



**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**  
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

# **Sharing urban food security solutions in the Global South**

## **An attempt of a policy transfer from Belo Horizonte to Cape Town**

Jesse Thomas Luttik

(LTTJES003)

MPhil specializing in Climate Change and Sustainable Development

University of Cape Town

Supervisor: Jane Battersby

3 February 2014

Minor dissertation presented for the approval of Senate in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MPhil specialising in Climate Change and Sustainable Development in approved courses and a minor dissertation. I hereby declare that I have read and understood the regulations governing the submission of MPhil specialising in Climate Change and Sustainable Development dissertations, including those relating to length and plagiarism, as contained in the rules of this University, and that this minor dissertation conforms to those regulations.

Signature

Date

## **Acknowledgements**

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Jane Battersby, Bradley Rink, Paul Hoekman, Guus Hoekman, Pia Behnsen and all participants of this research.

## **Abstract**

Urban food insecurity is a heavy burden for large amounts of city dwellers in the Global South. While the role of city authorities regarding food issues has traditionally been neglected, urban food governance is increasingly being recognised for its potential to contribute to improved food security in the city. A comprehensive food strategy requires innovative policy-making; hence the notion that best-practice examples may provide important lessons to Southern cities that share a similar socio-economic context. However, general policy transfer literature exhibits a ‘Northern’ bias and lacks empirical research in the Global South. This thesis focuses on an attempt to bring lessons from the successful food security programme of Belo Horizonte, Brazil, to the City of Cape Town. This attempt mainly consisted of the initiation and facilitation of a feasibility study by German development organisations. By applying this case study, broader opportunities for, and challenges to, the transfer of urban food policy in the Global South are explored. Data was gathered through semi-structured interviews with key actors in the realisation of the feasibility study. The analysis considers concepts that relate to the process of policy transfer, with particular attention for the interactions between urban policy-making and food security. Research findings provide an insight into what factors constrain policy transfer of this nature. Obstacles relate to both the status of food in urban policy and the specific context of Southern cities. This thesis ultimately concludes that a new approach is necessary to provide a framework for an enabling environment for policy transfer in the Global South.

# Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1	Introduction . . . . .	1
1.2	Research aim & objectives . . . . .	3
<b>2</b>	<b>Literature Review</b>	<b>4</b>
2.1	Food insecurity in the Global South . . . . .	4
2.1.1	Urban dimensions of food insecurity . . . . .	5
2.1.2	Urban food systems . . . . .	6
2.1.3	Urban food governance . . . . .	6
2.2	Policy Transfer . . . . .	8
2.2.1	What is transferred? . . . . .	9
2.2.2	Who transfers? . . . . .	10
2.2.3	Why transfer? . . . . .	10
2.2.4	The role of non-governmental actors in policy transfer . . . . .	11
2.2.5	Policy advocacy networks . . . . .	12
2.2.6	Constraining factors for transfer . . . . .	12
2.2.7	Policy transfer within the Global South . . . . .	13
<b>3</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	<b>15</b>
3.1	Research Design & Data Collection . . . . .	15
3.2	Introduction to the case study . . . . .	17
3.3	Subjects of Study . . . . .	19
3.4	Data Analysis . . . . .	20
3.5	Limitations . . . . .	21
3.6	Ethical Considerations . . . . .	21
<b>4</b>	<b>Research Findings</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Discussion</b>	<b>30</b>
5.1	Initiation of the feasibility study . . . . .	30
5.2	Objective of the feasibility study . . . . .	31

<i>LIST OF TABLES</i>	5
5.3 Northern facilitation of South-South policy transfer . . .	32
5.4 City of Cape Town engagement with feasibility study . .	34
5.5 Constraints to the uptake of urban food governance in Cape Town . . . . .	38
5.5.1 Insufficient understanding of the food system . .	38
5.5.2 Lack of clear centralized responsibility over food- related policy . . . . .	39
5.5.3 Lack of a domestic food movement . . . . .	40
5.6 Specific constraints to policy transfer in the Global South	41
5.7 Assessment of policy transfer in the process of the case study . . . . .	44
<b>6 Conclusion</b>	<b>47</b>

## List of Tables

1 Table with findings . . . . .	23
---------------------------------	----

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

Amid the major urban transition that is taking place in Africa, the locus of poverty and food insecurity is shifting towards the cities, where securing sufficient food remains an essential daily challenge for many urban dwellers (UN-HABITAT 2012; Frayne et al. 2010; FAO 2012). The further urbanisation of poverty and food insecurity increases the burden on the urban systems of Southern Africa, which are already strained by stern social and economic development challenges, fluctuations of the prices of natural resources and food on the global market (Baker 2008; Cohen and Garrett 2010) and the impacts of climate change, which are uncertain and difficult to quantify, yet require close monitoring and adaptive strategies (Parnell et al. 2007). City authorities in the Global South face the difficult challenge of providing fundamental services including adequate housing, health facilities, sanitation and infrastructure within evident spatial, environmental and budgetary limits. Innovative policy development is required in order to meet these challenges; hence the appealing notion that ‘best practices’ in policy-making elsewhere can provide excellent lessons for the development of successful public policy.

With regards to urban food security, the role of urban policy-makers has traditionally been largely neglected. The urban dynamics of food insecurity are distinctly different from those in rural areas and manifest themselves predominantly as a lack of access to food at a household level (Ruel et al. 1998), resulting in the relative invisibility of chronic urban food insecurity. The academic understanding of (urban) food insecurity emphasises dimensions of availability, access, utilisation and stability (FAO 2001; Hart 2009). There has been an increasing recognition of the benefit of a ‘food systems’ approach (Ericksen 2008), but this has only resulted in sparse examples of successful urban food governance (Koc 1999). A notable exception in the Global South is the Belo Horizonte food security programme, which is widely lauded for shaping the institutional environ-

ment of the urban food system that allows for citizen participation and enhances food security at a low cost (Rocha 2001; Rocha and Lessa 2009; WFC 2009).

The success of food governance in one city gives rise to the idea of sharing the lessons with another city in a similar socio-economic context. In the academic literature, the concept of ‘policy transfer’ focuses on the process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements and governance in one political setting is applied in the development of policies, administrative arrangement or governance in another political setting (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996). The term policy transfer is analogous to ‘policy learning’ (Sabatier 1987) and ‘lesson drawing’ (Rose 1991), but draws attention to the fact aspects of the process can be on a continuum between voluntary and coercive. Research has extensively explored many facets of policy transfer, but the literature manifests a strong Western bias (Stone 1993) and lacks empirical research in the context of developing countries, particularly in the case of policy transfer within the Global South (Benson and Jordan 2011). Policy transfer analysis reveals the importance of contextual factors that allow or constrain the process. Since the context of policy transfer is fundamentally different between the ‘North’ and the ‘South,’ the question arises what the challenges and opportunities of policy transfer in the Global South are.

Through the use of a qualitative case study, this research explores the transfer of urban food policy in the Global South. The subject of the case study is the initiation of a feasibility study to establish the possibility of transferring lessons from the successful urban food policy in Belo Horizonte (Brazil) to the City of Cape Town. While the Belo Horizonte approach pioneered strong government presence in the food system and shaped the institutional environment of the food system, the role of the Cape Town authorities in ensuring an inclusive food system is commonly neglected. Food insecurity in Cape Town is severe despite the inclusion of a right to sufficient food in the Constitution of South Africa (Battersby 2011). The attempted policy transfer in 2011 was significant both in the

light of emerging urban food governance initiatives in cities in the developing world and as a clear example of transferring ‘best practice’ policy experience between cities in the Global South. A qualitative case study enabled the exploration of the policy transfer process in its physical, social and political context. Interviews with a number of players that were involved in the policy transfer process allowed for in-depth analysis of how a variety of systems, actors and contextual circumstances influenced the process (Richardson et al. 1965; Verschuren 2003). This semi-structured interview based study explores the process through which attempted policy transfer took place, with particular attention to both the specific characteristics of urban food governance initiatives and the particularities of policy transfer in the Southern context.

This thesis has been structured in the following manner: A literature review will ground the case study in the relevant literature regarding urban food governance and policy transfer, and will further expand upon the rationale of Global South policy transfer research. The thesis will outline the current understanding of factors that influence the policy transfer process, and relate these to the complexities of urban governance in relation to urban food security in the Global South. The research findings and discussion sections will explore to what extent these themes emerged in the case study. A set of various challenges pertaining to both the nature of urban food governance and the context of the Global South are encountered, which indicates the necessity of further research into enabling preconditions for the transfer of urban food policy in the Global South.

## **1.2 Research aim & objectives**

This current case study was designed to outline potential challenges and opportunities for the transfer of urban food policy in the Global South. On that account, the attempted transfer of Belo Horizonte’s food policy to the City of Cape Town will be evaluated. Explicit attention will be

given to the role of different perspectives, expectations and motivations for various stakeholders in this process. Challenges that relate to (I) the development of urban food governance and (II) the policy transfer process in the context of the Global South will be analysed in order to frame the broader potential of, and the challenges to, the transfer of successful urban food policies between cities in the Global South.

## **2 Literature Review**

This literature review of the main concepts regarding both urban food governance and policy transfer will serve as a reference framework for the later discussion of the case study. This section begins with scrutinising the present academic understanding of the urban dimensions of food security and the role of city authorities in governing the food system. The subsequent section will refer to different aspects of the process in which knowledge about policies and institutions in one political context are used as lessons for policy-making elsewhere.

### **2.1 Food insecurity in the Global South**

Food security is understood to include four main dimensions: availability, access, utilisation and stability (Hart 2009). These are incorporated in the currently most accepted definition of food security as ‘a situation that exists when all people at all times have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary and food preferences for an active and healthy life’ (FAO 2001). Food security remains an area of major concern for large parts of the world’s population. The harsh reality is that a quarter of the population in Sub-Saharan Africa is undernourished (FAO 2012), while a changing climate and growing competition for land, water and energy provide alarming prospects for solving food insecurity problems in the future. Current trends and provisional data indicate that especially in Sub-Saharan Africa the Mil-

lennium Development Goal imperative of reducing the rates of hunger and poverty rates by half by 2015 will not be met: the percentage of undernourishment in Sub-Saharan Africa declined from 32.8 to 26.8 per cent in 1990-2012, while the absolute number of undernourished people actually rose from 170 to 234 million (FAO 2012). The severity of the situation was highlighted during the 2007-2008 food price crisis, when especially the urban poor were disproportionately affected (Baker 2008; Cohen and Garrett 2010; Ruel et al. 2010).

### **2.1.1 Urban dimensions of food insecurity**

The urban dynamics of poverty and food insecurity have long been neglected (Atkinson 1995), but are becoming increasingly important given the continuing urbanisation. With urban growth rates doubling the global average at 3.4 per cent, the populations of African cities are expected to triple in the next forty years (UN-HABITAT 2012). The urban dimensions of food security are very particular and distinct. Contrary to a food availability crisis, chronic food insecurity as a result of a lack of access to food by the urban poor goes largely unnoticed. The fundamental difference between food security in the urban and rural areas is that people in rural areas are more often able to produce their own food, while urban dwellers largely depend on the market to access food (Ruel et al. 1999; Ruel et al. 2008; Ruel and Garrett 2004). Urban food insecurity is a resource-constraint urban poverty issue, intertwined with other urban challenges that include urbanisation, poverty, unemployment, health, crime, housing and a lack of capacity for service provision by city authorities (Ruel et al. 1998; Maxwell 1999). The mounting food insecurity in Southern African cities (Frayne et al. 2010) and urbanisation of poverty are becoming a major threat to public health, social and political order, and development, with the largest impact on the poorest and most vulnerable (Haddad et al. 1999; Crush and Frayne 2011). Therefore, scholars emphasise the need for further research on interactions between urban poverty, malnutrition and food insecurity, and possible solution through

‘best practices’ in urban policy making (Ruel et al. 1999; Haddad et al. 1999).

### **2.1.2 Urban food systems**

The academic work that is concerned with research into urban food systems and policy responses by (local) authorities forms an attempt to move beyond the depoliticised household level analysis, as it reconnects the urban food security ‘status’ of a city with the socioeconomic and political reality (Battersby 2013). In terms of policy-making, the historical tendency was that the provision of food for urban dwellers was left to the market; the management of the food system and the provision of food security were not regarded as core considerations for city planners and authorities (Pothukuchi and Kaufman 1999; Sonnino 2009). Recent work on a food systems approach provides a way of exploring how governmental responsibilities interact with all activities that arise from food production until food consumption and waste. It provides a framework for analysing and understanding the critical factors and determinants that shape the food security status of the city, which can be considered as the ultimate outcome of the food system (Ericksen 2008). A food system lens emphasises the importance of food to the city by revealing the role of food in complex social, economical, environmental and spatial interactions (Pothukuchi and Kaufman 1999; Ericksen 2008).

### **2.1.3 Urban food governance**

The food systems lens highlights the role of city authorities in shaping an inclusive food system (Koc and Dahlberg 1999; Pothukuchi and Kaufman 2000; Sonnino 2009; Crush and Frayne 2011). This increase in attention for urban food governance is visible in the emergence of food policy councils in a number of cities in the Global North, which generally share a concern for food security, social inclusion, health, sustainability and localism (Wekerle 2004; Jarosz 2008; Reynolds 2009; Blay-Palmer

2009). The food policy council facilitates an advisory role for civil society and food system stakeholders in an attempt to align local authorities and civil society under a food lens. However, due to its lack of legislative power, the food policy council relies on the work of prominent civil society advocates and support from city departments (Blay-Palmer 2009).

An urban food governance initiative that involves a number of governmental programmes and interventions can be found in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, which is regarded as the most notable example of successful urban food policy in the Global South (Rocha 2001; Rocha and Lessa 2009; WFC 2009). After extensive consulting with civil society, the Belo Horizonte food security programme pioneered strong government presence in the food system and exhibited how conscious urban food governance can exert significant influence on the food security outcomes of the urban food system. A remarkable component of this approach was the establishment of a central entity that is exclusively concerned with improving food security for inhabitants of the city: the Secretaria Municipal Adjunta de Abastecimento (SMAAB). The key principle behind the programme is that ‘all citizens have the right to adequate quantity and quality of food throughout their lives, and that it is the duty of governments to guarantee this right’ (Rocha 2001, p. 37). The food security programme operates in close cooperation with civil society, which prior to the initiation of the SMAAB already had a strong voice in social justice and food security advocacy (Rocha and Lessa 2009). The food security programme included a range of different initiatives and policies along three main lines of action: a focus on risk groups such as children, the elderly and mothers; engagement with the private sector to improve and regulate food trade, quality and access; and the facilitation of links between producers and consumers, including the rural surroundings and urban agriculture. It is worth noting that the budget of the food security programme has remained below two percent of the overall municipal budget of Belo Horizonte (Rocha 2001). For the purpose of this thesis, a concise summary of the policies suffices, but the work by Rocha (2001) and

Rocha and Lessa (2009) is suggested for more in-depth coverage of the Belo Horizonte food security programme.

## **2.2 Policy Transfer**

The success of cases such as Belo Horizonte gives rise to the notion that the transfer of ‘best-practice’ policy may provide an innovative solution for governments that experience similar challenges in a different jurisdiction. This idea was central to the case study of this thesis and provided the basis for the attempt to bring lessons from the Belo Horizonte approach to the City of Cape Town. In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the various processes that occur during the transfer of policy between different political contexts, the following sections will explore the literature on different transfer actors and their motivations, different degrees of transfer, and various contextual factors that allow or constrain the process.

Policy transfer is an appealing concept for policy-making and advocacy as a means of policy innovation and prospective policy evaluation in a different context (Benson and Jordan 2011). Policy transfer is most commonly defined as ‘a process by which knowledge of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political system is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political setting’ (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996, p. 3). Policy transfer is closely linked to concepts as ‘policy diffusion’, ‘policy convergence’, ‘policy learning’ and ‘lesson-drawing’ (Walker 1969; Sabatier 1987; Rose 1991). However, inconsistency in the interpretation of the theoretical literature has been problematic for the advancement of the field (Knill 2005). Therefore it is important to correctly consider some nuances between these related concepts. An important distinction is that the primary concern of ‘diffusion’ and ‘convergence’ literature is with policy effects, while policy transfer literature shares an emphasis on the process of transfer, focussing on the origin of the idea, motiva-

tions of transfer and the role of different actors in the process (Wolman and Page 2002; Bulmer et al. 2007). The concepts of ‘policy learning’ and ‘lesson-drawing’ share this focus on the process and are analogous to ‘policy transfer.’ However, the work of Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) and Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) marked an important advancement in the literature by drawing attention to the nature of policy transfer on a continuum between voluntary and coerced, which had been absent in the policy learning literature. The policy transfer concept acknowledges that the process is not solely based on deliberate rational efforts to learn about policy solutions, as it may also include coercive elements. For example, governments or supra-national institutions may urge or force the adoption of certain policies. A case of policy transfer may involve both voluntary and coercive elements; making it essential to consider rationality and the motivation of transfer actors in analysing and conceptualising policy transfer.

### **2.2.1 What is transferred?**

The literature identifies three main policy-related categories that can be transferred: programmes, policy goals and instruments (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000); policy institutions (Stone 2000; Dolowitz and Marsh 1996); and ideologies, ideas and attitudes (Stone 2000; Bulmer et al. 2007). An additional distinction has been made between positive and negative lessons, where the latter entails the rejection of policies on the basis of perceived policy failure elsewhere (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996; Dolowitz and Marsh 2000). Initial literature focused on the ‘hard’ transfer of policy instruments and institutions, but Stone (2001) and Stone (2004) made an important contribution by emphasising the importance and prevalence of ‘soft’ transfer that includes sharing ideas, concepts and experiences. The policy transfer literature has thus expanded beyond traditional institutionalised policy components and has shown increasing interest in transfer and lesson drawing at an early stage of policy development (Benson and Jordan 2011). Further questions can be raised about the degree of

transfer. Expanding upon the work of Rose (1993), Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) identify four main degrees of transfer: copying; emulation; hybridisation and inspiration. Emulation relates to the process when best practice in policy elsewhere is used to design policy in another context, while hybridisation involves the combination of lessons and elements from different policies in order to develop a new policy. Both ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ forms of transfer can coexist in these different ‘degrees’ of transfer.

### **2.2.2 Who transfers?**

Considerations about the motivation behind policy transfer are inherently linked to the key actors that are involved in the process. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) identified nine categories of actors that may be involved in policy transfer activities: ‘elected officials; political parties; bureaucrats/civil servants; pressure groups; policy entrepreneurs and experts; transnational corporations; think tanks; supra-national institutions; and consultants’ (p. 10). Broadly speaking, these categories consist of either internal state actors with a certain connection to the policy-making process or external non-state actors who influence the process from the outside. The personal, political and institutional incentives to engage in policy transfer may differ considerably per actor, therefore it is important to further explore why actors engage in this process.

### **2.2.3 Why transfer?**

The policy transfer concept encompasses a range of heterogeneous concepts with quite different ideas about the nature of the policy development (Evans and Davies 1999). Rose (1991), an important proponent of lesson-drawing literature, has analysed the ‘voluntaristic’ dynamics of policy transfer. The process starts with searching for promising policy ideas elsewhere, based on the inclination to make use of ‘best-practice’ in policy making. It allows for prospective policy evaluation and can serve as an ‘attempt to assess the effect of a policy or program before it is put

in place' (Mossberger and Wolman 2003, p. 428). Policy-oriented learning can be considered closely aligned to the modernist notion of evidence-based policy making (Ettelt et al. 2012). However, the assumption of internal motivation based on perfect rationality has also been criticised as being unrealistic (Bulmer et al. 2007). The reality could be better described as based on 'bounded rationality,' in which actors act upon imperfect information, as well as personal perceptions and predispositions (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000). Rose (1991) argues that the choice for policy transfer, as a rational response to a perceived reality, is often based on dissatisfaction with the current situation. Accordingly, the subjective nature of both the perceived need for policy innovation and the selection of lessons to engage with underline how the process of defining a policy problem is inherently political (Anderson 1978).

#### **2.2.4 The role of non-governmental actors in policy transfer**

As a result of a general assumption that policy-making authorities are the main actors in policy transfer, the role of state actors has been extensively explored in the literature (Dolowitz 2003; Bulmer et al. 2007). However, non-governmental actors can also play an important role in the transfer of information and in providing political incentives in policy transfer processes, and their role merits further discussion. Although the non-governmental actors in policy transfer are diverse in their style and scope, they share certain characteristics that relate to a concern with building a body of knowledge, raising awareness for issues and improving policy. Policy entrepreneurs, experts and think tanks often share a 'future-oriented, reform-minded and outward-looking' character (Stone 2000, p. 7). The position of non-governmental, non-profit organisations outside the public realm is associated with a certain autonomy and intellectual independency, yet also with the resulting lack of formal decision-making power. For this reason, the involvement of these actors generally revolves around policy advocacy of the (voluntary) uptake of policy, rather than coercive aspects of policy transfer (Stone 2010). Policy advo-

cates have to rely on support of political actors, and may use information, ideas and ideologies to inspire influential actors to become a ‘champion’ for the adoption of a policy. The content of the policy transfer that these actors are involved in is more likely to fall within the ‘soft’ transfer category (Stone 2001).

### **2.2.5 Policy advocacy networks**

Special interest in a policy issue may inspire policy advocates to build an international network that serves an important source of ideas and lessons for policy development (Rose 1993; Evans and Davies 1999). These ‘epistemic communities’ (Haas 1992), ‘transnational policy communities’ (Stone 2000) or ‘policy transfer networks’ (Evans 2009) may share principles and beliefs around a certain policy area, share expertise and information and form a common discourse and pattern of understanding policy issues. The policy transfer network concept as developed by Evans (2009) provides a manner of analysing the role of policy advocacy agents in moving ideas in the international domain in order to facilitate processes of policy transfer. Policy advocacy networks can play a key role in facilitating transfer through imparting information in policy areas where local actors lack competence. Policy advocates can rely on an intellectual and scholarly base of expertise in order to analyse the impact of policies elsewhere and study the feasibility of the applicability in a local context. As agents of transfer, these organisations play a key role in the facilitation of policy-oriented learning and the formulation of issues, the latter of which may be considered a form of ‘soft’ transfer of ideas and ideology.

### **2.2.6 Constraining factors for transfer**

While most case study research has been concerned with analysing successful policy transfer, it is important to consider what factors constraint policy transfer. Evans (2009) considers three broad sets of variables: cog-

nitive obstacles in the pre-decision phase, environmental obstacles in the implementation phase and domestic public opinion. Cognitive obstacles relate to the initial recognition and definition of a problem, and the receptivity of policy-makers to policy alternatives. Potential constraints include entrenched interests and path dependency arising from past decisions, the prevailing organisational culture, general unwillingness to move beyond the status quo and the tendency to look for ideas in familiar places as ‘least resistance’ innovation (Evans 2009; Stone 1999; Dolowitz 2003). Environmental obstacles include, *inter alia*, the lack of ‘effective cognitive and elite mobilisation strategies deployed by agents of policy transfer’ (Evans 2009, p. 256), which may include inadequacy of the policy transfer network and a lack of access to appropriate information; broader structural constraints (institutional, political, economic and social); the degree of depth of exchange between individuals, organisations or networks (Stone 2000); the ‘uniqueness’ of policies (Rose 1993, p. 118) and the wider political system in which the original policy was embedded (Dolowitz 2003); and a lack of ideological compatibility between countries and regimes. A third category of constraints falls under ‘domestic public opinion,’ which emphasises the role of opinion makers, media and other stakeholders in framing the need for policy innovation. An important constraint that is specific to non-governmental policy transfer agents is their reliance on the receptivity of governmental actors. The presence of civil society support for a policy transfer or policy-oriented process may prove to be essential in providing support and (political) incentives for policy-makers to engage in the process (Evans 2009).

### **2.2.7 Policy transfer within the Global South**

To date, policy transfer has predominantly been discussed in the context of the Global North, with a particular emphasis on the United States, the United Kingdom and more recently the European Union (Stone 1993; Stone 1999). This ingrained tendency to look at the developed world’s best practices has resulted in a lack of empirical research in the context

of the Global South (Benson and Jordan 2011). This is an important shortfall in the current literature, as local cultural and political realities may undermine the consensus and adaptive capacity for ‘best practices’ that originated in very different contexts (Stone 2001). Robinson (2011) raises valid questions regarding fundamental analytical divisions that pre-empt comparisons between cities. In comparative urban research, strict methodological propositions result in the assumption that cities that are to be compared ought to share certain characteristics already. Another important point she raises is about the notion in urban theory that development is linked to the characteristics of modernity, despite pleas for alternative theorisation for the ‘urban South.’ Together these notions present the fundamental ‘incommensurability’ of different kinds of cities (p. 2), which forms an embedded limitation for the comparative practice that is a prerequisite for policy transfer. In response, Robinson (2011) declares the need for comparative urban research to cross traditional divides. The case study of this thesis provides a case of a comparison across continents, which considered similarities and ‘closeness’ between the two cities not in terms of geography but in terms of socio-economic and food security context, and focused on the specific process of establishing urban food governance. Although the focus of policy transfer research is at first instance the process of transfer and comparison, the facts that the comparison crossed traditional divides and resulted in a policy transfer process in the Global South may provide alternative enabling and constraining factors to policy transfer in this context.

## **3 Methodology**

### **3.1 Research Design & Data Collection**

This research uses a case study approach to explore the challenges to, and opportunities for, the transfer of urban food policy in the Global South. A case study approach is a well-established method of an empirical inquiry into a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context (Yin 2009). This approach allows for in-depth analysis of the complex nature of a single case within a particular context (Verschuren 2003). While its sensitivity to complexity provides for a comprehensive understanding of the unit of analysis within its context, single case research has some limitations regarding analytical power and generalisability (Yin 2009; Ragin 1989; Verschuren 2003). The paradox of case study research, i.e. providing unique in-depth understanding of the unit of analysis within a particular, complex context, yet leaving space for debate for its value towards improved universal understanding (Simons 1996), requires particular attention from the researcher. The ability to gain careful understanding and analysis of different perspectives and motivations, however, makes case study research a well suited facilitator for exploring the process of the attempted policy transfer.

The conducted research was aimed at achieving a qualitative understanding of the process. The primary data for this case study was collected through semi-structured interviews, a method that was chosen on the basis of its ability to provide a more holistic understanding of a complex phenomenon (Verschuren 2003). The qualitative research methods have been employed with consideration of controllability, researcher-independence, internal validity and external validity. Although controllability and researcher-independence have been contested in qualitative case study research, it has clearly been acknowledged among researchers that these weaknesses are inherent to semi-structured in-depth interviews (Verschuren 2003). Furthermore, the use of qualitative methods in case study research, including the open-ended attitude of the researcher and

the attempt to gain a holistic impression, are arguably more apt to internal validity because of its respect for the context. With regards to the external validity of qualitative case study research, Yin (2009) differentiates analytical generalisation from the typical statistical generalisation. Qualitative case study research may be generalisable to theoretical propositions, especially because such analytical induction is well-grounded in theoretical knowledge and in-depth analysis of a case (Mitchell 1983; Yin 2009; Verschuren 2003).

The research process was carried out after an extensive literature review process regarding policy transfer, urban food policy and the specifics of the feasibility study. This information was used to establish an interview framework that guided the interview process to ensure that insights were gathered on themes that related to the research question. However, the open-ended nature of the conversations also provided participants the freedom to add valuable insights that fell outside the themes that were initially discussed. Semi-structured interviews were preferred over standardised interviews because of the diverse backgrounds and engagement with the feasibility study among participants. Furthermore, the nature of semi-structured interviews is well suited to explore different attitudes, values and beliefs, enables discussion of complex and sometimes sensitive issues, and allows for probing and asking for more information and further clarification of answers (Richardson et al. 1965; Wengraf 2001; Leech 2002; Barriball and While 1994; Longhurst 2003).

The interviews were conducted both personally and via Skype. After obtaining permission from the participants the interviews were recorded and transcribed in order to guarantee an accurate account of the interview. Additional notes were taken directly after the interview in order to adequately depict the nature of the conversation, including non-verbal information, while early analysis of the interviews enabled the improvement of further data collection during other interviews. Grey literature, including websites and promotional material that was disseminated to involve Cape Town stakeholders with the feasibility study, has been sparsely

used to increase the researchers understanding of the collected interview data.

### **3.2 Introduction to the case study**

The central theme of this research, i.e. the challenges and opportunities for the transfer of urban food policy in the Global South, will be considered through a case study of attempted policy transfer from the Belo Horizonte food security program to the City of Cape Town. In order to allow more in-depth discussion in the subsequent sections of this thesis, the following section will provide a concise introduction to the process of the feasibility study and briefly consider the context regarding food security in Cape Town in 2011.

The process was initiated by the World Future Council (WFC), a German-based NGO that aims to promote best-practice policy solutions serving the interests of future generations. The WFC granted the first Future Policy Award to the Belo Horizonte food security program in 2009, following international attention for the successful approach that had been initiated by academic publications by Rocha (2001) and Rocha and Lessa (2009). Subsequently, the WFC approached the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), which commissioned and funded the GIZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für International Zusammenarbeit / German Society for International Cooperation) to coordinate a feasibility study on the possibility of using lessons from the Belo Horizonte approach to improve urban food security in Cape Town.

Between 19 April and 8 June 2011, a fact-finding mission visited Cape Town to establish a feasibility study in order to, according to the title of the report, ‘specify the needs for an urban food and nutrition security system in Cape Town, based on the system of Belo Horizonte’ (Gerster-Bentaya 2011). The feasibility study was conducted by two consultants and an intern from GIZ. The consultants were selected based on their expertise on the Belo Horizonte case, and urban food security and gover-

nance in general, however it should be noted that the two lead consultants only arrived the last two weeks of the study. The tasks for the team included the assessment of framework conditions in Cape Town and engagement with stakeholders in the city. These tasks included contributions in the form of presentations and engagement with local stakeholders and officials in order to share knowledge on the Belo Horizonte case. Shared meetings took place with (I) multiple food system stakeholders, (II) city officials from various departments, (III) representatives of the department of health, and (IV) the Urban Agriculture Unit. The findings were eventually accumulated in a report that was submitted to the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), referred to here as Gerster-Bentaya (2011).

With regards to the food security status of Cape Town, data from the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN) baseline survey in Cape Town display that food insecurity remains an important challenge for the city (Battersby 2011). The study sampled 1060 households in Ocean View, Philippi (Ward 34) and Khayelitsha (Ward 95), three poor areas of the city. The results indicate that on average 80 per cent of the households in these poor areas are either severely food insecure or moderately food insecure (Battersby 2011). The households greatly rely on both the formal and informal market for food. The survey indicates that there are few alternative livelihood strategies (e.g. urban agriculture), which results in low resilience to shocks. Questions about dietary diversity and the food security situation over an entire year indicate that the food insecurity situation in these areas is both chronic and severe.

The City of Cape Town does not have a comprehensive food security policy or strategy in place. The responsibility of food security aspects is divided over, among others, the departments of health, education, city planning, economic development and social development. In terms of governmental responsibilities regarding food security, the Constitution of South Africa (Section 27) provides a clear imperative by stating that ‘everyone has the right to [...] sufficient food’ and that ‘the state must

take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of [this right]' (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Yet the realisation of this right remains elusive (SAHRC 2004), and the role of municipal authorities in ensuring an inclusive and secure food system is commonly neglected. At a national level, the Department of Agriculture is responsible for the Integrated Food Security Strategy (DoA 2002). This strategy has been criticised for displaying a rural food production bias and for doing no more than 'outlining good intentions with no real attempt to apply them in reality' (Drimie and Ruysenaar 2010, p. 324). In the City of Cape Town, issues concerning food security are generally addressed in the Economic Development Strategy (CoCT 2009), the Informal Trading Policy and Management Framework (CoCT 2004) and the Integrated Development Plan (CoCT 2012). The most urban food security-related policy in Cape Town is the Urban Agriculture Policy that has been in place since 2007 and provides the main justification for the advocacy of further food policy in Cape Town (CoCT 2009; Battersby and Marshak 2013). The purpose of the Urban Agriculture Policy is to create an enabling environment that '[synergises] efforts to maximise the positive impact of urban agriculture in the City' (CoCT 2007, p. 2). The Urban Agriculture Unit (UAU) provides technical support for urban agriculture initiatives and is in charge of the implementation of the UA policy in Cape Town.

### **3.3 Subjects of Study**

Testimony was gathered from participants in three general categories in order to create a balanced understanding of the process. The informant categories included the facilitators of the feasibility study, the consultants that were involved in the execution of the study, and representatives from the side of Cape Town. The participant sample was carefully considered on the basis of their participation in the feasibility study in 2011. The researcher was able to get testimony from all those that were approached to participate in the study.

With respect to the facilitation and organisation of the feasibility study, testimony was gathered from Holger Güssefeld (WFC), instigator of the feasibility study as former policy officer food security at the World Future Council, and Jürgen Richter, the Senior project manager and responsible for the organisation of the feasibility study on behalf of GIZ. In addition, interviews were conducted with the team that was responsible for the execution of the feasibility study: Dr. Maria Gerster-Bentaya (lead consultant and affiliated to Universität Hohenheim), Dr. Cecilia Rocha (associate professor at Ryerson University and expert on the Belo Horizonte program) and Andreas Barth (GIZ intern).

Regarding participants from the City of Cape Town, contact was made with Stanley Visser and Katharine Miszewski. Visser is head of the Urban Agriculture Unit (Directorate for Human and Economic Development). The unit is responsible for drafting and implementing the Urban Agriculture Policy in Cape Town, and is considered the main connection point regarding food policy in the city. Miszewski is affiliated with the Department of Human and Economic Development and currently engaged with the VPUU project (Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading) for the City of Cape Town. She attended two shared meetings with the feasibility study team. Further testimony was gathered from Dr. Jane Battersby, affiliated to the University of Cape Town and AFSUN (African Food Security Urban Network) and actively engaged with the 2011 feasibility study as ‘local resource’ contact. As supervisor of this thesis, she was consulted on multiple occasions in order to improve the researcher’s understanding of the process.

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

Content analysis was applied to all transcribed interviews. The gathered information from the interview was interpreted sentence-by-sentence in order to mark keywords and key sentences with the themes of the interview (Witzel 2000). The researcher acknowledges that selectivity and re-

trieving the most important information in accordance with the study's purpose and conceptual lenses are important challenges to qualitative data collection (Miles and Huberman 1994). While the person analysing data inherently has to make inferences, a systematic approach allows for the identification of important characteristics and categories of the data (Krippendorff 1980). This allowed for thematic analysis of the data, which through deductive coding could be related to theoretical concepts as explored in the literature review (Joffe and Yardley 2003). The collected data was further analysed to uncover patterns, linkages and additional themes that particularly relate to the nature of policy transfer in the Global South (inductive coding). Key themes were organised in a table format to establish a clear overview and frame of reference for the discussion of the results.

### **3.5 Limitations**

A number of limitations to this research should be noted. The timeframe for this research and scope of this minor thesis were such that a limited but carefully selected participant sample was approached. Testimony was also collected from the supervisor of this thesis, but purposely later in the data collection process in order to minimise the potential bias to the results of this research. The fact that this research was conducted more than two years after the feasibility study has to be considered, yet it also provided the opportunity for the researcher, who had not been involved in the process, to analyse the data with minimal preconceptions.

### **3.6 Ethical Considerations**

The research was conducted conform the University of Cape Town's policy on research on human subjects. Ethical clearance was obtained from the Faculty of Science Research Ethics Committee prior to the start of the research.

## 4 Research Findings

The findings of this research have been organised according to a number of themes that emerged over the course of this investigation. The key findings are presented and organised in Table 1 in order to provide an overview of testimony of the participants along the various themes. The table first and foremost serves as a point of reference. Subsequently, the discussion (section 5) will extensively explore the relevance of these themes in relation to both the research aim and the considered literature.

For the purpose of clarity, a note has to be made from the outset on the use of the terms ‘policy transfer,’ ‘policy learning’ and ‘lesson-drawing’ in this case study. The literature review has outlined the subtle differences between these concepts in terms of nature of the process on the continuum between voluntary and coercive. While, the motivations of different actors in the process of the case study have been carefully explored, the voluntary nature of the feasibility study was clear to all participants of this research. Accordingly, the concepts of (voluntary) ‘policy transfer,’ ‘policy learning’ and ‘lesson drawing’ have been used interchangeably both by participants during the interview and by the researcher in this analysis.

Table 1: Table with findings

Theme	Description	Stated by
1. Initiation of the feasibility study	<p>Academic publications by Rocha resulted in considerable attention for the Belo Horizonte food security program overseas. Rocha was invited to share her knowledge on the Belo Horizonte approach at a number of conferences and other occasions, and subsequently started to organise study tours to Belo Horizonte. In 2009, the World Future Council awarded the Future Policy Award to the Belo Horizonte food security program for establishing “the world’s most comprehensive policy that tackles hunger immediately and secures a healthy food supply for the future” (WFC 2009, p. 3). Güssefeld (WFC) attended a Belo Horizonte study tour with Rocha in 2010, when initial conversations took place about the possibility of implementing these lessons in other cities.</p> <p>The WFC took the initiative in organising the feasibility study. “[The organisation] turned to the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) with the proposal to address this issue by studying an African metropolis. The BMZ decided to use Cape Town as the location for this fact-finding mission and put the WFC in touch with the former In-WEnt/Feldafing to coordinate this research.”</p> <p>The City of Cape Town already had a long established connection with the City of Toronto regarding urban agriculture. An academic connection had been established between the University of Cape Town, AFSUN, Queens University Canada and Rocha (Ryerson University Canada). Visser had been introduced to the Belo Horizonte case by Rocha during a visit to Toronto. Rocha also presented the Belo Horizonte case during an AFSUN conference in Johannesburg, 2009. There already was a ‘continuous flow of information and communication’ through this connection, but no formal kind of policy transfer processes.</p>	<p>Rocha (personal interview, 2014, 9 January); Güssefeld (personal interview, 2014, 15 January)</p> <p>Gerster-Bentaya (2011)</p> <p>Visser (personal interview, 2013, 3 December); Battersby (personal interview, 2014, 18 January); Rocha (personal interview, 2014, 9 January)</p>

<p>2. Objective of the feasibility study</p>	<p>The objective of the feasibility study project was to “investigate in how far it would be possible to apply or learn from the Belo Horizonte case in an other context, specifically in the African context”</p> <p>Cape Town was chosen as the location for the feasibility study based on a number of criteria: A city in Sub-Saharan Africa with interest in food system issues from the municipality, a food specific policy in place (urban agriculture) and the availability of a good food security related database. Gerster-Bentaya notes that with the consideration of Cape Town, the organisers “really looked rather at similarities” between Cape Town and Belo Horizonte in terms of city size, relative strength of government structures, and socioeconomic, food insecurity and inequality status.</p> <p>The status of Cape Town as modern city with an upper and middle class, but also large townships and malnutrition, makes the city interesting as a potential role model for other African cities if their urban food governance proofs to be successful. (Güssefeld, 2014)</p> <p>The actual feasibility study aimed “to specify the needs for an urban food and nutrition security system in Cape Town based on the system of Belo Horizonte” (Gerster-Bentaya 2011). The idea was to “find out where possible anchoring points could be for one or the other aspect of the BH approach, what could work in the context of Cape Town, and which are promising points which with an adaptation could be applied.”</p> <p>To this end, it was necessary to understand the context of Cape Town, what the problems were and what was already being done. This required an overview of all the stakeholders, all the ongoing policies, and all the initiatives and barriers regarding the food system. Moreover, it was important to explore the political will in the (local) government, because “it is a project to motivate politicians to do something and to act.”</p>	<p>Gerster-Bentaya (personal interview, 2014, 22 January)</p> <p>Güssefeld (2014); Gerster-Bentaya (2014); Battersby (2014)</p> <p>Güssefeld (2014)</p> <p>Gerster-Bentaya (2014)</p> <p>Güssefeld (2014)</p>
--	--	---

<p>3. Northern facilitation of South-South transfer</p>	<p><b>Relevance and expectation</b></p> <p>The relevance of policy learning, and especially learning from places with a similar context, is supported by those that were interviewed from the side of Cape Town: “If we think we can’t learn from the rest of the world we would be absolutely crazy, so we should be seeking solutions that are similar to ours and Brazil is an extremely good learning place.”</p> <p>Battersby, who as a University of Cape Town researcher had a good perspective on both the context of Cape Town and the case of Belo Horizonte, was initially quite excited about the idea of the feasibility study, as she “saw it as a really interesting potential learning exercise.” However, she notes that from the outset it was quite clear that “the kinds of government approaches and the relationships between city, provincial and national government were quite different.” However, she states that there was a recognition of those differences.</p> <p>The City of Cape Town was ‘on the receiving end.’</p> <p>Visser states that “for the City of Cape Town it was more of an information session in order to improve its understanding”</p> <p><b>Role of facilitators</b></p> <p>“I think the role of Germany in this endeavour was rather to explore possibilities and to act as facilitators and to bring together BH and CT so that they can communicate directly, without interference from a third party. To this end we first had to be sure if it was worthwhile bringing those two partners together, so that was the start of an intended later collaboration.”</p> <p>“The intention was that GIZ would be funded by BMZ to facilitate this dialogue between Belo Horizonte and Cape Town, to support Cape Town in developing a locally adapted concept, to organise and provide in the process identified training needs, to support and co-fund the implementation of such a concept and finally to upscale such an activity to other cities in Africa.”</p> <p>Gerster-Bentaya and Rocha indicate that the feasibility study team recognised that the ‘lessons’ from Belo Horizonte couldn’t be transferred without being contextualised. Rocha states it was not presented as a model, but more as ‘different possibilities.’ Gerster-Bentaya emphasises that the freedom of the recipient in terms of choosing lessons and adopting them in their own way has to be kept.</p>	<p>Miszewski (personal interview, 2013, 2 December); Visser (2014)</p> <p>Battersby (2014)</p> <p>Miszewski (2013)</p> <p>Visser (2014)</p> <p>Gerster-Bentaya (2014)</p> <p>Richter (personal interview, 2014, 30 January)</p> <p>Gerster-Bentaya (2014); Rocha (2014)</p>
---	---	---

<p>4. City of Cape Town engagement with feasibility study</p>	<p><b>Stakeholder mapping</b></p> <p>Barth, who as GIZ intern was tasked with creating a stakeholder analysis, notes that this was a very difficult task, especially because stakeholder ‘don’t work together.’ Battersby, who assisted Barth in Cape Town, believes that in the end the analysis “didn’t really have enough depth to it.” A deeper involvement of the other team members could have improved the process because they had a better idea of both the Belo Horizonte approach and the motivation behind this feasibility study.</p> <p>“Actually key to everything is really to have a good stakeholder analysis - I think we were not sufficiently deep. The time we had was very short. I wonder whether we really fully understood the food system in Cape Town. I am not sure, I have my doubts. We did a lot with the time we had, but I don’t know.”</p> <p><b>Shared meetings</b></p> <p>Direct engagement between the feasibility study team and city officials was limited to four of meetings. Rocha presented the Belo Horizonte approach as an inspiration, but not as a model. “It cannot be a model because it has to be contextualised. But I think that the important message here is that it is possible. And it is feasible. There are alternatives”</p> <p>Of the workshops, three quarters of the time was spent on the presentation of the Belo Horizonte approach, one quarter on a discussion of how that could work in Cape Town. Battersby is of the opinion that the workshops themselves were quite “information centric” and that there was “wasn’t much of a facilitated space for conversation”</p> <p>“We never came as far as discussion certain very specific measures [...] we never got so concrete.”</p> <p>The organisers of the feasibility study were of the opinion that the city representatives were very receptive to the information in the meetings.</p> <p>“I think they brought very appropriate information to the city”</p> <p>Various participants note that due to mayoral elections at the time of the feasibility study, it was difficult to get Cape Town officials involved. There was a lot of uncertainty about staff changes and the new policy under the new mayor.</p>	<p>Barth (personal interview, 2014, 28 January); Battersby (2014)</p> <p>Gerster-Bentaya (2014)</p> <p>Rocha (2014)</p> <p>Gerster-Bentaya (2014); Battersby (2014)</p> <p>Gerster-Bentaya (2014)</p> <p>Gerster-Bentaya (2014); Rocha (2014); Richter (2014)</p> <p>Miszewski (2013)</p> <p>Barth (2014); Gerster-Bentaya (2014)</p>
---	---	---

<p>5. Constraints to the uptake of urban food governance in Cape Town</p>	<p><b>Insufficient understanding of the food system</b></p> <p>The city was already developing a growing awareness of food system and food security issues and had a formalised food related policy in place (UA). However, the overall understanding of the role of the city in the food system and in food security issues was inadequate.</p> <p>“I think the city was not really ready or in a position to take further what we have learned from that experience of the meetings and workshops, because we did not understand, or we are not sure of, our role in terms of the food system [and] food security.”</p> <p>“It is this idea of understanding the role of government in the food system, in a way, that might be the most problematic area.”</p> <p><b>Lack of clear centralised responsibility over food-related policy</b></p> <p>Food has traditionally not been an area for public service. Therefore the general approach to food security issues by most cities is very compartmented and relies on ad-hoc responses from departments with different responsibilities. Belo Horizonte is a unique case because it was capable to bring these different areas of work together.</p> <p>Overcoming the culture of working in silos, both between the different spheres of government and within the city administration, is a challenge. There is no line functionary responsible for food planning and food security. In order to move forward there is a need for a confirmed responsibility for food planning.</p> <p>The lack of a responsible food unit is ‘a definite limitation’ to learning in the case of food policy. The fact that food is nobody’s responsibility hampered the uptake of the information.</p> <p><b>Lack of food movement</b></p> <p>The feasibility study team realised a lack of civil society engagement with a ‘food lens’ to issues of social justice.</p> <p>Especially at the time of the feasibility study there was not a strong food movement in Cape Town. The pockets of food activism are not connected. The city recognises that there is no broad food movement in Cape Town. There is a need to mobilise society around food related issues.</p>	<p>Battersby (2014); Visser (2014)</p> <p>Visser (2013)</p> <p>Rocha (2014)</p> <p>Rocha (2014)</p> <p>Visser (2013)</p> <p>Battersby (2014)</p> <p>Rocha (2014)</p> <p>Battersby (2014); Visser (2014)</p>
---	---	---

<p>6. Specific constraint to policy transfer in the Global South</p>	<p>During the interviews, possible specific constraint to policy transfer in the Global South were discussed. Visser indicates that the City of Cape Town is resource poor and under capacitated, with more than a third of the population is living in poverty. The city focuses on service provision – “The city is very reactive, we are always under pressure”</p> <p>While various participants had emphasised the virtue of a site visit or direct communication between the two cities, it was not possible to facilitate a meeting between mayors or a study visit by city officials to Belo Horizonte, due to constraints in money for both the facilitators and the City of Cape Town</p> <p>“I think policy transfer between two Southern cities that have quite different histories and quite different government regimes has a lot of difficulties inherent in it. And so it is incredibly difficult to even promote those conversations between BH and CT. The city has found it easier to have these conversations between a city like Toronto and CT, but the similarities in the cities themselves, make it probably a less meaningful conversation than the hard conversations that might be able to happen between BH and CT. Do you do what is easier that is going to have little impact, or do you press on with what’s hard that might actually be more meaningful in the long run?”</p>	<p>Miszewski (2013); Visser (2013)</p> <p>Güssefeld (2014); Visser (2014)</p> <p>Battersby (2014)</p>
--	--	---

<p>7. Assessment of policy transfer in the process of the case study</p>	<p><b>Cape Town participants were asked whether some degree of transfer has taken place</b></p> <p>“I think it was just another layer of knowledge, so more about the generation of knowledge about what is working elsewhere. And therefore maybe opening eyes to the possibility that it isn’t just something that can happen in a city like Toronto. ”</p> <p>“It did serve a purpose in growing awareness for food system issues – it did contribute to our understanding and upped the urgency for a comprehensive strategy for food security in the city.”</p> <p><b>Food systems study</b></p> <p>A recent development in Cape Town has been the execution of a food system study, which will be discussed briefly in section 5.7. Visser indicates optimism about the role this food system study can play in order to overcome the mentioned challenges for the uptake of urban food governance in the city. The feasibility study was not deep enough; it was “fine as a starting point, but rather one of the trigger to get the bigger food systems study going.”</p> <p>“If we have that presentation now, it would be more meaningful to us, because there is already a little bit more understanding going on.”</p>	<p>Battersby (2014)</p> <p>Visser (2014)</p> <p>Visser (2014)</p> <p>Visser (2014)</p>
--	--	--

## 5 Discussion

### 5.1 Initiation of the feasibility study

The initiator of the feasibility study, the World Future Council (WFC), can be considered a policy advocacy organisation with a ‘future-oriented, reform-minded and outward-looking’ character, as described by Stone (2000, p. 47). The WFC is a non-governmental organisation that researches just policies and legislation, and advocates for the implementation of such policies with future generations in mind. The organisation is based in Hamburg, Germany, but has a global focus on facilitating the transfer of knowledge and the ‘import and export of solutions’ (Güssefeld, personal interview, 2014, 15 January). The WFC awards the ‘Future Policy Award’ in order to commend visionary policies that ‘raise public awareness, encourage rapid learning and speed up policy action towards just, sustainable and peaceful societies’ (WFC 2009, p. 3). As the ‘best-practice’ label of the award suggests, the WFC facilitates the production and sharing of knowledge in line with a clear ideological motive. The WFC gave the first Future Policy Award to the Belo Horizonte food security program in 2009, and subsequently played a key role in aligning different players to organise the feasibility study.

Prior to the feasibility study, there was already a continuous flow of communication on urban food system issues between academics, policy advocates and city officials in Cape Town and Toronto (as illustrated in table 1.1). The exchange of experiences with food policies between different international actors indicates the existence of an ‘epistemic community’ or ‘policy advocacy network’ (as described by Haas and Evans). The inclusion of both policy makers and academics in the network - actors with ‘authoritative claims to policy relevant knowledge’ (Evans 2009, p. 252) - has been important in the initial movement of ideas in the international domain. Actors share a common understanding of food system related policy issues and acknowledge the need for a more comprehensive approach to urban food governance. A shared belief system within

a network is important in facilitating the first steps to policy-oriented learning.

The academic community played an important role in disseminating knowledge on the Belo Horizonte food security program. The author of the first English academic publications on the program, Cecilia Rocha, has shared the knowledge on the Belo Horizonte approach by presenting at conferences and by organising study tours. Through the existing network on food system issues, the information about the Belo Horizonte program eventually reached the World Future Council, as well as officials and academics in Cape Town. The aforementioned Future Policy Award provided the necessary attention in order to secure support and funding for a study from the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). The ministry eventually commissioned the GIZ to investigate to what extent it would be possible to apply or learn from the Belo Horizonte approach in the context of a Sub-Saharan African city (Güssefeld, 2014).

## 5.2 Objective of the feasibility study

Data reveals that the existing network was important in the choice to ground the feasibility study in Cape Town (Gerster-Bentaya, personal interview, 2014, 21 January; Güssefeld, 2014). The Cape Town municipality already showed a growing awareness of urban food system issues and was being exposed to different approaches through an international network and an active local research community (Battersby, personal interview, 2014, 18 January). The similarities in the socio-economic and food security related context between the two cities provided another important argument for the feasibility study in Cape Town. Güssefeld notes that Cape Town, as a sizeable African city with typical poverty challenges but relatively more capacity and international exposure, could if successful provide a good role model for other African cities. This opportunity of policy learning ‘spill-over’ through the momentum that policy advo-

cacy networks create has also been recognised in the literature on policy advocacy networks (Evans 2009).

In terms of the objective of the feasibility study, Gerster-Bentaya notes that the aim was to understand the context in Cape Town in order to expose possible anchoring points for aspects of the Belo Horizonte approach. From the beginning it was clear that both the relationship between different spheres of government (national, provincial and local), and the willingness to use market intervention based approaches were different between Cape Town and Belo Horizonte (Battersby, 2014). Rocha (personal interview, 2014, 9 January) emphasises that the knowledge on the Belo Horizonte program was not intended as a model. The information on the different programs may provide lessons for other cities, but those have to be contextualised. She stresses that the most important message from the Belo Horizonte program is that there is a role for government in developing a better food security system. Therefore, the objective of the engagement between the feasibility study team and city officials was more about learning for the development of new policy in the context of Cape Town than direct transfer of programs. Gerster-Bentaya (2014) notes that the team recognised the need for local agency in choosing what to use or adopt from this process. However, Güssefeld (2014) notes that the aim of this policy-oriented learning process was eventually to ‘motivate politicians to act,’ which closely relates to the nature of policy advocacy.

### **5.3 Northern facilitation of South-South policy transfer**

In terms of the organisation of the feasibility study, the results show that actors within the policy transfer network recognized Cape Town as an appropriate place to share lessons from Belo Horizonte. The Cape Town administration was on the receiving end of this study and information transfer (Visser, personal interview, 2013, 3 December; Miszewski, per-

sonal interview, 2013, 2 December). However, since there was already a growing awareness of food security issues within the city, therefore Battersby (2014) initially considered this feasibility study project as an interesting potential learning exercise. In addition, the long established connection with international experts regarding urban agriculture indicated that the relevance of policy-oriented learning was already being recognized within the city. Further data reveals that actors in Cape Town share the organisers' of the feasibility study notion that learning between cities in the Global South can be very fruitful (Visser, 2013; Miszewski, 2013).

The facilitating organisations did recognise the need to fully understand the Cape Town context before potential policy-learning opportunities could be utilized, which formed the motivation to commence the project with a feasibility study. Interviews with the German organisers of the feasibility study suggest that the initial intention was to facilitate a direct dialogue between Belo Horizonte and Cape Town at a later stage, without interference from a third party. The organisers envisioned that a positive result of the feasibility study could provide the basis for the development of a locally adapted food security approach in Cape Town (Güssefeld, 2014; Richter, personal interview, 2014, 30 January). Eventually, the idea was that the GIZ, with further funding from the German ministry (BMZ), could facilitate further learning in order to improve the development of urban food governance approaches in other cities in Africa (Richter, 2014). Support for further South-South cooperation and innovative policy concepts that are tested under similar frame conditions is an important part of the work of the German development cooperation organisations (Gerster-Bentaya, 2014).

However, the facilitation of this process by organisations in the North was also problematic. Although the feasibility study would not have taken place without 'Northern' initiation, Battersby (2014) describes the situation that these facilitating organisations are the necessary initiators of Southern learning as 'awkward'. While the initiative was welcomed from

the side of Cape Town, the perception was borne out of interviews with city officials that the administration was not adequately prepared for the project. Engagement between Cape Town officials and the feasibility study was limited, which will be further elaborated on in the subsequent section of the discussion. Both the relationship between the WFC and the GIZ, and the eventual objective to try to facilitate an ongoing dialogue between the two cities seemed ambiguous to the side of Cape Town (Battersby, 2014). A few notes have to be made on the issue of funding a follow-up facilitation project. Gerster-Bentaya (2014) points out that it was clear that only the feasibility study was funded, but agrees that among the organisers there was the hope that further funding could be secured. Testimony by Richter (2014) reveals that indeed there have been futile attempts by the organisers to secure further funding from German development organisations. However, it is important to note that testimony from Visser (personal interview, 2014, 22 January) indicates that there was no expectation from within the city of the facilitation of a continuous learning process between Belo Horizonte and Cape Town. Due to the ambiguity about the motive of and (lack of) funding for continuation of the policy learning engagement the process eventually stalled after completion of the feasibility study. The fact that the initiative and the funding for the feasibility study did not come from Cape Town but from German ‘facilitating’ organisations is key for the different perceptions of the process. Section 5.4 will further elaborate on the perceptions from the side of Cape Town. Subsequent sections will further explore important constraints in this process that relate to the transfer of urban food policy and the context of cities in the Global South.

#### **5.4 City of Cape Town engagement with feasibility study**

The preceding section has illustrated the role of different actors in the initiation of the feasibility study process, and highlighted that Cape Town

was on the receiving end. Although Northern organisation did not continue further facilitation, the actual completion of the feasibility study and the exposure of the city to a potentially very relevant learning experience provided the opportunity for the City of Cape Town to make use of information. Therefore it is necessary to first explore the work of the study team and the nature of their engagement with the City of Cape Town.

The feasibility study consisted of two main exercises:

- Exploring the context of Cape Town in terms of stakeholders, policies, initiatives and barriers regarding the food system
- Facilitating a number of shared meetings with city representatives in order to introduce potential lessons from the Belo Horizonte program to stakeholders and city officials

In terms of gaining a good understanding of the food system and food security issues in Cape Town, Gerster-Bentaya (2014) emphasizes the importance of having a good initial stakeholder analysis as a baseline for identifying potential anchor points for lessons from Belo Horizonte. The task of reaching out to stakeholders was given to Barth, an intern for GIZ, with assistance from Battersby (AFSUN - UCT), who was very knowledgeable on the different local actors and context. Barth (personal interview, 2014, 28 January) reached out to different stakeholders and had a number of meetings to establish different roles and connections within the system, but his testimony reveals that it was a challenging task due to a lack of cooperation between these actors. In retrospect, Battersby (2014) indicates that the stakeholder analysis did not have enough depth to it, and cites limitations in funding and time for the project as important constraints. Gerster-Bentaya (2014) shares the notion that the stakeholder analysis was ‘not sufficiently deep,’ and expresses doubt about whether the team actually fully understood the food system in Cape Town.

Direct engagement between the feasibility study team and city officials was limited to four meetings: a shared stakeholder meeting, two meetings with city officials from various departments and one meeting with the urban agriculture unit. Data reveals that these meetings consisted of presentations of the different programs and policies in Belo Horizonte (Gerster-Bentaya, 2014). Rocha (2014) indicates that the main lessons from the presentation was that it is possible for a local government to improve the food security in its city, but that the Belo Horizonte approach was presented ‘not necessarily as a model but more as different possibilities.’ Participants indicate that city officials were very receptive to the information at the meetings (Rocha 2014; Gerster-Bentaya, 2014), but the nature of the direct engagement with city officials merits further contemplation. Visser (2014) indicates that for the City of Cape Town, the engagement consisted of information sessions in order to improve the city’s understanding of food system governance. The focus on the transfer of information about the Belo Horizonte programme may have stifled further shared discussion about how these lessons could be used in Cape Town. Battersby (2014) suggests that more facilitating space for discussion about how to use the lessons could have improved the learning experience.

Another point that requires further thought is the ‘immersion’ of city officials in the feasibility study project. The overall attendance of city officials to the meetings is seemingly very little for policy-oriented learning to take place. Recognising this fact, one city official organised the second meeting in order to get more representatives of the city administration in touch with the project. Finding the right people within the administration with sufficient power and a motivation to draw appropriate lessons for the city is a well-known challenge for advocates of policy-oriented learning and knowledge transfer. As discussed in the literature review of this thesis, non-governmental actors depend on actors with formal decision-making powers’ willingness to learn and are therefore more involved in the transfer of information, ideas and ideologies (Stone 2000).

In addition, Barth (2014) was under the impression that the issue was not perceived as a high priority within the city and that there was not one official involved who could follow-up on the feasibility study engagements on his own. This point may relate to the insufficient understanding of food system issues in Cape Town that was suggested by other interviewees, a point which will be further elaborated on later in this discussion.

In terms of converting knowledge into improved urban food policy, Gerster-Bentaya (2014) emphasises the importance of including those that eventually have to act in the process. Inclusion of these actors will provide exposure to the initial analysis and discussions, which may provide important lessons and inspiration to act. On the occasion of the feasibility study, the leadership of Cape Town was not included in the feasibility study team. An important contextual factor of the engagement with the city was the fact that municipal elections were held during the feasibility study. In Belo Horizonte, the mayor had been a crucial instigator of the food security program, and the feasibility study report identified the election of a new mayor in Cape Town as an opportunity for this food systems approach to be picked up. However, interviews with members of the feasibility study team revealed that this election also formed an obstacle for direct engagement with city officials, because there were a lot of changes within the municipal staff and there was uncertainty about the new direction due to the mayoral change. The overall depth of engagement between the feasibility study and city officials was limited, an important environmental obstacle to policy learning, as described by (Stone 2000). While considering the facts that Cape Town was on the receiving end of this endeavour and that the engagement of city officials was limited, the following sections will explore specific constraints in terms of, first, the status of urban food governance and, second, the context policy-learning in the Global South.

## **5.5 Constraints to the uptake of urban food governance in Cape Town**

### **5.5.1 Insufficient understanding of the food system**

Testimony by Visser (2013), head of the Urban Agriculture Unit and an important actor regarding food policy considerations in the City of Cape Town, indicates that the city was lacking a comprehensive understanding of its role in the food system at the time. Nonetheless, prior to the feasibility study awareness of the role of governance in food security issues was growing: the city had established a formal urban agriculture policy in 2007, the city was being exposed to different approaches through its network with Toronto, and in 2010 Visser had authored an internal position paper on the role of the city with regards to food security issues. These initiatives indicate a broadening of thinking about food related issues. Yet, according to Visser (2014), there were a number of constraints in the understanding of the role of the city in the food system. These included a lack of understanding in the legal framework, available resources, actors in the food system, and the municipal responsibilities with respect to the different spheres of government (national, provincial and local). Food planning is not part of the development planning in Cape Town, and due to a lack of a comprehensive strategy the various food-related initiatives by the city could be considered ad-hoc.

This data indicates that at the time of the feasibility study there was an overall inadequate understanding of the competencies and the mandate of the municipal government in terms of food system interventions. It has to be noted that exactly the excellent understanding of the role of government in the food system was what made the Belo Horizonte programme stand out. As has been outlined in the literature review of this thesis, food has traditionally not been a core consideration for municipal governments. Food system thinking and urban food governance have only relatively recently emerged as considerations for municipal governments, which suggests that Cape Town will share this challenge with many other

cities. Rocha (2014) indicates that this ‘idea of understanding the role of government in the food system, in a way, [...] might be the most problematic’ for successful urban food security initiatives. Two years after the feasibility study, the mayoral committee of the City of Cape Town commissioned a comprehensive food system study, but this will be subject to discussion later in this chapter.

### **5.5.2 Lack of clear centralized responsibility over food-related policy**

In addition, it is important to consider the responsibility of food system issues with the municipal government. Within the City of Cape Town, there is no line functionary responsible for food planning and food security. Consequently, there was not a responsible unit or department that had to engage with the feasibility study and act upon the results. Battersby (2014) indicates that the lack of this responsibility formed a ‘definite limitation’ from drawing lessons this experience. This limitation may be very specific to the transfer of urban food policy, because it is traditionally not regarded as an essential area of public service. During the feasibility study, Rocha was under the impression that the approach to food system issues is very compartmented and consisted of different silos. Rocha (2014) indicates that the comprehensive approach made Belo Horizonte a unique case, and that exactly the need for collaboration and some sort coordination was stressed during the shared meetings. These meetings did bring together representatives from different city departments, but Gerster-Bentaya (2014) had the idea that those that attended shared the recognition of the fact that there was no mechanism that allowed for further cooperation. Miszewski (2013) agrees on the need for integrating line departments and having common conversations around food issues, but recognises that collaboration has so far been inadequate. Visser (2014) is of the opinion that if the city wants to move urban food governance forward, there has to be some form of a confirmed responsibility for food issues in the city.

### 5.5.3 Lack of a domestic food movement

An important lesson from the Belo Horizonte experience was the role of civil society to frame the issues according to a ‘food lens.’ As the articles by Rocha (2001) and Rocha and Lessa (2009) illustrate, prior to the establishment of the Belo Horizonte food security programme there was already a strong civil society movement working around food security issues from a social justice perspective. Rocha (2014) remarks that she had the impression that there is not such a presence of a strong domestic food movement in the context of Cape Town. This notion is supported by Battersby (2014), who indicates that food has not been something that has been mobilised around in Cape Town, and that the few pockets of food activism that are emerging are not connected. Visser (2014) acknowledges the lack of a connected food movement in Cape Town and recognises the need to mobilise society around food issues.

The feasibility study recognised the need for local civil society engagement through efforts to produce a stakeholder analysis. The aforementioned doubts about whether the team was able to compose an extensive stakeholder overview within the time of the feasibility study indicates the weak voice of a food movement in Cape Town. This had two important consequences regarding the policy learning process: (I) Engagement of civil society actors with the feasibility study was limited, therefore these actors were not able to participate in the actual ‘lesson-drawing’ of the project, and (II) food security was not framed as the main indicator of social wellbeing which resulted in little domestic pressure on the municipal government to take on the issue.

Rocha (2014) indicates that in the case of Belo Horizonte, early engagement with an active food movement formed the foundation for the food security programme. In the context of Cape Town, there seems to be a lack of a strong food movement that can work together with, while at the same time pressure the city to act on food issues. When importance of a food lens to poverty alleviation and economic development is not

fully recognised within society it remains challenging to move forward on urban food governance. With regards to the feasibility study, the lack of political pressure from civil society and the domestic public opinion for adoption may have formed a constraint to lesson-drawing, which is in accordance with the work on potential constraints to policy learning by Evans (2009) as discussed in section 2.2.6.

## **5.6 Specific constraints to policy transfer in the Global South**

Preceding sections have attempted to outline constraints to policy learning that may be specific to urban food policy. However, in order to thoroughly explore the case study in terms of the initial research aim of this thesis, it is necessary to consider specific constraints that relate to the transfer of policy in the Global South. The relevance of policy learning between Southern cities has been discussed previously and is generally supported by the participants of this research. However, policy transfer in the context of the Global South is not without difficulties. Based on testimony of actors in the feasibility study process, some modest suggestions on specific constraints to this process.

The severity of urban food insecurity in Southern cities requires strong commitment from the authorities. Since ‘food policy’ and ‘food systems thinking’ have traditionally not been at the core of development planning, innovative approaches are required from municipal authorities. Innovative policy-making is especially challenging for a city that is under resourced and under capacitated. Testimonies from city officials show how the poverty and inequality challenges in Cape Town require the city to initially focus on basic service delivery (Visser, 2013; Miszewski 2013). Miszewski (2013) adds that due to this constant pressure it is a challenge for the city to create an enabling environment for the development of innovative policy solutions. Policy learning can be regarded as an innovative manner of policy development with great potential, but it requires

time and resources to engage in a learning process which will have undetermined outcomes. These challenges also applied to this case study. The foremost constraint was that the feasibility study was in fact initiated by German organisations. These organisations funded the process and decided on the mode of the engagement. In reality, not a single official or representative from the Belo Horizonte program was involved. Although Rocha can be considered an academic expert on the programme, she is situated in Canada and affiliated to a Canadian university. When further funding from the facilitating organisations fell short, the City of Cape Town was not in the position to take on any of the recommended steps in the feasibility study. These recommendations included the creation of a ‘food platform’ and the development of further local initiatives, but most of all emphasised the need for direct interaction between Belo Horizonte and Cape Town to create a constructive environment for lesson-drawing (Gerster-Bentaya 2011). Continuation of a policy-learning partnership requires both commitment and resources. Although there was no German support for further facilitation of this process, Cape Town officials had been introduced to the possibility to learn from the Belo Horizonte program, and received the recommendations from the feasibility study team. Concrete recommendations included the organisation of a meeting between mayors and a study visit by a team of Cape Town officials. The City of Cape Town was not willing to engage in such a process at its own cost, as Visser (2014) cites the need for Cape Town to maximise the benefit it gets from investment in such a process. He is of the opinion that a visit to Belo Horizonte would have been premature at that stage. The facilitation of direct communication between Southern cities is costly, and this experience suggests that a policy transfer process in the Global South experiences additional constraints in resources that possibly prevent innovative policy-making at a preliminary stage.

The constraints in resources and capacity may have further consequences that hinder transfer in the Global South. As previously considered, city officials were not in the position to visit Belo Horizonte in order to ex-

amine different programmes and to experience the outcomes of the policies. The value of a study visit is emphasised by multiple participants, both as former organisers (Rocha, 2014; Güssefeld, 2014) and as a former participant (Miszewski, 2013). The latter indicates that a study visit improves immersion in the learning process and allows contemplation of a manner of linking theory and implementation. While earlier discussion highlighted how the feasibility study was unable to inspire the new mayor of Cape Town to become a champion for urban food governance, the recommendations in the feasibility study report strongly suggest the meeting between mayors in order to create momentum for an urban food governance initiative and to inspire further action. Testimony by Richter (2014) and Rocha (2014) suggests that the fact that attempts to engage the new mayor of Cape Town into this endeavour were futile was a critical obstruction for further lesson-drawing from this project. A lack of resources for the continuation of the policy-learning project is a broader structural constraint that has been acknowledged as an ‘environmental obstacle’ by Evans (2009), and the previous discussion suggests that the higher prevalence of this obstacle in the Global South has strong effects on the frame of opportunity for inspiration of innovative policy-making.

Further texture to the discussion of specific constraints to Global South policy transfer relates to structural differences in culture and government structures. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) discuss ‘inappropriate transfer’ when insufficient attention is paid to ‘the differences between the economic, social, political and ideological contexts in the transferring and the borrowing country’ (p. 17). As outlined in section 2.2.6 of this thesis, potential constraints may include structural differences such as policy-makers’ receptivity to policy alternative, the prevailing organisational culture, but also constraints in the broader socio-economic and political context such as (lack of) cultural proximity, the domestic economic context, perceived social priorities and language. Testimony from the organisers of the feasibility study indicates an emphasis on similarities

between the two cities when considering the choice for Cape Town, but remarks by Battersby (2014) indicate that structural differences between government approaches were acknowledged prior to the feasibility study. Furthermore, the organisers acknowledged the need for contextualisation of lessons from Belo Horizonte and intended the feasibility study to explore potential opportunities and constraints. Regardless, the case study of transfer between cities in Brazil and South Africa reveals that transfer between two Southern cities that have very different histories and governmental regimes has a lot of difficulties inherent in it. Battersby (2014) remarks that learning from a city that is more alike in socioeconomic terms but has a different government structure remains a challenge. She suggests that due to these socioeconomic challenges, cities are run with more tight structures in place that ‘seem to have less give than they might [...] in similar northern cities’ (Battersby, 2014) Following the categorisation of policy learning obstacles by Evans (2009), both cognitive obstacles, such as the organisational culture in Cape Town, and environmental obstacles, such as differences in the wider political system in which the policy is embedded, may form important constraints for policy transfer in the Global South. A key understanding is that despite socioeconomic similarities, differences between two Southern governments may still form important constraints to policy learning.

### **5.7 Assessment of policy transfer in the process of the case study**

The foregoing discussion of the case study has indicated a general agreement on relevance of policy-oriented learning in the Southern context, but also considered a number of constraints to this process. However, the question remains whether some learning has actually taken place during this process. The literature review of this thesis explored the different categories and degrees of transfer that may take place. While it is clear that the feasibility study process has not resulted in the imple-

mentation of new policies or institutions, the interviews have tried to establish whether some sort of transfer of ideology, ideas and attitudes ('soft' transfer according to Stone) has taken place.

A transfer of knowledge on the Belo Horizonte programme has taken place both through the policy advocacy network and through exposure to the feasibility study. Regardless of the limited engagement with the study by City of Cape Town officials, the meetings with the team did introduce various officials to the Belo Horizonte approach. It is difficult to consider whether these ideas have provided inspiration for further food system engagement within the city. As Visser (2013) indicates, prior to the feasibility study there was already a growing awareness of the role of local government in food system issues. This notion is supported by Battersby (2014), who states that there was an 'incipient, wider food governance awareness' growing within the city.

Two years after the feasibility study, the mayoral committee commissioned a study on food systems and food security in the City of Cape Town, which has been conducted by a team of academics with connections to the AFSUN initiative, with Battersby as one of the core members of the consultant team. While in-depth engagement with the food systems study falls outside of the scope of this thesis, it is important to note that Visser (2013; 2014) is of the opinion that this study is potentially a crucial step for the city in overcoming the previously discussed constraints to the uptake of urban food governance in the City of Cape Town. The study intends to fully explore the food system, as well as the related responsibilities and competencies of different spheres of government. It further examines possibilities for food governance strategies with confirmed responsibility within the city and the manner of engagement with civil society. The report specifically includes 'lessons from elsewhere' in which the Belo Horizonte approach is prominently mentioned. The question arises whether the feasibility study has played a role towards this process.

Battersby (2013) remarks that the feasibility study provided ‘another layer of knowledge’ and highlighted that successful urban food governance is not ‘just something that can happen in a city like Toronto.’ Visser (2014) agrees that the feasibility study did serve a purpose in growing awareness for food system issues, as it contributed to our understanding and ‘upped the urgency’ for a comprehensive strategy for food security in the city. In one interview, Visser (2014) states that the feasibility study served as one of the triggers to eventually get the bigger food systems study going, and referred to the potential of the food system study in order to confront the initial constraints to improving urban food governance that were experienced during the feasibility study. He states that a comprehensive approach and solid strategy are necessary to overcome these constraints in a manner that, while changes and revisions can be made, the city strongly commits to improving food security through urban food governance. At time of writing the food systems study is in a final draft stage and will shortly be referred to the city administration and city council. Although the full extent of the results of the food systems study await, the preliminary conclusion after receiving testimony from these key actors in the continuation of the dialogue about food governance in Cape Town indicates that the feasibility study did serve a purpose in a manner which corresponds to the transfer of ideas and the categorisation as ‘soft’ transfer by Stone (2001).

## 6 Conclusion

Data gathered in this research suggests three broad sets of general constraints to the transfer of urban food policy in the Global South, relating to:

- The unconventional place of food in urban policy
- The specific context of the Global South
- The initiation by a policy advocacy organisation

The discussion indicates three important constraints that relate to the notion that food is not a ‘conventional’ urban concern. First, due to an insufficient understanding about the role of the government in relation to the food system and food security, there is ambiguity regarding the legal framework, mandate and competencies of different spheres of government. Second, due to the lack of clear centralised responsibility over food-related policy, there is no responsible line unit that has to engage with the lessons from the policy transfer process. Third, due to lack of a domestic food movement in Cape Town, there was no strong civil society voice that demanded policy change. The former two constraints relate to environmental obstacles to policy transfer such as institutional environment (Evans 2009) and the uniqueness of the policy in Belo Horizonte (Rose 1993). The third constraint relates to a point made by Evans (2009) about the fact that lack of support from the domestic opinion may constrain the process.

Regarding policy transfer in the context of the Global South, the case study reveals that constraints in terms of resources and capacity hinder the policy transfer process. Policy transfer, as an innovative policy-making process, requires resources, while the outcome and benefits of the process remain unknown. The ‘Southern’ context provides both cognitive obstacles, in the form of a lack of space for innovative policy-making, as well as broader environmental obstacles that relate to the institutional, political, economic and social spheres (Evans 2009). In terms of South-

South transfer, the results suggest that caution has to be exercised in the evaluation of the ‘transferability’ of policy in this context. While there may be similarities in for example socio-economic status, constraints relating to cognitive obstacles and environmental obstacles may still apply. South-South transfer provides no guarantee for an adequate match, because of wider political system and context in which the original policy was embedded (Dolowitz 2003).

The fact that ‘Northern’ policy advocacy organisations, alluding to the work of Stone (2000) and Evans (2009), had to initiate the policy transfer (whose relevance has been acknowledged by most participants) is a strong indicator that important preconditions for the process were not in place. However, the facilitation of this process by policy advocacy outsiders also provides no guarantee for successful engagement between the potentially useful knowledge and the receiving policy-makers. A policy transfer process with the initiation of this kind relies on the support of local policymakers, but the depth of engagement by city officials with the project was insufficient, a constraint that has been explored in the work of Stone (2000). When the facilitators were unable to further facilitate the actual policy learning process, it became apparent that the organisation of the feasibility study had not been enough to overcome the constraints that have been outlined in the sections above. In the end, the actual policy transfer process was effectively stillborn, although testimony by Visser suggests that some form of ‘soft’ transfer (Stone 2001) of information and ideas about a comprehensive food strategy to Cape Town took place.

The final conclusion of the case study is that necessary preconditions for policy transfer were not in place. The literature has to a large extent explored the preconditions (or constraints) to policy transfer, but there is little research about the way these play out in a policy transfer in the Southern context. This raises the question what the necessary preconditions for policy transfer are, and whether such conditions can be in place in such a context. It is encouraged further research is carried out that

explores ways in which Southern governments can engage in policy transfer without the need for a Northern ‘facilitator’; how cities such as Cape Town can overcome financial and communicative constraints in order to actively learn from successful policies elsewhere; how governments can create an environment in which food security is given political and social prominence despite a plethora of other developmental problems.

## References

- Anderson, C. W. (1978). The logic of public problems: Evaluation in comparative policy research. *Comparing public policies: New concepts and methods* 4, pp. 24–26.
- Atkinson, S. J. (1995). Approaches and actors in urban food security in developing countries. *Habitat International* 19.2, pp. 151–163.
- Baker, J. L. (2008). *Impacts of financial, food, and fuel crisis on the urban poor*. World Bank Urban Development Unit.
- Barriball, K. L. and While, A. (1994). Collecting Data using a semi-structured interview: a discussion paper. *Journal of advanced nursing* 19.2, pp. 328–335.
- Battersby, J. (2011). The state of urban food insecurity in Cape Town. *AFSUN: Urban Food Security Series* 11, pp. 1–42.
- Battersby, J. (2013). Hungry Cities: A Critical Review of Urban Food Security Research in Sub-Saharan African Cities. *Geography Compass* 7.7, pp. 452–463.
- Battersby, J. and Marshak, M. (2013). “Growing Communities: Integrating the social and economic benefits of urban agriculture in Cape Town”. *Urban Forum*. Springer, pp. 1–15.
- Benson, D. and Jordan, A. (2011). What have we learned from policy transfer research? Dolowitz and Marsh revisited. *Political studies review* 9.3, pp. 366–378.
- Blay-Palmer, A. (2009). The Canadian pioneer: The genesis of urban food policy in Toronto. *International Planning Studies* 14.4, pp. 401–416.

- Bulmer, S., Dolowitz, D., Humphreys, P., and Padgett, S. (2007). *Policy transfer in European Union governance: regulating the utilities*. Psychology Press.
- CoCT (2004). *Informal Trading Policy and Management Framework*. City of Cape Town: Mayoral Committee of the City of Cape Town.
- CoCT (2007). *Urban Agriculture Policy*. City of Cape Town: Economic and Human Development Directorate.
- CoCT (2009). *Review of the Economic Development Strategy*. City of Cape Town: Directorate Economic, Social Development & Tourism.
- CoCT (2012). *Integrated Development Plan for Cape Town 2012-2017*. City of Cape Town.
- Cohen, M. J. and Garrett, J. L. (2010). The food price crisis and urban food (in) security. *Environment and Urbanization* 22.2, pp. 467–482.
- Crush, J. and Frayne, B. (2011). Urban food insecurity and the new international food security agenda. *Development Southern Africa* 28.4, pp. 527–544.
- DoA (2002). *The Integrated Food Security Strategy for South Africa*. Department of Agriculture of South Africa.
- Dolowitz, D. (2003). A Policy-maker's Guide to Policy Transfer. *The Political Quarterly* 74.1, pp. 101–108.
- Dolowitz, D. and Marsh, D. (1996). Who learns what from whom: a review of the policy transfer literature. *Political studies* 44.2, pp. 343–357.
- Dolowitz, D. and Marsh, D. (2000). Learning from abroad: The role of policy transfer in contemporary policy-making. *Governance* 13.1, pp. 5–23.
- Drimie, S. and Ruysenaar, S. (2010). The integrated food security strategy of South Africa: an institutional analysis. *Agrekon* 49.3, pp. 316–337.
- Ericksen, P. J. (2008). Conceptualizing food systems for global environmental change research. *Global Environmental Change* 18.1, pp. 234–245.

- Ettelt, S., Mays, N., and Nolte, E. (2012). Policy learning from abroad: why it is more difficult than it seems. *Policy & Politics* 40.4, pp. 491–504.
- Evans, M. (2009). Policy transfer in critical perspective. *Policy studies* 30.3, pp. 243–268.
- Evans, M. and Davies, J. (1999). Understanding policy transfer: A Multi-level, multi-disciplinary perspective. *Public administration* 77.2, pp. 361–385.
- FAO (2001). *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*. Food and Agriculture Organisation.
- FAO (2012). *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*. Food and Agriculture Organisation.
- Frayne, B., Pendleton, W., Crush, J., Acquah, B., Battersby-Lennard, J., Bras, E., Chiweza, A., Dlamini, T., Fincham, R., Kroll, F., et al. (2010). *The state of urban food insecurity in southern Africa*. AFSUN Cape Town.
- Gerster-Bentaya, M. (2011). *The Food Security System of Belo Horizonte - a model for Cape Town?* GIZ.
- Haas, P. M. (1992). *Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination*.
- UN-HABITAT (2012). *State of the world's cities 2012/2013*. UN-HABITAT.
- Haddad, L., Ruel, M. T., and Garrett, J. L. (1999). Are urban poverty and undernutrition growing? Some newly assembled evidence. *World development* 27.11, pp. 1891–1904.
- Hart, T. (2009). Food security definitions, measurements and recent initiatives in South Africa and Southern Africa. *Human Sciences Research Council: Pretoria, South Africa*.
- Jaros, L. (2008). The city in the country: Growing alternative food networks in Metropolitan areas. *Journal of Rural Studies* 24.3, pp. 231–244.
- Joffe, H. and Yardley, L. (2003). *Content and Thematic Analysis*. Sage, pp. 56–69.

- Knill, C. (2005). Introduction: Cross-national policy convergence: concepts, approaches and explanatory factors. *Journal of European Public Policy* 12.5, pp. 764–774.
- Koc, M. (1999). *For hunger-proof cities: Sustainable urban food systems*. IDRC.
- Koc, M. and Dahlberg, K. A. (1999). The restructuring of food systems: Trends, research, and policy issues. *Agriculture and Human Values* 16.2, pp. 109–116.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Sage.
- Leech, B. L. (Dec. 2002). Asking Questions: Techniques for Semistructured Interviews. *Political Science & Politics* null (04), pp. 665–668. ISSN: 1537-5935.  
DOI: 10.1017/S1049096502001129. URL: [http://journals.cambridge.org/article\\_S1049096502001129](http://journals.cambridge.org/article_S1049096502001129).
- Longhurst, R. (2003). *Semi-structured interviews and focus groups*. Sage London, pp. 117–132.
- Maxwell, D. (1999). The political economy of urban food security in Sub-Saharan Africa. *World Development* 27.11, pp. 1939–1953.
- Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Sage.
- Mitchell, J. C. (1983). Case and situation analysis. *The sociological review* 31.2, pp. 187–211.
- Mossberger, K. and Wolman, H. (2003). Policy transfer as a form of prospective policy evaluation: challenges and recommendations. *Public Administration Review* 63.4, pp. 428–440.
- Parnell, S., Simon, D., and Vogel, C. (2007). Global environmental change: conceptualising the growing challenge for cities in poor countries. *Area* 39.3, pp. 357–369.
- Pothukuchi, K. and Kaufman, J. L. (1999). Placing the food system on the urban agenda: The role of municipal institutions in food systems planning. *Agriculture and Human Values* 16.2, pp. 213–224.

- Pothukuchi, K. and Kaufman, J. L. (2000). The food system: A stranger to the planning field. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 66.2, pp. 113–124.
- Ragin, C. C. (1989). *The comparative method: Moving beyond qualitative and quantitative strategies*. University of California Press.
- Reynolds, B. (2009). Feeding a world city: The London food strategy. *International planning studies* 14.4, pp. 417–424.
- Richardson, S. A., Dohrenwen, B. S., and Klein, D. (1965). *Interviewing: Its forms and functions*. Basic Books.
- Robinson, J. (2011). Cities in a world of cities: the comparative gesture. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35.1, pp. 1–23.
- Rocha, C. (2001). Urban Food Security Policy: The Cse of Belo Horizonte, Brazil. *Journal for the Study of Food and Society* 5.1, pp. 36–47.
- Rocha, C. and Lessa, I. (2009). Urban governance for food security: the alternative food system in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. *International Planning Studies* 14.4, pp. 389–400.
- Rose, R. (1991). What is Lesson-drawing. *Journal of public policy* 11.1, pp. 1–22.
- Rose, R. (1993). *Lesson-Drawing in Public Policy: A Guide to Learning Across Time and Space* Chatham. *New Jersey: Chatham House*.
- Ruel, M. T. and Garrett, J. L. (2004). Features of urban food and nutrition security and considerations for successful urban programming. *Globalization of Food Systems in Developing Countries: Impact on Food Security and Nutrition* 83, pp. 27–54.
- Ruel, M. T., Garrett, J. L., and Haddad, L. (2008). “Rapid urbanisation and the challenges of obtaining food and nutrition security”. *Nutrition and Health in Developing Countries*. Springer, pp. 639–656.
- Ruel, M. T., Garrett, J. L., Hawkes, C., and Cohen, M. J. (2010). The food, fuel, and financial crises affect the urban and rural poor disproportionately: a review of the evidence. *The Journal of Nutrition* 140.1, pp. 170–176.

- Ruel, M. T., Garrett, J. L., Morris, S. S., Maxwell, D., Oshaug, A., Engle, P., Menon, P., Slack, A., and Haddad, L. (1998). *Urban challenges to food and nutrition security: A review of food security, health, and caregiving in the cities*. IFPRI Washington, DC.
- Ruel, M. T., Haddad, L., and Garrett, J. L. (1999). Some urban facts of life: Implications for research and policy. *World Development* 27.11, pp. 1917–1938.
- Sabatier, P. A. (1987). Knowledge, Policy-Oriented Learning, and Policy Change An Advocacy Coalition Framework. *Science Communication* 8.4, pp. 649–692.
- SAHRC (2004). *The Right to Food - 5th Economic and Social Rights Report Series*. South African Human Rights Commission.
- Simons, H. (1996). The paradox of case study. *Cambridge Journal of Education* 26.2, pp. 225–240.
- Sonnino, R. (2009). Feeding the city: Towards a new research and planning agenda. *International Planning Studies* 14.4, pp. 425–435.
- Stone, D. (1993). “Think Tanks: Independent Policy Research Institutes in the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia”. PhD thesis. Australian National University.
- Stone, D. (1999). Learning lessons and transferring policy across time, space and disciplines. *Politics* 19.1, pp. 51–59.
- Stone, D. (2000). Non-governmental policy transfer: the strategies of independent policy institutes. *Governance* 13.1, pp. 45–70.
- Stone, D. (2001). *Learning lessons, policy transfer and the international diffusion of policy ideas*. University of Warwick. Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation.
- Stone, D. (2004). Transfer agents and global networks in the ‘transnationalization’ of policy. *Journal of European public policy* 11.3, pp. 545–566.
- Stone, D. (2010). Private philanthropy or policy transfer? The transnational norms of the Open Society Institute. *Policy & Politics* 38.2, pp. 269–287.

- Verschuren, P. (2003). Case study as a research strategy: some ambiguities and opportunities. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 6.2, pp. 121–139.
- Walker, J. L. (1969). The diffusion of innovations among the American states. *The American Political Science Review* 63.3, pp. 880–899.
- Wekerle, G. R. (2004). Food Justice Movements Policy, Planning, and Networks. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 23.4, pp. 378–386.
- Wengraf, T. (2001). *Qualitative research interviewing: Biographic narrative and semi-structured methods*. Sage.
- WFC (2009). *Celebrating the Belo Horizonte Food Security Programme: Future Policy Award 2009 - Solutions to the Food Crisis*. World Future Council.
- Witzel, A. (2000). The problem-centered interview. 1.1, pp. 1–9.
- Wolman, H. and Page, E. (2002). Policy transfer among local governments: An information–theory approach. *Governance* 15.4, pp. 577–501.
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Vol. 5. Sage.

**Personal Interviews:**

Barth, A. Personal Interview, January 28

Battersby, J. Personal Interview, January 18

Gerster-Bentaya, M. Personal Interview, January 21

Güssefeld, H. 2014. Personal Interview, January 15

Miszewski, K. 2013. Personal Interview, December 2

Richter, J. 2014. Personal Interview, January 30

Rocha, C. 2014. Personal Interview, January 9

Visser, S. 2013. Personal Interview, December 3

Visser, S. 2014. Personal Interview, January 22