Food System Governance for Urban Sustainability in the Global South

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own unaided work, in concept and execution. Neither this work nor any part thereof has been previously submitted to this or any other University for the awarding of a degree.

Gareth Haysom

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Abstract

Food security remains a persistent global challenge. Food security is defined as a situation where all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. The Food and Agriculture Organisation 2013 State of Food and Agriculture review reports that in excess of 868 million people, 12 percent of the global population, are undernourished. Global inequalities mean that this challenge is disproportionately experienced. Food insecurity manifests most severely in specific geographies. Global demographic changes have resulted in shifts in the locus of these experiences. Food insecurity in urban areas, particularly in developing countries, is a persistent yet poorly understood phenomenon.

Responses to food security have primarily focused on ensuring food availability, resulting in responses that are predominantly production-orientated. This approach presupposes a principally rural challenge and overlooks critical emerging urban food insecurity challenges. The production and rural dominance in efforts to ameliorate food insecurity have a number of consequences. The first consequence reflects a scientific and technology-driven focus on increasing or optimising net calories produced. Secondly, where access to produced food is constrained, welfare interventions are used to mitigate challenges. Such interventions are predominantly reactive and lack strategic focus. The third consequence, informed by the preceding two interventions, sees policies and legislation that reinforces the production/welfare paradigm. Such food security responses disregard the current transitions evident within society.

This thesis identifies a number of global transitions. Within the context of wider global change processes, focus is given to four inter-connected transitions. These transitions include the second urban transition, the food system transition and the nutrition transition. Fourth, driven by the preceding transitions, is the emergence of alternative urban food governance interventions.

The urban transition is most pronounced in developing countries and is particularly prevalent in South African cities. South Africa is over 60 percent urbanised. Addressing food insecurity within the growing urban communities requires a shift from traditional food security approaches. Internationally, in seeking to respond to the converging transitions, city governments are collaborating with urban residents to develop innovative urban scale food governance approaches. These urban food governance innovations are predominantly located in North America, with an increasing movement evident in Europe and South America. A gap exists in understanding the food governance roles, or absence thereof, in rapidly growing cities in South Africa and the Global South.

Understanding food governance trends and how these trends are responding to the urban, food, nutrition and governance transitions is the primary question with which this thesis seeks to engage. The question will be answered through a series of sub-questions. One

of these questions seeks to understand what global food governance processes and practices are evident and what are the associated characteristics of these approaches.

Multiple food system actions and interventions were identified within the literature. The actions were categorised into four dominant typologies, referred to in this thesis as alternative food geographies, according to focus, politics and scale. One such alternative food geography reflected a focus on scale and a politics that sought to promote and support community food system solidarity. Within this alternative food geography, food policy council governance was a dominant approach.

This thesis then explores how relevant the emerging food governance approaches are to South African cities and if these can be effectively translated into action within the South African context. Comparative research was carried out in Canada through interviews with seven leading urban food governance actors and the participation in a number of food governance processes. Thirty interviews were conducted in Stellenbosch and Cape Town, supported by focus groups and immersion into the food governance processes. Data from food governance processes were analysed and collated to identify governance trends, approaches to the urban food challenges and the limitations of these actions.

While exercising caution of an uncritical adoption of international trends in food governance, informed by a review of current urban food governance interventions, key themes within urban food governance were identified. These themes included a clearly articulated scalar boundary, networked knowledge generation, participatory governance, inter-ministerial engagement, a deliberate pro-poor orientation and the use of research to inform strategic interventions. The themes were then considered within the context of the food security and food systems literature, supported by urban development and planning literature with specific attention being applied to issues of scale.

The urban food governance interventions of the two South African sites were in their infancy and had not been able to effectively inculcate food system governance into strategic management processes. The thesis concludes that within South Africa effective integration of the emerging interventions into key urban strategic governance remains limited, evidenced by an absence of formal policy and a lack of active engagement by key urban leadership. The rural production orientation still dominates the food security discourse and policy environment. City government has a critical role to play in enabling food security and has the convening authority to facilitate active engagement in broader food system interventions enabling food security.

This thesis contributes to an emerging body of work on urban food governance. It differs from earlier research on urban food actions in developing world cities in that it focuses on strategic policy orientated interventions and governance, avoiding the dominant, urban production and household focus narratives typically associated with urban food security. Considering urban food governance within the context of developing world cities contributes to new knowledge by highlighting the role of multiple stakeholders in governance, planning and specifically food access and food security.

Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION 1

1.1. Food security responses 5

1.2. Scale-oriented perspectives 8

1.3. Thesis structure 9

2. LITERATURE REVIEW 13

2.1. Transitions 15

2.2. Two urban transitions 20

2.3. Participation, voice and agency 26

2.4. Scale 29

2.5. Governance 32

2.6. The food system 35

2.6.1. Food regime change 42

2.6.2. The supermarket transition 45

2.6.3. The nutrition transition 47

2.6.4. Alternative food system responses 49

2.6.4.1. *Production focus* 51

2.6.4.2. *Green focus* 51

2.6.4.3. *Food justice focus* 52

2.6.4.4. *Scale focus* 53

2.7. Food security 55

2.8. Conclusion 58

3. METHODOLOGY 61

3.1. Research questions 62

3.2. Research strategy 63

3.2.1. Other data sources 64

3.2.2. International food governance analysis 65

3.2.3. Emerging South African urban food governance processes 67

3.2.4. Other possible methodological approaches 71

3.3. Positionality and embeddedness in the research sites 72

3.4. Ethical and procedural considerations 73

3.5. Technical research clarifications 75

3.5.1. Timeframe of the research project 75

3.5.2. Writing styles and phrase use 75

4. ANALYSIS OF URBAN FOOD GOVERNANCE TRENDS 77
4.1. Conventional food governance approaches 80
4.2. Urban food governance responses 83
4.2.1. North American food system responses 83
4.2.1.1. *United States food policy council review – original analysis* 86
4.2.1.2. *US/Canadian comparison* 100
4.3. International city food governance approaches 103
4.3.1. European city food governance interventions 103
4.3.2. Two South American city food governance approaches 105
4.4. Trends, themes and the role of the city 112
4.5. Conclusion 121
5. SOUTH AFRICAN URBAN FOOD SYSTEM INTERVENTIONS 123
5.1. The South African food system landscape 130
5.2. Food security in South Africa and food security policy 136
5.3. South African urban food governance initiatives 143
5.3.1. Stellenbosch food governance review 144
5.3.1.2. *Draft Stellenbosch food system strategy* 148
5.3.1.1. *Stellenbosch food strategy analysis* 155
5.3.2. Cape Town food governance review 163
5.3.3. The Cape Town food system 168
5.3.4. City of Cape Town food strategy evolution 171
5.3.4.1. *The Philippi Horticultural Area debate* 179
5.3.4.2. *Cape Town food system analysis* 186
5.3.5. Emerging urban food governance in South Africa 190
6. CONCLUSION 197
REFERENCES 209
Annexure 1 239
Annexure 2 243
Annexure 3 244
Annexure 4 245
Annexure 5 246
Annexure 6 247
Annexure 7 249

Figures and Tables

Figures

Figure 2.1: Food system activities, outcomes and drivers 40
Figure 2.2: Food and nutrition security system 41
Figure 2.3: Changes in food systems 48
Figure 2.4: Alternative Food Geographies 54
Figure 4.1: Yearly Canadian urban food policy council formation 82
Figure 4.2: Area of focus by scale 88
Figure 4.3: Area of focus as a percentage using South African scale terms 90
Figure 4.4: CFSC governance approach distribution (US) 98
Figure 4.5: Governance typologies across scales as a percentage of typology (US) 99
Figure 4.6: US/Canadian FPC governance regimes 101
Figure 4.7: Bureaucratic location of food policy programmes 102
Figure 5.1: Farm number decline per year since 1993 133
Figure 5.2: Agricultural input costs in ZAR millions 134
Figure 5.3: Five year maize production trends by area 135
Figure 5.4: Stellenbosch municipal region with key towns and road networks 144
Figure 5.5: District and sub-district municipalities of the Western Cape 145
Figure 5.6: DSFSS conceptual framework and programmes 153
Figure 5.7: Proposed food strategy governance structure 154
Figure 5.8: Cape Metropolitan Area 164
Figure 5.9: Food access and frequency 170
Figure 5.10: Productive agricultural land areas within City of Cape Town 178
Figure 5.11: Second Philippi Horticultural Area development proposal 180
Figure 5.12: Philippi Horticultural Area for Food and Farming proposed land use plan 182

Tables

Table 2.1: Five "A's" of food security.....38
Table 3.1: Media discourse framing 70
Table 4.1: Food policy council areas of focus and frequency recorded 87
Table 4.2: Local areas of focus and predominance.....92
Table 4.3: Food policy governance typologies 96
Table 4.4: US food policy council governance/scale comparison 97
Table 4.5: Food policy council trends.....114
Table 5.1: Current food consumption composition by weight 151
Table 5.2: Market Share – Supermarkets Cape Town 169
Table 5.3: Media discourse framing 183
Table 5.4: South African urban food system engagement comparison 194

Boxes

Box 1: Extracts from the South African Constitution.....141
Box 2: Questions posed in the City of Cape Town food system tender 175

Acronyms

AFG	Alternative Food Geography
AFN	Alternative Food Network
AFSUN	African Food Security Urban Network
AGRA	Alliance for the Green Revolution in Africa
ALR	Agricultural Land Review
AoA	Agreement on Agriculture
BCC	Bristol City Council
BFAP	Bureau for Food and Agricultural Policy
BFC	Bristol Food Council
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CFSC	Community Food Security Coalition
CMA	Cape Metropolitan Area
CoCT	City of Cape Town
COMASA	Municipal Council for Food Security Belo Horizonte
CPI	City Prosperity Index
CSA	Community Supported Agriculture
CTFB	Cape Town Food Bank
CTWFC	Cape Town Women's Food Committee
DAFF	Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DOA	Department of Agriculture
DRD&LR	Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
DSFSS	Draft Stellenbosch Food Security Strategy
EDP	Economic Development Partnership
EU	European Union
FANTA	Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FBO	Faith Based Organisation
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FPC	Food Policy Council
FS	Food Security

FSI	Food Security Initiative
FSPUD	Food Sensitive Planning and Urban Design
GAIN	Global Agricultural Information Network
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GUG	Good Urban Governance
HIV/Aids	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IAASTD	International Assessment of Agricultural Science & Technology for Development
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IFSS	Integrated Food Security Strategy
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LED	Local Economic Development
LFB	London Food Board
LFGS	Local Food Governance Structure
MAYCO	Mayoral Committee
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MLP	Multilevel Perspective
MSA	Municipal Systems Act
MSDF	Municipal Spatial Development Framework
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPC	National Planning Commission
NRDC	Natural Resources Defence Council
NSDF	National Slum Dwellers Federation
PDF	Portable Document Format
PEPCO	Planning and Environment Portfolio Committee
PGWC	Provincial Government of the Western Cape
PHA	Philippi Horticultural Area
PHAFF	Philippi Horticultural Area for Food and Farming
PVF	Princess Vlei Forum
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SANHANES	South African National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey

SCEA	Schaapkraal Civic and Environmental Association
SDC-UK	Sustainable Development Commission of the United Kingdom
SDFA	Schaapkraal Developing Farmers Association
SDI	Slum Dwellers International
SM	Stellenbosch Municipality
SMAAB	*Secretaria Municipal Adjunta de Abastecimento*
SPARC	Society for the Protection of Area Resource Centres
SPUD	Spatial Planning and Urban Development
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa
SWOKK	*Stellenbos Welsyns-en Ontwikkelingskoordinerinskomitee*
TFPC	Toronto Food Policy Council
UA	Urban Agriculture
UAP	Urban Agriculture Policy
UCT	University of Cape Town
UN	United Nations
UN-DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
WBCSD	World Business Council for Sustainable Development
WCED	Western Cape Education Department
WDM	Winelands District Municipality
WESGRO	Western Cape Destination Marketing, Investment and Trade Promotion Agency
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WWF	Worldwide Fund for Nature

There are such streams of energy running through this city

and we have not yet sufficiently explored them.

Hunger might help us to learn how to do that, it offers a possibility.

Hunger is a good starting point for the incessant search for a beyond,

for it reveals the paradox in which we are living:

a country so rich, with water, rivers, sun, forests, and yet with inhabitants so miserable.

There is a hiatus somewhere, a void, and this void needs to be filled.

It is to be filled by us, the inhabitants of the city, the initiated, the shege,

the expatriates, the multitudes of people that make up this city.

(Vincent Lombume Kalimasse, Kinshasa, February 2004)

1. INTRODUCTION

Food had a symbiotic relationship with cities for centuries. Food shaped cities. Food influenced the location, design, economies and politics of cities. For many cities their ability to ensure food availability determined their stature. Recently, however, the relationship between food and the city has become increasingly opaque. Globalisation and changes in food system functions have distanced cities from food production and changed the relationship between the city and food. Today, most urban residents have lost connection with the producers of their food. Disconnecting cities and the food system has consequences for many urban residents, influencing how they are able to access and utilise food. Now, as if to answer the writer Kalimasse's epigraph on page xvii (cited in De Boeck and Pissart, 2004: 261), cities have begun reclaiming their place as actors in urban food systems. There are divergent reasons for this renewed urban food focus, but one particular motivator is the scale of urban food insecurity.

This chapter begins offering a brief description of the state of food insecurity highlighting the absence of urban food security considerations in the current discourse, this despite the increasingly important role of cities, particularly in the developing world. This introduction frames the research questions that steer this thesis. These research questions are then substantiated by a discussion located within the notion that society is experiencing a set of converging transitions, reconfiguring institutional and societal systems. The divergent responses to the food security challenge are then introduced highlighting the emergence of scale-focused responses within cities. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion on the structure of the thesis.

Defined in terms of the distribution of dietary energy supply, 868 million people around the world were considered chronically undernourished in 2013 (FAO, 2013: ix). In addition, a further two billion people experienced the negative health consequences of micronutrient deficiencies (FAO et al, 2012: 4). About 850 million of the people estimated to be undernourished live in developing countries (FAO et al, 2012: 8). Food security is emerging as a key development challenge for Africa in the 21st Century. Several considerations cause limited and inappropriate food access, including, but certainly not limited to, the ability to buy food, itself often a symptom of limited or irregular income and

dramatic food price increases. Limited, erratic or inappropriate food access and utilisation can result in poor nutrition, poor health and a number of other related consequences. These consequences manifest in public health costs, educational challenges and even potential social unrest.

Food insecurity is misleadingly regarded as an issue that only affects rural populations (Crush and Frayne, 2010a). African cities are expanding rapidly and are key centres of growth and development (McKinsey Global Institute, 2011, UN-DESA, 2012). This growth and development is not necessarily translating into better livelihoods for many urban residents. Access to food is particularly problematic for poor people in African cities, and not least in South Africa, where first apartheid and then prevailing economic and development policies, food system governance and policies perpetuate food insecurity. Over and above food access challenges, urban food insecurity in South African is further compounded by food utilisation challenges, where a variety of challenges converge to limit dietary diversity and nutritional security. Urban food insecurity and the related consequences raise questions about the role of cities in the food system and the policy structures that enable active participation by city residents in the urban food system. These questions guide the research objective of this thesis.

This thesis seeks to understand emerging food governance trends and how these trends are responding to the urban, food, nutrition and governance transitions. This focus, particularly within the context of a set of multiple and converging global transitions, informs the research questions:

What is the relationship between cities and the food system? What role does policy play in enabling or constraining city-scale food system interventions? What are the emerging food governance processes and practices and what are the characteristics associated with such approaches, particularly in the urban context? And fourthly, how relevant are the emerging food governance approaches to South African cities and what components of such approaches have applicability within the South African context?

These research questions are pressing because of the food system challenges that are increasingly evident within cities. Most of the world's poor people have lived in rural areas but the numbers of urban poor, from market towns to megacities, are substantial (Cohen and Garrett, 2009). Food access strategies in cities are highly dependent on the ability to procure food as opposed to the ability to produce food. Thus urban poverty and food security are

linked. However, viewing food insecurity solely as a result of urban poverty conceals a number of systemic urban food challenges. The relationship between urban poverty and the broader urban food system is not clearly understood. The interconnected nature of the overall food system requires deeper analysis.

The urban food security challenge in South Africa was brought into focus by work carried out in the southern African region by the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN). In 2008 AFSUN conducted a 6 500 household baseline survey in low income areas of eleven Southern African cities. The primary purpose of the research was to examine the food security status and food access strategies of urban residents. The inquiry considered a number of food system tensions but specifically sought to investigate how the urban poor and the food system coalesced.

The AFSUN research started with a critique of existing food security perspectives, interventions and dominant policy orientations. Food production in rural areas has overwhelmed most thinking about food security. A background paper introducing the AFSUN programme, questioned whether this rural production and rural development dominance was the right "fix" for food security (Crush and Frayne, 2010a: 6). Challenging existing food security perspectives in this manner poses questions about how food security is understood, why the rural paradigm prevails, and how the relationship between food and the city is understood. Proposing an alternative city-oriented perspective at once raises questions about the role of both city leadership and all other food system stakeholders in urban food security, including local governments and food retailers.

Three South African cities formed part of the AFSUN research. High levels of food insecurity prevailed in all three; two showed food insecurity levels higher than the survey average of 77 percent (Frayne et al, 2010: 49). In Mzunduzi (the greater Pietermaritzburg municipality), food insecurity affected 87 percent of residents; food insecurity in Cape Town was reported at 80 percent. The third city, Johannesburg, was the only outlier with food insecurity of 43 percent reported. The South African National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (SANHANES-1) found similar figures highlighting the food insecurity challenges in informal areas, specifically the food security challenge in urban informal areas (SANHANES, 2013a).

The AFSUN focus on African cities drew attention to urban food insecurity and the associated challenges and opportunities faced within southern African cities. Concern about

nutrition, food prices and food security is part and parcel of rapid and problematic urbanisation in the developing world. In 2008 the demographic composition of global population shifted to being predominantly urban (UN-DESA, 2008; FAO, 2012: 10). The extent of urban growth is most significant in developing world cities. The 2012 UN-Habitat State of the World Cities report stated that in the preceding decade the urban population of the developing world grew an average 1.2 million people per week; each week urbanisation in the developing world is slightly less than one full year's demographic growth in European urban areas (UN-Habitat, 2012: 28).

Current urbanisation trends in developing countries are profoundly different to the urban transition that occurred in the developed world. Urbanisation in developed countries generally aligned to an industrial development process (Beall and Fox, 2009). The urbanisation currently experienced in the developing world, and particularly in African cities, reflects very different urban growth typologies. This urbanisation trend has been referred to as the second urban transition (Pieterse, 2008). It is characterised by an absence of industrialisation, modernisation and technology driven "informationalism" (Swilling and Annecke, 2012; 114), and is occurring amidst unprecedented resource shortages. Urbanisation within this context has direct governance and developmental consequences. Urban food access and food security have become increasingly problematic and urgent.

In the same way that urban change has been referred to as the second urban transition, changes taking place in the food system have been referred to as transitions. Transitions are understood to reflect a convergence of multiple challenges and responses, described by Swilling and Annecke (2012: xvi) as "the reconfiguration of the institutional and organisational structures and systems of society". The converging transitional challenges were highlighted in a recent report by the International Labour Organisation:

> Over the next four decades, the population living in urban areas is projected to increase by 2.6 billion, jumping from 3.6 billion in 2011 to 6.3 billion by 2050 ... by 2050, urban dwellers will likely account for 86 per cent of the population in the more developed regions and for 64 per cent in the less developed regions ...This trend has major implications for food production, livelihoods and job creation. As a result there is a need to rethink the organisation of production and distribution systems to meet the challenge of providing urban inhabitants with sufficient and affordable food supplies.
>
> (ILO, 2013: v)

The focus of the ILO report is on labour relations and practices within urban and peri-urban agriculture environments. These environments are presented as places of importance for food production in the light of the urban growth trajectories. The ILO framing of such practices and the remedies that are provided by urban and peri-urban agriculture require considerable interrogation.

The ILO suggestion that urban and peri-urban agriculture have been recognised for their "significance" to the livelihoods of the poor (ILO, 2013) reflects the dominant discourse associated with urban food security. Urban and peri-urban agriculture are certainly components of broader food system response strategies, but they are not the only elements. First, there is growing evidence that the extent of urban and peri-urban agriculture has been overstated (Ellis and Sumberg, 1998; Zezza and Tasciotti, 2010), specifically in South Africa (Webb, 2000; Burger et al, 2009). Second, the focus on food production fails to ask why urban residents have to resort to growing their own food. Indeed, the real question needs to be one that seeks to understand the (dis)functioning of the food system and understand the types of food system governance that are required in the rapidly changing urban food environment.

1.1. Food security responses

The ILO focus on food production reflects the dominant response to food security challenges. These responses have focused on ensuring food availability, and have resulted in production-orientated interventions (see World Bank, 2007; AGRA, 2008; FAO-HLTF FS, 2011). The assumption is that the principal cause and cure is in the countryside where food is produced. The emphasis on rural food production to ameliorate food insecurity has at least four consequences. The first is a scientific and technology-driven focus on increasing or optimising net calories produced (Borlaug, 2001; Foresight, 2011). Focusing only on production over-simplifies the systemic challenge. Second, where access to produced food is constrained, welfare interventions are used to mitigate challenges. Such interventions are predominantly reactive and lack strategic focus. Third, the rural focus detracts from the urban challenge. A fourth consequence is evident in policies and legislation that reinforce the rural/production/welfare paradigm.

Food security is generally defined as a situation in which all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO, 1996). This definition

suggests that food security involves the intersection of three food system activities, ensuring that sufficient food is produced (availability), that the food produced can be consumed, bought or traded (access) and that the food can be consumed in a manner that is socially appropriate and in a manner that enables optimal nutrition and health (utilisation). The trinity of food availability, access and appropriateness (Lang, 2009) can be expanded to include, availability, accessibility, as well as, food adequacy, acceptability and agency, referred to as "5 A's" (Rocha, 2008: 1).[1] This broad conceptualisation of food security is compelling because it prompts questions about the functions and outputs of the food system as well as diet and nutrition. Crucially, the notion of food agency points to how voice and power are mediated, facilitated and subjugated within the food system.

There are many 'agents' in every food system. The food system comprises the activities of commercial and non-commercial actors who grow, process, distribute, acquire, and dispose of food (MacRae and Donahue, 2013: 2). Activities in the food system encompass production, processing and packaging, distribution and retail, and consumption. All these activities simultaneously generate outcomes that impact on food security, environmental security, and other societal interests (Ericksen, 2007). These activities are legitimised, enabled or regulated through laws, policies, institutions, stakeholder actions, practice, governance and external pressures.

As a consequence of the dominant production and welfarist orientations to food security, national-scale structures generally take responsibility for managing food stocks or social protection interventions. As a result, policy and strategy actions are formulated at the national scale (often dominated by ensuring a positive food trade balance) and programmatically at the household scale. The household focus uses a variety of programmes, the most common of which include social protection (cash grants), food parcels or food welfare and urban food growing projects. These approaches – even 'fixations'– may ameliorate food insecurity, but they do not engage deep faults in the food system, let alone policy failures, nor do they question the appropriate scale at which interventions should be made.

[1] The reference to "5 A's" was first mentioned by Cecilia Rocha in the referenced 2008 document. This document was a discussion document produced by Ryerson University. The conceptualisation of "5 A's" was not initially tested within peer review articles. However, reference to the "5 A's" has subsequently appeared in a number of sources, in documents of the Toronto food policy council (see: http://tfpc.to/to-food-research) as well as in peer reviewed journal articles (Lang and Barling, 2012: 8).

South Africa's food security policies and laws contain these scale and policy presumptions. They are evident in the South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) and the Integrated Food Security Strategy (IFSS) of 2002. The Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution, and specifically Section 27 (1) b, the so-called "Right to Food Clause" obligates organs of state to ensure the progressive realisation of the right to food, articulated as "everyone has the right to have access to sufficient food ..." (RSA, 1996: 1255). Although there are different interpretations of what constitutes the progressive realisation of access to sufficient food, this binding clause within the constitution places an obligation on all spheres of government to act on and institute processes that ensure realisation of this right. The IFSS, designed to operationalise the right to food, sought to bring the multiple government departments together to focus on food security. The driving motivation for this approach was informed by a critique of the multiple food security approaches applied across many government departments in the period preceding 2002. As the name denotes, the IFSS sought to integrate multiple food security interventions under a single strategy. Housed within the Department of Agriculture (now DAFF), the governmental ministry responsible for formulating the strategy, the IFSS cluster aimed at a collective and strategic focus on food security.

The IFSS has not reached its objectives. Critics question its application, arguing that governmental departments were "not sufficiently flexible or coordinated to deal with an issue as multi-scalar and multidisciplinary as food security" (Pereira and Ruysenaar, 2012: 41). These concerns were echoed by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, Olivier De Schutter, who recommended far reaching changes to the IFSS (UN, 2012). From a structural perspective, the viability of the IFSS is further hamstrung by how the food security challenge is conceptualised. This conceptual flaw, linked to the challenges of scale-specific implementation, has direct implications for how the food security challenge is engaged at the city scale. This conceptual challenge is epitomised by the statement within the IFSS where the strategic approach is described as being one that "focuses on household food security without overlooking national food security" (DOA, 2002: 6). As a result of the nationally driven and rural production-oriented food security response, South Africa has no urban-specific food policies to enable systemic programmes specifically focused on addressing food security challenges at the urban scale.

Criticisms of the food system call for a wide and disparate assortment of remedial approaches. These approaches comprise a variety of perspectives, technologies, ideologies

and management strategies, collectively referred to as alternative food networks (Goodman and Goodman, 2007). Particular politics and areas of focus and scalar orientations are evident within these alternative food networks. How these groups are convened, governed and legitimised is one of the areas of focus within this thesis.

1.2. Scale-oriented perspectives

Motivated by the critique of the rural production dominance and the limited systemic developing world urban focus in the current food system discourse, this thesis seeks to interrogate food system actions at the urban scale. Such a focus requires a theoretical approach that enables investigation of how food flows relate to (from Castells, 1997) hierarchies of policy and governance and, via theories of scale, to the specifics of place and the relationships between places.

In different disciplines scale is used and understood in different ways (Sayre and Di Vittorio, 2009: 19). Infinitely nuanced, and a subject of study in itself, scale can nevertheless be reduced and interpreted simply for current purposes First, referring to a particular place as urban is itself an enactment of scale and implies a specific boundary to the particular area of analysis. Second, "geographical scales cannot be understood in isolation from one another, as mutually exclusive or additive containers; rather they constitute deeply intertwined moments and levels of a single worldwide sociospatial totality" (Brenner, 2000: 370, citing Lefebvre, 1978: 305). Scale is thus relational. Finally, whereas more traditional hierarchical notions of scale have been challenged (Brenner, 2001; Marston et al, 2005), this thesis argues that policies, specifically those relating to food, reflect a three-fold typology of "the global (world-economy), national (theories of the state) and urban scales" (Taylor, 1982: 23). Food, and in particular food governance within the urban context, is embedded within both hierarchical and horizontal scalar interactions.

City-scale food security challenges have been considered in the past but these generally aggregated total city food security data or focused on specific projects, such as urban agriculture interventions. It is only recently that cities sought out ways to actively engage the urban food system; innovative responses are emerging. One response is by addressing the way urban food systems are governed. Some cities have developed food system governance strategies that are very responsive to the needs of citizens. The strategies are diverse. As examples, Belo Horizonte in Brazil has developed a number of city

government-led pro-poor interventions (Rocha and Lessa, 2009). Toronto uses the Toronto Food Charter as the guiding framework in terms of how food is addressed within the city while the Toronto Food Policy Council, the designated custodian of the food charter, is aligned to, but outside of, government (Cosgrove, 2000; Baker, 2004; Friedmann, 2007). Numerous other examples of North American and European city food strategies reflect the need for local relevance, contextual knowledge and governance that generally extends beyond the domain of city officials alone. An essential aspect of most urban food governance approaches is that whilst city governments remain accountable for ensuring the attainment of the right to food, implementation of these strategies remains a responsibility shared between the city and urban residents and stakeholders.

In summarising the challenges set out in the preceding paragraphs, the current food security discourse requires reassessment. This requirement is prompted by converging transitional processes. Dominant policy and strategy perspectives and formulations are ill equipped to respond appropriately to the transitional processes. These challenges are most evident within developing world cities. One manifestation of such challenges is urban food insecurity with numerous attendant consequences. Cities are responding, developing new governance approaches and new structures that recognise agency and city-scale networks as necessities in the urban food governance project. Formalised urban food governance approaches are a recent urban development and are not as yet immediately apparent in developing world cities.

1.3. Thesis structure

Following this introductory chapter, a literature review (Chapter 2) engages with several bodies of literature that are not always seen as connected or mutually supportive. The interdisciplinary nature of urban food security dictates consideration of literature from within urban studies, specifically urbanisation and developing world urbanisation. Attention will be paid to the discourse associated with food and nutritional security.[2] Food security has to be understood within the context of how food security issues intersect with the wider food system. Here attention is paid to various points within the food system including production, value chain and issues associated with the utilisation of food such as health, distribution and

[2] Within this thesis the contemporary approach has been applied where nutritional security is considered to be a component of overall food security. Thus unless specifically speaking to issues associated with nutrition, the term food security will be used to denote all food security-related issues including utilisation which implies nutritional security.

food security. The literature review is primarily based on peer reviewed literature. However, as a good deal of discussion about urban food challenges occur outside academia, grey literature has also been consulted.

The literature review assists in clarifying and confirming the research questions. A number of research questions inform the research strategy of this thesis. The Methodology Chapter (Chapter 3) clarifies the research methods used. The interdisciplinary nature of the converging transitions and particularly the food system required that multiple research strategies were applied. Interviews and immersive observation processes made up a component of the research methods used.

Questions pertaining to emerging urban food governance trends and their applicability to South African cities required an investigation into other cities engaging in new forms of urban food governance. This enquiry sought to understand the nature, form and structure of the approaches applied in different international cities. Secondly it was necessary to understand the governance typologies used and scales of focus. Despite the different development challenges experienced in international and South African cities, a number of similarities were identified. Issues such as nutritional inequalities and poor diets, the role of large retailers, limited food access for vulnerable groups, emergency feeding programmes and the emergence of different urban food movements, are evident in international and South African cities. Many of the international city programmes emerged within the context of an urban food policy vacuum, something similar to South African cities. The international examples reviewed reflect new forms of pluralistic governance and bottom-up city-to-national food policy transitions.

In seeking to understand the potential and applicability to South African city-scale urban food governance, it was necessary to understand a collection of key operating, governance and structural principles that would enable both comparison to South African urban scale food processes and offer insights as to where limitations may exist. The analysis of international food system governance generated data specific to scales of operation, governance types and areas of focus. While the international approaches are divergent and are generally contextually, culturally and historically specific, key food system governance themes are deduced. These international lessons offer a rich backdrop against which specific South African cities can be reviewed.

The international urban food governance review (Chapter 4) is followed by a contextual analysis reviewing nascent process adopted in two South African urban areas, Cape Town and Stellenbosch (Chapter 5). The two places are attempting to engage in urban food governance in different ways. These are two of only a handful of urban areas embarking on such processes in the southern African region, but are arguably the two that are most advanced in their food system engagements. The spatial scale of the two cities is obviously different, and they have different economies and politics. Accordingly, Stellenbosch and Cape Town have tackled their food system/food security problems in different ways. Stellenbosch's food strategy was driven from outside the municipality, primarily as a result of a research project. Cape Town's engagement emerged from an internal policy orientation that evolved into a wider collection of food system questions. The chapter concludes with analyses of the applicability of the international practices within the South African context. It argues that the convergence of the food system challenges and the urban transition requires a far greater focus on urban food if food security is to be governed strategically. The different approaches observed in the international review offer a variety of governance options that suggest that while government needs to play an active role in such processes, the governance responsibility does not need to rest with government alone. Pluralistic governance approaches were evident in many of the urban food governance processes reviewed.

The final chapter (Chapter 6) concludes the thesis by making a number of recommendations about the necessity for the formulation of a city-specific food ethos in informing the structure, nature and governance of urban food interventions, as well as the critical role that city governments play in urban food governance process. It also offers caution, reflecting on some of the risks associated with such approaches.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis focuses specifically on the increasingly evident implications of shifts within the context of food security and urbanisation. When food insecurity and urbanisation intersect, the challenges are amplified. These intersecting challenges have been referred to as transitions. Transitions are understood to reflect a convergence of multiple challenges and responses, described by Swilling and Annecke (2012: xvi) as "the reconfiguration of the institutional and organisational structures and systems of society".

This Chapter elaborates on the implications and consequences of such transitions and investigate specific aspects, drivers and outcomes of such transitions, specifically within the context of urbanisation, the food system and food security. As a means to conceptualise the intersection between cities, food security and the food system, the geographical theories of scale are used to understand the place-based issues and to articulate the relationship between place and flows of food (the food system).

The concept of transitions is discussed first. This exercise frames the perspective applied. It also sets apart the approach to the institutional and organisational changes within the food system and city context from more conventional descriptions of transitions. The discussion on transitions is followed by a detailed discussion on urbanisation and urban transitions. Within this discussion, aspects associated with urban management such as governance are also discussed. The discussion on urban governance draws on recent discourse pertaining to changes in urban governance. While this discourse is predominantly oriented at developed world contexts, it is used to highlight specific shifts which may not yet be evident within developing countries. Differences between urban governance specific to the Global South and the developed city are expanded on and discussed.

The differentiation between cities in the developed and the developing world underpins much of the theoretical arguments within this thesis. Here the notion of the second urban transition is utilised to shed light on specific dynamics emerging in developing world cities of all sizes. This detail is necessary to build an argument that differentiates the challenge between developing and developed world cities. This juxtaposition is important in relation to urban food insecurity where there are evident disparities between the two development trajectories.

The responses to, and drivers of, food insecurity are very different in developed and developing world cities. However, essential lessons can be learnt from the different approaches applied in the different regions; the lessons can inform strategic interventions seeking to address issues of urban food insecurity. Specific strategies are discussed later in this thesis but it is necessary to clarify certain concepts so as to position the debates within the context of transitions. These concepts and the scale of the challenge motivating the specific focus on food security are introduced briefly so as to frame the argument that follows. The notion is discussed that food insecurity, urbanisation and city-living and the food system intersect in complex and often poorly understood ways. Context and the urban dynamics do influence the scale, nature and reaction to food insecurity. The brief introduction of food security and its conceptualisation within the urban context serves as a foundation for, and necessitates, a wider understanding of the food system.

Food security is often defined as being a situation in which all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO, 1996). This interpretation remains conceptually contested. This contestation is all the more evident in relation to the solutions proposed for food security. However, the drivers of food insecurity are just as relevant and, as shall be argued within this thesis, they are seldom given the same attention as the diverse solutions. Engaging in the complexities associated with the drivers of food insecurity requires an investigation into the food system. Central to the arguments within this thesis is a questioning of the transitions evident within the food system and the consequences of such changes.

The food system discussion avoids the conventional production-dominated discourse that pervades discussion about food systems. This thesis focuses on transitions taking place within the overall food system. Arguments for and against the merits of specific approaches to food system enhancement, about future needs from the food system, and about production typologies and many other food system aspects are highly contested. The result is often polarisation and imposition of contextually and personally informed ideological stances specific to food system processes (these will be expanded on in greater detail within the wider review). While potentially useful, such debates could consume the entire thesis. As the focus of this work specifically considers the intersection between the food system and the city, an alternative approach has been applied in the discussion of the food system, its flaws and benefits. The approach applied in the wider food system discussion is to evaluate the

different perspectives of the food system, and to assess these within the context of scale, ideology and specific area of focus. It is accepted that simple relegation of different food system views, engagements and critiques may reflect a measure of reductionism and over simplification. However, the approach is deemed useful within the context of the focus of this thesis and how it informs the debates and trends within this discourse. The discussion engages in specific food system themes or what are termed alternative food geographies within this thesis.

Once the food system transitions are discussed, the faults within the food system are detailed. One of the faults described is food insecurity. Informed by the discussion on the food system, a deeper and more contextually driven discussion on food security, and the theoretical perspectives offered in this regard is possible. This discussion starts with an overall discussion on food security but locates much of the engagement in the Global South with a particular focus on Southern Africa. Urban scale food security is then discussed where specific reference is made to research conducted in cities in the Southern African region. These perspectives intersect with the broader urban discourse and reinforce the need for a specific developing world-oriented focus on urban food security.

The section concludes with a critique of the literature, highlighting critical gaps in the different discourses. The conclusion also highlights new perspectives that offer novel perspectives on the challenges. The entire Chapter concludes arguing that while certain emerging conceptual engagements with the challenge of urban life and food access are present, understanding of the issues remain locked in remedial and instrumental responses. These operate at an inappropriate scale or fall prey to the wide generalisation of the issues, ignoring specific contextual realities and affording inappropriate authority to private sector food system players and national planning and governance processes. Some academic literature is beginning to counter such perspectives.

2.1. Transitions

Almost from the start, sustainability discourse did recognise the presence of transitions. One of the seminal sustainability works, the Limits to Growth Report (Meadows et al, 1972), with its distinctly Malthusian orientation, was premised on a population-driven transition in which consumption needs outstripped production and resource availability. This

report was challenged on a number of levels, most particularly because it was seen to disregard the potential for society to respond to impending threats through innovation (Smith et al, 2010). This criticism was correct in part. The notion of innovations makes up a key strand of the discourse focusing on sustainability and transitions, particularly the socio-technical regimes that are restructured in long term transitional cycles. Here contemporary works such as that of Perez (2002; 2007) draws on earlier contributions by the likes of Kondratieff (1935) and Schumpeter (1939) and treats transitions as technical innovations. Perez describes five such transitional periods commencing with the dawn on European industrialisation in the later part of the Eighteenth Century (Perez, 2007).

It is necessary to point out that within the sustainability discourse, the language of transitions remains intact. Recent work uses transitions as key theoretical foundations (Swilling and Annecke, 2012), particularly when the threat of excessive material consumption is considered. Here calls for decoupling or dematerialisation are seen as critical components of the next (or emerging) socio-technical transition (see: Guy et al, 2001 for an earlier framing of this; more recently see: Hodson and Marvin, 2009; Hertwich et al, 2010; UNEP, 2013). A large component of the current transition related discourse pays direct attention to the convergence of a number of intersecting global challenges with perhaps disproportionate attention being given to the 2008 financial crises and the transitional implications of these crises. The focus of the financial crises is generally considered in the context of intersecting issues of financial institutional approaches, global governance and lifestyle and consumption trends (Swilling and Annecke, 2012).

Transition terminology within the sustainability discourse is frequently used to describe the moves from the current unsustainable material consumption with its resultant consequences and threats such as climate change, ecological destruction and resource scarcity. One of the key strands of this discourse is that of a transition to a de-materialised economy, one where growth is achieved but with significantly reduced or stable resource consumption. This is argued in different ways. Some refer to this as non-material growth (Gallopin, 2003) while others, like the Sustainable Development Commission of the United Kingdom argue that the goal needs to be interpreted as a situation in which people can still flourish and yet reduce their material impact on the environment (Jackson, 2009). When the notion of prosperity translates into something other than increases in consumption, the likes of Jackson (2009) suggest that focus would turn to meaningful participation in society, requiring a very distinct shift in values. While implying dematerialisation, the Sustainable

Development Commission report disregards decoupling. Within a de-materialised environment (one driven by other values and other indicators of growth), decoupling can lead to a rethinking of assumptions about economic growth. Such a perspective questions GDP as the key indicator of growth or what has been termed "the transition from one socio-technical system to another, qualitatively different one" (Geels and Elzen in Stamm et al, 2009: 26). Discourse on sustainability transitions operates at macro scales speaking to system changes, new economies and global, and at times, national, shifts in economies. Macro scale perspectives, the impact of interventions, or transitions which affect both technology and the system in which that technology is embedded (Geels, 2004), reverberate through to other scales or levels. One of the primary theoretical framings of transitions is evident in the so-called Multi-Level Perspective.

Drawing on Multi-Level Perspective (MLP)[3] theory and more recent work on sustainability transitions (Grin et al, 2010; Smith et al, 2010; Swilling and Annecke, 2012: xvi) a number of transition-related characteristics are described. While the described characteristics retain a technical bias, they are useful in framing the concept of transitions and highlighting specific qualities. These four generalised transition-related characteristics (cited in Swilling and Annecke, 2012) include:

- The co-evolution of technical change, consumption behaviour and institutional reforms required to embed new technologies in society.
- Transitions are multi-actor processes that engage actors in unpredictable ways from all sectors.
- Transitions are long term processes, often 40-50 year cycles, with distinct phases of initiation and maturation.
- Transitions are about the reconfiguration of the institutional and organisational structures and systems within society.

The work drawn on here speaks to global transitions that bear a resemblance to longer term techno-type transitions. This is particularly evident in the work of Perez (2002; 2007). Within other discourses transitions are used to describe reconfigurations of structures of society. However the extent of the other transitions may not necessarily play out at the global scale as the socio-technical transitions described above. Other transitions are more context-

[3] This thesis does not utilise the MLP as its theoretical framing. While using the MLP could offer theoretical opportunities, the core theme of this work, is that context is a critical informant. This will be discussed in detail in the Methodology Chapter, Chapter 3. The main reason for the decision not to use the MLP is due to the use and interpretation of scale within the MLP.

driven and engage specific themes, demographics, industries, systems and social processes. Some transitionary processes are not necessarily termed transitions within the contexts in which they are discussed.

These specific transitions will be detailed briefly but will be contextualised in greater detail as individual themes. Within the broader discussion on these transitions, reference will be made to the four characteristics detailed above and comparisons to these will be drawn. Three additional transitions will be discussed, including the second urban transition, the nutrition transition and food regime change.

The second urban transition draws on the work of a number of urban theorists including, but not limited to, Hodson and Marvin (2010), Beall and Fox (2008), and specifically those described as forming part of the African urbanism school, Pieterse (2008; 2010; 2013a) and Swilling (2011). Although generally discussed within the context of urbanisation, the nutrition transition will be detailed as connected to urbanisation, but as a distinctly separate transition with specific and unique characteristics. Much of the nutrition transition discourse will draw on the works of Popkin (1998) and colleagues. The third transition, discussed as a broader set of interconnected transitions, reflects a process of transition or regime change, with a number of attendant, and at times even, separate sub-transitions. This transition draws on the seminal work of Friedmann and McMichael (1989) on food regime change.[4] The review here engages with more recent associated literatures on the status of the food regime change in order to highlight further sub-transitions within the wider food regime. A number of transitions evident within the food regime change processes include farm and value chain consolidation, technological change and production changes. These will be discussed to provide context to the inter-connected nature of the food regime thesis. However, this thesis will pay particular attention to a number of food regime transitions that have specific relevance to the urban food question. These transitions fall within the wider concept of what is termed within this thesis, the 'Big Food' transition (Young and Nestle, 2003; Stuckler and Nestle, 2012; Monteiro and Cannonor, 2012).

The Big Food phenomenon is also evident in South Africa (Temple and Steyn, 2010; Igumbor et al, 2012). Within the Big Food transition, two sub-transitions are evident. One is

[4] Critics of the Food Regime thesis have pointed out that there is not clear tipping point from which a shift from one transition to another can be determined (Swilling, 2014). However, McMichael (2009) argues that the regime shifts are evident, driven by global shifts in the powerbase of agricultural policy.

the supermarket transition documented and theorised by Thomas Reardon and colleagues (see for example: Reardon and Berdegue, 2002; Reardon et al, 2003; Weatherspoon and Reardon, 2003; Reardon et al, 2012; Reardon and Timmer, 2012). The other is the obseogenic transition, part of the nutrition transition. The obseogenic transition is often driven by, or linked to, the urban transition and the nutrition transition, and is evident in changes in meal types and content and eating habits. The obseogenic transition is related to the proliferation of convenience foods and budget-driven branded fast food outlets; Hawkes (2006: 1) characterises this as "convergence towards poor quality obseogenic diets". These transitions are referred to as sub-transitions for a specific reason. While they reflect distinct changes within the food system where many of these changes are universal, it is argued that these transitions are more by design and less as a result of any of the generalised transitions discussed earlier.

The urban transition is a global phenomenon but the nature of the transition differs. Driven by the scale of urbanisation and the specific economic conditions present in developing countries, the characteristics of the second urban transition are of particular interest within the context of the urban food question. Likewise, the nutrition transition is a global shift but when considered within the context of the second urban transition, specific characteristics are evident. Finally, the food regime thesis and attendant sub transitions highlight specific food system shifts that reflect distinctly different characteristics when considered within the context of developing world urbanisation.

While the four generalised and arguably global-scale transition characteristics remain relevant, if somewhat technically focused, one definition of a transition speaks to the global scale shifts and to so-called sub-transitions within the food system:

> a set of connected changes, which reinforce each other but take place in several different areas [and domains], such as technology, the economy, institutions, behaviour, culture, ecology and belief systems. A transition can be seen as a spiral that reinforces itself; there is multiple causality and co-evolution caused by independent developments.
>
> (Rotmans et al, 2001: 2)

Critically this definition highlights the "connected changes" in a similar manner to the four global transition characteristics which note how actors are engaged in "unpredictable

ways from all sectors". Similarly, the notion of co-evolution is evident in both descriptions. However, while the characteristics of the socio-technical transitions are seen as taking place over long periods of time, between 40 and 50 years, Rothmans et al (2002: 2) do not limit the transitions described to such time scales. When considering the transitions evident within the food system, such as the nutrition transition, these too may be characterised by shorter time cycles. The changes taking place in the urban environment, while certainly socio-technical in nature, reflect specific differences that impact on the food system focus of this thesis.

Each transition is discussed individually so as to reflect on the associated discourses. The literature specific to these transitions will be detailed separately followed by a section reviewing the intersections and contradictions within the different discourses.

2.2. Two urban transitions

The world is urbanising at a rapid rate. It is expected to be just under 60 percent urbanised by 2030 (UN-Habitat, 2013: 213). Citing global urbanisation trends as a single number obscures shifts taking place in different regions, particularly in developing regions where the scale and nature of urbanisation is dramatic but varied. A statistic released by UN-Habitat in 2012 bears repeating: in the decade from 2000 the urban population of the developing world grew by an average of 1.2 million people per week. The weekly urbanisation in the developing world is slightly less than one full year's urban growth in European cities (UN-Habitat, 2012: 28). This rapid growth in developing world cities is a component of what has been termed the second urbanisation transition (Pieterse, 2008; Swilling, 2011).

Reference to a second urban transition implies a primary urbanisation process. The description of the second urban transition characteristics and the reasons that these are deemed substantive to this thesis requires a more detailed consideration of the differences between the first and second urban transitions.

Agriculture (and by implication, food) and the development of urban-related lifestyles have been argued to be connected since the first development of urban-type living. Urban, or

settled lifestyles,[5] are described as having originated following the growth of Neolithic farming settlements between 4000 BCE (Bairoch, 1988; Beall and Fox, 2009: 37) and 7000 BCE (Pacione, 2009: 37; Steel, 2008). In determining what defines urban-based lifestyles what interests most commentators (Steel, 2008; Beall and Fox, 2009; Pacione, 2009) is not the exact date of settlement but more a question of the nature of the settlement deemed to reflect an urban way of life. Here the connection between agriculture and the urban lifestyle are paramount, where the emergence of a settled lifestyle was enabled through the ability to produce food within the region of the settlement, driven largely by the domestication of both plants and animals (Diamond, 2005; Beall and Fox, 2009). The general narrative thus posits that cities developed as a result of the general domestication of agriculture (Pacione, 2011).

An alternative view, challenging the notion that the domestication of agriculture led to the formation of settled lifestyles, questions if predilection to a predominantly settled lifestyle may have driven innovations that led to the domestication of agriculture, that the Neolithic period agglomeration of society was in fact the driver of the domestication of agriculture (Soja, 2000). Although others argue this to be more a definitional issue (Beall and Fox, 2009), what is clear is that "what defines the nature of an urban settlement appears to be more about the social structures than the size or scale of the settlement" (Beall and Fox, 2009: 37). Here the links to food reappear when the nature of the social structures is considered. This socio-economic collaboration enabled the city to acquire and distribute food, making it viable, enabling both political and economic power. This urbanisation process however reflects the development of settled lifestyles and does not imply mass global urbanisation. While this food was seldom evenly distributed within the city it formed the core organising element of the city (Steel, 2008), often dictating the location, size and form of the city.

When societies industrialised, requiring labour to work in emerging industries, agriculture was critically important: it was needed to supply mass produced food to feed the urban industrial workforce. This industrialisation was evident during the period termed the industrial revolution and resulted in the mass urbanisation in predominantly European and later North American countries.[6]

[5] A large body of literature detailing the development of cities and the formation of what is termed urban considers the urban from a particularly Western perspective. Furthermore, the variety of urban settlements in other regions are also generally described in the literature in a Western manner. A historical perspective helps to clarify the current urban perspectives evident in the literature.

[6] Japan is one of the early Asian countries to reflect similar urbanisation trends.

Food played an important role in the industrialisation process. This industrialisation period led to the "Agricultural Revolution" (Beall and Fox, 2009: 44). In this process, as agriculture became more industrialised, labour was released and absorbed by the industrial growth within cities, following what was described as Classical Economic Growth Theory by Arthur Lewis. According to Lewis labour transfer was based on a two-sector economy consisting of a low productivity, labour surplus, subsistence rural sector, and a high productivity, modern industrial urban sector (Lewis, 1954; 1955). The impetus for labour transfer from the rural to the urban sector in the then developing countries was contingent on the expansion of urban employment opportunities through growth of the industrial sector in cities. The pace of the transfer was determined by the rate of capital accumulation in industry. This growth and capital accumulation drove the first urbanisation wave.

The first urbanisation process was facilitated by, and resulted in, a number of other societal shifts. Agricultural innovation and resultant increases in production also reduced the price of food. Lower food prices meant reduced rural employment opportunities. Abundant labour and lower food prices were vital drivers of the industrialisation process, particularly in rapidly growing urban areas (Beall and Fox, 2009: 47). The combination of cheap food, industrialisation and subsequent specialisation and new forms of urban governance enabled urban development.

As development progressed, the developed regions experienced de-industrialisation processes. The economies of these regions were replaced by service and technology driven industries, from an industrial foundation to a technological or financialised foundation. Cities in the developed world were the centres of these economies. These foundations are different to cities in the developing world. The second urbanisation wave is taking place within a particular geopolitical and economic moment (Pieterse, 2008: 16). The key points about the unprecedented nature of the current urban trajectory are that "most of the world's urban population is now in low- and middle-income nations" and that this is unique because "throughout history, it is the richest nations that had most of the world's urban population" (Satterthwaite, 2007: iv).

Satterthwaite dispels certain "popular myths", the first being that of continued expansion of large mega-cities (Satterthwaite, 2007). Such expansion does not reflect the urban trends observed since the beginning of the 21st Century (Pieterse, 2013a). Secondary cities and small urban areas are experiencing the largest growth. Secondly, Satterthwaite

challenges the urban bias perspective, suggesting that there is no evidence to support such claims although he does call for the need for more data in this regard (Satterthwaite, 2007). While perhaps not a myth, but a misconception about the process of urbanisation, is the assumption that urbanisation is uniform, despite urban living being the dominant form of human habitation (UN-DESA, 2008). Satterthwaite suggests that in the context of urban growth, the challenges experienced are not caused by growth but by the inability of national and local institutions to adapt to the challenges that growth presents (Satterthwaite, 2007).

The urbanisation occurring in the developing world differs to that of the first urban transition in the developed world. It is as a result of this difference that the current urbanisation trend has been termed the second urbanisation wave (Swilling and Annecke, 2012; Pieterse, 2010). One of the distinctive features of the second urban transition is its scale: "in less than 100 years the urban population is projected to grow from 309 million 3.9 billion[7] people" (UNFPA, 2007: 7).

The scale of growth associated with the second urban transition is significant. However, other characteristics further differentiate this transition. There can be little doubt that the urbanisation trends experienced in most African countries reflect a *crisis* (Myers, 2011; Pieterse, 2013a). African cities formed a key area of focus of one of the earliest descriptors of the second urban transition, namely the 2003 UN-Habitat Challenge of Slums report. This description of slums has been adopted by others (Davis, 2006; Swilling, 2011). Pieterse (2103a: 21; Pieterse, 2013b) denotes the endless vistas of shantytowns as "the visible face of crisis" and remarks on "the burden of self-help and abandonment that they imply". His summation is that if 67 percent of African urbanites live in informal *autoconstructed*,[8] makeshift shelters then "the shanty city is by and large the real African city ... this further implies that the bulk of city building can be attributed to actors outside of the state and formal business sector".

The typology and scale of African and developing world urbanisation is driven by a number of factors. These include desires to improve livelihood generation, disinvestment in rural economies (such as the marked decline in state-led funding in agriculture), and the

[7] In 2007 Satterthwaite argued for caution when providing longer range urbanisation projects, calling for a recognition of the multiple shifts and pressures (including HIV/Aids, Climate Change and economic restructuring) that may transpire in the demographic shifts. More recent texts (Swilling and Annecke, 2011; Crush and Frayne, 2010a; Pieterse, 2013a), speak to African urbanism specifically and (perhaps informed by the scale of African urban growth) appear to dispense with this caution. Many of the reasons for which Satterthwaite gave for caution, may in fact serve to reinforce the urbanisation trajectory.

[8] Pieterse borrows this term from James Holston (1991).

search for access to education and healthcare, safety and security. Many of these characteristics fall within the generally accepted trend of globalisation. A defining characteristic of the second urban transition is informed by the intersection of globalisation and the economy. The lack of industrial growth in developing world cities, particularly evident in African cities, reflects the sharp contrast between Africa's current urban transition and that of the first urban transition. The lack of industrial growth means that industrial employment, or the resultant secondary formal employment, is limited.

The UN-Habitat 2003 Challenge of Slums report defines a slum as an area characterised by overcrowding, poor structural quality of housing [informal housing], inadequate access to safe water and sanitation, and insecurity of tenure (UN-Habitat, 2003: 12). This definition is "restricted to the physical and legal characteristics of the settlement, and excluding the more difficult [to measure] social dimensions" (UN-Habitat, 2003: 12). These social dimensions are vital parts of slum urbanism. Although Davis describes these multiple social dimensions, he cautiously questions why such social structuring does not result in the Marxist anticipated agency, citing slum-level competition for resources and access as possible reasons (Davis, 2006).

General descriptions of the developing world city, the slum city (Davis, 2006), or the autoconstructed city (Pieterse, 2013b) while real, does not effectively capture the processes, networks and dynamics of a developing world city. Regardless of the crisis described by Pieterse (2013a), these cities have other characteristics, some vibrant, others more problematic. What the African city does reflect is an endless struggle. In this struggle, different forms of cityness, networks and agency emerge.

Within the context of developing world cities, many different types of urbanism have been identified. These include Rogue urbanism (Pieterse and Simone, 2013; Mbaye, 2013; Zack, 2013), networked urbanism (Simone, 2010), and forms of bottom-up planning and development evident in the work of urban grass-roots organisations such as Slum Dwellers International (SDI) (Appadurai, 2002; D'Cruz and Satterthwaite, 2005). Using a lens of urban infrastructure, Swilling considers a variety of different urban typologies to describe the challenges of contemporary urbanism and where solutions may lie. Although there are a number of different descriptions of urbanism and urbanisation typologies, this particular perspective is used as it also highlights the inequalities evident within the urban food system and how these inequalities are exacerbated by design and spatial planning. Swilling draws on

earlier work by Graham and Marvin (2001) on splintered urbanism to describe unprecedented social fragmentation of cities developed on the enclave-driven principles of market segments, competition and the 'user pays'. Approaches informed by decentralised solutions (Swilling, 2011: 84-85).

Yet another urban typologies is that of inclusive urbanism, It is, a type of urbanism informed by Keynesian social democratic theories, and is one that Swilling argues reached its apogee in the 1960s as "state-run, ecologically destructive, cash-guzzling networked infrastructures" became unviable and "targets for the neoliberal reformers" (Swilling, 2011: 83). As a concept, inclusive urbanism persists, if only as an ideal. UN-Habitat articulates inclusive urbanism perspectives as a means to enable urban reform (UN-Habitat, 2009). Swilling adds 'green urbanism' to the list of urbanisms. Drawing on Beatley (2000), he suggests that as a result of the sustainability trends and the impact of urban metabolisms, green urbanism has "evolved as the legitimating ideology for escalating public sector investments in networked urban infrastructures that restructure sociometabolic flows" (Swilling, 2011: 87). A warning is however given that green urbanism "can be turned into grand-scale 'techno-fixes' divorced from the realities of social process, culture and power" (Swilling, 2011: 87), mirroring the exclusion of splintered urbanism.

Informed to a large extent by typologies associated with the second urban transition and works such as the Challenge of Slums (UN-Habitat, 2003), a fourth urban typology is termed slum urbanism. Central to slum urbanism is the networked approach [and agency] applied by those urban residents excluded from services and formal infrastructure. These urban residents are "in one way or another effectively building and extending a wide range of (connected and autonomous) networked infrastructures" (Swilling, 2011: 86). Swilling concludes with an aspirational ideal of "liveable urbanism", a form of urbanism inspired by Janis Birkland's notion of Positive Development (2008) where society moves from "from design for sterility to design for fertility" (Swilling, 2011: 90).

The different urban typologies reflect particular challenges in the conceptualisation of the urban food challenge. Key to Swilling's (2011) positing of different urbanisms is that different forms of urbanism are often evident within the same city. The reality is that the urban food system reflects a similar trend where some areas reflect high levels of informality with limited access to food, while others may reflect abundance but in a manner that excludes many people, either through price, location, or even food retail typology.

The preceding section on urbanisation and the second urban transition engaged in a wide variety of urban-related perspectives. These aspects were engaged in at length as a preamble to the discussions that will follow in this thesis. The urban discussion further demonstrates the connections between what are often divergent discourses including food and spatial planning, food and the urban economy, food and city and national politics, and food and agency. The urban transition discourse has bearing on the intersection between the urban scale and the food system in the research sites discussed within this thesis. Aligned to the second urban transition are the social dimensions including, but not limited to, forms of bottom-up planning and development. The different urbanisms discussion was used to highlight the fact that cities are not uniform and different development trajectories, governance structures and economies influence how the city is experienced and lived by different urban constituents. These factors are all evident in how urban residents engage in the food system.

Two central themes are evident within the discourse of the different forms of urbanism. The first is how design affects urban function and form. While obvious, the principles that inform the design will inform the extent of splintering or inclusion. Secondly, implied within the different typologies is the fact that design and the urban form are being informed by a wide variety of urban role-players and not just city government planners. These two points have a direct bearing on the design, functioning and nature of the urban food system. This will be addressed later in the thesis.

2.3. Participation, voice and agency

Central to the extent of splintering or inclusion is the role that city residents play in the evolving urban form. The ability to participate in processes that enable the realisation of the interests of urban residents is central to the notions of liveable urbanism. In slum urbanism this is observed in the changes that grass roots organisations have enacted (See Appadurai, 2002; D'Cruz and Satterthwaite, 2005). The ideals of green urbanism may reflect such participation but this has been questioned (Guy et al. 2001; Hodson and Marvin 2009). The challenge of splintered urbanism is the fact that certain voices are privileged over others.

A theme in the writings of Edgar Pieterse (2006; 2008; 2010; 2013c) is the question of participation. Communities have a key role to play in (re)building their own societies.

Pieterse suggests that this rebuilding is facilitated through "agonistic politics" (Pieterse, 2006: 289) or the creation of "*homebru* strategies that emerge and flourish in a context of radical democratic politics that stretch across formal–informal, concrete–symbolic and consensual–conflictual binaries" (Pieterse, 2006: 300). [9]

Writing in the South African context, Pieterse questions current policy and political processes that disregard the role of the poor as driving agents in describing and addressing the dimensions of their poor living environments (Pieterse and van Donk, 2013: 101). This need for *homebru* strategies is embedded in a more nuanced view of what makes a city. Drawing on Flyvbjerg (2004), Gunder (2003) and Barker (2000), and the Aristotelian concept of phronesis,[10] Pieterse (2006: 289) suggests that "The notion of 'epistemic community' is derived from the idea that knowledge-generating collectives can be convened to exchange vigorously perspectives within a broader shared commitment to find practicable 'solutions' to intractable social and economic problems". Access to food is one such intractable social and economic problem.

The process described by Pieterse (2006) whereby epistemic communities enact collective agency to change conventional orthodoxy contradicts Davis's (2006) question as to the absence of agency. While Davis may be questioning the absence of city or even wider scale action against the extent of slums, Pieterse and others speak to more nuanced and context specific forms of agentic actions. Appadurai identified one such case of specific grass-root organisations in the slums of Mumbai,[11] and studied how these groups "federate" to achieve their respective goals (Appadurai, 2002: 28). A "politics of show-and-tell" operated, reflecting a politics of recognition (Taylor, 1992) but from below (Appadurai, 2002: 39). Appadurai's description of local agency and what he terms Deep Democracy (Appadurai, 2002) aligns with Pieterse's notion of Phronesis or the ability, desire and processes to realise good and effective action in complex and unfolding circumstances. This is however driven at the community scale. Such concepts (or approaches) mesh with processes of incremental and continuous upgrading of the lived reality, or quiet encroachment (Bayat, 2000).

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[9] *Homebru* is a colloquial South African term used to describe emergent local actions, activities, responses or characteristics that reflect the local dynamics. This is generally has positive connotations.

[10] Pieterse explains phronesis to refer to the skill and reason of practical judgement "in the moment of action" (Gunder, 2003: 253 in Pieterse, 2006). Further, "Aristotle found that every well-functioning organisation and society was dependent on the effective functioning of all three intellectual virtues – *episteme*, *techne*, and *phronesis*. At the same time, however, Aristotle emphasised the crucial importance of *phronesis,* 'for the possession of the single virtue of prudence [*phronesis*] will carry with it the possession of them all' "(Flyvbjerg, 2004).

[11] Society for the Protection of Area Resource Centres, or SPARC, NSDF, the National Slum Dwellers' and Mahila Milan.

The contemporary view of urban governance still views the city as an entity run through what has been called "nucleated and hierarchically nested process of political governance, economic development, social order, and cultural identity" (Soja, 2000: 13-14). This notion is questioned and challenged in the literature (Bayat, 2000; Appadurai, 2002; Pieterse and Simone, 2013). This notion implies a top-down governance structure that disregards agency, phronesis or other forms of deep democracy. While officials may aspire to the hierarchical model of governance, the lived reality is very different. This is evident in the food systems of developing cities.

Discussions on agency require clarification. Questions of agency and the theoretical value of agency have been the subject of much debate within academic literature where "variants of action theory, normative theory, and political-institutional analysis have defended, attached, buried, and resuscitated the concept in often contradictory and overlapping ways" (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998: 962). The brief discussion on agency that follows draws largely on the 1998 work of Mustafa Emirbayer and Ann Mische who considered agency from both a philosophical and sociological theory perspective. Their work is used to clarify and define agency but also to highlight the different elements of agency. Using the similar phrasing to that used by the likes of Marx, they challenge a number of theoretical approaches to agency. Central to their argument is that current perspectives of agency do not provide insight into how agency "interpenetrates with and impacts upon the temporal relational context of action" (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998: 1012) – actors live simultaneously in the past, future and present. Agency is inherently social and relational (Emirbayer, 1997) and consists of three key elements; iteration, projectivity and practical evaluation. Emirbayer and Mische define agency as:

> the temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments – the temporal-relational context of action – which, through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgment, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations.
>
> (1998: 970)

The discussion on the typologies evident at the urban scale, coupled with the agentic actions within the urban space, and referring to a particular place as urban or the city, is an enactment of scale. This implies a specific boundary to the particular area of analysis or scale

of observation. This practice involves the construction of scale, the process of creating a scale of observation, and recognising a specific operational scale. All involve theories of scale.

2.4. Scale

In geographical and scientific disciplines scale is used and understood in different ways (Sayre and Di Vittorio, 2009: 19). These different perspectives include aspects such as the range of measurement or extent, the operational scale, the observational scale, and the resolution or grain. Scale is also a key consideration when comparing attributes or processes through observation and relational category definition – this process considers the relational aspect of scale. Thus, scale can be seen as comprising three connected and interrelated spheres: size, level, and relation (Sayre and Di Vittorio, 2009: 19).

Recently scale has been the subject of much debate within the geographical disciplines. This debate has challenged the long-standing and traditional perspectives of scale. The central point of debate is a challenge of traditional linear, or Cartesian (Hubbard, 2006; 164), and hierarchical perspectives of scale. In the conventional understanding of scale, it is likened to the metaphor of the Matryoshka Doll, the Russian doll within a doll. A concept understood as scale evolving outwardly (or inwardly) in concentric rings or a space that fits within other space. Largely as a result of globalisation, urbanisation and technological innovations such as the internet, or transitions, the validity of scale as an area of analysis has been questioned (Smith, 1996; Brenner, 2000; Marston and Smith, 2001; Brenner, 2001; Marston et al, 2005). However, another camp has emerged arguing in favour of scale citing similar drivers as a reason for the retention of scale (Howitt, 2003; Paasi, 2004; Prytherch, 2007).

The traditional view of scale championed a hierarchical understanding of scale. Taylor describes three scales "the global (world-economy), national (theories of the state) and urban scales" (Taylor, 1982: 23) and describes the associated processes aligned to these scales as: Global – the scale of reality; National - the scale of ideology; and urban - the scale of experience (from Taylor, 1982: 26). This view replicated a further scale metaphor, that of a pyramid. Brenner challenges such hierarchical notions of scale making the point that the impact of certain transitions, particularly the urban transition and the attentive technological changes mean that "geographical scales cannot be understood in isolation from one another ...

rather they constitute deeply intertwined moments and levels of a single worldwide sociospatial totality (Brenner, 2000: 370, citing Lefebvre, 1978: 305).

Central to the debate questioning the validity of scale is that the globalisation-driven political, economic and structural shifts have ruptured traditional scalar hierarchies. What has transpired is a renewed focus on questions of scale, place, and place of flows. Regardless of the questioning of scale, Hubbard recognises the usefulness of scale when considering the city. He suggests that the emerging debate "carries some profound implications for the examination of the city, encouraging many urban researchers to question where to locate cities within extant hierarchies of scale" (Hubbard, 2006: 164). In the context of food, understanding scale is made more complex by the range of scales (temporal, spatial and organisational) that are at play in any particular context (Battersby-Lennard, ND: 1).

Marston's rejection of the traditional views of scale challenges Taylor directly, suggesting that "Taylor's work theorizes these levels (urban, nation, global) as separated domains" (Marston et al, 2005: 417). Marston argues that scale is "not necessarily a preordained hierarchical framework for ordering the world. Scale is a contingent outcome of the tensions that exist between structural forces and the practices of human agents" (Marston, 2000: 220). According to Marston scale is a "relational element in a complex mix that also includes space, place and environment" (Marston, 2000: 220-221). Those urging retention of scale seek to shift focus from the constructed hierarchies to the relational exchanges between scales and the space of flows (Prytherch, 2007). From an analytical perspective "reflecting on the relations between place, region and scale simultaneously, not separately, become instruments for rendering empirical analysis of the context and processes possible" (Paasi, 2004: 539).

The analysis of the relations between place, region and scale translates to understanding the food system and the attendant faults within the food system. Challenges experienced within a specific place are often driven by faults in the relationships between place and region, generally as a result of a disregard for such relationalities. Far from being predetermined, within the food system these interactions and connections are conceptualised, designed and lived through a socially produced process (Swyngedouw, 1997).

The standard views of scale are locked within an assumption-driven politically oriented generalising of scale (Born and Purcell, 2006). The food system faces similar challenges where policy systems and food system governance are often informed by scalar

notions of nation state and democratic boundaries. The reality is one where although policy has a role in framing certain processes, often in a hierarchical manner, connections between the different scales are, as Urry (2003) describes, what determine scale. Within the food system policy and certain legislative and institutional processes are informed by hierarchical scalar processes, often operating at the scale of reality or the scale of ideology (Taylor, 1985: 26), while the rest of the food system functions in relational ways. Within the context of the food system, food insecurity is a manifestation of this scalar vacuum.

The urban food system reflects hierarchies enforced by power (Taylor 1992) and politics (Swyngedouw, 1997; Brenner, 2001). The food system is a place of flows (Castells, 1997), particularly in the urban system. The food system is also socially constructed and thus, relational (Howitt, 1998; Brenner, 2000, 2001) with a variety of social processes and networks present (Lefebvre, 1991; Brenner, 2000; Leitner, 2004; Swyngedouw, 2004). The food system operates simultaneously at the hierarchical and vertical scale levels while also manifesting great complexity with multiple feedback loops (Picket, et al, 1997) and emergent properties (Marston et al, 2005). The food system thus embodies the scale debate, highlighting the hierarchical components but also reflecting that contingent outcome of the tensions between structural forces and agentic practices.

Considering food and scale within the city relies on the emergent nature of scales or flows described by Marston. Similarly these perspectives align with the scalar components described by Brenner in the scale hypothesis. The scale hypothesis primarily considers scalar structuration suggesting that such processes are constituted and continually reworked through everyday social routines and struggles. Scales evolve relationally within tangled hierarchies and dispersed interscalar networks (Brenner, 2001: 604-608). As will be discussed later, food system related processes reflect similar characteristics to the scale-oriented notions described in the scale hypothesis. This speaks directly to the food system and the relationship between the city and the associated food system actions. Understanding the food system requires consideration of both the resolution and the extent of the food system (Sayre and Di Vittorio, 2009).

Discussions on participation, citizen voice and agency at the urban scale query processes that are enabled to facilitate participation. In more traditional managerial-oriented views of how such processes function at the urban scale, this is the responsibility of government. However, government is only “the visible tip of the governance iceberg” (Beall,

2001: 360). Indeed, “urban governance means much more than urban government" (Harvey, 1989: 6): it involves a far wider set of stakeholders, agents, voices and perspectives. The following section details certain changes, and their attendant drivers, in notions of governance, and in particular, urban scale governance. These shifts are discussed from a perspective of wider transitions while introducing a specific type, or sub-set, of urban governance, urban food governance.

2.5. Governance

Just as globalisation and the associated neoliberal policies prompted calls for the re-evaluation of the utility and relevance of scale, these same processes have prompted shifts in urban governance. The processes of globalisation have altered the relationship between cities and the nation state. In the last decade of the 20th Century this issue occupied much of the urban governance discourse (Healey et al., 1995; Macleod and Goodwin, 1999; Jessop, 1998; 2002). This shift has been described as a move from the Fordist-oriented approaches of the 1960s to forms of aligning to a more liberalised ideology of entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989: 4). This transition from one form of urban governance has been described as a change in regime where urban governance is less about land-use practices – a management role – but more concerned about the patterns of governance within the regime (Stone, 1997: 1).

Recently, urban governance has been expanded to include a process articulated by UN-Habitat as Good Urban Governance (2002). This has been seen as the key approach through which to realise the “inclusive city”. The assertion is that the inclusive city would ensure “the eradication of poverty through improved urban governance and improving governance as a means to achieve sustainable development” (UN-Habitat, 2002: 6). This approach has been criticised by Pieterse (2008) suggesting that Good Urban Governance relies heavily on a consensus-based model of urban politics. Such urban politics are seldom present, particularly in contested developing world cities. Satterthwaite argues that good urban governance should be a key component in urban development focusing on effective government, systems and structures (Satterthwaite, 2007). Although aligned to the UN-Habitat perspective, he sees governance as a wider group of urban stakeholders. The perspective recognises disagreement. One positive aspect of the UN-Habitat stance is recognition that power exists both within and outside the formal authority of government.

Thus, governance includes government, the private sector and civil society (UN-Habitat, 2002: 13), a view shared by others (Harvey, 1989; Pierre, 2005).

Cities embedded in traditional hierarchical governance structures find it challenging to respond to the changing forms of governance required to ensure effective delivery. The challenge is how to create opportunities for other voices such as civil society and the private sector, particularly if traditional management structures, policies and systems remain in place (Kearns and Paddison, 2000). Within the South African context, attempts to include stakeholders in processes are institutionalised in local government legislation (MSA, 2000).[12] It is also evident in processes such as participatory planning, espoused through the Integrated Development Planning (IDP) process. These processes are generally tokenistic and do not facilitate real participation (see Pieterse, 2008 and Pieterse, 2013c).

As part of the UN-Habitat Good Urban Governance process urban governance was described as:

> the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action can be taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of citizens.
>
> (UN-Habitat, 2002: 14)

This definition clarifies a number of processes associated with urban governance. It is also open to interpretation. How the diverse interests are accommodated and who takes responsibility for cooperative action are two of many questions prompted by this definition. A further challenge is the meaning and the currency of citizen social capital. Beall (2001) draws on case studies from developing world cities to offer certain insights. Firstly, while recognising the importance of public action in local democracy, such action does not guarantee pro-poor governance. Secondly, the social resources of the poor generally constitute more private than public goods (Beall, 2001: 371).

Healey's investigations into the creative modes of urban governance, or creative governance, which views governance and creativity as intertwined phenomena and not

[12] Chapter 4 (p.30) of the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 sets out the community participation process and requirements.

oppositional (Healey, 2004: 100), connects questions of values, norms and ways of acting to the crafting or shaping of collective action. The notion of shaping collective actions implies an iterative and evolutionary process of transformation from one mode of practice to another through step-changes (Coaffee and Healey, 2003: 1980). Importantly, recognising transformation accepts that change is part of the governance process. Transformation processes accept that conflict and instability are 'normal' qualities of local governance (Coaffee and Healey, 2003: 1981). Such articulations of transformation can be read as a positive set of incremental governance-informed improvements. This is not necessarily the case. Effective public action can emerge as a result of social disadvantage and blatant injustice (Beall, 2001). Holden questions whether participants build a rational consensus beginning from root values and visions, or develop a conflictual consensus working from incommensurably diverse life worlds (Holden, 2011). Urban governance is therefore less about an attempt to regain control and more about an attempt regulate difference in urban arenas which are themselves experiencing considerable change (Kearns and Paddison, 2000: 847).

More recently, a new discourse pertinent to urban governance has emerged, linked to climate change-associated ecological transitions. Here urban adaptation governance is emerging as an area of investigation and engages in urban governance issues in a similar manner through notions of accountability and transparency, responsiveness and flexibility, and participation and inclusion. A diversion from conventional urban governance processes occurs where the climate adaption processes call for autonomy and decentralisation (Tanner et al, 2009; Birkmann et al, 2010). Notions of decentralisation within a particular urban domain could result in different forms of splintering, particularly where different scales of vulnerability exist within a particular urban society.

Urban governance embraces a complex network of interactions among institutions and groups. One such complex network is the urban food system. Chapter 4 will consider different urban food governance strategies in detail but finding ways to collectively govern the urban food system is an emerging trend. Notions of urban food governance, governance where a far wider collection of stakeholders are actively involved in the urban food system has been referred to as pluralistic governance (Koc and Bas, 2012).[13] Only recently have

[13] In Canada particularly, pluralistic governance strategies are not confined to the food system (See: MacRae and Abergel, 2012) enhancing the acceptability of governance relationships between government and society, but also between groups outside of government.

questions started to emerge about the implications of food system challenges for cities (Roberts, 2008; Winne, 2008; Rocha and Lessa, 2009). Highlighting faults within the urban food system implies deeper systemic difficulties with the food system. These have to do with how the food system intersects with the urban system, and the sources of the faults.

The next section considers some of the historical information on the food system, in particular, how the food system was understood and governed. The changes in food system governance, argued here to be informed by certain key ideological changes, will be discussed. The section also introduces the concept of food security and the emerging framing of urban food security. Arguing that food security is an indicator of faults within the food system precipitates a wider discussion on the food system. The food system discussion focuses on the transitions taking place within it, simultaneously challenging the dominance of the production discourse in debates about food system functions. Particular focus is on remedial perspectives on the food system. These remedial considerations generally key into a particular ideological perspective or critique of the food system. The corresponding solutions are considered within the context of scale, ideology and specific area of focus. This broader food system discussion then enables a return to the food system challenge of food security. The discussion touches on general food security narratives, but focuses on the Global South and in particular on Africa. Urban-scale food security is discussed especially in relation to food security in southern African cities.

2.6. The food system

The core of this thesis is the study of the ability of cities to acquire food and ensure that it is distributed in a manner that enables food security, nutrition and health. This focus works from the assumption that the flows of food to residents of cities are not necessarily consistent or equitable. The inconsistency and inequality manifest as food insecurity. This assertion is validated by high levels of food insecurity in cities in southern Africa. Research within the southern African region in 2008 found that in poorer areas of 11 cities 77 percent of poor urban households surveyed reporting conditions of food insecurity[14] (Frayne et al, 2010: 49). Food security has been described as one of the "key development challenges of the

[14] This work used the FANTA methodology to assess food insecurity

21st Century" (Crush and Frayne, 2010a: 6) yet responses to the challenge are diverse and contradictory. Recently the concept of food security has re-emerged within the public discourse, largely informed by neo-Malthusian concerns of feeding an ever growing global population. The figure of nine billion people is frequently cited in calls for changes to food production that are as radical as those the occurred during the 18th- and 19th-Century industrial and agricultural revolutions (Godfray et al, 2010: 812). Others engage in the question from a sustainability perspective citing the potential and need, for sustainable production (Pretty, 2009; Gregory and George, 2011). While many other references to these questions can be made, these have been used as they reflect a dominant orientation in this argument - but also a key contradiction. The contradiction is the interplay between science or scientific technologies and sustainability. While this is an oversimplification of a wider discourse, both perspectives remain embedded within the dominant solution to the challenge of feeding the growing global population, that of simply growing more food. Engaging in the merits of whether more food is actually required is outside the remit of this thesis. The dominant focus on production as the primary mechanism to resolve the food question misses a wide variety of other food system challenges such as politics, policy, distribution, changes in the market mechanisms, food waste and the diversion of food to non-food uses. Seeing food security as a production problem over-simplifies the issue and diverts attention to areas and debates, which while important, hide the systemic challenges within the food system.

The fixation on production as the solution to food security is not supported by opinions offered by leading thinkers in the field of food security. In his 1981 work Poverty and Famines, Amartya Sen posited that food insecurity was more about the ability to access food and less about the amount of food available. Sen's thesis prompted Maxwell to argue that it was no longer possible to speak about food security "without making reference to the importance of access and entitlement" (1996: 157). The fact that global efforts to eradicate hunger, often aligned to initiatives such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), still give disproportionate attention to production remains an anomaly. The production focus has prompted numerous global reports, focusing on development and food security. These reports often reflect ideological contradictions about how production should be approached.[15] A large proportion of the reports focusing on production to address food security also have a bias

[15] For evidence of such contradictions, see for example the World Bank's 2008 World Development Report, Agriculture for Development, and the International Assessment for Agriculture Science and Technology for Development (IAASTD) (2009), part funded by the World Bank but with conclusions contradictory to those of the Agriculture for Development Report.

towards small farmer development, particularly those focusing on food security in developing countries. The International Assessment of Agricultural Science and Technology for Development (IAASTD) (2009) and World Bank, Agriculture for Development (2007) reports also reflect this bias.

Sen's "Entitlements Theory" (1981) is particularly relevant when considering urban food security as it argues that food security can still exist even when sufficient food is available. Often sufficient food is available in urban areas but poor urban residents don't have the means to access this food (Frayne et al, 2010). The broadening of the understanding of food security, from one of ensuring that there is sufficient food available to one that considers aspects such as access is reflected in the wider definition of food security.

> 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 and healthy life.
>
> (World Food Summit Plan of Action, 1996, Clause 1)

This definition suggests that food security encompasses the physical *availability* of food but also the ability to *access* food that is *affordable*. These "3 A's" of food security (Lang, 2009: 10) ignore the matter of food preferences. Food access and affordability are at times argued to mean the same thing. The question of the appropriateness of food, or how the food accessed is used, or utilisation, is often included in considerations of food security (McLachlan and Thorne, 2009). The food security definition and different components that comprise the attainment of food security miss the considerations of the human side of the food security challenge. Questions as to how people and communities respond to and engage in the questions of food access are a key component of food security. Sen does speak to this in using the term "entitlements", but the ability to enact these entitlements requires consideration in the food security discourse. Informed by concerns as to food system understanding and focus, the "3 A's" conceptualisation has been expanded to consider other aspects relevant to food security. This has been referred to as the "5 A's": availability, adequacy, accessibility, acceptability and agency (Rocha, 2008).[16] The expanded list (Table

[16] The concept of "5 A's" was introduced by Rocha in a concept paper used by Ryerson University. The scheme was not tested through formal academic review and must be considered grey literature. The Toronto Food Policy Council have used the "5 A's" as the conceptual framework on which most of their work is described (see: http://tfpc.to/canadian-food-policy-

2.1) is superior as it considers nutrition (adequacy), the relationships between dignity and human rights (acceptability) and affords recognition to food system knowledge and networks as constituents of food security (agency).

Aspect	Focus
Availability	Food in sufficient amounts to meet people's needs.
Accessibility	People are assured physical and economic access to food.
Adequacy	Food that is nutritious, diverse and safe in accordance with that needed to maintain health, while being produced in environmentally sustainable ways.
Acceptability	Food that is culturally acceptable and/or food produced and obtained in ways that do not compromise people's dignity, self-respect and human rights.
Agency	Where people are empowered by a food system environment that ensures that policies and processes, driven by government, society or both, are in place, implemented and accessible so as to enable food security. Agency recognises that communities have specific knowledge about food system activities and seeks to validate and integrate this knowledge into processes and plans.

(Source: Draft Cape Town Food System Study, Unpublished)

Table 2.1: Five "A's" of food security

The different conceptualisations of food security have been introduced in order to orientate the discussion that follows on the food system and to direct the conversation away from the limitation of the production bias. As this work specifically focuses on urban questions associated with food security, greater focus is applied to food system processes that facilitate the flow of food to cities and how that food is then accessed by residents of the city

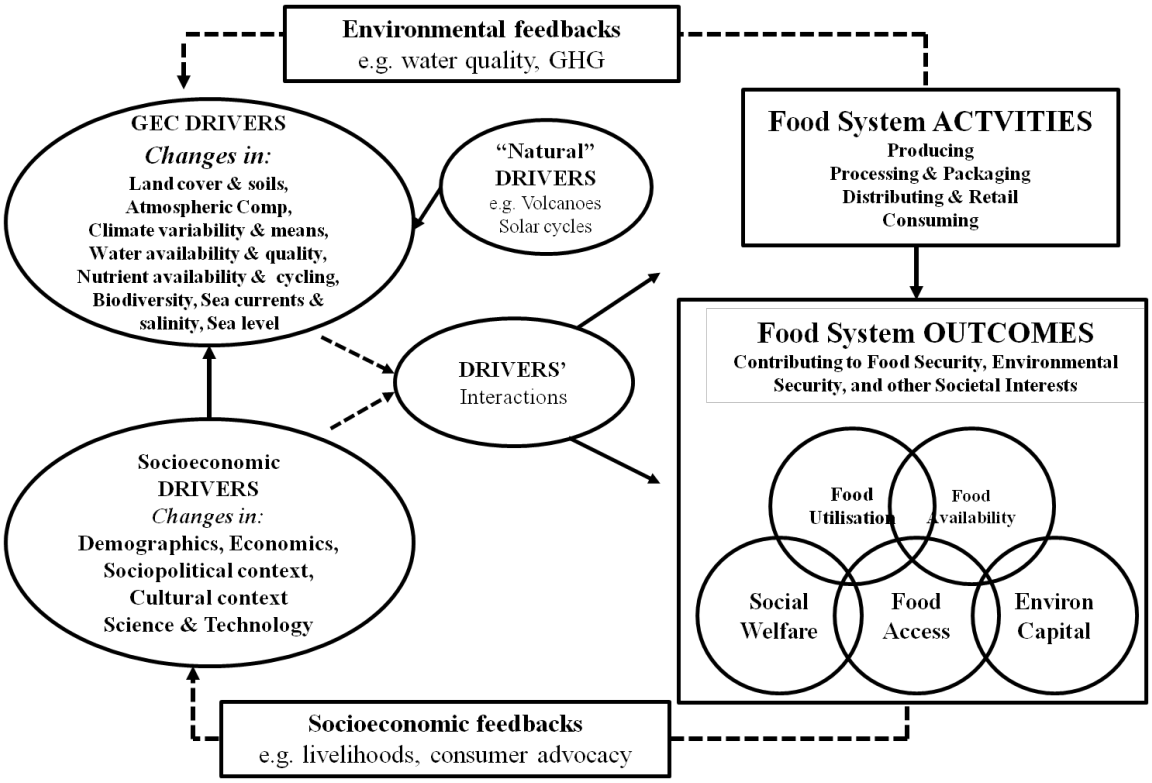
The history of the food system – its evolution into the modern food system – has been addressed by many authors (Fernandez-Armesto, 2001; Kiple and Ornelas, 2001; Vernon, 2007). Food is central to culture, and the synergistic relationship between society and the food system is one that is forever changing as society and cultures transform. Fernandez-

initiatives). Additionally, the notion of 5A's is now being referenced in peer reviewed academic articles, adding weight to the concept (See: Lang and Barling, 2012).

Armesto (2001) argues that humankind has experienced eight food revolutions, starting with the invention of cooking, through a variety of iterations, including how food defined class and rank, and ending with the development of the contemporary industrial food system. Other historical enquiries into the food system have focused on specific aspects such as hunger (Newman; 1995) or more recently, the relationships between food and the city (Steel, 2008).[17]

The focus of this thesis is on the relationship between the city and the food system. The historical perspectives highlight two aspects. The first is that the food system has always been fragile and while certain members, or classes within society always benefited or received adequate food, others have not. Such narratives are recounted in many ways, in faith-based organisations, in cultural narratives and in literature (see Dickens's work, Oliver Twist). Secondly, history shows that the food system is constantly changing, adapting as a result of societies engagement with the shifting natural environments and as a result of changes in society at large. From the beginning of the 20th Century, these transitions have been driven by the tripartite relationship between economy, policy and labour. This relationship will be discussed in greater detail later in this section. Before this discussion, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by the term food system. "The food system comprises the activities of commercial and non-commercial actors who grow, process, distribute, acquire, and dispose of food" (MacRae and Donahue, 2013: 2). Donald et al, writing about the food system (but referring to it as the agricultural system), argue that "past conceptual frameworks applied to the analysis of agricultural systems have emphasised producer over consumer actions and have often be aspatial" (2010: 172). The earlier definition of the food system does not detail *how* the food system influences, or is influenced by other systems. Perspectives of the food system need to reflect on the spatial and scalar dynamics as well as the relational interactions with other systems and change drivers. Recently two conceptualisations have sought to represent the food system in slightly different ways. These perspectives are contained within the work of Ericksen (2007) and Ecker and Breisinger (2012).

[17] Carolyn Steel's book *Hungry City* is a key source on the historical relationship between food and the city.

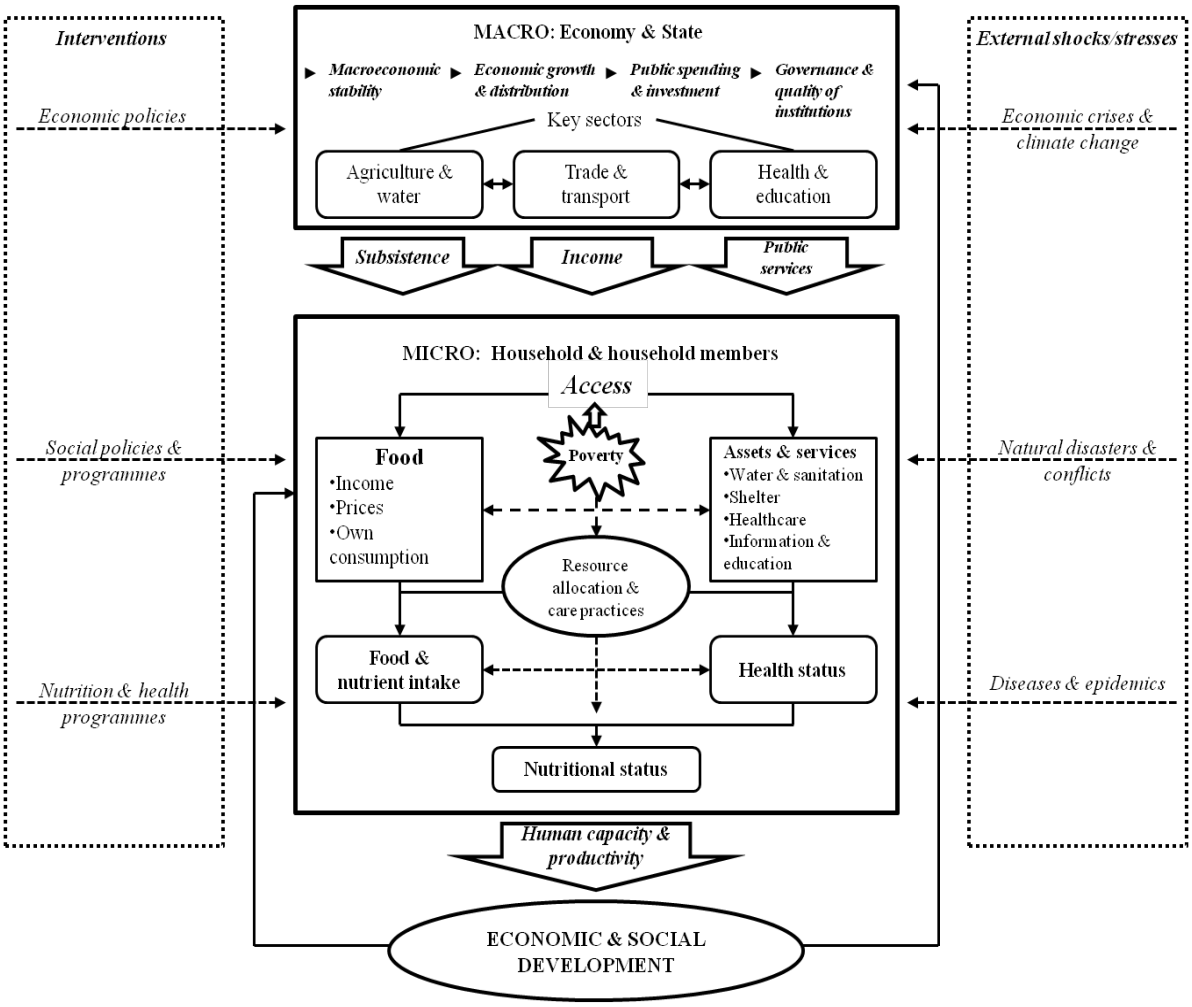


(Source: Ericksen, 2007: 6)

Figure 2.1: Food system activities, outcomes and drivers

Ericksen considers the different components of the food system. These are divided into food system activities, food system outcomes, food system drivers and feedbacks (Figure 2.1). Food security is clearly a food system outcome. Ericksen's depiction of the food system however misses a number of critical considerations. Firstly, it is scale-neutral. While arguably offered as a view of the global food system (scale of reality), this means that other elements critical to the food system functions are missed. These include how the food system and policy intersect. While it could be argued that these are accounted for in the sociopolitical contextual drivers, the policy environment, or food regime (Friedmann and McMichael, 1989) can have a far more direct impact on all aspects of the food system.

Ecker and Breisinger (2012) consider the policy environment and see policy as a key input into the food system (Figure 2.2). In addition to the role of policy, this depiction of the food system extends to consider other systems including health and education, the quality of institutions, budgets, while still recognising external sociopolitical and ecosystem drivers.



(Source: Ecker and Breisinger, 2012: 5)

Figure 2.2: Food and nutrition security system

The fault with the depiction of the food system detailed in Figure 2.2 is that while it engages with scale, this scale engagement considers the macro scale, described here as the economy and the state and the micro scale, the household and household members. This depiction completely overlooks other areas in which policy and food system engagement takes place. The originators of Figure 2.2 (Ecker and Breisinger, 2012: 5) write for the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), a powerful voice in the realm of food policy. Viewing food and nutritional policy as being located at or impacting on the scale of the state or the scale of the individual and household only is a critical flaw. Such a view depicts the dominant view of the food system. The bridge between state-driven policies and food system functions and the individual is the city. Ignoring key scales at which the food system and food security are enabled (or constrained) is evident in the different approaches to

food security theorisation in developed world and developing world cities, as Battersby suggests:

> Within food security research, the northern research has tended to focus on the politics of the food system and the structural determinants of food insecurity. Southern research on the other hand has tended to take a developmentalist, poverty alleviation approach and has shifted focus from the global and national scale to the household scale.
>
> (Battersby, 2012a: 142)

The depiction of the food system in Figure 2.2 reflects a challenge that goes beyond the conceptualisation of the food system. When food security is considered, the dominant responses are to consider policies and processes at the national scale, such as the national food balance or national food production policies (NDP, 2012). When food security does manifest, responses then focus at the household scale. When considering nutritional issues the focus is generally at the individual scale. The conceptual frameworks of the food system offered by Ericksen (2007) and Ecker and Breisinger, (2012) no longer privilege producer over consumer, as Donald et al (2012) argued, but their spatial engagement remains limited or aspatial.

Historically, the food system and society were connected through the processes of buying and selling food. Markets enabled access to local or regional produce. There has been a significant and rapid change in this process, yet this romanticised view often remains, evidenced in the popularity of lifestyle-type farmers markets (Norberg-Hodge, 2001) or processes to link consumers to producers such as community supported agriculture (CSA) initiatives (Landman, 2011). Fernandez-Armesto (2001) provides insights to long range historical shifts within the food system, but to understand the relationship between cities and the food system a more contemporary analysis of specific recent changes is required.

2.6.1. Food regime change

The food regime concept focuses on the "contradictory relations underlying the institutional and power structures across capitalist time, and at a particular conjuncture" (McMichael, 2009: 292). First proposed in 1989 by Friedmann and McMichael, the food

regime thesis suggests three clear regime cycles. The first cycle, or food regime, represented an imperially-driven process in which colonial states and firms reduced the cost of labour through the mass production of staple food in the colonies of the European empire. After the American dust-bowl, the second food regime stabilised and reorganised American agriculture through the introduction of 'petro-farming'. The second food regime was driven by dominant global power structures, enacted through the dominant countries in this process, principally America. Agribusiness specialised and underwrote the industrialisation of food. The third regime, founded on the previous regimes, is a 'corporate food regime', where the organising principle is the market, not the empire or the state (McMichael, 2005). Exact dates are unsettled, but roughly, the first regime ran to the end of the First World War, the Second began following the Second World War and the third emerged following the 1970s oil crisis. The food regime shifts tie into the capital-driven technological transitions described by Perez (2002).

The notion of food regimes has been queried (Pechlaner and Otero, 2008), but the concept provides a framework to explain reconfigurations of the global food system. The current food regime is centred on private regulation of food trade. The food regime thesis enables appreciation of how and why global systems of food provisioning, connected to political systems, are influenced by economic activities and the role that policy plays in this process. Revisiting the food regime thesis following the 2008 food price crisis, McMichael (2009) suggested that the 2008 crisis may be an indicator of a possible transition to a forth food regime. The key driver of this transition was suggested to be the switch to biofuels or fuel inputs replacing food production. Swilling and Annecke (2012) use the food regime approach to highlight transitions within the food system but suggest that it is resource scarcity that impels transition to the forth food regime. Per this argument, the fault of the third food regime was that it created ecological and agricultural resource degradation. Following the work of Altieri (1995), the fourth food regime is thus argued to be driven by an agro-ecologically driven transition (Swilling and Annecke, 2012: 140). Drawing on the key tenets of the food regime thesis, the underlying drivers of regime change are associated "with various forms of hegemony in the world economy and ... periods of transition, anticipated by tensions between social forms embedded in each hegemonic order" (McMichael, 2009: 281). This description articulates political, social and economic processes as the primary drivers of food regime change. Time will be the test of which, both, or neither, of the drivers to the forth food regime are playing out. What neither McMichael nor Swilling and Annecke articulate is

the impact that demographic shifts may have in the structuring and workings of the food regime. What role, if any, could the transition to a predominantly urban world (UN-DESA, 2008) have on the functions of the food system? While it would be naive to regard this as the only driver, such shifts do result in restructuring of policies and economic principles, not to mention diets (Nellermann et al, 2009), and food access strategies. As a result, reconfigurations of the food market (Reardon and Timmer, 2012) are inevitable. The shift to a predominantly urban world would impacts directly on the food regime.

Citing levels of food insecurity as evidence of faults within the food system, particularly challenging the functioning of the third food regime, requires a deeper analysis of the characteristics of this food regime cycle. Whether society is on the cusp of a fourth food regime is a moot point. Currently the food system faces several challenges. Apart from that of food insecurity, there is erosion of local food production systems and eating patterns which have accompanied the net flow of food from poorer to richer countries (Kent, 2003). The market is experiencing considerable consolidation, both at the farm scale and within the value chain. By way of context, in South Africa in the early 1980s, there were over 60 000 operational farms of larger than 20 hectares. In 2009, there were 39 500 such farms (Vink and van Rooyen, 2009). The area of land being farmed had not reduced. The numbers of farms and farmers have declined. Between 1990 and 2008 there was a 76 percent decline in the number of farmers (Vink and van Rooyen, 2009). This reflects a global trend (Thu, 2009). Consolidation within the value chain is evident: in the US three agribusinesses control 81 percent of maize exports (McMichael, 2009: 289). Fewer and fewer players control global food flows. These trends are apparent in South Africa. In the maize sector 73 percent of the maize market share is held by four companies and four main wheat millers control 87 percent of the market (Cutts and Kirsten 2006: 328). The idyllic image of the family farmer producing society's food is a no longer the case. This has been replaced by "industrialised food and global de-agriculturalisation" (Thu, 2009: 14).

Consolidation results in vertical integration in the value chain and the emergence of what has been referred to as "Big Food" (Stuckler and Nestle, 2012; Igumbor et al, 2012). The phenomenon is increasingly evident in developing countries. Big food has been argued to be the driving force behind significant changes in both what is consumed and how certain foods are consumed. Key to these is the increased consumption of sugared drinks and highly processed snack foods, resulting in the increased consumption of sugar and fat (Stuckler et al, 2012). Such changes in diet have implications for nutrition and health (Peretti, 2012). These

changes speak to two changes taking place within the food system, the supermarket transition and the nutrition transition. Both transitions are linked to the demographic shifts associated with the urban transition but the main driver of the supermarket transition is economic and linked to wider investment opportunities. The nutrition transition is created by changes in lifestyle associated with urban living and increases in income. When considered within the context or urbanisation, the supermarket transition is argued by some to reflect positive change, enabling improved access to nutritious and safe foods. The concept of food deserts (Walker et al, 2010; Russell and Heidkamp, 2011) is often used in literature, emerging in the developed world, to reflect a poor food and nutrition environment. This may be the case in developed world cities, viewing food insecurity through a social exclusion and food justice lens (Battersby, 2012: 141), but Battersby challenges this perspective, cautioning against uncritical application of the food deserts concept in developing world cities. Focusing only on the role of supermarkets in the food system misses the essential role played by informal traders and street food sellers in enabling food access in poor areas (Battersby, 2012).[18] Supermarkets are expanding rapidly in developing world cities, restructuring the food systems.

2.6.2. The supermarket transition

Reardon et al (2003) suggest that the expansion of supermarkets, particularly into developing countries is the outcome of two forces. First, there are demand-side incentives: urbanisation changed various different societal roles, particularly the roles of women, increasing the opportunity cost for women's time and the associated benefits of convenience shopping. Furthermore, supermarkets played an active role in reducing processed food prices. Second, a number of supply-side drivers further enabled the process. These included Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) by supermarket firms, the technological revolution in procurement logistics and inventory management, and the process of centralised distribution that "drove costs out of the system" (Reardon et al, 2003: 1141-2). Although the supermarket "revolution" had been noted in Europe and North America, the pace and extent of transition in the developing world was not expected. In 1974 Goldman stated that supermarkets would never be a feature in developing countries as the economics of demand would clash with the

[18] Recent work on the supermarket sector in South Africa supports Battersby call for caution. Work published outside the time-scale of this thesis found that in many instances informal traders and stalls in poor communities were in fact more affordable, both in total price comparisons as well as in products offered (See Battersby and Peyton, 2014)

characteristics of the supermarket system. Soon the supermarket transition started in developing world countries, initially in South America and then in Asia. South Africa was the front-runner in Africa's supermarketisation. This developing world supply of supermarket services was driven by processes different to those which precipitated the initial supermarket distribution elsewhere.

Supermarkets in southern Africa are emerging and growing rapidly, even across national borders. The most aggressive expansion is being driven by Shoprite which opened their first non-South African store in 1995. By the end of 2012 the company had 131 supermarkets in 16 African countries, excluding their South Africa (Thomas, 2012). The expansion of supermarkets in southern Africa means that development and food security practitioners seeking to enable food access need to realise that access to markets will increasingly mean access to supermarkets (Reardon et al, 2003: 1146). This transition has not been without its challenges. A number of players in the food system have lost market share because of rapid supermarket expansion (Malusa, 2005; D'Haese and Van Huylenbroeck, 2005; van der Heijden and Vink, 2013).

Research published in 2003 found that the supermarket sector in South Africa accounted for 50 to 60 percent of all food retail (Weatherspoon and Reardon, 2003: 337). The supermarket sector has continued to expand with formal food retail accounting for 68 percent of all food retail in 2010 (Planting, 2012). Four major companies account for 97 percent of sales within the South African formal food retail sector. In 2012 Shoprite Checkers and Pick n Pay each controlled over 30 percent of the formal food retail market, Spar 20 percent and Woolworths just under ten percent (GAIN Report, 2012).

Building on the earlier economic work on the expansion of supermarkets, Reardon has now started considering wider *agrofood* industry expansion, citing two broad expansion phases, the first a pre-liberalisation and pre-globalisation phase, from the 1960s to mid-1980s and the second, the liberalisation and globalisation phase, from the mid-1980s until the current (Reardon and Timmer, 2007). South Africa's development took place in the pre-globalisation phase while the rest of southern Africa falls within the second phase. A key factor in the agrofood industry transition is how urbanisation and the globalisation forces intersect.

The main drivers of changes in food systems and dietary patterns are trends such as urbanisation, increased income, capital flow and market liberalisation (de Haan et al, 2003;

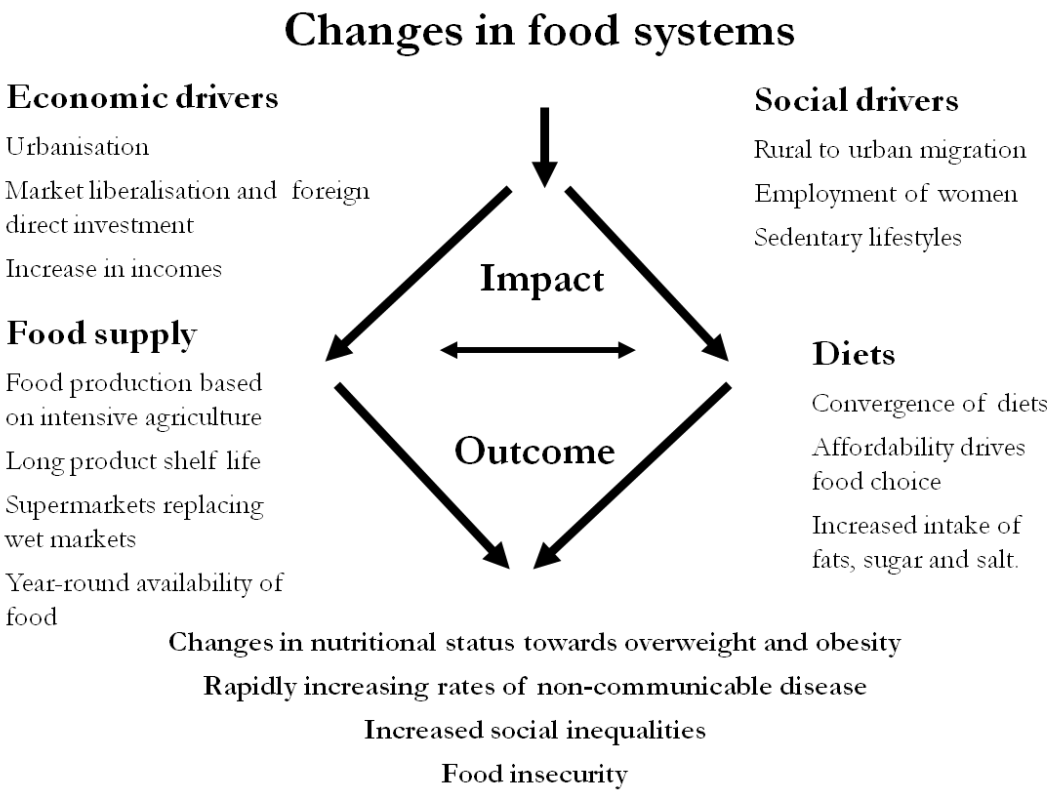
Haddad, 2003). As with the supermarket transition, urbanisation, economic growth, technical change and culture are just some of the factors that influence the nutrition transition (Drewnoswski and Popkin, 1997: 581).

2.6.3. The nutrition transition

The effects of urbanisation and globalisation on dietary patterns and nutritional status in developing countries are complex, however, the adverse changes in dietary intakes associated with urbanisation are taking place at all levels of society (Mendez and Popkin, 2004: 75). Popkin's nutrition transition thesis suggests two key drivers in nutrition change. The first is that major shifts in population growth, age structure and spatial distribution are closely associated with nutritional trends and dietary change. Second, changes in income, patterns of work and leisure activities and related socioeconomic shifts lead to changes in women's roles and shifts in dietary and activity patterns (Popkin, 2002). The dietary transition consists of two processes; a process of dietary convergence and a process of dietary adaptation. Dietary convergence occurs as a result of increased reliance on a narrow base of staple grains, increased consumption of meat and meat products, dairy products, edible oil, salt and sugar, and a lower intake of dietary fibre. On the other hand, dietary adaptation sees the increased consumption of brand name processed and store-bought foods, increases in meals eaten outside the home and consumer behaviour driven by the appeal of new foods available (Popkin, 1998: 7; Kennedy et al, 2004: 9).

Clearly the nutrition and supermarket transition are linked. Describing these as part of the wider urban transition has been deliberate. Assessing if globalisation or urbanisation is greater driver of these transitions is beyond the scope of this work. The fact remains that in South Africa, a country that is increasingly urban, and in the rapidly urbanising cities of southern Africa, these two components of the food system are critical factors in understanding the food system, the changes, policy, and the consequences of inaction in terms of the food system. This expansion also means that the agrofood sector becomes a powerful economic and political force. As liberalisation continues apace, the roles played by government in this expansion diminish. A clear trend is that the diet-related changes in nutrition and health are pervasive, and become visible at progressively lower levels of per capita GDP (Maxwell and Slater, 2003).

What these processes highlight is that for poor urban residents, access to food is increasingly through the supermarket outlets. For many, while this food is at times cheaper than other forms of food retail, costs, both financial and opportunity, are still high. Evidence from research in Cape Town focusing on poor residents highlights that while the formal retail sector is utilised, this is generally only once or twice a month, often for bulk purchases of non perishable items. For many, more regular, smaller purchases are still made via the informal sector (Battersby, 2011). This trend highlights the dualistic market arrangement present in food insecure areas of the city. Accessing food becomes increasingly difficult for poor communities when the variety of food procurement options diminish or become consolidated as a result of the supermarket expansion. The cost of poor nutrition, driven either through the inability to access food or through a more direct link to the nutrition transition, is carried by society. This reflects a further transition, the epidemiological transition, the shift to a high prevalence of chronic and degenerative disease, associated with urban-industrial lifestyles (Drewnoswski and Popkin, 1997).



(Source: Adapted from Kennedy et al, 2004: 2)

Figure 2.3: Changes in food systems

These trends are shown in Figure 2.3 that details the process of food system change, highlighting the economic, supply, social and dietary drivers of food system change and the associated impact and consequence.

2.6.4. Alternative food system responses

If solutions to the state of food insecurity are to be considered within the context of the transitions discussed, understanding the source or ideological perspectives of the various commentators and the scale of their focus assists in mapping the food system discourse is necessary.

It has been suggested that there are two specific debates taking place in reference to addressing the challenges within the food system. The first is the "consensus-based economic and ecological approach" or status quo oriented stance and the second, the "inequality-based approach" which arises from a critique of the industrial food system (Donald et al, 2010: 172-3). The inequality-based approach seeks to privilege family farms, smallholders and community based food systems (Lyson, 2004) and represents a liberal-democratic orientation (Donald et al, 2010; 173). This approach takes a political economy perspective and challenges the structure of the economic *agrifood* system and the state's role in maintaining vested interests within this system. This view is one of many different perspectives of the challenges (or not) within the food system and the resultant solutions. Grounded in a logic incorporating an ethos other than market-related food system values, different food system oriented approaches, philosophies and actions are emerging. These represent a maturing body of socio-spatial food theories under the umbrella of alternative food networks (AFNs) (Renting et al, 2003; Watts et al, 2005). AFNs are described as being:

> New rapidly mainstreaming spaces in the food economy defined by ... the explosion of organic, Fair Trade, and local, quality, and premium speciality foods. In these networks, it is claimed that the production and consumption of food are more closely tied together spatially, economically and socially.
>
> (Goodman and Goodman, 2007: 2)

The AFNs however generally reflect a perspective that is far removed from the challenges of food access experienced by those in the developing world. The AFNs reflect somewhat idealistic notions of sustainability and eco-friendliness with associated socially-driven concerns. AFNs are at times understood to be the domain of middle-class idealism and hold little political weight. However the food system tensions and the increased AFN activities require that a broader view of AFNs be taken. AFNs are a dimension of the emerging alternative food landscape. They represent spatially bound relations between consumers (predominantly urban dwellers) and the food market (Wiskerke, 2009: 375). Wiskerke challenges the scope of AFNs as the primary area of strategic food system change and suggests the need for an integrated and territorial agrifood paradigm or what Wiskerke calls an alternative food geography (Wiskerke, 2009: 371-374).

Informed by a wider collection of food system commentators, all raising specific concerns about aspects of the food system (Roberts, 2008; McCullough et al, 2008; Patel and McMichael, 2009; Belo, 2009; Guthman, 2011; Clapp and Helleiner, 2012), it is questioned if the somewhat privileged view of AFNs or alternative food geographies enable a real understanding of the different food system arguments and the proposed solutions. The challenge remains a process of identifying solutions that speak to specific contexts and the needs of specific groups.

Borrowing from Wiskerke's term 'alternative food geographies', the next section builds on the notion of an integrated and territorial agrifood paradigm and the inequality-base approaches of Donald et al to refer to all AFNs and other specific food system considerations as Alternative Food Geographies (AFGs). This approach seeks to categorise these approaches according to three areas of analysis, namely, focus, scale, and what is termed ideology.

Four broad food system groupings of AFGs have been identified. The process of describing the AFGs in this manner is subject to conflation of discourses, scale jumping and depoliticising certain aspects. The nature of the wider food system and the responses described through the use of AFGs could be viewed as imposing silos on approaches to the food system faults. The nature of the actions within the categories could reflect a measure of overlap. However, the descriptions applied and the deliberate categorisation into the specific AFGs is informed by the dominant approach, the focus, the scale and ideology. The typologies assist in describing the AFG landscape and facilitate debate pertinent to the

different foci, scales and ideologies or politics of the different AFGs. The four typologies have been termed: Production focus; Green focus; Food justice focus; and Scale focus.

2.6.4.1. Production focus

The production focus of AFGs challenges the dominance of the industrial food system, but much of the focus and positioning is oriented towards a broader sustainability ethic. While this could be argued to be part of the Green focus, it is reflected independently due to the fact that it transcends the more generalised green debate. The production focus generally emulates the Birkeland (2008) perspective of positive development. Many within this field argue that this branch of food production can be restorative rather than remedial (Altieri and Nichols, 2005; Magdoff, 2007; Kate, 2010). Within this field however, there are distinct camps all arguing a specific moral orientation and at times actively challenging other groups.

This group is made up of a number of different farming approaches, some with distinctly cultural orientations (Fukuoka, 1990), to deeply spiritual and cosmic approaches such a biodynamic agriculture (Bortoft, 1996), or permaculture, a land management approach as opposed to a specific food production approach (Mollison, 1998).

The key politics of this group focuses on the agricultural resource and challenges the lack of focus on this resource by 'industrial agriculture'. Many within this group identify with an activist ethic that is sometimes positioned in a broader sustainability discourse (Pollan, 2006; Shiva, 1991). The primary focus of this group in terms of their culture of care (Donald et al, 2010) is on the soil (Lal, 2009), water (Pearce, 2012) and biodiversity (Kate, 2010). This group holds a distinct resource view. Social wellbeing, rights and equity are included within their broad approach, but their focus is on the ethics of care and not necessarily rights.

2.6.4.2. Green focus

The green focus spans production and the food system, but the primary focus is the broader food system with a distinct consumer focus. The emphasis of this group is food system structures. The value-driven approach focuses on restructuring the system, aligning with emerging green aspirations (WBCSD, 2009). This restructuring generally occurs at the

consumer end of the food value chain (Friedmann, 2005) and key domains of action are supermarket chains (see Farming for the Future and the Good Business Journey[19]). The political project of this group is that of regulation where consumers are protected or "assured" by being advised what is sustainable. This label-driven process does however make the responsible act the duty of the consumer. The responsibility to choose the items presented to them is conceptualised by Goodman and Goodman (2007: 3) as reflecting a spatial dynamics of care. The green approach generally accepts the existing overall system but seeks to initiate changes within this system which proponents of such approaches see as being for the 'greater good' of all. As such, this group is generally regarded as having middle class or privileged views often as a result of "upper class angst" (Goodman and Goodman, 2007).

The Green group has a number of key issues that hold prominence within their discourse. These include climate change (WBCSD, 2009), food miles (NRDC, 2007), ecological footprinting (Collins and Fairchild, 2007; FoodChoices, 2009) and animal welfare (Bennett, 1997; Webster 2000). Areas of intervention that enable and give support to this greening process include labelling, certification, verification schemes and marketing. The key driving ethos within this group is one of doing less harm (Birkeland, 2008) within the existing system.

2.6.4.3. Food justice focus

This AFG focuses on production and consumption but in many instances gains greater traction at the end-user scale of the movement. Some of the key projects within this group include the food sovereignty movement (predominantly production-focused) (Patel, 2007), the slow food movement (predominantly consumer-focused) and issue areas such as food safety, food health and food quality.[20] A strong political line associated with justice and cultural recognition is evident. One approach seeks to enact this justice through the market in the form of fair trade and similar social and ecological guarantee systems.[21] Here attention is paid to the processors and their rights as opposed to guarantees offering peace of mind to

[19] See: http://www.woolworthsholdings.co.za/investor/gbj/2010/environment/f.asp and http://www.woolworths.co.za/store/fragments/corporate/corporate-index.jsp?content=corporate-landing&contentId=fol110077

[20] These actions fall within a wide range of areas of action from responses to food safety crises such as the outbreaks of Salmonella globally to E Coli in processed meats. This further spans the recent horse and other animal meat scandals (see http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2013/may/10/horsemeat-scandal-timeline-investigation in Europe and http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2013/04/14/supermarkets-named-in-sa-meat-label-scandal for South Africa)

[21] For example, the work of Biowatch South Africa (http://www.biowatch.org.za/) or Grain internationally (http://www.grain.org/)

consumers as is the case in the green focus AFG. The group actively favours small and family farmers[22] and is distinctly anti-globalisation (groups such as Grain). The remit of this group includes the market, the environment and society but not in the traditional triple bottom-line sense, holding a far greater social and ecological orientation.

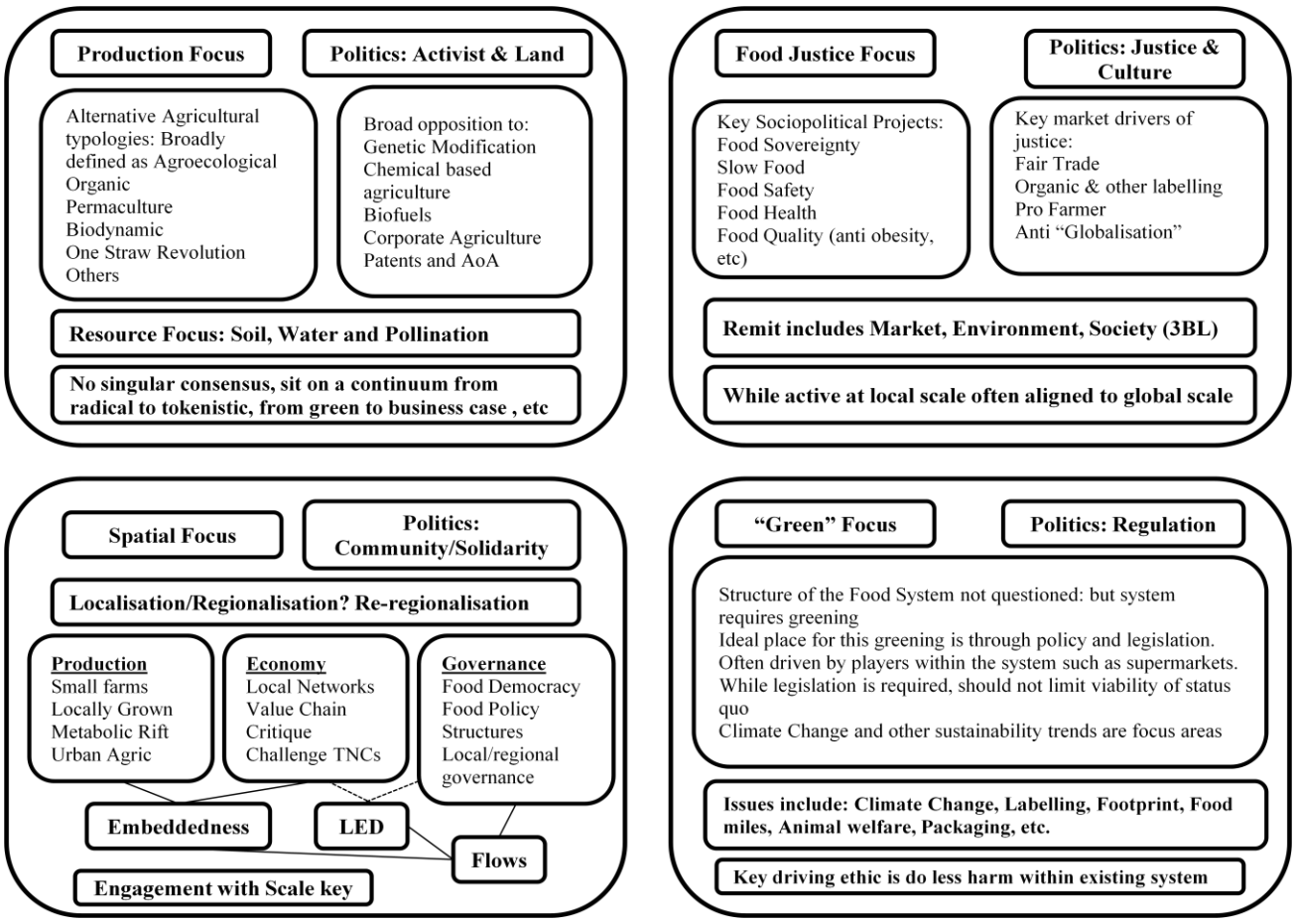
This group spans scale and has strong and active members at the local scale but these are generally aligned to the global scale seeking solidarity and political voice within global fora. An example of this is La Via Campesina.[23]

2.6.4.4. Scale focus

The scale-focused group is diverse. The determining factor is the express engagement with scale. Scale for this group remains the key informant of their engagement with the food system. This group's key political project is one of community solidarity with a distinct focus on place and the space of flows (Soja, 2000). One of the key organising principles within this grouping is that of embeddedness or the "re-placement of food within its social, cultural, economic, geographical and environmental contexts" (Goodman and Goodman, 2007: 2). The political practice of re-embedding is thus the core focus of this group. Here work by McClintock (2010) shows how a focus on the land at the local scale encourages approaches to food production, and food more widely, that reclaims the value of food, nature and the social interactions associated with the process of food production. Food production at the urban scale, allows urban residents to re-connect with food and land (Donald et al, 2010). This group does not only focus on local food production. The spatial focus further raises questions about the food system and the economy. Within this AFG, the food system value chain is a core area of analysis. The spatial focus approach accepts that food flows into the city are necessary but seeks to engage in the food system value chain at the city scale. The aim is to find ways to direct, influence and impact on these flows in a manner that is determined by the city or local scale actors –as opposed to being subjected to the external drivers of these flows of food. Central to this process is to seek ways to enhance and enable collaboration between the urban food system actors, in the interests of food system stakeholders at the particular scale of operation. This group questions the role of transnational corporations (TNCs) and is critical of long and spatially disconnected value chains (McMichael, 2009; Moseley et al, 2010).

[22] See www.caff.org
[23] See: http://viacampesina.org/en/

Perhaps the area where this group is most active is in local food governance (Roberts, 2001; Borron, 2003; Blay-Palmer, 2009; MacRae, 2011). Here areas of focus include food democracy, engagement in food policy structures and local and regional food governance interventions. The connection between governance, flows and embeddedness enables new and novel ways of imagining how food systems are governed. Central to this is a focus on scale, the associated politics of scale, and food system change. This group recognises that there is significant challenge to a specifically local focus (Born and Purcell, 2006). Local in this instance is not a bounded area of operations (self sufficiency) (see for example Norberg Hodge et al, 2001; Hopkins, 2008 and Kingsolver, 2008) but rather involves a focus on how food flows are governed in the interests of the local (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010). Understanding and interrogating the nature of local food governance and associated trends adds to the discourse on the relationship between food and the urban scale. Thus, scale matters "not as a 'stand-alone' concept but in context, as a co-constituent of complex and dynamic geographic totalities" (Howitt, 2003: 142).



(Source: Author's own formulation)

Figure 2.4: Alternative Food Geographies

The collection of alternative food geographies represented pictorially in Figure 2.4 differentiates various focus areas and ideological perspectives about the food system. Figure 2.4 provides more detail into the various components of the different AFGs. In the production focus section, the various alternative production typologies associated with this AFG are detailed as well as the aspects to which those within this AFG are opposed. In the food justice AFG, the key sociopolitical foci are highlighted as well as the key vehicles used to enable food justice. The green focus AFG highlights the areas that attract attention and action within this AFG. The scalar focus AFG details the three key areas where local focus is applied and some of the "tools" used, including local economic development and food flows analysis. Detailing these AFGs in this manner enables an interrogation into the different politics and focus of the AFGs while distinguishing the different narratives specific to food system challenges.

2.7. Food security

The global food price increases of 2008 which saw the reported number of hungry exceeding 1 billion (FAO, 2008), prompted a renewed focus on food security. However, this focus was caught between what Lang and Barling (2012: 4) refer to the "[c]onflicting 'old' and 'emerging' discourses on food security". Currently, global food insecurity figures, as per those measured by the FAO, have receded to a point where 868 million people are reported to suffer from hunger (FAO, 2013: ix). In 2013 food security remained a persistent global challenge. According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation 2013 State of Food and Agriculture Report "12.5 percent of the world's population are undernourished in terms of energy intake and ... an estimated 26 percent of the world's children are stunted, two billion people suffer from one or more micronutrient deficiencies and 1.4 billion people are overweight, of whom 500 million are obese" (FAO, 2013: ix). In light of this persistent challenge, it is useful to reflect on the ideologically-driven changes that have taken place in the context of food security. This is best described by Mustafa Koc and Ana Bas (2012: 175) who suggest that:

> Consumerism of the Fordist era ... served as the liberating aspect of capitalism, reproduction of the working class was ensured through food security policies seeking to increase agricultural productivity and cheap food. Those who could not afford the security offered by the marketplace, accessed government social assistance programs ... under the social welfare state. The compliance of farmers, who faced the brunt of cheap food policies, was secured through farm support policies. With the shift from welfare politics to neoliberalism, we see a reinterpretation of food security and transferring some of the security aspect back to the community, or civil society, thereby unburdening both markets and governments.

Discussing responses to the 2008 crisis, Lang and Barling (2012) argued that most international bodies stoically stuck to the post World War II development interventions. It was argued that the post WW II interventions reflect first, a deep reliance on science and scientists as core knowledge drivers, and second, that interventions were generally conceptualised and driven through large global-scale development agencies. Third, it was argued that interventions reflect philosophies embedded in worldviews that place the rescuer in a distinctly different position to those being rescued, a "save or rescue" perspective (2012).

Urban theorists and policy-makers have generally failed to engage in food policy discussions, discussions on food security have been even more absent in urban policy discussions (Crush and Frayne, 2010a: 6). The cause of this absence is informed by the historical structuring and understanding of food and the relationship between food and the city. In developing world cities urban food insecurity is not seen as being a critical issue for a number of other reasons. First, more urgent urban problems (unemployment, informality, overcrowding, decaying infrastructure, and limited services) receive greater attention from officials and politicians. Second, food security is viewed as a rural challenge, not a challenge for cities (Maxwell, 1999: 30). Third, cities have limited policy, and as a result fiscal, mandate to engage in issues associated with food security. In the context of such oversights, it is necessary to reflect on the findings from select South African and southern African cities. Although the 2008 AFSUN research found levels of 77 percent food insecurity in poor areas of 11 southern African cities, in South African cities similar findings were evident. Food insecurity in the three communities measured was high. In Cape Town 80 percent were found to be moderately or severely food insecure (Battersby, 2011), while Msunduzi reflected 87 percent (Frayne et al, 2010) and Johannesburg 43 percent (Rudolf et al, 2012). As the AFSUN work focused deliberately in poor areas, it is necessary to compare these findings

with other food security research. Recently, the South African National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (SANHANES-1) conducted an assessment of food and nutrition indicators across South Africa. The SANHANES findings showed that in formal urban areas 44. 6 percent were deemed food insecure but in the urban informal areas 68.5 percent were food insecure (SANHANES, 2013a: 22). These figures align with data emerging from the 2012 General Household Survey which reported that nationally 12.6 percent of the households are vulnerable to hunger and that 21.5 percent and 26.1 percent of households reported having limited access and more limited access to food respectively. This means that 60 percent of all households experienced some form of food insecurity (StatsSA, 2013).

The SANHANES data show that rural food insecurity and urban food insecurity are comparable when measured in percentages. However, reducing statistics to percentages misses certain detail. As South Africa is predominantly urban and as levels of urban informality are far higher than rural informality, means other than percentages are required. Using percentages can hide the extent of the challenge. This point has been made by Battersby pointing out that: "If the proportion (and not percentage) of the households that are food insecure that live in urban areas were compared to the proportion of food insecure households that live in rural areas a quite different representation of where the food insecure are may be generated" (Battersby, 2012: 4). Battersby cites the example of the IFSS which uses household expenditure as a measure of poverty. In this example, "6.1 percent of Gauteng's 1 964 168 households spent R600 or less per month compared to 21.7 percent of the Northern Cape's 186 984 households". When analysed numerically, this means that in fact "119 814 households in Gauteng are 'poor', compared to 40 575 households in the Northern Cape" (Battersby, 2012: 4). Using percentages often results in a misreading of the extent of the challenge and an incorrect allocation of resources. One key outcome of the percentage-approach is that the rural areas are still seen as having high levels of food insecurity, particularly when compared to urban areas. In this context, key policy perspectives require consideration. Following the 2009 national election the adopted Delivery Agreement for Outcome 7 of "vibrant, equitable and sustainable *rural* communities and food security for all"[24] highlights the improved access to affordable and diverse food as an output to be delivered to ensure [rural] household food security. Similarly, that National Development Plan distinguishes national food self-sufficiency from the ability of households

[24]http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/MediaLib/Downloads/Home/Ministries/DepartmentofPerformanceMonitoringandEvaluation3/TheOutcomesApproach/Delivery%20Agreement%20-%20Outcome%207.pdf

to access the quantity and quality of foods for healthy lives. The indicator to measure national food security is "to maintain a positive trade balance for primary and processed agricultural products" (NPC, 2012: 230). Both these national perspectives mention issues of availability and access but the scale of focus remains the household, and in the case of Outcome 7, rural households.

Food security is a core concern but more concerning is the type of food that is accessible. The Bureau for Food and Agricultural Policy (BFAP) conducted an assessment of the food purchasing capacity of South Africans. BFAP developed what is termed "a balanced food plate". This balanced plate was calculated to meet required nutritional consumption levels. The BFAP review found that to consume "balanced daily food plate" households would require an estimated income of R 5 630 (BFAP, 2012: 49). The majority of South Africans would not be able to afford such a diet. In Cape Town for example, 61.5 percent of the households earn less than R 6 400 per month (StatsSA, 2012). In urban areas where the majority of food has to be acquired through the market, the need to consider both the functioning of the food system and the role of the city in the wider food system functions and planning is essential. The household scale of focus misses deeper systemic food system challenges and transitions. Seeing the national trade balance as a measure of food security also misses systemic food system challenges but ignores key faults within the system.

2.8. Conclusion

This literature review integrates a variety of discourses and theories. Underpinning these perspectives is the relationship between the food system and the city. Informed by a central organising theme of transitions, changes and the associated drivers of the change were examined. Within this context, connections between the different and at times disparate themes are evident. Central to this processes of urbanisation, globalisation and liberal economic structures played key roles in the resultant restructuring processes. Not all processes were positive: persistent food insecurity is an example of the unconstructive outcomes of such processes.

In addition to recognising the convergence of the transitionary processes, the changes highlighted the need for new approaches to issues of food security, urbanism and as a result, planning and policy. Central to this is a question about the role of governance and

government in these processes. Agentic actions emerged as a potential area of enquiry, specifically in the context of the food system.

Scale and a consideration of scale, while disputed, are informed less by hierarchical power structures and more by relational engagements between various actors. The relational perspective of scale illustrated that place and a particular bounded area of analysis is constructed and informed by the interactions and how that space of flows engages, relationally, with other spaces. The scale discourse highlighted that existing food system and urban governance actions remain locked in the hierarchical orientation of governance, either from a perspective of policy or government. Such scalar arrangements were unable to effectively engage with the emerging relational scale arrangements.

Within the context of the urban scale food system considerations, a number of transitionary processes are seen to be converging, amplifying the challenges. This raises questions of how best to respond to such challenges. Many different options are proposed as seen in the alternative food geographies discussion. Two considerations require further attention – what is the role of governance in responding to these challenges and what is the appropriate scale at which these responses should be enacted? Do scale specific governance approaches have the potential to effectively respond, in the interests of the food system stakeholders at a particular scale, to the food system faults, particularly the nutrition and attendant obseogenic transition, and counter the role of supermarkets and agrofood businesses in that transition.

The alternative food geography approach enabled a wider, and arguably less subjective, consideration of the food system perspectives. The scale-focused alternative food geography raised questions about the role of a specific scalar area in the governance of a particular food system. In particular, the way in which cities and specifically developing world cities engage in the issues of food system governance requires further analysis. Chapters 4 and 5 will consider these questions in greater detail.

3. METHODOLOGY

This thesis questions the transitions evident within the food system and cities' ability to acquire food and ensure that it is distributed so as to enable food security, requisite nutrition and health. This question presents a methodological challenge because of the complexities of cities, urbanisation, food provision and food security (Crush and Frayne, 2010a; Battersby, 2011; Rudolf et al, 2011; Riley and Legwegoh, 2013).

In the past five years, the urban food security challenge, particularly in developing world cities, has received renewed attention (Crush and Frayne, 2010a; Battersby, 2011; Rudolf et al, 2011; Riley and Legwegoh, 2013). These reviews have highlighted the overly rural and productionist paradigm, and have noted policies that overlook the urban scale, and the fact that the food insecurity does not have the perceived political importance of visible development challenges. Even methods of recording food production and use skew focus away from urban areas.

Stemming from these identified and now accepted challenges is the question of how best to respond. These questions can get caught in notions of saviour or rescue, as evident in the welfarist responses from governments and other players. In certain cities programmatic responses are emerging that respond to the urban food challenge in different ways. These responses are generally contextually informed and are aware of and embrace the complexity of these localities and the challenge.

The complexity of food insecurity and in particular, urban food insecurity, and the oversights of previous research, require research methods that align with this complexity. First, the research questions described in Chapter 1 will be restated, followed by a description of the research strategy designed to answer these questions. Chapter 2 served as a foundation to support and confirm the research questions but also highlighted the intersection of a number of transitional processes. These transitions support the research strategy and inform the methods applied. The research strategy descriptions are followed by a brief description of the thesis structure to allow the reader an understanding of how the thesis narrative supports the research strategy. The detailed research methods are followed by a statement of the researchers own positionality. Finally, the ethical questions associated with this thesis will be

discussed. The processes of ethical review prior to commencing the work will be detailed, supported by a clarification of the ethical approaches applied during the research.

3.1. Research questions

Chapter Two highlighted the renewed focus and interest in the issues of food security paying particular attention to urban food insecurity. While avoiding instrumentalist approaches, this work has sought to resolve the urban food security problematic. The thesis reviews the different processes involved with this resolution, how these processes understand and engage with scale (particularly urban scale), and how these responses may transfer to southern cities, particularly South African cities. This thesis seeks to understand emerging food governance trends and how these trends are responding to the urban, food, nutrition and governance transitions. This focus, particularly within the context of a set of multiple and converging global transitions, informs these research questions:

- What is the relationship between cities and the food system?
- What role does policy play in enabling or constraining city-scale food system interventions?
- What are the emerging food governance processes and practices and what are the characteristics associated with such approaches, particularly in the urban context.
- How relevant are the emerging food governance approaches to South African cities and what components of such approaches have applicability within the South African context?

The relevance and importance of these questions was confirmed by the literature analysis (Chapter 2). Positioning the urban food system challenge at the centre of intersecting global transitions meant that the research strategy needed to be broad, considering each of the identified transitions individually while attempting to understand the intersections or points of contact. Considering different disciplines, research approaches, theories, and politics meant that a variety of research methods were required.

3.2. Research strategy

Current approaches to food security are inadequate and are dominated by a rural-oriented production paradigm. The consequence of this is a flawed understanding of the relationship between food and the city. This assertion required testing and clarification. A second assertion was that society, in very general terms, was undergoing a period of transition. While transition and change is part of an ever evolving process in society, the importance of the transitions currently experienced is that they are converging and are mutually reinforcing. These global scale societal transitions impact directly on local transitions.

The consequence of these assertions is that they intersect with a wide variety of subjects in multiple ways. This meant that a diverse set of research methods were required in order to elucidate the urban food system functions.

As set out in Chapter 2, the first method involved a literature review to "provide an overview of scholarship in a certain discipline through an analysis of trends and debates" (Mouton, 2001:179). While a number of disciplines attract focus within the literature, the central disciplinary foundation is Human Geography. Among others, it keys into the emphasis on scale.

The literature review confirmed the research questions formulated at the commencement of the research while simultaneously providing the foundation for the remainder of the study. The next phase of the research involved a detailed analysis of international food governance, especially in cities. Leading urban food governance sites and approaches were identified and key organisations and structures there identified. The South American approaches are dominated by the initial work in Belo Horizonte and reflect city government-led processes. The Canadian urban food governance work, originating in Toronto, highlights different leadership processes and governance. The work taking place in the United States of America reflects similar leadership structures although different scales of governance are evident. Food Policy Councils were notable components of the North American approaches. The data from the three different regional sites and initiatives were analysed in different ways according to how the data was organised and the levels of access to information. Once the data had been analysed and preliminary results obtained, key informant interviews were held in Canada and with a specialist on the Belo Horizonte case in

order to confirm the conclusions drawn from the analysis and to clarify any points that were not clear. A process of observation was also followed to understand the workings of one of the international structures, namely the Toronto Food Policy Council (TFPC).

The international urban food governance analysis enabled the identification of key organising principles. The merit of these principles was confirmed through key informant interviews. These principles were used to guide the analysis of the differences, limitations, specificities and dynamics associated with the two selected South African urban food governance sites in Stellenbosch and Cape Town. Neither site had an operational urban food governance process, but both had initiated urban food governance processes. These were analysed in detail to understand their rationale, the lessons learned, the limitations, and, finally, their applicability in the South African context. While it is accepted that assuming the dynamics of South African cities can be transferred to other African cities is flawed, certain insights may be generalised to other African cities. The South African cities review was then concluded with an analysis of how the South African lessons related to the principles identified in the international review.

3.2.1. Other data sources

Although the literature review provided a wide variety of data, the nature of the research, and specifically the urban food governance theme, meant that a large body of research was in the public domain but had not emerged from literature. This information was certainly not peer reviewed. The information was generally made up of reports drafted either by consultants or by staff in functioning urban food governance structures. Certain cities that had engaged in urban food governance processes also drafted their own reports about their actions.

This valuable information offered an essential perspective of how the different groups functioned, where priorities sat and how the organisations were structured. The challenge in using this information is deciding on if it was self-promotional, lacking introspection and critique. As a result, while informative and useful in providing a sense of the urban food governance landscape, it was necessary to test the integrity of such reports. Two types of reports passed muster. Firstly, reports that were cited in peer reviewed journals. Secondly, reports carried out by external bodies or researchers that reflected a measure of independence. While some such reports were used in the literature review to support literature arguments,

the majority of these reports were used in the reviews of local food governance, detailed in Chapters 4 and 5.

A second area of review was a policy analysis. International policy agreements were considered but specific attention was paid to South African policy. While the Constitution of South Africa sits at the apex of the legal hierarchy, attention was paid to South African urban food-related laws, acts, policies and strategies. The focus was on the food system, food, agriculture, including production, trade and land law processes, food security, urban governance and the obligations of local government.

3.2.2. International food governance analysis

The literature review highlighted trends in urban food governance. A number of different approaches and theoretical foundations were identified. In the international urban food governance analysis, three regions were identified as being active in this field. These included select South American cities where food system governance had emerged as a strategic objective. In the North American region approaches to place-oriented food governance emerged in the late 1980s but the review identified a variety of different scales and governance typologies. Finally, driven in the main by North American practice, European cities were identified as beginning to adopt different forms of urban food governance. As the contextual, political and social structures in the various regions differ, the three regions are considered separately. Further, reporting on the different regions takes place in different ways. The South American and European examples are reported in literature. Here a mixture of peer reviewed literature, city scale self generated reporting and externally drafted reports were used to inform the commentary and arguments specific to these regions. In the case of South America, one particular city, Belo Horizonte, was an early entrant onto the urban food governance arena. As this approach reflected a unique government-led process, the initial documentary analysis was supported by a key informant interview.

The international city review involved analysing the member group of the United States Community Food Security Coalition (CFSC). The CFSC was a group which included 193 food policy councils (as of May 2012). The analysis of this group offered insights into the scales at which governance processes were operating, the areas of focus and the nature of governance at the various sites. Understanding these issues required a specific form of analysis, designed specifically for this thesis.

Of the 193 local food governance organisations[25] within the CFSC, 176 were deemed to be active.[26] These 176 Food Policy Councils (FPCs) were then analysed to understand the three key areas of interest, scale of operation, core areas of focus, and governance. The data that were used to inform this work were dated 2012 and, as of May 2013, no update had been provided (see Annexure 1).[27]

The three key areas of focus of scale of operation, core areas of focus and governance were analysed and tabulated by means of excel spreadsheets. The use of the CFSC FPCs was not driven by a desire for representative sampling but rather to engage as many organisations as the data allowed, enabling the assessment of as wide a variety of possible variables.

The second review approach considered the areas of focus of the CFSC food policy groups. Here a process of Key Word/Phrase Identification was used to identify areas of focus listed within the FPC stated activities. Governance typologies made up the third aspect of this analysis of the CFSC group. MacRae and Donahue (2013), in a review of the Canadian food policy councils, developed a classification typology for governance of FPCs. While developed for the Canadian FPC structures, these governance typologies were found to be relevant to the US FPC structures (see Annexure 2 for a sample of the recording format).

This information then enabled an analysis where areas of focus, governance and scale could be effectively discerned. Assumptions were drawn from this analysis and conclusions made. These conclusions were then tested with the co-founder of the CFSC through an informal meeting (Fisher, 2013). The comparison with the Canadian examples drew on work by MacRae and Donahue (2013). This work detailed the history, operations, structures, challenges, networks and trends of the Canadian Food Policy Council movement. Insights into the actions of these groups were drawn. In order to better understand the Canadian FPC approach, direct observation was carried out. This observation involved spending time with the Toronto Food Policy Council (TFPC). Face-to-face interviews were carried out with key informants, meetings were attended (specifically the TFPC constitutionally required public

[25] Referred to here as food policy councils (FPC) as this is the generic term generally used by the organisations to describe their work

[26] The FPCs were deemed to be active if they were holding regular meetings (at least once per annum and had a specific mandate and a contact person)

[27] In a conversation with A Fisher, a co-founder of the Community Food Security Coalition (CFSC) I was advised that the CFSC has been restructured. As a result of this restructuring, CFSC websites and FPCs who used the CFSC resources to reflect their activities were no longer active. The data used in this analysis were accessed in November 2012 and should thus be dated accordingly.

meeting), and a number of informal conversations were had. Time spent in the TFPC afforded general insight into aspects not recorded in formal documents.

During the observation period in Canada, specific attention was paid to a number of non-verbal processes such as TPFC staff interactions, interactions between non-TFPC staff and other staff from the Toronto City Council. In the TFPC public meeting actions of different stakeholders were observed and key areas of interest and focus noted. In addition, the inter-relationship between the TFPC and other City of Toronto officials was also observed. While no empirical evidence could be drawn from these observed interactions and processes, they gave a sense of process and procedure, and helped to understand how TFPC operating principles translated into practice.

At the conclusion of this process, a key informant interview was conducted with Rod MacRae, a leading thinker on urban food governance and one-time head of the Toronto Food Policy Council, to clarify specific points and to gain further insights into the operations of other FPCs. Questions as to the transferability of FPC approaches to the developing world context, the emerging trend in Europe, limitations of FPCs as well as potential pitfalls were also tested. These questions then assisted in the analysis of the South African urban food governance approaches.

As part of the international place-focused food system governance review, key FPC operating principles were discerned and tested in certain key informant interviews. These principles, as opposed to actual actions, where used in the analysis of the South African food governance interventions.

3.2.3. Emerging South African urban food governance processes

The final research question sought to understand the relevance of emerging urban food governance approaches to South African cities. This required a level of understanding of the food governance processes in South Africa coupled with an understanding of food governance processes at the urban scale. This research question was approached through an investigation into food system processes in South Africa, considering the historical aspects as well as the current dynamics, specifically the governance processes and the intersection between both the local and international scales. The ideological approaches informing the

South African food system were considered, as was the impact of these approaches on emerging food system trends.

The South African food system analysis involved a review of key policy documents. This review considered historical policy approaches, the transitional processes prior to the 1994 democratic transition, and the subsequent policy landscape in which agriculture is practiced. This review was analysed by juxtaposing the review findings and critiques of the policy approaches in peer reviewed academic articles. These processes were further considered within the context of trends, shifts and challenges within the food system. This process was followed by a period of ongoing and immersive research into a variety of food system processes. Direct engagement included participation in processes such as the Southern African Food Lab[28] process, engagement in processes in Cape Town and Stellenbosch[29] and active engagement in learning and development processes associated with urban food security through the University of Cape Town and sustainable food systems through Stellenbosch University.

These engagements assisted in highlighting discussions, shifts and contradictions within the South African food system. These data were recorded formally through a journaling process where personal observations, responses and questions in relation to the data were noted and these notations referred to in the analysis process.

A second component of the process involved active engagement, investigation and subsequent analysis of two nascent urban food governance processes in South Africa. The sites reviewed were Stellenbosch and Cape Town.

The approach followed in this analysis was to first consider the South African food system environment. For both sites under review, this contextual positioning was then aligned to the notion of key contextual parameters identified by Dahlberg (1999). These contextual aspects were used to describe the site-specific dynamics. This information assisted in contextualising the various food system approaches applied.

The approach in the Stellenbosch site involved an analysis of The Draft Stellenbosch Food System Strategy (DSFSS). The DSFSS was a proposed food governance approach designed specifically for the town of Stellenbosch. First, the strategy itself was described

[28] See http://www.southernafricafoodlab.org/
[29] The extent, ethical considerations and potential limitations of this positionality will be discussed in detail in a designated section (See point 3.3)

followed by a description of the process associated with the development of the strategy. This was followed by a review of the current (July 2013) status of the strategy.

The contextual aspects were identified through a mixed research process which involved a literature review specific to the town of Stellenbosch and further investigated within the context of official Stellenbosch planning and development documents. These documents included the Integrated Development Plans and Spatial Development Strategies. These aspects were further tested through meeting processes, conversations with key role players and key informant interviews.

The review of the DSFSS was carried out through a process of key informant interviews and two focus group sessions. The feedback from the focus groups was documented differently. The first focus group was used to gauge the potential for the DSFSS, and involved a facilitated process of plenary presentation, coupled by smaller work processes, including testing understanding about the food system. One of the outcomes of this process is detailed in Annexure 3 and 4. The second focus group involved a process in which the reasons and explanations for the stalling of the DSFSS were discussed. This feedback was recorded electronically and then transcribed for review and analysis.

Aside from the focus group processes, key informant interviews were used to question the failure of the DSFSS. These interviews were carried out as one-on one interviews with key Stellenbosch and wider food system food system actors.

The Cape Town process required a different approach. Again, mixed methods were used. As with Stellenbosch, a contextual understanding of the wider Cape Town system and its intersection to the food system was discussed. Literature review data supported by a detailed reading of key policy and planning documents were used to assist in this process. This was elaborated on through a number of key informant interviews.

For the Cape Town review, the narrative around land and the Philippi Horticultural Area was used as a lens through which to understand and interpret the City of Cape Town's engagement in and understanding of the food system. This component of the research was addressed through a review of certain specific Philippi Horticultural Area literature supported by a variety of public domain reports on PHA. In this instance, grey literature was used, not as direct evidence, but to confirm and clarify certain aspects of the data. A further component

of this research was the use of a framing methodology (Reese, 2007; Carragee and Roefs, 2004) to demonstrate the different debates about the Philippi Horticultural Area (PHA).

These frames were drawn from the work of Pointer (2013) and included the frames detailed in Table 3.1.

The framing exercised highlighted the divergent debates and the different food system interpretations. The core principles identified in the international food system governance analysis were then used to compare the approaches applied in the Cape Town and Stellenbosch engagements to the principles that informed the engagements in the international cities.

Media Discourse Frames
Scene setting frame
Catastrophic frame
Contest frame
Economic analysis frame
Solidarity frame
Prognostic frame
Need (housing)frame
Development imperative frame
Justice frame
Food security frame
Compromise frame

(Source: adapted from Pointer, 2013)

Table 3.1: Media discourse framing

This analysis was then expanded to consider the South African food system governance perspectives within the context of the wider transitions discussed in the literature review.

A further process was used as a means to deepen the comparative research. This process involved a participative meeting held with Toronto Food Policy Council Stakeholders where the PHA process was the focus of the discussion. By way of testing different approaches to urban food governance and perspectives on land use within urban areas the

findings from the 2012 PHA review (Battersby and Haysom, 2012) were presented to a stakeholder group of the TFPC. The presentation was followed by a lengthy discussion on the differences in approach to such land use challenges as well as similarities. Valuable insights were provided on how such a governance group would potentially engage with such a challenge. This process was however approached with caution, recognising the differences in food governance and developmental needs of the two countries and cities (Annexure 5).

The direct transfer of lessons learnt from the international review to the South African context is avoided, deferring rather to the use of the core principles identified in the international process. As context is critical, these principles may miss certain site specific dynamics.

The use of the CFSC offers a limitation from a comparability perspective. Early in 2013, informed by funding limitations and changes in US farm and agricultural policy (Fisher, 2013), a decision was made to decentralise the work of the CFSC with different regional groups initiating their own processes. As a result, comparability to the information used could be limited. For records, all information used has been recorded (see Annexure 1 for abridged version of recorded data). Although food policy councils seek to build scale-oriented consensus, these groupings can exclude certain food system actors. As a result, much of the food system reporting could be considered subjective. Every effort has been made to eliminate this through the triangulation of information between reported data, confirmation interviews and comparison to peer reviewed data.

The South African cases reflect processes that are emergent and have not been reviewed as yet. This means that testing of certain data and processes is not possible. In order to ensure rigour in the research process and to remove subjectivity, multiple research strategies have been applied (see also point 3.3).

3.2.4. Other possible methodological approaches

In a review of work on transitions and informed by certain interviews, it was suggested that consideration be given to the use of the Multilevel Perspective (MLP). The MLP is a three-tiered framework which consists of the landscape (macro), regime (meso) and niche (micro) levels - or scales. In the MLP, the landscape or macro scale is seen as providing the structure for activities in a system. As the macro is external, the actors at other levels

(scales) cannot exert influence on this level. The landscape or macro level (scale) is also viewed as being relatively stable only changing as a result of indirect adjustments at the lower levels. As will be shown through evidence in Chapter 4, within the food system, this is not the case.

In the MLP, the socio-technical landscape privileges the macro scale which is a scale external to the primary area of review within this work. This thesis does not utilise the MLP as its theoretical framing. While using the MLP could offer theoretical insights, the core theme of this work, argued in detail throughout, is that context is a critical informant.

This top-down perspective offered by the MLP is not appropriate as a theoretical foundation for this thesis. There is a real concern that such a theoretical framing would ignore the specific food system dynamics and inhibit context- and scale- oriented food governance enquiry. While this thesis does not seek to offer utilitarian solutions, offering a central theory has been avoided so as to retain the theme of contextually informed responses to the urban food challenge.

3.3. Positionality and embeddedness in the research sites

This section is written in the first person as a deliberate strategy to emphasise my own locality within the research sites of Stellenbosch and Cape Town and to clarify my involvement in specific processes reviewed in this thesis.

I have been an active participant in food system processes in both Cape Town and Stellenbosch. In Stellenbosch, I led the initial team that developed the Draft Stellenbosch Food System Strategy and need to assume responsibility for a number of the criticisms levelled at the strategy in Chapter 5. At the time of the finalisation of the DSFSS, these limitations were unknown. This thesis records the Draft Stellenbosch Food System Strategy process chronologically until the process where the DSFSS was presented to the Mayoral Committee (MAYCO) of the Stellenbosch Municipality. Following this process, I assumed the role of researcher and not DSFSS author. Through the entire documentation process detailed in Chapter 5 I have endeavoured to remain objective; subjectivity concerns are detailed in footnotes.

In the Cape Town study, I participated in two key research processes that serve as informants to this work. These activities were the Philippi Horticultural Area Planning and Environmental Committee (PEPCO) report of 2009 (CoCT, 2009) and the 2012 Report on The Philippi Horticultural Area commissioned by Rooftops Canada (Battersby and Haysom, 2012). As a result of these processes, I have to accept that certain officials may have viewed me as being biased to a particular view of the food system. This perceived bias may have influenced their responses to me, either favourably or negatively, dependant on their own position in this regard. I do need to state that one interview did start to challenge the research directly (Battersby and Haysom, 2012). As a result, this interview was not used in this thesis as it was felt that my role subjectively influenced the interviewee's response.

Describing the PHA case was seen as a critical demonstration of the divergent views of the Cape Town food system. Due to my earlier role in PHA-related research an objective method of reviewing the PHA and the associated debates was used. Here the framing methodology was used as it enabled the level of objectivity required to allow the Cape Town food debates to come to light.

Finally, I live in Cape Town and participate in the food system on a daily basis. As a result I cannot but hold views on the food system. This is the nature of food; we all have subjective and deeply personal relationship with it. I have made every effort to remain impartial throughout the thesis research, and to recognise and challenge my own predispositions so that scholarly evidence and argument remain at the forefront.

3.4. Ethical and procedural considerations

Questions about food are partly personal. In this respect alone, if not in others, food research generates ethical considerations. Food is a lens through which a number of livelihood strategies and household-scale negotiations become evident. This thesis did not engage directly with households or individuals about their specific food choices. However, a number of interviewees spoke on behalf of the food system work in which they are engaged and the communities that they assist through food support interventions. At no time were the identities of these communities sought. If the information was offered, this was not used in this thesis. All reference to community groups and food security status is drawn from secondary sources and referenced accordingly.

Questioning urban food system-related governance processes did carry ethical implications. A number of key informants were government officials who, while speaking in their official capacities, were asked questions that could have had implications should their views disagreed with dominant perspectives or official mandates.

As part of the formal key informant interview process, interviewees were provided with a Research Explanation and Consent Form prior to the arranged interview (Annexure 6). Agreement was a prerequisite for an interview. Three people declined to participate. The signed forms are held by the researcher in a secure location. As part of the interview process, one designated note pad was used to record all interview notes. Interviewees were advised that the interviews were to be recorded via a digital recording device. Interviewees were asked if they were comfortable with the recording of the interview. This agreement was noted in the interview notes. Interview recordings were downloaded and stored on an external memory device. The interviews were also transcribed by the researcher. Subsequent to transcription all recordings on the primary recording device were deleted. The external memory device, interview note pad and transcriptions were locked in a secure location accessible to only the researcher.

Only two interviewees requested anonymity and this was granted. Two interviewees asked if the recording device could be turned off for the response to a specific question. This request was granted and the answer to the question and any associated comments were treated as off-the-record and not used in the reporting process. Off-the-record comments did provide contextual understanding of certain processes but extreme caution was taken to ensure that this was in no way reflected in the text.

Both focus groups were informed that the processes were being used for research processes and explanation was given as to the research focus. Opportunity for questions was provided and participants were advised that should they wish not to go on record, that the recording device could be tuned off. No such requests were made. Participants in the Canadian PHA meeting were advised that this was part of ongoing research. For logistical reasons, this meeting was not recorded electronically but detailed notes were taken.

A number of other processes, such as observation, consultation, casual enquiry and participation in meetings were used. When comments were made during the meeting, a request was made that the quotation or comment be used directly with name attribution. If permission was not granted, the quotation or comment was not used.

Finally, care was taken to ensure that in other aspects associated with an immersive process, as was the case in both Stellenbosch and Cape Town, detailed notes were taken in journal format. This method was used to ensure correctness in the recording of a particular account or process. Journal notations were kept separate to the interview notes.

Over and above the processes mentioned above, the University of Cape Town Code for Research involving Human Subjects was consulted and adhered to. Prior to the commencement of any research, a University of Cape Town Faculty of Science Researcher Statement Form was completed and submitted to the departmental head for review and approval.

3.5. Technical research clarifications

A number of research-related aspects and processes bear mentioning as these do dictate certain writing styles and process related issues. These are detailed to forestall misunderstandings and to provide a specific timeframe in which to position this research.

3.5.1. Timeframe of the research project

This research process commenced with initial literature reviews and information collection in January 2011. Ongoing immersion in both research sites began once ethical approval for the research project was granted and formal fieldwork was commenced in November 2011. As food system work is dynamic and open-ended, it was necessary to impose an end date on the research. Put simply, the on-going food system work continues indefinitely. The end date for research, data collection and reviews was 30 September 2013. A number of food system processes took place after that date, particularly in Cape Town, but these have not been used in this thesis. Reference to certain reports published after the 30 September 2013 date have been made in footnotes for clarity.

3.5.2. Writing styles and phrase use

Different disciplines and regions make use of different writing style, phrases and grammar. Throughout this thesis South African English has been used as the default spelling

setting. For consistency, this setting was applied to quotations and extracts where other spelling may have been used in the original.

Some original phrasing and terminologies used have been retained where they were deployed for deliberate effect, where changes could influence meaning. One example was the interchangeable use of the terms *agrifood*, *agrofood* and *agri-food* have been retained. A second example was where authors used either *sociopolitical* or *socio-political*.

4. ANALYSIS OF URBAN FOOD GOVERNANCE TRENDS

Cities take for granted that everyday food will arrive at restaurants, cafés, shops, supermarkets, markets, schools, etc – enough to meet the health and diverse cultural needs of their inhabitants.

(Moragues et al, 2013)

Food - how it is produced, secured, transported, processed, marketed, accessed, regulated, consumed and wasted, its contribution to the economy, and what it does to our bodies and the planet - is now a major issue for households, communities, cities and regions.

(Donovan et al, 2011)

As the world becomes increasingly urbanised the current tools and governance structures designed to support society, from policy to the economy, are becoming increasingly redundant. Such tools and structures often support the status quo, perpetuating outdated modes and practice. Tensions and faults, particularly those evident in urban food systems, mean that alternative approaches are required. This point is validated in the above epigraphs. Many similar statements can be found. The implications of the multiple transitions described in Chapter 2 require policy- and governance-oriented innovations that can respond to the mutually reinforcing transitions.

The food system, generally described as a system that comprises the activities of commercial and non-commercial actors who grow, process, distribute, acquire, and dispose of food (MacRae and Donahue, 2013: 2), is complex but reflects multiple contextual differences. Culture, climate, history and economies mean that different communities

experience and engage with the food system in different ways. This requires contextually informed responses. Such responses are starting to emerge. The alternative food geographies (AFGs) described in Chapter 2 introduced such responses. The spatially informed AFGs are given particular attention because they are generally bounded by a particular scale which, coupled with specific contextual food system dynamics and overarching food system politics, direct the particular area's food system response.

The following section considers several food system responses, particularly the growing trend of localised food governance interventions. These take several forms, including urban food policy programmes (Hatfield, 2012), urban food strategies (Moragues et al, 2013), food policy entrepreneurship (MacRae and Donahue, 2013), and food policy councils (Brouillette, 2012). All reflect an emerging shift in the food system, particularly in how cities are engaging with the food system. Such trends all align with the spatially-focused alternative food geography introduced in Chapter 2.Various terms are used to describe these structures. Most of the local food governance structures (LFGS) structures reviewed within this chapter are referred to as Food Policy Councils (FPC). This will be the term used in this thesis unless either described differently or when the nature of the structure is unknown, in which case the acronym LFGS (Local Food Governance Structure) will be applied.

The chapter analyses food policy councils and other localised food governance innovations. This discussion is contextualised through a brief introduction to conventional food governance approaches. It also discusses how conventional food governance, aligned to the processes associated with the third food regime, has been decoupled from the roles of the city, and increasingly even decoupled from the roles of national governments. This thesis pays particular attention to the relationship between cities and the food system. Two emerging localised food governance trends will be investigated. These trends include the South American examples where the case of Belo Horizonte in Brazil, a city driven engagement with the food system at a local scale, is the most notable example. The second trend is one broadly described as pluralistic governance approaches (Koc and Bas, 2012), associated with food policy councils, generally located within developing world cities.

Following the description of conventional food governance approaches, the review begins with an investigation and analysis of the emergence of locally driven and contextually informed "pluralistic" food governance processes in North America. The North American changes began in the early 1990s and have since gathered momentum and refined their

processes. The North American initiatives span a variety of scales and focus on two countries (the United States and Canada). Understanding the governance and areas of focus of such a wide variety of initiatives requires more detailed analysis. This analysis considers three aspects: the location and form of governance, the scale of operation, and the areas of focus. The North American review involved original analysis of over 170 contextually-focused food governance structures in the United States and a further 60 structures in Canada. Where data are comparable, comparisons have been made. This original analysis does however enable a detailed review of key areas of intervention, the ethos that supports such processes and the particular governance typologies and responsibilities.

The local food governance approach, particularly food policy councils, has not been the domain of North American cities only. Recognising local food system challenges, other cities and towns have sought ways to respond to such challenges. Often influenced by the emerging practice in North America, these urban areas have started to adopt the local food governance approaches, generally through food policy council-type innovations. The North American food governance analysis is followed by a discussion focusing on a number of other cities which have initiated similar processes, predominantly European cities. This section is concluded with a brief discussion on the South American cities, particularly Belo Horizonte.

This will be concluded with a brief commentary on why the North American model of food policy councils appears to dominate such interventions, particularly where the city-led process of Belo Horizonte is able to demonstrate tangible and measurable successes.

The development trajectory of many developing world cities reflects aspects associated with the second urban transition. The characteristics of the second urban transition are very different to those of the first transition. As a result, an uncritical transfer of trends and innovations from developed world cities to developing world cities is a cause for concern. The review of the developed world urban food governance trend offers insight into key themes, drivers and governance typologies that may offer value when considering urban food governance within the context of developing world cities. The developed world urban food governance review is followed by a discussion of these trends and principles associated with this trend.

Aligned to the trend that sees the establishment of carefully contextualised local food governance structures, the planning profession has started to question the role of food-

sensitive urban planning and the role that planners play in the urban food system. The participatory principles of planning align with the pluralistic and certain city led governance structures emerging in urban food governance, supporting planners interested in food sensitive planning. Such structures can play a role in the generation of knowledge and data to inform planning processes. As a result, there is a clear link between local food governance work and planning (Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 1999; Pothukuchi, 2000; Sonnino, 2009; Morgan, 2009; Morgan and Sonnino, 2010). Approaches such as food sensitive planning (see Donovan et al, 2011 and their work referred to as Food Sensitive Planning and Urban Design or FSPUD) offer evidence of how these links are emerging. This chapter speaks specifically to the structures and processes developed in response to food system challenges at the local scale, structures that can inform planning and enrich consultative processes. Food-sensitive planning and the various associated iterations are seen as being processes that would be supported by FPCs and more general LFGS work. The value to planning is recognised and documented in the data that follow. Planning will not be engaged in directly other than to recognise that value afforded to food sensitive planning by the work of FPCs.

The chapter concludes with an analysis of the emergence of local food governance structures within the context of the transitions discussed in Chapter 2 and the attendant implications for South African and other developing world cities.

4.1. Conventional food governance approaches

In the past national governments played an active role in the governance and regulation of a country's food system. The agricultural and industrial revolutions which drove the first urban transition were mutually reinforcing. Recently, largely as a result of the third food regime transition (the corporate food regime described by McMichael, 2009), these governance roles have shifted. Global agreements specific to agriculture, such as the World Trade Organisation's (WTO) Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) and subsequent Uruguay and Doha rounds of negotiations have diluted the governance authority of national governments. The result is a marked reduction in food and agricultural governance authority at the country scale. This has implications for other governance scales as policy and governance generally cascade from national down to regional and then local or city-level governance. Today the agricultural environment is highly liberalised and large private sector players, generally unaccountable to any constituency, direct the agricultural industry (for comments on this see

Patel, 2007; Barker, 2007; Holt-Gimenez and Patel, 2009). National governments still play a role in the agricultural sector but their governance role and formal administrative mandate has changed. This is very evident in South Africa where agricultural policy in the early 1980s (driven by apartheid policies and the consequences of anti apartheid exclusion) played an active role in directing and regulating the industry. This role has diminished significantly (this will be discussed further in Chapter 5). The governance roles of the agricultural ministries are significantly reduced or have changed from what may have resembled Fordist-type structures of the 1960s (and even later in the case of agriculture, particularly in South Africa) to reflect the liberalised ideology of entrepreneurialism described by Harvey (1989).

The faults of the food system are becoming increasingly evident within cities. From a policy perspective, apart from aspects such health and food safety compliance, food outlet and food production centre licensing and certain aspects of land use planning, cities have limited food governance authority. In South Africa, even aspects traditionally the domain of city governments such as school feeding and health, fall to the provincial government. There is certainly a food policy vacuum in South African cities. The globalised agricultural system is unable to adequately respond to the needs of the city and at the same time, city officials, politicians and a variety of urban stakeholders have little recourse to national scale food system structures. Municipalities have limited jurisdiction over the food system. And yet, cities are increasingly faced with the consequences of food system challenge. These consequences include residents' uneven access to food, food insecurity, food affordability, public health problems associated with inadequate or poor quality diets (aligned to the nutrition and obseogenic transitions), shrinking local food infrastructure and the local effects of pollution and climate change. In addition, many cities are characterised by contradictory food systems: some communities rely on formal, generally supermarketised systems, while others rely on informal and generally unregulated systems, (MacRae and Donahue, 2013: 2), a form of food system splintering.

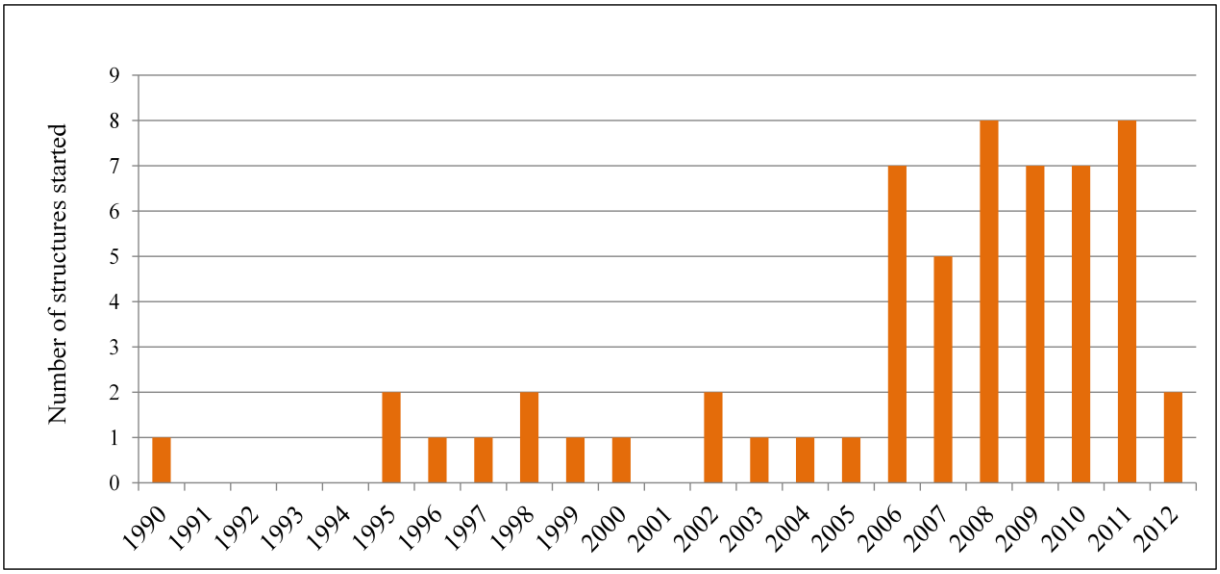
When compared to rural food system challenges, city-scale food governance challenges are experienced very differently. One such example is food insecurity. This disparity calls for different governance approaches. Cities and the food system are connected. Certain cities and/or urban food system stakeholders are developing innovative approaches that seek to gain an improved understanding of their specific food system, where the faults lie and what the city's role in responding to a localities food system needs may resemble. An emerging area of focus is that of engaging in the food system through alternative governance

approaches. Understanding, managing and facilitating effective urban food governance strategies is an emerging trend in developed world cities.

In responding to this challenge, cities have started to apply what has been referred to as "food system thinking". The approach has been described in a number of ways (Winne, 2008; Friedmann and McMichael, 1989) and spans multiple scales. At base, food system thinking reflects:

> an awareness of how actions by one group in the system affect other groups, as well as influencing the environment, the economy, society, and the health of the population and ultimately consumers.
>
> (MacRae and Donahue, 2013: 2).

As an example, the extent and recent up-take of formal urban food governance processes can be seen in Figure 4.1, detailing the growth in urban food governance structures, specifically food policy councils, in Canadian cities.



(Source: Adapted from MacRae and Donahue, 2013: 16)

Figure 4.1: Yearly Canadian urban food policy council formation

The next section of this chapter will broaden the discussion on alternative food geographies (AFGs) introduced in Chapter 2 to contextualise emergent food system thinking. A particular area of focus will be the emerging trend of scale-specific food governance, focussing on different scales but more generally, the local scale. The discussion assists in highlighting how the "upper class angst" (Goodman and Goodman, 2007) of alternative food networks has given way to a deeper and more inclusive set of questions about the urban food system, its failings, inequalities and the role of governance and scale in the emerging AFGs. This work will draw on a number of international examples, many, with the exception of Belo Horizonte and Bogotá, from so-called developed cities.

This review will focus specifically on the spatial specific responses in food system governance as these reflect most directly the urban food governance trends. The other AFG trends, while offering interesting insights and often evident within programmes and interventions within the spatially-focused AFG, are outside the remit of this work. Detail of the spatially-focused alternative food geographies will be analysed followed by a discussion on the applicability to South African and southern African cities.

4.2. Urban food governance responses

4.2.1. North American food system responses

Unlike other municipal systems such as transportation, water, housing and health city governments and urban residents generally considered food as an issue beyond the urban agenda (Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 1999). In North America, a diverse group of actors have started actively engaging in urban food system governance. The governance trajectory in North America reflects contrasting governance and institutional arrangements. However, these groups have all focused on the issues relating to food and contextually driven governance of the food system functions.

Although some initiatives began in the early 1980s, including the creation of the first Food Policy Council in Knoxville, Tennessee, until recently food was all but ignored at the city level in North America. Since the mid 1990s, there has been a marked increase in the formation of LFGS generally referred to Food Policy Councils in the North American case (Figure 4.1). Making reference to Food Policy Councils requires clarification on what is

meant by such a term. Food Policy Councils (FPCs) display multiple areas of focus and multiple governance typologies. Although Schiff (2008: 209) suggests that "the term food policy council remains inaccurate" the designation is used for a legitimate group that considers and engages in local food system actions. Food Policy Councils act as both forums for food issues and platforms for coordinated action (Harper et al, 2009: 1). A food policy council is defined as follows:

> A structure that brings together stakeholders from diverse food-related areas to examine how the food system is working and propose ways to improve it. A food policy council may be an official advisory body on food systems issues to a city, county, or state government, or it may be a grassroots network focused on educating the public, coordinating non-profit efforts, and influencing government, commercial and institutional practices and policies on food systems.
>
> (Kent, 2010)

This wide-ranging definition implies that any legitimate structure focussing on food within the urban sphere could be termed a food policy council. What the definition highlights are key strands in the philosophy of such structures. Firstly, they are formed as a result of disquiet with the existing food system, thus seeking to improve the situation in a proactive manner. Secondly, these structures seek to convene and leverage off the collective knowledge of a wide variety of food system actors and stakeholders. Thirdly, while the scale of operation of the group may vary, the focus remains bounded by the particular scale. Finally, the adopted remit (be this official or simply assumed) of such structures included knowledge generation, advocacy, education and wider institutional change at the scale of operation.

The following section considers the LFGS trends that have emerged in North America and reviews key elements associated with these structures. Data specific to two key sources has been used for the original analysis that follows. The first is the data from the Community Food Security Coalition (CFSC),[30] a grouping of 193 spatial-specific governance groups, or food policy councils (as of May 2012). Of these, 176 food policy councils were deemed to be

[30] See www.foodsecurity.org

active[31] and formed the core reference group for this review. The data that were used to inform this work was dated 2012 and as of August 2013, no update had been provided.[32] The data from these groups were drawn from CFSC sources which were then validated through on-line reviews of the individual context specific LFGS and other similar structures. This information generated a specific picture about trends and areas of focus. The generated information was then validated through a meeting with the co-founder of the CFSC (Fisher, 2013). The second set of data were sourced from a report conducted on Canadian place-specific food governance structures. Here 64 organisations were reported on and detailed (see MacRae and Donahue, 2013). This work did not engage in specific areas of focus as detailed in the CFSC review but did reflect on both scale and governance issues. These data were analysed and the analysis tested through a direct person to person interview with the lead author of the report (MacRae, 2013).

The review of the CFSC food governance groups, or food policy councils, considered three aspects: Areas of focus, governance and the scale of operation. As focus of this thesis is on the relationship between the city and the food system, it was deemed necessary to understand different governance approaches and areas of focus at different scales. For this reasons in the CFSC analysis, scale is used as the key organising factor with reporting on governance and focus being tested against scale metrics. The CFSC data reported following US governance scales of Local (town or city), County and State.[33] The data was then refined to enable translation into a more clearly understood South African scale registers of Province, Regional, District and Local.

In detailing the comparison, the data were further considered according to specific governance typologies. Here six different governance typologies articulated by MacRae and Donahue (2013) were used to compare the US and Canadian structures independently and then comparatively.

[31] The FPCs were deemed to be active if they were holding regular meetings (at least once per annum and had a specific mandate and a contact person)

[32] As per a meeting with Fisher in April 2013 it was advised that the Community Food Security Coalition had been disbanded and that the group was considering alternative convening structures. The disbanding of the CFSC did not imply in any way the disbanding of the local FPCs which remain active in their towns, cities, counties and states. The information recorded on the different FPCs thus remains valid and assists in indicating trends, areas of focus and governance structures and arrangements.

[33] State in the US context is equivalent to province in the Canadian context, with similar federal governance processes as the US. In the South African context, the US term of state is comparable with a South African province although as South Africa does not function as a federal democracy, it is argued that the power relationships between the Nation State and the province, coupled with the current policy of cadre deployment, arguably skews power in favour of the Nation State.

4.2.1.1. United States food policy council review – original analysis

The review of the governance approaches applied within the Community Food Security Coalition (CFSC) member group covers three themes. The first theme considers the specific focus areas of the FPCs. The second studies the governance typologies. The third consideration is the scale or spatial focus of the FPC. As scale is central to the research questions, specifically the urban scale, scale is used as the organising lens through which the areas of focus and governance are analysed.

The areas of focus offer insights specific to the particular challenges that confront these FPCs. These challenges are often what precipitate the formation of the FPC (Fisher, 2013). Understanding how these differ at different scales is of particular interest. In analysing the 176 food policy councils, key themes or areas of focus emerged. Through a process of Key Word Attribution (or key phrase attribution), key areas of focus were identified. In total 23 areas of focus were noted. The frequency of attribution was noted with each area of focus being assessed as a percentage. Those with a mention of less than 5 percent were excluded. This exclusion was deemed justified as those areas of focus falling below the 5 percent mark were either only mentioned for single FPCs or were so infrequently mentioned that comparison was not possible. In total 12 key areas of focus were identified as being dominant and useful for analysis. These are tabulated (Table 4.1) to highlight the area of focus and detail specific to the focus areas. Within the 176 FPCs there were twelve areas of focus predominantly mentioned. The frequency of these mentions is reflected in Table 4.1.

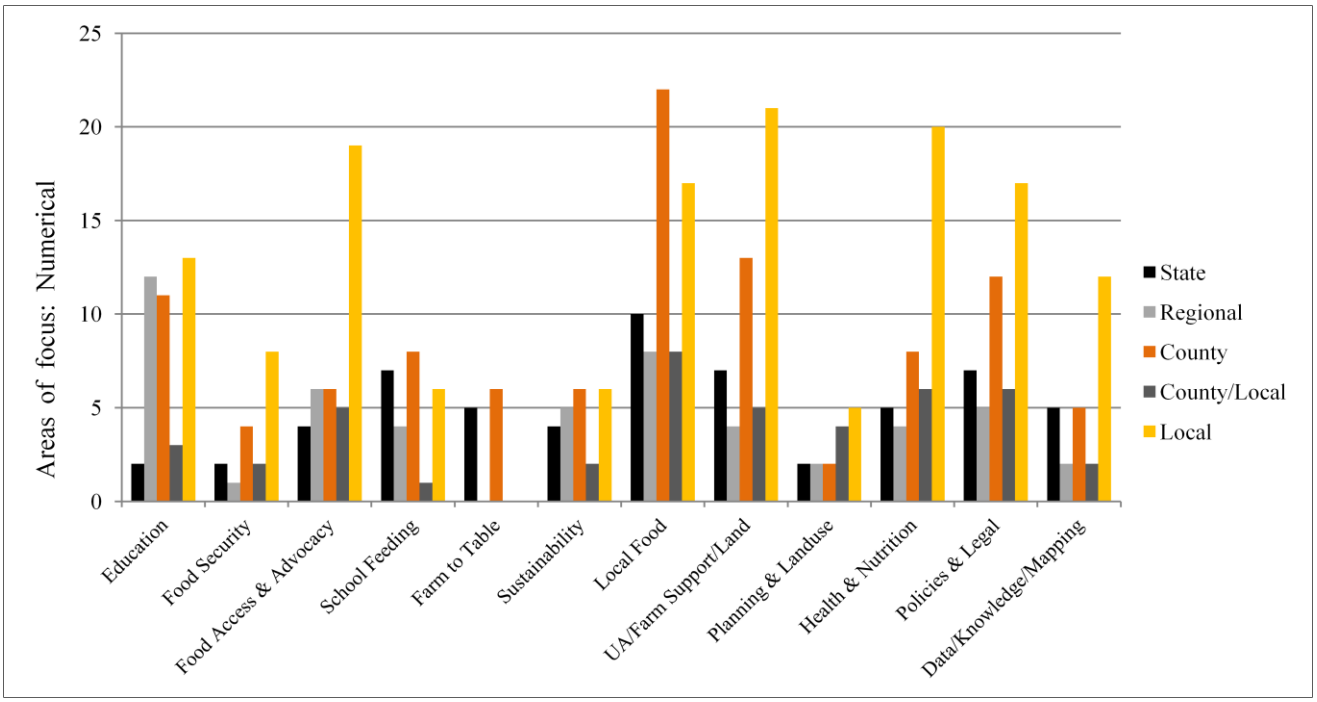
Area of focus	Detail	Frequency
Education	Dietary and wider food system education programmes including food preparation and food knowledge skills.	41
Food security	Ensuring suitable food is available and accessible specifically within vulnerable communities (excluding food desert and corner shop programmes).	17
Food access and advocacy	Wider food system advocacy interventions including specific work on food retail including food deserts and convenience store food options.	40
School feeding	Attention to school meals. Advocacy on beverages available at schools. School level food education and practice and local school meal produce procurement.	26
Farm to table programmes	Specific programmes, initiatives and structures to support local farmers and enables sales to community.	11
Sustainability	Wide range of sustainability issues specifically food issues within town/cities wider sustainability agenda.	23
Local food initiatives	Specific focus on local food, regional and seasonal diets. Mechanisms to support local food system.	65
Production focus[34]	Aspects focussing on local production and associated support mechanisms including soil and water testing, farmer support, etc. (not policy and zoning issues)	50
Planning issues and land use	New zoning to enable food approach or zoning to protect land. Food sensitive planning and associated food driven spatial issues.	15
Health and nutrition	Food access and utilisation questions. Also focus on addressing poor and bad nutrition drivers.	43
Policy interventions and legal issues	Array of policy and legal aspects including by-law advocacy, exclusion zones (near schools), responding to higher scale or top down policies and agreements.	47
Data, mapping and food system knowledge generation	Ongoing work to build a more resilient food system and food governance structure – knowledge seen as valuable currency in FPC process.	26

(Source: Authors own analysis of CFSC data)

Table 4.1: Food policy council areas of focus and frequency recorded

[34] Including urban agriculture, farm support and land access.

The areas of focus were organised according to the scale of the specific food policy council. Figure 4.2 reflects the extent of focus per area at specific scales when considered numerically.



(Own Calculations: n=176)

Figure 4.2: Area of focus by scale

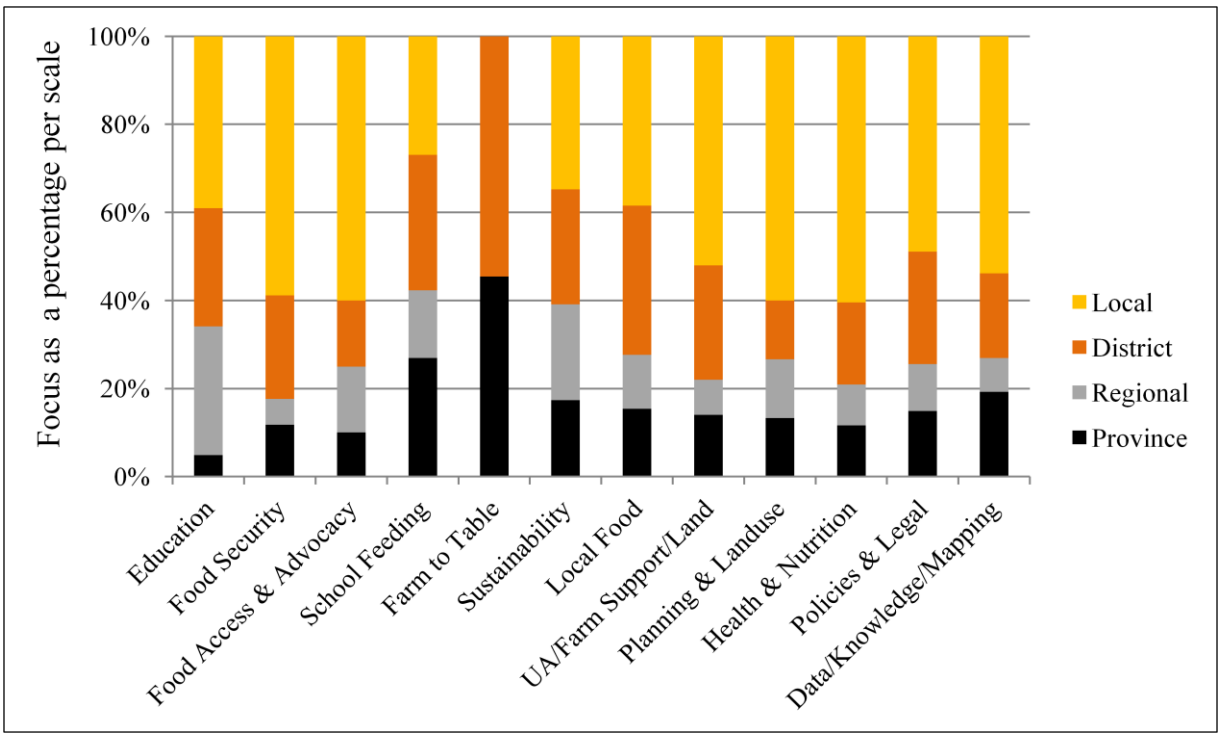
It is necessary to clarify some of the spatial terms used. *State* refers to a US state and could be compared in governance and authority to a province in South Africa. However, as South Africa does not function as a federal democracy, it is argued that the power relationships between the nation state and the province, coupled with the current policy of cadre deployment, skews power in favour of the nation state. The notion of a regional scale rating reflects a case where programmes and actions of the FPC cross US state boundaries or have a specific focus in more than one state. *County* refers to the US equivalent of a district council or district municipality and the use of the description *County/Local* reflects aspects where towns, generally small towns and counties cooperate in FPC actions and where all groups share equal representation and voice on the FPC. *Local* refers to specific town or city scale activities and focus.

Shifts in how the food system is governed and the dilution – some argue exit (Barker, 2007; Holt-Gimenez and Patel, 2009) – of the state from food system governance has resulted in a food policy vacuum at the urban scale. The restructuring of the food system associated

with the third food regime (McMichael, 2009) has also meant that power in the food system is exerted in ways that may not necessarily respond to the needs of specific localities or communities (Patel, 2007). The current food policy regime is one where national governments generally act to enable the activities of the key third food regime actors (Holt-Gimenez and Patel, 2009). As Koc and Bas (2012) suggest, this has resulted in an unburdening of both markets and governments when faults in this system emerge. The hierarchical nature of policy implementation, with national policies cascading through different governance scale to local and city government mean that cities are generally merely implementers of polices designed to respond to needs other than those specific to a particular locality. This scenario was highlighted in interviews with Fisher (2013) and MacRae (2013) and was explained by Fisher (2013): "If the national government passes a specific ruling that may be in the national interest but undermines the interests of the state, one may see the emergence of a state-scaled grouping to counter such actions". Fisher further explained that in the case of the US food system, dependant on different state legislation, often cities have no food mandate other than certain public health, school feeding and zoning mandates. Argued differently, in the case of the US and Canada, "no city or state has an agency devoted explicitly to food, nor are there federal Departments of Food" (Harper et al, 2009: 17). The result of this is that local government action simply reinforces national policies. Yet, it is often the cities that have to respond to the faults within the food system (MacRae and Donahue, 2013). The statement by Winne that "the two main purposes for Food Policy Councils are to coordinate work in all the sectors within the food system of a specific geographic area and to influence policy" (Winne, in Harper, 2009: 19) suggests that the role of locally focused food governance structures, particularly food policy council is to serve as a counter balance against absent or poorly structured (national) food policies. This argument is supported further by Harper et al (2009) who add four other key areas of FPC focus: a forum for discussing food issues; foster coordination between sectors in the food system; to evaluate and influence policy, and; launch or support programs and services that address local [food system] needs (Harper et al, 2009: 19).

These counter-balance actions are evident in Figure 4.2 highlighting the distribution and scales at which different actions are taking place. Areas of focus emerge in response to specific challenges but are further determined by the most appropriate scale at which interventions should take place, often influenced by how that scale engages with national food policy structures; or the absence thereof (Fisher, 2013). These aspects are evidenced

through specific areas of focus on policies and legal issues, or on health and nutrition at the local scale. Here the FPCs generally focus on countering impositions directed via a higher hierarchical scale. Examples include towns responding to state enabled fast food outlet growth or attempts to protect local food retail stores from larger national chains (Cook, 2013). The importance of the focus to a particular group or scale is a primary motivator for the formation of such FPC groups. The best scale of focus consideration is clearly demonstrated in the prominence of the local food focus at the county scale, specifically in the context of localised food production (see Figure 4.3). As production space is limited at the local scale and as economies of scale are arguably not necessarily present at the local scale, the most opportune scale would be that of the county (district). The prominence of education at a regional scale was attributed to initiatives to build knowledge of regional foods, the seasonal benefits and to counter the impact of national food chains on regional economies. To reiterate further, these actions are generally emerging as a counter to either current hierarchical policy or a policy vacuum at a particular scale.



(Percentage n=176)

Figure 4.3: Area of focus as a percentage using South African scale terms

This notion of scale-oriented applicability is evident when the South African scale terminologies are applied. Figure 4.3 depicts these scales reflecting the percentage focus at each of the different areas of focus. Figure 4.3 reflects the same areas of focus discussed in

Figure 4.2 but for comparability the term applied to scale of the area of focus has been changed to reflect South African governance scales. Instead of reflecting the areas of focus numerically, Figure 4.3 reflects the distribution, across scales, of the different focus areas, measured as a percentage for that area of focus.

Of particular interest was to understand how different areas of focus attracted greater prominence at different scales. This was considered important as this thesis sought to understand food oriented actions at the urban scale. While the urban scale is the key area of focus, scale is relational and as such, being able to identify the scales at which other areas of focus became important was also deemed useful. Clear differences in the area of focus and scale were evident, some aspects being understandably aligned to different mandates in different spheres of government; such as farm to table being the domain of county/district or state/province structures.

Figure 4.3 reflects the dominance of focus at the local level and offers insight into the distribution of the areas of intervention. Clearly the local scale is where the majority of food system governance actions (in the form of FPCs) are taking place. From these findings it is argued that in the case of the US food policy councils reviewed, there is a changing role played by cities in food governance. It is important to note that this does not imply a distinct focus on localisation or the privileging of the local over other scales. Rather, the evidence suggests that the local is subject to the consequences of faults within the food system and is one of the areas where society can respond to or engage in these faults through locally driven initiatives. These initiatives determine how the local engages with the wider food system flows as opposed to trying to insulate themselves from the food system flows - as other forms of localisation may denote.

The local scale focus provides insights into the changes in food system engagement at the city or town scale. However, a few matters of interest are worth highlighting when the actions at the other scales are considered.

The regional FPCs generally cross state borders and work within a specific watershed or designated regional area. The focus of the regional FPCs on education and sustainability speak to approaches that seek to generate and transfer information about nutrition, health and sustainability. For the regional FPC grouping there is no formal government-oriented administrative structure with which to engage. The absence of an administrative structure will determine the nature of the governance structure of the FPCs. The county (district) scale of

operation demonstrated a strong focus on local food and particularly agriculturally-oriented activities, protecting or preserving local agricultural systems, the local value chain (farm to table) and issues such as farmer support and enabling policy and legal frameworks to secure local food processes and structures. One of the actions noted at the county scale was to facilitate smaller independent farms access to government driven procurement, specifically being directed to school feeding. This process was argued as essential in ensuring ongoing viability of county level local food producers. The County/Local typology required its own classification as these groups often operated outside the city or county structure but most importantly, their primary focus was on linkages between the local and the county. This group is different to the county focus described above which operated as a cohesive unit. Specifically, the county/local group operated under the recognition of the structural differences (and sometimes power differences) between county and local, and sought ways to align these.

Focus	Province (State)	Regional	District/ (County)	Local (City)	Total actions
Education	2	12	11	**16**	41
Food security	2	1	4	**10**	17
Food access and advocacy	4	6	6	**24**	40
School Feeding	7	4	8	**7**	26
Farm to table	5	0	6	**0**	11
Sustainability	4	5	6	**8**	23
Local food	10	8	22	**25**	65
UA/Farm support/Land	7	4	13	**26**	50
Planning and land-use	2	2	2	**9**	15
Health and nutrition	5	4	8	**26**	43
Policies and legal	7	5	12	**23**	47
Data/Knowledge/Mapping	5	2	5	**14**	26
	60	53	103	**188**	404

(Source: Extracted from Figure 4.3)

Table 4.2: Local areas of focus and predominance

Table 4.2 highlights the extent of individual areas of focus recorded in the analysis of the CFSC FPC review. What this reflects is that at the local scale, a wide variety of food system interventions are taking place. This supports the point made by Winne that the role of a FPC is to "coordinate work in all the sectors within the food system of a specific geographic area and to influence policy" (Winne, 2009). Informed by the point made by

MacRae and Donahue (2013) that the local scale encounters the food system challenges most directly and in the most pronounced manner, it is suggested that it is at the local scale where the widest variety of actions are needed. This finding supports the argument made by Hatfield that "food policy has established itself as an important consideration for local government. Food systems are fundamentally linked to issues such as health, equity, environmental sustainability, and economic development, and the emergence of food policy programs over recent years reflect their value at the municipal level"(Hatfield, 2012: 1). The CFSC review suggests that when areas of focus are considered, 46.5 percent of all actions of the reviewed US FPCs are at the local or city scale. As per Table 4.2, at the local scale the key areas of intervention are food security, issues of food access and food advocacy, a focus on enabling urban agriculture or similar forms of local production, health and nutrition and the policy and legal frameworks to enable better local food access. The focus on knowledge, policies and legal frameworks and issues associated with planning reflect a trend confirmed within the literature on the importance, currency and apolitical value of contextually informed knowledge specific to local food systems (Dahlberg, 1999; Roberts, 2001; MacRae and Donahue, 2013).This fact was further confirmed in interviews (Rocha, 2013; MacRae, 2013; Fisher, 2013). Knowledge generation is a key aspect of urban food governance actions. It is only once this knowledge has been gathered and supported by an appropriate level of analysis that effective programmes and actions can be initiated. This knowledge also becomes valuable currency in both legitimising the FPC work but also enables the FPCs to transcend managerial and even political transitions (Dahlberg, 1999).

In 2012 a review titled "City Food Policy and Programs: Lessons Harvested from an Emerging Field" (Hatfield, 2012) examined 13 city-scale food policy councils. The 13 FPCs reflected the local areas of focus detailed in Figure 4.3 and Table 4.2. Two additional areas of focus were evident. These included Mobile Vending and Local Economic Development (Hatfield, 2012: 2). Mobile vending was an area of focus for two reasons. Firstly mobile vending facilities had traditionally been facilities where generally fried and often unhealthy food was served. Cities which provided an operating licence for these mobile vending services were using this licensing authority to drive healthier food service options (Cook, 2013). Secondly, particularly in the context of areas designated as food deserts, mobile vending was seen as a means with which to enable access to fresh produce and healthy food options by taking these foods to these food-isolated communities, with varying measures of success (Cook, 2013; Emanuel, 2013). The economic development component reflected a

trend where food system related activities were seen as opportunities to create or facilitate new economic opportunities, often in response existing structures that were either not delivering or were being rejected as a food system offering (Fisher, 2013).

The actions and areas of focus of the FPCs imply a measure of strategic decision-making, a process whereby groups with either designated or assumed authority come together to strategise about where food system focus needs to be applied. Although a particular food system issue may assist in bringing a group of concerned citizens together, the trend described in the literature (Dahlberg, 1999; Winne, 2009; Hatfield, 2012) is more strategic. The general dissatisfaction with the functioning of the food system prompts the formation of structures that either assume a mandate or acquire a mandate (through different legitimising processes to be discussed later), to respond to food system failures in a strategic manner. These groups then adopt certain governance structures. The governance typology that is assumed by these groups is of interest as it highlights how roles are understood but also, the levels of cooperation with other governance structures, particularly government (at a variety of scales).

For their review of the innovations that drove and continue to drive local Canadian food policy structures, specifically the structures that enabled local food governance innovation, MacRae and Donahue (2013) use the phrase "food policy entrepreneurs" and describe these as reflecting a process whereby

> initiatives and or individuals with limited resources, but often considerable knowledge and social capital, leverage their expertise to effect change in ways that aren't necessarily common to traditional interpretations of food policy work. Such leveraging occurs in multiple domains, beyond economic development, and includes social and health policy change.
>
> (2013: 34)

The term "food policy entrepreneurs" and particularly "entrepreneurs' has been used in diverse ways within wider debates, specifically in reference to governance. Aspects specific to urban food governance were detailed in Chapter 2. More generally, Harvey was cited suggesting that the Fordist-oriented governance approaches of the 1960s had given way to liberalised forms of governance "entrepreneurialism" (Harvey, 1989: parenthesis added). Harvey's perspective both is, and is not, evident in the preceding statement and perspectives

offered by MacRae and Donahue. The need for the emergence of food policy entrepreneurs is driven, at least in part, by the absence of local food-focused governance structures, structures that were originally enabled through inclusive (generally Keynesian) local government. The liberalising trend in local government has resulted in a food policy (and food related remedial action) vacuum. The locally-focused FPCs, both those observed through the immersive research process and the CFSC FPCs (Annexure 1) detailing specific motivations for their formation (for example; Portland, Seattle, Philadelphia, Baltimore) were not following the liberalised ethos described by Harvey but were seeking greater levels of inclusivity and seeking ways to counter inequalities within the food system. Speaking to the broader food system actions of food policy councils Winne argues that "citizens working in concert with policy oriented organisations like Food Policy Councils can steer government in a new direction" (Winne, 2009: 15). The new direction is one that focuses on a number of food system-related issues but an inclusive food system is central to the FPC processes. By way of examples, in the review of 13 North American city food policy councils Hatfield (2012) cites access and equity as one of the key areas of focus of FPC (Hatfield, 2012). Blay-Palmer borrows from Fainstein (2006) linking Toronto's food policy work with the notion of a "just city" substantiating this with the statement that "the Toronto Food Policy Council voted to cite 'hunger' and social justice issues as the number one priority" (Blay-Palmer, 2009: 7). Food Policy Councils initiate actions for different reasons but issues of equity and what was termed food justice (Fisher, 2013) were certainly argued to be motivators for the formation of FPCs (Fisher, 2013; MacRae, 2013). It could thus be suggested that apart from a general challenge with wider food system functions, one of the motivations for the formation of FPCs is that the trickle-down notion associated with liberal economic theory is not delivering the espoused benefit for many urban citizen.[35]

The FPCs are playing a role where government should be actively participating. Many city governments are now active, in one way or another, in FPCs. However, the new forms of FPC-driven governance have often become necessary as a result of the formal erosion of the city (or government in general) from food planning and governance areas, areas in which the city was previously active.

The review of the food policy councils necessitated a descriptive framing of the governance structures (Table 4.3). The governance framing was essential as the governance

[35] A debate questioning whether food policy councils are in effect assuming the roles of the state, deepening liberal economic actions, will be addressed later in this chapter.

structures reflected the role of government, society and other stakeholders in the process. The different governance typologies elucidated the dynamics of a particular group (FPC). More importantly, the relational dynamics between that group and existing city governance structures is evident in the governance typology.

Governance typology	Description
Municipality driven	These food policy initiatives are financed by the municipality and directed by municipal staff with advice from external groups. The municipal government sets the mandate and provides financing and staff resources. They are housed within existing municipal government units.
Hybrid governance with direct government links	These food policy initiatives are a hybrid of civil society organisations and government with a conduit to decision makers through municipal council, and with municipal financing, political champions, and supportive staff. They are characterised by formal municipal endorsements, structural links, and accountability to a government body.
Hybrid governance with indirect government links	A hybrid of civil society organisations and government, but with fewer formal attachments and lower levels of financing and government staffing arrangements. The conduit to council is less direct, via departments and government staff. The linkages with government are still significant, but less so than the above hybrid version. Reduced or no links to political champions.
Links to government via a secondary agent	Not formally connected to government, but linked through secondary agencies. They may have important ties to government (such as a municipally endorsed food charter) or receive some government grants.
Civil society organisation with limited and informal government links	A civil society organisation or project committee, on which government officials may participate. The organisation may receive some government grants.
Independent organisations with no government links	No formal connection to government and do not seek to partner with government or receive funding. The initiatives, however, are developing a clearer structure and the ability to engage government in food system change.

(Source: MacRae and Donahue, 2013: 8)

Table 4.3: Food policy governance typologies

This relationship offered insights into the extent of food governance participation by government groups, particularly city governments. Often the governance structure determines the managerial capacity and governance ability to entrench change.

Using these governance framings proposed by MacRae and Donahue (2013), two distinct groups of food policy councils were assessed. The first were the 176 food policy structures within the CFSC. The second group were the 64 place-specific Canadian food governance structures. The use of the food governance typologies described in Table 4.3 enabled an understanding of the different governance approached evident within each of the countries but also provided insights into the difference in governance dimensions when comparing Canada and the United States. As the CFSC data have been discussed, this review will continue with these data, followed by a review of the Canadian structures.

Governance within the United States FPCs spanned all government scales with areas of greater activity being evident at specific scales. Table 4.4 reflects the diverse mix of governance approaches across all scales.

Governance	**State**	**Regional**	**County**	**County/ Local**	**Local**	**Total**
Government Driven	11	1	7	5	7	31
Hybrid with DIRECT gov. Links	4	3	5	4	11	27
Hybrid with INDIRECT gov. Links	2	1	5	0	6	14
Linked to gov. via secondary agent	3	1	3	0	2	9
Civil Soc. with some gov. links	2	6	4	1	8	21
No links to gov. (Independent)	3	11	13	4	20	51
Not listed	2	4	6	3	8	23
Total	**27**	**27**	**43**	**17**	**62**	

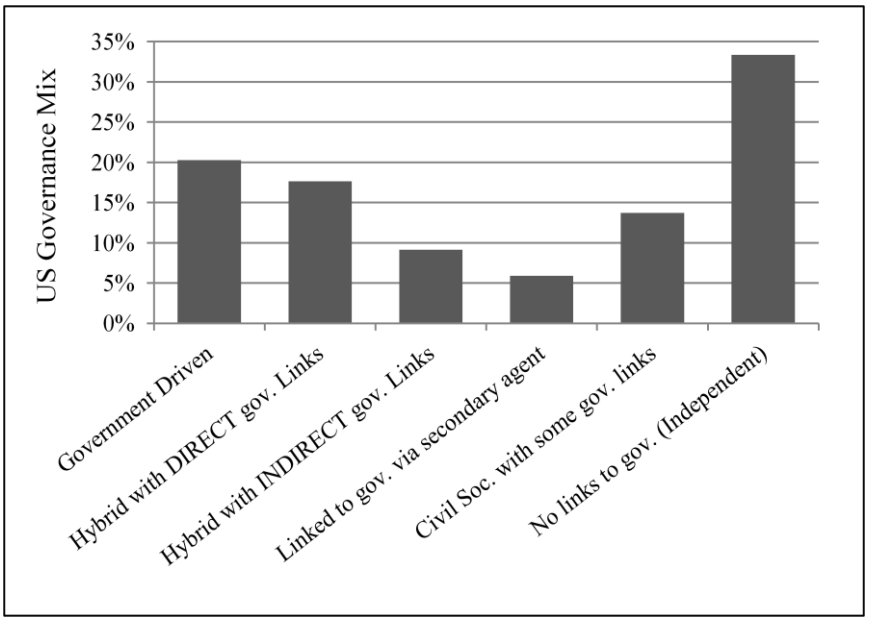
(n=176)

Table 4.4: US food policy council governance/scale comparison

When considering the governance typologies applied, it was necessary to be cognisant of two factors. The first is that at the US state scale, the ability to organise requires convening authority, a coherent mandate and often, funding that enables operations at such an extensive scale. For this reason the government driven group dominates at the US state scale. Secondly, at the regional scale, there are limited government structures present to convene and lead processes but also limited such groups with which to engage. What this implies is that the

groups operating at this scale are often issue-focused, limiting the scope of their operations. Due to the absence of specific government structure at this scale, civil society and independent groups dominate. Finally, as is evident in Table 4.4, at the local/county scale the trend observed is that the majority of structures are generally government and hybrid government or independently governed with only limited other forms of governance evident. In explaining this, Fisher (2013) suggested that this is often due to groups being convened for two reasons. Groups forming as a result of local/county government collaboration in order to respond to issues specific to the intersections of local and county, or in the case of independent groups, these often champion a particular issue, often in opposition to the work of the local and county structures.

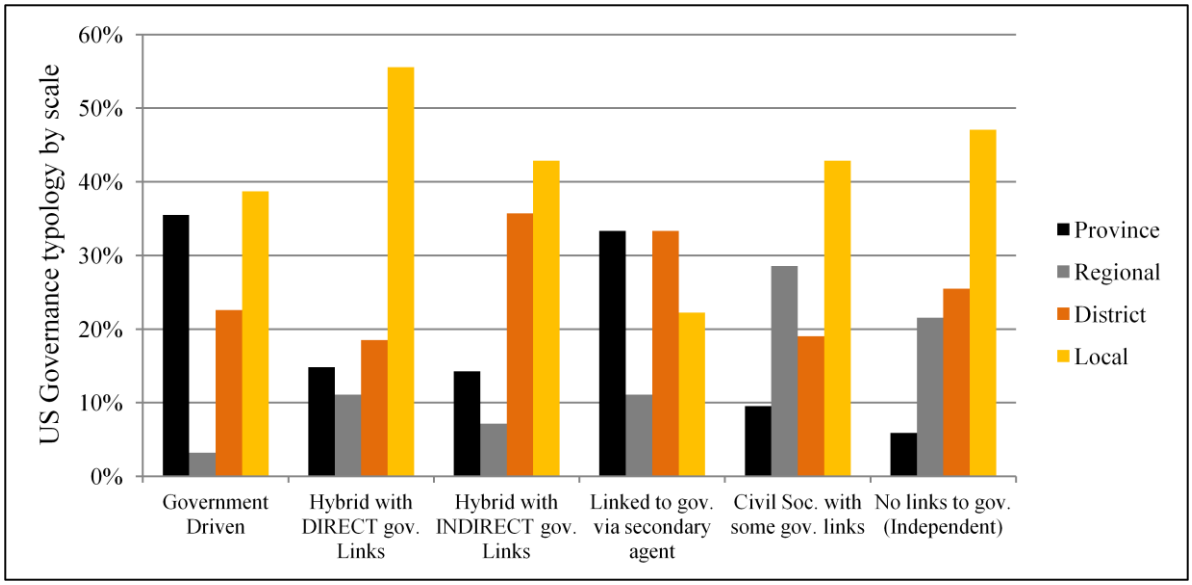
Overall, what is clear from the US FPC structures is that there are two evident trends applicable to the governance of scale-oriented governance groups. One trend is of groups seeking independence, while another group is generally structured from within government or reflects groups actively seeking government partnerships. The distribution of governance approaches is detailed in Figure 4.4. For ease of later comparison, the Figure has been tabulated using only reported governance structures; the *not-listed* line detailed in Table 4.4 was not included in this assessment.



(n=153)

Figure 4.4: CFSC governance approach distribution (US)

The data were then reviewed in accordance with scale determinants applicable in South Africa, calculated as a percentage per area of governance. In this analysis, the local scale appears to be reflected in most typologies with independent groups and groups with direct government links dominating. At the state/province scale, government driven typologies dominate but also evident are civil society groups with some government links. Regional structures reflect a greater inclination to independent governance as motivated earlier. Perhaps most evident is the local dominance in the hybrid governance structure with direct government links (Figure 4.5).



(n=153)

Figure 4.5: Governance typologies across scales as a percentage of typology (US)

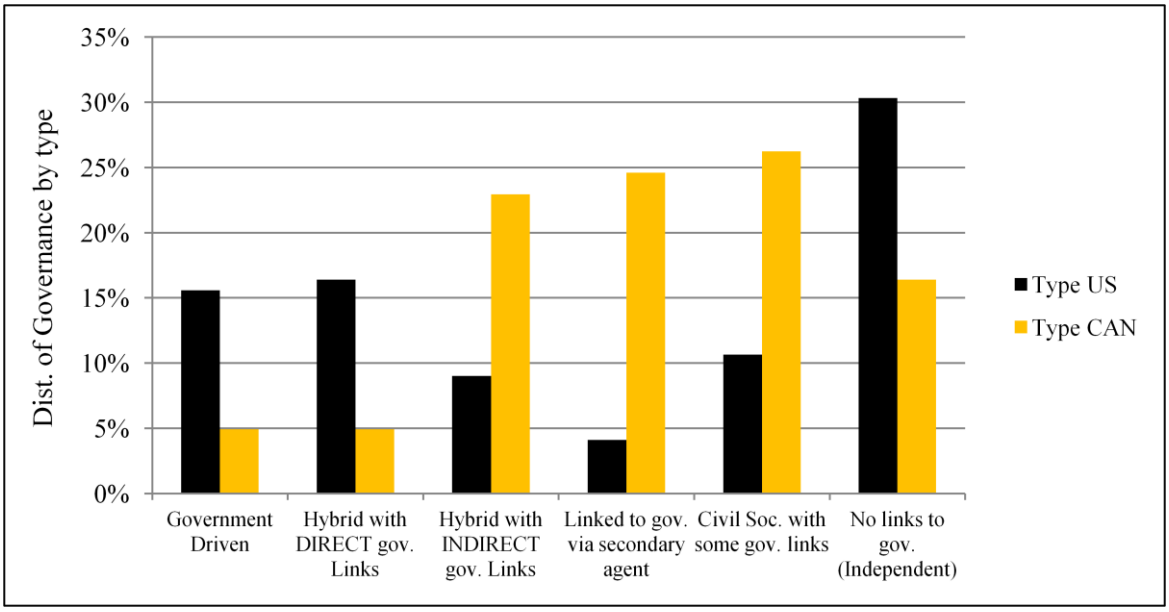
The governance review reflected trends specific to the United States food policy structures. Within the Canadian context food policy councils and local food governance emerged in the late 1980s. More recently, the activation of local food policy councils has increased substantially and can be considered a distinct food system trend (see Figure 4.1). Informed by the extent of FPC formations in recent years, these are understood to have evolved in a very specific context. The Canadian case reflects one of urban areas being the primary scale of action, seeking to engage in the food issue through both a right to food obligation and more generally, a public health determination.

4.2.1.2. US/Canadian comparison

In an effort to understand the Canadian governance approaches and to then enable a comparison between Canadian and US structures, the 176 US and 64 Canadian Food Policy Councils were compared in accordance with governance approaches described by MacRae and Donahue (2013). Prior to detailing and comparing the governance structures, it is necessary to explain why no analysis of areas of focus has been carried out in the Canadian context. The reason for this is that data for areas of focus in Canada are detailed collectively for all Canadian FPCs. This is done in the work of MacRae and Donahue (2013) and aligns to similar areas of focus as detailed in Hatfield (2012), as discussed earlier. A review of the focus of Canadian FPCs was carried out and found to align with the evidence reported for Canadian FPCs by MacRae and Donahue (2013) and the Canadian cities reviewed by Hatfield (2012). The need and potential utility of such a further review was limited as over 95 percent of the Canadian FPCs were urban scale FPCs thus reducing the comparability opportunity that was evident in the US CFSC data.

On considering the Canadian structures, a primary difference is immediately apparent. Almost all Canadian food policy councils operate at the city scale. Of the 64 food policy structures listed by MacRae and Donahue (2013: 16), 61 function at the city scale (with one being at the county scale and two being regional). A further distinct difference is that there is a clear geographic distribution of food policy structures within Canada. While most Canadian provinces reflect a few FPCs, the overwhelming majority are located in Ontario and British Columbia, collectively making up 87.5 percent of the total structures with British Columbia dominating with 35 (of 64) formal structures reported.

The predominance of urban scale FPCs within the Canadian case meant that in order to make an effective comparison between the US and Canada, the state and regional councils were removed from both structures. This meant that the Canadian governance comparison was measured on 61 FPCs while the US was measured according to 105 structures.



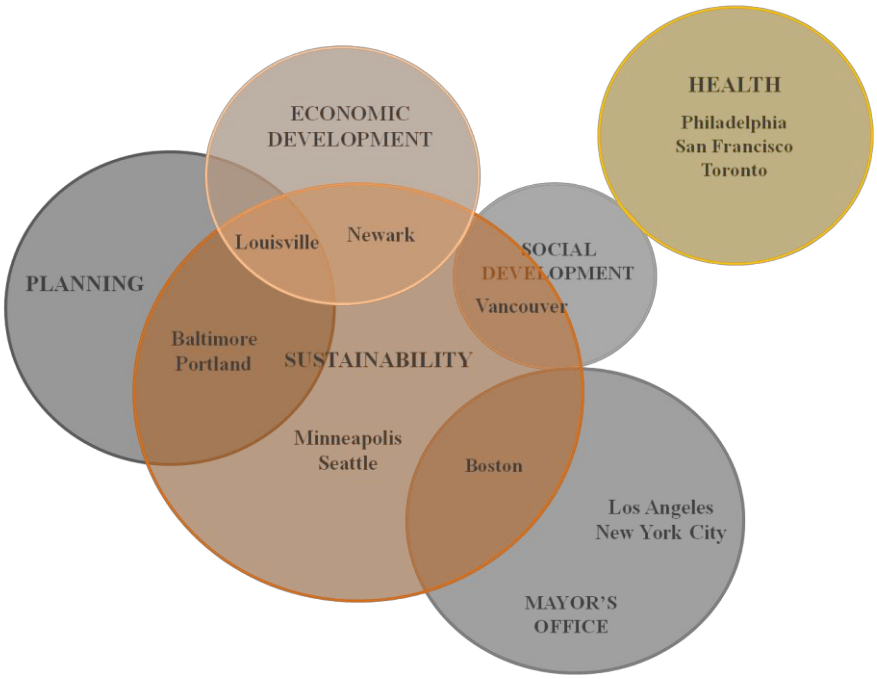
(US n= 105 and Canadian[CAN] n=61)

Figure 4.6: US/Canadian FPC governance regimes

Figure 4.6 reflects the difference in approaches to governance when the US and Canadian FPCs are compared. It is evident that the Canadian structures reflect a far greater level of partnership in the governance of the food policy structures (Figure 4.6). While all governance typologies are present, the majority of groups could be considered to reflect a greater level of civil society participation with government playing a facilitative and convening role as opposed to a leadership role. This trend reflects greater partnership and collaboration between groups, something that is evidenced by the fact that there are 45% less independent groups in Canada as opposed to the US. The governance trend, one that reflects a far greater level of collaboration within the Canadian case, was termed pluralistic governance by Koc and Bas (2012).

As part of the comparison between the US and Canadian cities, the work of Hatfield (2012) comparing the 13 North American cities reflects the government departments to which the FPCs reported or were housed. These 13 FPCs all held close ties with city government, with a number of the groups being government led. The city departments and cities were reflected graphically to show both the departmental champion but also the extent of overlap with other departments (Figure 4.7). When comparing the city government departments, there is no clear trend and FPCs and city governments locate their governance structures in departments that suit the particular city contexts, politics and dynamics best. What is also clear from Figure 4.7 is how the dominant alignment to issues of sustainability reflects a link

between the food system and the mutually reinforcing transitions. In this context, Hatfield positions health as disconnected from the wider sustainability actions. This practice is questioned as public health is a critical sustainability question and could be reflected as aligned to sustainability governance, a central narrative within the TFPC functions observed.



(Source: Hatfield, 2012: 16)

Figure 4.7: Bureaucratic location of food policy programmes

The North American approaches to local food governance, particularly at the urban scale, have emerged as a food system trend, one that has influenced a number of other cities globally. While the nature, scale of influence and the uptake of urban food governance and programmatic actions may differ, other developed world cities are accelerating urban food governance interventions. These interventions, in the main, focused on the urban scale, reflect similar pluralistic governance approaches to those reviewed in North America. Food systems connect society to issues such as health, equity, environmental sustainability, and economic development. The emergence of food policy programs over the past 20 years reflects their value at the municipal level (Hatfield, 2012: 1). Coupled with this value, the governance processes reviewed in the North American cases highlight an emerging trend where, in many instances, citizens are playing an active role in urban food governance. How this role is facilitated and the scale of engagement is driven by contextual needs. City governments however, have an immediate role to play in this process. The emergence of urban food governance processes in other developed world cities reflects the opportunities that such

processes offer. As with the North American cities, other developed world cities, specifically in Europe, all respond to the specific contextual informants of their localities.

4.3. International city food governance approaches

The pluralistic food policy council trend is being adopted elsewhere, particularly in European and certain Australian[36] cities. Other forms of urban food governance are also evident with some cities in South America adopting innovative urban food governance approaches. These South American cities have engaged with food system governance in a different way to that of the North American examples reviewed. The next section will first reflect on some of the European city examples. This will be followed by a review of two South American cities.

4.3.1. European city food governance interventions

The City of Bristol is argued to be one of the first cities in the United Kingdom to have established a food policy council (BCC, 2010). Rome and Amsterdam have also established urban food governance processes and structures, both with limited success (Sonnino, 2009; Dingemans, 2012).[37] However, in The Netherlands, a number of food policy or food strategy groups are emerging, specifically in towns such as Utrecht, Lelystad, Groningen-Assen, Maastricht, and Rotterdam (Dingemans, 2012). The European cities engaging with urban food governance approaches recognise organising participatory processes and governance and the assessment of the existing food system as essential interventions (Moragues et al, 2013: 16-19).

In discussing the Amsterdam's *Proeftuin Amsterdam* project, Wiskerke (2009:381) describes it as "first and foremost a political initiative". Dingemans's critical review of the Proeftuin Amsterdam process and approach found that it embodied a middle class understanding of the food system and food system challenge, focussing on elite ideological

[36] Most prominent in Australia is Melbourne with a number of actions evident in Sydney. See http://www.goodfood.com.au/good-food/food-news/sydneys-real-food-heroes-20130610-2nzlk.html and http://sydneyfoodfairness.org.au/

[37] Rome's success is questioned here as a result of the inability for certain programmatic components to transcend political change as detailed by Sonnino (2009).

views associated with organic and local foods and ignored the critical needs of those disenfranchised by the food system, those who were physically and nutritionally food insecure (Dingemans, 2012).

In the United Kingdom, The City of London established the London Food Board. The actions of the food board reflect a project-related approach quite removed from the participatory ethos of a FPC. However, the London Food Board (LFB) has been able to straddle two charismatic mayors, both of whom have seen the LFB as an essential urban governance initiative. While there is a broad level of representation on the LFB, the London Food Strategy is driven through the mayor's office, reflecting a predominantly government role and motivation in this process.

Bristol in the United Kingdom arguably has the most established and active FPC structure. The city has developed the Bristol Food Charter (BCC, 2010) and published reports such as "Who Feeds Bristol" (Carey, 2011) described as "a baseline study of the food system that serves Bristol and the Bristol city region" (Carey, 2011: 1). The Bristol Food Charter (BCC, 2010) informs the mandate of the Bristol Food Policy Council. Bristol is argued to reflect a number of the core themes evident in some of the longer standing North American FPCs, particularly in terms of focus, the role of politics, the role of research and understanding the system and greater attention to food system failures as opposed to food ideologies of specific classes of society – access to healthy and nutritious food for the vulnerable and disadvantaged. The Bristol FPC also reflects a pluralistic form of governance.

Moragues et al (2013) reviews a number of European city-led food governance initiatives including Bristol. Additional cities include Malmö in Sweden, focussing on reducing the environmental impact of food. This involved supporting and enhancing local food production, reducing meat consumption, promoting animal welfare and facilitating local procurement through school feeding programmes. The city of Tukums in Latvia engaged in a lengthy consultative process in the development of a food strategy for the city. Different meetings were convened with different sectors of the food system (including consumers) present at the different meetings. Consultation is ongoing. The Brighton and Hove Food Partnership is constituted as a not-for-profit organisation and is governed by a board with specifically designated positions held for public health officials and other seats aligned to the values of The Brighton and Hove Food Partnership. Other cities and towns included Vitoria-Gasteiz in Spain, Todmorden in the United Kingdom, Vienna and Rennes. The different cities

prioritise different areas, often aligned to specific food system needs. As with the FPC examples in North America, a central tenant of the European food system engagement is the partnership structures between key support stakeholders such as academics, city government and city residents.

The food governance approaches that are emerging in certain South American cities reflect a different approach. While partnerships and support from key stakeholders remains an important factor, governance, and leadership of the process is being driven by city management. Here what is emerging is the formation of a "City Department of Food" (or secretariat in this case) cited as being absent in the North American case (Harper et al, 2009: 17).

4.3.2. Two South American city food governance approaches

The urban food governance trends in South America show a different trajectory to those of the North American examples. One of the key areas of difference is the direct role played by city governments in these processes. Perhaps the best known of these is Belo Horizonte in Brazil. Other cities elsewhere in South America are responding to the urban food challenge. The second city that will be discussed is Bogotá in Colombia. As Belo Horizonte is known for its role in the formation of the wider Brazilian *Fome Zero* (Zero Hunger) strategy, this will be discussed in some detail. Bogotá will be discussed with the intention of highlighting certain activities and providing some insights where similar processes to those of Belo Horizonte have occurred. Both Belo Horizonte and Bogotá reflect developing city challenges. "Bogotá is the second-to-most inequitable city in South America with a [2012 reported] Gini coefficient of 0.61" (Ashe and Sonnino, 2013: 1024), the same as the 2005 Gini coefficient for Belo Horizonte (Rocha and Lessa, 2009: 396).

Belo Horizonte will be discussed first followed by a brief narrative on Bogotá.

Belo Horizonte has received considerable of attention, partly due to the role that this programme played in some of the overarching policy approaches adopted by the Lula government when it came to power in Brazil in 2003.

In Brazil food is a right of citizenship (Barker, 2007). When the Workers' Party (PT – *Partido dos Trabalhadores*) came to power in 1993, as the new city government of Belo Horizonte, it sought ways to endorse and guarantee the attainment of this right and established the Secretariat for Food Policy and Supply (*Secretaria Municipal Adjunta de Abastecimento*—SMAAB). Belo Horizonte is a town located within the Southern region of Brazil and has a population of over 2, 5 million in the city specifically and over 5 million in its greater metropolitan area (Gerster-Bentaya et al, 2011). In the 1990s 18 percent of the city's children below five years of age suffered some degree of malnutrition (Rocha and Lessa, 2009: 392). SMAAB initially sought to engage in the food challenge along three programmatic lines. The first encompassed policies geared to assist poor families and individuals at risk through supplementation of their food consumption needs. The second was directed at the private sector in the food trade, seeking to bring food to areas of the city previously neglected by commercial outlets. Attempts to increase food production and supply formed the third line of action (Rocha and Lessa, 2009, 390). As of 2009 programmes at SMAAB are described under six main programmatic areas of focus: Subsidised food sales, food and nutrition assistance, supply and regulation of food markets, support to urban agriculture, education for food consumption, and job and income generation (Rocha and Lessa, 2009: 391).

Two distinct aspects are evident in the Belo Horizonte case. Firstly, at no time has the Belo Horizonte food and nutrition support programme cost the city more than 2 percent of the city operating budget (Göpel, 2009). This low cost to the city was enabled through the role played by the city in building partnerships and through the effective use of state funds channelled to the city-led projects and programmes. The second core trend was that the initiatives that were started in Belo Horizonte, informed by their success and ability to deliver on development imperatives, have guided state and then national policies, evident in the formation of the *Fome Zero* (Zero Hunger) strategy across Brazil (Rocha, 2013).

The case of Belo Horizonte is often described, and correctly so, as a city-led initiative. However, one of the key pillars of success within the Belo Horizonte case is the role and participation of civil society. Although initiated by city government, the establishment of the Municipal Council for Food Security (COMASA) at the start of the process provided an additional conduit for earlier social mobilisation into policy and programmes (Rocha and Lessa, 2009: 397). This provides a key insight into the narrative of the Belo Horizonte case and one that requires careful consideration when comparisons to other cities are made. In

cities where there is only limited civil society action or engagement in the food system, efforts by the city remain top down and can miss critical realities. Civil society is a key partner, as in the Belo Horizonte case. This fact will be discussed in the South African case in Chapter 5.

The inter-relationship between governance and government is also evident in the Belo Horizonte case. Despite the success, and international recognition of the SMAAB programmes, SMAAB has not yet been successful in mainstreaming food policy into city functions on a permanent basis. Changes in the city administration often jeopardise the existence of SMAAB and the attendant continuation of its programmes. Despite more than 15 years of success SMAAB's staff spend a good deal of their time and energy re-arguing the case for an integrated food policy for the city (Rocha and Lessa, 2009: 396). Civil society plays a role in supporting SMAAB in this "fight" (Rocha, 2013).

Rocha and Lessa suggest that the case of Belo Horizonte is an example of a 'builder movement' emerging from a municipal government's approaches, rather than entrepreneurial responses to an unjust and unsustainable food system (Rocha and Lessa, 2009: 398).

The Belo Horizonte case offers a number of key insights as to the different roles played by governance structures, both at the state scale and at the city scale. It further highlights the roles that other actors or agents play in urban food system processes. The history of the Belo Horizonte process is important as it stems from a particular political process but also a critique of the existing food system issues and the absence of effective remedies to mitigate these issues. The role of city government in driving this process is perhaps a key factor that requires some consideration.

Central to the case study of Belo Horizonte presented by Rocha and Lessa (2009) is one that challenges the market oriented and social entrepreneur FPC models of North America. This challenge is informed by the argument that food insecurity was seen by SMAAB as a consequence of market failures, implying that other approaches were necessary to mitigate the food security challenges. As such, the city-led programmes and initiatives did not follow conventional market logic. Rocha and Lessa question if the approaches (specifically pro-poor) applied in the Belo Horizonte case would be possible in North American FPC processes. This argument is further supported by the ethos of the Belo Horizonte process described as being one that saw the central ethos of the SMAAB processes being the realisation of the right to food. In so doing, these processes sought to counter social

exclusion, to enhance social justice and mitigate poverty and inequality (Rocha and Lessa, 2009). The realisation of these goals was seen in practice where specific focus was paid to shifting perspectives of pro-poor food actions. Traditionally these had been seen as "poor food for poor people" (Rocha and Lessa, 2009: 398). A focus on quality food and quality service environments, such as the popular restaurants, where good quality food was served was a means with which to shift perceptions. This was suggested to have contributed to the building of trust both in the role that the city played, particularly in the context of high levels of corruption and poor service, but also in terms of how different actors in the food system were able to work together towards a common goal.

Where the Belo Horizonte case is similar to North American cases and aligns with points made by Dahlberg (1999) and MacRae (2013), is the role of leadership in driving these processes. Both the mayor of Belo Horizonte and the first director of SMAAB are credited for playing vital roles in strategising, driving and motivating the Belo Horizonte food system process. The actions of these key drivers were argued to have given the food system engagement both priority and later legitimised this through the use of knowledge, research and monitoring to inform strategy and ensure accountability by testing the outcomes (Rocha and Lessa, 2009; Rocha, 2013). These outcomes included 2009 statistics showing that since the inception of the SMAAB driven Belo Horizonte processes 25 percent fewer people lived in poverty, 75 percent fewer children under five were hospitalised for malnutrition, 40 percent of the population were directly benefitting from the programme and 40 percent of people in Belo Horizonte reported frequent intake of fruit and vegetables where the national average is just 32 percent (from Göpel, 2009).

The review of accounts of the Belo Horizonte processes (Barker, 2007; Rocha and Lessa, 2009; Göpel, 2009; Gerster-Bentaya et al, 2011) provide insights into the uniqueness of the Belo Horizonte case. The Belo Horizonte interventions were driven by city government. The role played by city government was deeply embedded in a city government-led process to enable the attainment of the right to food, a right enshrined on the Brazilian constitution (Barker, 2007). These actions were distinctly pro-poor and were motivated by the assertion that food insecurity was a symptom of food system failure. Within this context, the City saw responding to this as a constitutional and thus, policy mandate. Further, actions were informed by knowledge and detailed research which informed strategy. City government used the private sector to assist in the delivery of the programmatic goals but the private sector had to abide by the operational conditions set out by City government. This

was evident in the case of the *Abastecer* (to supply) programme where formal retailers were awarded conditional concessions to sell foodstuffs from a designated list at subsidised prices. Civil society was a key actor enabling access to certain communities but further playing a role in coordinating certain groups. Two cases reflect this, first, the role of COMASA enabling social mobilisation and second, programmes assisting in coordinating small family farmers such as the *Direto da Roça* (straight from the country) programme and the *Armazémda Roça* (country store) programmes. Finally, perhaps most unique was that fact the Belo Horizonte formed the Department for Promotion of Food Consumption and Nutrition, something few cities have done.

Due to the argued impact and other contributing factors (such as the mayor being promoted to higher levels of government) the programmes initiated at the Belo Horizonte city scale have now been included in national food access strategies, particularly in urban areas. This has meant policy and funding that enable city actions in responding to urban food system challenges (Rocha, 2013). This has meant other cities have now started to implement similar processes.

Suggesting that Belo Horizonte is the only city-led food system process or that such processes are emerging in other countries is incorrect. Other cities are starting to follow such examples. Enabling legislation in Brazil has meant that Brazilian cities are following suit (Rocha, 2013). Other South American cities are also engaging in urban food system governance activities. An area where this is evident is in the Colombian cities of Medellin and Bogotá. The following section is not a case study but a brief narrative of some of the motivations for and programmes initiated in Bogotá. The purpose of this narrative is to highlight that other cities are starting to lead food governance processes and that these processes do not follow those reviewed in the North American case.

Challenges in Colombia are primarily driven by insufficient access to food and poor food utilisation. In Bogotá in 2007, 33 percent of the population were reportedly food insecure (ICBF 2006). As a result of Colombia's historical tensions and internal conflict, many of the vulnerable were made up of Internally Displaced People. As of 2007 approximately 40 percent of internally displaced people had settled in urban areas; Bogotá received the largest number of refugees.

Bogotá used legislative measures to provide the legal framework to enable food security actions at the city scale. In 2004, the mayor of Bogotá introduced the anti-poverty

and anti-hunger campaign *Bogotá sin hambre* (Bogota´ without hunger), "these policies rest upon a foundational assertion that all people have a right to food security and that the state has the responsibility for ensuring that those rights are met" (Ashe and Sonnino, 2013: 1024). In 2008 the "Bogotá well nourished" programme[38] (*Bogotá Bien Alimentada*) was included in the development plan of the city government of Bogotá. The programme included a focus on food access, food availability, feeding practices and healthy lifestyles. A public health focus emphasised nutrition programmes and access to and utilisation of healthy environments. These objectives were facilitated through local committees for food and nutritional security. For projects made up the core thrust of the programmes; urban agriculture practices promotion, school feeding, food assistance to vulnerable pregnant women and food and nutrition security. Two programmes require mention. The first is the community kitchen programme and the second, the school feeding programme. Both programmes reflect how city led interventions actively sought to enable the realisation of the right to food.

The food and nutritional aspect of the programme was largely facilitated by a city-led initiative comprising over 310 community kitchens that offered a lunch-time meal to poor populations certified as beneficiaries by the city government. Despite criticism, the community kitchens programme enabled greater food access and reported improvements in health and further beneficial improvements in education (SDIS, 2012). In a survey conducted by City of Bogotá, 91 percent of community kitchen users felt that the service had contributed to ensuring the realisation of their right to food (SDIS, 2012).

Ashe and Sonnino explain how "cities like Bogotá are taking the lead in devising school food policies that explicitly link food security with health nutrition" (2013: 1024) and explain how Bogotá is one of the first cities to situate schools meals as part of a food security project that is "based on notions of rights, justice and equity". Of importance and linked to the Brazilian case is that Bogotá's school feeding programmes are city driven but receive the majority of funding from national government. Linked to a wider understanding of food security, including the need to address the immediate of short-term hunger challenge while at the same time combating long-term malnutrition and poor health, these programmes are strategic and go well beyond simply providing a daily meal (Ashe and Sonnino, 2013).

[38] Different translations from the original Bogotá Bien Alimentada cite the programme as Bogotá Well Fed or Bogotá Well Nourished

The reason for the use of Bogotá as an example is reflected in the approaches that have been applied. While the community kitchen programme forms part of a wider range of food system issues such as nutrition and wider public health interventions, reports (SDIS, 2012) described the approaches in a welfarist manner. When considering aspects in greater detail, the strategic approaches become more evident. Here the description of the school feeding programmes reflect longer term planning and programmes designed to counter not only hunger and immediate nutritional challenges but address longer term health and wellbeing considerations (Ashe and Sonnino, 2013). Three aspects here are of primary importance. The first is that a national legislative environment, the right to food, enabled both legitimate actions at the city scale but also assisted in releasing requisite funding from national government to support city scale programmes. Secondly, as with the case in Belo Horizonte, the role played by an influential political figure assisted in trafficking (or sponsoring) programmes and legislation. The policy foundation then enabled the release of funds to support processes. Finally, city government took a longer term view of the challenge and sought to address different issues through the focus on food. These included health, nutrition and wellbeing as well as education and indirectly aimed to address issues of inequality and social justice.

While ensuring long term political recognition and programme survival was a concern within the Belo Horizonte case, the success of the Belo Horizonte process was in how it developed long term responses to systemic food system challenges. The challenge with developing strategic interventions that take time to mature and provide a sense of delivery is that success emerges slowly. Long term processes, while ensuring a more resilient food system, do not have the "impact of immediacy" to gain political traction. Welfarist responses have this impact and are thus far more attractive to politicians.

A key factor in the Bogotá example is that the initiatives at the city scale were adopted at the national scale where they influenced national policy initiatives specific to food. In the case of Belo Horizonte, the success of the city-driven programme resulted in national policy shifts, after which resources and programmes were applied in other cities across Brazil (Rocha, 2013).

The example of Belo Horizonte specifically, and assisted through the Bogotá example, reflect city government-led initiatives. In both cities the actions were enabled through national policies or statutes entrenching to the Right to Food. Despite a number of

pressing developmental issues, such as internally displaced people in Bogotá, and high levels if inequality in Belo Horizonte, both cities focused on food, food security and nutrition. This was done through three strategic processes. Firstly, the development of policy structures to enable action, secondly, the designation of a specific department of staff to enact the policy ideals – the "City Departments of Food". Finally, the actions at the city scale were later elevated to the national scale, enabling wider action in other cities but also, and possibly more important for the specific cities, enabling a greater flow of funding via the newly established national processes to support ongoing local city-scale efforts.

4.4. Trends, themes and the role of the city

Three urban food governance trends have been identified. The first trend is the North America model of pluralistic food policy councils. The second trend is most evident in South America where a city government-led process of food governance has emerged with cities such as Belo Horizonte and Bogota offering insights into different forms of food governance, often emerging within the context of radically different overarching urban governance strategies and approaches.

The third trend is not specifically an urban governance trend but it manifests most directly in urban areas. Following Pothukuchi's (2000) statement that inaction in the food planning environment does not have neutral consequences, but rather reflects negative outcomes, the deliberate and progressive withdrawal from food governance is an urban food governance action in and of itself.

The third option will not be discussed in detail but is evident in a number of different manifestations. One such trend is a new form of welfare emerging in the United Kingdom, evidenced by the rise of food banks.[39] This trend is most evident in poor urban areas and is a direct consequence of the withdrawal of different forms of social protection within these communities. A further example of this is evident in South Africa and while not specifically urban based, is predominantly urban. This is the trend of paying out social grants within formal retail stores. This results in real changes in the urban food retail engagement and how the food system then responds to this new market and the consequences thereof.

[39] See: http://www.theguardian.com/society/2012/apr/26/food-bank-double-families-breadline

This review has considered the trends drawn from the North American FPC review and those emerging in the EU countries as well as two city-scale urban food governance actions in South America. When these FPCs located specifically at the urban scale were considered collectively, a selection of key operating principles emerged. These were tested in FPC literature (Winne, 2009; Bly-Palmer, 2009; Harper et al, 2009; Hatfield, 2012; MacRae and Donahue, 2013) and confirmed through key informant interviews (Fisher, 2013; MacRae, 2013; Cook, 2013). Although not exhaustive, these urban scale FPC approaches are detailed in Table 4.5:

FPCs are generally formed as a result of an identification of a specific need or set of needs, often initiated by a core group that then draws in other interested and effected parties (Winne, 2009; Fisher, 2013). MacRae (2013) argues that the US trend of a higher proportion of independent FPCs is part of an initial trend where FPC structures are initiated in response to a specific identified issue. According to MacRae (2013), the issue focus of these groups often mean that government is seen as partly to blame for the identified issue. This issue focus would then prohibit direct government cooperation in the initial stages. This view, confirmed by Fisher (2013) assists in understanding the different governance typologies evident in the US FPCs. Winne argues that the real value of the FPC is that "the closer we are to our decisions makers, as we are with our local and state officials, things tend to be more personal, more accessible, and even more democratic than at the national level" (Winne, 2009: 13). What MacRae (2013) does point out is that with time, where society and government work together on food related issues, FPCs that serve the larger urban area, are able to build networks and credibility, are able to serve and support city-scale programmes and address city-wide issues. These FPCs are just the type of structures that can evolve into a city scale representative food group that then develops strong and mutually supporting links with city government. Winne takes this point further to argue that

> By having people who are passionate and knowledgeable about food issues talking to government officials – getting to know them, working with them, developing trust and respect – government gradually recognizes the opportunities it has to influence the food system. In other words ... average citizens working in concert with policy oriented organizations like Food Policy Councils can steer government in a new direction.
>
> (Winne, 2009: 13-14)

Theme	Action
Governance	Governance processes that draw on multiple actors that are both in and outside government.
Management	While many cities are directly involved in the management of the FPC, the majority of cities play a less direct role, using their convening authority to facilitate processes and actions as opposed to top down managerial roles within the FPCs or the broader food system.
Knowledge/Data	Recognition given to the knowledge of multiple food systems actors and seek to facilitate the equal use and application of this knowledge. This knowledge recognises immediate issues but also long term trend considerations. The need to acquire and build new food system knowledge is also recognised.
Remit	Direct focus given to contextual issues pertinent to the dynamics present within the specific FPC locality. How these contextual issues intersect with broader issues is viewed from the perspective of the FPC "looking out".
Interdisciplinarity	Focus on connections and intersections between issues traditionally locked in distinct governance silos. How issues of health, education, planning and environment connect are dominant areas of focus.
Ideology	A key trend is an alignment with general considerations associated with sustainability and the mutually reinforcing global transitions. In many cities food governance is considered critical, displaying a more integrative approach to sustainability than specific technology driven green interventions in areas such as transport and energy.
Networked	All groups reflected a desire and willingness to engage with multiple food system actors (in general terms) but specifically with other cities and FPCs in order to share experiences, knowledge and challenges.

Table 4.5: Food policy council trends

On the other hand, when cities initiate FPC processes that draw in multiple stakeholders and food system voices, the key factor in building credibility and legitimacy is how these processes engage with these stakeholders. This engagement is argued to be evident in the forms of governance selected (see Figure 4.5 for the US example). Many FPCs have been initiated by direct city level interventions but remain governed through more hybrid structures where direct and official city government-led governance is avoided. According to MacRae (2013) and Cook (2103) the city initiated structures that embrace pluralistic

governance approaches appear to have greater reach, achieve more and last longer that specific city run processes, a point made by Winne (2009) above.

The different forms of governance offer interesting insights into how the processes are led and the structure of the FPC programmes and areas of focus. MacRae (2013) suggested that although governance types are important, a determinant of success is how the different stakeholders engage with one another. It is the networks and types of collaboration that determine success. This is arguably one of the key tenets of the notion of pluralistic governance (Koc and Bas, 2012). Fisher pointed out that the networks and collaborative processes need to be built actively. It is very rare that they are pre-existing. The very nature of food means that views of the food system issues and the most appropriate solutions are often highly contested (2013). Fisher pointed to other challenges with this collaboration, in specific reference to Portland where the FPC was closely aligned to city government but argued the bureaucratic processes meant that actions were often delayed prompting the need to seek greater independence (Fisher, 2013). Facilitating a form of mutual recognition for the different perspectives and collaboratively building consensus on the most appropriate responses to the food system challenges is perhaps the most critical role of emergent FPCs (Winne, 2009).

Food Policy Councils reflect one emerging trend in urban food governance. The nature, focus and governance of these structures offer insights into possible alternative approaches to the urban food system. However, caution needs to be applied in the uncritical application of these structures into a developing world city context. The notion of pluralistic governance, argued to be reflected in much of the governance structures identified, particularly in the North American city examples, while seeking to be seen as inclusive, at a micro scale, runs the risk of manifesting in ways that may precipitate forms of splintering or quartering. These may result in exclusionary policies. This occurs when the governance intervention promotes one specific perspective, or one particular group's sociopolitical stance, or "their interests risk being heavily reflected in the core values" (Brouillette, 2012: 24). This was argued by Dingemans (2012) to be the case with *Proeftuin Amsterdam* even when this was a government led initiative. MacRae (2013) stressed that for truly democratic food governance processes to exist at the city scale, the governance entity needed to embrace inclusivity, ensure diversity and avoid simplistic focus – consideration of systemic issues is necessary. These points were confirmed by Cook (2013).

This brings into sharp focus the role of city (and other spheres) government into the role of the food policy council. When compared to the North American FPCs, Belo Horizonte and Bogotá reflect very different approaches to urban food governance. If city governments are afforded the legitimate and formally mandated role of addressing the urban food system question and engage in this in a holistic and inclusive manner, the Belo Horizonte model offers important lessons. Many actors are essential to this process including civil society, but also city leadership, the private sector and supporting organisations such as researchers. Rocha (2013) suggested that the role of key leadership, research and the role of civil society were essential factors in the success of the Belo Horizonte processes. This collaborative aspect is confirmed by the notion of pluralistic governance. Conversely, when this collaboration is not present, there is a high risk that efforts at food system governance may not materialise despite active engagement by certain role players (MacRae, 2013). Success requires new forms of urban governance that recognises, appreciates and embraces the agency of citizens and seeks to actively integrate this into food system planning. This is a core component of pluralistic processes. The bottom up *homebru* "strategies that emerge and flourish in a context of radical democratic politics that stretch across formal–informal, concrete–symbolic and consensual–conflictual binaries" (Pieterse, 2006: 300), are part of both the agentic actions but also the assist in bringing the knowledge required to develop relevant food system governance processes.

The description of pluralistic governance described by Koc and Bas (2012) was stressed by MacRae (2013) when describing the research carried out to inform the Food System Entrepreneurs report describing place-based food system governance (MacRae and Donahue, 2013). MacRae (2013) described the many actors (or agents) who participate in the food governance processes. In describing the importance and challenges associated with diverse members who bring their agentic actions to the process MacRae and Donahue cite Harper et al (2009) who posit that

> Given the format of most initiatives [FPCs], their success is often determined by the skill with which they are facilitated (by chairs and staff), and the level of skill and engagement of the members and the resources they can bring through their initiatives. This ability to engage other initiatives is often critical where resources are limited and structural connections lacking.
>
> (Harper et al, 2009: 37)

Seeing food policy council actors and their constituents as agents reflects the description of agentic actions where there is a desire for a different food future, enacted through the interplay between habit, imagination, and judgment (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). A similar notion to this is found in the literature describing the current role of FPCs being "communities exercising agency over the parts of the food system that people do have the power to change, and by building political will for deeper, systemic change" (Harper et al, 2009: 48). This description describes a process of transition.

Agency often originates in opposition to government actions. In the South African context, due to the intensity of service delivery protests, agency is often viewed with caution and even anxiety. Literature reviews of FPC reflect is that the success of such pluralistic governance processes is founded on networks, trust and a collective vision (Harper et al, 2009; Winne, 2009; Blay-Palmer, 2009; Hatfield, 2012; MacRae and Donahue, 2013). The concern raised is that some processes are subject to capture where specific ideological perspectives dominate (Harper et al, 2009: 48). This raises a critical question in respect of governance. What governance roles are required to make a success of an urban food governance process? In the context of the earlier question on governance roles, this raises a critical point in terms of the role of city government. The question of the role of city government in food policy councils requires further consideration. The withdrawal of government, and particularly city government, from the food system forms part of liberal economic processes. Harvey's earlier reference the emergence of entrepreneurial governance as opposed to Fordist approaches to government offers a need for caution. Although discussed, following the description of FPC actions and approaches, it is necessary to question if the formation of FPCs are not simply another form of entrepreneurial governance directing responsibility away from the state and capital and delegating the responsibility to civil society.

In the case of Belo Horizonte, the city led this processes. However, in reviewing the process more closely, although the city led the processes and displayed leadership in this process, the most critical role played by city government in the entire project was one of convening different groups, facilitating discussions and disagreements and ensuring that the envisaged end result (vision) was the focus. Thus, the role of the city in food governance processes include playing a convening role, moderating expectations, facilitating dialogue and ensuring that the urban food system vision aligns with broader societal goals and needs. Informed by the work of Pieterse on urban governance and emerging, yet unpublished,

considerations about the role of the city in less traditional (such as food) urban issues, Pieterse was interviewed and asked specific questions as to the role of city government in governance processes and if the suggestion of new forms of collaborative governance reflected a transition to entrepreneurial governance typologies criticised by Harvey (1989)? Informed by this interview, Pieterse describe six key governance roles that cities need to play. When these are considered through a food lens, this offers interesting perspectives about the role of the city in food governance. The six roles included that of convening authority, vision custodian, facilitator, managing expectations, legitimising process and being a process driver. These actions are described in more detail below (Pieterse, 2013d):

Convening authority: City government has the unique ability to bring different groups together through funding and their legal mandate to ensure participatory processes. As the ultimate custodian and accountable entity (at the city scale) of the progressive realisation of the right to food, the city is also bound to play an active role in such processes.

Vision custodian: As government is accountable to all citizens, the city must ensure that the vision of any formal process operating under the name of the city (and at times funded in part through the city) represents the needs of all. If certain groups require greater attention (such as the vulnerable and food insecure) the city must direct attention to these areas. The city thus plays a vital role in ensuring the vision of any food governance process is aligned to wider city needs, while at the same time preventing capture by splinter ideological perspectives.

Facilitating dialogue: Telling society what is taking place does not reflect participation or the ethos of the FPC process. The city plays a key role in ensuring ongoing discussion about the urban food system. Recognising very different views of the challenges and requisite solutions, the city needs to play a role in seeking out agreement and consensus on food system strategy. Without agreement, interventions generally remain project-oriented or welfarist in nature. It is from consensus on a vision that longer term processes evolve.

Managing expectations: Different stakeholders expect different outcomes from such processes. These disparate expectations can create conflicts in urban food governance processes. Informed by the convening and vision champion roles, the city also has a role of managing expectations. This is also often aligned to funding which is often, although not always, channelled through city processes.

Legitimising process: Due to the multiple food system stakeholders and the intersection with different scales of governance, the city is a legitimate point of reference in such processes. Further, such processes are generally named after the city of region. Applying the name of the city to a process that spans government and societal processes requires that the city act as custodian over such processes. The city thus legitimises such processes (unless it chooses to distance itself and deals with the title of the structure accordingly).

Process driver: Informed by the convening and custodial role played by the city, the city plays a driver role in two ways. Firstly, the governance needs of the city align to the processes of the FPCs – ensuring that such processes (assuming that they have positive outcomes) continue is in the interests of the city. Secondly, most FPC actors are individuals and may enter and exit the process. The one constant is the city. This implies that the city remains a point of reference and as such remains a driver of such processes (again, assuming positive outcomes from the FPC process).

Central to the urban food governance roles described, be these in the South American cities or in the developed world cities, is the central role played by government. The leadership vision and the environment created by government, whether they led the processes and even if government played a small part in the process, is a key element of such initiatives. This raises key questions about the capacity and mandate of governments in developing world cities. In Belo Horizonte city government effectively led a process that was elevated to a national programme. Bogotá showed how despite many social challenges, food system-informed programmes required priority focus. Context is an essential consideration and as such generalisations cannot be drawn from these two cases. What they do reflect is the fact that it is not only northern cities that are engaged in urban food governance. The development challenges and development trajectory of most developing world cities offer fertile ground for new forms of urban food governance. The urban food system challenges present an immediate need to engage in the food system in different ways at the urban scale. The key principles of the FPC and South American urban food governance processes (Table 4.5) offer possible areas of intervention for developing world cities. The great challenge is that in many cities, developing or developed, food remains understood as the domain of rural areas and increasingly, as a result of the third food regime processes, the private sector. Food governance is not seen as a responsibility of urban government. As is seen from the reviewed cities and processes, it is only when cities accept that they have a role to play, that such initiatives can gain traction and start to enable effective urban food governance.

Currently most cities engage, albeit in a tokenistic manner, in the food system. This engagement reflects project driven interventions, often productionist-orientated, such as urban agriculture. Additionally, many cities view their role in food system actions as being welfarist, intervening where the food system fails. Food basket hand-outs or other forms of social protection epitomise the intervention. There is a risk that cities that choose to engage in urban food system actions may simply extend or upscale the welfarist actions and avoid the longer range systemic and holistic interventions evidenced in the more successful FPC processes.

The FPC activities reviewed reflected different areas of focus and governance but the processes reviewed did reflect a measure of consensus about the need and vision of such processes. Identifying a central vision of an urban food governance activity is seen as being a necessary part of the process (Harper et al, 2009; Winne, 2009). In the Toronto case, at times, the FPC process often continued where groups who were in disagreement were excluded or chose to remain peripheral (Cook, 2013). For developing world cities arriving at a modicum of consensus is necessary if a vision that attracts multiple food system actors is to be developed. Initiating processes while conflict still exists could delay and even derail processes.

Consultation and engagement was present in the Belo Horizonte case, yet the vision and programmatic interventions were initiated directly from city government. These were however informed by reliable and detailed data on food insecurity, poor levels of nutrition and the extent of vulnerability (Rocha, 2013). This raises questions as to the processes required in developing world cities. While democratic consultative processes may be seen as the ultimate goal and reflective of the elements of Good Urban Governance espoused by UN-Habitat, is it not necessary for the city to play a more directive role? Regardless of this role, the Belo Horizonte case highlights how the principles detailed in Table 4.5 remain central, despite the type of governance.

The food system engagement in other cities often reflects piecemeal projects lacking in strategic or holistic vision, as evidenced in most South African cities at this time. These city-level food interventions are often issue driven and generally welfarist in nature. Such project driven interventions are ill suited to respond to the mutually reinforcing transitions that impact on the food system and the city. The cities and processes discussed offer some insight into alternative solutions.

4.5. Conclusion

A trend is evident which sees the city as a place where specific food governance is required. While the nature, focus and actors in this food governance may differ, a specific and concerted food focus at the urban scale is evident.

Specific urban food governance structures such as food policy councils offer ways for cities to circumvent the limitations of the current food policy constructs. The use of pluralistic governance structures afford city governments the flexibilities and focus that is required to respond to urban food system challenges. Other examples show how city governments can lead food governance processes and how this leadership can then be absorbed and integrated into national policies.

The general approach adopted by the FPC processes is one that considers the food system and associated challenges more broadly, not just project driven responses. This systemic focus coupled with a scale-focused consideration of the challenges, understood and managed through more participative or pluralistic governance processes, reflects a trend in how cities engage with food and the challenges encountered within the food system at the city scale.

Certain South African urban areas are starting to question how they can best respond to the urban food challenges that are confronting them. As with the FPCs reviewed, different contexts and scales dictate different responses. Chapter 5 reviews two incipient urban food governance initiatives in South Africa.

5. SOUTH AFRICAN URBAN FOOD SYSTEM INTERVENTIONS

About two years after the breakup of the Soviet Union I was in discussion with a senior Russian official whose job it was to direct the production of bread in St. Petersburg. "Please understand that we are keen to move towards a market system", he told me. "But we need to understand the fundamental details of how such a system works. Tell me, for example: who is in charge of the supply of bread to the population of London?" There was nothing naive about his question, because the answer ("nobody is in charge"), when one thinks carefully about it, is astonishingly hard to believe. Only in the industrialised West have we forgotten just how strange it is."

(Seabright, 2010: 10)

The epigraph provides a remarkable insight into the state of the urban food system. Yet it is not only in the industrialised West where nobody is in charge of the food system. In most southern African cities and certainly in South African cities, no agency or person is directly responsible for food supply to all city residents. Cynically, some may argue that this role has been usurped by the private sector, but even that is wrong. Regardless of the role played by the private sector in the food system, nobody is in charge - the private sector simply dominates the market.

The enquiry made by the Russian official from St. Petersburg does require further interrogation. Is it necessary for someone to be in charge of food supply in today's cities? Those in favour of liberal economic approaches would argue that the market should be left to dictate the urban food system. This is the case in South Africa.

Chapter 4 discussed the emergence of place specific food governance, considering three different typologies. Firstly, the emergence of pluralistic food governance structures that are place or scale specific. These groups retain connections to government but the extent of connection varies according to each specific pluralistic governance structure's own

contextual realities. The second group were city-led and directed food governance interventions, generally structured to respond to specific contextually-informed food system challenges. In both instances, the food system is viewed in very wide terms considering aspects such as health, wellbeing, nutrition and even culture. The third aspect was that of a deliberate exit from any form of food system governance at a local, generally city scale. These typologies were discussed within the context of a set of emerging and mutually reinforcing transitions. These transitions result in the reconfiguration of the institutional and organisational structures and systems within society. Chapter 2 focused on a selection of transitions including but not limited to the second urban transition and food system regime change. As a result of food regime change, four different food system responses or alternative food geographies (AFGs) were discussed. One such food geography was a trend focusing of place-based food system governance where the actions were determined by politics or ideology, the scale of action and the specific focus of the AFG. Chapter 4 considered these AFGs in greater detail specifically considering the emergence of different forms of place-based food governance. Within this two typologies were considered, city-led processes and the pluralistic-oriented structures of food policy councils (FPCs). These discussions were used to provide a foundation for a discussion on emerging South African place-specific food governance processes. Two South African processes will be discussed, the processes in Stellenbosch and Cape Town.

These two nascent food governance approaches are very different, both in scale and approach. These two areas are used, not to enable comparative analysis between the two sites, but to reflect on three points; the first is to describe differences between an internally driven process and that of an external process. Secondly, the sites offer insights into the need for place specific innovations and a caution against uncritical adoption of other examples. Finally, the two areas offer insights into the challenges associated with an absent urban food mandate and how, in the absence of such a mandate, different understandings of the food system and of the importance of the city food system emerge. The South African processes do connect with the discussion in Chapter 4 but both cities contain elements of all three aspects discussed (city-led processes, pluralistic governance and absent governance). The two South African sites enable a reflection on the ideological contestations specific to food system remedies. This enables and more contextual discussion on the alternative food geographies described in Chapter 2.

When South African agricultural policies are considered the liberal economic perspective dominates. The 2001 Strategic Plan for Agriculture (DOA, 2001)[40] builds on early policies but is the most direct reference to an open and liberalised approach to the food system. Extracts from this strategy demonstrate the liberalised view of Agriculture, and by virtue, as shall be explained later in this section, the food system.

> The vision for South African agriculture … defines a unified sector served by a unimodal policy framework designed to … maximise the contribution of the sector to economic growth and development … to generate equitable access and participation in a globally competitive, profitable and sustainable agricultural sector contributing to a better life for all … [enabling] fair reward for effort, risk and innovation [permitting] market forces to direct business activity and resource allocation … [resulting in] … improved investor confidence leading to increased domestic and foreign investment in agricultural activities and rural areas [and] increased incomes and increased foreign exchange earnings.
>
> (DOA, 2001: 8-9)

Observed South African practice and the articulation of food security challenges within Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) translate into a practice where for those excluded from the liberalised food system, project-oriented welfarist interventions should assist, generally through forms of social development or externally funded nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) (see CoCT, 2007; SM-IDP, 2010). At a national level, government programmes such as the Integrated Food Security Strategy (IFSS) are designed to improve rather than correct failed food system aspects.

Returning to the observation by Seabright in the epigraph, with the removal of the responsibility to ensure bread is delivered to every urban resident, many residents have not been able to receive "their daily bread". Cities are faced with the consequences of the failings of the current food system and are responding accordingly. One such response is the

[40] Different names are applicable to key food system related national government departments and ministries. Following the 2009 presidential change, a ministerial restructuring process took place. Through this process, the National Department of Agriculture (DOA) changed its name to the Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF). Other departments also changed their names, most notable the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) became the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRD&LR). Citations can thus be confusing. The approach applied here is that the citation and reference provided depicts the name of the department at the time of the publication of the policy, strategy, statement, report, etc. As an example, the 2008 Strategic Plan for Agriculture would be referenced as (DOA, 2008) while the 2010 Strategic Plan is referenced as (DAFF, 2010).

formation of the urban food governance structures described in Chapter 4. Under that arrangement cities are actively engaging in the food system and strategically seeking ways to mitigate the faults that are becoming increasingly evident. Such faults manifest in poor diets, food insecurity, in obesity and other related urban food system challenges. The intention is not necessarily to take charge of the entire food system in the manner described by the Russian official from St. Petersburg. The city processes analysed in Chapter 4 reflected a different, more collaborative, yet still accountable approach to food system governance. Harper et al (2009) described how these processes generally begin with the cities seeking ways to understand the urban food system. Thereafter, they initiate strategic responses specific to their contextual needs and wants. The extent of city involvement in urban food system governance process is influenced by a variety of factors. The governance analysis in Chapter 4 highlighted the fact that the majority of cities played some role in this process. It was further suggested that the city has the convening authority to bring different and disparate food system actors together. Cities have a critical role to play in clarifying and then ensuring adherence to the central ethos that informs the cities' urban food system approaches.

South African cities have relied on government policies at the national government scale to address issues of food security. However, the South African Constitution (RSA, 1996), through the Bill of Rights and articulated in Section 27(1) b and Section 27(2), requires that government take the necessary measures to ensure the progressive realisation of the right to food. As the primary implementing sphere of government, local government, has a clear role to play in ensuring the realisation of this right. It is only recently that certain city governments have engaged in a process whereby they begin play an active role in the urban food system.

The cities reviewed in Chapter 4 are not wishing to be "in charge" of the urban food system. Rather, they recognise the essential role that they can play in responding to what has been called the "urban food challenge" (Ruel et al, 1998; Battersby, 2013a). These cities are seeking multiple and diverse ways, through multiple and diverse actors and processes, to engage in the urban food challenge.

This chapter describes the engagement of two South African urban centres in the urban food question. Their approaches highlight how the urban food challenge is starting to enter the urban governance arena. The two urban centre examples highlight the tensions and associated complexity of engaging in urban food governance. This engagement is not an easy

process. Despite the obligation articulated in the constitutional right to food, the current policy environment does not suitably consider urban food governance and retains a distinctly rural productionist view of the food security challenge. This despite the fact that South Africa is over 60 percent urbanised (Turok, 2012: 3).

The chapter begins by contextualising the food and food security policy landscape in South Africa. In South Africa policy attaining food security is envisaged through the dominant agricultural strategies. As the country has a unique past, history plays a pivotal role in the fabric of society. For this reason certain historical aspects of agriculture are described. In South Africa the constitutionally ensured right to food is operationalised through the Integrated Food Security Strategy (IFSS) of 2002 (DOA, 2002). This strategy is described and critiques of this strategy are detailed to reflect the limitations and the omissions in the IFSS.

The chapter then briefly surveys the scale, nature and extent of the South African food security challenge. The purpose of this exercise is to highlight the challenge and to reinforce the fact that the urban food challenge is an area of concern. The food security challenge serves as one of the motivators for the engagement in food system governance in the urban areas under review.

The introductory foundation describing the South African food system and food security situation allows for a robust discussion on the emergent urban food governance approaches in the two review sites. The sites under review are Stellenbosch and Cape Town. They were selected for two specific reasons. First, while other cities and urban regions are starting to engage in the urban food question, such as Gauteng, where one example is how food security is considered within the Gauteng Department of Economic Development led green economic strategy (GPG, 2011: 8)[41] and eThekwini (Durban). In eThekwini an example of food system engagement is reflected in how food security is listed as one of the seven strategic themes within the Durban Climate Change Strategy (EM, 2013).[42]

[41] The food system articulation within the strategy remains focused on urban agriculture and small farmer support and does not effectively consider the wider systemic food system issues.
[42] As with Gauteng, eThekwini's strategy reflects a distinct production oriented focus articulating the climate related need as being "economic opportunities in agriculture, building the capacity and knowledge of Durban's citizens to grow their own food" (EM, 2013: 2)

The two sites under review reflect two urban areas that are working to develop city-wide strategic food system processes. Second, both sites have engaged food governance approaches through processes informed by their own contextual needs and informed by their own food system specificities. Although the two urban areas are the leading strategically-informed urban food governance sites in South Africa, the third benefit is that their different sizes allow for a discussion on a large metropolitan region but also that of a smaller local municipality.

Cape Town is one of six metropolitan municipalities within South Africa; Stellenbosch is a local municipality meaning that its officials report to a district municipality which then reports to the provincial government. Of importance is the fact that Stellenbosch Municipality is responsible for more than just the town, their mandate includes the adjacent farming areas. Cape Town is responsible for the City with some adjacent rural areas but is predominantly urban. While the different scales of government and governance may reduce comparability, the two sites reflect the operational, resourcing, sociopolitical and governance dynamics associated with different local government structures. Larger cities are generally far better resourced, financially, managerially and technically, whereas smaller towns can find it easier to engage with stakeholders and issues. This difference also speaks to some of the wider urban development debates, particularly considering that the fastest growing urban centres are not necessarily the large metropolitan areas but the smaller secondary towns and cities (Satterthwaite, 2007; Swilling and Annecke, 2012).

The urban food governance review will consider the two sites separately. The review begins by placing each site in context. Here the description uses the notion of key contextual parameters, an approach described by Dahlberg, to inform the foundational food system governance processes. These contextual parameters include scale, landscape patterns, population patterns and food organising patterns (Dahlberg, 1999: 44). Following a brief introduction to the particular sites, the food system governance process will be set out in detail.

Unlike the long-running North American examples or the strategically driven European processes described in Chapter 4, the South African processes are just starting. These processes do, however, have the potential to provide a transition to novel forms of contextually informed urban food governance in developing world towns and cities. Processes from the developed world cities may not have bearing on the South African

situation. In the conceptualisation of what a South African response may resemble, uncritical transfer of Northern city models needs to be avoided. This need for caution is evident in the Stellenbosch case where Northern models may not have been as useful as intended. However, the key principles identified in the local food governance approaches in Chapter 4 (Table 4.5) do have bearing. These principles are governance, management, knowledge or data, remit, and ideology, coupled with approaches that are inter-disciplinary and enabled through networked operations. These principles are used to inform the analysis of the nascent urban food governance processes described in this chapter. In addition, there are similarities between the processes in both the developed world cities and the Belo Horizonte case which have bearing on the South African city approaches.

Four specific similarities have been identified when considering the sites described in Chapter 4 and the South African context. Certain challenges may differ from developed world cities to Southern cities but issues such as nutritional inequalities and poor diets, the role of large retailers, limited food access for vulnerable groups prompting the need for emergency feeding programmes and the emergence of different urban food movements are also evident in the Stellenbosch and Cape Town. Second, many of the international city programmes emerged within the context of an urban food policy vacuum, something similar to Stellenbosch and Cape Town. Third, northern cities reflect a number of different governance approaches and these offer possible options for Stellenbosch and Cape Town. Finally, the cities and processes reviewed in Chapter 4 show a chronological progression of over 20 years of urban food governance where the actions and lessons learnt precipitated an understanding of the importance of urban food governance. Such governance reflects two key trends, that of pluralistic governance and that of bottom up city to national food policy transitions.

The chapter concludes with a discussion on the lessons learnt from the South African sites reviewed. This analysis is followed by discussion of the merits of the South African lessons within the context of the wider food system and food security debates and an analysis of the role that cities can and need to play in food governance within the context of the transitionary shifts confronting society.

In describing the site-specific scale of urban food governance interventions applied in Stellenbosch and Cape Town, key processes and discourses are used to clarify urban scale engagement in urban food system governance. In Stellenbosch this was the deployment of the

Draft Stellenbosch Food System Strategy. In Cape Town attempts at understanding the urban food system are considered through the city's own debates, both within government and civil society, pertinent to key food system assets such as the Philippi Horticultural Area. These debates enable a clearer understanding of how different actors within the Cape Town food system understand and engage in urban food system questions. The processes in Stellenbosch and Cape Town enable understanding of process but also highlight the tensions, challenges, successes and failures in the two urban food system governance processes.

5.1. The South African food system landscape

South African agriculture has encountered significant transformation over the past 30 years, most notably since the democratic transition in 1994. These changes impact the role and practice of agriculture, and the wider South African food system. Agriculture's direct contribution to gross domestic product (GDP) has declined steadily over the past few decades to about 3 percent of GDP (Vink and Van Rooyen, 2009: 30). Nevertheless, agriculture is still viewed as a critical economic sector in South Africa (see PGWC, 2010). Agriculture in South Africa is viewed as a major source of rural employment and a driver of rural development. This point was argued in the National Development Plan (NDP) describing agricultures role as being that of "creating more jobs through agricultural development, based on effective land reform" (NDP, 2012: 44) and particularly how agriculture is expected to create "643 000 direct and 326 000 indirect jobs by 2030" (NDP, 2012: 67) and how "rural economies will be activated through the stimulation of small-scale agriculture" (NDP, 2012: 124). The employment perspective is contradicted by data from the Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries that discloses a net farm employment decline of 41 percent between 1980 and 2013 (DAFF, 2013: 4). In the period between 2007 and 2012 detailed data show that 380 000 agricultural jobs were reported to have been lost (DAFF, 2013: 4).

Agriculture is seen as enabling a measure of socio-political redress and as a means of post-apartheid land redistribution (DRD&LR: ND) and articulated as such in the above quotation from the NDP (NDP, 2012: 44). However, as Hall and Cliffe explain, "land reform in South Africa is a political project that has foundered. For years, the process has been variously described as being 'in crisis', 'at a crossroads', 'at an impasse' or simply 'stuck'" (Hall and Cliffe, 2009). As a result, little land has been transferred.

Finally, as articulated in the IFSS, agriculture is a source of food security (DOA, 2002). The expected outcomes of the IFSS all speak to remedial actions but make no mention of either faults within the current agricultural and food systems or applying a wider strategic approach, as the name denotes (DOA, 2002: 7). As will be shown, focussing on production only may enable a desired positive food trade balance, argued as a determinant of food security in the National Development Plan, articulated as "the national food-security goal should be to maintain a positive trade balance for primary and processed agricultural products" (NDP, 2012: 230), but this does not necessarily translate into food security at the household or the city scale.

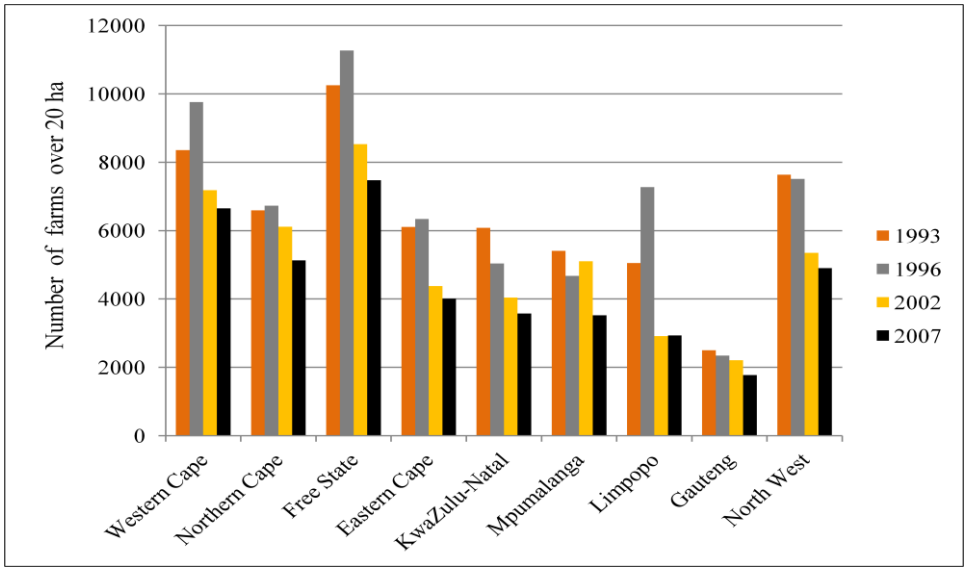
For most of the 20th Century, South African agricultural policy was dualistic in nature, with a distinctly racial division of the agricultural economy. The dualism was entrenched and supported by legislation such as the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, the 1937 Agricultural Marketing Act and the 1970 Subdivision of Agricultural Land Act (Aihoon et al., 2009: 36). This dualism was even more aggressively asserted in later years. One such example was in the 1984 White Paper on Agricultural Policy. This policy clearly identified 'white' commercial farming and its intention to reach "self-sufficiency in respect of food, fibre and beverages and the supply of raw materials to local industries at reasonable prices" (DOA, 1984).

Later, in the period preceding the democratic transition in 1994, international political and economic pressures precipitated deregulation of the agricultural sector in South Africa. The macroeconomic trend of market liberalisation eroded state control over the agricultural sector. Following the 1994 transition, this process continued. The Marketing of Agricultural Products Act (Act No. 47 of 1996), as well as the 2001 Strategic Plan for Agriculture paved the way for the development of liberalised and "open" agricultural markets aimed primarily at greater foreign trade in agricultural products as opposed to the strategy of self sufficiency necessitated by apartheid isolation. The deregulation process led to a dramatic restructuring of the South African agricultural environment (Vink and Van Rooyen 2009).

Agriculture in South Africa faces a number of challenges. These challenges have a direct impact on the food system. The challenges facing agriculture are not necessarily considered collectively. Four specific challenges will be discussed. The first is the nature of agricultural consolidation in both the production sphere and in the value chain. Secondly, as a

result of this consolidation, changes in the food distribution systems, specifically the market are evident. Thirdly, the production approach that dominates South African agriculture relies heavily on external inputs. The costs associated with these are increasing at rates higher than inflation rates, impacting on farm productivity but also on food prices. Finally, the agricultural resource base in South Africa is fragile and transitionary challenges such as climate change and water scarcity increase fragility, increasing vulnerability. Some detail of this vulnerability will be provided.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, South Africa has seen a marked decline in the number of farming units and a reduction in farmers (Vink and Van Rooyen, 2009). The consolidation of farms and the resultant changing nature of agricultural production have been the major contributors to the declines in net agricultural employment opportunities. After the deregulation of South African agriculture in the early 1990s, the prices of field crops adjusted downwards to world market levels. This resulted in commercial farmers shifting to minimum intervention production systems (mechanisation and industrialisation). The result of this was a simultaneous consolidation in large commercial (industrial) farms and an increase in the number of smaller commercial farms, precipitating an overall increase in the average farm size (Vink and van Rooyen 2009). This process has not precipitated a reduction in the net area farmed but a reduction in farms and farmers. These changes have had an impact on labour. The Bureau for Food and Agricultural Policy (BFAP) explains how labour intensive agriculture developed and continued to increase employment opportunities until the 1970s. Following the mentioned industrialisation of agriculture jobs were shed. This resulted in a decline in employment from over 1.6 million in the 1960s to less than one million in the 1990s (BFAB, 2012: 2). The decline in net farm numbers is evident in Figure 5.1, detailing the farm holdings per province per year since 1993. The increase in 1996 is attributed to changes in farm measurement following the reincorporation of the former homelands into South Africa.



(Source: DAFF, 2013)

Figure 5.1: Farm number decline per year since 1993

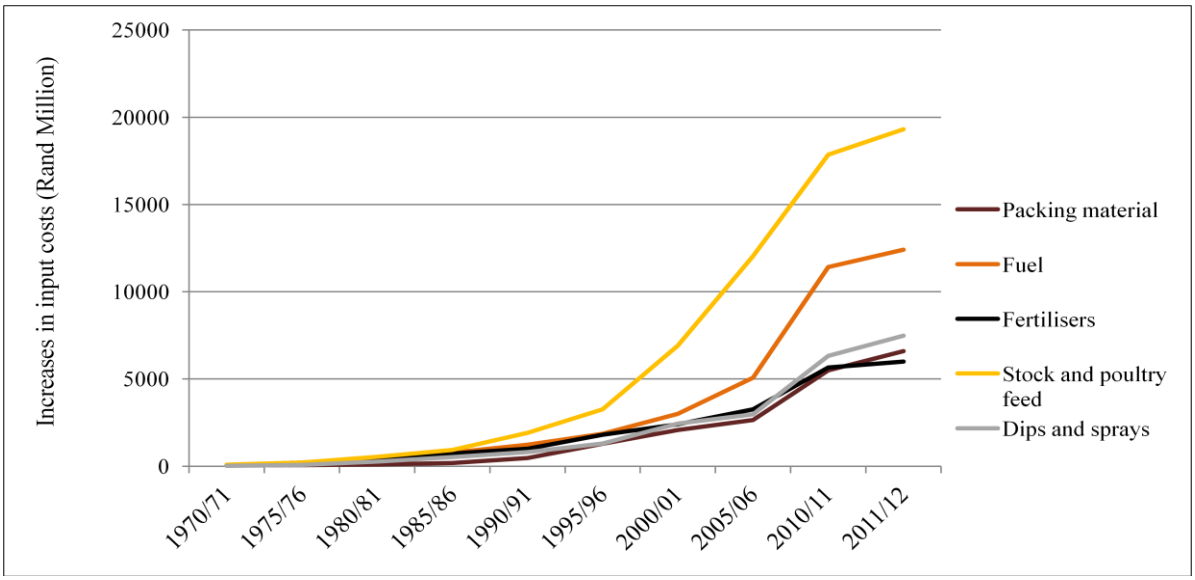
The consolidation in the value chain is perhaps more dramatic. As a result of segregation driven agricultural policy during apartheid, restricted licensing procedures limited the entry of processors into the market. This enabled a small collection of corporations to dominate the South African food industry (Mather 2005). These remain dominant despite the entry of international brands following the opening of the market. Between 1975 and 1996, the contribution to output of the top 5 percent of agricultural firms increased from 65 percent to 75 percent. In 1996 the top 15 percent of firms contributed to 90 percent of output (Louw et al, 2007: 14). In the retail sector, between 1999 and 2006, overall corporate supermarket store numbers grew by 38 percent (Louw et al, 2007: 24). An "extremely tight oligopoly" exists in the South African food retail sector according to Botha and van Schalkwyk (cited in Louw et al, 2007: 19). The consolidation of the food retail sector has resulted in a restructuring of this sector with two consequences. The first is the process of contract procurement. This translates into a process whereby farmers are increasingly selling directly to larger retailers, or their agents, bypassing one of the last vestiges of food system action at the city scale, the municipal markets (NAMC, 2006: Chikazunga et al, 2008). The second aspect is that driven by these procurement processes, most food is distributed via the larger retailers' centralised distribution centres, or DCs.

The wider scale consolidation of production and the contract purchasing pattern for larger food retailers is evidenced by the fact that one of the leading four food retailers stated that they procure 80 percent of all their fresh produce from just 10 agribusinesses (Pienaar,

2011). The consequence of the liberalisation and subsequent consolidation was highlighted by the South African Competition Commission:

> The far reaching liberalisation has not yielded the desired policy outcomes, in that the agricultural value chain appears to be still largely characterised by anti-competitive outcomes, including high concentration, high barriers to entry, concentration of ownership, vertical integration, as well as anti-competitive behaviour in the pricing of food.
>
> (Competition Commission 2008, 4)

As detailed in Chapter 2 and above, larger scale commercial agriculture is dominated by industrialised agricultural methods and means of production. These processes require a variety of inputs that include fuel, fertiliser and pesticide. For animal production inputs would also include pest control applications and feed. As the farmers have started supplying directly to the retailers, other input costs have increase, particularly packaging. The associated cost increases are reflected in Figure 5.2:

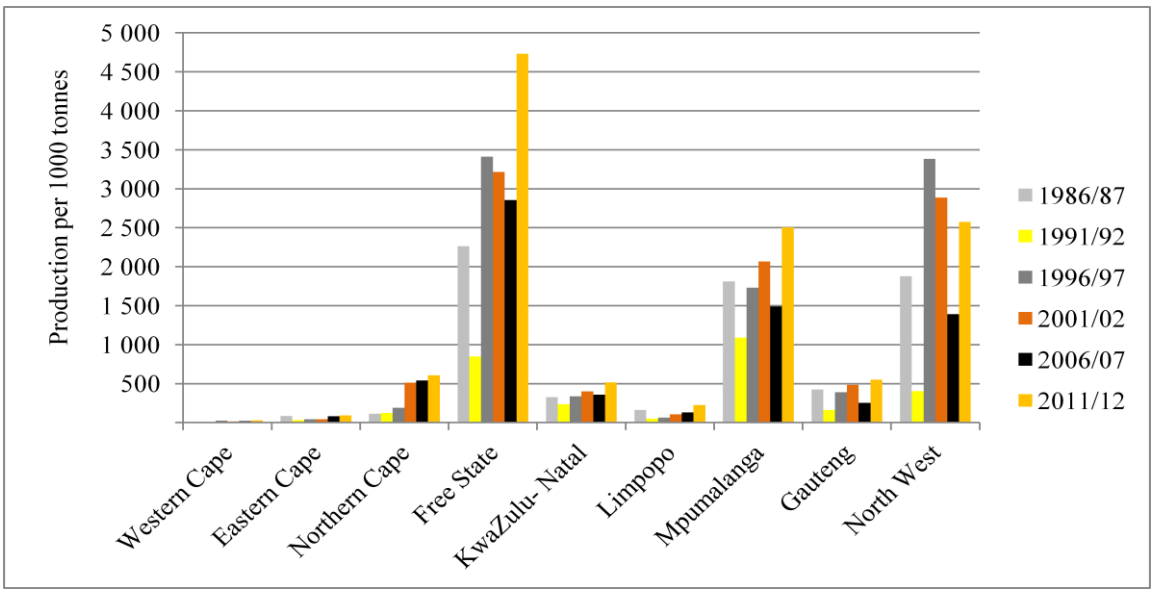


(Source, DAFF, 2013)

Figure 5.2: Agricultural input costs in ZAR millions

South African agriculture is further compromised by the reliance on a vulnerable resource base. Agricultural land in South Africa makes use of 100 665 792 hectares of land and comprises 82.3 percent of all land within the country. Only 13.7 percent of the total land is deemed suitably arable with three percent of land receiving sufficient rainfall for the land

to be considered high potential agricultural land (Laker, 2005; WWF, 2010; DAFF, 2013: 6). According to the 2012/2013 South Africa Yearbook, 60 percent of the cropland area is estimated to be moderately to severely acidic (van Niekerk, 2013: 61). More than 11 million ha (10 percent) of agricultural land is classified as having a high to moderate erosion risk. A further erosion risk exists in the western half of the "maize quadrangle" – which produces 75 percent of the country's maize – an area covered by sandy soils that are highly susceptible to wind erosion (van Niekerk, 2013: 61). The vulnerability to the erosion risks and associated climatic challenges links to food security vulnerability. If the essential production areas in the so-called maize quadrangle are undermined to a point where production is reduced and either fails or relies on increased inputs to ensure production, food prices and as a result, food security are compromised. This risk is reinforced in Figure 5.3 highlighting the scale and location of maize production areas in South African. The maize quadrangle includes areas of the Free State and North West, highlighting the extent of vulnerability.



(Source: DAFF, 2013)

Figure 5.3: Five year maize production trends by area

These factors result in volatile process and an agricultural sector that is susceptible to climatic shifts, currency fluctuations, labour demands and other challenges. While food pricing and the market mechanisms that ensure the delivery of food to consumers are complex, what the preceding section highlights is the fact that food production in South

Africa is the responsibility of an increasingly declining collection of farmers. These farmers are subject to adverse resource and market factors. This reliance, while not the only factor, contributes to the vulnerability of the agricultural and food sector. This vulnerability raises questions about the risks to cities which rely on such a precarious system.

The preceding discussion on the state of agriculture in South Africa has been provided to support questions raised about the reliance on production as the dominant solution to food insecurity as articulated in both the IFSS and the NDP. The transition related challenges discussed in Chapter 2 are evident in the described challenges facing South African agriculture. Solutions to these challenges could be seen in Swilling and Anneckes' (2012) assertion that a fourth food regime change could encompass an agro-ecological transition. The concern with South African food security policy focus and the solution of agro-ecology is that both rely on production. Resolving food security requires far more than resilient production. Far wider ranging systemic considerations are required. When South Africa's urbanisation scale and challenges are considered these wider food system questions are particularly important.

5.2. Food security in South Africa and food security policy

The extent of food security in South Africa is often reported in ways that obscure important detail. This was highlighted in how the 2012 General Household (GHS) food security findings were reported. Using data from the 2012 General Household Survey a decline in levels of food insecurity was reported. Nationally 12.6 percent of the households were reported to be vulnerable to hunger (StatsSA, 2012b). Within this same document it was further noted that an additional 21.5 percent of households reported having limited access to food and 26.1 percent increasingly limited access to food. In sum, 60 percent of all households experienced some form of food insecurity (StatsSA, 2012b). This is very different to the 12.6 percent reported.

In 2013, the South African National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (SANHANES-1) assessment of food and nutrition indicators across South Africa found that in formal urban areas 44. 6 percent of people were deemed food insecure but in the urban informal areas 68. 5 percent were food insecure (SANHANES, 2013a: 22). Dietary related

challenges identified in the SANHANES report, such as increased levels of obesity and nutritional intake deficiencies were found to be increasing in South Africa. The SANHANES research found that "20.2 percent of males and 68.2 percent of females had a waist circumference that placed them at risk of metabolic complications" (2013b:2) and concluded by stressing that the non-communicable disease, to which poor and inadequate diet contributes, risk profile of South Africans is a cause for serious concern (SANHANES, 2013b:5). When considered at a national scale, these findings pinpoint high levels of food insecurity, problematic diets and a deteriorating non-communicable disease profile. When considered at a community scale, the situation is more extreme (Frayne et al, 2009; Battersby, 2011). Such findings raise concerns about food and nutritional security strategies.

South African policies and legal frameworks are in place to consider the challenges of food and food security. The two key frameworks are the SA Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) and the Integrated Food Security Strategy (IFSS) of 2002. The Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution, and specifically Section 27 (1) b, the so-called "Right to Food Clause" ensures that all South Africans have the right to "sufficient food and water" (RSA, 1996: 1225). Further, in terms of Section 27 (2), organs of the state are obligated to ensure the progressive realisation of the right to food. Although there may be different interpretations of the obligation's criteria, there is no doubt that all spheres of government should consider acting on and instituting due processes.

The second key framework, and one designed to operationalise Act 108 (27)1(b), is the 2002 Integrated Food Security Strategy (IFSS). The IFSS sought to bring together multiple government departments to focus on attaining food security. The driving motivation for this approach was criticism of the diffuse approaches applied across multiple government departments before 2002. Although the IFSS stated that any government department could lead the strategy, the IFSS was formulated by, and is housed within, the National Department of Agriculture (now DAFF).

An analysis of the institutional and strategic foundations of the IFSS highlighted "a disjuncture between the institutional response mechanism defined in South Africa's strategy [IFSS] and the complexity of food security nationally". The critique went on to argue that as "a strategy seated uncomfortably under the leadership of the National Department of Agriculture, the IFSS remains frustrated by a range of structural and organisational challenges" (Drimie and Ruysenaar, 2010: 316). Recently, these critiques were elaborated on

further, but within the context of strategic implementation and coordination, where it was argued that "the current Integrated Food Security Strategy and tasked governmental departments are not sufficiently flexible or coordinated to deal with an issue as multi-scalar and multidisciplinary as food security" (Pereira and Ruysenaar, 2012: 41). Although these challenges are directed specifically at the IFSS processes, they contain a general government and governance challenge. Regardless of the efforts made by staff tasked with delivery in respect of the IFSS, the complexity of the food security challenge, the associated multi-scale dynamics and the related implementation limitations, coupled with the increasing volatility of the food system, mean that espoused goals are not easily achieved. The difficulties were corroborated by the 2013 SANHANES research.

From a structural perspective, the viability of the IFSS is further hamstrung by how the food security challenge is conceptualised. This conceptual flaw has direct implications for how the food security challenge is engaged. At a conceptual level, the IFSS identifies food security as being built on a robust food system, and describes the elements of food systems as being "The capacity to produce, store, distribute and if necessary, to import sufficient food to meet the basic food needs of people; a maximum level of robustness to reduce vulnerability to market fluctuations and political pressures; and minimal seasonal, cyclical and other variations in access to food" (DOA, 2002: 16). As priority areas for food security – the strategic focus of the overall IFSS – there are our strands of intervention. These include improved household food production, trade and distribution; increasing income and job opportunities; improved nutrition and food safety; and enhanced safety nets and emergency management systems (DOA, 2002: 27). This articulation focuses on the individual or household. Further the phrase "improved" implies that the status quo is accepted and that the role of the IFSS is to assist in improving matters. The IFSS does not question the food system functions or interrogate the systemic causes of food insecurity.

From a scalar perspective, the challenge has particularly important consequences for the city. This conceptual challenge is epitomised by a statement within the IFSS which describes the strategic approach as that "focuses on household food security without overlooking national food security" (DOA, 2002: 6).

The IFSS and the overarching government response to food insecurity has been critiqued for its production-as-the-solution dominance and the lack of focus on the systemic drivers of food insecurity (Drimie and Ruysenaar, 2010; Kirsten, 2012). The way in which

the IFSS structures interpret data on poverty in rural and urban areas, and the location of the IFSS within DAFF, reinforces the rural production bias. It also creates an inappropriate understanding of the urban food security and food system challenges (Battersby 2012b). The production and scalar challenges within the IFSS have been subsumed into other strategic government documents, most critically, the long term strategic planning document for South Africa, the National Development Plan (NDP).

Within the NDP food security is identified as a challenge (NDP, 2012: 230) but similar analytical flaws to those within the IFSS are evident. The first is that it retains the production bias espoused within the IFSS. Secondly it reflects a scalar disconnect focussing on regional (SADC) and national food security, proposing as a key food security strategy, the maintenance of a positive trade balance, coupled with a focus on household food security. The other scales at which strategic food security interventions are required receive no mention. Finally, while a nutritional focus is present, the responses are remedial calling for interventions such as supplementation (NDP, 2012: 231). The food security articulation within the NDP is remedial and lacks integrated strategic considerations. Considering that the NDP is a long term strategic planning document, providing a development vision until 2030, the over reliance on production and short term remedial interventions raises critical questions about the wider strategic food security policy approach. Perhaps the only strategic consideration within the food security recommendations was a health related call for "policy measures to increase intake of fruits and vegetables and reduce intake of saturated fats, sugar" (NDP, 2012: 231).

Food security processes that enable responses to the food system-related challenges at different scalar hierarchies within government are not evident in South Africa. Local governments and communities have limited legislative policy-related processes and laws at their disposal to actively engage in food security and food system issues. While it is appreciated that scale is relational, determining how to engage with a challenge experienced at a particular scale requires an environment in which these appropriate interventions can be planned and acted on. The point made by MacRae and Donahue (2013) that municipalities and local government are generally the spheres of government that have to deal with faults in a specific system, is particularly relevant in this instance. Chapter 4 highlighted approaches taken by scale-defined groups.

South African urban areas are faced with a complex challenge as far as food security and food system related responsibilities are concerned. Municipalities are obligated in terms of the South African constitution to take progressive measures to ensure the realisation of the right to food. In South Africa however, policy oriented responses to food insecurity are enacted through the Integrated Food Security Strategy (IFSS), a nationally housed and driven policy within the National Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF). The implementation of strategies is subsequently delegated to provincial governments. Through the provincial government, cities are able to access funding to engage in projects. However, the process of having to engage a higher level of government limits strategic planning beyond fiscal budgeting cycles (Daniels, 2012). Formal policies and strategic programmatic interventions are absent at the city scale. This does not mean that cities and towns have no food security and food system mandate or operational capacity. The reality is that the operational responsibilities of local governments intersect with the food system in multiple ways. These intersections offer areas of interventions. However, in order to provide a background to the two site reviews, it is necessary to provide detail on some of the areas where city mandates intersect with food system-related activities.

The city is designated specific legislative responsibilities via the South African Constitution. Box 1 lists extracts from the constitution to clarify these obligations. Section 151 in Box 1 clearly illustrates that cities are "subject to national and provincial legislation, as provided for in the Constitution" (RSA, 1996: 1331(2)). This clause may provide local municipalities the right to govern but it places an obligation on local government to respond to the clauses within the Constitution, particularly Section 27 (1) b and Section 27 (2). The Constitution requires that governance strategies that enable the progressive realisation of the rights set out in Section 27 are developed at the local government level. Descriptive actions are not detailed. However, as evident in Box 1, these specific areas or obligations of local government are expressly stated in Section 152 and Section 156 of the Constitution, specifically Schedule 4 (Part B) and Schedule 5 (Part A). Box 1 details those applicable to the areas where local government actions and the urban food system intersect. These issues highlight the local government governance obligations specific to the food system.

Section 151:

3. A municipality has the right to govern, on its own initiative, the local government affairs of its community, subject to national and provincial legislation, as provided for in the Constitution.

Section 152:

1. The objects of local government are -
    a. to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;
    b. to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
    c. to promote social and economic development;
    d. to promote a safe and healthy environment; and
    e. to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.
2. A municipality must strive, within its financial and administrative capacity, to achieve the objects set out in subsection (1)"

Section 156:

1. A municipality has executive authority in respect of, and has the right to administer
    a. the local government matters listed in Part B of Schedule 4 and Part B of Schedule 5; and
    b. any other matter assigned to it by national or provincial legislation.
2. A municipality may make and administer by-laws for the effective administration of the matters which it has the right to administer.

4. The national government and provincial governments must assign to a municipality, by agreement and subject to any conditions, the administration of a matter listed in Part A of Schedule 4 or Part A of Schedule 5 which necessarily relates to local government, if
    a. that matter would most effectively be administered locally; and
    b. the municipality has the capacity to administer it.
5. A municipality has the right to exercise any power concerning a matter reasonably necessary for, or incidental to, the effective performance of its functions."

The Constitution sets out specific areas deemed the legislative competence of local government. Below are the areas specific to the food system (Schedule 4 (b) and Schedule 5 (a))

Control of public nuisances
Licensing and control of undertakings that sell food to the public
Local amenities
Markets
Municipal abattoirs (the City's abattoir was privatised in 2003)
Municipal parks and recreation
Public places
Refuse removal, refuse dumps and solid waste disposal
Street trading

(Source: SA Constitution, Act 108 of 1996, 1331(2) and 1331(37))

Box 1: Extracts from the South African Constitution

Different urban areas use different terms to describe the different departments. General terms will be used with a brief overview of some of the food system responsibilities

that local government departments oversee. Spatial planning is responsible for guiding the spatial and physical transformation of a particular urban area. A key tool in this process is the spatial development framework, a strategic document that describes and then formulates the medium-term land use strategies. It is here where the retention of productive agricultural land is formally considered. Often located within spatial planning is the responsibility to consider and approve building plans. These decisions directly impact the spatial characteristics of the local food environment, particularly in areas such as retail and residential mix.

Environmental management departments or units are often responsible for the protection of the environment and play a key role in protecting food system assets, be this land, water courses and preventing pollution. Economic development and the food system are closely aligned. The economic development departments are responsible for promoting economic activity and growth, thus reducing poverty. In the general Southern view of urban agriculture as an economic development intervention, a number of economic development departments actively support such processes. Further the economic development departments are often responsible for the licensing and regulation of traders, a key food system component. Many health responsibilities in South Africa are the responsibility of provincial governments. However, health departments at the city scale regulate, monitor and control the quality and safety of food products supplied to citizens. Health departments award licences and certificates to food service facilities as well as conduct random inspections.

As the name denotes, human settlements is more than housing. Besides managing housing stock and assisting in the delivery of subsidy houses to urban residents, housing departments are responsible for improving the quality of living environments and developing integrated human settlements. Food and the food system are essential components of integrated human settlements. Battersby (2011) found that access to formal housing was an important enabler of food security, highlighting the importance to housing to food security. Other departments such as transport also play an essential role in the food system. The food choices of many urban residents are informed by transport options. Risk and disaster management, as the name denotes, often respond to food system needs in times of crisis. Being strategic in these responses and responding in appropriate ways are essential components of rapid recovery from specific shocks. The energy departments play an indirect role but intersect with the food system through pricing. Increases in energy costs generally result in cash that may have been used to purchase food being spent on energy, thus reducing dietary diversity and nutrition.

Other departments such as social development are responsible for emergency food support processes and often serve as coordinators to NGOs and other organisations active in this field, minimising the duplication food system support efforts. These approaches and departmental obligations reflect more traditional and conservative siloed descriptions of local government responsibilities within the context of the food system. New approaches are emerging.

Within the context of South African policy and food security challenges, compounded by the extent and nature of urbanisation, focussing on the urban scale as an area of food security and food system intervention is a new consideration. The following section considers two developing processes. Neither process has been subjected to any form of peer review or interrogation. As a result, the next section will frame the challenges of the different localities through a contextual description. This will be followed by a description of the processes and the informants to the processes. Research that has informed the projects coupled with key informant interviews is used to substantiate and confirm specific aspects pertinent to each process.

5.3. South African urban food governance initiatives

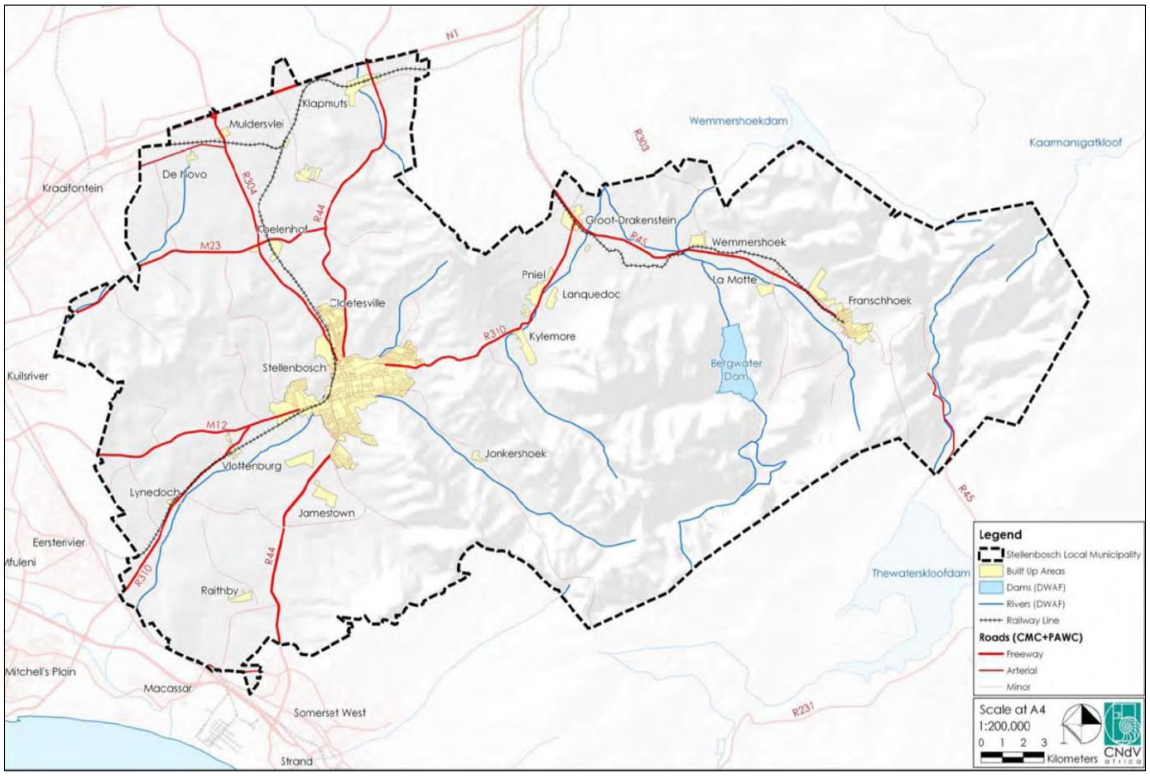
The Cape Town and Stellenbosch cases discussed in this section differ considerably in approach, population and geographical size. The two areas share some basic features that are germane to food governance. Both have executives and democratically elected councillors accountable to the constituents of the specific areas. These two councils are both led by a mayoral committee, headed by a mayor. The political office bearers are supported in their work by non-political government officials who function in accordance with a variety of statutory processes. Local governments in the two urban areas have similar operating processes and reporting lines.

As already discussed, the accounts of the food system interventions and the two nascent food governance approaches are not intended to be read as a comparative analysis but rather as a narrative that supports a wider argument about the processes and challenges involved in establishing local food governance interventions.

5.3.1. Stellenbosch food governance review

In this thesis the term Stellenbosch is used to denote the broader Stellenbosch Municipality. This municipal area covers approximately 900 km (SM-IDP, 2012: 11) and includes towns and farming areas connecting these towns. (Figure 5.4). Apart from formal settlement areas, a number of informal settlements are present (SM-IDP, 2012: 11). The most notable of these is Enkanini, part of Kayamandi in the town of Stellenbosch. Enkanini has experienced significant growth in the past 10 years (Tavener-Smith, 2012).

The Stellenbosch Municipality falls within the Cape Winelands District Municipality, one of five district municipalities within the Western Cape. The Cape Winelands District Municipality (WDM) is detailed in Figure 5.5.



(Source: Stellenbosch IDP, 2013: 13)

Figure 5.4: Stellenbosch municipal region with key towns and road networks

Stellenbosch is a town steeped in history. Whatever the proportions of authenticity, artifice and nostalgia, the town's reconstructed past assists in providing a foundation to understand current challenges. The nature of the history raises questions about processes that

may be necessary to extricate the town from its past, its constructed narratives and its current challenges. Food security and a flawed food system are among those challenges.

When considering its history, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1988: 151) describes the touristic part of the town of Stellenbosch as an "open-air museum of itself", specifically preserved to present the town's history and heritage (Grundlingh and Scott, 2012: 237). This is a heritage with many historical associations, some of which are deeply embedded in South Africa's segregated history. One such history is that the town is considered "birthplace of the apartheid ideology" (Slamat, et al, 2012: 269). Stellenbosch, the town, and the associated areas within the municipality remain contested space, space viewed differently by different groups of the population (Grundlingh and Scott, 2012: 237). The nature of the development of the town and that of the region cannot be disentangled from racial heritage binaries. As Gilomee asserts, the historic core of the town owes much to the slaves, brown artisans and master builders Gilomee (2007). Stellenbosch as the core town in the region, along with Franschhoek and its French Huguenot historical heritage, remain caught in a discourse that embraces a Eurocentric version of history.

(Source: WCPG, 2012)

Figure 5.5: District and sub-district municipalities of the Western Cape

The Stellenbosch municipal population comprised 155 733 residents in 2011 (StatsSA, 2012b: 13). The racial demography reflects a dominance of people classified as Coloured, being 52.7 percent, Africans 28.3 percent, Whites 18.6 percent, and Asians 0.4 percent (StatsSA, 2012b: 56-59, own calculations). In terms of population growth, Stellenbosch recorded a 2.7 percent growth rate in 2011 (StatsSA, 2012b: 54).

Enkanini is the largest informally settled area within Stellenbosch and represents one of the areas with the greatest housing need. In Stellenbosch the relationship between urban areas and the adjoining rural areas means that the majority of the population in fact live in the urban areas, while many still work in the adjoining rural areas. In their discussion on Stellenbosch spatial trends Donaldson and Morkel (2012) draw on Van Kempen's debates on the partitioned city, describing "the interrelationship between exclusion and race, class and subcultures; the walling/hardening of boundaries between and among the quarters and the central role of living spaces in these processes" (Donaldson and Morkel, 2012: 57) to describe how the town is "quartered" or remains divided according to social, ethnic and cultural lines. The nature and quality of shelter in Stellenbosch reflects a clear splintering or quartering of the community. The Stellenbosch housing challenge remains significant: residents most in need of accommodation are crowded into an estimated 6 000 informal dwellings and 9 000 backyard shacks (SM-IDP, 2012: 25; Donaldson and Morkel, 2012: 63). The 9 000 backyard dwellings shelter an estimated 27 000 people (Tavener-Smith, 2012: 69). In Kayamandi (including Enkanini) the housing density is 36 units per hectare while in the wealthier neighbourhoods the densities are between 6 and 3 units per hectare (Nicks, 2012: 26). While the housing variations reflect the extent of splintering within Stellenbosch, this splintering however extends beyond just housing and includes economic access and food security.

Stellenbosch has an unusually robust economic base, with a diversity of economic contributors (SM-IDP, 2012: 24-25). Despite this, unemployment in the region highlights the racial history of the area with the majority of unemployed being either Coloured or Blank African (SM-IDP, 2012: 24). Agricultural employment has declined from 24 percent in 2001 to 7 percent of total employment in 2008 (SM, 2009:20).

When considering questions of equity, Stellenbosch remains a microcosm of South African society (Ewert, 2012: 255). The Gini coefficient for Stellenbosch in 2009 was 0.61, which was higher (more unequal) than the provincial figure of 0.59 (Ewert, 2012: 259).The

challenges of inequality, a high demand for formal housing, declining employment and a declining agricultural economy epitomise the development challenge in the area. Food supply, and food security in particular, are not the least of multiple parallel and mutually reinforcing obstacles.

5.3.1.1. Institutional networks

Stellenbosch could be referred to as a 'university town' one where the relationship between key stakeholders in the town has an impact on how development takes place and the actors in these processes.[43] An informal and unsubstantiated claim is that over 60 percent of all employment in Stellenbosch is absorbed by Stellenbosch University and the Stellenbosch Municipality. This comprises a critical constituency. The relationship between these two dominant entities within the town is formalised through a structure known as the "Rector-Mayor Forum". The purpose of the forum is described as

> The Stellenbosch Rector-Mayor Forum is aimed at making Stellenbosch a sustainable university town by putting the University's expertise in a variety of fields at the service of the municipality.[44]

Aligned to the Rector-Mayor Forum are the activities of the Hope Project, a wide ranging strategic programme of the University of Stellenbosch. As the above quote denotes, central to the workings of the Rector-Mayor Forum is the alignment between Stellenbosch University research and the needs of the town of Stellenbosch. One of the core values of the forum partnership is the focus on sustainability and sustainable development. The workings of the Rector-Mayor Forum mean that initiatives within the wider Hope Project are often communicated with senior city representatives prior to formal communications with official structures.

Besides the process of communicating Stellenbosch-based research to town leadership, town leadership can also articulate specific needs via the forum where university representatives on the forum would then investigate ways in which to respond to these needs.

[43] Donaldson and Morkel make use of the term "studentification" to describe accommodation and planning processes in certain parts of Stellenbosch (Donaldson and Morkel, 2012: 64)
[44] See: http://thehopeproject.co.za/hope/projects/academic/TsamaHub/pages/about.aspx [12 February 2014]

This institutional arrangement formalises a wide range of other, perhaps less formal, interactions between town officials and the University. The arrangement also builds relationships and assists in ensuring overall strategic focus in terms of research and projects specific to Stellenbosch.

Although not formally requested via the Rector-Mayor Forum, the development of the Draft Stellenbosch Food System Strategy (DSFSS) was part of the overall Hope Project and emerged out of other more formalised research processes discussed at the Rector-Mayor Forum. Conceptually the DSFSS did however align with the strategic goal of the Rector-Mayor Forum, that of putting the Universities expertise at the disposal of Stellenbosch with the intention of creating a "sustainable Stellenbosch".

5.3.1.2. Draft Stellenbosch food system strategy

As part of the wider Hope Project, the Rector of Stellenbosch University initiated the Food Security Initiative.[45] This resulted in a number of different University departments submitting research proposals focusing on food security. Although the primary focus was on health and nutrition, a number of agriculturally oriented projects made up the overarching Food Security Initiative research focus. Within this, questions linking sustainability to the wider food security question were absent. As a result, the Sustainability Institute was approached and asked to consider food security within the context of sustainability but with a focus on Stellenbosch. This precipitated the development of a food security strategy for Stellenbosch, driven initially as a conceptual research project.

The articulation of food security within the Stellenbosch Integrated Development Plan (IDP) (SM-IDP, 2010: 5) and other reports inferring levels of vulnerability within Stellenbosch (Kelly and Schulschenk, 2011: 565) implied a level of food insecurity. Within planning and other documents for the region, no strategic interventions were articulated to address food security other than food gardens in poor communities (SM-IDP, 2010). The absence of a strategic approach to the food security challenge prompted the commissioning of a food system study for Stellenbosch. As part of this process, a Draft Food System Strategy[46] was developed. This strategy was formally presented to Stellenbosch Municipality and after a

[45] See http://blogs.sun.ac.za/fsi/
[46] For the full strategy see:
http://www.sustainabilityinstitute.net/assets/news_article_files/stellenbosch_draft_food_strategy_july_2011.pdf

consultation process the strategy was formally adopted by the municipal MAYCO. The adoption of the strategy meant that the MAYCO gave permission for the formal deployment of the proposed strategy under the name of Stellenbosch and allowed the engagement with food system stakeholders.

The following section presents findings from the study, describes the strategies suggested and offers insights and evidence as to why the strategy failed. These findings have a direct bearing on the role of food policy councils and the community scale complexities evident. Insights into the processes required in developing such food governance processes are inferred from this.

The articulation of the Stellenbosch food system strategy as a draft indicates the fact that regardless of approval from the Stellenbosch municipality, the document was conceptual and provided the initial foundation for the possible development of a longer-term formal food system strategy. Despite the conceptual nature, the research and approaches that informed the development of the draft strategy offer valuable insights into process, politics and challenges associated with the development of such strategies. These specific details will be discussed following a description of the strategy development process. This information has been drawn from the strategy document in order to contextualise the approaches and conceptual engagement with food system policy and food security interventions.

The strategy development process was driven by three food system-related questions specific to the Stellenbosch region:

1. What should be a priority, given available time, money, data, and public interest?
2. How can this interest be developed in a manner that facilitates the development of an equitable and just food system?
3. What kind of food system could serve both the human and broader ecological community, build resilience, and eliminate the unfair and destructive components of the current food system?

(DSFSS, 2011: 31)

Initial research and the preliminary scan of documents and certain agricultural practices pointed to issues of a wider systemic nature. The shift from a research project to the development of a food security strategy for Stellenbosch was captured in the following statement:

> The assumption that the nature and context of the Stellenbosch food system requires a more encompassing approach; one that goes beyond interventions and projects limited to food security, to one that considers the entire food system that encompasses food production, distribution, preparation, preservation, consumption, recycling and disposal of waste, and support systems.
>
> (DSFSS, 2011: 29).

Conceptually, the strategy was informed by an overarching sustainability ethos. Here the connection to the University processes requires mention. The Food Security Initiative within the Hope Project had called for a sustainability oriented perspective and directed the request for this to the Division Head: Sustainable Development in the School of Public Leadership at the University of Stellenbosch, who sat on the Rector-Mayor Forum. The Sustainability Institute then ran the Sustainable Stellenbosch Food System study. The result of these processes was that the strategy was developed through a number of research projects focussing specifically on different local food system notions of sustainability. Most of these concepts were uncritically imported from Northern literatures dealing with localisation, food miles, embeddedness, food sovereignty, local economies, sustainable agriculture and organic agriculture.

The need for data prompted a number of research projects designed to provide a greater level of understanding of the context-specific challenges within the Stellenbosch region. These research projects had distinct sustainability orientations. The first target was to gain a deeper understanding of the extent and nature of food insecurity. Research by Schulschenk (2010) and later Kelly and Schulschenk (2011) offered insights into the possible food security status but in order to formulate a strategy, added detail was required. The DSFSS used unpublished (2011) work by Van der Berg who carried out a review of actors who were responding to the food security need in Stellenbosch. This work investigated the role played by Community Based Organisations (CBOs), Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) active in wider food insecurity response actions. The areas of focus included food relief, school feeding and other food support processes. Van der Berg interviewed 61 FBO, CBO and NGO organisations. This research found that the food support organisations active in the region provided in excess of 13 600 meals daily to food insecure residents of Stellenbosch (almost 9 percent of the population)[47].

[47] Using the StatsSA 2012 population figures of 155 733

Other actors confirmed the findings of Van der Berg highlighting the fact that food insecurity in the municipality was high and that distinct hunger seasons tracked the seasonality of tourism and agricultural employment. An example cited was that over 80 percent of all borrowing through the community credit and savings cooperative takes place in order to procure food[48] (DSFSS, 2011).

The sustainability-type questions that supported the development of the strategy were highlighted in other key inputs into the strategy. Here the local production system received considerable attention. In the analysis of agricultural production in the Stellenbosch region, Kelly and Schulschenk illustrated that while agriculture accounts for over 80 percent of land use, the predominant farming activity is wine production (2011: 564) where deciduous fruits (including wine grapes) contribute 87.5 percent to gross farm horticultural income, vegetables 9.9 percent and other horticultural products 2.6 percent (Kelly and Schulschenk, 2011: 569). Argued differently, wine grapes (71.5 percent) and peaches (9.6 percent) are the biggest contributors to agricultural land use (SM-MSPF, 2010: 82). In the Western Cape a similar, although less horticultural-oriented, product mix exists where 65 percent of agricultural income is derived from horticultural crops and 23 percent from vegetables (WESGRO, 2012). A primary reason for the change is due to the vegetable production of the Southern Cape region (Daniels, 2012).

Food category	**Percentage of total diet by weight**
Cereals	53
Milk	8
Meat	7
Sugar	7
Vegetables	6
Fruits	6
Roots	4
Alcohol	4

(Source: Kelly and Schulschenk, 2011: 573)

Table 5.1: Current food consumption composition by weight

[48] Of course, requesting a loan to buy food may enable approval, whereas stating honestly that the loan was for other purchases may not. SACCO staff argued that food was the item most needed.

Estimating the food consumption patterns within the Stellenbosch Municipal Area, Kelly and Schulschenk argued that most of the food consumed in Stellenbosch originates from other areas (2011: 572). The dietary breakdown reflected a diet where cereals were the key ingredient (Table 5.1).

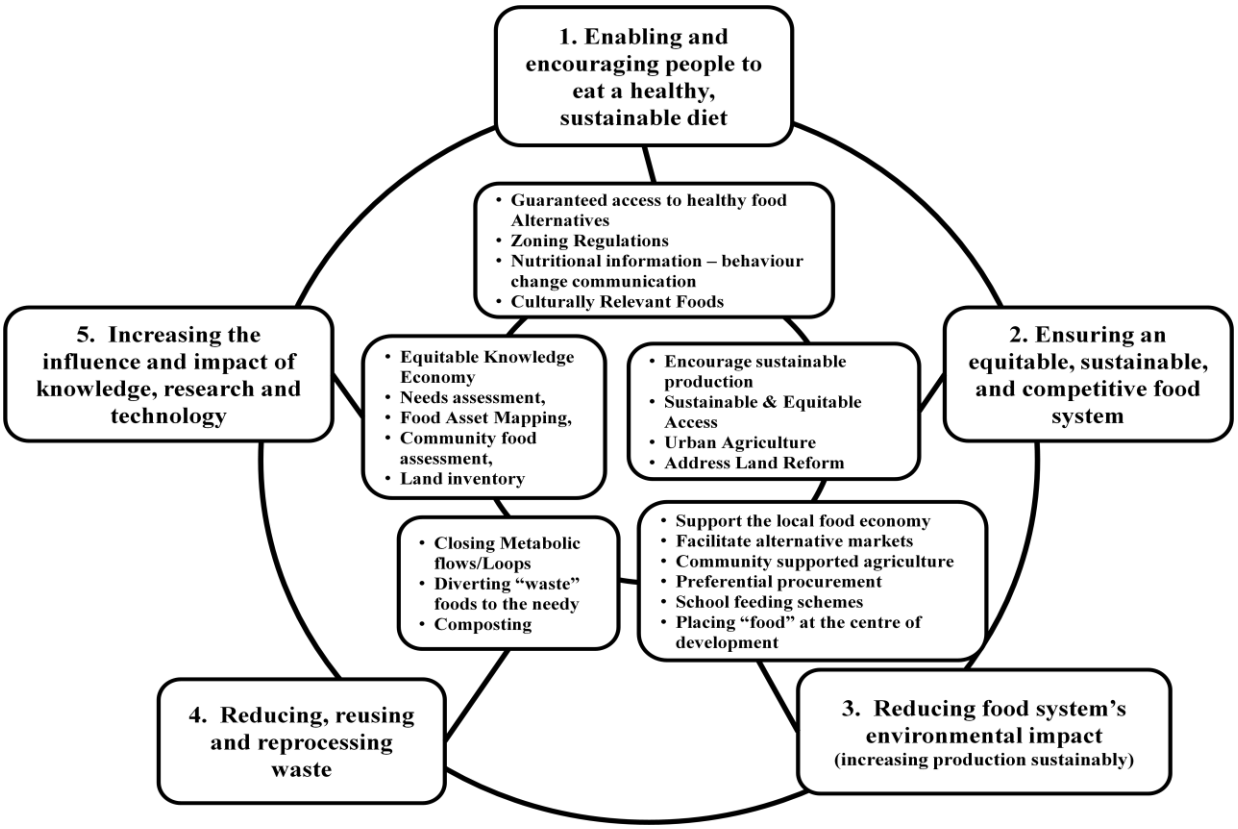
For the wider Western Cape region, again a similar consumption profile exists with the same cereal consumption but higher levels of sugar (9 percent) and meat (11 percent, which included offal) but a reduction in fruits (3 percent) (DAFF, 2013).

The draft strategy further applied a distinctly local focus, using the work of Landman (2011). Landman's work investigated a number of local food system actors and while blockages were noted, it was argued that localisation offered potential opportunities to the strategic re-orientation of the Stellenbosch food system.

The draft strategy drew on a number of smaller case studies and investigations. One such review was to consider the local farmers who had, or were, transitioning to sustainable agricultural practices.

The strong localisation and sustainability narrative that ran through the draft strategy are reflected in Figure 5.6 describing key strategic areas of intervention and the sub-programmes suggested.

The strategy linked nutrition and sustainability, calling for the introduction of healthy and sustainable food alternatives supported by educational and information driven processes to assist in a transition to a healthy diet. The links to a sustainability perspective were evident in the second programme which linked equity to sustainability and included within this sustainable food production, urban agriculture and land reform. The goal of reducing the food system's environmental impact further embraced the sustainable agricultural ethos but also considered local market systems, particularly community-supported agriculture, alternative food markets and changes to school feeding. The fourth programme considered the waste impact of the food system. The fifth programme drew on the knowledge assets of the region, including the University of Stellenbosch, the Scientific Research Council based in Stellenbosch, and various agricultural research entities in the region.



(Source: DSFSS, 2011: 63-76)

Figure 5.6: DSFSS conceptual framework and programmes

The strategy drew heavily on North America food policy council work (See Chapter 4) to inform the governance structures envisaged. Here work of key advocates and sites of municipal food governance spurred the proposal to initiate a voluntary pluralistic governance structure (Dahlberg, 1999; Harper et al, 2009; City of Portland, 2009; City of Vancouver, 2007; Toronto Food Policy Council, 2000) (See Figure 5.7).

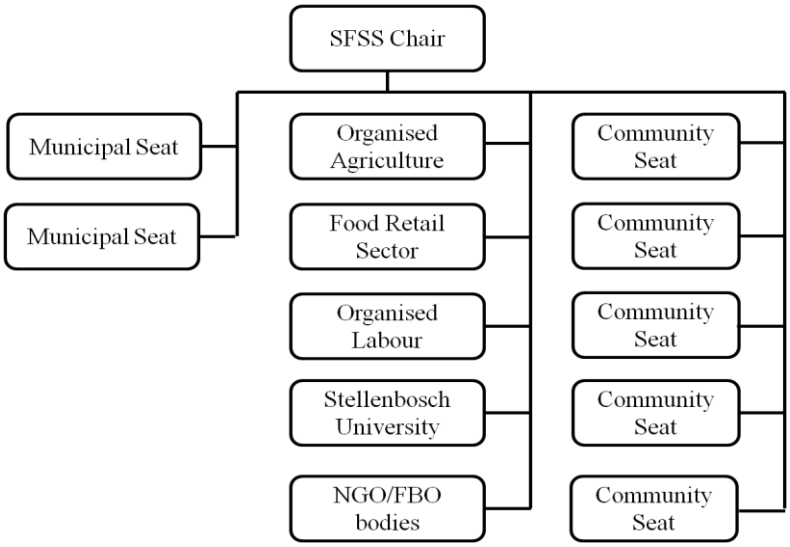
It was proposed that the governance structure would then formalise specific food policy functions, informed by further research within the programmes identified. The strategy was presented as a draft in recognition of the fact that more research and greater consultation was required. It was envisaged that the governance structure would take responsibility for the transition form a draft conceptual strategy to one that adopted more strategic food system governance processes.

A staged approach was suggested within the DSFSS (2011):

Stage 1 – Conceptualisation and consultation (the work carried out to inform the draft strategy)

Stage 2 – Structure and Leadership (the structuring and identification of leadership structures and representatives of the designated stakeholder groups)

Stage 3 – Implementation (formal programmatic initiation)



(Source DSFSS, 2011: 82)

Figure 5.7: Proposed food strategy governance structure

The formulation of the draft strategy was carried out as a research project but community consultation took place in the process. Two consultation meetings took place. The first took the form of a workshop while the second process was a facilitated focus group process seeking to stimulate an interrogation of the strategy. The focus group process took place on the 4th of November 2011, a few months after the MAYCO had formally approved the strategy (14th September 2011).[49] At the second consultation process, food system mapping exercises assisted in describing individual and community scale food system understanding (Annexure 3 and 4). Approval via the MAYCO emerged from an earlier

[49] From a research strategy perspective, at the second consultation process the roles had changed from DSFSS author to PhD Research – as detailed in Chapter 3.

process of consultation with local government officials, particularly the director of Social Development.

Following the granting of formal approval to continue with the development of the draft strategy by the MAYCO in 2011 and the initial focus group process in November 2011, no further food strategy activities have taken place. The envisaged actions described in the draft strategy remain at Stage 1. Despite formal adoption, the proposed Draft Stellenbosch Food System Strategy remains a conceptual research-driven document with no attributable food system or food security actions emerging from it.

It is necessary to reiterate the fact that the process that led to the development of the DSFSS, was a university driven focus with a very particular food system orientation. The work of university researchers and student research projects shaped the discourse. The concepts did not originate from within the municipality. Highlighting this is important for two reasons. Firstly, although the municipality endorsed the draft strategy, no municipal official or council member had participated in the process other than attending a stakeholder workshop. Secondly, the strategy is an outcome of the particular relationships that the town and university have, perhaps one that it somewhat too strategic and removed from actual needs.

The analysis that follows interrogates the Draft Stellenbosch Food System Strategy. First, a review provides insights into the viability and merit of the strategy. Second, food system stakeholders were revisited to gain their understanding of the reasons for the stalled nature of the strategy. Finally, the strategy is compared to the key components identified in the review of food policy councils elsewhere (Table 4.5).

5.3.1.1. Stellenbosch food strategy analysis

Responses to the nature and approach within the strategy were favourable. A number of different stakeholders offered support at the stakeholder meeting held in November 2011. From this, a broad level of acceptance for the process and contents of the strategy was assumed. Further the response from the local municipality and the formal adoption of the strategy were seen to be validation of the strategic approach suggested. However, the strategy did not materialise into action.

The Draft Stellenbosch Food System Strategy aligned in principle to the values articulated within international urban food governance approaches. Most notable are those of Portland, Oregon and the two Canadian cities of Vancouver and Toronto. Central to these values is a sustainability ethos. While not necessarily the ethos within the Canadian and Portland FPCs, the alignment to key sustainability themes of a transition to sustainable agriculture and localisation were central to the arguments and perspectives offered in the DSFSS.

The DSFSS challenge was that these sustainability interventions were argued to offer solutions as to how food insecurity and a flawed food system could be resolved. Below are a number of extracts from the Stellenbosch Food System Strategy, used to highlight some of these challenges. Speaking of agriculture, this was argued to require a shift:

> to build local resilience to shocks, climate change adaptation and a new ethic in agriculture, one that seeks to play a restorative role in terms of land and its productivity, with a specific focus on soils.
>
> (DSFSS, 2011: 55)

> towards production systems based instead on ecologically restorative partnerships with soils and other natural systems.
>
> (DSFSS, 2011: 57)

> a fundamental review of the Stellenbosch food economy is required if food security and sustainability are to be achieved in the future. Local government needs to move to a stage where they play an active role in removing barriers to and creating incentives for producing food in more sustainable ways.
>
> (DSFSS, 2011: 63)

The above quotations reflect distinctly productionist orientations. The assumption that sustainable production would enable access to healthy foods is a theme in the DSFSS. This was particularly evident in one of the key priorities of the Stellenbosch strategy, that of "enabling and encouraging people to eat a healthy, sustainable diet" (DSFSS, 2011: 60). At no time within the strategy was an answer provided to how sustainability processes assist food security. Far greater detail is required on the processes, actions and initiatives necessary

to enable the attainment of food security. This flaw was further evidenced in the assertion, as per the key priority cited above (DSFSS, 2011: 60), that sustainably produced food was more nutritious. Such assertions needed to be supported by detailed evidence. A further central theme was that the localised food economy would translate into food security.

> To act as a vehicle for growing a sustainable Stellenbosch food system, the local-food distribution network must build social capital. Initial projects should include strategising with the community; ... outreach and education initiatives; supportive municipal policies; and the creation of harmonious urban-rural links.
>
> (DSFSS, 2011: 48)

> Agriculture plans and zoning are two direct ways to affect land use and encourage local food production.
>
> (DSFSS, 2011: 64)

Arguments for the localised agenda were offered in supporting documentation provided, but arguments warning against the "local trap" (such as Born and Purcell, 2009) were not mentioned. The lack of critical engagement in the sustainability-oriented solutions proposed undermined the credibility of the draft strategy. The result was a strategy that was superficially interesting and contained the necessary phrasing and framing required in contemporary strategic documents, but was undermined by the ideological stance taken in favour of sustainability and the absence of practicable actions and evidence to support the ideological stance.

The sustainability-informed ideas and concepts may hold merit but required far greater explanation and detail for them to provide credible support for the strategy document. It could be argued by sustainability practitioners and supporters that such sustainability goals are necessary as targets to achieve the required outcome. This is not disputed. However, the challenge of the particular framing of the solutions was that it ignored current interests within the community, interests that were generally contrary to the deeper sustainability perspectives contained within the strategy.

This challenge was further highlighted in the DSFSS where unilateral calls for changes to the current food system were articulated and while not expressly stated, there was a sense of top down interventionist approaches being seen as acceptable:

> At a local level authorities should adopt bylaws that require restaurants and other food service outlets to provide nutritional information on menus and advertising so consumers are more aware of the health consequences of food choices. Methods such as standards and menu-labelling can be relatively cost-effective interventions.
>
> (DSFSS, 2011: 62)

The approach suggested in the DSFSS grapples with the challenges experienced in South African agriculture, particularly questions relating to farm viability and the nature of the markets. The DSFSS certainly seeks to engage with the transition-oriented challenges detailed in Chapter 2. As a secondary town, Stellenbosch has to deal with the impacts of the second urban transition, evidenced in the growth of Enkanini. The agricultural environment with its high export levels of processed commodities reflects the third food regime described by McMichael (2009). It is perhaps in the articulation of the Draft Stellenbosch Food System Strategy processes where aspects of the "middle class angst" associated with alternative food networks (Goodman and Goodman, 2007) that draw attention to the possible fault lines in the DSFSS.

It is argued that conceptually, while speaking to a spatially-focused strategy, the reality is that different alternative food geographies (AFG) captured the ethos of what was being described in the DSFSS. This was also evident in the literatures used within the DSFSS. The DSFSS is not a specific scale-focused AFG. The DSFSS is in effect a mix of a production-focused AFG, with the dominance of sustainable agriculture and agro-ecological interventions, drawing on Altieri (1995) and Altieri and Nicholls (2005) and Pretty (2009). The second AFG that influences much of the approach is the end user AFG with the pro-farmer and the food sovereignty orientation, and the unstated but implied challenge of the globalised food system calling for embeddedness (Feenstra, 2002) and community supported agriculture interventions.

Other critiques of the DSFSS are more conceptual and speak to the approach taken. South African agriculture is highly industrialised and certain agricultural specialists and researchers, who have had the ear of government, do not look particularly favourably on sustainable agriculture and sustainability oriented solutions to food system issues, despite the transitionary stresses and shifts evident on the farms (See Moffett, 2007; Metelerkamp, 2011). Such specialists still retain influence in academic institutions and within government, particularly the Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries (Daniels, 2012). The

Faculty of Agri-sciences at Stellenbosch University has recently begun engaging in questions of sustainable agriculture but their engagement remains new and emerging. This presents an interesting contradiction. The university and municipality network is influential, particularly the Rector-Mayor Forum, yet even in the university context, different perspectives are held, even contradicting the DSFSS process. Responses from governmental departments directly challenged the sustainability-aligned perspectives and as a result chose not to engage in the DSFSS process, going as far as to advise others within the department to avoid the process.[50] These responses indicate a need to encourage a far greater level of cooperation in processes. The international food policy processes that have been successful have provided the space for a variety of views, perspectives and opinions to inform the ultimate strategy. This was the intended goal of the DSFSS, as evidenced in the governance structure and the governance processes suggested. However, such inclusionary perspectives were not evident in what informed the actual strategic foundation of the DSFSS. This meant that a number of key food system actors, regardless of their perceived role in the food system flaws, were excluded through the approach adopted in the strategy. This then created further limitations for leveraging off key knowledge institutions within the region.

The lack of contextual understanding was also evident in reasons offered by other bodies and food system stakeholders for the stalling of the Draft Stellenbosch Food System Strategy. Responses described below were derived from interviews and from a focus group session held to discuss the DSFSS.

The key informant interviews revealed distrust of local government amongst the different food security organisations. This distrust grows out of a specific history between the organisations and municipality.[51] Some informants (Anonymous, 2012) cited differences of opinion at a personal level with municipal officials. This negated any desire to engage in the DSFSS. What became clear was that while certain civil society organisations were in favour of the Stellenbosch Draft Food System Strategy and would have supported it, they withdrew when the Stellenbosch Municipality indicated that it would play a direct role in this process, even through just the official mandating of the strategy. The complexity of the situation is that many organisations work with government, supporting emergency feeding processes,

[50] Evidence of these conversations was forwarded to me in error. As a result, they are deemed embargoed. Copies of the correspondence have been seen by my supervisor, but they are not referenced to protect government officials who felt that such banning practices were inappropriate.

[51] Limited detail of this history was provided. All discussion on the history of disagreement was requested to be off the record. For this reason, what is articulated herein has been agreed to by the respondents but no further detail is provided.

school meals and other welfare interventions, but the beneficiaries of such actions are the focus. The relationships between food system actors and components within the municipality were strained at the time of the research. Government officials however, made no mention of any tension in this regard (Linde, 2011). There was a view that providing an official mandate to the DSFSS was were the municipalities remit ended (Carolissen, 2013).

A second research process initiated to understand the food system strategy was a focus group called with a wide variety of non-governmental practitioners, many whose remit included food security and health. The focus group discussion took the form of a set of discussion points on the challenges of food security within the region followed by a facilitated question and answer session. One of the key points for discussion was to question who should play a role in the governance of food within the Stellenbosch area and why the DSFSS had not enabled a more proactive approach to food governance.

For the focus group discussion, calling the community group that had been initially consulted was not possible: some people had left the area, some had understood the process differently. Moreover, new food system actors active in Stellenbosch had been identified and warranted inclusion in the focus group process. Some who participated in the initial process attended the focus group meeting. This provided an opportunity to engage with a broader group, one that represented a wide variety of organisations, the majority of which were concerned in some way with food security. The core group was an inter-organisational body, the *Stellenbos Welsyns-en Ontwikkelingskoordinerinskomitee* or SWOKK (Stellenbosch Welfare and Development Co-ordination Committee). SWOKK comprises groups such as the hospice, feeding schemes, shelters and privately funded community service organisations, as well as a number of university partners and public sector organisations. The discussions highlighted three key difficulties with the DSFSS:

- While food impacted on the work of a number of organisations, among those for whom it was not their core competency or focus there was concern that an increased focus on food within the region and organisationally could divert attention from core mandates of their organisations.
- Food access and ensuring food and nutritional security was a role that the state should be fulfilling in terms of broader food system structural issues.
- In terms of food relief and food aid, some felt that initiating another process, such as that envisaged in the DSFSS, would either result in overlap, the duplication of existing

processes or the centralisation of certain processes that could result in reduced services to communities. Speaking in general terms, there was a sense that increased support for existing organisations was more advisable than the formation of another body to assist with such processes.

The intended governance process of the DSFSS reflected a representative and participatory process. The challenge was that in the absence of a specific management mandate, delegated to key individuals or a specifically delegated group tasked to manage the formal development of the strategy, no leadership was taken in the continuation of the strategy. As Pieterse argued (2013d), the role of government is to play a convening role in such processes. This is perhaps the role that the municipality could have played in this process, regardless of the feelings towards certain municipal actors on the part of civil society.

Despite Pieterse's (2013d) articulation of the role that the municipality "should" play, the central challenge in the Stellenbosch food system strategy process is that no local entity has an official mandate to take responsibility for food system-related actions. The nationally driven IFSS does not align with local needs and does not enable local ownership of food security issues. Unlike the two South American cities, despite government being obligated to ensure the progressive realisation of the right to food, Stellenbosch local municipality views their role as reactive as opposed to strategic. Despite its faults, the DSFSS provided the municipality with a vehicle to respond to the constitutional mandate but this opportunity was acted on only through the provision of a formal mandate, with no further active participation. A number of the local food policy councils reviewed in Chapter 4 reflected a wide variety of actions, many working to influence food policy and access at the local scale (See Winne, 2009, Harper et al, 2009). Despite a number of food system related groups such as the feeding programmes active in the Stellenbosch context, the civic groups did not actively pursue a more strategic approach. If a designated department of structure was accountable for food system actions at the local scale, it is surmised that the civic groups would engage and hold this group accountable for delivery.

The argument that the role of the municipality (remit) was only to approve and endorse the strategy does raise important questions about the understanding of the roles of local government and in particular how these roles are understood within the context of constitutional obligations. The Stellenbosch IDP implies that the role is understood that of

support to food gardens and remedial food support interventions: "We [the municipality] have failed to encourage people to farm again, not only providing food security but producing a surplus that meet the needs of the town" (SM-IDP, 2012: 62). Such a narrow remit limits deeper strategic interventions. When considering the different civil society groups engaged in food security support work, it is clear that they see their remit as being focused on their specific beneficiaries and beyond that, the remit should vest with the state.

The question of remit can be taken further in questioning the entire draft strategy development process. The response from the collection of civil society organisations that focus should rather be given to funding existing organisations, in this context, raises questions about the perceived utility of town-wide or scalar-focused food strategy approaches.

Drafting the strategy as an external research-driven process neglected significant food system networks and was removed from ongoing food security work and struggles. While certain data and knowledge were used, this remained locked in a very specific set of sustainability- and academia-centred silos. This process was thus unable to connect with the networks active on the ground needed to inform specific strategic perspectives. While most FPCs have an ideological orientation, it is argued that this needs to emerge out of the FPC development and governance processes and not be the key informant of the overarching strategy, as with the sustainability ethos in the case of the DSFSS. The absence of effective networks further limited access to required knowledge. Many FPCs place significant currency on knowledge and data and see this as a foundation of their work. Chapter 4 highlighted the extent of knowledge as a specific area of focus. The external and potentially privileged role (through the "elite" network of the Rector-Mayor Forum) played in the collection of data perhaps meant that this was overly superficial or missed the required rigour necessary to inform a robust strategy.

As a result, in the case of Stellenbosch, several key principles that informed international processes were omitted from consideration, regardless of their viability in the South African context. The absence of these principles, seen as foundational to food system strategy work at a particular scale, further undermined the Stellenbosch process.

In Stellenbosch there is evidence of food insecurity within certain communities. Many organisations actively offer support through a variety of feeding schemes and interventions. These remain focused on remedial interventions only. The various feeding programmes all

support the municipality when crises occur (Koen, 2012). There are no coordinated processes to address the systemic food security challenges within the region. The municipality remains reactive, doing admirable work alongside other agencies, but there is limited engagement with the broader food system. If a specific group within the municipality were designated the responsibility of food system intervention and worked with other stakeholders and government departments, even departments at the provincial scale, it is suggested that the strategy may have at least initiated certain local food governance processes in Stellenbosch.

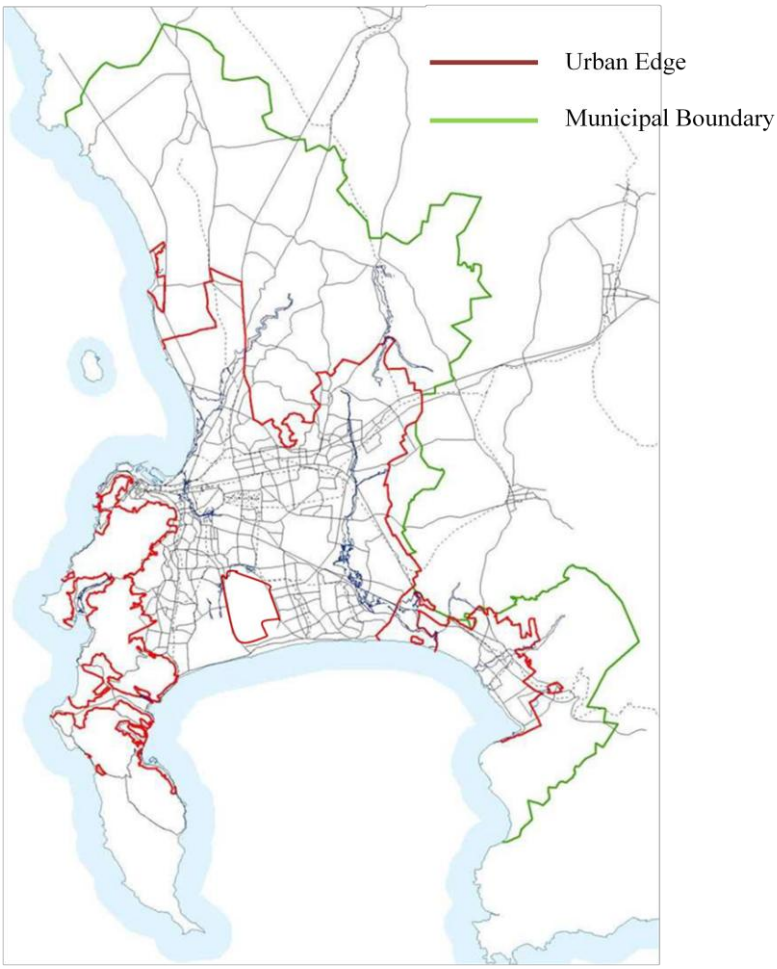
5.3.2. Cape Town food governance review

Cape Town offers interesting insights into the evolution of a set of food system processes. A slow and grounded process of strategic food system engagement is evolving in Cape Town. This processes culminated in a tender call to provide wide-ranging understanding about the nature of the Cape Town food system (CoCT, 2013b). This call reflects a desire to understand the food system in far greater detail, specifically calling for detailed consideration of the viable agricultural areas within the city, including the Philippi Horticultural Area. What is evident is that despite the emergence of a strategic food system engagement process, views of certain food system assets and other food system engagements at times appear to contradict the more systemic approach. Certain city officials are seeking to adopt a systemic scale oriented food system alternative food geography (AFG), while other officials and certain politicians are locked in remedial responses to food system challenges that have not begun to consider strategic food system actions as a necessary urban food system approach.

The Cape Town review differs to Stellenbosch. The Stellenbosch review considered an externally generated strategy document to understand the food system engagement at the local town scale. The Cape Town case will consider a process whereby a strategy is emerging, and at times not expressly stated, in Cape Town. Instead of discussing a specific strategy, the Cape Town review will cite certain food system actions that offer evidence of the emerging strategic food system engagements. The Cape Town case will then reflect on some of the contradictions evident in how certain actors and process within the city engage in the food system. This process will take the form of a brief enquiry into what is termed the Philippi Horticultural Area (PHA) zoning debate. This debate is useful as it provides insights

into food system perceptions but also the emergence of food system agency, bringing different food system stakeholders together.

As with Stellenbosch, the Cape Town review begins by providing a contextual framing of select aspects of the Cape Town food system. The review will then describe the food system strategy development process and then discuss the PHA "debate". The Cape Town review will then discuss the key principles drawn from the international place-specific food governance initiatives detailed in Table 4.5.



(Source: adapted from CoCT, 2003)

Figure 5.8: Cape Metropolitan Area

Two distinct geographical terms are used interchangeably to denote the Cape Town area. Cape Town as an administrative region includes the urban areas, but also includes rural areas that fall within the boundary of the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA). Unless referred specifically as Urban Cape Town Urban – the area falling solely within the urban edge, all

references to the City of Cape Town (CoCT) refer specifically to the administrative region. This is the region over which all City governance processes have jurisdiction.

This area is detailed in Figure 5.8 where the City of Cape Town boundary incorporates the urban areas, where the red lines denote the urban edge and the green lines reflect the extent of the City of Cape Town jurisdiction, the administrative boundary.

The City of Cape Town remains entrenched in an apartheid city typology with exclusion and significant inequality present. The 2010/2011[52] State of the World's Cities Report lists the Cape Town Gini coefficient as 0.67 (UN-Habitat, 2011), confirming significant inequality. The City of Cape Town applies the McKinsey Global Institute phrasing, describing itself as a developing-country midsized middleweight city region[53] (CoCT, 2010). This description masks certain development challenges. The 2012/2013 State of World Cities Report applied the Equity Index as a component of the general measurement of the prosperity of the city, the City Prosperity Index (CPI) (as opposed to the Gini coefficient), and concluded that:

> When the equity index is included in the CPI, Cape Town and Johannesburg drop from the bracket of cities with 'solid' prosperity factors and join the 'weak' or even 'very weak' group,
>
> (UN-Habitat, 2013: 20)

Van Graan, recognising the changes that have taken place in the transformation of society since 1994, draws attention to what has not changed:

> And now, even though we have embraced an 'of the people, by the people, for the people' democracy, 'the people' still appear to be forgotten too easily ... Cape Town is still a city in the making. The question is whose tastes, smells, feelings, sights and sounds will come to prevail in defining the character and experiences of the city?
>
> (Van Graan, 2007: v)

[52] A more recent report, the 2011/2013 State of World Cities report lists an equity index and the impact of this will be discussed later in the thesis.

[53] Defined as emerging-region cities with current populations of between 150 000 and ten million inhabitants. Middleweight cities are divided into three categories based on population size. Large middleweights - populations of five million to ten million, midsized middleweights - two million to five million, and small middleweights - 150 000 to two million. (McKinsey Global Institute, 2011).

Van Graan's statement alludes to the inequality present in the city but also questions whose voices, or agency, determine the nature of the City. The complex histories of both South Africa and Cape Town are implied in the above statement. This history is critical as it is the foundation of the form, nature and politics of Cape Town. The history of Cape Town is deeply entwined with the region's food history.

A food narrative is interwoven into many of the Cape's historical accounts, from trade between residents of the area and European spice trade ships travelling to the East, to the reasons for the founding of the first formal European settlement (a refreshment station fed by the Dutch East India Company's Garden still evident in the Cape Town city centre), to the food access challenges (food insecurity) associated with that settlement, and to the role that food and the control over grazing played in the subjugation of the original residents of the area. Food and the need to protect grazing land and the settlement reflect the first forms of 'apartheid' deployed within the Cape Town region (Clare, 2010). The ability to ensure food access was essential in the development and expansion of the early European settlement in the region. The need to acquire food remains a critical city endeavour today. The challenge of ensuring that food was available in the city was evident during the later part of the 1800s and adds further to the city's food history.

Following the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1867, the region experienced significant growth. By the 1880s Cape Town's need to ensure food availability increased. Settlers from northern Germany were offered farm lands by the Cape authorities. These lands comprised the area known today as the Philippi Horticultural Area (PHA). Different groups took up the offer from the Cape authorities but the settlers who arrived in Cape Town in 1883 made up the bulk of the Philippi farming community. Although the farmers faced challenges, they managed to turn the sandy soils of the Cape Flats into the vegetable garden of Cape Town (Rabe, 2010). Today as much as 50 percent of certain crops consumed in Cape Town are still cultivated in the Philippi Horticultural Area (Battersby and Haysom, 2012).

Other food related narratives are entwined in the history of Cape Town. One such narrative highlights the role that food played in mobilisation across different sectors of the community. The formation of the Cape Town Women's Food Committee (CTWFC) is an interesting instance. It emerged out of Queue Committees set up in 1946 to ensure order at the food distribution points following rationing after the Second World War. By 1947 the CTWFC represented an estimated 30 000 women from across the Cape Peninsula. Although

many members joined the CTWFC to ensure food access, their engagement with the CTWFC resulted in women playing an active role in the politics of that period. The CTWFC laid the foundation for the politicisation of a number of prominent women in the struggle against apartheid (Walker, 1992).[54]

Cape Town falls within the Western Cape Province which, since 2001, experienced a 29 percent growth in population (StatsSA, 2012b). Between 2001 and 2011, the population of Cape Town grew from 2 892 243 to 3 740 025, an increase of 847 782 residents (Smith et al, 2012: 1). Between the census periods of 2001 and 2011, there were marked changes in the percentage share of different racial groups resident within Cape Town. From a regional perspective, Cape Town makes up 64.2 percent of the population of the Western Cape Province (Smith et al, 2012).

Housing, one of the core government priorities, is one site of political contestation in Cape Town. Housing further plays a direct role in food security. As Battersby found, shack dwellers were "about 20 percentage points more likely to be severely food insecure than house dwellers" (Battersby, 2011: 21). The 2011 census recorded 1 068 572 households in Cape Town. Of these, 78.4 percent lived in formal housing, 13.5 percent in informal settlement housing, 7 percent in informal backyard dwellings (Smith et al, 2012). The City of Cape Town's 2012 – 2017 Housing Strategic Plan lists the housing backlog at 350 000 units (CoCT, 2013b: 3). The consequence of such a backlog is high levels of informality, and inadequate and crowded housing. All these conditions compound livelihood challenges and amplify food insecurity.

Cape Town's economic performance is dominated by four sectors. One, manufacturing, made a declining contribution to the wider regional economy over the past decade (by 4.4 percent) while the finance and business services sector grew by 4.1 percent (CoCT, 2013: 17). These shifts have a material impact on employment and the nature of jobs available in the economy. The decline in the manufacturing sector and the increase in the finance and business services sectors signal a shift in the city's economy (CoCT, 2012: 24) that does not align with the population growth trends. The Western Cape experienced economic growth of 45 percent for the period 2001 to 2011, but employment opportunities only grew by 16 percent (EDP, 2012: 5). Such a growth trend reflects an alignment to the

[54] See also SA History at: http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/cape-town-women%E2%80%99s-food-committee-c1946-1953

trends associated with the second urban transition in which economic growth is decoupled from employment opportunity.

According to the official definition, in 2011 unemployment for the City of Cape Town was 23.7 percent[55] for all aged 15-64 (StatsSA, 2012a: 17). This unemployment challenge is compounded by the fact that over two-thirds of unemployed people are between the ages of 15 and 35 (EDP, 2012: 5). However, in Cape Town, as with the rest of South Africa, the formal economy is not the sole source of income. In 2011, the informal economy supported only about 11 percent (of recorded) employment opportunities in Cape Town[56] (CoCT, 2013c: 16). The formal urban areas are generally not supportive of the informal sector and small businesses resulting in "the informal sector being confined to the overtraded low-income areas" (CoCT, 2012a: 26). The importance of informal area food access was highlighted in the AFSUN studies (Crush and Frayne, 2010b; Frayne et al, 2009), specifically in the case of Cape Town (Battersby, 2011; Battersby, 2012a). Despite the role of the informal economy in the Cape Town economy, the informal economy is mentioned only once in the City of Cape Town Economic Growth Strategy of 2013 (CoCT, 2013d).

5.3.3. The Cape Town food system

Aggregated national food security results do not capture the challenges faced by vulnerable communities. This vulnerability is evident in the 80 percent reported food insecurity experienced in the poor community sites in Cape Town (Battersby, 2011: 13). The extent of food insecurity in poor areas of Cape Town is confirmed by the role played by food access support groups such as the Cape Town Food Bank (CTFB), an organisation that provides food aid to more than 250 organisations in Cape Town. The CTFB has a waiting list of an additional 500 organisations that have requested support (Erispe, 2013). A further indicator of vulnerability is the extent of food aid provided in schools.[57] In 2011, the National School Nutrition Programme provided 426 707 learners with daily meals at 1 015 targeted Primary, Special and Secondary schools in the Western Cape (WCED, 2012: 53). Although

[55] Inter Census comparison of employment figures are not possible due to changes in the questions. Statistics South Africa cautions that comparison is not possible citing the following disclaimer at the introduction to the Western Cape Report "censuses are therefore not comparable over time and are higher from those published by Statistics South Africa in the surveys designed specifically for capturing official labour market results" (StatsSA, 2012: 1)

[56] This figure is disputed and speaks to the limited recognition given to the informal economy. Research currently underway within AFSUN has identified a large informal sector. It is doubtful that any of this trade is recorded in official reporting.

[57] While school feeding may not reflect food insecurity directly, it is an indicator of vulnerability and the need for food supplementation. When the adequacy component of food security is considered, having to supplement meals to ensure adequacy could be interpreted as a form of food security response.

exact determination of the Cape Town component of this is unclear, the fact that 63.2 percent of all learners within the province are registered within the Cape Town school districts suggests high levels of hunger in the City's classrooms.

Cape Town's food landscape operates at a number of scales, from informal retail through to supermarkets, from food grown in one of the productive agricultural spaces of the City, to food imported through global value chains. Food enters the Cape Town food system through a variety of channels and is then purchased via a variety of sources. Many intermediaries within the value chain facilitate the distribution of food to Cape Town's consumers.

Food wholesale markets are prominent intermediaries. The most notable fresh produce market in Cape Town is the Cape Town Fresh Produce Market and associated trading "spaces", selling produce to traders and larger retailers on a daily basis. Large retailers such as the Checkers Shoprite group, Spar, and Pick n Pay all make use of their own distribution centres within the city, supplying onwards to their respective city outlets. The role and importance of supermarkets within Cape Town is increasing, albeit in geographies that track household income. Research carried out by Battersby and Peyton (2014)[58] reflects this high income-expansion correlation in Cape Town. In neighbourhoods with the highest income quintiles there were the equivalent of 0.7 stores per 1000 households but in the poorest quintile there were the equivalent of 0.09 stores per 1000 households. The distribution of the four main supermarket chains in Cape Town is detailed in Table 5.2. By way of an indication of the extent of this distribution, as of July 2013, the Shoprite Checkers group had a footprint of 111 stores in the greater Cape Town area.

Supermarket Chain	Market share
Shoprite Checkers	33%
Pick n Pay	33%
Spar	26%
Woolworths	8%

(Source: Roux, 2013)

Table 5.2: Market Share – Supermarkets Cape Town

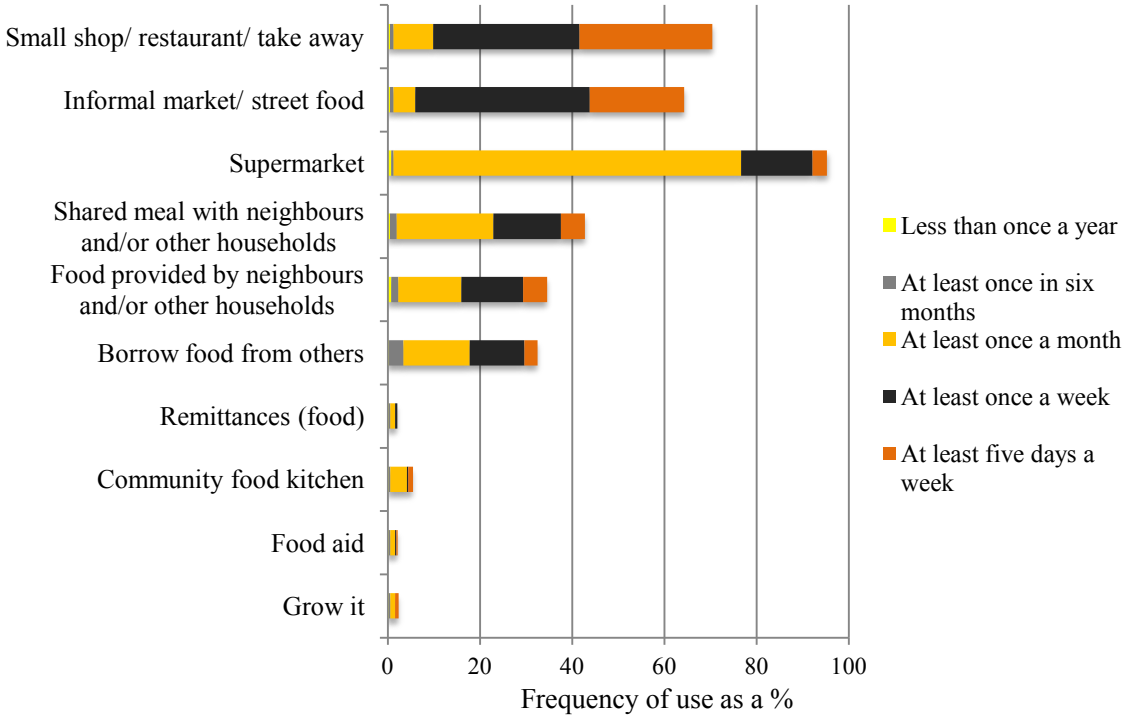
[58] Although the stated end date of the research cycle was September 2013, this reference is used here as the initial reference to the same research was included but cited as a draft. The work has since been published and can thus be retrieved for verification.

Informal traders access produce either through the various fresh produce markets or directly from growers (Davies, nd). Informal traders play a vital role in the Cape Town food system offering. As Battersby points out, they

> are often better attuned to the economic realities of their market – "bulk breaking" products and selling them in more affordable package sizes, offering credit, having extended opening hours to meet the needs of the long distance commuter, and being geographically accessible.

(Battersby, 2012b: 11)

The relationship between the different city food retail components and other food access strategies are highlighted in Figure 5.9. Research shows ten different food access options used, half of them accounting for the majority of food sourcing. Supermarkets have the overwhelming monthly share of purchases, but informal markets are visited more often, even on a daily basis. This highlights the importance of the informal sector in the food system and to local residents. These procurement strategies highlight the dualistic nature of the food system and call for far greater analysis.



(Source: Battersby, 2011: 25)

Figure 5.9: Food access and frequency

Also evident in Figure 5.9 is the role that social networks play in food provision, highlighted by the meals borrowed and shared. Finally, the limited food growing should not be read as a potential development intervention to enable greater food access but rather understood within the context of the wider food system processes aligned to other geographical and economic conditions. Figure 5.9 reflects a sample of poor Cape Town residents assessed as part of the 2008 AFSUN survey.

5.3.4. City of Cape Town food strategy evolution

In the early 2000s, a number of City departments were actively supporting a variety of food production and wider food system- related welfarist processes. These included home gardens through social development and even nutritional supplementation processes via the department of health (Visser, 2012). As an economic development strategy, the Department of Economic and Human Development had been supporting urban agriculture projects with support from the provincial department of agriculture.

Before the urban agriculture development initiatives, the City of Cape Town had been considering other, arguably less welfarist aspects of the food system. As far back as 1994 what is today the Philippi Fresh Produce Market (PFPM) was conceptualised through a pre feasibility study was conducted by Dewar into the role of markets as basic infrastructure required in all new developments and powerful instruments of reconstruction and for restructuring existing settlements (Isaacs, 2009). South African fresh produce markets began as meeting places for trade between producers and consumers, under the control of a government body or official (Chikazunga et al, 2008). They include National Fresh Produce Markets (NFPM) as well as privately owned markets not controlled in terms of (municipal) bylaws (NAMC, 2005). In 2000 after a public tender process were consultants appointed to plan the PFPM development. In 2002, as the development of the PFPM was due to commence, the City of Cape Town initiated a process to privatise what was then referred to as the Epping Market (now the Cape Town Fresh Produce Market, privatised formally in 2004). Despite the privatisation of the market, the PFPM development commenced and in 2006 the market was officially opened by the Mayor of Cape Town.

The development of the Philippi Fresh Produce Market and the privatisation of the Epping Market reflect particular food system related engagements. The development of the

PFPM was intended to service a group of informal traders and small farmers. One of the key assumptions that informed the PFPM development process was that "the market is supposed to create the 'suction force' for the establishment of more than 2 500 emerging farmers and the development of more than 5 000 hectares of farmland over a five-year period in the Philippi and Cape Flats area" (DLA in de Satge, 2011: 8). Who these farmers would be and where the land was located in unknown. This point making was made somewhat sarcastically by Kretzmann suggesting that the "emerging farmers [are] 'as elusive as Kruger's gold'" (2009). As farmers to supply the market did not materialise, the original intent of the market shifted to being rented space. What the PFPM process does highlight is a process whereby food system-related development interventions are considered strategically in a manner that seeks to assist in enabling food access to urban residents, and due to Philippi's location, poorer residents. The case of the Epping Market reflects a different food system narrative, one where the privatisation of the market was driven more by questions of managerial competence, "managing such a facility was not seen as part of the City's core competence" (Stone, 2012), prompting the privatisation of the area.

The Epping Fresh Produce Market links to another food system-related city asset, the privatisation of the Cape Town (Maitland) abattoir. At the same time as the call for tenders for private operators for the fresh produce a similar call was made for the Maitland abattoir, with similar managerial and resource re-allocation thinking driving the privatisation process.[59]

At the time that these processes were taking place, the Economic and Human Development Department were formulating and proposing various draft versions of an Urban Agriculture Policy (UAP). It took over five years for the policy to be fine-tuned and adjusted until it became official in 2007 (Visser, 2012). The purpose of the policy was to develop an integrated and holistic approach for the effective and meaningful development of urban agriculture in the City of Cape Town (CoCT, 2007: 2). The development of the policy was not the work of city officials alone and various urban agriculture NGOs, both local and international assisted in the drafting process (Small, 2012). Cape Town was the first city in South Africa to promulgate an Urban Agriculture Policy (CoCT, 2007).

Cape Town's current engagement in food system issues originates from the development of the Urban Agriculture Policy (UAP) of 2007. The lengthy UAP development

[59] http://www.engineeringnews.co.za/topic/cape-townrsquos-maitland-abattoir

process provides an insight into the fact that food policies are not deemed the domain of the city and if they are developed, there is certainly no consensus of what they should resemble (Visser, 2012). The UAP also had other consequences. While food security was not seen as the domain of local government, a number of city departments had projects assisting in food security interventions. Draft research by Battersby (ND) shows that subsequent to official adoption of the UAP, food security became an issue of food production and other, at times more strategic, interventions dissipated.

A further engagement in the city food system is reflected in how different departments engage with different areas of productive agricultural land and how this land is assessed and valued. The contradictions evident in the determination of agricultural land value are evident in the assessment of different land parcels by the 2008 City of Cape Town Agricultural Land Report (CoCT-ALR) (CoCT, 2008). The CoCT-ALR report identified high potential agricultural land according to the following key indicators:

- Socio-economic empowerment role in terms of food production, food security and contribution to local economic development;
- Economic role in food production and other commodities (e.g. wine), especially as input to the secondary and tertiary industry; and
- Relationship with the City's green infrastructure and biodiversity corridors.

(CoCT, 2008: 1)

However, despite these indicators, driven by the rise in prominence of Cape Town as a tourist destination, the vineyards of the Cape play a key role in the tourism geography and comparative advantage of Cape Town. The result is that aesthetic importance was one of the key determinants of value in the ALR. An environmental/conservationist approach to land-use, based on the need for conservation of the Cape Floristic Kingdom, itself a critical tourism attraction, drove a second value assertion.[60] These assertions of value further reflect how food access is conceptualised. Land that is able to produce food within the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA) is increasingly seen as having intrinsically lower value. The importance given to environmental and aesthetic aspects is evident in the rating of the different agricultural areas within the ALR of 2008. The Philippi Horticultural land received

[60] When carrying out research on the PHA (Battersby and Haysom, 2012), it was expressly suggested that an environmental argument be used to assist in the preservation of the area. The reason given for this was that the environmental lobby was very powerful and had been able to actively champion the preservation of a number of areas within the city.

a low rating in the ALR, a rating that then saw its value and protection status markedly downgraded in the 2009 Spatial Development Framework (CoCT, 2009).

Cape Town has no formal urban food strategy but the development of the UAP in 2007 resulted in an ever-increasing engagement with food system issues and a measure of critique by the drafters of the UAP as to its utility five years later (Visser, 2012). This critique, coupled with a desire to engage in the food system more directly, resulted in a process intended to develop a City-wide food strategy. This strategy development project has been informed by an ongoing process of engagement with other cities. City of Cape Town officials have actively engaged with cities such as Belo Horizonte, where a potential partnership was discussed (Gerster-Bentaya et al, 2011) and have a partnership agreement with the Toronto Food Policy Council (TFPC). Different exchange programmes, internship placements and funding for research via different NGOs (for example Rooftops Canada) has assisted in deepening the understanding of what a food system strategy could resemble.

The nature of the renewed food system engagement is evident in the call for tenders to conduct study on food systems and food security in the City of Cape Town. The recent call sought to "investigate [the] multi-faceted urban development challenge comprising of two inter-related aspects, namely 1) the components and effectiveness of Cape Town's food systems, and 2) the status of food insecurity in Cape Town" (CoCT, 2013b: 10). The stated need for this research was that

> Urban food security in Cape Town is often overlooked since at the aggregate level, economic and social conditions in the city are better than in most other cities in South Africa. But such aggregate figures do not account for inequality within the city's population. Besides, such data masks food insecurity and hunger issues in poor areas.
>
> (CoCT, 2013: 10).

Pegged to this problem statement and the need to understand both the food system and the state of food insecurity, the tender asked a further twelve questions (Box 2). The questions highlight certain contradictions in the understanding of the food system functions within the urban area. These contradictions include a focus on specific vulnerable communities, which although important, may result in a default to welfarist interventions. Questions as to some form of value being assigned to urban food production areas reflects a further tension, one of needing to justify the retention of agricultural land within a context where there is a

significant housing shortage. One of the contributors to this housing backlog is access to land. The international city examples, both developed and developing see the protection of agricultural land near the city as a primary and critical role of urban food governance structures. This question highlights the tensions present and confirms the point raised by Maxwell (1999) about different priorities.

Over and above the key components, assets and faults within the City food system, the tender also sought to get a sense of the "role-players in the field of food security in Cape Town" (CoCT, 2013: 11) both within government and those providing a voluntary service. Informed by responses to questions in Box 2 and the understanding of key food system actors, the tender called for inputs into "what should the Council's response be to food insecurity?" (CoCT, 2013: 11).

1. What are the components of Cape Town's food system?
2. How effective is it?
3. What are the points of weakness in the systems?
4. What interventions would be needed to achieve and sustain effective food systems in the city?
5. What are the key threats to the system in the future and what mitigation strategies are needed?
6. What is the status of food security in the city?
7. Which instruments should be used to measure food security and what are the appropriate indicators?
8. Where are the food vulnerable residents located?
9. What are their coping strategies?
10. What are the areas within the city's boundaries that contribute towards the food systems and food security in Cape Town?
11. How do you quantify their roles as production centres for food?
12. How significant are they for food security in the city?

(Source: CoCT, 2013: 10)

Box 2: Questions posed in the City of Cape Town food system tender

What is unclear from the tender is what structures will emerge following the envisaged tender research. Key officials active in the food governance space have engaged

with other cities, observing their food governance approaches. Visser (2012) sees the formulation of a governance approach a necessary step in the process but hoped that this would emerge as a recommendation in answer to the above question of "what should the Council's response be to food insecurity?" (CoCT, 2013: 11). Cook (2013) drawing on lessons from the TFPC suggests an initial step being identification of core Cape Town food system values which would then detail the remit of whatever governance structure is ultimately agreed. Observing processes associated with the Cape Town Food Strategy research, it does appear that Cape Town wishes to retain a measure of control over the longer term strategy process although one of the areas of interest in the strategy document was the mapping of Cape Town food system stakeholders (CoCT, 2013).

Several City leaders discussed the Call in interviews in November 2012. Explaining the motivation for the tender call, Visser (2012), the initiator of the tender, noted a lack of understanding about the City's food system. He was nevertheless clear that projects were not the solution, and that the food system needed to be seen as a matter of urban service provision.

Enabling greater understanding of the food system, the food system processes, food system failures and possible solutions informed the initial conceptualisation of the food system study, as explained by Visser (2012): "The strategy is to build a common understanding of the local and regional food systems – also to identify the failures of the system so as to understand what we can do about this. What is the role of the various departments in the system? Food security is a transversal issue. [The City needs to] understand what has to be done. What is the role of the City [in the food system]?" He added that once the study is complete and the necessary processes followed to enable the development of appropriate strategies, it would be "important that food security finds a house within the City". Food security, he stressed, "needs a common point from which the City can work".

Central to Visser's argument was the fact that although food was an "unfunded" mandate of the City, the City could play a role in supporting others (such as the Western Cape Department of Agriculture and the provincial food security structures) as the City's location meant that they were perhaps better equipped to assist with this. Here collaboration with the provincial Department of Agriculture was seen as being a key element of the tender project as well as in the funding and ultimate operationalisation of the findings. Visser, while

in no way referencing the provincial Department of Agriculture, did however offer this caution: "We do need to be careful that we don't take on responsibilities of others within the system who are not doing their job. We need to make the system work – how can we have a more effective application of resources?" but also recognised the need to integrate the various disparate food-related interventions in some way "Health, Parks, Social Development and even my department, Economic Development, these all do their own thing and remain focused in their silos" (Visser, 2012).

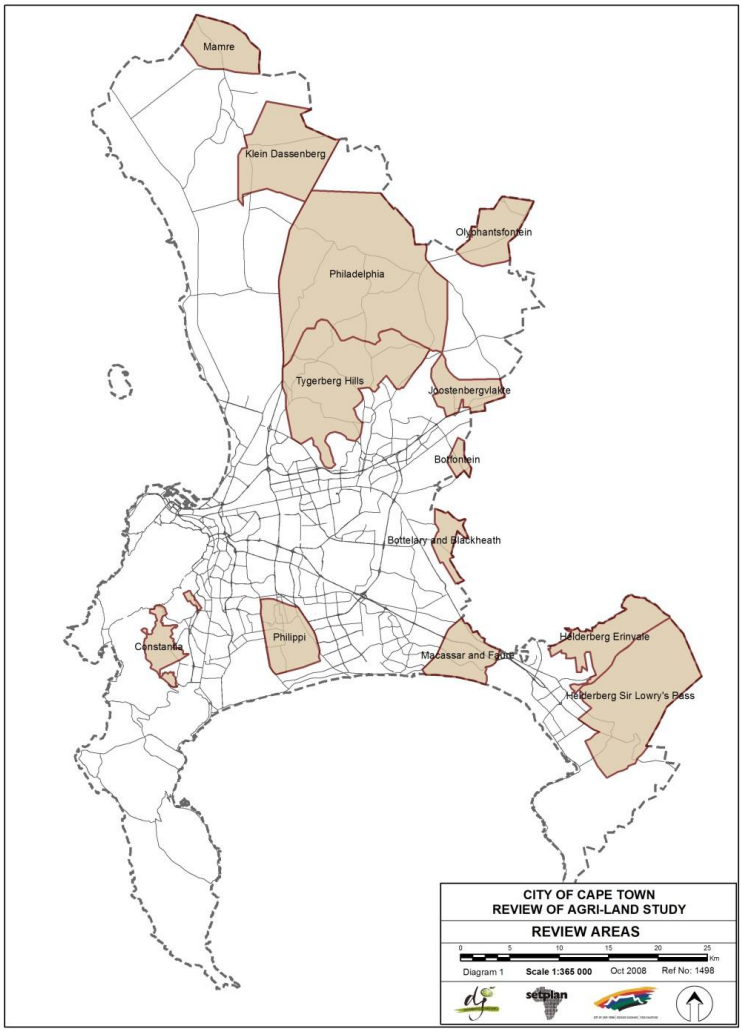
Others within the City, such as Hennessey, from the Spatial Planning Department questioned the place of food in urban planning: "Food is not registered as a critical planning consideration, why not? Multiple players need to look to food, food needs to be a multi-dimensional issue". Developing this theme, Hennessey went on to say that "Planners do have a role to play [in protecting areas within the city], Markets for the next 10 to 20 years are calling for housing, this is moving further and further away from the city and taking up peri urban land. As there are so many unknowns, it is the planner's responsibility to act to preserve city land and direct development in ways that anticipates future challenges" (Hennessey, 2012)

Stone, a senior City official in Spatial Planning, took this point further, expanding on the role that planners need to play within the City food system pointing out that planning is not just about zoning but that: "the City needs to play a role in making sure affordable [food] products are available to residents within the City. The City has a number of tools at its disposal to facilitate this including zoning, by-laws and other such aspects. However it is questioned to what extent the City can regulate food and the types of food unless it is clear that it is in the public interest". The point of regulation was made referring to practices in international cities where certain types of food outlets are banned in certain areas. Stone however made a further point questioning the role-players in food system processes at the City-scale "Local authorities have some role to play but food is a public issue and society needs to take ownership of the issue ... relates to the fact that there are so many issues but also that public don't really know where their food comes from or could come from. Society has limited understanding of the food system challenges" (Stone, 2012).

What emerged from these interview comments is that in the absence of knowledge about the food system and possible alternatives, it is very difficult for both officials and society to act to mitigate the food system challenges. City governments have a role to play

but society also has a role to play in the food system. It was argued that while different departments are engaged in food system work, food is not something that the city considers in a strategic manner and this means that food system assets are not considered and ultimately protected in a manner that is perhaps necessary. As an example of the tensions, the contradictory perspectives of the food system and the role that society can playing was borne out in the protracted debate specific to the Philippi Horticultural Area.

The City of Cape Town has a number of productive agricultural areas within its governance mandate. These areas are detailed in Figure 5.10. Most areas lie on the periphery of the city excepting the Philippi Horticultural Area, located in the densely populated area of the Cape Flats.



(Source CoCT, 2008)

Figure 5.10: Productive agricultural land areas within City of Cape Town

Across these areas, different land, soil, climate and water offer different benefits. Some land is better for the growing of grapes and fruits such as the land in Constantia, Helderberg and Tygerberg Hills. Land in the PHA, Bottelary, Blackheath and Joostenbergvlakte are better suited to vegetable growing. Other land, such as Macassar and Faure is generally scaled to offer opportunities better suited to smallholder farming. Such differentiated land-use attributes mean that applying a limited determination of importance, seeing all land as the same, undermines the value that productive land spaces may offer the City.

5.3.4.1. The Philippi Horticultural Area debate

The Philippi Horticultural Area (PHA) is a productive designated agricultural zone outside the urban edge, is encircled by the urban areas of Mitchells Plain, Grassy Park and Strandfontein Village and areas of Hanover Park and Manenberg on its northern boundary (Figures 5. 10 and 5.11).

In 2008, in response to a proposal by private developers and the city's housing department to change the land use designation of an area of 445.9 hectares[61] of rural-zoned land in the south eastern corner of the PHA, the City of Cape Town's spatial planning and urban design department (SPUD) commissioned research into the nature of production, the importance of the area to the city's food supply and an interpretation of that importance in comparison to housing. The motivation for the land use change request was for the development of housing, generally considered to be much needed low-cost, subsidised housing.[62] However, the development proposals submitted to the City of Cape Town to support the land use claim do not support the presumption of entry-level public housing citing a range of housing typologies for a large variety of income groups (Urban Dynamics, 2008: 37).

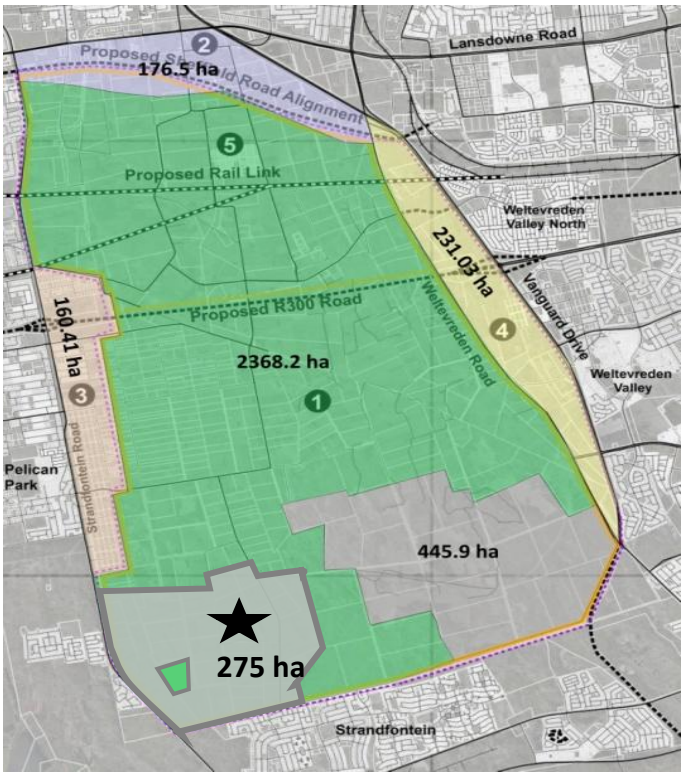
One of the other arguments made against the agricultural activities in the PHA in support the housing development was inferred from a report by Cavé and Weaver (2000) which argued that agricultural activities presented "a potential groundwater pollution risk,

[61] In the documents submitted by the developers, the area is cited as being 472ha (Urban Dynamics, 2008) however, the area designated as being rezoned in official CoCT documents is 445,9ha.
[62] This perspective was informed in a number of ways, informed by how this housing opportunity was argued by city housing officials, how the PHA research was challenged as denying those most in need of housing when food could be obtained elsewhere, and in how the findings of the PHA review were challenged by officials when it was argued that the hydrology would mean that subsidy housing would cost significantly more than the housing subsidy provided.

potentially restricting future groundwater use" (Urban Dynamics, 2008: 49). This assertion was challenged in the SPUD review where it was argued that the developer report [Urban Dynamics] "provides misinformation on the groundwater situation, makes incorrect interpretations and is biased" (CoCT, 2009: 3).

In respect of housing, the PHA review found that "whilst there is scope for limited urban development arising from the rationalisation and consolidation of the boundaries of the horticultural area, the PHA is not a significant opportunity for the development of housing in Cape Town" (CoCT, 2009: 11). This assertion hinged on the hydrology of the area, and the necessity for significant site level engineering works to enable housing. This housing would thus need to be at a cost far higher than most of the suggested housing typologies within the development submission.

Regardless of these findings, the development was approved and the urban edge subsequently changed as evidenced in Figure 5.11, the area of 445.9ha.



(Source: CoCT, 2012c Own additions)

Figure 5.11: Second Philippi Horticultural Area development proposal

In 2012 a further land use change for 275 hectares within the PHA (Figure 5.11) was lodged for a "change from Agricultural land of significant value and Core 1 to Urban Development" (PGWC, 2012: 126).[63] As three years had passed following the PEPCO-PHA (CoCT, 2009) review. A second, revised independent review of the PHA was carried out in 2012. The revised review affirmed earlier findings from the PEPCO-PHA (CoCT, 2009) review that due to hydrology, climate and general geography, the area was ideal for vegetable production. The 2012 review identified a number of key aspects including, but not limited to, the fact that between 2009 and 2012 more land had been brought under production, reflecting an investment by farmers into the area. Changes in market access mechanisms had taken place and farmers had responded by processing their own produce and selling directly to retailers or retail agents - or selling to those farmers involved in processing. Importantly, the produce from the PHA went into the Cape Town food system through a wide variety of market channels and went to as wide a variety of retail outlets, from formal supermarkets to informal street traders. While calculation of PHA off-take that entered the Cape Town food system was subjective,[64] it was estimated that large volumes of "heavy-low-cost" produce[65] did enter the Cape Town food system. Due to this the PHA served to depress food prices enabling lower cost food to Cape Town consumers (Battersby and Haysom, 2012)

On the basis of the findings from the PHA report and SPUD's report concluding that there was sufficient state owned land available for the City's housing needs until 2021 (CoCT, 2012b), the MAYCO took a decision to defer ruling on the land use change request until a later stage.[66]

Several civil society organisations participated in processes associated with acquiring information on the PHA for the 2012 study. They included PHA for Food and Farming (PHAFF), Schaapkraal Developing Farmers Association (SDFA), Princess Vlei Forum (PVF), Schaapkraal Civic and Environmental Association (SCEA), Abalimi Bezekhaya and other smaller organisations and individuals interested in the preservation of this area.

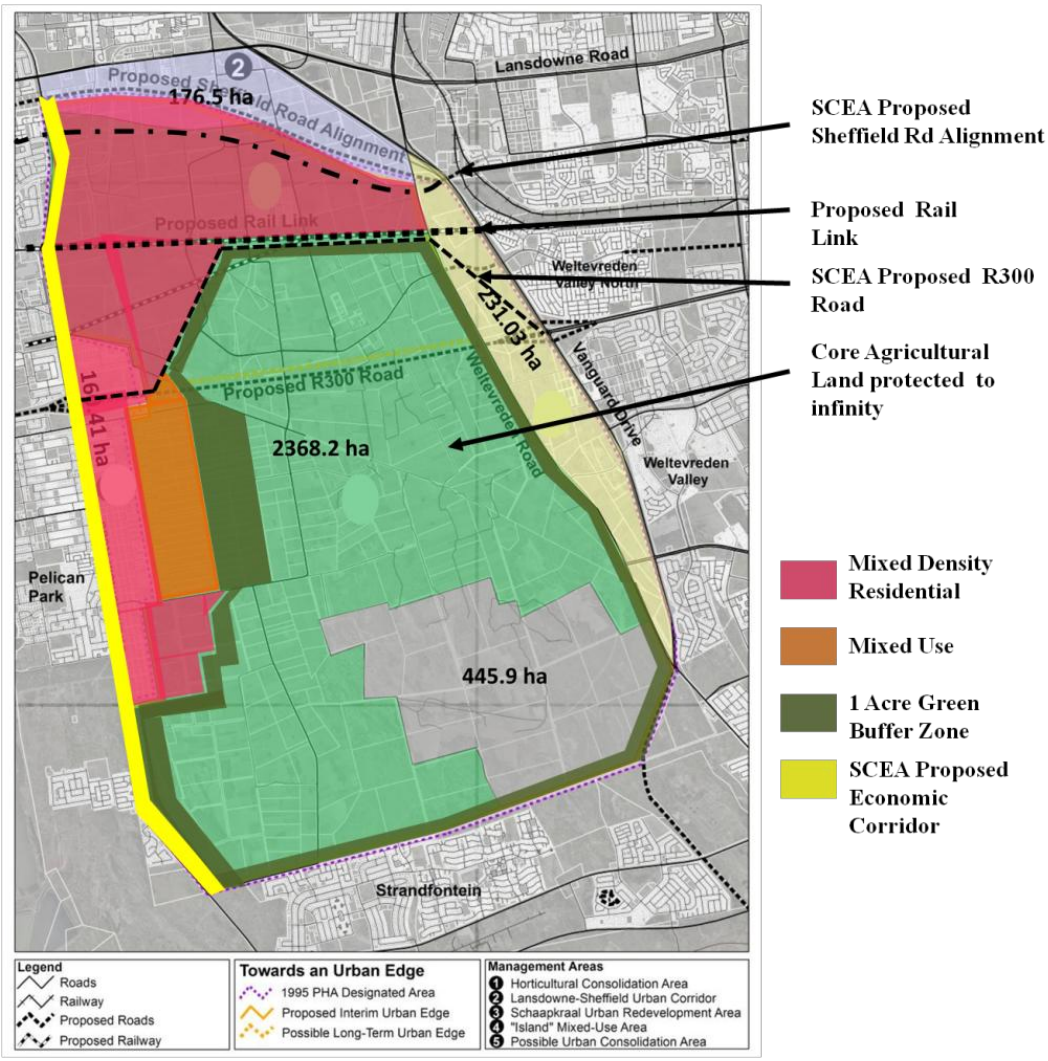
[63] As per Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette 6951, 10 February 2012, Applicant: Headland Planners (Pty) Ltd, Application number: 209359

[64] As farmers react to specific market opportunities and actively trade for the best price, tracking retail destinations was not possible. Further, many farmers either sold to agents or sold surplus directly to the CTFPM which then on-sold the produce to other agents. Tracking the distribution channels of these agents and through the farmer sales was further complicated by the fact that sales are highly dynamic.

[65] Specifically cabbage, broccoli and pumpkins/butternuts which have a high weight, thus resulting in higher transport costs but have a low sales price at the retail point, a low retail threshold.

[66] 02 October 2012

These organisations, recognising the need for housing and the need to proactively offer alternatives to the pressing development needs of the area (Sonday, 2013), drafted their own plan for the future of the area. According to this plan, due to poor water quality in the north western corner of the PHA (Aza-Gnandji et al, 2013) other land uses would be more appropriate, specifically housing. This area is also in the proximity of existing industrial areas providing potential employment opportunities for prospective new residents. Small backyard farm units along the periphery of the PHA were also proposed to offer security to the wider PHA but also to allow a wider range of City residents' access to productive land (Sonday, 2013) (Figure 5.12).



(Source: Sonday, 2012)

Figure 5.12: Philippi Horticultural Area for Food and Farming proposed land use plan

Despite the motion to postpone the decision to move the urban edge of the PHA (CoCT, 2012b), on 15 August 2013 the MAYCO approved a resolution to move the PHA

urban edge and pass this decision on to the Cape Town City Council for a formal and binding decision. This decision prompted heightened media activity. The media debate is valuable as it goes to the heart of how the food system is understood, the relationship between the food system and the City and how food security is understood.

Frame	Focus and emphasis of specific frame
Scene setting frame	Conveys landscapes and atmospheric aspects - often in lyrical language
Catastrophic frame	Deploys images of disaster, lawlessness, economic and social collapse
Contest frame	Reflects how different sides compete for control of (material and narrative) outcomes
Economic analysis frame	Presents non-tangible costs (e.g. food price increases) and limits for remedies in terms of an 'immovable' global economic structure
Solidarity frame	Attempts to identify common interests between contesting parties
Prognostic frame	Speculates on and/or posits the likely outcome of events
Need (housing)frame	Utilises politically volatile issues (housing) to support argument
Development imperative frame	Argues need for longer term considerations - need to act and/or govern responsibly
Justice frame	Utilises the concept of justice attainment or retention (socially and ecologically) to substantiate or challenge decisions
Food security frame	Argues for the undermining of food security
Compromise frame	Specific approach is necessary as this reflects a compromise or that compromise is required

(Source: adapted from Pointer, 2013)

Table 5.3: Media discourse framing

In trying to understand this debate and how food is located within this debate a methodology was used to interpret the different frames applied in the debate. A frame is a structure in which society, and in this case, the media and other actors playing a political[67] role "draw boundaries, set up categories and define some ideas as out and others as in" (Reese, 2007:150). This process sees all commentators playing a political role, including the journalists "framing contests in which political actors compete by sponsoring their preferred

[67] Political here does not imply party political but is used to describe the process of acting on a particular issue and engaging in a public debate on the matter and in so doing, defending a particular perspective.

definitions of issues" (Carragee and Roefs, 2004: 216). And further, "framing suggests more intentionality on the part of the framer and relates more explicitly to political strategy" (Reese, 2007: 148).

Two different forms of media "voice" were considered in the framing analysis. The first voice comprised English medium print and online media. A second set of voices were the letters written to the *Cape Times* weekday newspaper over the period in which the debate was active in the media. All articles contain a measure of subjectivity – the letters section does not reflect balanced arguments as is expected in journalistic reporting.

In reviewing the media narratives specific to the issue of the PHA, Pointer's (2013) framing categories were used to formulate specific frames applicable to the PHA debate (Table 5.3).

Over the period between 18 July 2013 and 3 August 2013, sixteen articles specific to the PHA were reviewed.[68] They include two opinion pieces which reflect similar narratives to commentators cited in the articles. A further twelve letters specific to the PHA were reviewed.

In the journalist articles, specific frames emerged early in the debate and included economic analysis, justice, food security, development imperative and a compromise framing. From the 24th July, a contest framing starts to emerge, citing contestations within the MAYCO where certain members were supposedly "dead set against the idea" (Nicholson, 24 July 2013, *Cape Times*). This was followed by a number of articles reflecting contested opinions and thereafter, from the 29th July, following an opinion piece by the Mayor, the reports reflect a compromise frame supported by a development imperative and need frame "we considered this the responsible thing to do because it is our duty to adjust our strategies to accommodate changing circumstances ... we believe we have found a compromise" (De Lille, 29 July 2013, *Cape Times - OpEd*). A similar development imperative frame, with an implied needs framing, is evident in comments by Garreth Bloor, a MAYCO member, who argued that the moving the urban edge could cater for a potential development of 6 000 homes (in Nicholson, 31 July 2013, *Cape Times*). The compromise frame was again invoked by Botha who argued that "to revive the area and ensure sustainability requires an integrated approach" stressing that encircling the PHA with housing would provide the "only realistic

[68] See Annexure 7 for detail of media reports and letters used.

mechanism for protecting the PHA" (Botha, 31 July 2013, *Cape Times - OpEd*). Within the framings used by government officials, a scene setting frame was frequently used to position a specific argument. This scene setting became a key point of contestation in the letters sections.

In the lead up to the decision by Council on the 31st of July, the discourse shifted with other stakeholders entering the debate. Here, a number of farmers specifically commented and while also adopting a compromise frame, these all challenged the impending decision. Their compromise was informed by a cited understanding of the development imperative and need framings but called for an approach informed by a contextual framing, citing specific geographical considerations that brought the proposed decision into question. In the need for housing, these commentators accepted the need but questioned the area of focus "not all land is productive but farmers in the north western side of the PHA are struggling ... the northern part of the PHA is no longer viable for commercial farming" (Jones, in Nicholson, 31 July 2013, *Cape Times*). These farmers and other key PHA stakeholders then used food security and justice frames to challenge the plan. Following the rezoning decision the compromise frame continued but framed as an alternative to the decision.

The letters section reflected direct challenges to the decisions with one response from a spokesperson to the mayor, arguing in accordance with a development imperative frame (1 August, 2013). In the main, the letters raised questions as to governance decisions and process, points challenged and responded to by the Mayor in her opinion piece (De Lille, 29 July 2013, *Cape Times - OpEd*). These governance questions were framed in three ways, firstly the justice frame, secondly a food security point of view, and thirdly a compromise point of view, again questioning the City's decision and arguing that other land be used. Critically, what emerged from the letters were challenges directed at process, participation and the role of government. One such challenge was by Sonday who argued that "while the mayor may not fully understand the implications of her decision to redraw the urban edge, it has resulted in putting the area firmly on the radar of the people of Cape Town" (Sonday, 5 August, 2013, *Cape Times, Letter*)[69].

[69] Falling outside the research period of this thesis, on 13 January 2014, the Provincial Minister for Local Government, Environmental Affairs and Development Planning, announced that he had overturned the City of Cape Town decision to approve the moving of the urban edge preventing the planned development. The City of Cape Town disputed the legality of the MEC's decision and suggested that it was considering legal remedies.

5.3.4.2. Cape Town food system analysis

Two themes have been discussed in the review of the City of Cape Town's engagement in the food system governance processes. The first sought to detail the emerging food system governance focus. The short narratives in no way detail the extent of the daily debates specific to the food system governance processes. However, a selection of key events have been used to provide both a chronological understanding of the processes but also, to reflect on some of the tensions and contradictions in the food system engagement on the part of the city. The second process was a framing of the debate specific to the Philippi Horticultural Area (PHA). This process was used to reflect on the tensions that exist between food system understandings and assigning value to food system assets, reflecting on how differently these assets are valued, both in terms of the development need, in this case for housing, but also in terms of the food system. The motivation for presenting both cases was to highlight the fact that despite a set of urban food governance processes, urban food systems are still a contested area. Food has to compete with a variety of other development needs.

The ongoing debate as to the value of the PHA demonstrates the different values ascribed to food system assets, one suggesting that such land is not necessary and can be used for other purposes, implying that food can be sourced from other areas. This view was articulated by a senior Western Cape Department of Agriculture official (Adolf, 2013) suggesting that these areas played little part in the food system and that the wider food system was effective in supplying the City should the PHA be lost. Evidence does not support this perspective (Battersby and Haysom, 2012).

When considering food system failures, particularly food insecurity, the dominant discourse that was evident in interviews with City of Cape Town officials, Provincial officials and certain civil society groups sees urban agriculture and other remedial responses as being appropriate (Miszewski, 2012; Willems, 2012; Daniels, 2012; Roux, 2012). This implies that food security and the wider food system threats are still understood at the household scale. In addition food access challenges for large groups of the city residents are not necessarily considered to be systemic in nature but isolated in pockets where welfarist interventions suffice (Miszewski, 2012; Willems, 2012). Besides the core group that proposed and drafted the tender call for the Cape Town food system study, viewing food system faults as a wider City-scale responsibility does not appear to be understood by politicians and officials. This

point was raised by Visser who cited the lack of food system understanding on the part of officials (Visser, 2012).

These challenges raise important questions about the types of food governance. It raises questions about the role of the state (and the city). Civil society has a role to play, a role recognised by officials but in the absence of formal engagement processes specific to the food system, how can civil society meaningfully engage with the city? In the same vein, what roles should civil society play to assist the city? A number of the processes detailed in the Cape Town narratives reflect influential actions by different stakeholders, from academia to consultants, from journalists to concerned citizens exercising agency through letters to the newspaper. More broadly, what types of food system agency exists and are *homebru* (from Pieterse, 2006) food system agentic actions emerging that can support city processes? In certain instances provincial or national government spheres supported or contradicted efforts on the part of the city or society in their engagement in the food system (and even failed to deliver in the case of mobilising farmers for the PFPM). The Cape Town review offers insights into these questions.

The Cape Town narratives provided answers to these questions. Following form Pieterse's (2013d) described roles of the city, clearly currently, to some extent Cape Town is playing out these roles. At this time, the city is convening research to understand the food system more deeply and facilitating certain initial processes specific to the food system, It could be argued that in a number of the other food system interventions, the city also attempted to facilitate processes, specifically with the case of the Philippi Fresh Produce Market, despite the actual users of the market not materialising. At this time, the city is certainly driving the process, attempting to develop a broad understanding of the food system before making further strategic decisions. Where there is perhaps a question relates to the food system vision. The PHA example highlights the contested vision, even within the city, of what the food system may entail. While the research process that will inform the strategy may assist in concretising the vision, it is not as yet clear as to how contesting food system visions will be facilitated. Perhaps one challenge for the current drivers of the strategic development process is the management of expectations. The divergent opinions articulated in the letters and opinion pieces specific to the PHA case demonstrate the diversity of food system expectations. This raises questions as to the processes that will evolve through the ultimate initiation of strategic food system actions.

Other stakeholders have clear roles to play. According to Visser (2012), the provincial department of agriculture is actively supporting the strategy research process through co-funding. The role played by the provincial department of agriculture does appear to be contradictory. Certain officials seem to see the food system in the same manner as the 2001 Strategic Plan for Agriculture (DOA, 2001) such as Adolf (2013), while the support for the process and secondary reports via Visser (2102) suggesting the "agriculture know that we [the City] are closer to the issues so want us to run the projects", reflects an absence of issues associated with mandates of different government departments. This delegation of roles to the city to act as implementers was evidenced in a number of FPCs (argued by Winne, 2009) as well as how, once delivery had been shown, national and provincial governments directed funding to both Bogotá and Belo Horizonte (Rocha, 2013). Although the funding is generally health specific, the Toronto Food Policy Council also attracted funds from provincial or federal governments to assist with specific project implementation (Emanuel, 2013).

The roles played by civil society are less clear in the Cape Town strategy development narrative. However, this role is clear in the PHA debate. Civil society exercised considerable agentic actions mobilising (via media reports) to express their opinions about the process that unfolded with the potential re-zoning of the parts of the PHA. These actions further resulted in the development of community led *homebru* plans, informed by the bottom up and lived experiences of certain civil society groups (Sonday, 2012). This is evidenced in Figure 5.12. Civil society have a far wider role to play and while the PHA process saw contest-oriented framing directed at the City, certain members of civil society a happy to engage with the City (albeit under certain conditions – Small, 2013). Civil society is engaging directly with city government, noted in a number of the immersive processes where certain NGO groups actively invite city officials to meetings and discussions. Seeing "inclusive conversations as important" (Sonday, 2012). The debates specific to the PHA confirm that food is emerging as an increasingly political issue. The civic mobilisation following the City of Cape Town decision to move the urban edge into the Philippi Horticultural Area revealed a shift in how society engages with the food system.

Academia has a critical role to play. A number of the reports cited within the Cape Town and PHA case have been drafted in academic processes. Awareness and eventual use in the Food Strategy tender call about the state of food security and the criticisms of food security reporting have been as a result of academic processes (Battersby, 2011; Battersby, 2012b) that have been useful to city officials (Stone, 2012; Visser, 2012). The role of

academia is equally important when the role of consultants is considered. The nature of consultancy work often means that work is commissioned for a specific reason or within a certain context. Contracted a consultant reports will generally favour those contracting the consultant. While making no assertion of misrepresentation, the Cave and Weaver (2000) hydrology report that was later contested by the City of Cape Town (CoCT, 2009) highlights this challenge. Here the role of rigorous and unbiased academic research is essential. Consultants are however important and bring critical expertise and skills that are of great value to city food system processes. The 2009 City of Cape Town research into the PHA was led by consultants (CoCT, 2009). Knowledge is a key currency in FPC processes. This was highlighted in Chapter 4. Building knowledge, even if contradictory, assists in building the capacity of city food governance structures, academics and consultants that can assist with such knowledge building processes are vital parts of the FPC development process. In the international sites considered many had active academic partnerships including Belo Horizonte (Rocha) and Toronto (MacRae, Koc and Baker).

Governance is a critical consideration. While governance approaches may evolve over time (MacRae, 2013), formulating a governance strategy is a vital part of the food policy development process. At this time, it is discerned that the City of Cape Town is leading the process and adopting the role of process custodian. How this evolves is a particularly interesting question. If certain civil society members are happy to engage but only conditionally (Small, 2013), this does raise questions as to who, or what entity plays a facilitation role.

When considering the Cape Town food system within the context of the food policy council trends (Table 4.5) a number of points are evident. With respect to knowledge and data, this is only now emerging and was only recently identified by City officials and politicians as being of importance to the city food system. How this knowledge will be used is an unanswered question. What is not being considered is the knowledge held by officials specific to the food system, the challenges, vulnerable communities and even retailers. The challenge of siloed engagement with the food system as identified by officials (Visser, 2013; Roux, 2012) also limits the building of the requisite knowledge base within City structures. Although the food system study is a beginning, how this would engage with internal city knowledge is unknown. Some measure of management is emerging but this is in its formative stages. The food system study process is currently being championed by a number of departments but was initially driven by the official responsible for the Urban Agriculture

Unit. In the absence of specifically designated management and an absence of and contradictory views of knowledge, clearly no governance is present at this time. In the absence of governance perspectives and considering the formative stages of knowledge collection, formulating a city-wide approach to the food system will need far greater consensus-building and research before the actual strategic engagement can begin. As a result it is argued that currently neither the City, nor any department has the remit to engage in strategic food system work. Actions are emerging to build an inter-disciplinary network but this still misses a number of key informants, particularly the civic society groups. The confrontational manner in which both City government and elements of civil society engaged in the media indicates that networked operations are largely absent from the current food system processes.

As was the case in the Stellenbosch example, the absence of a governance role or a governance mandate was perhaps the main reason for the stalling of the Stellenbosch process. How food system governance will be asserted in Cape Town case is unknown but will potentially evolve from the food system study findings. While being cautious to engage in a comparative analysis of two very different processes, it is useful to consider the sites of Stellenbosch and Cape Town collectively.

5.3.5. Emerging urban food governance in South Africa

As Maxwell (1999) attested over fourteen years ago, politically prominent challenges such as housing, water provision and sanitation take preference and result in other equally important issues, particularly food security, being overlooked. The combined food regime, nutrition and food market transitions are having a direct impact on urban areas. Increasing levels of food insecurity, obesity, health costs and wider social challenges are resulting in a renewed focus on the food system and food security. Avoiding food system related challenges can lead to problematic response, both immediate, in the case of responses such as food riots (Patel and McMichael, 2009) or longer term systemic challenges such as nutritional deficiencies and increases in obesity rates (Popkin, 2002; Hawkes, 2006). This renewed focus is particularly evident in developed world cities. In some developing world countries, food-focused initiatives are emerging. While still in their embryonic stages, two South African urban areas have started to engage with the food system in a manner that eschews the traditional project oriented welfare responses to food system related faults. These urban areas

are seeking to engage in the food system at a wider strategic level. The two sites are very different, both is their governance structure and in their approach to food system governance.

Despite attempts at urban food governance in South Africa, considerable work is still required. The Stellenbosch engagement is yet to effectively initiate processes and the Cape Town case is still in its foundation phase. The two emerging urban food engagement processes in Stellenbosch and Cape Town show certain food system governance tensions but also show emergent food and food system questions. These nascent approaches are important. They reflect a shift, although still small, in the wider understanding of the food system and in particular, the role of cities in the food system.

When considering the approaches in Stellenbosch and Cape Town collectively, a number of similarities emerge. Some differences and even some contradictions are also evident.

Both Stellenbosch and Cape Town initiated engagements with the food system as a result of dissatisfaction with the food system and the negative food system outcomes, most particularly high levels of food security. Importantly, neither site had originally been aware of the high levels of food insecurity. This oversight was largely attributable to the fact that food insecurity is traditionally measured at the city or even wider scale. While there was awareness of areas of vulnerability or high risk communities, the extent and extreme nature of food insecurity was a cause for concern and motivated a wider focus – a call to action as it were.

Stellenbosch and Cape Town sought to engage with the food system issues in a holistic manner, recognising the food security challenge but seeing this as part of a wider systemic food system failure. Actions and processes were thus focused on responding to the failings within the food system. In both areas, although articulated differently, responding to the wider food system issues was seen as a component of service delivery. In the Stellenbosch case, this was evidenced in the manner in which the municipality provided a mandate for the process continue with official authority. In the Cape Town case, this was articulated directly by the driver of the food strategy research process, Visser arguing this directly, “addressing food system issues is a matter of service delivery” (2012).

Knowledge was an essential component in both processes. The Stellenbosch case saw this knowledge emerging in somewhat cloistered academic circles, aligned to a particular

ideological orientation, in the case of Cape Town the city was actively building a knowledge base through commissioned reports and in particular, the food system tender call. In the case of Stellenbosch, this knowledge was used, albeit selectively, to develop the strategy that was then presented to community groups and the MAYCO for approval. In the case of Cape Town, this knowledge was being used to incrementally build an understanding of the system and the areas requiring attention and action.

Both sites recognised the need for remedial interventions to address food system faults at the local scale. Stellenbosch set out a number of programmatic actions in an effort to respond to these challenges while Cape Town sought to deepen processes through a rigorous research and data collection process.

The key areas of focus identified in the Stellenbosch example resulted in a specific set of designed responses that endeavoured to address the identified challenges. The strategies proposed recognised the need for deeper and more engaged research but suggested key areas of focus as part of the initiation process. These were argued to be in draft form, implying an iterative process to follow. It is argued that these actions were *iterative by design*. In the Cape Town example, key areas of focus were initially suggested in the questions posed in the tender call but as the research was open ended, the areas of focus are argued to be *iterative by desire*, wanting further testing and potentially even discarding of certain aspects that are deemed to be of importance at the outset.

The key difference between the two sites was the fact that the food strategy for Stellenbosch was developed by a group outside the municipal government process. While initial consultation took place through both the Rector-Mayor Forum and specific meetings with key officials, this was an independent process that presented a final product to the town leadership for approval. In the Cape Town case, the strategy formulation process was a city-led process and was embedded within the city structures and protocols adding complexity to the process but ultimately building a greater measure of consensus within the city government about the process.

Stellenbosch reflected a distinct orientation, focussing broadly on sustainability-oriented issues. In Cape Town no specific orientation was expressly stated, rather waiting for the research process to unfold. However, a few subtle clues in the questions asked (Box 1) and other processes offer insights into where certain priorities may lie. Perhaps the most

critical of this is the positioning of food insecurity as one of the introductory points, highlighting the perceived importance of this as a necessary area of focus.

The Cape Town engagement in food system governance has emerged out of a long and active period of context-specific food system engagement. This is argued to have informed both the conceptualisation of the issues and how the future is envisaged (despite waiting for research to inform certain processes). Stellenbosch however, has had no previous engagement in food system issues besides small welfarist interventionist projects.

Perhaps the most obvious of differences between the two sites was that Stellenbosch adopted the North American Food Policy Council model in an uncritical manner. Although context-driven research informed the proposed actions, the governance approach applied, while inclusive, was untested in the Stellenbosch space. The willingness to engage in pluralistic governance actions was questioned. Evidence of this emerged from the stakeholder focus group comments calling for better support to existing structures as opposed to introducing a new structure. In Cape Town a cautious engagement process was evident. Cape Town was working out a governance process in an iterative manner. The governance considerations were not being engaged in lightly. Drivers of the Cape Town process had engaged with the Toronto Food Policy Council and researchers form Belo Horizonte but were exercising caution regarding the type of governance that would suit the Cape Town process.

When the Stellenbosch and Cape Town processes were compared to the international cities, both were emerging within the context of an urban food policy vacuum. Both were seeking ways to respond to experiences at the local scale where wider policy and programmatic responses were deemed inappropriate. This was a general trend evident in the North American examples and was certainly the case when the Belo Horizonte and Bogotá processes were initiated. Although Cape Town had not arrived at a distinct governance approach, Stellenbosch attempted to follow a pluralistic governance approach. It is argued that informed by the engagement within different spheres of government and the desire to understand the wider food system stakeholder grouping, Cape Town does display a measure of pluralistic governance in the early stages, but this cannot be stated as fact. Should the Stellenbosch process be reinvigorated, the governance approach applied may differ.

The food system engagements in Stellenbosch and Cape Town have been informed in one way or another by international cases. As argued, Stellenbosch uncritically adopted the pluralistic food policy council governance model and used literature and described practice

from these models as the key informant into the Stellenbosch process. Cape Town has engaged with a variety of international food governance groups informing the underlying process of knowledge generation and collaboration.

When considered collectively within the context of the key principles extracted from the FPC models reviewed in Chapter 4, the Stellenbosch and Cape Town examples reflect certain alignment to these principles but do not align completely. Making such comparisons does require a measure of subjectivity, particularly when considering the status of the sites under review. Central to this is the question of management and governance. In the absence of a formal mandate enabling city-scale food system actions, questions of accountability, governance and officially designated management functions will always be assumed.

	Stellenbosch	**Cape Town**
Governance	Absent – arguably due to the absence of a formal city-scale mandate to engage	Currently City driven but recognition given to key stakeholder groups across scales
Management	Absent – arguably due to the absence of a formal city-scale mandate to engage	Currently City driven but reflects concerns over potential reversion to welfarist interventions that could perpetuate existing food system management silos
Knowledge/Data	Seen as critical engaging with academia and other food system knowledge sources. Locally focused.	Seen as critical engaging with academia and other food system knowledge sources. Internationally focused
Remit	Absent	Forging new mandate despite absence of official role
Interdisciplinarity	Considering a wide variety of food system actions, actors and processes.	Considering a wide variety of processes and departmental structures within the city – seeking to avoid silos in process.
Ideology	Strong sustainability orientation	Food justice orientation and seen as critical service delivery role
Networked	Linked to certain processes but the lack of wider networks is a key fault.	Yes, to academia, international cities, and spheres of government. Actively working with networks.

Table 5.4: South African urban food system engagement comparison

The South American examples of Belo Horizonte and Bogota reflect certain similarities to the South African cities. All four cities are experiencing the effects of the second urban transition described in Chapter 2, where growth is increasingly uneven and high levels of informality are present. Bogota was faced with increasing internally displaced

migrants while Belo Horizonte had experienced high levels of urban growth. In both cities inequality was high with each city having a reported Gini coefficient of 0.61 (Rocha and Lessa, 2009: 396: Ashe and Sonnino, 2013: 1024) albeit measured in different years. The South African sites demonstrated similar levels of inequality. Stellenbosch measured the same Gini coefficient of 0.61 in 2009 and Cape Town 0.67 in 2010 (UN-Habitat, 2011).

Of interest is what informed the decision to engage strategically in urban food governance. Bogota and Belo Horizonte both cite national legislation mandating the right to food as a driver. In South Africa, enacting processes to enable the realisation of the right to food is an obligation of all spheres of government (Box 1) yet cities have not responded in the manner as the South American cities reviewed. This may be as a result of a wider scale oriented governance question where national government assumes responsibilities for the realisation of certain rights. This may also be informed by different roles and levels of authority when comparing South African and South American cities.

In the context of mutually reinforcing transitions, particularly the discussed big food transition, the nutrition transitions, the urban transition as well as the food regime shifts, in a predominantly urban world responding to food system needs is an emerging action, adopted by city governments not as part of a trend driven replication of other cities. This is informed by the fact that cities have to deal with the consequences of a failed food system. Welfarist production oriented responses no longer suffice.

As part of a wider food system shift, scale oriented food system governance responses are emerging. These were termed alternative food geographies and reflected a focus on local governance, but not governance that privileged the local, rather governance that sought to play a role in how a local food system engaged with the wider food system flows. The agentic actions and changes in governance described in Chapter 2 were evident in the food system governance approaches discussed in Chapter 4. These approaches were evident in the South African cases but as these were in their formative stages, the longer term responses are as yet unknown. What is clear is that these are processes that require time, consultation, data and research, and a governance process that facilitates the continued iteration of processes and activities within these governance groups. Cape Town is beginning this process. Stellenbosch started but was caught in the trap of replicating other processes without assessing the extent of their own *homebru* processes. Going forward, this may be a necessary place to re-start the Stellenbosch initiative.

6. CONCLUSION

Food security is a persistent challenge, and global inequalities mean that this challenge is experienced unevenly. Food insecurity in urban areas, particularly in developing countries, is poorly understood. Responses to food insecurity have focused on production, perpetuating a rural view of the challenge. The rural paradigm is exacerbated by food security policies and strategies, which are generally located and operationalised at a national scale, often through departments of agriculture, supported by remedial responses at the household scale and generally driven by social development departments. These macro and micro scale-driven approaches miss the systemic food system challenges experienced at the scale of the city.

This thesis sought to understand emerging food governance trends and how these trends were responding to the urban, food, nutrition and governance transitions. This focus, particularly within the context of a set of multiple and converging global transitions, posed four research questions: The first was to consider the relationship between cities and the food system. Although it not the norm, it was clear was that the cities reviewed were reasserting their roles in the food system, in a variety of ways. The second question sought to understand the role of policy in enabling or constraining city-scale food system interventions. What emerged was that there is generally an urban food policy vacuum and many cities are responding in ways that seek to develop place-specific food policies, policies that are pluralistic in nature and designed to ensure a more robust urban food system.

The third question sought to understand the emerging food governance processes, practices and associated characteristics, with a specific focus on the urban context. Here three approaches were discussed. The first reflected a complete absence of urban food governance. This was described as a specific strategy but, as this generally reflected the norm, it was noted but not discussed. Two other approaches were discussed and analysed. The first was the pluralistic governance approach of food policy councils, predominantly evident in North America. The South American cities reviewed (while also evident in certain North American cities) highlighted specific city-led processes informed by a desire to realise the right to food. Despite the role of city government in the leadership of these processes, dialogue and engagement with a wide set of urban food system stakeholders formed part of this urban governance process.

Finally the thesis sought to understand the relevance of these emerging urban food governance approaches to South African cities and the associated components that hold applicability in the South African context. While avoiding simplistic transfer to the South African context, these processes were found to have relevance to South African cities noting nascent trends in two urban areas. When considering the applicable components, seven key trends were evident.

The first was that governance is an essential foundation of such structures. Governance does not need to be led by the city necessarily, but cities have an essential role to play in such processes. The more inclusive the governance, the more inclusive and robust the process. Secondly, management of the process was a further determinant of success. In order to actively govern the urban food system, assuming responsibility for activities, programmes and initiatives is a prerequisite. Thirdly, data and food system knowledge is essential and assists in building a robust and credible process. Food system knowledge is critical currency in urban food governance processes and often determines the agents in the governance process. Fourth, understanding the key focus or remit of the governance structure is critical. This generally evolves through an iterative process of investigation. Fifth, in addition, the governance groups and approaches reflect high degrees of interdisciplinarity, embracing a variety of skills, stakeholders and perspectives. Another trend is that urban food governance groups generally hold clear ideological perspectives informing both their remit and the food system engagement. This perspective further guides activities. Finally, networks are essential and these exist at the city scale but also include networks with other cities.

Urban food systems are an integral part of multiple and converging global transitions. The systems need to be included in the institutional and organisational restructuring that is taking place in many societies and economies. The transitions significantly affect urban areas, where too often, food insecurity occurs alongside hunger, obesity, food waste and changes in the food retail environment. There is an urgent need to document, analyse and deal with the nature and extent of these contradictions. It is also important to address attendant problems of food security, public health, obesity and unequal market distribution. More particularly, it has become essential to livelihoods and urban resilience that food systems are dealt with in their entirety, and not just in terms of farms and farmers, or household food insecurity. Users, processors, advertisers and retailers are all part of the wider food system. Convening such groups to address the challenges of the food system and food security, requires a new

approach to the food system. And, the emphasis should be on cities where the food system challenge is the greatest.

The shift from food producer to wider food system considerations is gathering momentum in the academic literature. As the thesis shows, scholars, practitioners and commentators from around the world reflect a variety of perspectives and approaches, but there is a distinctive agreement emerging around the notion that alternative forms of food governance offer opportunities to address food system faults. In the last decade academic papers, consultancy reports and grey literature reflect a shift from seeing the countryside as the key focus in food systems, to seeing cities as areas where new modes of food system governance offer opportunities to address a number of converging urban challenges, particularly food security and health. Little attention has been given to the appropriate food governance actions required in African and South African cities. This work is an attempt to initiate such a process.

Emerging literature about urban food systems document initiatives focused on urban-led food governance interventions. The urban food governance trends observed in this thesis in North America, Europe and Belo Horizonte in Brazil, despite their differences, show how city governments, through a variety of governance approaches, have been able to wrestle a modicum of food system influence back to within the remit of the city.

Despite a clear obligation to address the right to food, South African cities do not as yet effectively respond to the larger and increasing city-scale food and nutrition security challenge. The thesis has focused on the steps taken so far. It has argued that although embryonic, the two sites studied do reflect recognition of the need to respond to the challenge at the urban scale, and to engage the challenges associated with such endeavours.

Perhaps one of the primary drivers of the South African city-scale responses is the current legislative vacuum affecting food in South African cities. From a governance and policy perspective, this requires urgent rethinking.

Drawing on examples from cities in other developing countries is informative but not especially useful. While the South American examples offer certain insights, addressing the particular situation in South Africa requires a wider review of approaches applied in order to understand key trends, operating principles and relationships between policy, city government and society.

The research in Cape Town and Stellenbosch hinged on very particular inquiries, and other work will be needed to test or examine alternatives in a range of urban places. Even so, it is clear that detailed surveys and immersion in the specific complexities of these two places are excellent ways of observing and comparing trends and key operating principles. The analysis leaves no doubt that urban food governance arrangements are vital to securing the health of city populations. Precisely how appropriate governance arrangements are arrived at is a moot point; the lessons from Stellenbosch highlight the faults in top-down strategy that overlooks subtle, but vital, networks and relationships. Conversely, in Cape Town, approaches are only now starting to emerge but they too are problematic. Specifically, the Cape Town processes are caught balancing the immediacy of current and politically volatile development needs, while trying to strategically incorporate longer term food and nutritional security challenges that are more obscure.

In urban places across the global South, local governments, food retailers, food system functionaries and consumers are starting to comprehend the perilous foundation of food supply and distribution networks, and to attend to ways of minimising risk. The argument in this thesis is that, in an increasingly urban world, it is essential that governance of urban food system functions takes place at the urban scale. This argument does not imply disregard for other governance processes; it implies only that cities need to play an active role in urban food governance, a role that has not been played to date.

Evidence from the Southern African Development Community shows that urban food insecurity is high. For various reasons the level is higher than anticipated. The challenge is particularly acute in areas of increased vulnerability, such as informal settlements. The identified food security challenge highlighted a number of flaws in the measurement of, and responses to, food insecurity. South African cities reflected similar trends. South Africa is one of the most urbanised countries in the region. In urban areas the decreasing number of industrial jobs and escalating unemployment, contribute to high levels of informality, and, despite proactive housing development interventions, means that the food security challenge is more than just an issue of food availability. The urban food challenge is a component of a variety of other development challenges. Viewing the food question in isolation prevents a deeper understanding of the associated dynamics and results in a narrow perspective, particularly regarding policy and governance. When this narrow perspective is aligned to the food production and welfare driven interventions, responses are wholly inadequate.

As the thesis shows, literature questioning the food system functions and typologies is diverse. It also reflects a variety of ideological and technical perspectives (ideo-perspectives) on opportunities and limitations within the food system. Discussions encompass food production, food sources, agricultural inputs, food quality, unequal food distribution systems, the value chain and consumption. These same technical and ideological perspectives are used to describe the needs when considering the food security challenge and solutions. However, two related perspectives erroneously influence the food security discourse. These are calls to ensure that sufficient food is grown to feed an expected nine billion global inhabitants, and secondly, the technologies required to facilitate such production. Such perspectives obscure a wide variety of food system faults and over-simplify the complexities of the food security challenge. Calling for increased production is uncritical about the existing food system. Such calls neglect the vast amounts of food that are produced for uses other than direct human consumption, and include inefficient animal feed use (from energy calorific input to calorific output perspective) and food to fuel. Critically also, the production-driven solution to food security ignores the significant volumes of food wasted within the current food system and the significant inequalities in food distribution.

Other more comprehensive perspectives of the food system challenge are also prone to ideological bias. Examples of this occur within the sustainable food debates; there, uncritical calls for localisation or organic production ignore contextual realities. Such considerations are often elevated to *fad* status where universal calls for such interventions are uncritically championed. While such perspectives reflect greater levels of criticism of the current food system, the dogmatic championing of one particular theme, often conceptualised and suggested in a top-down manner, still misses key faults within the food system.

This primary fault is one of perspective. Seeing the food system in a holistic manner reveals fractures within it. However such a perspective often misses the lived experience and epistemic food system knowledge that emerges from scales of reality as opposed to scales of state. The agency of these food system actors is seldom considered. Facilitating the exchange of knowledge held by a collection of food system agents and integrating their collective agency could offer alternative avenues for emergent solutions. Context remains a critical consideration, as it is here where agency and networks are most robust. This is particularly evident within the urban food system. This agency is seldom recognised in today's globalised food system. Viewing food from an urban perspective is an increasingly atypical perspective.

Curiously, such a perspective contradicts the foundation of historical considerations about the viability of cities.

The discourse on sustainable cities, urbanisation, urbanism, urban planning and cities in general, give only tokenistic attention to the issues of food and contemporary urban engagement with the food system. Discourse on the second urban transition, in particular, is conspicuously silent about considerations of food and the food system. Rather, the emphasis is primarily on key urban building blocks of accommodation (a general narrative of slum urbanism), infrastructure and the economy. When the urban processes are celebrated, emergent processes that enable liveability are given pride of place: quiet encroachment, *autoconstructed* settlements and reciprocal networks. A further perspective of the urban environment that garners much attention is how cities are consumers of resources. Here cities are described from a perspective of sociometabolic flows. Seeing food simply as a component of the generalised flows of biomass does offer a modicum of understanding about the general consumptive nature of the city. This however has limited utility from a food security or food governance perspective. Simply stated, an understanding of the quantity of food entering the city offers no insight into the finer grain food security challenges. Nor does it consider the inequality within the food system, the daily negotiations of traders, retailers or households or the faults within that system. A food focus is also absent when other urban trends within the second urban transition are described, particularly the quiet encroachment that allows the move from "toe-hold to foot-hold" and the networks, reciprocity and *phronesis* associated with these processes. For most city theorists food is absent from their conceptualisation of cities, unless engaged in overly simplistic ways.

Urban food governance is emerging as a new trend but in the dominant wider urban governance discourse, food and the food system is entirely overlooked. Food forms part of the urban economy, and the relationship between governance and the economy, but this is seldom stated explicitly. The argument that governance shifted in the 1990s, from post-Fordist structural approaches to entrepreneurial forms of urban governance is not considered in recent reviews of the types, extent and nature of urban food governance. The flows and infrastructure focus further reflects a reversion to Fordist structural perspectives of governance. These perspectives ignore food entirely.

An emerging area of enquiry considers the intersection between urbanisation and food system faults, and how these two shifts intersect with other transitionary processes. This work

remains embryonic and is generally focused on cities in the global North. Southern cities, particularly those witnessing the impact of the second urban transition reflect different dynamics. The Northern cities are responding to faults evident within the urban food system. Uncritical replication or transfer of the approaches applied in the developed world cities could be dangerous, but key trends and lessons can be gleaned from these innovations.

Urban food governance (re)emerged in North America in the late 1980s. Although uptake and broader acceptance for such approaches was slow and cautious, urban food governance interventions now reflect a distinct trend in these regions. Other cities, particularly in Europe, are emulating such processes. The international adoption of such trends reflects a unique contradiction. The practice of urban food governance has not delivered paradigm shifting success stories. Rather, the successes achieved have been small, generally incremental and context specific. The reasons for a more general adoption of such processes are informed by faults that are appearing in the urban food system and the opportunities that food-specific governance approaches offer in resolving the food system challenges. The traditional roles of the city in food governance has been one of regulation and remedial or welfarist food response interventions.

Universal urban food governance operating principles are evident in the review of the international urban food governance process. One of the underlying principles of the emerging urban food governance interventions is the expansion of the urban food governance net to encompass stakeholder groups. Through active engagement in food system related activities, these stakeholder groups have a deep understanding of specific components of the food system. These groups could include feeding programmes, faith-based groups and non-governmental groups active is the food environment, but could also include food retailers, urban farmers and nutritionists Recognising the need to consult and collaborate with a far wider group of food system actors at the urban scale embraces an essential shift in urban governance. Most urban food governance approaches materialise within an urban food policy vacuum and where specific contextual challenges hold primacy in the strategies and approaches adopted. Building knowledge about the urban food system assists in enhancing the process, but also offers a measure of legitimacy to the governance approach, consolidating processes, depth and the scale of engagement in the food governance process regardless of shifts in government or broader city mandates. Contextual food system realities drive most urban food system processes as opposed to universal urban food governance "tools" or actions. The contextual focus considers the impact of or absence of food flows on a

specific locality. This approach is very different to the approach that uncritically views the city, or city region, as a self sufficient food source. Local food governance is not a synonym for localisation. The contextual focus, local knowledge, wider food system stakeholder group and understanding of the food system impacts requires that food system governance processes span a variety of governmental departments and programmes. Such interdepartmental cooperation on food system related issues still requires designated leadership. The international processes reviewed reflect leadership held by departments most suited to such processes but determined by each specific city's own contextual needs. Operating in silos limits the reach and remit of such a process and while leadership is generally held by specific departments, a critical leadership function is that of interdepartmental integration and collaboration, while simultaneously actively embracing societal food system structures and agents.

Central to the above governance processes is the formulation of a specific urban food ethos. The point is to articulate the values that inform the strategic action of the governance process. Policies, programmes, actions and strategies all flow from the urban food system values. Social justice, a specifically pro-poor approach, health and general sustainability are key value strands evident within these processes. These same values are evident but not fully articulated within the Stellenbosch and Cape Town sites. As more cities start to adopt food governance approaches, networks between cities become increasingly important. These networks serve to build knowledge about the process and to offer solidarity to other cities. Most importantly, perhaps, they, build on lessons from other cities so as to accelerate the mainstreaming of urban food governance within their own cities.

The role played by city government in food system governance differs markedly. Urban food governance processes are not always led by city government. Multiple governance approaches are evident and again, context was found to play a key role. Governance spans the spectrum from direct city government leadership to complete citizen leadership of the urban food governance processes. Regardless of who plays the key leadership role in the process, these governance approaches aptly reflect what Koc and Bas term 'pluralistic governance'.

City-led approaches attempting to understand and engage in the urban food governance dilemma are emerging in South Africa. These incipient processes are taking place in the absence of formal urban food governance policies. The nascent food governance

approaches in Stellenbosch and Cape Town reflected efforts, led at the local scale, to facilitate a place-based engagement in the food challenges. Although the engagements are different, productionist perspectives dominate. They are informed, in part, by the pervasive views of both the food system and food security. Regardless of the shortfalls, the engagement in, and desire to understand, the wider food system functions reflect a shift in how the food challenges are approached. Most evident is a re-scaling of focus to the city. This happened regardless of (or perhaps driven by the failings of) the current nationally driven food system and food security endeavours.

The South African examples serve as a check on any idealism associated with the uncritical adoption of urban food governance approaches. The review of international urban food governance initiatives, while alluding to governance, ideological and structural challenges in the formation of specific urban food governance processes, do not reflect the realities of such endeavours. Facilitation of the process is essential. This facilitation requires an agreed, contextually informed, food system value-based foundation. This does not exist in Cape Town and was imposed naively in the Stellenbosch case. The failures of the reviewed initiatives do not discount the processes taking place in these areas. Lessons can be learnt from such interventions, specifically the emerging desire to re-scale food governance to the urban domain. The South African sites reviewed posed a further question: What role does the city play in these processes? Within the South African context, the city needs to play the leading role, driving the processes.

The conventionally understood role of the city was questioned in the international review of urban-scale food governance approaches. The international examples show cities taking different roles. While the South American processes saw city government playing an active leadership role, other regions reflected different processes. In these instances, the city played the role of facilitator, convening processes. In other instances, urban food approaches were led by governance groups other than the city specifically. In most instances, the city remained directly involved, often ensuring the adherence to key values of the city and how the food system was understood. The notion that the city can initiate and support processes, but does not have to actively lead the initiatives, reflects a divergence from the traditional understanding of the governance role of the city. The South African cities are still grappling with building understanding and consensus about what needs to be done and are yet to engage in the governance approaches required. The Cape Town process is currently being led

by City structures but it is unclear if this is the ideal approach. The absence of any leadership in Stellenbosch implies that the town needs to take greater leadership of the process.

It is unclear what type of food governance needs to emerge in South African cities. What is necessary is a process whereby groups with knowledge of the food system are convened and processes are facilitated to arrive at a point where the urban-scale food system values are agreed. Effective urban food governance can emerge from this value oriented perspective.

Calling for place-based food governance approaches requires careful consideration. The thesis does not propose localisation, a trend uncritically called for within the urban sustainability discourse and often aligned to carbon footprints. Urban food governance requires a more nuanced and rigorous consideration of local considerations. Urban food governance seeks to understand and facilitate the engagement of the urban environment with other scales. Scale, in terms of size, remains a key consideration. Internationally, the evidence is that, when towns are small, food governance approaches were managed at the county (South African district) scale. This means that the appropriate scale of operation is a further key consideration.

The engagement in the two South African cases noted distinct ideological views from active food system participants about the nature of any urban food governance process. This highlights a critical concern and further supports the importance of participation by the city in such processes. Caution needs to be exercised so that attempts at pluralistic urban food governance are not captured by specific interest groups who dictate food governance activities. The importance of the food system value identification process and the role of city government in mediating processes become all the more critical in such considerations.

That food insecurity is recognised as a global challenge is not disputed. In the past decades food security has attracted much attention. The shift to a predominantly urban world has also been well documented with global reports attesting to the nature, changes, challenges and successes associated with the urban transition. It is only recently that questions considering the intersection between urban food security and food system challenges have started to attract attention. Questions of how the urban food challenge intersects with other global transitionary process are an increasingly important area of study. Emerging is a realisation that food insecurity in developing world urban areas is a significant and persistent challenge. Recognition of the drivers, challenges and wider food system faults associated

with developing world urban food security is starting to emerge in literature and other global reports. However, the solutions to these challenges generally remain locked in productionist paradigms focused at either the global or household scales. This thesis offers an alternative perspective. Built on a foundational study of literature in urban studies, food security, food system studies, alternative food networks, transitions, governance and scale, this thesis sought to analyse international food governance approaches to enable understanding of incipient South African urban food system and food security governance responses.

However, the literature study identified a critical challenge. Urban studies literature seldom engages with the food system despite its importance to urban structuring, politics and economies. Besides some emerging discourse, much of the food security literature remains focused on production, addressing global scale issues with responses focused at the household scale, where productionist responses dominate. Certain literatures within the food system discourse recognise the role of cities, even developing world cities, but the engagement focuses predominantly on the role of food system actors and not the urban governance processes, or absence thereof, within these processes. This work attempts to address some of these gaps.

This approach breaks from the prosaic and generalised food system and food security responses entrenched in policy and certain development literatures. The thesis builds a new understanding of possible developing world approaches to urban food security challenges, suggesting new forms of urban governance. These nascent governance interventions hold the city government and citizens accountable for the development of urban-focused food system governance strategies that place the city at the centre of the food system question.

The need to find solutions to urban food security is urgent. The long term consequences of inappropriate food access locks communities into poverty, poor health, limited educational prospects, and many other such pathologies. While applied in a broader ecological context, the term “Slow Violence” used by the University of Wisconsin academic, Rob Nixon, epitomises the nature of the food security challenge described in this thesis. The rasping term pinpoints the hidden and silent challenge posed by food insecurity. The startling phrase has other implications: it challenges current notions of violence which are generally reactionary, sensationalist and highly politicised. These conventional formulations of violence reflect immediacy and sensationalist nature of such trauma. Such perspectives generally ignore less evident but persistent challenges. One such persistent challenge is food

insecurity. Nixon's phrasing is informed by the work of the renowned commentator and activist Rachael Carson. Her remark that a shadow "is no less ominous because it is formless and obscure" (Carson, 1962: 238) aptly describes the challenges of food insecurity. It also highlights the urgent need to give the challenge form and bring it into perspective. This thesis argues that one strategy would be non-traditional governance within the urban food context.

This thesis does not presume to shed light on the formless and obscure issues of the food system. Instead, by drawing on an analysis of practice inside and beyond South Africa, it suggests a set of methods or approaches that can be deployed in an effort to address the challenge of urban food security. Returning to the quotation used to introduce this thesis, this thesis offers possible pathways to address the lived paradox of finding ways in which city inhabitants can fill the void described by Kalimasse in the epigraph and yet still overcome the pervasive hunger that stalks many urban residents.

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Annexure 1

(Author generated compilation following analysis of local food governance and scale focus)

	Name	Scale	Governance
1	Adams County Food Policy Council (Gettysburg)	County	Government
2	Austin/Travis Sustainable Food Policy Board	County/ Local	Government
3	Cabarrus County Food Policy Council	County	Government
4	Camden City Food Security Advisory Board	Local	Government
5	Colorado Food Systems Advisory Council	State	Government
6	Columbia Food Policy Council	County/ Local	Government
7	Connecticut Food Policy Council	State	Government
8	Denver Sustainable Food Policy Council	County/ Local	Government
9	Douglas County Food Policy Council (Lawrence)	County	Government
10	Georgia Food Policy Council	State	Government
11	Grant County Food Policy Council	County	Government
12	Illinois Food, Farms, & Job Council	Regional	Government
13	Knoxville/Knox County Food Policy Council	County/ Local	Government
14	Los Angeles Food Policy Council	Local	Government
15	Louisville Food Policy Advisory Council	Local	Government
16	Marin Food Policy Council	Local	Government
17	Massachusetts Food Policy Council	State	Government
18	Michigan Food Policy Council	State	Government
19	Montgomery County Food Policy Coalition (Dayton)	County	Government
20	New Mexico Food and Agriculture Policy Council	State	Government
21	New York State Council on Food Policy	State	Government
22	North Carolina Sustainable Local Food Advisory Council	State	Government
23	Oakland Food Policy Council	Local	Government
24	Oklahoma Food Policy Council	State	Government
25	Philadelphia Food Policy Advisory Council	Local	Government
26	Saint Paul-Ramsey County Food and Nutrition Commission	County/ Local	Government
27	Salt Lake City Food Policy Task Force	Local	Government
28	Santa Fe Food Policy Council	County/ Local	Government
29	Southern Maryland Community Food Council	Regional	Government
30	Wisconsin Food Policy Council	State	Government
31	Baltimore Food Policy Initiative	Local	Hybrid
32	Berkeley Food Policy Council	Local	Hybrid
33	Boston Food Policy Council	Local	Hybrid
34	Boulder County Food and Agriculture Policy Council	County	Hybrid
35	Burlington Food Council	Local	Hybrid
36	California State Food Policy Council	State	Hybrid
37	Cass Clay County Food Systems Initiative (ND/MN)	Regional	Hybrid
38	Cass County Local Food Policy Council (Oakland)	Local	Hybrid
39	Charlotte-Mecklenburg Food Policy Council	County	Hybrid
40	Clark County Food Policy Council	County	Hybrid
41	Contra Costa Food and Nutrition Policy Consortium	Local	Hybrid

	Name	Scale	Governance
42	Cook County Food Policy Council	County	Hybrid
43	Dane County Food Council (Madison)	County	Hybrid
44	Detroit Food Policy Council	Local	Hybrid
45	Duval County Food Policy Council (Jacksonville)	County	Hybrid
46	Food Adv Co. Memphis & Shelby County	County/ Local	Hybrid
47	Fresno County Food System Alliance	County	Hybrid
48	Hartford Advisory Commission on Food Policy	Local	Hybrid
49	Healthy Food Access/Farm to School Committee (Monterey)	Regional	Hybrid
50	Homegrown Minneapolis Food Council	Local	Hybrid
51	Iowa Food Systems Council	State	Hybrid
52	Lane County Food Policy Council	County	Hybrid
53	Lee County Food Policy Council	County	Hybrid
54	Lexington Food Policy Council	Local	Hybrid
55	Linn County Food Policy Council (Cedar Rapids)	County	Hybrid
56	Mendocino Food Policy Council	County	Hybrid
57	Montgomery County Food Council	County	Hybrid
58	Nashville Food Policy Council	Local	Hybrid
59	New Haven Food Policy Council	Local	Hybrid
60	New London County Food Policy Council	County	Hybrid
61	New Orleans Food Policy Advisory Committee	Local	Hybrid
62	Northwest Illinois Local Foods Task Force (Stephenson County)	County	Hybrid
63	Northwest Michigan Food and Farming Network	Regional	Hybrid
64	Ohio Food Policy Council Network	State	Hybrid
65	Portland Food Policy Council	Local	Hybrid

	Name	Scale	Governance
66	Portland-Multnomah Food Policy Council	County/ Local	Hybrid
67	Regional FPC (Puget Sound)	Regional	Hybrid
68	Rhode Island Food Policy Council	State	Hybrid
69	Rio Arriba County Food & Agriculture Policy Council	County	Hybrid
70	Sacramento Region Food System Collaborative	Regional	Hybrid
71	San Diego Food System Alliance	Local	Hybrid
72	San Francisco Food Policy Council	Local	Hybrid
73	Sarasota Food Policy Council	County	Hybrid
74	South Carolina Food Policy Council	State	Hybrid
75	Spartanburg Food Policy Council	Local	Hybrid
76	Spokane Food Policy Council	Local	Hybrid
77	Springfield Food Policy Council (Massachusetts)	Local	Hybrid
78	St Louis Regional Food Policy Council	Local	Hybrid
79	Tennessee Food Policy Council	State	Hybrid
80	Washoe County Food Policy Council (Reno)	County	Hybrid
81	West Virginia Food Charter	State	Hybrid
82	Worcester Food & Active Living Policy Council	Local	Hybrid
83	Alaska Food Policy Council	State	Independent
84	Asheville-Buncombe Food Policy Council	County/ Local	Independent
85	Athens Food Policy Council	Local	Independent
86	Atlanta Local Food Initiative	County	Independent
87	Birmingham-Jefferson Food Policy Council	County/ Local	Independent
88	Bloomington Food Policy Council	Local	Independent
89	Central Oregon Food Policy Council	Regional	Independent

	Name	Scale	Governance
90	Central Vermont Food Systems Council (Montpelier)	Regional	Independent
91	Chicago Food Policy Advisory Council	Local	Independent
92	Cleveland/Cuyahoga County Food Policy Council	County/ Local	Independent
93	Community Food Council for Del Norte and Adjacent Tribal Lands	Local	Independent
94	DC Food Policy Council	Local	Independent
95	Durham Food Prosperity Council	Local	Independent
96	Evanston Food Council	Local	Independent
97	Florida Food Policy Council	State	Independent
98	Food Initiatives Group (Macomb)	Local	Independent
99	Food Policy Council of San Antonio	Local	Independent
100	Food Systems Network NYC Policy Subcommittee	Local	Independent
101	Franklin County Local Food Council	County	Independent
102	Genesee County Food Policy Exploratory Group (Flint)	Local	Independent
103	Good Food for Lewiston-Auburn	Local	Independent
104	Good Food Network (Western Lake Superior- MN/WI)	Regional	Independent
105	Greater Cincinnati Regional Food Policy Council	Regional	Independent
106	Greater Grand Rapids Food Systems Council	Local	Independent
107	Greater Kansas City Food Policy Coalition	Local	Independent
108	Grow Montana Coalition	State	Independent
109	Hawaii Food Policy Council	State	Independent
110	Headwaters Food Sovereignty Council	Regional	Independent
111	Heartland Local Food Network (Bloomington-Normal)	Regional	Independent

	Name	Scale	Governance
112	Holyoke Food and Fitness Policy Council	Local	Independent
113	Hoopa Food Policy Council	Local	Independent
114	Houston Food Policy Council	Local	Independent
115	Humboldt Food Policy Council	County	Independent
116	Knox County Food Council	County	Independent
117	La Plata County Food Policy Council (Durango)	County	Independent
118	Lake Local Food Initiative	Regional	Independent
119	Maine Network of Community Food Councils	State	Independent
120	Manatee County Food Policy Council	County	Independent
121	Massachusetts Food Policy Alliance	State	Independent
122	Mercer Food Council	County	Independent
123	Milwaukee Food Council	Local	Independent
124	Mississippi Food Policy Council	State	Independent
125	Missoula Community Food and Agriculture Coalition	Local	Independent
126	Muscogee (Creek) Nation Food and Fitness Policy Council (Okmulgee, OK)	Local	Independent
127	New Brunswick Community Food Alliance	Local	Independent
128	Niagara County Food Policy Council	County	Independent
129	North Alabama Food Policy Council	Regional	Independent
130	Omaha Area Food Policy Council	Local	Independent
131	Oneida Community Integrated Food Systems	Local	Independent
132	Passaic County Food Policy Council	Local	Independent
133	Pima County Food Systems Alliance (Tucson)	County	Independent
134	Pioneer Valley Grows	Regional	Independent
135	Pittsburgh Area Food Policy Council	Local	Independent

	Name	Scale	Governance
136	Plumas-Sierra County Community Food Council (Quincy)	County	Independent
137	Pottawattamie County Local Food Council	County	Independent
138	Pryor Food Policy Council (Oklahoma)	Local	Independent
139	Richmond Food Policy Council	Local	Independent
140	Saco River Lake Region Food Policy Council	Regional	Independent
141	San Bernardino Food Policy Council	Local	Independent
142	San Luis Valley Local Food Coalition (Alamosa)	County	Independent
143	San Mateo Food System Alliance	County	Independent
144	Santa Barbara Food Policy Council	County	Independent
145	Santa Clara Food System Alliance	Local	Independent
146	Savannah-Chatham Food Policy Council	County/ Local	Independent
147	Sonoma County Food System Alliance	County	Independent
148	South Central Pennsylvania Food Policy Council (Carlisle)	Regional	Independent
149	South Florida Food Policy Council* (Miami/Dade County)	Regional	Independent
150	Southeast Minnesota Food Policy Working Group	Regional	Independent
151	Southeastern North Carolina Food Systems Program	Regional	Independent
152	Springfield Food Policy Council (Mississippi)	Local	Independent
153	Springfield Local Food Task (Illinois)	County	Independent
154	St. Pete Area Food Policy Council	Local	Independent
155	Summit County Food Policy Coalition (Akron)	County	Independent
156	Summit County Food Policy Council (Breckenridge/Frisco)	County	Independent
157	Tahlequah FPC (Cherokee County, OK)	Local	Independent

	Name	Scale	Governance
158	Tallahassee Food Network	Local	Independent
159	The Alamo Regional Food Security Network	Regional	Independent
160	The Greater Flagstaff FP Council	Local	Independent
161	Treasure Valley Food Coalition (Southwestern Idaho/ Eastern Oregon)	Regional	Independent
162	Tulsa Food Security Council	Local	Independent
163	Ventura County Food Policy Council	County	Independent
164	Virginia Food System Council	State	Independent
165	Waterbury-Duxbury Food Council	Local	Independent
166	Western Colorado Food and Agriculture Council (Paonia)	County	Independent
167	Yolo County Ag and Food Alliance	County	Independent
168	Alabama Food Policy Council	State	Not Listed
169	Arkansas Food Policy Council	State	Not Listed
170	Dallas Food Policy Council	Local	Not Listed
171	El Paso Food Policy Council	Local	Not Listed
172	Food Council of Northwest Ohio	Regional	Not Listed
173	Food System Workgroup Mid-Michigan (Lansing)	Local	Not Listed
174	Houghton County Food Policy Council	County	Not Listed
175	Las Cruces-Dona Ana County Food Policy Council	County/ Local	Not Listed
176	Newark Food Policy Council	Local	Not Listed
177	Richmond Food Policy Task Force	Local	Not Listed
178	Utica-Oneida County Food Policy Council	County/ Local	Not Listed
179	York Food Policy Council	Local	Not Listed

Annexure 2

Food Policy Council Review data input table

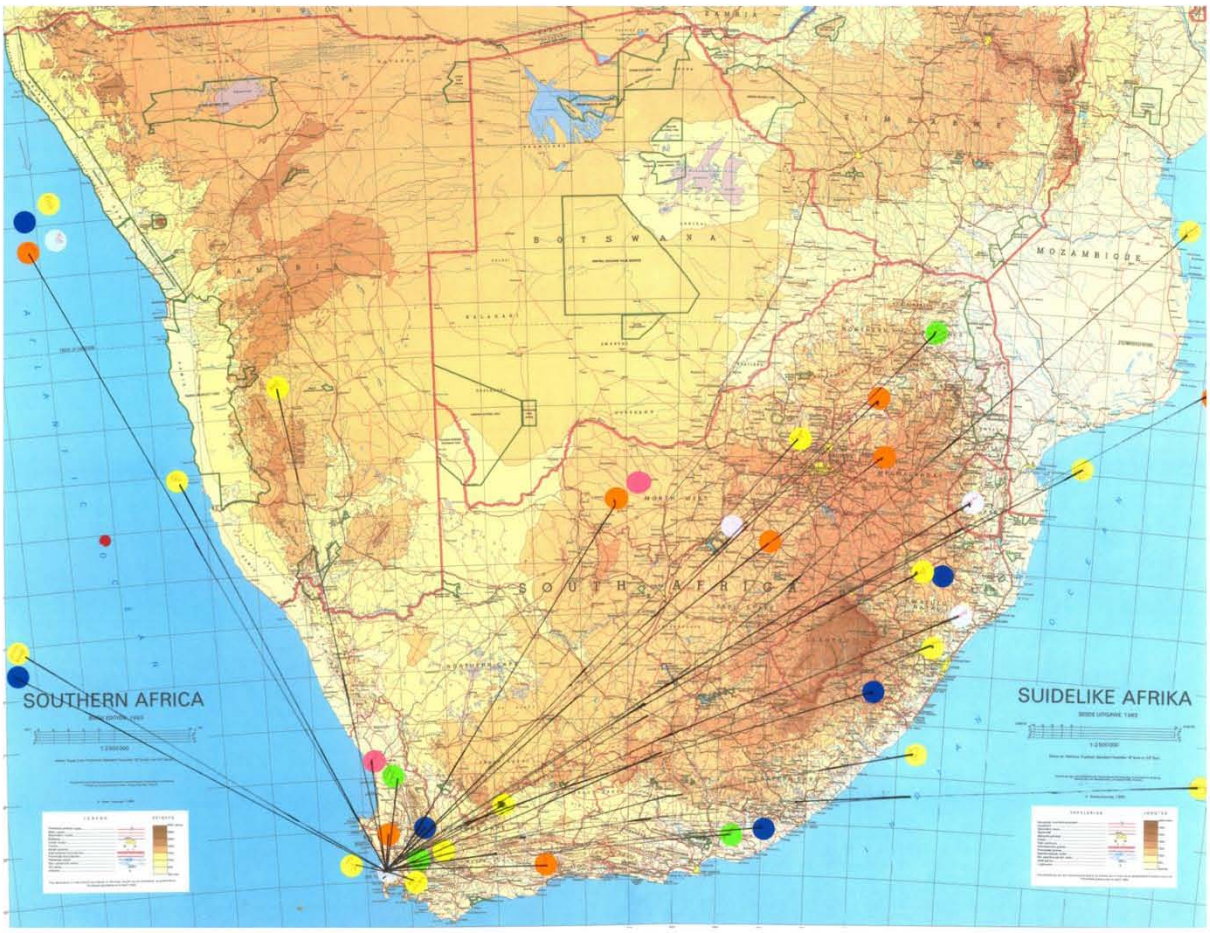
#	Name		Scale	
Contact		Name: Email: Phone:		
Web				
Governance			LG Links	
Priorities				
Achievements				
Other detail				

Sample

48	Name	Hartford Advisory Commission on Food Policy	Scale	Local
Contact		Name: Email: Phone:		
Web		http://www.hartfordfood.org/		
Governance		Advisory body to the city government	LG Links	Yes
Priorities		2012 recommendations to city leadership include: 1) Increase utilization of the Summer Food Service Program; 2) Tax incentives and economic benefits for healthy food businesses; 3) Increase school breakfast participation; 4) Expand the reach of farmers' markets in Hartford; 5) Evaluate and improve disaster preparedness including Hartford's food supply; and 6) Increase SNAP and WIC enrollment.		
Achievements		The Commission has been in existence since 1991, and continues to serve as a model for other municipal councils across the country		

Annexure 3

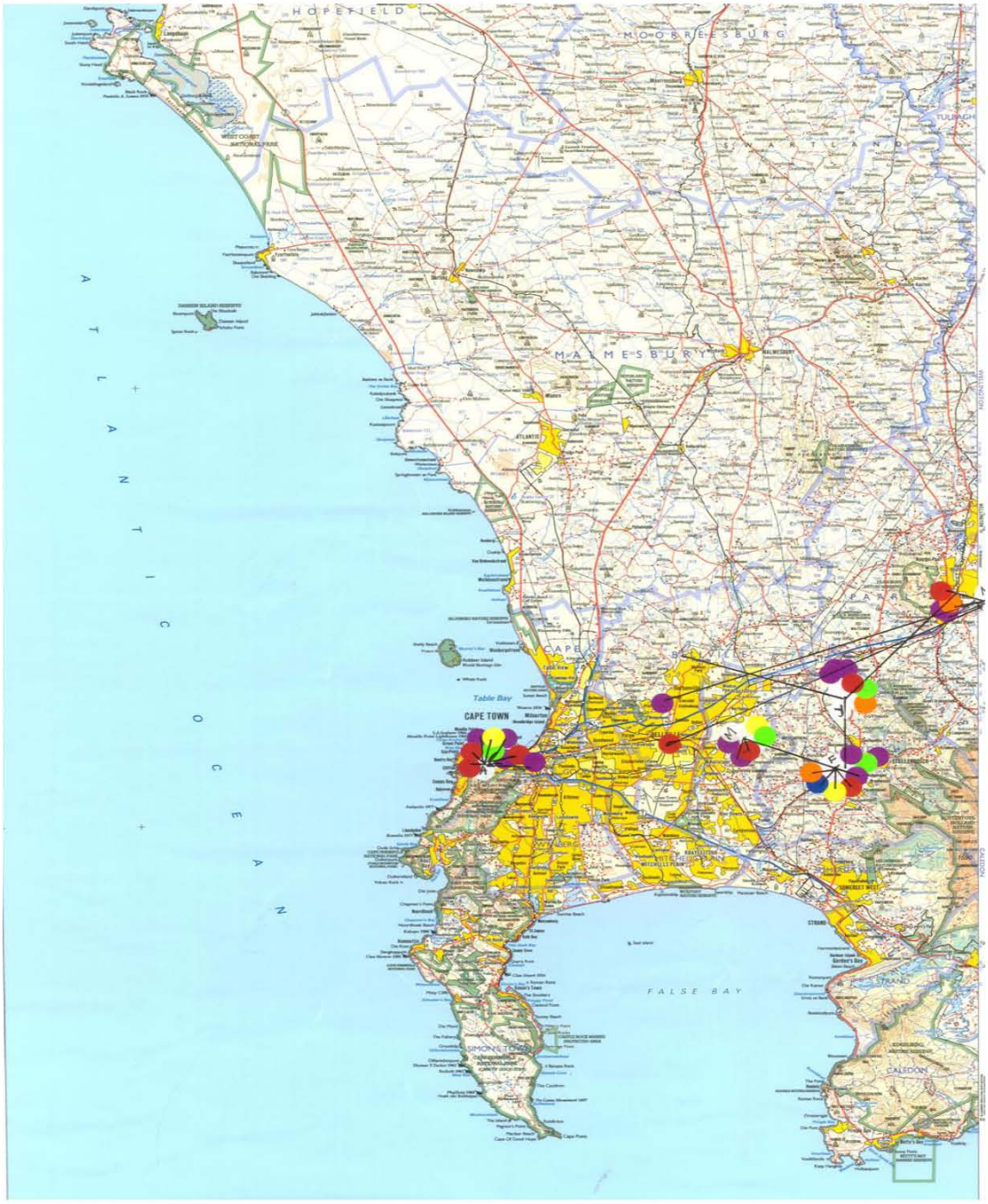
Stellenbosch Food Supply Points



Fruit	
Grains (maize meal, bread, pasta, etc)	
Vegetables	
Meat, eggs & fish	
Milk & dairy	

Annexure 4

Stellenbosch Food Access Points



Supermarkets	
Small stores, cafes, speciality stores (so called formal)	
Spaza shops, home shops, street vendors, smouse (so called informal)	
Fresh goods markets, farmer's markets, direct from farmers	
Restaurants, street food, etc	
Provided by others, grow it	

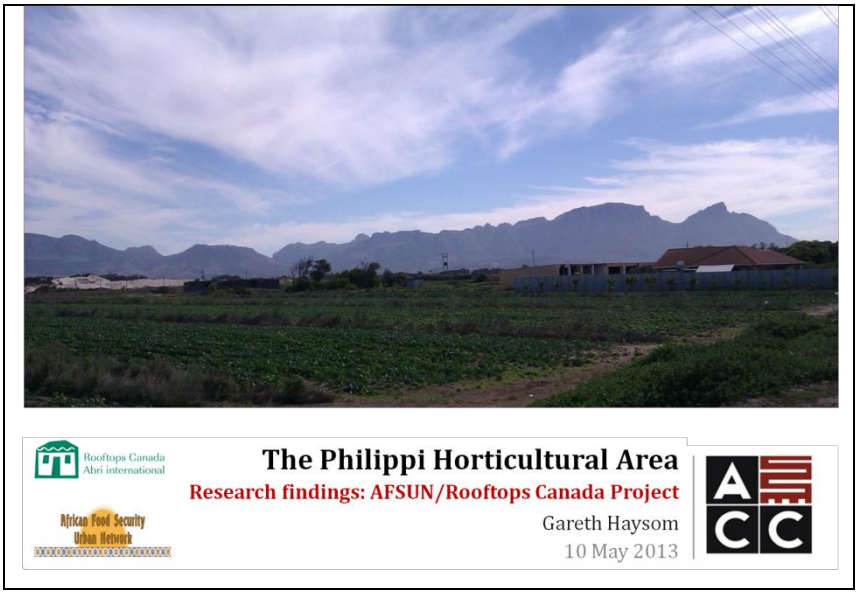
Annexure 5

Philippi Horticultural Area Presentation

Date: 10 May 2013

Meeting Room: 5th Floor, Toronto Public Health Building, Victoria Street, Toronto

Name	Designation/Role
Josephine Archbold	Toronto Public Health
Afua Asantewaa	Food Share, Canada
Sandra Tap	Independent
Yusuf Alam	Health Public Policy Directorate, Toronto
Kamba Ankunda	Rooftops Canada
James Kuhns	Course Instructor UA, Ryerson University
Joe Nasr	Raymond Chang School of Continuing Education, Ryerson U.
Lauren Baker	Coordinator, Toronto Food Policy Council
Brian Cook	Researcher, Toronto Food Policy Council



Annexure 6

Student Research Explanation and Consent Form

Student Research Brief:

Student Name:	**Gareth Haysom**	Student Number:	**HYSGAR001**
Supervisor:	**Jane Battersby-Lennard**	Degree:	**PhD**
Department:	**Environmental and Geographical Science**		

About the researcher:

I am a student registered within the Department of Environmental and Geographic Sciences at the University of Cape Town. My research forms part of broader urban food security research which is currently being carried out within a programme knows as the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN), located within the African Centre for Cities (ACC). The AFSUN work seeks to understand the urban food security challenges in Southern Africa and has research associates in a number of SADC countries and works with 11 cities in Southern Africa.

I am currently completing my PhD and this research forms part of that process. I have worked in the area of food security, sustainability and sustainable agriculture for the past 8 years. This research forms part of my ongoing questioning of how we will be able to access food in the future, particularly in the growing cities in Africa.

Research Explanation:

The doubling of the population in African cities within the next two decades poses distinct questions on how city functions are planned and executed. Globally the world is facing a convergence of a number of interdependent and mutually reinforcing sustainability oriented crises. Food security is a core component of these crises. Addressing urban food security requires fundamentally different strategies if the growing urban populations are to attain food and nutritional security. The second urbanisation wave in Africa calls for urban food security responses that are strategic, equitable, sustainable and build resilience. The elevation of the strategies from the household livelihood level to an urban system level is also required. This study will utilise the concepts and disciplinary approaches of scale, through the varied discursive uses, as a tool for understanding the emerging practice of food system planning, merging perspectives of urban sustainability, urban geography, urban food and nutritional security and sustainable food systems. The work questions the use of scale within various disciplines and seeks to develop a theoretical approach where scale can be used to understand and craft sustainable urban food systems. The core questions of this research process are to seek explanations for the following:

- How have the theories of scale been applied in various food system strategies and what are the assumptions about scale within current food system strategies?
- What are the relationships between scale oriented methodologies and the attainment of equitable and just sustainable urban food systems, and how do the food systems under review reflect on the relationships between place, region and scale?
- Is scale a useful methodological approach in the development and governance of food system strategies by food policy councils?
- Can a scale based perspective offer new insights into the functioning of a food system?
- What are the gaps in the current food system strategies specifically the gaps between food systems and sustainability debates?

Your role in the research:

Understanding the various aspects of the food system, its functioning and its challenges requires insights and knowledge, perspectives and opinions from a wide range of participants within the food system. Food is something that touches us all and as such is an emotive subject. Our daily engaging with food also means that everyone has a perspective of and insights into the food system.

Everyone's views are critically important to the process. Everyone's perspective has great value.

By agreeing to participate in this research process, you give the researcher, Gareth Haysom, permission to use your responses in the research.

However, should you wish to remain anonymous, this is understood and respected and your inputs will be treated as confidential. Your input remains of great value and as such, your responses will be carefully reworded to prevent others from being able to discern the source. As part of this process, I would require your name for records but give the guarantee that I will not use your name in the thesis.

First Name			Family Name			
Cell Number		Email				
I give consent for my views to be used in the research			YES		NO	
I request the my responses be treated as confidential			YES		NO	
Signed			Name			
			Date			

Thank you

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Annexure 7

Media Framing Record

Journalist/Author	Date	Title	Publication	Type
Zara Nicholson	18 July 2013	'Poor to suffer' if agricultural land lost	IOL online	Article
Anel Lowis	22 July 2013	Furore over Cape Town urban creep	Iol online	Article
Zara Nicholson	24 July 2013	Protect Philippi: MAYCO split on urban edge issue	Cape Times	Article
Zara Nicholson	29 July 2013	Developing debate: Philippi farmer differ over plan	Cape Times	Article
Patricia de Lille	29 July 2013	City's case for moving urban edge: Philippi proposal a compromise	Cape Times	OpEd
Zara Nicholson	31 July 2013	Farmers offering to sell their land – vote of Philippi today	Cape Times	Article
Rudi Botha	31 July 2013	There's a win-win situation for the Philippi Horticultural Area	Cape Times	OpEd
Zara Nicholson	01 August 2013	Opponents vow to fight: City allows houses on Philippi farmland	Cape Times	Article
Rebecca Davis	01 August 2013	The battle for Cape Town's farmland	Daily Maverick	Article
Sibongakonke Mama	03 August 2013	Farmers and residents in 'food basket' tussle	Weekend Argus	Article
Sibongakonke Mama	03 August 2013	Food Security should come first, says AgriWes	Weekend Argus	Article

All letters to Cape Times

Period of review 29 July – 07 August 2013

Author	Date	Title	Organisation/Suburb
Phil Flockton	29 July 2013	Philippi development not necessary if city opts for high density	Ronderbosch
Rabkin, Rosenberg, Ngenwa et al	31 July 2013	Housing important but not at the expense of the environmental value of Philippi	UCT Urban design students
Louis de Villiers	31 July 2013	Support needed	Rosebank
Mea Lashbrooke	31 July 2013	Waiting for answer	Princess Vlei Forum
Corrine Cash	31 July 2013	Building barriers	Cape Town
Graham Lashbrooke	01 August 2013	DA no different	Bergvliet
Sandy Barnes	01 August 2013	Edged out	Fish Hoek
Patrick Madden	01 August 2013	Seed money?	Cape Town
Solly Malatsi	01 August 2013	The city vision for Philippi takes into account farmer's concerns	Spokesperson for mayor CoCT
Rachel Mash	02 August 2013	City will be placed at extreme risk without Philippi treasure	Anglican church of SA
Nazeer Sonday	05 August 2013	Philippi land should be used for emerging farmers	SCEA