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School of Economics and Management

Feeding the hungry or feeding dependency?

A case study of a soup kitchen in the township Masakhane, South Africa, in collaboration with Grootbos Foundation

by

Desirée Pettersson
desiree.pettersson98@gmail.com

Is food aid a catalyst for recovery following external shocks? Can it serve community development in persistently food insecure areas in the long run, or does it create a dependency trap? This research aims to provide insights into these questions by conducting a case study of a soup kitchen in the South African township Masakhane that was established as an emergency response following COVID-19. The findings suggest that perceptions upon the nature of dependency are significantly time-dependent and volatile. Even though the pandemic has barely subsided, negative attitudes relating to the dependency induced by the kitchen are already starting to permeate collective consciousness as the impact of COVID-19 is becoming increasingly normalized. Whereas communities seem happy to provide relief in acute periods they appear to be less willing to sustain welfare provision. The results also reinforce the findings of previous research on food aid relating to the importance of the design and targeting of community programs.

Key words: Dependency, food insecurity, community development, COVID-19 in townships, food-for-work programs, feeding schemes

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Introduction

1.1 Background

What causes welfare dependency? Should it be perceived as an obstacle to sustainable development, or rather as an inevitable outcome of persistent and distinctive inequalities that calls for redistributive measures with welfare-enhancing outcomes? According to Dean and Taylor-Gooby (2014) and Halvorsen (1998) human civilization is built upon complex chains of interdependence, making true independence unattainable in modern society where even the most primitive forms of survival require cooperation. Whereas yielding money through the fruits of labor is a near-universal, if not universally, accepted form of dependency, welfare reliance has significantly different contours influencing its status. This is presumably because of socially acceptable forms of dependency requiring some kind of contribution allowing a person to earn their independence, eg through the labor market. In contrast, recipients of welfare are usually thought of as non-contributors, thus not deserving of the benefits reaped (Dean and Taylor-Gooby, 2014; Fraser and Gordon, 1994). In addition to the labor market, dependency emanating from family ties, typical in the traditional breadwinner-housewife model, is also generally perceived as a socially acceptable state of dependence. However, this notion is nevertheless subject to significant regional and global variations (Aassve, Fuochi, and Mencarini, 2014; McDonald, 2013).

The ambiguity concerning the diverse perceptions and causes of dependency calls for attention as the impact of COVID-19 has depreciated the socioeconomic status of people worldwide, consequently expanding the proportion of the global population with a high dependency potential (Dean and Taylor-Gooby, 2014; Stoddard, 2021). Dependency potential is in this study defined as the need to rely on external support, be it financial or nutritional, when available. Stoddard (2021) directs attention toward Sub-Saharan Africa and claims that living standards there have been set back at least a decade following the pandemic, meaning that the world's poorest continent is even poorer today compared to one decade ago. Reconciling this harsh reality with theory is paramount and makes a case for acknowledging the three main arguments presented by Dean and Taylor-Gooby (2014) to why people enter a state of dependency. These factors are: (i) a rapid increase in long-term unemployment, (ii) an increasing tendency of people to rely on insecure or part-time employment-generating low and uncertain flows of income, and (iii) an increase in the number of one-parent families. Thus, acknowledging how patterns of poverty

influence the dependency potential of people and how all of these factors have been pronounced following the pandemic, especially in developing countries, elucidates how the implications of dependency ought to be recognized and studied through a post-pandemic[1] lens.

In light of the above, this research aims to provide a deepened understanding of welfare dependency and how it is perceived differently depending on whether it is caused by an external shock or by deep-rooted socio-economic challenges. Policy-makers and researchers alike should devise post-pandemic recovery plans based on contemporary studies advancing the knowledge of how to optimally design initiatives set out to alleviate the conditions in which most of the world's impoverished find themselves after the pandemic (CRAM, 2021). In order to contribute, this research aspires to provide relevant insights on the matter, especially in terms of dependency related to food aid, by conducting a case study of a soup kitchen in a South African township that was set up as an emergency response to the impact of COVID-19. By interviewing 21 individuals with contrasting relationships to the soup kitchen, the ambition is to realize how dependency on food aid is shaped as well as how the perceptions of external support are subject to change. Moreover, attention will be directed towards how to optimally design and target community programs by analyzing whether an increased safety-net is more prone to have welfare-enhancing outcomes or unintended adverse consequences in the long run. In sum, the goal is to realize how to maximize the utility of initiatives launched in impoverished and food insecure areas and reconcile this with the dependency debate. The ambition is to draw conclusions on how to most efficiently emancipate people from dependency traps and advance their prospects of independence.

1.2 Geographical delimitation of the study

The impact of COVID-19 in South Africa has elucidated the need to address the growing pre-pandemic dependency problem stemming from people being trapped in poverty, unemployment, and hopelessness. Whereas the socio-economic consequences of the pandemic have been felt across all income levels in society, the magnitude of the impact has nonetheless been greater among the poor, women, and people working in the informal sector (UNDP, 2020). This ought to be considered in the context of South Africa where the legacy of apartheid[2] continues to reinforce inequalities of living. In the most recent assessment by the World Bank (2022), inequalities of opportunity explain almost half, 47.7%, and race 38.9%, of overall inequality in consumption per capita, ultimately making South Africa the most unequal country in the world today with a Gini coefficient of 0.76[3].

The World Bank (2022) also emphasize how COVID-19 has disrupted the pursuit of a more equal society. This conclusion corresponds to the findings of Mbambo and Agbola (2020) who argue that the pandemic has intensified the persistent injustices following the apartheid regime. They direct attention toward the poorly planned and densely populated townships that house roughly 22 out of South Africa's 61

[1] In this study post-pandemic refers to the period after the outbreak of COVID-19

[2] The governing political system based on laws of racial segregation and discrimination that ruled South Africa up until 1994

[3] The Gini coefficient measures the income distribution across a population. It ranges between 0 and 1, where 0 is a completely equal distribution and 1 is the most unequal distribution possible

million inhabitants, where an overwhelming majority are black or colored[4] (World Population Review, 2022). Moreover, Mbambo and Agbola (2020) emphasize how in terms of health, complying with the dictates and regulations of the pandemic has essentially been an impossibility in the townships due to their poor spatial configurations, inadequate sanitation systems, the sharing of bathrooms, and insufficient transportation solutions. Thus, the humanitarian crisis during, and following, the pandemic has been particularly prominent in townships already characterized by poverty, hunger, and weak health systems, elucidating the urgency to acknowledge the controversies encompassing these informal settlements (Heggen, Sandset, and Engebretsen, 2020; Mbambo and Agbola, 2020).

Concerning the economic repercussions in South African townships, a majority of the employed people lost their jobs during the pandemic, causing a surge in the already high unemployment rate, and thereby also in the dependency ratio in these already vulnerable communities (Mbambo and Agbola, 2020; Schwabe, 2020; World Bank, 2022). The dependency ratio measures the number of dependents on the total working-age population (Hayes, 2021). In 2019, the dependency ratio already varied significantly between the races as there were 287 unemployed black people for every 100 black people that were employed, compared to 152 to 100 for white South Africans (Centre of Risk Analysis, 2020). This divergence is however likely to have increased following the pandemic. Narrowing it, as well as the gap between the rich and the poor, would require profound action to counteract the structural and deep-rooted injustices characterizing South African society. This provides background to how inequality was further exacerbated as 2.2 million employment opportunities, primarily in low-skilled sectors employing black people, were lost between February and June 2020 because of COVID-19 (Schwabe, 2020). Consequently, the pandemic has significantly increased the dependency potential of many South African communities and is in this study perceived as a natural experiment used to develop dependency theory further. Explicit information about the township examined in this case study is presented in chapter three.

1.3 Problem statement

The soup kitchen in Masakhane, which was established as an emergency response to COVID-19, has now reached its second anniversary and is currently feeding people that would not normally have been fed if it was not for the outbreak of the pandemic. Thus, the Grootbos Foundation is eager to evaluate how the impact of the kitchen has transformed over the past two years, and whether it is causing, or contributing, to an unsustainable dependency in the community. Analyzing the dependency induced by the provision of free meals is essential to determine whether it is unintentionally disincentivizing people to become independent, or if it plays a vital role for community development. Relieving people from the stress of food insecurity may increase their employment prospects, or allow them to spend more money on alcohol on drugs. Determining which one of the two is the dominant outcome is of critical importance to the future design of this particular soup kitchen and may also provide insights to the impact of other community programs targeting

[4] A multiracial ethnic group with ancestry from more than one population that was a defined legal racial classification during apartheid

food insecurity. In addition, recognizing the causes of dependency on external food assistance, and whether a state of dependency should be perceived as harmful or not, will be central to the discussion.

1.4 Research Questions

In light of the above, the following research questions have been decided upon:

Has the soup kitchen in Masakhane created, or increased, a state of dependency in the community?

If so, is dependency an impediment to sustainable development, or is it a contemporary necessity to uplift Masakhane in the long run?

In addition, the following sub-question will be addressed to provide further insights into the debate concerning food aid and dependency.

How can the soup kitchen develop to become more sustainable in the future?

1.5 Purpose of research

The purpose of this research is to understand what causes welfare dependency by using the case of the soup kitchen in Masakhane operated by the Grootbos Foundation. The inference is based on recurring answers in semi-structured interviews and patterns of confirmations, and contradictions, with current dependency theory. Thus, the results can provide insights into the prevailing dependency debate concerning its causes and perceived legitimacy, as well as the impact of food aid programs in the long run and how to optimally design these. Evaluating the implications of free food distribution and whether it is conducive, or an obstacle, to sustainable development is critical to realize how funds are most efficiently allocated and community programs most optimally designed. These findings are in turn relevant both when considering post-pandemic recovery plans and when addressing persistent food shortages.

1.6 Outline of thesis

The subsequent chapters in this paper are structured as follows. Chapter two presents relevant literature and previous research concerning dependency theory, food aid, and social security in South Africa. Chapter three provides context by introducing the setting of the case study necessary to recognize before reading about the methodology in chapter four. The results are presented in chapter five, followed by a discussion and analysis of the research questions in chapter six. Chapter seven concludes and suggests how future research could advance the results further.

2

Literature Review

2.1 Introducing dependency theory

Lentz and Barrett (2005) acknowledge how the essence of dependency is to many ambiguous to comprehend and breaks it down to simply being an individual or household that cannot meet immediate needs without external assistance, following the generalization proposed by Harvey and Lind (2005). This state is however not necessarily undesirable or harmful according to Lentz and Barrett (2005) who draws attention to households that are unable to support themselves for reasons out of their control, where a state of dependence on external assistance is likely to be welfare-enhancing when the alternative is poverty, crime or starvation. Barrett (2006) builds on this reasoning and argues that one must distinguish between different types of dependency, or more explicitly between positive and negative dependency. Positive dependency is according to Barrett (2006) and Lentz and Barrett (2005) welfare enhancing and occurs when the outcome allows individuals, or communities, to meet their basic needs when they otherwise could not. Negative dependency in contrast arises when "meeting current needs comes at the cost of reducing recipient´s capacity to meet their own basic needs in the future without external assistance" (Barrett, 2006, p. 3). This kind of dependency typically occurs when recipients alter their behavior in response to the provision of assistance, for example by not growing their own crops or pursuing opportunities in the labor market, surrendering to a state of reliance which consequently is unconducive to both personal growth and sustainable development (Barrett, 2006; Lentz and Barrett, 2005).

As mentioned, Dean and Taylor-Gooby (2014) recognizes how the dependency potential of a population is correlated with three different factors, all of them influencing a individual's, or household's, ability to generate their own income. When this ability is threatened and daily living expenses cannot be met these people are at a significant risk of entering a state of food insecurity. Food insecurity is in this study defined as when the availability of nutritionally adequate food, or the ability to acquire food in a socially acceptable way, is limited or uncertain following the definition of Radimer (2002). This definition has evolved from the concept of hunger in the 1980s which centered around food insecurity largely being a function of local food supply shocks. Today the understanding of hunger has shifted to being determined by an individual´s capacity to maintain access to sufficient nutritious food, and thereby good health (Barrett, Holden, and Clay, 2004). However, regardless of definition, food insecurity and dependence are signs of each other, where the former

is often perceived to be a legitimate reason for relying on external support, be it public, private or family.

2.1.1 The food aid debate

The causes and consequences of entering a state of dependency, particularly on support in the form of food, is central to this research paper. So is also determining whether this dependency should be perceived as harmful or not, and how to most efficiently address food insecurity in the long run. Whereas transitionary hunger associated with short-term crises is estimated to represent a relatively small share, 10-25%, of the hunger worldwide, most malnutrition arises because of chronic deprivation and vulnerability (Speth, 1993). Moreover, as of the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights, the right to adequate food is considered to be a human right (United Nations Human Rights Commission, 2010). Therefore understanding how to optimally feed the hungry across the world, both in the short-run to safeguard people against starvation, but also in the long-run by providing them with the building blocks necessary for reaching a state of food security is crucial (Barrett, 2002b; Barrett, 2001).

Mettrick (1969) traces the history of food aid back to the founding of the World Food Program (WFP) in 1961 which was the first attempt to provide food through the UN as a means of aid following natural and humanitarian catastrophes. Since then, both national and international, public and private, initiatives have been launched aiming at feeding the hungry in the world and they have been plentiful and diverse in both their design and outcomes. Almost two decades after the founding of WFP, Maxwell and Singer (1979) published a survey on the impact of food aid so far in developing countries. They bring attention to four predominant concerns with food aid from a macroeconomic perspective at the time: (i) the disincentive aspect, (ii) the dependency aspect, (iii) the inferiority aspect and (iv) the allocation aspect, where the first two corresponds to the undesirable outcomes of negative dependency. The disincentive aspect in terms of food aid encompasses the fear that it will harm the local agricultural sector in the receiving nation, partly through the increase in supply affecting the price equilibrium, but also through its effect on government policy (Abdulai, Barrett, and Hoddinott, 2005; Isenman and Singer, 1977; Maxwell and Singer, 1979). The dependency aspect in turn anticipates that food aid may inhibit self-reliance if it alters individual behavior and induces an expectancy to receive benefits with no or minimal contribution. Thirdly, the inferiority aspect relates to the point of view that food aid is an inferior form of aid as it is expensive, double-tied, irregular, bureaucratic, and sometimes even inappropriate. Lastly, the allocation aspect concerns potential special interests, be it political, economic, or military, between the donor and recipient country that may influence the flow of food (Maxwell and Singer, 1979). Out of these concerns the first two relating to negative dependency will be considered in more detail.

At a household level, the dependency aspect considers the undesirable outcome that food aid reduces the local labor supply in the agricultural sector, discourages investments in agriculture, and crowds out private transfers in the receiving area (Abdulai, Barrett, and Hoddinott, 2005). These adverse outcomes are in turn intrinsically linked to to the disincentive effect of food aid that was first presented by Schultz (1960). This phenomena has since then been subject to scrutiny by Isenman

and Singer (1979), Maxwell and Singer (1979), and Farzin (1991) to name a few. They describe the logic behind the disincentive effect to be the fear that food aid will increase food supply faster than it will stimulate demand, ultimately interfering with the price equilibrium of the market. This alteration in market forces will consequently cause a drop in the market price of food which may disincentivize the recipient country´s producers and traders to supply labor, invest in new technologies, and increase their production efficiency. At the time of Maxwell and Singer (1979) and Isenman and Singer (1977), the dependency and disincentive effects were the most treated topics in the developmental food aid literature, especially between the early 1970s and the mid-1980s. During this period food production per capita declined in Sub-Saharan Africa while food aid flows increased nearly fivefold, causing widespread concern among donors and policymakers that it was the food aid causing the decline in Sub-Saharan agricultural productivity (Abdulai, Barrett, and Hoddinott, 2005).

In the mid-2000s, the negative claims about food aid were still a contemporary truth in much of development economics (Abdulai, Barrett, and Hoddinott, 2005; Del Ninno, Dorosh, and Subbarao, 2007). However, according to Abdulai, Barrett, and Hoddinott (2005), Isenman and Singer (1977), and Lentz and Barrett (2005), there was no reliable empirical evidence that confirmed these adverse outcomes. Lentz and Barrett (2005) emphasize how an overwhelming majority of the research at the time in favor of the disincentive and dependency effect had been based on case studies and anecdotes, and that there was a lack of empirical evidence able to back up these allegations. This void was in turn addressed by Abdulai, Barrett, and Hoddinott (2005) who used household survey data from Ethiopia to examine the impact of food aid at the micro-level, and national production data to measure the macroeconomic impact. Their findings indicate that in the absence of necessary context-specific variables, and when solely considering simple descriptive statistics and simplistic regression models, there indeed seemed to be evidence for the disincentive effect hypothesis. However, when including relevant control variables and using more advanced econometric models they find no statistically significant results in favor of either the disincentive or dependency effects on either a micro-or macrolevel. Moreover, not only does their study disprove previous findings, their statistically significant variables also suggest that food aid has led to increases in the labor supply to the agricultural sector, wage work, and new business activities with an overall positive impact on the economy and human capital development. These findings have in turn paved way for new and improved research, and a broader perspective of food aid (Barrett, 2006; Barrett, Holden, and Clay, 2004; Del Ninno, Dorosh, and Subbarao, 2007).

2.1.2 Breaking the dependency on food aid

Getting the targeting right

The issue of targeting is according to Barrett (2002a, p. 1) "essential if food aid is to succeed in its core mission to contribute to human development by providing temporary relief of food insecurity among poor people in the world". The targeting of food aid concerns several aspects including who, when, where, what, and how is the food most efficiently allocated to make sure that it reaches the people with a genuine need for it at the right time and place, and in its most appropriate form. According to

Barrett (2002a) and Barrett (2006), getting the targeting right is crucial for two main reasons. Firstly, because food is a basic human need. People lacking this critical resource for a longer period are consequently more prone to suffer from irreversible health effects and diseases stemming from malnutrition. Therefore, making sure that food reaches beneficiaries that would otherwise suffer from starvation lies at the essence of successful food aid. The second reason is to challenge the negative perspectives surrounding food aid, and understand how the design of it can influence the outcome and foster incentive, rather than disincentive, effects (Barrett, 2002a; Barrett, 2006; Lentz and Barrett, 2005).

One major obstacle to getting the targeting right and maximizing the efficiency of food aid is the inherent trade-off between errors of inclusion (providing aid to the non-needy) and errors of exclusion (failure to reach the needy) both at the micro and macro level (Barrett, 2002b; Barrett and Maxwell, 2007; Clay, Molla, and Habtewold, 1999; Lentz, Barrett, and Hoddinott, 2005). According to these authors, all transfer programs are prone to suffer from some degree of targeting errors for two simple reasons. Firstly, because it is costly to collect and process information and secondly because actual distribution of aid is generally determined by multiple factors where objective need is only one of them. This reasoning corresponds to the case study findings of Clay, Molla, and Habtewold (1999) who identify high errors of both inclusion and exclusion at a household level in Ethiopia, ultimately concluding that there was no significant association between genuine need and actual supply at the time.

Barrett (2002a) provides a possible explanation for these kind of mismatches by arguing that food in particular is difficult to target since it requires imperfect indicators to identify people with a genuine need for it. Therefore, a program with no targeting errors is practically infeasible, implying that the difficult tradeoff between wasteful and distortionary errors of inclusion and potentially damaging errors of exclusion is difficult to eliminate. However, the results of Barrett (2002a), Lentz and Barrett (2005), and Lentz, Barrett, and Hoddinott (2005) indicate that self-targeting food-for-work (FFW) programs or indicator-targeted free food distribution initiatives in general are the most effective approaches in reaching the poor. Therefore the design and implementation phases of food aid programs are still crucial to consider to minimize targeting errors and maximize efficiency.

Food-for-work programs

By mimicking the give-and-take mechanisms of the labor market, FFW programs can essentially be seen as workfare with a specific form of payment: food (Barrett, Holden, and Clay, 2004; Maxwell, Belshaw, and Lirenso, 1994). These programs seek to accomplish three main objectives: (i) provide recipients with at least a minimum quantity of nutritious food necessary to maintain good health, (ii) require work in exchange for the food offered, and (iii) decentralize the targeting of beneficiaries through the self-targeting feature of FFW programs that reduces administrative targeting expenses. Thus, this design of aid can ultimately be recognized as a threefold attempt to address food insecurity, counteract the expectancy to get things for free, and activate the unemployed (Barrett, Holden, and Clay, 2004).

FFW programs started to become increasingly popular in the 1990s, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, as they were acknowledged for their capacity to effectively reach the poor with a reliable safety net (Devereux, 1999). Proponents highlight

how FFW programs facilitate savings, creates new employment opportunities, and reduces the vulnerability and food insecurity of the poor, all while simultaneously investing in the production and maintenance of valuable public goods (Barrett, Holden, and Clay, 2004; Bezuneh, Deaton, and Norton, 1988; Maxwell, Belshaw, and Lirenso, 1994). Opponents on the other hand argue that they distort local labor markets by attracting workers away from the vital agricultural sector and reduces the incentive to diversify or intensify the local economy (Maxwell, Belshaw, and Lirenso, 1994; Stevens, 1979; McCann, 1987). This is especially a concern if the wages offered in the FFW schemes are at, or above, the prevailing market wage rate (Abdulai, Barrett, and Hoddinott, 2005; Maxwell, Belshaw, and Lirenso, 1994).

According to Abdulai, Barrett, and Hoddinott (2005) and Barrett, Holden, and Clay (2004), determining the success of FFW programs requires asking two questions. One applies to the short term and the essence of it is whether FFW is an effective mechanism for emergency relief, alleviating starvation where it is most needed in time. The second one relates to their long-run impact and if FFW programs are an effective instrument for improving livelihoods, either by accelerating recovery from shocks or by fostering reliable income growth (Barrett, Holden, and Clay, 2004). Although the empirical evidence of the success of FFW programs is mixed, Barrett, Holden, and Clay (2004) suggest that FFW programs in general are most effective as a short-term insurance against shocks. However, if carefully designed they have the potential to foster sustainable development in the long run. Moreover, the short-term efficacy greatly depends on the targeting and timing of the program (Barrett, Holden, and Clay, 2004; Barrett and Maxwell, 2007; Devereux, 1999). In terms of targeting, FFW programs are most appropriate in persistently food deficit areas that are poorly integrated into commercial food markets, or in areas with relatively low rates of chronic diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, or injuries, such as in warzones, as it requires able-bodied workers to be effective. In addition to these geographic considerations, community targeting, taking context-specific variables into account, is also desirable as it can further reduce targeting errors and and maximize efficiency (Barrett, Holden, and Clay, 2004; Lentz and Barrett, 2005).

2.2 The dependency potential of South Africa

2.2.1 The distribution of social grants

In South Africa, the redistribution aspect of social security, in particular the issuing of social grants, is a key dimension of individual and social well-being, reflecting the political ambition to reduce the country´s stark inequalities (Woolard, Harttgen, and Klasen, 2011). The logic behind this kind of social spending is that it will enhance the productivity and human capital of the poor through indirect investments in their education, health, and nutrition (Mabugu and Chitiga-Mabugu, 2022). Nonetheless, there is also a prominent fear that social grants feed a negative dependency and an unsustainable mindset of expecting things for free, undermining people´s incentives to work, save, or invest, making this a controversial topic (Dean and Taylor-Gooby, 2014; Woolard, Harttgen, and Klasen, 2011; Lentz and Barrett, 2005). Woolard, Harttgen, and Klasen (2011) highlights three commonly raised concerns with social grants in Sub-Saharan Africa: (i) a reduction in labor force participation, (ii) the crowding out of public infrastructure investments, and (iii)

the absence of a strong political commitment and fair redistribution policies necessary to accomplish the redistributive purpose of the grants. Thus, the debate on the fundamental impact of social grants is torn between the distinction between negative and positive dependency, and how different context-specific factors are prone to alter the outcome (Dean and Taylor-Gooby, 2014; Woolard, Harttgen, and Klasen, 2011; Fraser and Gordon, 1994)

Before the pandemic, 17 million South Africans relied on social grants for their household income and food security (Wanga Zembe-Mkabile, 2020). However, as the economic impact of the pandemic became increasingly perceptible, the South African government introduced a new monthly grant of 350 ZAR [1], increasing the number of beneficiaries significantly. This grant is denoted the Social Relief of Distress (SRD) grant and is designed for unemployed people above the age of 18, not receiving any other kind of income or social grants, as a response to the elevated poverty and expanding unemployment levels following the pandemic (Atkins, 2022). It was first introduced in April 2020 and presented to serve as a temporary relief, but as of August 2021, the South African government announced that they will extend it to the 31st of March 2023 (Department of Social Development, 2022). Table 2.1 summarizes the different grants issued by the South African government.

Table 2.1: Social grants issued by the South African government

Type of grant	**Amount per month**	**Essential eligibility**
Old pension grant	Max R 1890	Age 60+
Child support grant	R460 per child	Age 16+, primary caregiver
Social Relief of Distress	R350	Unable to fulfill basic needs
Care dependency grant	R1 890	Caregiver of disabled child
Grant in aid	R460	Grant to caregiver of disabled person
War veterans grant	R 1910	Fought in WW2 or Korean War
Foster child grant	R1 050	Primary caretaker of foster child
Disability grant	Max R1 890	Physically or mentally unable to work

[Notes] 100 ZAR is equivalent to approximately 6.64 USD or 62.8 SEK as of April 2022.
Source: South African Government (2021).

Table 2.2 in turn provides insight into why the number of social grant recipients with a genuine need for external support has increased following COVID-19.

[1] 350 ZAR is equivalent to approximately 25 USD

Table 2.2: Statistics illustrating the impact of COVID-19

Focus Area	Findings
Food insecurity	1 in 7 households reported a child going hungry at least once in the past week
Food insecurity	10 million people and 3 million children were in a household affected by hunger in the past week
Food insecurity	400 000 children and 1.8 million household members lived in households affected by perpetual hunger
Employment	2.2 million people (13% of the workforce) lost their jobs in Q2 of 2020
Employment	In Q1 2021, the national unemployment rate hit 43.2%, the highest in recorded South African history
Education	500 000 children dropped out of school during the pandemic
Education	The highest dropout rates are found among the poorest households in rural areas

[Notes] Key findings of CRAM concerning the impact of COVID-19 in South Africa. Source: CRAM (2021).

2.2.2 Evaluating the impact of social grants

Shedding light on the fiscal and social sustainability of the prevailing social security system in South Africa is necessary to determine if contemporary funds are optimally allocated. According to the research of Mabugu and Chitiga-Mabugu (2022), the commonly raised concerns relating to the overarching sustainability of the country´s social welfare system is at this stage largely unfounded. This is in line with the reasoning of Nishimwe-niyimbanira, Ngwenya, and Niyimbanira (2021) who finds that nearly a third of recipient households would go without income if it was not for the social grant support, ultimately alleviating poverty by almost a quarter in terms of the South African lower-bound poverty line in 2019. Similarly, the World Bank (2021) emphasize how cash transfers in general are effective in uplifting the poor through their positive impact on food security, labor supply, educational attainment, and health. All in all, a large group of academics lend support to the conclusions of Mabugu and Chitiga-Mabugu (2022) that negative attitudes towards social grants are overstated and that they have a significant social value in terms of combating poverty and inequality in South Africa. This would also suggest that a positive, rather than a negative, dependency is primarily induced by providing financial support to the most vulnerable groups in society.

Nonetheless, despite the social progress, there is no escaping that any fiscal system must manage the trade-off between fiscal and political sustainability in times of need (Hailu and Soares, 2008; Mabugu and Chitiga-Mabugu, 2022). During the first iteration of the SRD grant, almost ten million people applied for it, and six million people were approved (Department of Social Development, 2022). The economic bill of this first round of the SRD grants amounted to 24 billion ZAR (approximately 1.6 billion USD). In addition to this, 15 billion ZAR more (approximately 997 million USD) was spent on the top-ups on all traditional grants issued to all people depending on grants before the pandemic and therefore not eligible to apply for the SRD grant (Department of Social Development, 2022). Consequently, the pressure increased on the already strained government budget. In 2021, South Africa´s social assistance system accounted for 3.3% of the country´s GDP and 15.4% of total

government spending (World Bank, 2021). This is significantly higher compared to the average of other upper-middle income countries, revealing how South Africa´s magnitude of social grant distribution is not a standardized phenomenon (World Bank, 2021).

3

The setting of the study

This chapter presents relevant information, collected through the interviews in the study, about the township Masakhane and the establishment of the soup kitchen that is necessary to consider prior to interpreting the methodology chapter and the results.

3.1 Masakhane

Masakhane is a township located roughly two hours south of Cape Town in South Africa. It is thereby a part of the Western Cape province and more explicitly of the Overstrand Local Municipality that encompasses an area of roughly 1 700 km^2(The Local Government Handbook: South Africa, 2021). The Overstrand Local Municipality is the closest rule of law and provides the area with basic services such as water, electricity, and waste management. Higher-order development initiatives, such as job creation and educational opportunities, is in contrast primarily matters of the provincial and national government.

According to the most recent national census from 2011 Masakhane is home to 16 000 people. However, the issue of outdated statistics is currently being addressed and there is an ongoing national census that will be released later this year. The general perception nonetheless is that the township is currently home to at least 20 000 people. A clear majority of Masakhane's inhabitants are black and next to it lies Blompark which is the township home to most of the colored people in the area. This is a legacy of the apartheid regime where black and colored were perceived to be two distinct races that should not mix. Masakhane and Blompark are in turn both located on the outskirts of the town center of Gansbaai, predominately inhabited by white South Africans. The red outline in figure 3.1 marks the Overstrand region and the red dot represents Masakhane.

The most recent socioeconomic profile of the Overstrand region was published in 2017 and table 3.1 presents some key figures from it. However, two things are important to note before interpreting these numbers. Firstly, the table reveals the average of the Overstrand region that has a Gini coefficient of 0.62, which is relatively high[1](World Bank, 2019). This measure therefore suggests that a township like Masakhane is most likely worse off compared to the average. Secondly, some of the statistics are more than ten years old and findings from the 2011 national census.

[1]Compare to Sweden´s Gini coefficient of 29.30 in 2019

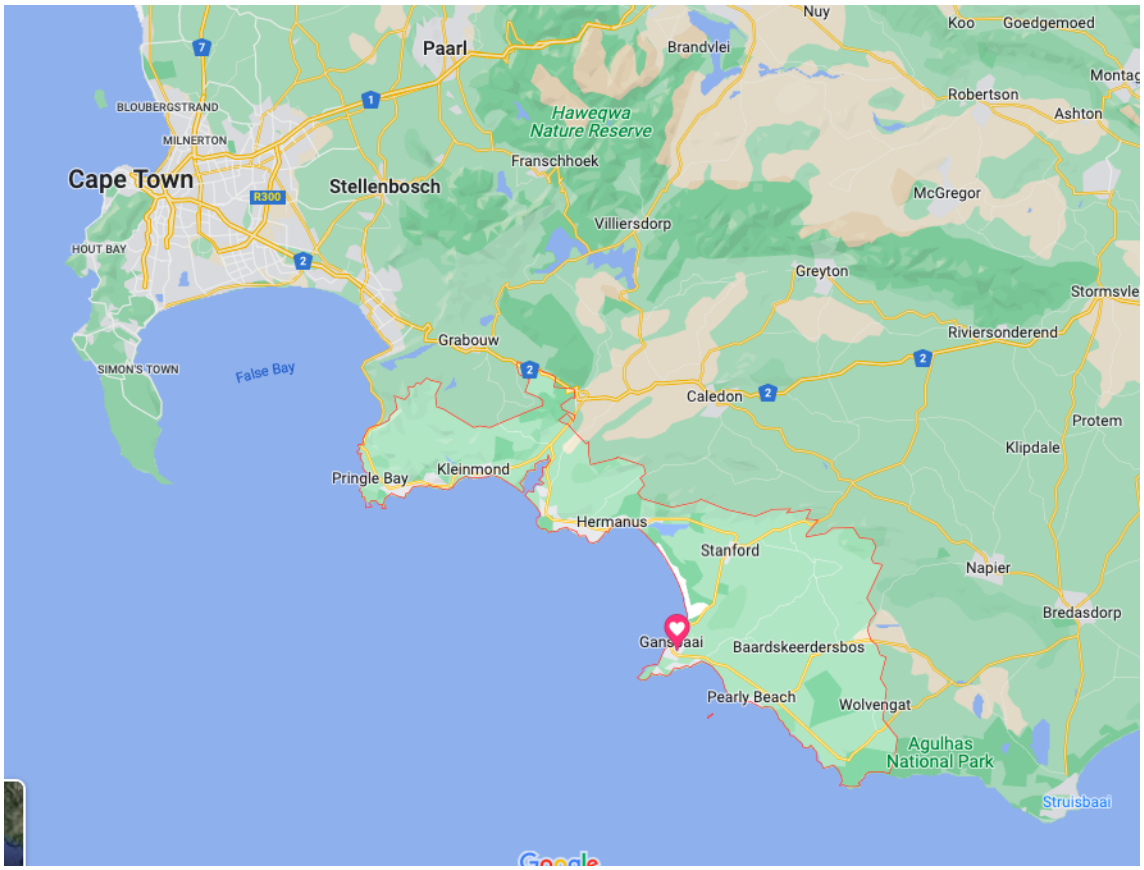

Figure 3.1: Location of Masakhane. Source: Google Maps (2022).

Table 3.1: Figures from the socioeconomic profile of the Overstrand region in 2017

Indicator	Number
Demographics	
Population	91 190
Households	35 739
Education	
Matric pass rate	90.9%
Learner-teacher ratio	37.6
Grade 12 Drop-out ratio	40.6%
Poverty	
Gini coefficient	0.62
Human development index	0.74
Access to basic services	
Water	99.1%
Waste removal	94.0%
Electricity	96.9%
Sanitation	99.2%
Housing	79.1%

[Notes] In South Africa, matric is the final year of high school, and the qualification received when graduating from high school.
Source: Western Cape Government (2017).

In terms of employment, the fishing industry is, and has historically been, the biggest employer in the area, followed by the tourism industry and the hospitality sector. Besides these formal jobs, a significant proportion of the employed people

in Masakhane rely on informal work opportunities for daily, weekly, or at best seasonal wages but lack any permanent contract securing their employment situation.[2] Nonetheless, both the formal and informal workers constitute a vital support-net for all of the unemployed people in the community.

According to the Western Cape Government (2017) the unemployment rate in the Overstrand region was 19% in 2017.[3] This is an indication of a relatively high dependency ratio already before the pandemic, explaining why many families relied on social grants to manage their daily living expenses. However, table 3.2 reveals how COVID-19 exacerbated this social challenge by presenting how the unemployment rate developed during the pandemic, both in national terms and in the Western Cape province. While an explicit number for the unemployment rate or dependency ratio in Masakhane is not to be found, current estimates of the dependency ratio, outspoken in the interviews, range from between one employed person to six or eight unemployed people per employed person. This ought to be compared to the past and future estimates of the dependency ratio in the entire Overstrand region before the pandemic, in 2017, which are demonstrated in table 3.3.

Table 3.2: Unemployment rates in the Western Cape and in South Africa as a whole

Period	Official unemployment rate	Expanded unemployment
WC: Jul-Sep 2020	21,6%	29,1%
SA: Jul-Sep 2020	30,8%	43,1%
WC: Apr-Jun 2021	25,8%	29,1%
SA: Apr-Jun 2021	34,4%	44,4%
WC: Jul-Sep 2021	26,3%	30,3%
SA: Jul-Sep 2021	34,9%	46,6%

[Notes] WC is short for Western Cape, SA is short for South Africa. The expanded unemployment rate considers all people that are not economically active. The official rate only considers unemployed people that are actively looking for a job into account. Source: Business Tech (2021).

Table 3.3: Estimates of age cohorts and dependency ratio in Overstrand

Year	Children (0-14)	Working-age (15-65)	Aged 65+	Dependency ratio
2011	17 273	52 803	10 357	52.3
2018	20 410	58 253	12 527	56.5
2023	21 466	63 234	13 365	55.1

[Notes] The dependency ratio measures the number of dependents aged zero to 14 and 65+, compared to the total population aged 15 to 64. Source: Western Cape Government (2017)

Moreover, besides unemployment being intrinsically correlated to poverty and the number of people in need of external support, it is also conducive to several other adverse ripple effects, such as increased alcohol and drug abuse, higher crime rates, and social mistrust. If rising unemployment levels accrue to a particular group of people or geographical area, it is also prone to intensify inequality. These

[2]It is very common for young men from Masakhane to stand at the major cross-road, holding signs informing about their skills, whether it be plumbing, mechanics, construction, or another hard skill, with the ambition to be picked up by someone and work a couple of hours, or days, for them at their house to earn some money

[3]Compare to Sweden´s unemployment rate of 8.3% in January 2022 (SCB, 2022)

interrelationships are real for any community according to Zhao, Feng, and Castillo-Chavez (2014), Demombynes and Özler (2005), Khan, Murray, and Barnes (2002), and Jones-Webb et al. (1997) and have further been verified in particular for South African townships by Mbambo and Agbola (2020), The Lancet (2020), and Theron, Levine, and Ungar (2021), lending support to these interrelationships being pronounced in Masakhane as well.

3.2 The Grootbos Foundation

The Grootbos Foundation was established in 2003 and has been an important community stakeholder in Masakhane and the local community since. Their work is best described by three different core operations. One is the Siyakhula projects that include initiatives such as early childhood development (ECDs), entrepreneurship programs, and community farming. Another one is the football foundation promoting sports development among the youth. Lastly, the foundation offers tertiary education in topics such as biodiversity, conservation, and eco-tourism through the Green Futures programs and courses. The Green Futures educational initiatives have been an essential part of the Grootbos Foundation´s work since its establishment in 2003 and aim to equip local students with the skills and confidence necessary to become employable in the field of conservation and biodiversity.

Pre-COVID, the foundation reached on average 12 000 beneficiaries annually. However, during the worst waves of the pandemic, this number dropped as physical interaction was prohibited, preventing the operations of the programs. Nonetheless, the foundation´s impact was sustained and deepened through the establishment of the soup kitchen and the food security team. By providing support when most needed and relieving people from the stress of starvation, the foundation proved its commitment to uplifting the community and supporting those in need in Masakhane. Currently, the overall number of beneficiaries is increasing again as the old programs have been relaunched and are running parallel to the soup kitchen.

3.3 The soup kitchen

On the 23rd of March 2020, South Africa's president Cyril Ramaphosa announced that a national lockdown would be imposed on the 27th of March 2020 for three weeks to prevent the spread of COVID-19 (UNDP, 2020). The municipality´s initial response to the new dictates and regulations of the pandemic was to ask the public for help with donating and distributing food parcels to families in need. However, as it became evident that this initiative was insufficient to meet the large number of food-insecure people, the municipality consequently set up eight different soup kitchens in their governing area, where the one in Masakhane was established through a partnership with the Grootbos Foundation.

In terms of running the kitchen, the municipality mainly oversaw the logistical arrangements concerning the provision of foodstuff and supplies, whereas all of the jobs on the ground were managed by the foundation. Staff members of the foundation and members of the community ultimately composed the bulk of the volunteers working with the kitchen, and the municipality withdrew from operations already at the end of 2020 due to financial restrictions. Since then the kitchen has entirely

been a Grootbos Foundation initiative. Initially, the kitchen operated seven days a week during the first wave of the pandemic. It has since then successively been reduced to six days a week, and then five days a week in the middle of 2021. At the end of 2021, the feeding decreased further to three days a week, which is the current state of the kitchen.

4

Methodology

This chapter presents the motivation behind the chosen research approach, the data collection procedure, and the ethical considerations of this case study.

4.1 Qualitative research

Creswell and Creswell (2017) write how a qualitative research approach is the default procedure when undertaking a case study since it requires observations and in-depth understanding of a particular situation or phenomena. This is in line with Rashid et al. (2019) who write how a qualitative case study allows the researcher to consider, highlight and make use of context-specific factors, rather than being bound by general assumptions and theories as in the quantitative approach. Although different aspects of food insecurity, the theory behind dependency, and the impact of COVID-19 on different socioeconomic groups have been subject to previous research, a qualitative case study approach is nonetheless the optimal methodology to evaluate the impact of this particular soup kitchen and use it to answer the research questions.

4.2 Data collection

The primary source of data is collected through the performance of one-on-one semi-structured interviews on-site. In addition, general observations, casual conversations, and interactions with people involved with the daily operations of the soup kitchen have added significant value to the results. Consequently, the role of the researcher is central in the study which is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

4.2.1 Setting and time frame

Data collection primarily took place in the township of Masakhane, and more specifically at the Masakhane Hub which is the location of the soup kitchen, a classroom, and a community garden. This is the home of the food security team of the Grootbos Foundation, and also where the current beneficiaries come and collect food. Seventeen out of the twenty-one participants were interviewed at the Masakhane hub, and the rest at the office at the Grootbos Foundation or at the municipality office.

The time frame of the research was four months where three months were spent on-site in Masakhane and the final month in Lund, Sweden. See figure 4.1. During the time spent in South Africa, the researcher undertook a multitude of tasks but primarily allocated time towards planning and structuring the research, conducting the interviews, coding the findings, and producing preliminary results.

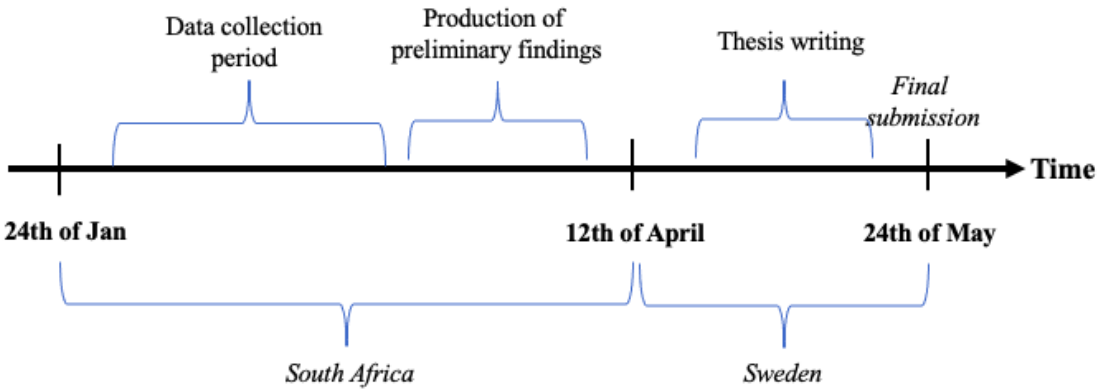

Figure 4.1: Timeline of research. Source: Author's illustration.

4.2.2 Participants in the study

As stated above, the predominant source of data is the performance of open-ended semi-structured one-on-one interviews. One-on-one interviews, rather than focal groups, were considered to be the appropriate approach to encourage every participant to share as much as possible of their opinion instead of risking having their answers influenced by others. In total, twenty-one individuals participated in the study. These people were selected in collaboration with the food security team and the head of operations of the Grootbos Foundation. This was seen as the most appropriate mode of selection for two primary reasons. For one, the foundation had a personal interest in producing a reliable and useful study of value to them. During meetings, they expressed an eagerness to include as many different perspectives as possible to limit the bias of the study. Secondly, the foundation has a well-established network and is a respected stakeholder in the community which facilitated the arrangement of meetings with both municipality workers and community members. All people asked to participate in the study happily agreed.

Before identifying the individuals of interest, four different participant groups were decided upon. The purpose of establishing these groups was to recognize different kinds of people that have, or have had, different relationships with the kitchen to limit the bias of the study and to capture as many relevant experiences of it as possible. A description of the groups are summarized below.

Group GF

Group GF refers to staff members of the Grootbos Foundation. A total of six people have been interviewed from this group, all being particularly involved with the past and current operations of the soup kitchen. These interviews are considered

to be highly relevant to the understanding of the evolution of the soup kitchen, the experiences of running it, and the perceived demand in the community for it. Moreover, in-depth descriptions of Masakhane, its community members, and the socio-economic situation of the area have emerged from these interviews. The selection of individuals was well thought-through to balance gender, and include as many different roles and responsibilities as possible.

Group VOL

Group VOL encompasses three individuals who volunteered in the soup kitchen during the lockdown. Their experiences are considered to be valuable since they do not own the project in the same way as the Grootbos staff, and are therefore more able to take an outside perspective on it. Moreover, their reason for volunteering is interesting to consider as well as their views on the current impact of the kitchen, two years later after their initial engagement.

Group OSM

Group OSM refers to four individuals working at the Overstrand Local Municipality in different roles. These participants provide insights into the local government's response to the rising food insecurity in Masakhane following the pandemic, and how to best address it in the future. Moreover, collecting the public view on food aid programs adds an additional and highly relevant dimension to the perception and experiences of a private actor like the Grootbos Foundation.

Group CM

Group CM consists of community members that still come to the kitchen for food, here on referred to as beneficiaries. These individuals have not been as thoroughly selected as the individuals in the other groups. Instead, they were asked when standing in the queue in the kitchen if they would like to participate in a study. This group is of great importance as their reasons for coming to the kitchen and their thoughts about the future are central to the research questions. While the other groups represent the supply side and a privileged position, this group represents the demand side and can provide insights into why there is a need for a soup kitchen and how this need can be most efficiently addressed. In total eight beneficiaries were interviewed, and for all of these interviews a translator was necessary.

Table 4.1 provides an overview of all interviewees and some of their key characteristics. The name of the interview ID reveals the sex of the individual. In the results section, these individuals will be referred to as the participants or the interviewees. The individuals in group CM may also be denoted as beneficiaries as previously stated.

Table 4.1: Overview of participants

ID	Age	Group	Occupation	Years
Anna	29	GF	Project Manager	4
Bella	43	GF	Head of operations	7
Charlie	48	GF	Community worker	30
Daisy	33	GF	Chef	14
Ella	46	GF	Food security team	12
Felix	30	GF	Food security team	5
Grace	33	VOL	Domestic worker	22
Harry	35	VOL	Pastor and community leader	4
Ian	32	VOL	Nature guide	8
John	44	OSM	Ward committee	20
Karl	47	OSM	Counselor and community leader	24
Luke	64	OSM	Area manager	24
Michaela	67	OSM	Counselor	12x
Nicole	50	CM	Unemployed	25
Olivia	35	CM	Unemployed	6
Peter	28	CM	Unemployed	3
Quinn	52	CM	Unemployed	30
Ryan	61	CM	Unemployed	25
Sam	59	CM	Unemployed	5
Teresa	39	CM	Unemployed	22
Una	48	CM	Unemployed	2

[Notes] Years refers to the number of years spent in Masakhane. Fictive names were added to preserve the participant's anonymity.

Adding on to the information provided in table 4.1, table 4.2 provides relevant descriptive statistics for the listed variables. Figure 4.2 in turn reveals the size of each group relative to the total, while figures 4.3 and 4.4 illustrate explicit information related to age and sex.

Table 4.2: Descriptive statistics of participants

Variable	Mean	Standard error	Standard deviation	Min	Max
Age	44	2.59	11. 86	28	67
Time spent in Masakhane	15.81	2.48	11.36	2	43
Sex	0.48	0.11	0.51	0	1
Employment status	0.67	0,11	0.48	0	1

[Notes] Value calculated by the author using the sample described in subsection 4.2.2. Sex is coded as 0 for females and 1 for men. Employment status is coded 0 for unemployed and 1 for employed.

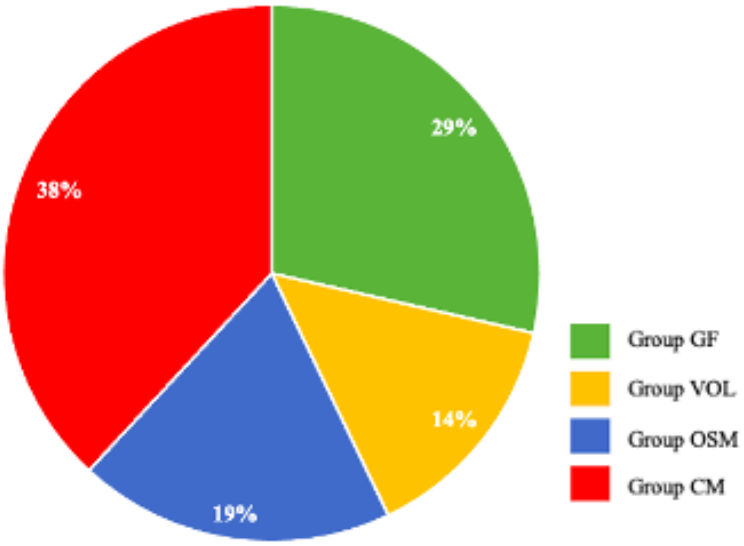

Figure 4.2: Share of participants in each group. Source: Author's calculation

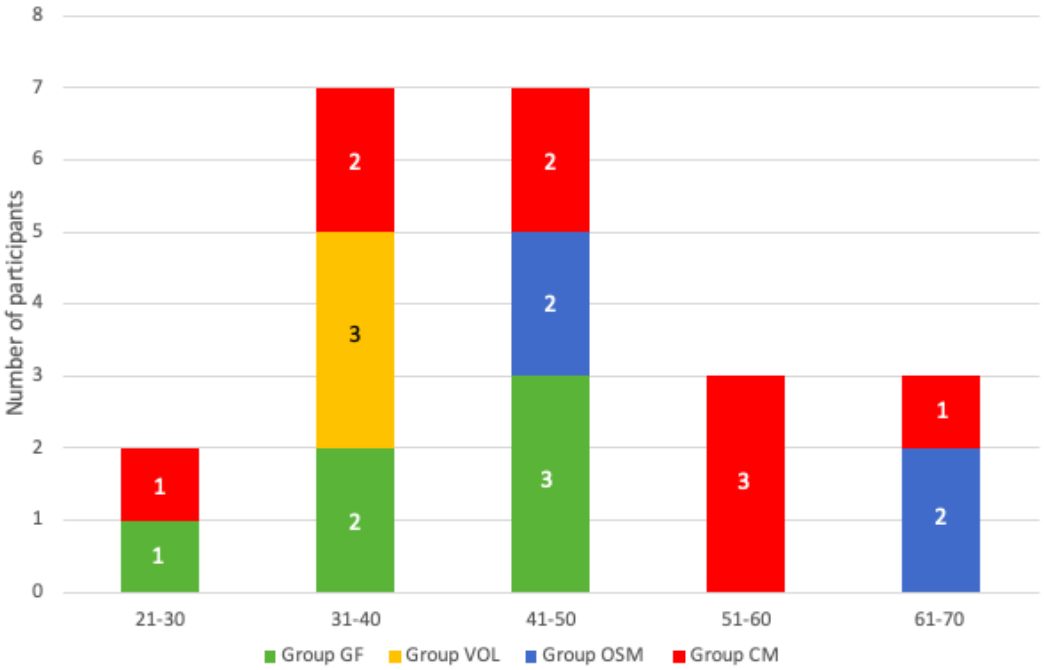

Figure 4.3: Age composition in each participant group. Source: Author's calculation

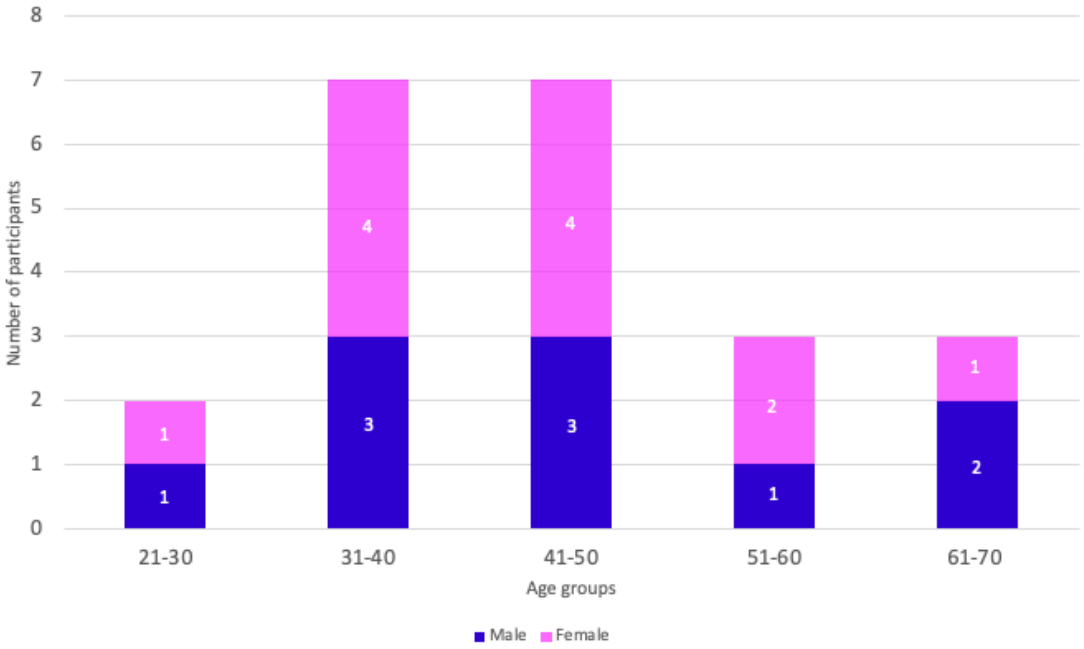

Figure 4.4: Sex composition per age group. Source: Author's calculation

4.2.3 Conducting the interviews

Preceding the interviews the purpose of the study was introduced to the participants and all questions concerning it were answered. The participants were also informed about their rights in the study and that it would be completely anonymous to participate. Moreover, they were told to consider the interview to be more of a conversation rather than an interrogation. This was done by emphasizing that there were no right or wrong answers and that they should feel free to openly share their personal experiences and include tangents besides answering the questions asked.

The next step was to inform the interviewees that the conversation would be recorded by a mobile device and transcribed following the interview, and once again reassure them of their anonymity. After the participants had agreed to this procedure they were asked to sign a consent form that listed all of their rights in script, and asked them to write their name, age, signature, and date. All participants agreed and signed the form.[1]

Subsequently, the interview took place. Each interview session was guided by an interview protocol designed by the researcher in collaboration with the food security team at the foundation. The questions were designed to make the participants feel comfortable, and encourage them to share as much as possible related to the topic. Moreover, since the ambition of the interviews was to mimic the feeling of a conversation the protocols were not strictly followed. Therefore, instead of asking all the questions in the same order and in the same way, the researcher prioritized capturing all relevant themes and answers by guiding the participants onto the predetermined questions and topics in a casual way. Nonetheless, a majority of the participants were ultimately asked the same questions to determine if and why different individuals confirm or contradict each other. The interview protocols for

[1]See Appendix A for the full consent form

the different groups can be found in appendices B, C, D, and E.

Whereas the interviews with groups GF, VOL, and OSM took between 45-and 60 minutes, the sessions with group CM were relatively shorter and lasted for about 15-25 minutes. These discrepancies concerning the length of the interviews are perceived to be a result of how comfortable the participant was and whether a language barrier was present or not. Other times, the length was influenced by the participant´s schedule and free time. See Table F.1 in Appendix F for the length of each interview.

4.3 Coding

Following the interviews, the software Otter.ai was used to automatically transcribe the audio recordings online. The transcriptions of the interviews were then used as the primary source of data when coding the results. Coding in this study refers to the identification of recurrent experiences and opinions from the interviews, as well as the recognition of how and why certain answers differed between different groups or individuals. This was done using Excel and by creating multiple sheets providing structure to different aspects of the data including background information of all participants, interesting quotes, and individual experiences and thoughts relating to the research questions. After structuring the data in this way the key findings relating to the research questions were identified and preliminary results were produced.

4.4 Ethical considerations

Several ethical considerations ought to be acknowledged in any interview-based study and Creswell and Creswell (2017) highlight how it involves respecting the norms and values of the participants, as well as disrupting daily living at the site as little as possible. Moreover, they emphasize that it is of great importance to make sure that the participants do not feel used, even though they are the data points of the research and ought to be "used" in the frame of the study. However, the prevalence of the reverse relationship, referring to a situation when the interviewees use the researcher, must also be acknowledged since it might be the case that they have their own agenda and perceive the researcher as a spokesperson to their cause. These contrasting asymmetries in power, or knowledge, is studied by Jacobsson and Åkerström (2013). They elaborate on the causes and implications of "failed interviews" where they direct attention toward how the dynamics in an interview knowingly, and unknowingly, is prone to influence its outcome.

4.4.1 Reflexivity of the researcher

Commenting on reflexivity is according to Creswell and Creswell (2017) another important part of conducting a qualitative case study, and requires the inclusion of two important points. The first one is elaborating on past experiences, if any, with the research topic or with the participants on-site, to shed light on possible previous connections. In this case, the researcher had no previous relationships with either the Grootbos Foundation, Masakhane, or South Africa as a whole for

that matter. Instead, the connection was established through an out-reach online by the researcher to the head of operations at the Grootbos Foundation explaining the motivation behind the ambition to write a research paper with them. This motivation in turn originated from the personal interests of the researcher and the scope of a bachelor thesis.

The second point encompasses how past and personal experiences may shape the interpretations of the researcher (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). The researcher's personal characteristics and background such as country of origin, sex and socioeconomic status, as well as cultural values and norms, all influence the interpretation and understanding of the data collected to a certain extent. Moreover, the presence of a privileged foreigner in a community where a proportion of the population lacks subsistence needs inevitably induces a bias and a risk of hostility or confusion among the community members, especially prior to explaining the purpose of the research. In addition, investigating food insecurity and dependency can be considered sensitive topics as it deals with an individual's sense of worth and independence. This may be further exacerbated by the distinct realities of the researcher and the participants, increasing the likelihood of ignorance, innocence, or an inability of the researcher to comprehend the underlying causes of certain behaviors or mentalities on site. However, taken together, the researcher was well aware of these ethical considerations and was sure to take them into account throughout the study and when producing the results.

4.4.2 Language bias

When interacting and interviewing people from the community, group CM, a translator was present to bridge the language gap. The majority of the people in Masakhane speak either Xhosa or Afrikaans which are both unfamiliar to the researcher. Although some of the community members understand English, many do not feel comfortable speaking it. In the interviews where a language gap was present, an employee from the Grootbos Foundation undertook the translator role. In these interviews, the translator was ultimately in charge of explaining the purpose of the study, and the rights of participation, as well as asking the questions and translating them back to English. In addition, some of the beneficiaries were illiterate and therefore also needed assistance with signing the consent form.

Although the overall success of the translation was high, and both parties were able to understand each other, the presence of a translator inevitably induces a language and interpretation bias. This bias comes from the translator rephrasing both the question asked in English and the answers spoken in another language. In addition, since the translator is a staff member of the foundation it could potentially infuse a degree of personal bias and a special interest in the outcome of the study. Moreover, the presence of a translator also reduces anonymity by one person However, the people chosen to translate are considered to be truthful and well acquainted with the research, making them the optimal available choice for the task.

4.4.3 Selection bias

Although the selection of participants in the study was deliberately discussed with the Grootbos Foundation, a selection bias is nevertheless present in this interview-based study. Partly because of the foundation influencing the selection, but also because of the trade-off between quality, depth of interviews, and quantity, number of interviews, in terms of data. Managing this fine line and selecting the right number of participants was therefore at the center of discussion in the initial planning phases of the research. Moreover, figure 4.2 reveals how the number of participants per group is not evenly distributed which could possibly influence the results.

5

Results

The following results have been produced based on the answers in semi-structured interviews according to the methodology presented in chapter four.

5.1 Past impact of the kitchen

There is an apparent consensus among the participants in the study, regardless of group, that the soup kitchen had a profound impact and was a much-needed response to the immediate impact of COVID-19 when the lockdown was first imposed. Participants from the Grootbos Foundation and the municipality report that as many as 6 000 people from Masakhane, of all ages and backgrounds, came to the kitchen when it first opened, demonstrating the genuine need for it. Grace, group VOL, describes her perception of the kitchen when it was first established like this: "The soup kitchen really brought a lot of relief to Masakhane. Many people lost their jobs and were really hungry and struggling to get by". Moreover, all of the volunteers, as well as the staff of Grootbos Foundation, emphasize the strong sense of community that evolved from the birth of the soup kitchen and the unique diversity of people who offered to help, both on the ground or by giving money and offering food supplies.

Current beneficiaries of the kitchen also underscore how much the kitchen has relieved them from stress caused by food insecurity. Both in the past when it first opened, but also that it still is an incredible support to them presently. When asked how they would have coped without it, Quinn, group CM, said "We would have died of hunger. The soup kitchen has helped us a lot, and without it, many people would have starved." Another community member, Peter, replies "There would be a lot more crime. People would steal to get food." Moreover, several participants from group CM emphasize the horror of watching children not having enough to eat, or crying themselves to sleep because of hunger. In sum, the impact of the kitchen during its first year can confidently be considered an appropriate response to the increased vulnerability and rising food insecurity following the pandemic. Altogether, all people that have, or still are, involved with it also express what a wonderful experience of kindness and humanity the kitchen was. In times of acute need, cultural, racial, religious, and socioeconomic differences faded.

5.2 Current impact of the kitchen

Whereas there is no doubt that there was a significant need for the soup kitchen following the first wave of COVID-19, the demand for it has ultimately transformed since its establishment two years ago. This transformation is accentuated by Ella, group GF, "In the first year there was a lot of people coming for food and there was a great need for it. Today our relationship has changed a lot and the impact on [sic] the community is different as we are cooking for a lot less people... At the moment we are feeding people that we would not normally feed before COVID-19." Nonetheless, when asking the participants about the contemporary need for the kitchen, all of them still recognize a genuine demand for it since they are aware of food-insecure families, and individuals, that still experience daily stress about where their next meal is coming from. However, this persistent food insecurity is not perceived as a result of the pandemic by the participants. Instead they emphasize how it is an outcome of persistent poverty and deep-rooted social challenges common for all townships long before COVID-19. Therefore, the ambition of the kitchen must be decided upon so that it recognizes how the causes, and perceptions, of the demand have transformed since its establishment and aligns its future purpose accordingly.

Felix, group GF, shares his vision and objective of the kitchen: "The primary purpose of the kitchen is to keep people from stressing about where their next meal is coming from and instead enable them to focus on how they can improve their lives". Since he, and all of the other participants, do confirm that there is still a genuine need for the soup kitchen for some people in Masakhane this perception insinuates that the kitchen should become a long-term support program. In addition, although food insecurity did exist in the community pre-COVID-19, the pandemic has nonetheless added to the number of poor families, increasing the need for external support. A rough estimate of the number of food insecure people in Masakhane over time is illustrated in figure 5.1.

Contemplating the current impact of the soup kitchen also requires an analysis of the beneficiaries who still come to the kitchen regularly. The living and employment situations of the interviewed community members in group CM are noticeably homogeneous. A clear majority, six out of eight, are originally from the Eastern Cape and have moved to the area in the search of employment opportunities. Although their time in the community varies, all of them indicate a genuine struggle to find work and that it has only become more difficult with time. Whereas some have managed to get a few part-time jobs or occasional temporary contracts they were all unemployed at the time of the interview, with a majority unemployed already before the pandemic. In terms of income, six out of eight, currently rely on social grants where the newly introduced SRD grant is the most common form of assistance. The ones eligible also rely on old age grants and child grants, and in general, these are seen as their central source of income. Two out of eight do not have any stable income at all, be it from work or grants, at the moment and completely rely on help from within the community. One of these individuals, Sam, expressed his hopelessness about the future: "I am just trying to survive for now. I do not have a specific dream anymore. I just want to survive".

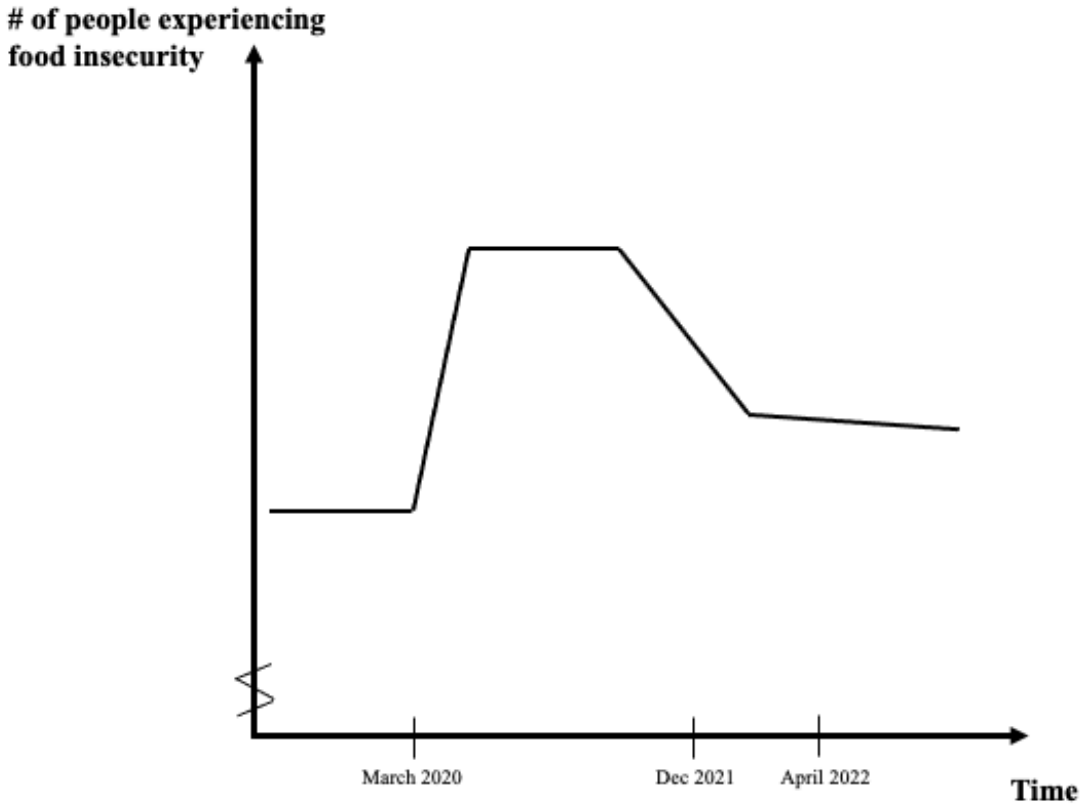

Figure 5.1: Visualization of the number of food insecure people in Masakhane since the outbreak of COVID-19 estimated by the author.

5.3 Introducing the dependency problem

The main contemporary concern with the kitchen is that it is inducing a problematic dependency, unconducive to sustainable development, hampering the prospects of individuals reaching a state of autonomy. The ability to get food for free augments the financial capacity of the beneficiaries, and could therefore become a disincentive for them to pursue opportunities in the labor market. There is also a fear that the money people save on coming to the soup kitchen is spent on alcohol and drugs instead of food, meaning that the kitchen is unintentionally feeding people´s addiction and sustaining substance abuse in the community. Ella, group GF, says "It's not about the food, it is about the dependency. I think that´s our biggest problem. I would hate to be cooking for someone so that they have extra money to spend on alcohol and drugs and then not do anything about that problem" when being asked about the challenges of running the kitchen. This highlights the fear of the kitchen becoming an impediment to people taking responsibility for their health and employment situation, and instead of trying to improve their lives choosing to settle for a state of dependency. In contrast, some people are unable to work due to old age or ill health, and since their inability to generate income is exogenous to them, their dependency on external support is generally perceived as more socially acceptable. This discrepancy corresponds to the distinction between positive and negative dependency, and the impression of which one is the dominant outcome differs among the participants which is demonstrated in table 5.1. This topic was not discussed with the beneficiaries due to ethical considerations.

Table 5.1: Is the soup kitchen creating a problematic dependency?

Interview ID	Opinions	Additional thoughts
Anna	Yes	The more you give things for free, the more you are feeding a dependency. At some point people must learn how to give and take.
Bella	No	We have caught it in time, but now we must come up with a good exit plan to make sure we are not creating a dependency problem
Charlie	No	The soup kitchen is not a problem. It encourages people to go look for work.
Daisy	Does not mention	-
Ella	Yes	For people that are unable to work the dependency is not a problem For people that can work we must develop a give and take program.
Felix	Unsure	People have been dependent on external help long before the kitchen. The kitchen has not worsened it to a significant extent.
Grace	Does not mention	-
Harry	Unsure	People need skills, and then jobs in order to become independent
Ian	Unsure	We must figure out a system where only the families with a drastic need are being fed.
John	Unsure	Whether it is a problematic dependency or not depends on if the people coming to the kitchen really needs it
Karl	Yes	Increasing the number of employed people is best way to address the dependency problem the dependency problem is very linked to mindset and expecting to get things for free
Luke	No	People being dependent is a result of failed politics, not the soup kitchen
Michaela	Unsure	It is a fine balance between supporting the ones in need and allowing people to develop a dependency

[Notes] Summary by the author.

Whereas all of the people interviewed, irrespective of group, do indicate that the reliance on external support, whether it being on social grants or from neighbors in the community, was become an increasingly common survival strategy in Masakhane before the pandemic, there is a discrepancy in the answers concerning the kitchen´s role in this development. Figure 5.2 reveals the proportion of participants that are concerned that the soup kitchen itself is causing, or contributing, to a problematic dependency. Group CM is not included in the graph because they did not acknowledge a dependency problem but rather emphasized how much the kitchen has, and still is, supporting them. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that many participants believe that unemployment, and in turn poverty, are the main reasons for entering a state of dependency. Thus, although the pandemic has intensified the causes of dependency, they were already there to begin with. Nonetheless, it was not until an external shock, the outbreak of COVID-19, elevated the existing dependency potential that the kitchen was established, consequently expanding the support-net that allows a state of dependency to develop. This increase in dependency is however according to Luke, group OSM, out of the scope of the kitchen to solve since it is a development that is turning into a widespread national challenge. He says "unfortunately it has become a caution and custom in South Africa that everyone is begging for free handouts without making any contribution," and shares his point of view that a new South African culture is emerging, based on the expectancy and will to depend on public, or private, support.

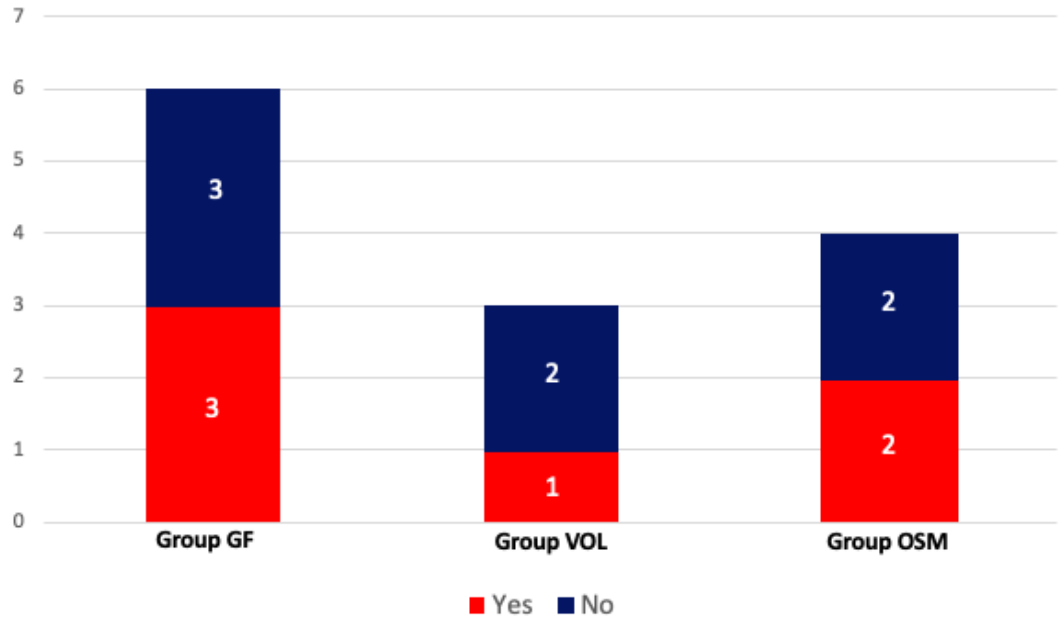

Figure 5.2: Does the soup kitchen currently cause, or contribute to, a dependency problem? Numbers inside columns represent the number of respondents. Summary by the author.

5.4 Developing the soup kitchen in the future

The data collected from the interviews concerning the future development of the soup kitchen can be summarized into two main findings. Firstly, who should have access to a long-term soup kitchen and if measures should be taken to restrict non-eligible groups. Secondly, the kitchen ought to address the dependency problem and raise awareness that the expectancy to get food for free is neither socially nor economically sustainable in the long run.

5.4.1 Access to a feeding scheme

One reoccurring concern among the participants is the prevalence of free-riders, referring to people that have the means to provide for themselves that take advantage of the kitchen. Many interviewees underscore that they think that the soup kitchen should only be feeding genuinely food-insecure people and that measures must be taken to exclude the rest. "I would love for the soup kitchen to still be open but only focus on people who are not employed and people that cannot work," says Charlie, group GF. Ella, group GF, elaborates "There will always be some people that try to take advantage of things that are for free. However, since there is a stigma around going to a soup kitchen, this makes people who can provide for themselves less willing to take advantage." Hence, the counterargument to the concern of free-riders is the prevalence of a stigma associated with accepting soup kitchen food. Harry, group VOL, mentions that many families in the community come from a tribal background that takes a lot of pride in providing for themselves which he thinks minimizes the number of potential free-riders. Nonetheless, a majority of all participants in all groups, except group CM, still want measures to be taken to ensure that the kitchen is targeting the right people.

The most popular solution to getting the targeting right and minimizing the number of free-riders is the construction of a feeding scheme. Pre-COVID-19 the foundation was only cooking for children, which was, and still is, a top priority for the foundation´s early childhood development program and something that they aim to do indefinitely. However, the soup kitchen has also brought attention to the vulnerability and prevalence of food insecurity among other groups of people, especially the old and the sick, with legitimate reasons for their need for support. Thus, whereas there is a consensus that there are certain groups of food-insecure people in Masakhane that should be fed, the discrepancy rather concerns whether measures should be taken to exclude other less vulnerable groups, and possible free-riders, through the construction of a feeding scheme. The disparities in answers are independent of group belonging. Figure 5.3 provides insight into the distribution of answers within the groups.

5.4.2 Addressing the dependency problem

Recognizing the causes of why people in Masakhane are food insecure and dependent on the kitchen is central to the research. This reasoning corresponds to the thoughts of Felix, group GF: "What we must try to do is to identify the real problem in the community. What is making people food insecure, and then try to treat the real problem." When asking the participants what the most pressing challenge in

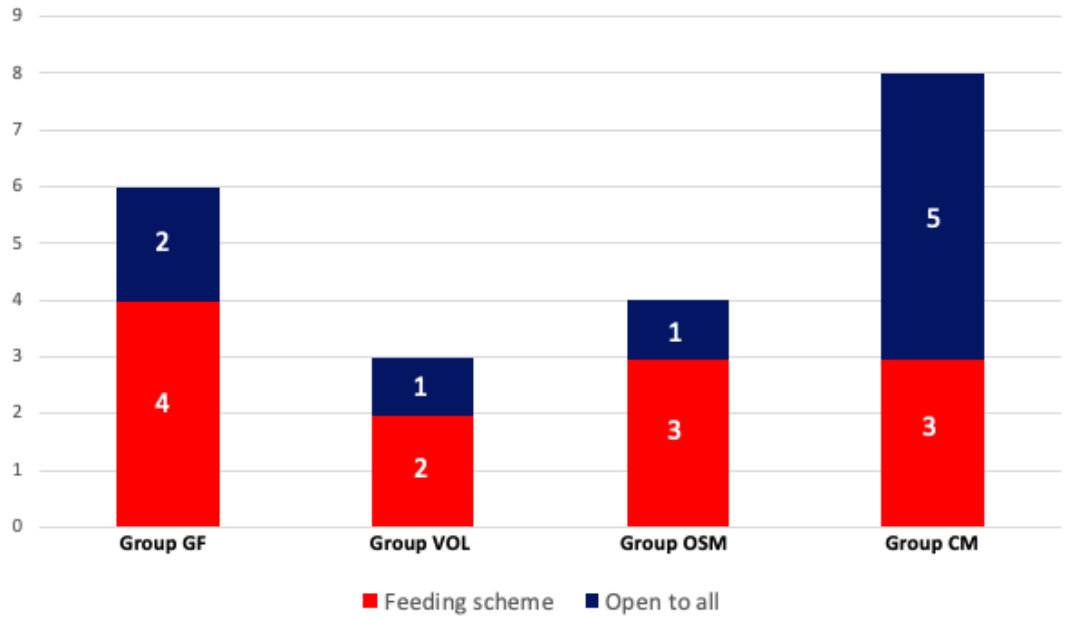

Figure 5.3: In favor of a feeding scheme vs open for all. Numbers inside columns represent the number of respondents. Summary by the author.

Masakhane is, the most frequent answer within all groups is the high unemployment rate or job scarcity. Partly because of the absence of income increasing the likelihood of falling into poverty, and being forced to enter a state of dependence, and partly because of unemployment being conducive to a range of other social problems such as high levels of crime, alcohol and drug abuse, as well as social unrest, further exacerbating the food insecurity problem in the community. Thus, unemployment and in turn poverty can ultimately be seen as the disease, whereas a state of dependency and experiencing food insecurity are merely two of its many symptoms that were exacerbated, but not caused, by COVID-19.

The will to reduce the dependency in the community and the wish to incentivize people to sustain themselves in the future is reflected by the following phrase: "Give a man a fish and he will eat for a day, teach a man how to fish and you will feed him for a lifetime." This particular saying was voiced by three different participants in the study revealing the awareness of the dependency problem in the community. Therefore, reducing the number of beneficiaries coming to the kitchen, as well as raising awareness that the appropriation of food without any contribution is unsustainable, are seen as fundamental goals of the kitchen in the future. Consequently, the majority of all participants in groups GF, VOL, and CM are in favor of establishing some kind of contribution system that at least generates a forced sense of appreciation while teaching a moral of give-and-take. Four participants explicitly mention how a soup kitchen never will be either socially or financially sustainable in the long run. Nonetheless, since all of them recognize a contemporary need for it, they believe that the best way forward is to design it to be as progressive as possible.

The most popular solution within group GF to decrease the likelihood of negative dependency and develop the soup kitchen in a contribution-based direction is the creation of a token system. Such a system would be based on the creation of physical

tokens that can be used as a mode of payment at the kitchen which the community members would be able to earn in several ways. Examples given are performing an hour of manual labor on the community farm, working on one of the municipality´s construction projects, participating in a workshop organized by the foundation, or if nothing paying one or two rands to reduce the expectancy and habit of getting things for free. Ella, group GF, describes her vision like this: "In the future, there can be a system so that if you attend a workshop or help out in the community you get some kind of credit. So that we start teaching people that they must start to do something in return for food. And at the same time, we should strive toward transforming the Masakhane hub into a learning space. So if you are unemployed and have nothing to do, there is an incentive to participate in the workshops and programs offered by the foundation." An additional ambition of creating a contribution-based program is to increase the self-esteem of the beneficiaries since they would be able to pay for themselves, even if it is not with money. This would add value to the lives of the most vulnerable which is a desirable outcome for the food security team besides feeding them.

In sum, the findings suggest that the overarching dependency problem is out of the scope of the kitchen to target but that efforts can be made to counteract a negative dependency effect emanating from the kitchen. As previously mentioned, Luke, group OSM, believes that people being dependent was a problem long before the establishment of the soup kitchen and that it is the result of persistent poverty and inequalities causing resentment and hopelessness among those who suffer. This perception corresponds to the one of Felix, group GF, who argues that "Feeding people is not the actual problem. The problem is that there are a lot of people that have given up in life and only think about surviving and not thriving. And when people give up, they don't care, and then they will do all kinds of desperate crimes to survive. That's why the food security team should try to help them improve their lives so that they can thrive and not just survive." This reflects the recognition that being dependent comes from a place of suffering, and that the only way out of suffering is providing support, even if this means temporarily sustaining a dependency. Anna, group GF, on the other hand, is more concerned about how the provision of free food inhibits self-development. She says "The more you give things for free, the more people want to extend this service. And we are never going to fix that problem if we keep giving things for free. At some point, there has to be a shift into a give and take situation." Thus, solving the dependency problem seems to require a two-step action plan. One part is to keep providing support where it is most needed out of compassion, while the second one is to require contribution to break the expectancy of getting things for free.

6

Discussion

By restating the research questions, this chapter will discuss the correspondence between the study's results and the literature review to contribute to the field of dependency theory and shed light on the impact of community programs addressing food insecurity.

6.1 Has the soup kitchen in Masakhane created, or increased, a state of dependency in the community?

Realizing the soup kitchen's impact on people's inclination to rely on external support requires a before-and-after approach, distinguishing between pre-and post-kitchen levels of dependency and ultimately analyzing how it has transformed over the past two years. Among the participants in the study, there is a prevailing consensus, irrespective of group, that an increasing number of people in Masakhane were developing a dependency on social grants, or from help within the community, already before the pandemic. However, as COVID-19 hit South Africa, intensifying all three factors highlighted by Dean and Taylor-Gooby (2014) to be conducive to dependency: (i) high unemployment rates, (ii) people relying on temporary contracts or daily wages, and (iii) a high proportion of one-parent families, the number of people perceived to have a legitimate and righteous cause for external support expanded. This perception was no exception in Masakhane, and every single one of the interviewees confirm a genuine and elevated demand for food assistance following the first waves of COVID-19.

The impact of the pandemic has thereby exacerbated the dependency problem by increasing the number of vulnerable and poor people. However, much in line with the findings of Mbambo and Agbola (2020), it has also illuminated the many socio-economic challenges prevalent in Masakhane long before the establishment of the soup kitchen that ultimately are the true causes of a high dependency potential. Therefore, this study suggests that the soup kitchen itself has not caused a dependency problem in the community. Instead, this problem must be traced back to deep-rooted social problems such as poverty, inequality, and unemployment, which are outside the scope of the kitchen to solve. Nonetheless, there is a significant probability that the soup kitchen has sustained, and even increased, the intensity and scope of people in Masakhane relying on external support. This conclusion is

based on the significant number of people that have, and still are, expressing a genuine need for it. Thus, even though the kitchen is unable to solve the true causes of dependency, it is still responsible for allowing new forms of dependency to develop by expanding the safety-net in Masakhane.

6.2 Is dependency an impediment to sustainable development, or is it a contemporary necessity to uplift Masakhane in the long run?

The reasoning above ought to be analyzed through the lenses of positive versus negative dependency explained by Lentz and Barrett (2005) to analyze the kitchen's long-term legacy. Firstly, the efficiency and implications of South Africa's extensive social security system is interesting to consider to gain insight at the macro-level. Mabugu and Chitiga-Mabugu (2022), Nishimwe-niyimbanira, Ngwenya, and Niyimbanira (2021), Woolard, Harttgen, and Klasen (2011), and World Bank (2021) all find support for the widespread distribution of social grants even though it has allowed for a state of dependency to develop between the recipients and the state. Their studies all emphasize how the grants have, and still are, playing a fundamental role in uplifting the poor and counteracting persistent national inequalities. Thus, all of the researchers stated above reach the same conclusion that the current social security program is a contemporary necessity in South Africa, despite concerns about the fiscal sustainability, as well as the disincentive and dependency aspects, of it.

Reconciling these macro-level findings, where dependency emanates from state support, with the micro-level results of the study is central to the research question. The predominant cause of dependency in Masakhane, similar to all townships in South Africa according to Mbambo and Agbola (2020), Schwabe (2020), and World Bank (2022) to name a few, is primarily persistent poverty and unequal access to educational opportunities influencing employment outcomes, previously referred to as the disease. This correlation implies that efforts should be directed at treating the disease if the ambition is to get rid of its symptoms, in this case a largely dependent population and food insecurity, in the long run. A clear majority of the participants in the study reinforce this notion through their experiences in Masakhane where they recognize unemployment to be the greatest challenge to community development. This suggests that the people that are currently dependent on the soup kitchen are the ones that have been suffering from the disease for a long time, making them more susceptible to the external shock that COVID-19 was, augmenting their dependency potential further.

Building on these insights, this case study provides evidence of a generally positive perception of the kitchen, ultimately expanding the support-net, in the first year of COVID-19 as the new and elevated demand for support was palpable. This conclusion is derived based on the definitions of Lentz and Barrett (2005) and the fact that every single one of the participants accentuated how much relief it brought to Masakhane as lockdown was first imposed. Nonetheless, the findings also indicate that there has been a gradual shift during its second year, as restrictions have eased and life has slowly returned to normal, toward the kitchen possibly doing more harm

than good, ultimately inducing a negative dependency. This analysis advocates that the perceptions of the nature of dependency are considerably time-dependent and volatile, corresponding to the findings of Barrett (2002a), Barrett, Holden, and Clay (2004), and Lentz and Barrett (2005). Whereas temporary emergency relief, regardless of it being public or private, is generally perceived to be positive, concerns about a negative dependency are in contrast more likely to arise as time passes and temporary support is sustained indefinitely. This also seems to be the case when the causes of dependency are deep-rooted and complex, impervious to a quick fix. Thus, even though the pandemic has barely subsided and life has not returned to normal for many people, the perception of normality has adapted and what was initially recognized as an extraordinary external shock has simply become another disease people are getting used to. As this normalization progresses and permeates collective consciousness, the same dependency that was initially considered to be positive, or at least righteous, is increasingly viewed as negative and the impact of COVID-19 blends with the other persistent contributors to vulnerability, and thus dependency. This development further contributes to the marginalization of welfare recipients and fosters the stigma around this populace. Altogether, on a community level there seems to be a positive association around providing relief in acute periods, but a tangible hesitancy to sustain welfare dependency indefinitely.

In sum, one of the most pronounced findings in this study is how quickly people's attitudes relating to the causes and implications of dependency change even though the true contributors of it have not changed significantly. This implies that both private and public actors ought to take this volatility into account and modify the design of both short-term measures and permanent initiatives accordingly to shield themselves against these fluctuations in public opinion. This could be done by setting long-term goals, improving the public communication concerning the causes of dependency, as well as by getting the targeting right as asserted by Barrett (2002b), Barrett and Maxwell (2007), and Lentz, Barrett, and Hoddinott (2005). Moreover, an additional conclusion of the study is that welfare programs may only achieve their goals if continuity and a long-term plan is in place since emancipating people from dependency traps require persistent commitment. Whether this is best accomplished by a public or private actor is ambiguous to determine based on this research alone but is likely to involve context-specific factors and resources.

6.3 How can the soup kitchen develop to become more sustainable in the future?

Given that public opinion concerning the nature of dependency is time-dependent and volatile, and that continuity is a key element for the success of any welfare program, this study suggests that any community-based program conducted by a private actor will be subjected to the tensions verified among the participants in Masakhane. These tensions may in turn disrupt the delivery of services and even cast doubt on the causal mechanism behind dependency. This reasoning is interesting to reconcile with the two main proposals for the kitchen going forward: (i) the construction of a feeding scheme, and (ii) the creation of a contribution-based token system, as both of them can be traced back to these tensions and seen as measures to resolve them. Moreover, they interestingly enough also correspond to Barrett

(2002a), Barrett (2006), and Lentz and Barrett (2005) emphasis on getting the targeting of food aid right in terms of who, when, where, what, and how food aid should optimally be distributed. Since the kitchen's establishment the where, when, and what have not been up for discussion, instead, it is the who and the how parameters that have been receiving a lot of attention.

The question of who should be eligible for the provision of free food is the essence of the feeding scheme proposal and corresponds to an important part of targeting according to Barrett (2002a) and Barrett (2006) as it determines the magnitude of the inevitable tradeoff between errors of inclusion and errors of exclusion. The participants recognize this trade-off and a divergence is evident as some argue that the kitchen should be open to all while others argue that it should only serve certain vulnerable groups, possibly due to different weights placed on errors of inclusion and exclusion. To spell it out, those in favor of it being open to all are expected to believe that errors of exclusion are worse than errors of inclusion, whereas those opting for a feeding scheme are likely to have the opposite opinion. This divergence in turn makes a case for investigating what context-specific factors are likely to affect the prominence of each respective error.

The question of how coincides with the idea of a token system which in turn resembles the essence of a FFW program. If the kitchen would develop in this direction, the how would thereby be shifted away from free food distribution to a FFW design mimicking the labor-wage relationship of the market. Such a development is the most popular response among the participants on how to address the dependency problem and develop the soup kitchen in a more sustainable direction, conducive to independence and long-term community development. When considering the empirical evidence of FFW programs, Clay, Molla, and Habtewold (1999) and Lentz and Barrett (2005) find that they tend to be more efficient as a mean of providing short-term insurance against shocks, but that they can serve as long-term solutions if carefully implemented and considerate of context-specific factors. Moreover, Barrett and Maxwell (2007) and Clay, Molla, and Habtewold (1999) once again emphasize how the timing and targeting of the program is crucial to achieving its intended goals. In sum, transforming the soup kitchen from a free food distributor to a food-for-work provider would be a step toward untangling the complex cause and correlation enigma encompassing dependency. Nonetheless, since this implies the adoption of a long-term FFW initiative, the design and targeting of it is essential to stabilize the volatile views on the dependency and disincentive aspects intrinsically linked to food aid.

7

Final remarks

This thesis has provided insights into the causes of, and attitudes against, welfare dependency, especially in the form of food, by studying the case of a soup kitchen in the South African township Masakhane. By conducting twenty-one semi-structured one-on-one interviews with different groups of people involved with the soup kitchen, the ambition has been to produce an analysis of what implications a state of dependency has for sustainable community development. The results of the study indicate that the perceptions of dependency are subject to the social acceptance relating to the causes of it. More explicitly, emergency relief following external shocks receive a different public perception than sustained welfare dependency caused by long-term unemployment and persistent poverty. Moreover, the results confirm the findings of previous research that the design and targeting of community programs are paramount to their success.

Advancements in the field in the future would benefit from further research on psychological factors behind entering, and leaving, a state of dependency and how these influence the success of community programs and prospects of emancipating people from dependency traps. Moreover, identifying significant context-specific variables that affect the magnitude of different types of targeting errors would be constructive in the pursuit of increasing the efficiency of food aid programs.

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Appendix A

Consent form

I..... voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

I understand that even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without any consequences of any kind.

I have had the purpose and nature of the study explained to me and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I understand that participation involves answering open-ended questions about myself, the community in Masakhane, food security, and the soup kitchen operated by Grootbos Foundation.

I understand that I will not benefit directly from participating in this research.

I agree to my interview being audio-recorded and transcribed.

I understand that all information I provide for this study will be treated confidentially.

I understand that in any report on the results of this research my identity will remain anonymous. This will be done by changing my name and disguising any details of my interview which may reveal my identity or the identity of people I speak about.

I understand that disguised extracts from my interview may be quoted in a bachelor thesis published by Lund University meaning that it will be accessible online. The results of the study will also be presented at a graduation seminar in Sweden.

The transcribed interview material will only be stored by the researcher. It will remain stored until it has been fully analyzed and utilized in the study.

I understand that under freedom of information legalization I am entitled to access the information I have provided at any time while it is being stored.

I understand that I am free to contact any of the people involved in the research to seek further clarification and information.

By participating in the study you have the following rights according to Grootbos Foundation:

The right to know what information is being kept, how it is being used, and when the Foundation will disclose it. The interview will be audio-recorded, transcribed, and used as one of the main sources of information in a research paper published by Lund University. All of the aforesaid information is contained in our Policy on the Protection of Personal Information and our Privacy Policy, which are available and may be obtained from our offices or our website.

The right to correct your details. The foundation will try to keep your information up to date. However, should any of your details change, please notify us to ensure that our records are as accurate as possible.

The right to revoke consent. You may revoke the consent you have given us in terms of this form at any time. Your revocation should be in writing and addressed to the information officer of the Foundation. Revoked consent is not retroactive and will not affect any past or existing use of your information

I hereby warrant that I have read this Release carefully, understand its terms and conditions, and acknowledge that I have signed this Release freely and voluntarily, without any inducement, assurance or guarantee and that I intend for my signature to serve as confirmation of my complete and unconditional acceptance of the terms of this Release.

NAME (Print):
AGE:
DATE OF BIRTH:
SIGNATURE:
DATE:
Signature of researcher
NAME (Print):

Appendix B

Interview protocol: Group GF

Please introduce yourself by telling me your name, age, and your current living situation

Please tell me about Grootbus Foundation and your current role in the organization?

How would you describe the township of Masakhane to a person that has never been there, or in any other township for that matter?

What do most people in Masakhane work with? What does the employment situation look like in the community?

What does food security mean to you? Is it about the amount you eat or what you eat?

Please tell me about the evolution of the soup kitchen program? How did it start? What does the program aim to do for the community?

How would you describe the people that are still coming to the kitchen?

What do you believe has been the overall impact of the kitchen? How has the impact changed over the past two years?

Do you believe that there is a genuine need for a soup kitchen in Masakhane? Do you think people would starve without it?

What do you think people would have done if the kitchen had not opened in the first place? And what do you think would happen if it was to close tomorrow?

Who do you think should have access to a soup kitchen?

Do you think a permanent soup kitchen could become more of a problem than a solution? If yes, why?

Do you believe that giving out free meals is the best way to address the food insecurity problem in Masakhane?

What do you think people in the community need to become more food secure in the long run?

What is your ideal development of the soup kitchen in the future? What would be the most efficient way to decrease the number of food insecure people in Masakhane in the long run?

Appendix C

Interview protocol: Group VOL

Please introduce yourself by telling me your name, age, and current living situation

When and how did you first get in contact with the Grootbos Foundation? Why did you decide to volunteer with them at the soup kitchen?

How would you describe the township of Masakhane to a person that has never been there, or in any other township for that matter?

What does food security mean to you? Is it about the amount you eat or what you eat?

How was your life affected by COVID-19? Please describe your daily life before and after the pandemic?

How was your experience volunteering at the kitchen?

What do you believe has been the overall impact of the kitchen? How has the impact changed over the past two years?

What do you think of the soup kitchen today? Do you think it should be a permanent feature, or that it has served its purpose of providing emergency relief following the pandemic?

Do you believe that there is a genuine need for a soup kitchen in Masakhane? Do you think people would starve without it?

What do you think people would have done if the kitchen had not opened in the first place? And what do you think will happen if it was to close tomorrow?

Who do you think should have access to a soup kitchen?

Do you think a permanent soup kitchen could become more of a problem than a solution? If yes, why?

Do you believe that giving out free meals is the best way to address the food insecurity problem in Masakhane?

What do you think people in the community need to become more food secure in the long run?

What is your ideal development of the soup kitchen in the future? What would be the most efficient way to decrease the number of food insecure people in Masakhane in the long run?

Appendix D

Interview protocol: Group OSM

Please introduce yourself by telling me your name, age, and current living situation

How would you describe the township of Masakhane to a person that has never been there, or in any other township for that matter?

What do most people in Masakhane work with? What does the employment situation look like in the community?

How would you define food security? What does healthy mean to you? To the community?

How was your life affected by COVID-19? Please describe your daily life before and after the pandemic?

What was Overstrand Municipality´s role in the operations of the soup kitchen? What was your personal role?

Who do you think is responsible for feeding people in need? The government, the church, an NGO or some other actor?

What do you believe has been the overall impact of the kitchen? How has the impact changed over the past two years?

What do you think of the soup kitchen today? Do you think it should be a permanent feature or that it has served is purpose of providing emergency relief following the pandemic?

Do you believe that there is a genuine need for a soup kitchen in Masakhane? Do you think people would starve without it?

What do you think people would have done if the kitchen had not opened in the first place? And what do you think will happen if it was to close tomorrow?

Who do you think should have access to a soup kitchen?

Do you think a permanent soup kitchen could become more of a problem than a solution? If yes, why?

Do you believe that giving out free meals is the best way to address the food insecurity problem in Masakhane?

What do you think people in the community need to become more food secure in the long run?

What is your ideal development of the soup kitcehn in the future? What is the most efficient way to decrease the number of food insecure people in Masakhane in the long run?

Appendix E

Interview protocol: Group CM

Please introduce yourself by telling me your name, age, and current living situation

What is the best thing and what is the biggest challenge with living in Masakhane?

How was your life affected by COVID-19? Please describe your daily life before and after the pandemic?

How did you get food before the soup kitchen? How do you get food on the days the soup kitchen is closed?

What do you typically eat in a day? Where is your next meal coming from?

What does food security mean for you? Is it about the amount you eat or what you eat?

Do you currently have a job? If yes, what is it and is it a permanent contract?

Where does your monthly income come from? Do you depend on social grants?

Who do you think should have access to a soup kitchen?

What would you do if the soup kitchen closed?

Do you prefer eating your own food, or the meals that have been cooked by the soup kitchen?

Does the soup kitchen significantly help you save money? If yes, how do you spend that money?

What do you think people in the community need to become more food secure in the long run?

If you could name one thing that would significantly improve your living-situation what would that be?

What is your biggest dream for the future?

Appendix F

Length of each interview

Table F.1: Length of interviews

ID	Group	Length of interview
Anna	GF	57.47
Bella	GF	54.52
Charlie	GF	42.38
Daisy	GF	41.58
Ella	GF	50.17
Felix	GF	46.26
Grace	VOL	69.41
Harry	VOL	49.08
Ian	VOL	38.12
John	OSM	44.38
Karl	OSM	60.25
Luke	OSM	62.52
Michaela	OSM	23.47
Nicole	CM	11.17
Olivia	CM	14.42
Peter	CM	08.56
Quinn	CM	23.41
Ryan	CM	11.36
Sam	CM	11.30
Teresa	CM	15.35
Una	CM	13.41

[Notes] The length is referred to in minutes. Fictive names were added to preserve the participant´s anonymity.
Source: Author's calculation