

Covid-19 Lockdown and the Impact on Local Food Systems: Food Security and Nutrition in South Africa's Marginalised Communities – A Food Justice Perspective from the Cape Flats and St. Helena Bay



Source: Paganini, 2018.

## **Inception Report**

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## **List of Abbreviations**

ACC	African Centre for Cities
ADR	Action-and Decision-Oriented Research
CF	Cape Flats
CoCT	City of Cape Town
СТ	Cape Town
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FIES	Food Insecurity Experience Scale
FJT	Food Justice Theory
FSN	Food Security and Nutrition
GDI	Gross Domestic Income
HBF	Heinrich Böll Foundation
HDDS	Household Dietary Diversity Scale
HLPE	High Level Panel of Experts
MSC	Most Significant Change Technique
PV	Photovoice
PoC	People of Colour
SA	South Africa
SLF	Centre for Rural Development

Urban Agriculture for Food Security and Income **UFISAMO** 

Saint Helena Bay

University of Cape Town

Generation in South Africa and Mozambique

UWC University of West Cape

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St. HB

UCT

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#### 1 Introduction

"COVID-19 is deepening the hunger crisis in the world's hunger hotspots and creating new epicentres of hunger across the globe." (Oxfam, 2020)

The major relevant international food security bodies agree that hunger is exacerbated by effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on local food systems (Dubbels et al., 2020; FAO, 2020; IPES Food, 2020; FIAN International, 2020). One of these hotspots of hunger is in South Africa (Oxfam, 2020). This is surprising as it belongs to the group of upper middle-income countries that should have some capacities to cope with such crises. While marginalised communities¹ faced food insecurity and hunger before the crisis (see Battersby, 2011), the pandemic and the accompanying government measures have additionally impacted those affected communities (Dubbels et al., 2020; FIAN International, 2020; Oxfam, 2020, 13). So, one of the most urgent questions is, how can hunger occur in a country that is deemed food secure at a national level (Stats SA, 2019)?

Food security in South Africa has long been on the priority list of many civil society organisations. Initiated by the call of two communities in South Africa, the SLE responded due to the high relevance of the issue. For this reason, this bottom-up study was designed as one of the post-graduate programme studies for this year. The demand came from two areas in the Western Cape which SLE have already been closely engaged with in the past, i.e. a community in the Cape Flats (CF) and in Saint Helena Bay (St. HB). Both communities asked SLE to help shed light on food security and particularly on its narrative, which is often constructed by academics, policy actors and non-governmental organisations, but barely by those who experience daily food security. Moreover, there is a lack of specific information on food security in urbanising contexts and a lack of opportunity for community members to partake in the narrative of food systems in SA (Haysom et al., 2017; Battersby, 2019; Hendriks, 2019).

Currently, the COVID-19 pandemic shock presents a further information gap that needs to be studied. As the pandemic infringes face-to-face contact as well as research and travel, SLE and its partners decided to switch to a digital project design. In order to do this, the research builds on, and strongly relies on, previous experiences with its co-research approach and also on an existing network of co-researchers and partners.

For these reasons, the research will focus on the food systems and food security of the CF and St. HB, which we understand to be representative of the wider issue. We also added St. Helena Bay to incorporate the perspective of a smaller urbanising area. The shock of both the COVID-19 pandemic and the accompanying governmental measures on the food system is assessed. Research will follow a mixed method approach, and compiles both quantitatively and qualitatively, using digital survey and interview techniques. It includes desk research, an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The term "marginalised communities" will be expounded upon in section 3.4., however, we understand a community to be marginalised if it lacks both agency and opportunity to participate in governance processes.

online survey, food system actor interviews, participatory methods and stakeholder workshops. As community members explicitly mandated for this study, a co-research approach is used because it entails community involvement in the gathering and dissemination of information, and for the interpretation and contextualisation of results.

This report gives an overview of the research framework, the conceptual framework and the methodological approach of the project, as well as outlining the project's terms of reference. The project's logical framework will be detailed in the following chapters, however, the three outcomes are briefly presented here.

**Outcome 1:** Partners and communities gained deeper knowledge of the fault lines in the CF & St. HB's food systems and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and its lockdown measures on the status of food security.

**Outcome 2**: Co-researchers are actively involved in project decisions, data validation and dissemination to the CF and St. HB households and to governance actors.

**Outcome 3**: Digital tools are identified, adapted, and further developed for future research on food systems, in and with marginalised communities.

#### 1.1 Project Context

SA boasts the second biggest economy in Africa, with a GDI of \$358.839 billion (World Bank, 2020). However, the wealth is not spread equally throughout its 58.8 million people. The World Bank states the Gini Coefficient for SA to be 63, making it the most unequal country in the world in terms of income dispersion (Stats SA, 2019a). The seeds of this inequality were sown in the country's heavily racialised past, namely during a colonial era and the apartheid era, in which the "Coloured", "Black" and "Indian" demographics were systematically oppressed by a "White" minority populace. The oppressed were forcibly relocated to rural areas or to city outskirts called townships (Lester et al., 2009, 13). In Cape Town (CT) the aftermath of this past is still felt today by its 4 million inhabitants. This is especially true in marginalised communities, such as the CF and St. HB, which are still predominantly segregated (Strauss, 2019). The CF were formed as a result of forced resettlement during the apartheid era and are home to a predominantly non-white population (Lester et al., 2009). Ongoing urbanisation processes are causing CT and surrounding areas in the Western Cape province to increase dramatically, with CT's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The ethnic terms "Black", "Coloured", "White" and "Indian", intended by the apartheid laws for "racial classification", are still widely being used in post-apartheid South Africa, although these terms are highly contested (Buthulezi et al., 2020). Moreover, we use the term "people of colour" (PoC) as an umbrella term for Black, Coloured, and Indian South Africans, as is used in the broader South African context.

population predicted to increase to 5 million inhabitants until 2031 (World Population Review, 2020). These developments are set to impact the already lacklustre urban infrastructure.

One hundred fifty km further north is St. HB, a predominately coloured fisher settlement (Hutchings et al., 2002). Here, small-scale fisher folk make their living and income. However, small-scale fisheries are also threatened by large-scale fishery and post-apartheid inequalities (Schultz, 2016).

In response to the impending health crisis that is expected to result from the COVID-19 pandemic, the SA government imposed a strict lockdown (Battersby, 2020) (see Annex I). Marginalised communities in CT and the surrounding areas were particularly affected by the restrictions. As a result, a host of negative effects manifested themselves in research sights, such as layoffs, a loss of income and denied access to food (Oxfam, 2020, 13). Food security in these areas reportedly spiked as a result, laying bare the fault lines of the food systems (Buthelezi et al., 2020; IPES Food, 2020).

#### 1.2 Research Approach Preview

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) released its 2020 High Level Panel of Experts (HLPE) on Food Security and Nutrition (FSN) Report. The report outlines FSN as a more holistic concept, furthering previous understandings which focused on access to food. The expansion includes the dimensions 'sustainability' and 'agency' (HLPE, 2020, 13). This research project focuses on food security with special emphasis on the latter dimension, as 'agency' impacts all remaining dimensions. The modification recognises an actors' agency as having 'influence' and a 'voice' to shape their food system (ibid, 8). A food system, according to said HLPE report, entails "all the elements and activities that [...] relate to the production, processing, distribution, preparation and consumption" of food (HLPE, 2020, 11). The HLPE also states that marginalised communities often lack "agency with respect to food security and food systems" (HLPE, 2020, 8). This is true for the CF and St. HB communities, for whom the government lockdown often meant an increase in infringement of agency concerning their food systems and a decline in food security. The study will therefore look to operationalise agency specifically from the eater's perspective, as the most concerning effects of the COVID-19 pandemic hit the demand-side, especially the urban poor, who rely on sourcing food via purchase at informal markets (Devereux et al., 2020).

Though the country's constitution recognises a right to food, food insecurity is rife in SA (Republic of South Africa, 1996; Chappell, 2019). This further highlights the gap between the actual experiences of marginalised communities and what a food system should ideally provide (De Schutter, 2014). It stresses the need for these communities to improve agency, in order to claim their rights. We understand the concept of agency to imply a strong autocentric element. In line with this, the project employs a co-research approach because this involves community members that directly engage in research and shape research themselves leading to ownership and empowerment of the researched. This effect is one of the principles of citizen science, which, besides others, strives to share benefits of research

between academia and society (Chandler et al., 2017; Lawson et al. 2015; Silvertown et al., 2013).

#### 1.3 Research Team and Partners

Co-researchers are members of the Cape Town Urban Research Farmer Club, an independent producer platform in the CF and Weskus Mantije, a fisherwomen cooperative from St. HB. These two partner organisations have influenced the food systems in CT and have been involved and trained as co-researchers in the context of a former SLE research project on urban farming in Mozambique and South Africa (UFiSAMo). Co-researchers are vital for the success of this project because of their unique knowledge, access to, and trust from the communities in question. The co-researchers have a dual role of being initiating partners to the project, mandating and defining project objectives and being members of the research team.

The research team consists of five interdisciplinary scholars from the SLE Programme, headed by a team coordinator who is an associate researcher at SLE. The academic advisory partner of the project is Associate Professor Dr Jane Battersby from the African Centre for Cities (ACC) at the University of Cape Town (UCT).

Heinrich Böll Foundation (HBF), Cape Town, the Institute for Critical Food Studies at the UWC, INKOTA-netzwerk e.V., Brot für die Welt, and Solidaridad Southern Africa are further partners. They are involved in funding, information, advice, knowledge and scaling. Scaling partners will use the information produced by this study in further projects and to disseminate the results to a larger audience (Annex II). This ensures that the project contributes to a long-term discussion on the issue and spreads the message of the coresearchers. Furthermore, the results will be provided as open source data within the SA Agroecology Research Network after completion of the study.

#### 2 Research Framework

Initiated by the co-researchers in CT the study follows a participatory process and solution-oriented approach. The steps presented in this report follow the Action and Decision-Oriented Research (ADR) methodology (Fiege, 2019). It is used as methodological guidance to steer the interdisciplinary research teams through the research design phase.

#### 2.1 Core Problem and Objectives

COVID-19 measures have significantly exposed the fault lines of the global and South African food system. As a result, pre-existing high rates of food insecurity escalated dramatically during the COVID-19 period (Amnesty International, 2020; Battersby, 2020; Caesar 2020; FAO 2020; FIAN 2020; IPES Food, 2020). These developments are strongly interconnected with socio-economic inequalities within the communities resulting from colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid politics (Amnesty International, 2020; Haysom 2020). A critical transformation of food systems is to be done in such a way that marginalised communities are enabled to advocate for equal participation in their food systems (Dubbels et al., 2020, 10; HLPE, 2020, 14).

**Impact:** Given the wider context, the impact of our study was set as: Marginalised communities in the CF and St. HB gain agency with regard to a just and resilient food system and advocate for a holistic socially-inclusive narrative, which means leaving no one behind.

**Outcomes and Outputs**: The overall objective of the study is to provide current data on the food security status among CF and St. HB households and to critically examine the perspective of the marginalised communities towards just and resilient food systems. To reach the overall objective, three outcomes guide the research:

**Outcome 1:** Partners and communities gained deeper knowledge of the fault lines in the CF & St. HB's food systems and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and its lockdown measures on the status of food security (Content, closing the information gap).

**Outcome 2**: Co-researchers are actively involved in project decisions, data validation and dissemination to the CF and St. HB households and to governance actors. (Process, closing the policy and empowerment gap)

**Outcome 3**: Digital tools are identified, adapted, and further developed for future research on food systems in and with marginalised communities. (Method, closing the digital divide and capacity building on digital survey)

The expected outcomes result from the following outputs:  $^{3}$ 

Table 1: Outcomes and Outputs		
Outcome	Output	
Outcome 1: Partners and communities gained deeper knowledge of the fault lines in the CF &	<b>Output 1.1:</b> Fault lines of the CF & St. HBs' food systems are identified, mapped, and described.	
St. HB's food systems and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and its lockdown measures on the status of food security.	Output 1.2: A digital study on food security is conducted and analysed; data handed over to UCT and SLE.	
	Output 1.3: The research team is doing in-depth research in the CF and St. HB communities to gather contextualised research results that feed into the study report.	
	Output 1.4: Results of the study are accessible for the CF and St. HB communities (e.g. written in plain English and translated to local languages).	
	Output 1.5: The final study report is published.	
	Output 1.6: A journal paper based on the data is published by the research team.	
Outcome 2: Co-researchers are actively involved in project decisions, data validation and dissemination to the CF and St. HB	Output 2.1: Co-researchers are engaged in all research phases.	
households and to governance actors.	Output 2.2: A "Food as Commons" workshop is elaborated and conducted digitally to discuss the narrative of community food systems.	
	<b>Output 2.3:</b> A dissemination strategy is developed with academic advisors, backstoppers, co-researchers, and knowledge partners and responsibilities are assigned.	
	Output 2.4: A media product is developed and shared with the wider community.	
	<b>Output 2.5:</b> A briefing paper on a possible approach to operationalise 'agency' is formulated and presented to academic advisor.	
	Output 2.6: Study results are handed over and discussed with relevant policy actors.	

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 3}\,\mbox{See}$  Annex III for further information on outputs and planned methods.

	<b>Output 2.7:</b> Different practices of co-research are documented, evaluated and categorised into either good or sub-optimal practices and shared with SLE for further use.
Outcome 3: Digital tools are identified, adapted, and further developed for future research on food systems in and with	Output 3.1: The research team identifies and uses digital tools to do research on the CF and St. HBs' food systems.
marginalised communities.	Output 3.2: Lessons learned on these tools are formulated in the final report and shared with the co-researchers and the staff of SLE.
Source: Own elaboration.	

The following table shows the direct and indirect users of the study who are expected to apply the study results for future work:

Table 2: Users of the Study		
	Communities in the research areas; actors and change-makers in the local food systems	
	Cape Town Urban Agriculture Forum	
Birri area falad	Fisherwomen Weskus Mantije	
Direct users of study	Associate Professor Dr Jane Battersby, ACC at UCT	
	HBF in Cape Town	
	Solidaridad Southern Africa	
	Community organisations such as churches, schools, soup kitchens etc.	
	Township and Ward administration	
	Institute for Critical Food Studies at the University of the Western Cape	
Indirect Users of study	Brot für die Welt	
manect Osers of stody	INKOTA-netzwerk e.V.	
	CoCT i.e Department of Resilience, Department of Urban Integration	
	Western Cape Government, Department of Agriculture, Departments of Health, Resilience, Department of Social Development, Department of the Premier, Human	

	Development, Department of Marketing & Small Businesses
	SLE, Humboldt-Universität (EDOC-Server) and other academic institutions
	Policy and advocacy institutions, such as FAO, ICLEI
	Civil society institutions in CT and elsewhere, such as Eategrity, SAFCEI, Rosa-Luxemburg Foundation
Source: Own elaboration.	'

## 2.2 Guiding Research Questions

Three guiding research questions address the core problem and the objectives of the study. The fourth question refers to the innovative character of this study, which aims to explore digital tools for research on food systems in marginalised communities.

Each guiding question entails sub-questions that have been identified within the ADR-process. They will be discussed and adjusted in collaboration with the co-researchers, following a participatory co-research approach.

Table	Table 3: Guiding Questions			
No.	Guiding Research Question	Sub-Questions	No.	
1	In which way has COVID-19 impacted the CF and St. HB food systems?	How can the food systems be characterised?	1.1	
		Where are the fault lines of the wider food systems that reinforce the crisis?	1.2	
		What COVID-19 related policy measures have affected the food systems?		
		What food-related changes (activities, actors) evolved during the lockdown?	1.4	
2	Has COVID-19 impacted the state of food security in the CF and St. HB	What is the current prevalence of household food insecurity?	2.1	
	households?	How has the COVID-19 pandemic and its related measures impacted the six dimensions of food security at household level?	2.2	
		What policy programmes have been put into place by the Cape Town and	2.3	

		Western Cape government in order to mitigate the negative effects of lockdown measures on the status of food security?	
		What coping strategies have been adopted at household level?	2.4
		How can agency be perceived and applied in the context of the food systems under COVID-19?	2.5
3	How does the community imagine just and resilient post COVID-19 community food systems?	What does the process look like and what actors would be involved?	3.1
4	What opportunities does digital	Which digital tools are viable?	4.1
	research on the topics "food systems and food security" in marginalised communities offer?	Which digital tools can be used to scale out information remotely to partners?	4.2
		What are possible challenges, opportunities and potentials within digital solutions in our research context?	4.3
		How do respondents and co-researchers perceive being part of digital research?	4.4
5	How can agency be operationalised for FSN research?	To be discussed with co-researchers	5
Source: Own elaboration.			

#### **Conceptual Framework** 3

We work with the interdependent concepts of food systems and FSN to deliver the previously described study outputs. Furthermore, the study introduces the theory of food justice as a lens to analyse and interpret study results to unveil structural inequalities and uneven power structures that constrain local food security, undermine the right to food and deepen processes of marginalisation. Therefore, the study's understanding of right to food, marginalised communities, the co-research approach as a means not to talk about but to research with these communities and the study's ethnic terms used throughout the work need to be clarified. In a final step, we develop a framework for the food systems in the CF and St. HB.

#### 3.1 Food Systems

Food systems are commonly referred to as the set of activities involved in the production, processing, distribution, preparation and consumption of food. They are complex systems as they are influenced by elements such as the environment, people, inputs, processes, infrastructures, institutions etc. and produce socio-economic and environmental outcomes. Following the work of HLPE, our study considers four main spheres within food systems (HLPE, 2020, 11-13):

- Systems supporting food production: Just as in complex system thinking, where the whole cannot function well if subsystems are lacking or not interacting harmoniously, the production of food is conditioned by human-, energy-, economic-, health- and eco-systems. These provide essential inputs such as labour force, capital and natural resources into the food system and which are shaped by food production and vice versa.
- Food Supply Chains: An important component of food systems are the food supply chains. They entail production systems, storage and trade facilities as well as the processes of packaging, processing, retail and marketing.
- Consumer behaviours: Consumers respond to food supply chains. Purchasing food is based on decision-making processes as to where and what food to acquire, prepare, cook, store and eat, as well as an awareness of the impact of food choices made.
- Diets: Food triggers emotions and is intimately connected to our upbringing and culture. Therefore, individual decisions ultimately shape diets in terms of quantity, quality, diversity, safety and adequacy.

A well-functioning food system can be regarded as "one that ensures a high level of food security to residents, while simultaneously contributing to sustainable social and economic development" (Ericksen, 2008, 234). However, the design and implementation of sustainable food systems are among the biggest challenges faced by policy makers, civil society actors, city planners and the population in general (Paganini et al., 2018, 402). This also holds true

for our research sites i.e. the CF and St. HB. Understanding local production, supply chains, consumer preferences and local food habits allows us not only to retrace local foodways, it also displays past and present fault lines of the food system that might explain the high levels of food insecurity in and around CT and the fragility towards sudden shocks like the COVID-19 pandemic.

### 3.2 Food Security and Nutrition

HLPE situates FSN in a context in which "all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (HLPE, 2020, 10). In this definition, FSN is centred around six dimensions and results from specific food system qualities (ibid, 10):

First, a food system needs to be productive and prosperous to ensure the availability of sufficient food. It needs to be equitable and inclusive to provide access to food for all people. It produces healthy and nutritious food to ensure nutrient uptake and utilisation, and is resilient so as to foster **stability** in the face of shocks and crises. Moreover, it is empowering to ensure agency of all people and groups to actively shape the food system by taking and implementing joint decisions. Lastly, it needs to be regenerative to ensure sustainability in all its dimensions.

At first glance, the six dimensions of FSN functions to assess the prevalence of food insecurity at household level in the CF and St. HB. On closer examination, FSN opens Pandora's Box, as the previously described qualities of well-functioning food systems have not been met in and around CT in the past and are now further aggravated by the adverse effects of COVID-19 on local food systems. As Battersby & Haysom (2016, 1) arque, "[s]eeing the city through food opens up new ways of understanding poverty" and according to Cadieux & Slocum (2015), food security challenges can only be addressed if questions of structural injustice in the food systems are understood.

### 3.3 Food Justice Theory

Food systems are not "racially neutral" (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011, 332) but are influenced by structural inequalities and uneven power relations. Therefore, the study applies a food justice lens to unveil uneven power structures and inequalities within the food systems of the CF and St. HB. Food Justice "seeks to understand how inequalities of race, class and gender are reproduced and contested within food systems" (Glennie & Alkon, 2018, 1). The theory is embedded in questions around uneven power structures and historical marginalities shaped by policy, historical legacy and prejudices (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015, 14):

Trauma and Inequity: Food Justice Theory (FJT) recognises structural relations of power as necessary to confront race, class and gender privilege and acknowledges the historical, collective traumas in local contexts.

- **Exchange**: FJT forges new exchange mechanisms that build communal reliance through cooperation, trust and sharing economies.
- Land: FJT creates equitable ways to access, manage and control land and other resources, wherein the understanding of resources goes beyond the economic values of commodification.
- Labour: FJT protects and supports the value of labour, defending labour rights and advocating for fair labour conditions and equal wages.
- **Place:** FJT applies a progressive sense of place by understanding it as a process created out of changing and uneven relations of power, connecting that space with other places (Massey, 1993).

This study analyses and interprets research results through the lens of FJT to explore structural inequalities and power dynamics within the food systems of the CF and St. HB. Inspired by the work of Cadieux & Slocum (2015), the study aims to explore the marginalised position of consumers and how this position is linked to their access to nutritious and culturally appropriate food, decisions on where and what to consume, and the factors and power dynamics influencing these decisions. In the study context, COVID-19 puts an additional burden on food justice, whereby the justice aspect in SA is already diminished by marginalisation "as [h]istorically disadvantaged individuals and communities [...] often lack agency with respect to food security and food systems, and often experience disproportionate levels of food insecurity" (HLPE, 2020, 8)

#### 3.4 Agency and the Right to Food

This study is inspired by the contribution of HLPE to put sustainability and agency into the centre of attention within the FSN discourse. We acknowledge this by placing a special focus on agency, which has so far not been operationalised with regards to FSN research. Sen (1985, 206) defines agency as "what a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important". Applying this definition to the context of food systems and FSN, agency impacts the production side of food in terms of how and what foods are considered for production and supply. It also impacts the consumption side, first by portraying the capacity of consumers to make their own decisions about what foods they eat, and second, by pointing out their ability to engage in processes that shape food system policies and governance (HLPE, 2020).

Achieving agency not only necessitates the access and control over the resources required to produce or consume food, but also the right to access accurate information on FSN, the right to appropriate such information and finally the ability to secure these rights. Therefore, agency tackles individual and community capabilities and freedoms that enter the sphere of legal jurisdiction. As formulated by HLPE (2020, 8), "the concept of agency in food systems is deeply connected to human rights, including the right to food".

De Schuter (2014, 3) defines the right to food as "the right of every individual, alone or in community with others, to have physical and economic access at all times to sufficient,

adequate and culturally acceptable food that is produced and consumed sustainably, preserving access to food for future generations". Linking food to the dignity of the human person means to think of food together with social justice, which requires "the adoption of appropriate economic, environmental and social policies, at both the national and international levels, oriented to the eradication of poverty and the fulfilment of human rights for all" (CESCR, 1999, 2).

In order to support the six dimensions of food security, food system policy and governance, the principle of the right to food provides guidance. Formally, this principle is embedded in the constitution of SA (Republic of South Africa, 1996) proposing the relevant preconditions for just and sustainable food systems in the CF and St. HB. In practice, however, the right to food is severely challenged by high food insecurity rates among marginalised communities and there are very little regulations that would enforce the right to food.

#### 3.5 Marginalised Communities

Based on Young's "Five Faces of Oppression" we understand 'marginalisation' as a characteristic of oppression (Young, 2014, 187). Therefore, we understand a community to be "expelled from useful participation in social life and thus potentially subjected to severe material deprivation" (ibid, 18). She argues that this deprivation is unjust, as other parts of a given society "have plenty" (ibid, 187). By this argument, she specifically intends to describe oppression, as it was the case during SA apartheid era and is still the case today, in terms of inequalities in distribution and the impact of government policies. Deprivation is understood to breed dependency because of a lack in opportunity to participate or express choice (ibid, 3). Young, as does the HLPE, both place choice and agency front and centre of their concepts of marginalisation (oppression) and food security (HLPE, 2020, 13). We therefore understand marginalised communities to explicitly lack both agency and opportunity to participate in governance processes.

#### 3.6 Ethnic Terms

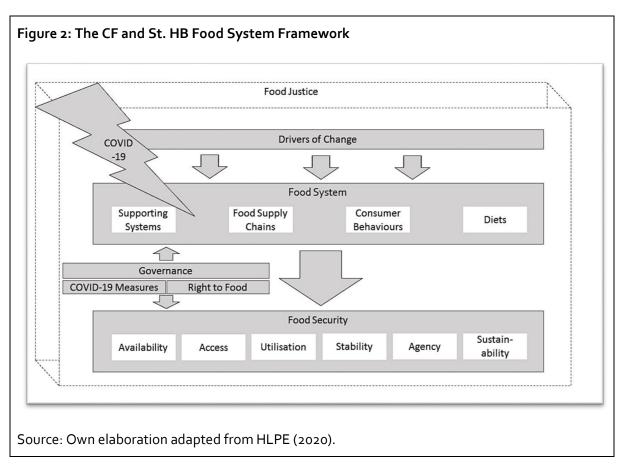
Although highly contested, the ethnic terms Black, Coloured, White and Indian intended by the apartheid laws for racial classification, are still widely used in post-apartheid SA (Buthelezi et al. 2020). We use "people of colour" (PoC) as an umbrella term for Black, Coloured and Indian South Africans, as is used in the broader African context.

#### 3.7 Co-Research Approach

Early contributions by Freire (1970) on learning processes and problem-posing methods of oppressed and marginalised groups, built the foundation of what is widely known as participatory research. Initiated by Chambers et al. (1989) the 'farmer first' approach acknowledges small-scale farmers as active agents in technology adoption and research. Following these lines of thought, our study adopts a participatory co-research approach

which includes learning in and from communities, the strive for social change and the democratisation of the knowledge process (Stöber, 2004, 726). Thereby, the co-research approach involves actors that tend to take a passive role in research processes (Pingault et al., 2020) and starts to not just "reporting on", talking about but rather to "working with" marginalised communities (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015, 2). While acknowledging our own white privileges, our research is "guided by a feminist, antiracist, and anti-colonial commitment" (ibid, 2) as outlined in FJT. Engaging in co-research with the communities, and giving equal consideration and voice to their knowledge and experience, are central for this research. The team builds on SLE's long term experience with participatory co-research that particularly aims at promoting a process of empowerment, in which "the researched" become "co-researchers" (Paganini & Stöber, forthcoming).

#### 3.8 The CF and St. HB Food System Framework



This study applies a Food System Framework to critically examine the status quo of FS for the CF and St. HB areas (Figure 1). Included components are adapted from the "Sustainable Food System Framework" recently developed by HLPE (2020). The central logic of our framework acknowledges food security along its six dimensions as an outcome of a well-functioning food system with the components as previously described. It captures various drivers of change at a broader scale affecting the food system and therefore influencing FSN outcomes. In return, FSN outcomes question government responsibilities of ensuring a right to food for all. Compared to HLPE, our framework additionally considers the COVID-19

pandemic as an external shock and the overarching driver that impacts all other components. In the same vein, a special focus is placed on pandemic-related policy measures that seek to shape the ways in which the pandemic affects local food systems, consumer behaviours and the rules by which supply chain actors must operate. In a final step, the analytical frame of food justice theory is added to understand underlying factors that create inequalities and uneven power structures in the local food systems.

### 4 Methodology

The research team uses two research strategies: (1) An empirical mixed methods research approach and (2) the co-research approach introduced in section 3.7. This combination allows an in-depth and participatory exploration of the guiding research questions. It also allows qualitative findings to explore quantitative results for triangulation and vice versa (Bryman, 2006, 111).

A prerequisite for the implementation of the study is to closely consult and exchange with co-researchers during all four research phases (see Figure 1). The research team initiates the research phase together with all project partners during a digital kick-off workshop. For instance, common understanding on the study objectives, expected outputs, and different elements of the methodology will be discussed during this workshop. Therefore, this methodology is subject to change.

## 4.1 Research Units and Sources of Information

Data collection focuses on the impact of COVID-19 on household food security, as well as on consumers' interactions, experiences with and perceptions of their local food system. Households in marginalised communities constitute the research unit for the quantitative and qualitative data. To contextualise the research units, information will be gathered from secondary material and key informant interviews.

#### 4.2 Research Sites and Sampling

The research sites are the townships Gugulethu, Khayelitsha, Mfuleni and Mitchells Plain in the CF and the urbanising area around St. HB at the West Coast. These sites have been selected based on the community partners who initiated the study. The focus on two different geographical areas is not for comparative purposes. However, findings may provide valuable insights into different urbanising spaces and their food systems.

The study uses four sampling methods: Two for the first phase and two for the second, third, and fourth research phase (see Figure 2). The first phase entails a digital survey, uses simple random sampling together with snowball sampling. By randomly selecting possible survey respondents, the sample is expected to be representative of the overall population (Fricker, 2008, 199). The digital sampling methods are both an advantage and a limitation. The advantage is that the survey's URL is easily shared across different social media platforms until the desired sample size is reached. One of the limitations, however, lies in the difficulty to control whether respondents live within the selected research sites. To minimise this limitation, the digital survey includes GPS coordinates of the participating households and thus enables geographical clustering.

The other research phases use **purposive sampling** and **convenience sampling** to select key informants and workshop participants. Purposive sampling deliberately selects

informants based on their ability to contribute knowledgeably to the topic of study. Convenience sampling method targets participants that meet practical criteria, such as availability at a given place and time (Etikan, 2016, 2).

Due to COVID-19 measures and implementation feasibility, the sampling techniques and criteria, as well as the challenges and limitations will be developed and discussed during the kick-off workshop.

#### 4.3 Concept of Methods

The mixed-methods approach starts with a quantitative survey and then applies a number of qualitative methods that build on each other which will be determined in the co-research process. Taking the pandemic into account, digital and on-site options are developed simultaneously. Due to the current pandemic, we (the research team) use the opportunity to explore, adapt, improve and evaluate digital tools. In all research phases, the co-researcher's key role is to be actively involved in research decisions, data validation, analysis and dissemination.

First, during our digital research phase I (see Figure 2), we assess the current food security status in the research sites using a digital household food security survey. The survey consists of a combination of socio-demographic questions and empirically validated questions from the Food Insecurity Experience Scale (FIES) and the Household Dietary Diversity Scale (HDDS) questionnaires. It has been closely developed with the academic advisor at ACC and is a follow-up survey of a study conducted in 2008. In addition to this, questions on coping strategies and agency are integrated.

One aspect of agency is an actor's involvement in food system governance. The FAO HLPE Report details the "ability to engage in processes that shape food system policies and governance as central to agency (HLPE, 2020, 8). The report also understands "representation and participation as central to effective governance" (ibid, 16). In the context of marginalised communities, these aspects of governance are often insufficiently represented or acknowledged. Therefore, voices from these often-unheard groups should be particularly incorporated (ibid, 16). Learning about the marginalised communities' interactions in policy-making will be an integral part of the mixed methods approach.

The co-researchers play a major role for the survey's successful implementation. Initially, members of the Cape Town Urban Agriculture Forum and fisherwomen from Weskus Mantije cooperative engage as co-researchers. However, during the research process, other co-researchers will be invited. They will coordinate the digital enumeration process and share the survey's URL in their communities. Our aim is to approach approximately 360 households of four different administrative subdivisions (wards) in each of the selected townships and 347 households in St. HB. This is the required minimum number to generate representative and accurate results at 95% confidence level. In total, the survey will have approximately 1,787 respondents. After completion of the survey, the data will be processed with IBM SPSS statistics. Co-researchers will be involved in the interpretation and contextualisation of the

results of the quantitative food security assessment. The quantitative data will help us, the research team, to identify questions for in-depth investigation for our (digital) field research phase II.

Throughout the digital phase of our research, **key informant interviews** will be conducted. On one hand, key informant interviews with academic and civil society experts are an effective tool to gain knowledge in specific and potential sub-topics of the research. On the other hand, by interviewing local key informants such as retailers, street vendors, consumers and processors, we get valid primary information directly from the CF and St. HB. The objective of the interviews is to gain concentrated insider information from all angles of the communities' food systems (Bogner et al., 2009, 2). Therefore, we identify the interviewees by purposive sampling. Interviews are conducted digitally by the team in Berlin, together with the co-researchers from the communities in South Africa or by the latter alone. Furthermore, during the interviews, local key informants will refine the hypothesis which will be jointly developed with the academic advisor at ACC during phase I. During the entire digital part of our research we include secondary literature.

The practical realisation of the field phase II, and our decision whether the field phase will be fully digital or with partly on-site research, depends on COVID-19 related developments in the upcoming weeks in SA and Germany. During the (digital) field research phase, the research team develops, adapts and conducts qualitative participatory methods. These build upon the digitally gained knowledge in the household survey and the past five months with interactive group discussions in the SLE training programme. We have three methods envisioned, the **Photovoice** (PV) method, **Most Significant Change Technique** (MSC), and "**Kitchen Table**" interviews. The deciding factors for which of these methods will be used (i.e. all, only two of them or just one), will depend on the feasibility and quality of data of conducting them online. All of these methods have been chosen by their ability to contextualise the community's food systems and to particularly shed light on the perceived changes during the COVID-19 pandemic. These methods have the advantage to allow for high participation of the respondent and can be used flexibly even when conducted digitally.

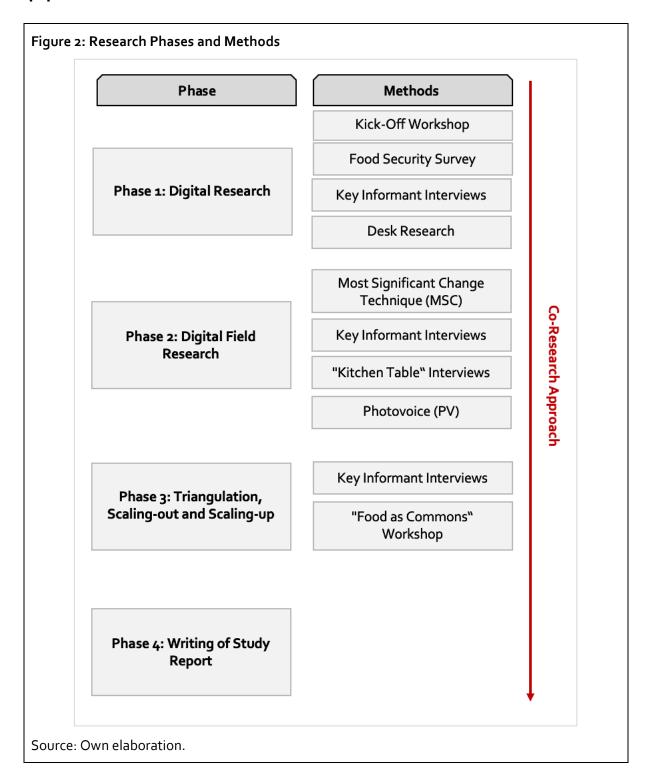
Through the PV method, communities show and explain their own perception of COVID-19 related changes (positive and negative) within food systems and the household food security status. The co-researchers will introduce the method to the communities using easily understandable instruction material previously developed by the research team. Then, photos will be taken by individuals from the communities and sent to the research team with a voice message explaining the photo. Ten individuals will participate per research site (n=50) and each person is required to take four pictures (n=200). As mobile phones with cameras are widely used among the study site's community, it is possible to engage a variety of participants, for instance from different age groups, gender and social backgrounds. Afterwards, the photos will be exhibited during the "Food as Commons" workshop, which provides a space for the photographers' narrative. Additionally, the photo material will be disseminated to the community for further use.

As a qualitative and interpretative analysis technique, MSC originally aims to identify and describe a significant change or dimensions of change within the context of development measures (DeGEval, 2010). In our case, we consider COVID-19 and its measures as a shock moment. MSC identifies the COVID-19 related changes that are perceived as particularly important for the food systems and the household food security status. By providing a guiding question, the research team collects, via focus group interviews or voicemails, stories of significant change told by community members. In a next step, the collected stories are discussed and analysed. The method will be further used to triangulate these particular changes with CT governance actors and representatives from civil society organisations. At the end, we contextualise the witnessed and perceived changes within the food system over the time period of the COVID-19 measures.

"Kitchen Table" interviews have the advantage that interviews are carried out in a familiar surrounding for the interviewee at his or her home. The interviews have a general thematic focus; besides that, they are non-structured. It gives the interviewee the opportunity to share what is important for him or her. The research team selects representative interviewees based on the results of the digital household food security survey for in-depth research and also to contextualise and understand the quantitative data. Additionally, as the project aims to work in a solution-oriented way, we also select participants with coping strategies. With approximately 50 "Kitchen Table" interviews, a cross-section of opinions will be visible, for instance on agency in food security and daily livelihood challenges of the households. The focus of the "Kitchen Table" interviews will depend on the preliminary results of the survey. In case the in-depth phase will be fully digital, we will conduct the interviews via video communication services.

In the final phase of the research, we organise a (digital) participatory "Food as Commons" workshops with the CF and St. HB communities. The participants will be inhabitants from the research sites and further selection criteria will be agreed upon during the kick-off workshop. The aim of the "Food as Commons" workshops is to enable the participants to voice their narrative for their future vision regarding their food systems. Furthermore, the participants decide on how to scale out their results into the wider community. Applying methods for participatory workshops, the participants can give enough space to exchange and develop their ideas and hopes for the future. In cooperation with Solidaridad Southern Africa, INKOTA-netzwerk e.V, the HBF in Cape Town and the Critical Food Studies programme at the UWC, the preliminary results are presented. The number of participants and the format for each workshop and its feasibility as face-to-face events will depend on the COVID-19 situation and its regulations. Digital formats are currently being discussed with the partners.

#### 4.4 Research Phases



### 4.5 Collection Tools

We will use a number of digital tools to collect quantitative and qualitative data. For the digital survey we use KoBoToolbox in combination with internet capable tablets and mobile phones. KoBoToolbox is an open-source tool developed for field data collection and management, especially in challenging environments. Not only does it allows us to collect

survey data, but also GPS coordinates and media (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, n.d.). The tool has been used in a COVID-19 coping project earlier this year and co-researchers have reported having a positive experience with it. Generally mobile phones, recorders, cameras, video cameras, social networks, communication platforms, instant messaging and voice over IP services, video communication services like Zoom and Skype and online tools such as MURAL are crucial for the successful (digital) data collection.

#### 4.6 Data Analysis

We analyse the quantitative data with IBM SPSS statistics. For the qualitative data from interviews we use MAXQDA to codify and systemise the content. Throughout the analysis, all results are triangulated by using primary data, both qualitative and quantitative.

#### 5 Statement on the ToR

Each year, the SLE conducts four empirical research studies, including field work in a foreign country, within its postgraduate study programme. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, this year the empirical studies programme needed to be adapted in order to stay in line with current travel restrictions and research limitations. At the same time, the possibility has arisen to respond directly to COVID-19 related impacts on people's livelihoods. This study's mandate emerged from communities in the CF and St. HB themselves and builds upon a network consisting of co-researchers from those communities, CT universities and civil society (organisations). Hence, this format is new to the SLE and provides herewith a unique opportunity to establish new forms of empirical research approaches.

The study addresses the following knowledge gaps: First, no representative data on household food security in the research sites has been gathered in the last decade. Second, research has yet to analyse the impact of COVID-19 on the food security status and food systems in the research sites. Third, the potential of agency among marginalised communities to actively advocate for their just and resilient food systems is not recognised by many actors within the food systems. Neither has agency, the latest added dimension within the FSN concept (see HLPE, 2020) been operationalised within research on food security. Fourth, this study provides insights into participatory digital research and the coresearch approach.

The results of the study will provide unprecedented data on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and the lockdown measures on the status of food security among households in marginalised communities. In addition, it provides a platform for the community to advocate for just and resilient food systems.

Following the co-research approach, young scholars, the project coordinator, and the co-researchers will engage in a mutual learning process. Furthermore, the problem of exclusion of marginalised communities, current existing racial structures, and white privilege amongst the young scholars and team coordinator, is recognised through the study's approach.

The study is advised by associate professor Dr Jane Battersby from the ACC at the UCT.

The terms of reference will be discussed and agreed upon in the kick-off workshop including co-researchers, projects partners and advisors, team and team coordinator. This will include the formulation of a common understanding on objectives, research questions, methodology as well as drawing up the terms of ethical research considerations.

#### 6 Next Steps

The inception report will be shared with all partners in South Africa and Berlin on August 5, 2020. Comments and feedback will be incorporated into the subsequent working process. The presentation of the research concept to a wider audience will take place on August 5,

2020. In the third week of August, the kick-off-workshop will be held with partners (see Annex IV).

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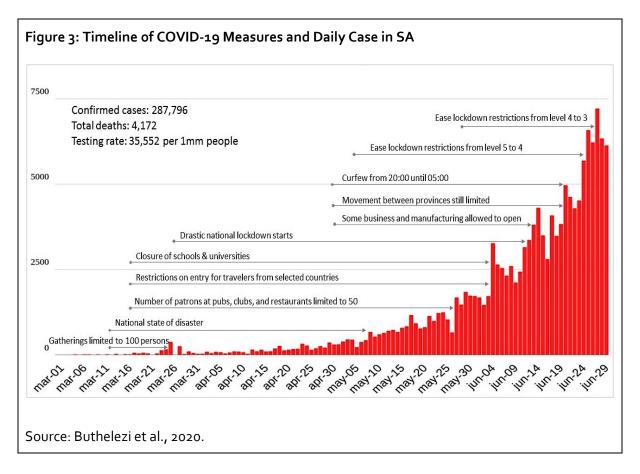
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#### 8 Annexes

#### Annex I: Timeline of COVID-19 Measures and Daily Cases in SA



#### **Annex II: Partner Overview**

Table 4: Partner Overview			
Partners	Form of Partnership	Our Deliverables	
Weskus Mantije - Hilda Adams	Community partners (Initiators of study report)	<ul><li>"Food as Commons" workshop</li></ul>	
Cape Town Farmer Forum - Nomonde Buthelezi	- (initiators of study report)	<ul><li>Media product</li></ul>	
ACC at UCT - Jane Battersby	Academic advisory Scaling-up partner	<ul><li>Study report</li><li>Briefing paper on the contextualisation of "Agency"</li></ul>	
Solidaridad Southern Africa - Karin Kleinbooi	Advocacy partner	<ul><li>"Food as Commons" workshop</li></ul>	
HBF Cape Town - Keren Ben-Zeev	Advocacy Partner	<ul><li>"Food as Commons" workshop</li></ul>	

		■ Study report
Critical Food Studies at UWC - Haidee Swanby	Knowledge and facilitation partner	<ul><li>"Food as Commons" workshop</li></ul>
INKOTA-netzwerk e.V - Lena Bassermann	Knowledge partner	<ul><li>Study report</li><li>Media product</li></ul>
Brot für die Welt - Ingrid Jacobsen	Knowledge partner	Study report
SLE - Silke Stöber	Review of study and project support	<ul> <li>Lessons learned on digital research</li> <li>Lessons learned on co- research approach</li> </ul>
Source: Own elaboration.		

## **Annex III: Outputs and Planned Methods**

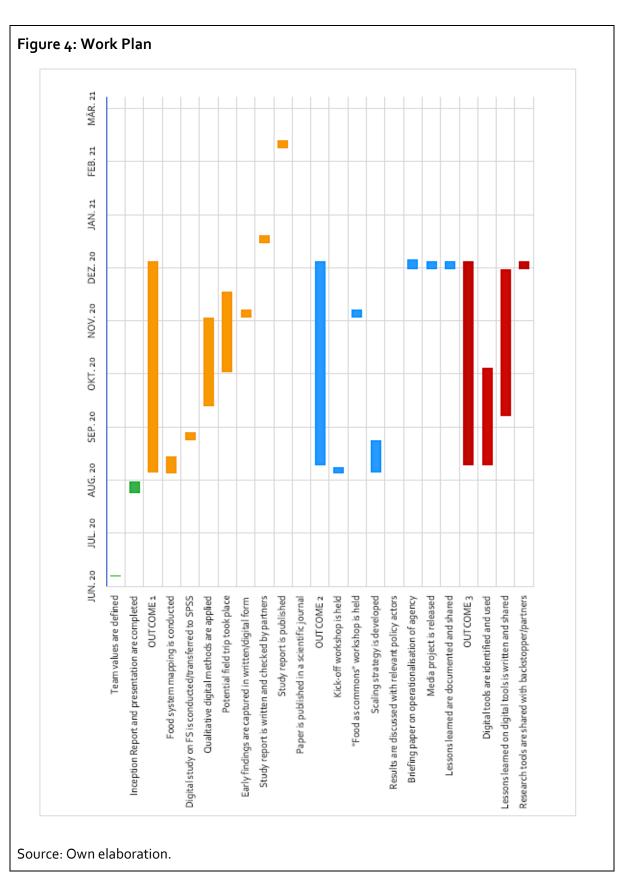
Table 5: Outputs and Planned Methods		
Output	Methods and Activities	
<b>Output 1.1:</b> Fault lines of the CF & St. HBs' food systems are identified, mapped and described.	<ul> <li>Mapping (actors-, change-, system-mapping)</li> <li>Key informant interviews</li> <li>Secondary literature review</li> <li>MSC</li> <li>PV</li> <li>Digital focus group discussions</li> </ul>	
Output 1.2: A digital study on food security is conducted and analysed and data handed over to UCT and SLE.	<ul> <li>Digital household survey</li> <li>Participatory co-research: gathering, validation and analysis of research results</li> </ul>	
Output 1.3: The research team is doing in-depth research in the CF and St. HB communities to gather contextualised research results that feed into the study report.	<ul> <li>Participatory co-research: gathering, validation and analysis of research results</li> <li>Secondary literature review</li> <li>MSC</li> <li>PV</li> </ul>	
Output 1.4: Results of the study are accessible for the CF and St. HB communities (e.g. written and translated in easy language).	■ Kick-off workshop <sup>4</sup>	
Output 1.5: The final study report is published.		
Output 1.6: A journal paper based on the data is published by the research team.		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Scaling strategy to be developed with communities.

Output 2.1: Co-researchers are engaged in all research phases.	<ul> <li>Kick-off workshop</li> <li>Co-researcher training</li> <li>"Food as Commons" workshop</li> <li>Closing workshop</li> <li>Constant communication and collaboration</li> </ul>
Output 2.2: A "Food as Commons" workshop is elaborated and conducted digitally to discuss the narrative of community food systems.	<ul> <li>Participatory co-research</li> <li>MSC</li> <li>PV</li> <li>Digital focus group discussions</li> <li>Presentation of results</li> <li>Facilitation by local actors</li> </ul>
<b>Output 2.3:</b> A dissemination strategy is developed with academic advisors, backstoppers, co-researchers, and knowledge partners and responsibilities are assigned.	■ Kick-off workshop
Output 2.4: A media product is developed and shared with the wider community.	
<b>Output 2.5:</b> A briefing paper on a possible approach to operationalise "agency" is formulated and presented to academic advisor.	
Output 2.6: Study results are handed over and discussed with relevant policy actors.	
Output 2.7: Different practices of co-research are documented, evaluated, and categorised into either good or suboptimal practices and shared with SLE for further use.	<ul><li>Regular feedback loops</li><li>Closing workshop</li></ul>
Output 3.1: The research team identifies and uses digital tools to do research on the CF and St. HBs' food systems.	Explorative: Trial and error of methods
<b>Output 3.2:</b> Lessons learned on these tools are formulated and shared with the co-researchers and the staff of SLE. <sup>5</sup>	<ul><li>Closing workshop</li></ul>
Source: Own elaboration.	

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 5}$  Usable for future work of SLE and partners.

#### **Annex IV: Work Plan**



## Annex V: The Research Team

Table 6: The Scholars		
Name	Title	
Alexander Mewes	M.A Development Studies with focus in Economics	
Johanna Hansmann	M.Sc Food Security and Development	
Lara Sander	M.Sc Geography of Global Change	
Moritz Reigl	M.Sc Integrated Natural Resource Management	
Vincent Reich	M.Sc Public Policy and Governance	
Contact: sle-ap-suedafrika2020@lists.hu-berlin.de		
Nicole Paganini (Team Coordination)		
paganini@hu-berlin.de		

## Annex VI: Study Proposal (by SLE)

Country	South Africa
Title	Covid-19 Lockdown and the Impact on Local Food Systems: Food Security and Nutrition in South Africa's Marginalised Communities — A Food Justice Perspective from the Cape Flats and St. Helena Bay
Coop partners	Community Partners: Cape Town Forum Urban Agriculture; Fisherwomen cooperative in St. Helena Bay Advisory Partner: ass. Prof. Dr Jane Battersby (ACC, UCT) Knowledge Partners: Heinrich Böll Foundation, Cape Town; Solidaridad Southern Africa, INKOTA netzwerk e.V., Institute for Critical Food Studies (UWC), Brot für die Welt
Back	The COVID-19 pandemic forced national governments to make decisions that have adverse effects on the globalised food supply chains. Border closures are disrupting commodity flows and labour force availability. Informal economies and social welfare programs are interrupted, with detrimental effects on the poorest. The urban poor, which are often only a few meals away from food insecurity, are disproportionally affected. Food prices are exploding, street vendors cannot sell food, public transport is less frequent than before, and many people have lost their jobs in the informal economy. Overall, there is just not enough income to buy food at all. Sub-Saharan Africa is one of the most rapidly urbanising regions in the world and therefore, achieving food and nutrition security is a growing concern for cities. During the food crisis in 2007/08 food prices skyrocketed within just a few weeks and showed how vulnerable food systems are. In the rapidly expanding informal urban areas, food systems play a crucial role. Despite all known challenges of food insecurity and urbanisation in Southern Africa, food is often excluded from the urban agenda. However, adaptations of food systems can have a significant impact on urban poverty reduction (Battersby, 2016). Urban food insecurity is influenced by various actors, policy regulations and power relations, by insufficient adaptation strategies to climate change, and historical and spatial challenges. Such problems lead to an uneven distribution of food markets and/or purchasing power. Cape Town is an economic hub. As such, it attracts migrants from within and outside of the country. The population of Cape Town Metropolitan Area is constantly growing. With an annual growth rate of 1.6% it has exceeded four million. With a Gini Index of 62.5%, South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world, spatial segregation and social inequality are the result of the politics of apartheid and still have a huge impact on everyday life today. In the Cape Flats various townships

#### Objectiv es

The interdisciplinary study analyses the impact of the lockdown on food security, the general food security and food justice in vulnerable townships/communities in the Cape Flats (CF) and the fishing communities of St. Helena Bay (St. HB). The potentials of consumer-producer linkages and how to establish these among other measures, to strengthen the resilience of local food systems, are analysed with various food system actors. Currently, the shock of the COVID-19 pandemic presents a further information gap that needs to be studied. As the pandemic infringes face-to-face contact as well as research and travel, SLE and its partners decided to switch to a digital project design. In order to do this, the research builds on, and strongly relies on, previous experiences with its co-research approach and also on an existing network of co-researchers and partners.

The overall objective of the study is to provide current data on the food security status among CF and St. HB households and to critically examine the perspective of the marginalised communities towards just and resilient food systems. This study will engage with communities and encourage that the narrative around food security is told and facilitated by community food activists and food system co-researchers.

The project seeks partnership with civil society organisations such as INKOTA in Berlin, HBF in Cape Town, Solidaridad Southern Africa. The aim is to reach a wider audience and to cooperate in the dissemination of the results to communities, such as in media projects (website, film, online applications, art) which will be defined in the course of the project with the local producer networks and communities. The project team aims to cooperate with INKOTA and Brot für die Welt as a knowledge-partner and learn from their programs, whilst offering the co-publication of a case study. The project has a strong academic component with two academic cooperation and advisory partners, namely the UCT/ACC (Jane Battersby) for the academic advisory of the study and the Critical Food Studies at UWC to co-facilitate the Food as Commons community workshops.

# Expecte d results

- Inception report with conceptual framework, methodology, time frame (07/20)
- Impact study (using mixed-methods, participatory co-research, digital tools) of maximum 100 pages in English with English and German Summary
- Digital Food as Commons workshops with food system actors in Cape Town and St Helena Bay (11/20)
- Briefing Paper on the operationalization of "agency" as a newly added dimension to the food security framework (4-6 Pages DIN A4) in English
- Digital dissemination strategy to inform communities in the Cape Flats and St. Helena Bay

#### Team

Interdisciplinary team, interest in food justice, participatory impact assessment, sustainable urban development, digital consumer survey methods, excellent English skills

#### Teamcoord.

Nicole Paganini, SLE research associate