in a dissertation and potentially an academic publication. You have been selected based on your knowledge and experience around food governance in the City of Johannesburg.

Before committing to participate in the study, it is important that you understand the purpose of the research and what it would entail. Please read the following information, and do not hesitate to contact the student or principal researcher should you have any questions.

PURPOSE OF STUDY:

This research seeks to understand the role of local governments, and other stakeholders involved in the process of food governance Johannesburg. The research seeks to explore the policies in place, and how these policies are formulated as well as to understand whether food policy is well coordinated or integrated, and if not whether there are opportunities to improve this.

YOUR PARTICIPATION:

I would like to invite you to take part in a focus group to discuss your perspective on food policy and other governance in Johannesburg. Due the current Covid-19 context, interviews will take part online. The focus group process will take place in the form of an informal conversation and take around 60 minutes. To enable accurate transcription, we request to record all proceedings.

Room 21-14, Humanities Building
University of Pretoria, Private Bag X20
Hatfield 0028, South Africa
Tel +27 (0)12 420 2034 | Fax +27 (0)12 420 4921
Email victoria.graham@up.ac.za | www.up.ac.za/faculty-of-humanities

RISKS:

Any information that you give us will be held in confidence by the research team and the results of the study will not divulge your organisations nor your individual particulars. Any information that can connect the responses to an individual or organisation will, therefore, remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission.

To further ensure confidentiality, no name will be used in transcriptions, notes and the write-up of the dissertation. All notes, recordings and transcription will be stored strictly according to the University of Pretoria's ethics policy. Storage of these recordings and transcripts will be stored in the Department of Political Science for a minimum of 15 years and will require a password to be accessed. If you have any question regarding these protocols, please do not hesitate to contact the Primary Investigator.

BENEFITS:

Participation in this study does not include any direct benefits to participants. However, we hope that the results of the study and your participation in it may contribute to your own knowledge around this topic.

CONTACT INFORMATION:

If at any point you have question and concerns regarding this study, or your participation results in adverse effects, you may contact me at u15311024@tuks.co.za or 065 894 1412. If you would prefer to communicate with the Principal Investigator, please do not hesitate to contact my Supervisor, Dr Camilla Adelle at camilla.adelle@up.ac.za or 083 260 4703.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION:

Participation in this study is voluntary, meaning you may withdraw at any stage. If you wish to withdraw from participating, any information provided will not be used and recordings will be destroyed. There will be no consequences for withdrawing in this study. If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form.

CONSENT:

I have read and understood the information provided and have had the opportunity to ask question either through email or telephonically. I understand that my participation in this study is strictly voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time.

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Investigator's signature _____ Date _____

Room 21-14, Humanities Building
University of Pretoria, Private Bag X20
Hatfield 0028, South Africa
Tel +27 (0)12 420 2034 | Fax +27 (0)12 420 4921
Email victoria.graham@up.ac.za | www.up.ac.za/faculty-of-humanities

H: Sample Research Interview Questions



Faculty of Humanities

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotheo

Department of Political Sciences



Department of Political Sciences
University of Pretoria
Pretoria 0002
012 420 2034 (office)

Student name and surname: Neo Madime

Student Number: 15311024

Degree: MA Political Science

Research title: Local Food Governance in the City of Johannesburg

Interview Schedule

Time of Interview.....
Date of Interview.....
Duration of Interview.....
Place of Interview.....
Male or Female.....
Interviewee.....
Alias.....

Section A: General Questions

1. What role do you play in your department?
2. In your opinion, how does your role relate to/ influence food governance?
3. In your opinion, is enough being done to contribute to food security?

Section B: Programmes, Policies and Strategies

1. Can you describe the policies that you have encountered that influence food?
2. To your knowledge, are there any future initiatives relating to food governance?
3. What contribution do you in your role/your department make towards initiatives around food governance in the City?
4. Can you describe the processes in place in order to establish new initiatives?

Section C: Actors

1. Are there any other departments, besides yours, that you have interacted with?
2. Which actors outside of your department have you encountered?
3. What is your experience in with interacting/consulting stakeholders outside the government sphere?

I: Anonymised List of Interviewees

Note: All interviews were all conducted online via the Zoom platform. Please refer to Chapter 4.

List of Respondents	Categories respondents fall into	Date of Interview
Respondent 1	Civil Society/ Academic	15 February 2022
Respondent 2	Academic	17 February 2022
Respondent 3	Academic	07 April 2022
Respondent 4	Civil Society	08 April 2022
Respondent 5	Academic	11 April 2022
Respondent 6	Civil Society	21 April 2022
Respondent 7	Civil Society	26 April 2022
Respondent 8	Civil Society	21 May 2022
Respondent 9	Government Official	23 May 2022
Respondent 10	Government Official	27 May 2022

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