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2012-08-22
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Community participation and food security in a developing context: A critical health psychology perspective

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This research report is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement of the degree of Masters of Arts in Research Psychology to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand,

Johannesburg

2012

DECLARATION

I, Minja Milovanovic, declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at this or any other university. All sources have been correctly referenced using the APA format of referencing. Furthermore, I acknowledge and accept that plagiarism is wrong.

Signed: _____

Dated: _____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to the following people:

To my supervisor, Professor Brendon Barnes, the devotion and passion that you have for your work has inspired and motivated me to find the same within myself. Thank you for your unfaltering commitment and the time that you have dedicated towards making this report a reality. Your insight has opened my eyes to new possibilities and a world without limits. Thank you for taking me under your wing and giving me the opportunity to learn from you, it has been an absolute pleasure.

To my parents, Miki and Ana Milovanovic, your unlimited love and support has kept me strong. Thank you for nurturing my desire to extend my knowledge base and allowing me the opportunity to go as far as possible. You have been with me throughout all my setbacks and have lifted me up whenever I needed a hand. Thank you for all of the encouragement and the unwavering belief in me. I would like to share this achievement with you for it is as much yours as it is mine.

To Rowan Jelley, for reminding me that life is only worth living if you love what you do. Your interest and enthusiasm coupled with a little knock of humour has made the late night writing more enjoyable. No measure of uncertainty, on my part, could weaken your immense belief in me. Your constant support has carried me all the way to the end. Thank you for being my rock.

To my wonderful friends, Catriona Boffard and Samuel Shapiro, you were by my side from the very beginning and it is only right that you stand by me at the end. Thank you for being so understanding and encouraging me to keep pushing. I am so grateful for all the time that you have dedicated to brainstorming ideas and proof reading my scattered chapters. Your support and guidance throughout has kept me grounded and for that I am eternally thankful.

Finally, to all the participants that have dedicated their time to this research. Thank you for opening your doors to me and providing me with an opportunity to learn and grow.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION, RATIONALE AND AIMS

1.1 Introduction and research rationale

The study of food and health has expanded considerably in recent years with attention being directed towards food insecurity. There are many definitions of food insecurity but one is deduced from the definition of 'food security' as set out by the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nation (FAO) which states that:

> "**Food security** exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Household food security is the application of this concept to the family level, with individuals within households as the focus of concern" (2003a, p. 29).

This definition is derived from a combination of descriptions, including assessing the social, physical and economic contexts that have, over the years changed and combined to include the current understanding of food security. Food security is a matter of access to food at the individual and household level. A common belief is to assume that food insecurity is a direct result of a shortage of food and the solution would be to increase food production (Patel, Holt-Giménez, & Shattuck, 2009). Such an assumption fails to note that increased production does not lead to food security. The current food insecurity crisis is perpetuated by an unequal market system that works along the capitalist principles of supply and demand (Patel, 2007). Holt-Giménez (2009) highlights that we are living in a time of high food production coupled with high rates of poverty and food insecurity. Therefore, what is absent from the above definition is the acknowledgement of the role of corporate power and control over food (in)security (Patel & McMichael, 2010). Most of the literature, aims to tackle food insecurity at the community and individual level often excluding the role of food corporations. In looking at the global context of food insecurity Patel and McMichael (2010) emphasise that talking about food (in)security should produce a new way of thinking that brings back questions of power. The aim of this work is to critically analyse how concepts such as community and participation are represented in written and spoken text in relation to food gardens and against the backdrop of corporate social initiatives and public private partnerships.

Growing concern around food insecurity in developing nations has prompted wide spread investigations across varying disciplines. Numerous food-focused interventions have attempted to formulate ways of measuring hunger in an effort to improve effective action (FAO, 2004). Defining hunger is no easy feat especially since it has many different meanings based on its physiological and social aspects (Anderson, 1990). Anderson (1990) suggests that hunger can be defined along two lines "uneasy or painful sensation caused by a lack of food" (p. 1598) or "the recurrent and involuntary lack of access to food" (p. 1598). Associating food insecurity with hunger conceptualises it as a health concern because it understands food insecurity as having direct physiological consequences for individuals (Thiesmeyer, 2009). One of the main concerns is that food insecurity induced hunger can lead to undernourishment and malnutrition (Bhattacharya, Currie, & Haider, 2004; FAO, 2012). Physiological consequences can have considerable economic setbacks and can prove to be detrimental for states focussed on promoting development (Thiesmeyer, 2009). While food insecurity has been associated with poor health, interventions that focus only on curbing hunger fail to consider the influence that social, political and economic factors have in creating food insecurity.

Within the field of health psychology, food and consumption has mostly been researched from a behavioural perspective and focuses on disordered eating and dieting and their associated health implications (Chamberlain, 2004; Sarafino, 2002). This perspective places the cause and the solution of healthy eating at the level of the individual. Individualised concepts, prevalent in health psychology thinking, have the consequence of blaming the victim for their food related disorders (Crawford, 1977). In developing nations, food related problems have more to do with food insecurity then disordered eating. The consequences of food insecurity in developing nations have gained prominence based on their health implications for those most susceptible to it. The groups most susceptible are often the socially marginalised which include children, women, the elderly and the poor (Cook, 2002). The discrepancy between what has been researched and what is a high concern in developing nations emphasises how mainstream health psychology has ignored food insecurity. Individualised concepts, such as participation and agency, prevalent in health psychology interventions and notions of community, empowerment and education have the effect of reproducing a particular way of thinking (Aboud, 1998). While individualism has been discussed above, agency refers to a belief that "an individual has the capacity of intention" (Wilbraham, 2004). Health psychology also draws on assumptions around community and

participation which are taken for granted. This is evident in the quote below where Aboud (1998) describes community participation from a health psychology perspective as being embedded within individual concerns;

> "[m]inimal definition of community participation: to take part in some aspect of the health orientation because of genuine concern or interest" (p. 125).

There is a call for health psychology to adopt a more social and political understanding of food insecurity independent of westernised influences (Chamberlain, 2004). Therefore, a study that critiques the psychological way of thinking about food and community health interventions can challenge these taken for granted concepts and provide novel insight for future food insecurity and health interventions. Psychology, like other disciplines, has a particular way of positioning concepts such as food and community health interventions that have the consequence of ignoring other ways of thinking about these concepts. When referring to the psychological way of thinking the author draws from psychological understandings and views of the concepts under investigation.

Critical health psychology acknowledges the injustice of an unequal health system and the possible implications that this has on marginalised people (Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2003). Critical psychology recognises the influence that society has on health and attempts to understand the dominant forms of knowledge production in order to evaluate the different power dynamics (Hook, 2004a). As such, critical thinking offers an alternative way of thinking about psychology and its role in society. To the author's knowledge this is the first study of its kind that draws on critical health psychology to discuss the issue of food insecurity by exploring taken for granted concepts such as community and participation against the backdrop of corporate initiatives and public-private partnerships. As mentioned above, community participation perpetuates problematic concepts of individualism which when contrasted against alternative approaches to development may have unintended 'political' consequences such as the reproduction of social hierarchies.

Corporate social initiatives and public-private partnerships (PPP) are promoted as alternative approaches of doing development. While the two terms do overlap, PPP also incorporates the role of NGOs, communities and government. Much has been written about the role of the 'private' in the promotion of health and development interventions. Although corporate and

NGO support is beneficial it is also creating new problems. The type of initiatives that corporations take part in have high economic benefits for the corporations by providing them with public platform where they can advertises themselves as being socially responsible (Blowfield, 2005). While corporations position themselves as responsibly supporting societal interventions, they have been criticised as producing a particular kind of knowledge that positions the communities that they work with to meet the needs of the organisation at the expense of individual members (Banerjee, 2008). In developing countries, the role of the private sector is seen as imperative in assisting economically weak governments with development (Miraftab, 2004). One has to be cautious of assuming that corporate initiatives and public-private partnerships, although helpful, can solve food insecurity. The psychological and developmental concepts discussed above position food insecurity as at the level of the marginalised and the poor thus failing to address the bigger picture which is, as the definition of food security states, 'access'.

Even though the literature discusses the effects of corporate initiatives it is limited in its understanding of corporate concepts within the context of food insecurity interventions, specifically food gardens. Although, corporate initiatives are perceived as stepping in to assist when government in unable to or lacks the resources there is little focus on the effect that this might have on communities (Blowfield, 2004). As proposed agents of development, corporate initiatives and PPP also employ taken for granted ideas of community and participation. Based on this, more research is required that can challenge such ideas and attempt to understand what function they serve.

The terms 'community' and 'participation' are often taken for granted as being inherent in community based interventions. The failure of organisations to define what they mean by community and participation can lead to exclusion of some individuals thus compromising the intervention (Cleaver, 2001). Participation is perceived as necessary for sustainable development. Unfortunately, the level of participation required to ensure sustainability can vary depending on the context (Kagan, Burton, Duckett, Lawthom, & Siddiquee, 2011). A community food garden is only one example of food insecurity interventions. Such interventions are based on the assumption of the existence of a community. Food gardens provide an interesting space where social, environmental, physical, economic and political elements can be observed and discussed. While food gardens are thought of as possible solutions to food insecurity, this assumptions leaves room for contestation (Swift &

Hamilton, 2003). Critical thinking allows one to explore these concepts by exploring them in order to identify the problematic assumptions.

Community food gardens have, up to this point, been researched and written about from a developed context (Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011; Marsh, 1998). While the relevance of community food garden interventions have been emphasised as providing a means of community development and individual livelihood development, research is limited on the affect of food gardens on developing communities. The assumption is that food gardens will benefit the whole community (Ferris, Norman, & Sempik, 2001). Literature shows that such an assumption is flawed in that it does not take into consideration the contestability of the term community. Additionally, most interventions presume that community food gardens will promote a desire to participate (Kelly & van Vlaenderen, 1997). The level and type of participation varies depending on the context and type of intervention (Kelly & van Vlaenderen, 1997). While participation and community have been researched within the context of food gardens and development there is limited literature that discusses the conceptualisation of these two terms against a backdrop of corporate initiatives and public and private partnerships. Therefore, a space exists for research to explore community and participation within the context of food gardens from a critical health psychology perspective.

1.2 Research aims

The primary aim of the study was to critically analyse how concepts such as community and participation are represented within alternative development approaches - corporate social initiatives and public private partnerships. The first objective was to analyse the concepts in relation to food gardens. This was achieved by discussing the functions of community and participation in developmental and health thinking in the context of food insecurity in a developing country. Therefore the study was interested in understanding how participation and community are written and spoken about. A further objective was to draw from critical thinking, specifically critical health psychology, on the issue of food insecurity against the backdrop of the abovementioned development approaches. Critical thinking allows one to explore the taken for granted concepts of community and participation which are prevalent in mainstream health psychology. The aim and objectives were achieved by collecting internet texts, interviewing organisation representatives and school members and drawing on field notes and observations that were analysed using thematic content analysis.

1.3 Research report structure

Chapter two provides a review of the literature that positions the study of food insecurity within a developing context. Throughout the chapter food insecurity is perceived as having an influence on the individual and community and is a result of political, social and economic factors. Global concerns around food insecurity are positioned in broader concepts of development. The review is set out such that it contextualises food insecurity on a global scale. It also discusses the state of food insecurity in South Africa. The review progresses to outline the role of psychology in thinking about food insecurity and specifically the way that community interventions are thought about. The main focus of the literature review is to elaborate on the taken for granted concepts of community and participation and highlight how they are prevalent in psychological and developmental thinking. The review also discusses corporate social initiatives and public-private partnerships and their roles in community interventions. It concludes by emphasising what is meant by community food gardens in order to set the tone for the study.

Chapter three discusses, in detail, the methodology of the study. The chapter outlines the sampling strategy and describes the sample. The procedure section includes a step by step guide of how the study was carried out and what instruments were used to collect the data. The analysis section provides a theoretical justification for utilising thematic content analysis. The chapter includes a self-reflexive section and addresses potential ethical concerns and quality assessment.

Chapter four contains the analysis and discussion of the research. The emergent themes are structured as per the stipulated research questions and supported by arguments in the literature review. Two primary themes emerged:

- Conceptualising ‘community’
- Exploring notions of participation

Within the present themes, further sub-themes are discussed in support of the relevant findings. For the first main theme the two subthemes are: corporate and NGO assumptions of community and individual assumptions of community. For the second main theme the sub-themes are: assumptions of participation, understanding participation through education, private space as obstructing participation and participatory partnerships. When discussing the mentioned themes the sample and its context are taken into consideration.

Chapter five includes concluding remarks that address the implications of the current study. It also considers the theoretical and methodological strengths and limitations of the research and provides recommendations for future research in the field of food insecurity.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

While the conceptual understanding of food insecurity has changed from a global understanding of food insecurity to focusing on subjective experiences, the primary foundation remains the same, food insecurity simply means 'not having' access to food (Patel, 2007). The present literature review focuses on food insecurity in a developing context, specifically looking at South Africa. The literature review starts by highlighting food insecurity as a major global health concern. It discusses the link between food insecurity and poverty and emphasises how food insecurity is caused by chains of production that dictate what and how people eat (Patel, 2007). These points emphasise that food insecurity is a reality for many people but it is also guided by corporate notions of profit (Patel & McMichael, 2010).

The literature review progresses to show the link between food insecurity and health by outlining the effects of malnourishment. The consequences of the political, economic and social implications of food insecurity are made evident in the effect it has on a person's health. By looking at the health implications of food insecurity, the literature review provides an assessment of the role of health psychology. Although mainstream psychology has examined the behavioural and cognitive effects of food little has been written about food insecurity, from a psychological perspective, on a global scale. What is evident from the literature is that psychologised principles of health promotion such as: individualism and agency, empowerment, education and community participation are also pervasive in the way that development is thought about (Aboud, 1998). The literature review highlights how the mainstream way of thinking affects the way that development is acted out.

The literature review develops to discuss the function of critical health psychology as an alternative way of thinking about the role of psychology in society (Hook, 2004a). It provides a critique of the way that mainstream health psychology understands taken for granted concepts like community participation, empowerment, individualism and education. Similarly, critical thinking allows for the exploration of these concepts within development and food insecurity. This has the effect of assessing how and why these concepts are thought about in a particular way, who they serve and what is not being mentioned. The strong focus on community food gardens explores food insecurity across the individual and community

levels. In the literature, community food gardens are presented as interventions that promote development and food security (Firth et al., 2011). These types of interventions embody particular way of thinking that are evident in mainstream health psychology.

In conclusion, the literature review progresses to discuss NGO and corporate involvement as the alternative ways of doing development. Positioning outside organisations as support structures for community health interventions is evident in the thinking of mainstream health psychology (Aboud, 1998). The focus on NGO and corporate involvement in food insecurity allows for the exploration of external agents' conceptualisations of community participation and their possible consequences.

2.2 Food insecurity

2.2.1 Accessibility, poverty and health.

Food is essential for achieving health, well-being and human development (Altman, Hart, & Jacobs, 2009). The notion of food insecurity is not new to public attention however, the manner in which it has been conceptualised has changed over the years (Maxwell, 2003). A common assumption is that when people are suffering from hunger all that is needed is to discover a way to grow more food (Patel et al., 2009). This form of thinking fails to address the role of market power in controlling food production. Maxwell (2003) describes different paradigms of understanding food insecurity. One of these paradigms describes food insecurity as stemming from "the global and the national to the household and individual" (Maxwell, 2003, p. 14). Such an outlook embodies the notion that food insecurity is a consequence of food accessibility (Vogel & Smith, 2002). The global production of food is more than enough to meet the dietary requirements of people unfortunately, some cannot afford food or have access to it (Maynard, 2008; Maxwell, 2003). Holt-Giménez (2009) emphasises that in a time of record harvest and record profit for global food corporations, there is increasing hunger amongst the poor.

The problem is not the ability to produce or availability of food rather, it is a failure at the level of individual, household or community entitlement (Drimie & Mini, 2003). Entitlement refers to the things that a person can make their own, including food (ODI, 2001; Sen, 1987). A person can experience food insecurity when the nature of their entitlement makes it difficult for them to access food (Sen, 1987). Entitlement is affected by global market supply

and demand of food (Devereux, 2001). Producers of food are subject to the same principles of supply and demand that govern corporate competitive relationships (Patel & McMichael, 2010). Less food means higher food prices (Patel, 2007). The prominence of increasing food prices is most evident in the last couple of years where global maize price increased by 130 percent (Patel & McMichael, 2010). According to the World Bank (2012) the 2011 food price index exceeded the 2010 annual index by 24 percent. Coupled with these figures is the realisation that food prices, in the coming decade, are expected to remain high (Dupont & Thirlwell, 2009). Due to rising food prices guided by capitalist motives of profit, poor people across the world are unable to feed themselves (Patel, 2007). Food corporations have the power to dictate the terms of supply and demand which has the direct consequence of exploiting the people who eat the food (Patel, 2007). Therefore, Sen (1987) made the hypothesis that most cases of global food insecurity are due to people not being entitled to commodities required for survival. This highlights how having food around does not necessarily mean that the poor will get to eat it therefore food is unevenly available and distributed (Patel & McMichael, 2010). Something that is described as a global human right has become a global commodity for corporate profit, this is emphasised by Vandana Shiva's quote below which talks about corporate involvement transforming food systems from a democracy to a dictatorship.

> "Our food system has been hijacked by corporate giants from the Seed to the table. Seeds controlled by Monsanto, agribusiness trade controlled by Cargill, processing controlled by Pepsi and Philip Morris, retail controlled by Walmart - is a recipe for Food Dictatorship. We must Occupy the Food system to create Food Democracy."[1]

The unequal production, supply and fixing of food prices has the consequence of permanently submerging developing nations in poverty and food insecurity. The body of literature discusses several factors that impact on food insecurity. Including the problems associated with high food prices and financial crises additional factors are; population growth, climate change and environmental patterns, political disturbances, social inequality and rising oil prices (Atkins & Bowler, 2001; Galal, Corroon, & Tirado, 2010; Gregory, Ingram, &

[1] A statement made Dr Vandana Shiva for the global day of action: Occupy our food system. The comment was published by Common Dreams on the 24th of February 2012 in order to promote the rise up to confront corporate control of the food system.

Brklacich, 2005; Maynard, 2008; Sahib, 1994). The high concern with population growth and food insecurity in developing nations is due to the increasing number of people who are financially and physically in no position to feed themselves (Sahib, 1994). Population growth coupled with an unreliable global food market economy means that the eradication of global food insecurity is headed towards an uncertain future (Maynard, 2008). In Africa, the population is expected, by 2020, to reach 1.2 billion (Love, Twomlow, Mupangwa, van der Zaag, & Gumbo, 2006). An additional factor of climate change, in certain countries, has impacted crop productions. Poor rainfall in southern Africa highlights the vulnerability of crop production to drought where drastic climate change can cause mass crop failure (Drimie & Mini, 2003). These have further consequences on the fluctuation of global food prices (Dupont & Thirlwell, 2009; Gregory et al., 2005).

A further concern is the direct overlap between food insecurity and poverty. Poverty has the effect of fostering food insecurity and worsening existing food insecurity (Swift & Hamilton, 2003). Political, social and economic factors contextualise poverty as a developing problem, one where people's fundamental rights are dependent on greater global structures. In the context of food insecurity, high prevalence of food insecurity can prevent people from escaping poverty (von Braun, Swaminathan, & Rosegrant, 2004). Food insecurity can have a direct effect on one's ability to work, learn and live a happy, healthy and productive life, making escape from poverty difficult (von Braun et al., 2004). Additionally, as highlighted above the unequal structures of food production and distribution have direct consequences on the prevalence of poverty (Dupont & Thirlwell, 2009). Therefore, both poverty and food insecurity represent dominant social problems for development.

In recent years, poverty has increased in urban centres. Rapid urbanisation translates to mass influx of people into cities. Africa boasts one of the highest rates of urbanisation (Maxwell, 1999). While traditional notions of city living include a biased perception of better food security, modern trends are showing how urban areas are experiencing high rates of poverty and food insecurity (Swift & Hamilton, 2003). The increase in unemployment and under-employment, low wages, overcrowding, degrading infrastructure and declining service delivery epitomises a large portion of urban living (Maxwell, 1999). Urban living renders people dependent on commercially produced products making them vulnerable to price inflations (Swift & Hamilton, 2003). Since food prices tend to be higher in urban areas and a high percentage of people's income (60%-80%) is spent on food, urban poverty can be

interpreted as food insecurity (Maxwell, 1999; Swift & Hilton, 2003). The problem of food insecurity and poverty are further exacerbated in the way they affect individual health.

The health implications of food insecurity are severe. The above mentioned definition of food insecurity highlights the 'lack of' food, this in turn can be perceived as a cause of malnutrition, hunger, under-nutrition and other food and nutritional related problems. While food insecurity might not always lead to low nutrition, in most cases it does (Young, 2003). Malnutrition is the largest contributor to disease in the world and leads to approximately one-third of all child deaths in developing countries (Bhattacharya et al., 2004; Müller & Krawinkle, 2005; Shaw, 2005; Young, 2003). Malnutrition is defined as a deficiency of one or many nutrients (Young, 2003). The most vulnerable groups include female heads of house, single parents, migrants, landless people and people living with many relatives, the unemployed, children, pregnant women and the elderly (Cook, 2002; Kregg-Byers & Schlenk, 2010; Patel, 2007). These groups are made more vulnerable to low levels of health if coupled with extreme poverty (Holt-Giménez, 2009). Furthermore, the World Bank (2012) acknowledges that increasing food prices are placing more children at risk for nutritional deficits.

In children, protein-energy malnutrition can cause wasting, stunting marasmus and kwashiorkor (Müller & Krawinkle, 2005). Kwashiorkor is characterised by oedema, which is the intense swelling of the body while marasmus is a severe loss of weight (Young, 2003). In addition to the physiological side effects of malnutrition, a person's immune system is degraded which makes them vulnerable to diseases (Young, 2003). Of major concern for many developing nations who are struggling with food insecurity is the high prevalence of HIV positive people. Severe malnutrition in adults is often associated with diseases such as HIV/AIDS (Young, 2003). Two thirds of the people in the world living with HIV/AIDS live in sub-Saharan Africa (Tomlinson, Rohleder, Swartz, Drimie, & Kagee, 2010). HIV positive people require more proteins and calories than most, if this is compromised then their immune system, which is already impaired, degenerates further (Tomlinson et al., 2010). Additionally, food insecurity has been identified as a barrier to antiretroviral (ARV) adherence (Tomlinson et al., 2010; Weiser, Tuller, Frongillo, Senkungu, Mukiibi, & Bangsberg, 2010). The social and personal consequences of this are far reaching.

Malnutrition is said to have the ability to erode human capital, reduce resilience to shock and reduce productivity of physical and mental capacity (Shaw, 2005). According to the FAO (2004), "Hunger and malnutrition inflict heavy costs on individuals and households, communities and nations" (p. 8). All of the facts presented outline food insecurity as a health concern. Health is perceived as a need, central to western ideals of economic growth (Thiesmeyer, 2009). The definition of health in the context of food insecurity is understood by the physiological and economic effect that it has on individuals and states and positions them as endemic of poverty. Such a perspective fails to address the role of global food corporations on health. Although the causes of food insecurity can be traced to corporate control of food production and distribution the solution to the health consequences are often positioned at the level of individual agents. In accordance with much of the literature food insecurity is described as prevalent in Africa. For this reason a contextualisation of food insecurity in South Africa is provided.

2.2.2 Food insecurity in South Africa.

The nature of food insecurity in South Africa highlights the degree of government involvement and responsibility. South Africa has been described as the economic engine of the southern African region (Eriksen, Vogel, Ziervogel, Steinbrunch, & Nazare, 2009). The South African Bill of Rights, in the South African Constitution, section 27 states that 'everyone has the right to - sufficient food and water'. These rights re-emphasise the global human right to food and water but fall short in addressing the constitutional right of many South African citizens (Bonti-Ankomah, 2001; Love, 2003). While South Africa is food secure at a country level, food insecurity is prevalent at the individual and household level, with 39% of the population being vulnerable to food insecurity (Altman, Hart, & Jacobs, 2009; Bonti-Ankomah, 2001; Love, 2003). For many, food insecurity has become the norm (Smith, 2003). Despite economic growth, South Africa has a high rate of income inequality, high unemployment and extreme poverty (Altman et al., 2009). With low employment and low income it comes as no surprise that food insecurity would be of high concern for South African households. Bonti-Ankomah (2001) highlights how food insecurity is a failure of accessing food items and self sufficiency in food production. Although, South Africa ensures a high production of foods this in no way implies direct benefits for individual and household food access (Bonti-Ankomah, 2001; Love, 2003). Therefore, the situation in South Africa is symbolic of the global concerns around food insecurity and development.

The high discrepancy between household income, unemployment, expenditure and rising food prices means that it has fallen upon the South African government to implement a social welfare system. This is in line with the South African constitution which specifies that it is the state's responsibility to enforce section 27 and ensure that citizens gain access to sufficient food (Love, 2003). When compared to its surrounding states, South Africa has an advanced social system that includes: old age pensions, war veterans, child support grants, foster child grants, care dependency grants and disability grants (Bonti-Ankomah, 2001). While grants are high contributing factors in decreasing poverty and food insecurity it was discovered that a large portion of households, who were eligible for a grant, did not receive it (Altman et al., 2009). When addressing issues of poverty and food insecurity in South Africa, one has to consider the political and power structures that hold it in place (Smith, 2003). The prevalence of food insecurity conceives the state of assuming responsibility for its people (Smith, 2003). This highlights a particular partnership between government and the people (Gardner & Lewis, 2000). This partnership is simply based on the administration of aid and avoids the inclusive assumptions that are prevalent in developmental thinking (Gardner & Lewis, 2000). The distribution of grants coupled with the rising number of food insecure people, places considerable pressure on governments (Patel, 2007).

Due to the multi-dimensional perspective of food insecurity being a political, economical, social and environmental product, responsibility tends to be passed from one government department to another (Love, 2003; Smith, 2003). Such inconsistency in perspectives highlights the imbalance of power between those that have 'access' to food and those that do not. Government grants are indicative of a power relationship that has formed between the people and the state. Of high concern is the ability to economically sustain these grants due to government debt (Bonti-Ankomah, 2001; Smith, 2003). This means, that people who are dependent on grants are putting themselves at risk (Töpfer, 2012). Government grants have also been critiqued as providing a short term solution to what is essentially a global problem (Tomlinson et al., 2010). It is within this setting that alternative approaches to development have gained momentum.

Alternative solutions to South Africa's food insecurity issues include nutritional programmes such as feeding schemes at schools (Bonti-Ankomah, 2001). Such programmes have the benefit of reaching children who might not be receiving the necessary nutrients at home (Bonti-Ankomah, 2001). The intention is to supplement the children's diets which in turn

would have a direct result on their learning ability. It is assumed that higher levels of education will provide a solution to poverty alleviation. In actuality, school feedings schemes are another school based solution founded on government dependence. A further solution, which has gained considerable momentum globally and constitutes the main focus of this report, is household production of food or food gardening (Altman et al., 2009). Within a South African context it was discovered by the Human Science Research Council that extremely poor households were more likely to engage in own food productions (Altman et al., 2009). Unfortunately, own production does not necessarily improve food insecurity or help a household become more economically sustainable (Altman et al., 2009). Based on all the points above, food insecurity is a direct consequence of corporate control over food supply and demand. In countries that experience severe food insecurity, the responsibility is often left up to the government. Unfortunately, many of the countries that suffer from food insecurity also have to deal with other social and economic problems thus limiting their abilities to directly tackle food insecurity and promote development. Development is a global concern which has gained momentum over the years. This is most evident in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

The MDGs have provided a practical and time bound measure to advance sustainable development (Drimie & Mini, 2003). With three years to go, the MDGs are criticised as being unrealistic, unachievable, irrelevant and bound to fail (Chibba, 2011; Khoo, 2005). As a result of the financial crisis in 2008/2009 many states do not have the capabilities to meet the required target (Chibba, 2011). The goals have been criticised as being unfair for African states in that Africa had the lowest per capita income in the world when the goals were set (Chibba, 2011). This had the affect of disadvantaging its abilities to reach expected targets. The regions with the most deprivation and poverty are the ones that experience the highest rise in inequality and consequently require the most work but are most under resourced (Khoo, 2005). The pressure is on developing countries, such as South Africa, to find their own effective and creative development solutions (Chibba, 2011). Therefore, while the broader problems stem from an unequal global divide of power the solution is passed onto individual states. At the state level, development is conceptualised through community interventions specifically focused on the marginalised or underprivileged. This is evident in the body of work that has been done in South Africa around promoting development in marginalised locations (Williams, 2006). A marginalised location refers to areas that experience low development and are also referred to as undeveloped. The assumptions that

development draws on to conceptualise its community based interventions are prevalent in the way that health psychology thinks about community health interventions.

2.3 Where does psychology fit in? A critical look at health psychology

The World Health Organization (WHO), on its official website, defines health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity". When compared to the definition of food security, it is evident that health comprises a large component of food (in)security hence the relevance of addressing the two concepts together. From a psychological perspective, the definition of health also forms part of the biopsychosocial model (BPSM). The BPSM emerged as a response to the dominant biomedical model which understands all illness as a product of biological, cellular, chemical and genetic factors that cause physical changes in the body (Crossley, 2000). Thus within the field of psychology, the BPSM goes against the prevalent medical assumptions and understandings of health. BPSM provides a framework through which health related knowledge is a product of a combination of factors: biological, psychological and social (Crossley, 2000; Marks, Murray, Evans, Willig, Woodall, & Sykes, 2005; Sarafino, 2002; Sarafino, 2005). The biological factors include similar traits as the biomedical model and address issues around hereditary disorders and genetic predispositions (Sarafino, 2002). The psychological factors highlight emotions, motivations and cognitions as indicators of health and the social factors look at the influence that social values, communities and family structures have on promoting health (Sarafino, 2002). The BPSM was welcomed by social scientists because it moved away from the linear biomedical model and emphasised the significance of the 'psychological' and the 'social' in illness and health (Crossley, 2000). This is significant in highlighting how health is a social entity and can vary depending on the social and political context of the individual.

One of the main critiques of health psychology is that mainstream health psychology (MHP) does not incorporate knowledge from other disciplines to better understand health (Marks, 2006). Rather medical perceptions position knowledge at the level of the expert and this knowledge is perceived as the true knowledge (Hook, 2004a). Little mention is made of the relevance of studying social class and economic inequality and its association to health although the above literature highlights the link between food insecurity, poverty and health on a global scale (Marks, 2006; Murray, Nelson, Maticka-Tyndale, & Ferris, 2004). While

MHP does not partake in multi-disciplinary action, it does acknowledge that socioeconomic status is linked hierarchically to health such that those with a higher social status have better health compared to those with a lower status (Adler et al., 2006). One of the assumptions of MHP is that all people are of equal worth but this assumption is irrelevant when the means of overcoming the consequences of social inequality are viewed by MHP as another field's 'problem' (Adler et al., 2006; Marks, 2006; Popay & Williams, 1994). In essence, MHP theories and views are too simplistic to account for all the factors that impact health and food insecurity (Crossley, 2008). Murray and Campbell (2003) believe that it is time for health professionals to become more active and enter the socio-political forum so that traditional health sectors can be challenged. Challenging traditional notions of health can transform existing notions of development that perceive health as a commodity (Thiesmeyer, 2009).

Critical health psychology (CHP) emerged in direct contrast to MHP and the dominant social order (Crossley, 2008; Hepworth, 2006; Hook, 2004a; Jovanovic, 2010). CHP is cautious of MHP's inadequate application of the BPSM in understanding health and illness (Crossley, 2000). The main focus within MHP is on the individual and micro-factors that influence health not the macro-social as implied by the BPSM (Murray et al., 2004). This is evident in situations where genetic or personality traits are thought about as the main determinants of health problems without taking into consideration the effects of the social context. MHP does not follow the biopsychosocial perspectives as set out by the BSPM (Crossley, 2000). Rather, MHP juxtaposes the factors of the BPSM instead of integrating them (Crossley, 2000; Marks, 2002). This causes a divide in explaining health and illness such that the biological, psychological and social are viewed as separate entities and not as a whole (Crossley, 2000; Crossley, 2008). Therefore, instead of adopting the BPSM as stipulated, MHP still follows the biomedical framework. Additionally, health and illness has been defined as something that belongs to the individual (Murray & Campbell, 2003).

Concepts like individualism are prevalent in Western societies and become problematic when applied out of context (Crossley, 2008). Individualism implies responsibility on behalf of the subject for his/her own health status independent of their environment and social processes (Crawford, 1977). Such an outlook enables victim blaming (Crawford, 1977). By encouraging people to take responsible for their health, MHP is inadvertently letting 'itself off the hook' (Crawford, 1977). Individualised concepts are also viewed by critical psychology as preventing the achievement of social justice and obstructing autonomy and

health (Crossley, 2000). The subject is placed in a situation where they are held responsible for their health but are unable, from a social, political and economic position, to do anything about it (Crawford, 1977). In sum, individualism ignores the fact that free choice is false, fails to see health as socially influenced and is ineffective in preventing ill health (Naidoo, 1986). Therefore, there is a strong call for health psychology to re-orientate itself so that while it understands individual suffering it needs to include the social and political context (Crawford, 1977). Concepts of individualism, although prevalent, are not restricted to health but rather extend to other facets of professional and public inequality.

The aim of CHP is to analyse how power, economics and macro-social processes within society influence health, illness and people's abilities to fight injustice and oppression (Crossley, 2008; Hook, 2004a; Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2003). This perspective sits in contrast to the biomedical model that focuses on individual, physiological and intrapsychic factors. Some of the main areas in which CHP differs from MHP, is that CHP rejects the acontextual approach to understanding health, it abandons the study of the individual and focuses on practice that is reflexive and empowering (Crossley, 2008; Hepworth, 2006). While MHP considers knowledge to be based at the level of the expert, CHP explores the manner in which such knowledge is used to promote certain power relations and exclude particular individuals (Hook, 2004a). CHP criticises MHP's insufficient appropriation of the BPSM and calls for a re-evaluation of how people should be treated (Crossley, 2000; Hepworth, 2006). Murray and Campbell (2003) appeal for a health psychology that is more politically engaged and focuses on the issues of poverty, social inequality and power.

The manner, in which poverty is explored, in critical thinking, needs to avoid producing the status quo that is evident in MHP. Critical thinking sides with the weak, the marginalised, the oppressed and the poor (Kagan et al., 2011). By doing this it allies itself with those who have limited power and exposes the power structures that produce such inequality (Kagan et al., 2011). Critical health psychology attempts to promote political change within the health sphere and challenge the dominant social structures and institutions at the root cause of health problems (Hepworth, 2006; Jovanovic, 2010; Murray & Poland, 2006). This is relevant in considering the unequal corporate power structures that govern food insecurity in developing worlds. Furthermore, Crossley (2008) and Lee (2006) elaborate that CHP aims to argue a course to change the context in which individual people make choices and encounter

experiences. Thus, CHP is a way for psychology to look at the individual 'within' the social and not separate from it.

The critique of MHP is further outlined by analysing the discipline's study of food. MHP ignores the global concern of food insecurity. This is most evident in texts that discuss food and nutrition from a health psychology perspective but fail to mention the contexts that foster such inequality (Aboud, 1998). Much of the focus on food in health psychology has been around the topic of eating as a health behaviour (Chamberlain, 2004). Eating behaviours involve studying dietary choices, control and disordered eating, specifically focusing on issues around obesity, anorexia and bulimia nervosa and the consequences of malnourishment in children (Aboud, 1998; Maynard, 2008; Sarafino, 2002). Malnourishment has sparked considerable interest in psychology specifically for the physical, psychological and social consequences that it is said to have on children (Aboud, 1998). MHP draws on concepts of individualism, discussed above, in an attempt to tackle malnourishment. This has had the effect of blaming the victims for their own health thus failing to address the main cause of the problem (Aboud, 1998). Health interventions that focus on malnourishment but adopt individualised concepts have been found to be unsuccessful (Aboud, 1998). Furthermore, the majority of research concerning food within health psychology has been conducted in developed or Westernised societies from an individualised, biomedical perspective. The consequences are that whatever assumptions are made about food are often biased or not applicable to developing communities. As noted in the previous section, food is closely connected to health but it is also political, economical and social, therefore it is important to think about the other factors so that the relationship between food and health can be analysed (Chamberlain, 2004). CHP provides an alternative way of thinking about psychology which offers a more global and equal perspective when discussing food insecurity.

Mainstream health psychology also produces particular assumptions when working with marginalised people. Within this context, MHP assumes that the problem lies with the poor not bettering their health. The proposed solution is to provide health care at a community level through participation (Aboud, 1998; Murry & Cammpbell, 2003). Community and participation are concepts that are often taken for granted by mainstream health psychology. MHP assumes that external health professionals with specific skills are required to foster community participation through education (Aboud, 1998). Such concepts are problematic in that they make assumption about the types of interventions necessary for specific groups.

Participation is conceptualised by health psychology as a method of empowering the poor with immediate benefits especially if it has a bottom-up approach (Kagan et al., 2011). Of significance, is the realisation that conceptualisations of community and participation are mainly adopted when working with the 'poor'. This is further emphasised by organisations such as the WHO promoting work that tackles health at the level of the poor (Hepworth, 2006). This type of work has the consequence of promoting a particular status quo all with the justification that 'it is for the poor' (Hepworth, 2006). The way in which individualism, participation, community and empowerment are thought about are not restricted to psychology rather, similar forms of thinking are prevalent in notions of development. The literature below will discuss these concepts further and emphasises the problematic assumption associated with this way of thinking. The problems of adopting this form of thinking are only enhanced when discussed from the context of food insecurity. Kagan et al. (2011) emphasise that "critical awareness arises though dialogue and exchange" (p. 188). Adopting a critical framework offers an alternative way of thinking about how community, participation and empowerment are conceptualised and what assumptions they produce. This implies that such concepts are often taken for granted with little or no exploration of their effect on the people under investigation. Although critical thinking offers a way to explore the broader assumptions that underline the way that health and development are thought about, CHP also needs to be more self-reflective through the process of critique.

In order to reveal CHP's limitations, CHP could do with being more self-critical. CHP involves broad application through theoretical interpretation (Hepworth, 2006). Fox (2003) acknowledges that although theory has an important role to play, practicality is required for change. The first step is criticising and describing people's realities the next step is to actively change these realities (Crossley, 2008). Dissecting concepts like community, participation, empowerment and individualism is possible through the application of critical health psychology. Most health improvements, in underprivileged communities, have come from scholars and activists outside of CHP thinking (Lee, 2006). While CHP promotes a multidisciplinary approach to health, it needs to engage with other disciplines, specifically other health and social sciences in order to decrease the inequalities within food insecurity (Crossley, 2008; Maclachlan, 2006; Murray & Poland, 2006). Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky (2003) support this notion by emphasising that health is subject to a variety of factors therefore to see the bigger picture CHP needs to work in synchronicity with other disciplines. Some of these disciplines include; politics, sociology and specifically economics. As

discussed above, political, economic and social factors impact on food insecurity. These factors have their own way of understanding food insecurity and thus can provide unique contributions towards its alleviation.

This research report will focus on one food insecurity intervention; community food gardening. Food gardens have gained substantial attention for being perceived as socially, economically and environmentally sustainable especially with the pending global concerns like increased food prices, climate change and financial crisis (Firth et al., 2011; Holland, 2004). Additionally, community food gardens are described in the literature as interventions that promote healthy eating (Marsh, 1998). The assumptions that govern community food gardens are the same as the taken for granted concepts that MHP adopts in its health interventions when working with marginalised communities. Therefore, by discussing community food gardens and then contesting the taken for granted concepts of community and participation, this literature will emphasise how the psychologised way of thinking is not only prevalent in sustainable development but can be problematic when upheld as a solution to a global concern such as food insecurity. It is not enough to know the consequences of food insecurity in developing countries one also has to consider the power structures that hold it in place and evaluate routes for change. Fox (2003) believes that psychologists need to be more forthcoming in dictating the direction of social change. Therefore, while MHP can only facilitate change up to particular level, CHP offers a route through which researchers can engage with society at different levels (Estacio, 2009; Jovanovic, 2010). This route can be used to establish the effect of taken for granted concepts and explore what is left untouched.

2.4 Thinking about community and participation

The nature of sustainability is complex and multifaceted. Early ideas of sustainable development focused on ensuring a sustainable environment where the resource base is preserved for future generations (Moorehead & Wolmer, 2003). Such a perspective failed to take into account economic and social sustainability that collectively impact on development. While community food gardens, as mentioned above, are said to promote three key forms of sustainability: ecological, socio-cultural and economic, it is necessary to consider the preconditions of sustainability in order to evaluate its authenticity (Moorehead & Wolmer, 2003). For the purpose of this report the main preconditions under investigation are ‘participation’ and ‘community’. As mentioned previously, participation and community are

prevalent in the way that psychology thinks about health interventions (Aboud, 1998). This is not to say that psychology is the only discipline that has assumptions around participation and community. Rather, this report will draw on critical thinking to show how psychology has helped create particular ways of thinking about sustainable development, focusing specifically on participation and community.

From a health psychological perspective participation means "to take part or share in something" (Aboud, 1998, p. 125). From a developmental framework participation is considered as a requirement for sustainability but it does not, on its own, guarantee sustainability (Ismail, Immink, Mazar, & Nantel, 2003). Both perspectives have an idealistic view that people are eager to participate because participation means gaining control over ones' life (Aboud, 1998). Such an idealistic view talks to the assumption that it is only the marginalised or those entrenched in poverty that do not have control. Therefore, participation is viewed as a means to an end that can increase empowerment and control (Kagan et al., 2011). Thinking about participation in this way has the consequence of foreclosing alternative ways of understanding participation within the context of marginalised communities. As a broad concept, participation has a variety of meanings that change according to the context in which it is being assessed (Kelly & van Vlaenderen, 1997). For this reason, the term participation is complex and problematic (Kagan et al., 2011). When coupled with the term community, participation implies engagement at an individual and community level thus promoting a people-centred or bottom-up approach to development and health (Kelly & van Vlaenderen, 1997). Due to the fact that participation is a contestable concept, the implications of defining it can stimulate further notions around empowerment, agency, inclusion and exclusion.

Against the backdrop of food insecurity, the FAO maintains that assessment of food security should go beyond humanitarian needs and should consider the local socio-economic, institutional contexts and local peoples' roles in an attempt to better comprehend food security (FAO, 2010, p. 24). So far, the focus on community participation has been on how to stimulate participation within communities (FAO, 2003b). This implies that participation is dependent on external, corporate, government or NGO, involvement for stimulation which leaves one to question, where would participation be without the greater institutions involvement (Aboud, 1998). This emphasises that participation is influenced by external needs (Cleaver, 2001). A common assumption regarding community based food security

interventions is that they, by rule of thumb, employ community participation (FAO, 2003b). The numerous proposed benefits of participation within development discard any assessment of the concept, so much so that the study of power and politics within participation is unwelcomed (Cleaver, 2001). An example of this is that different groups experience different forms of participation where some people's opinions and actions are held in higher regard than others (Shortall, 2008). Existing inequality can lead to exclusion from participatory action (Shortall, 2008). For this reason, it is important to critically interrogate notions of participation, especially when power dynamics are bound to be ripe. It is through this interrogation that alternative forms of thinking about participation can emerge.

As mentioned previously community participation is viewed as one of the main principles of health promotion. It is said to have the potential to empower, build and consolidate alliances, create solidarity and stimulate change especially in the field of health (Cock, 2006). Community health is assumed to be based on local people's aspirations, knowledge and ideas in the planning and production of health interventions to curb inequality (Bhuyan, 2004; Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000; Rifkin, 1996). Local knowledge, in relation to participation, is considered to reflect local power, "which enables local people, through involvement and experience, to gain access and control to health care resources" (Rifkin, 1996, p. 83). This point fails to notice that participation is a public event that occurs in the presence of a greater authority so that local knowledge is formed by the intervention itself (Mosse, 2001). The space in which local knowledge comes about can range from public lecture, informal talk or more organised workshops. These spaces are perceived as educational places with the aim of changing minds (Rodmell & Watt, 1986). While Rifki (1996) and McEwan (2003) believe that local people are agents of social change, Mosse (2001) emphasises that local needs are influenced by society. This means that people participate in agency programmes and are not the agents themselves. Thus private institutions become advocates for public problems (Cock, 2006). What is evident from all of this is that health promotion is about changing the individual through a community participatory approach and education. The same concepts are evident in development interventions where through promoting participation and providing select forms of education, community development is assumed to occur.

Some benefits of community participation include: community members utilising existing knowledge to ensure sustainability of services, being involved in decision making processes,

which prompts change in bad health behaviours and allowing people to obtain further experience and information which they could use to challenge existing social, political and economic systems that have deprived them of their needs (Rifkin, 1996). The presented benefits are described by Mosse (2001) as 'planning knowledge'. Although planning knowledge has the potential to decrease health inequalities, local plans do not generate interventions rather, interventions are created out of greater institutional settings and organisational constraints (McEwan, 2005; Mosse, 2001). Therefore, the above mentioned points are perceived as benefits only from the organisations perspective. Community participation is produced through the manipulation of planning knowledge (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). This means that local needs shift in accordance with the interventions needs so that the greater institutional interests are projected and embodied by the community (Mosse, 2001). To elaborate, "projects end up ventriloquizing villagers' needs" (Mosse, 2001, p. 24). People are encouraged to participate in interventions that would only have the benefit of promoting the intervention itself. The reasons for promoting the intervention are positioned within corporate needs which will be discussed in more detail below. Therefore, there is inevitable tension between what the intervention wants to accomplish and what the 'community' needs.

Community participation denotes a community empowerment approach which claims that through participation, community members gain mastery over their lives (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000; Okvat & Zautra, 2011). Campbell and Jovchelovitch (2000), claim that it is important to focus on the outcomes of community level empowerment because in past research empowerment was mainly directed at the psychological, biomedical and individual levels. Empowerment is related to both individual and class action that overcomes inequalities by changing social institutions (Cleaver, 2001). It is described as "the ability of people to gain understanding and control over personal, social, economic, and political forces in order to take action to improve their life situations" (Israel, Checkoway, Schulz & Zimmerman, 1994). One main concern when considering this definition of empowerment; is looking at what level people are empowered; individual or community (Cleaver, 2001). In interventions that employ participation, the mechanism of empowerment can either be perfectly clear or very fuzzy (Cleaver, 2001). If empowerment goals are not clear then individuals and communities will not experience the full benefits of empowerment such as improved self-esteem, social cohesion and trust (Guareschi & Jovchelovitch, 2004). Even within psychological thinking, that focuses on the individual, the level of empowerment jumps from that of the individual to the community (Aboud, 1998). It is imperative to

consider whether empowerment goals are purposefully not provided by the institution, in which case it would be relevant to deduce the rationale for this. The lack of providing empowerment goals can be a result of over looked or undefined institutional or methodological processes which are indicative of a power imbalance. Similarly, not defining empowerment leaves one to assume that something like empowerment is inherent in community participation interventions. Therefore, participation promotes empowerment, empowerment also emphasises participation (Israel et al., 1994).

A primary assumption is that community participation abandons concepts of individualism prevalent in health psychology thinking and instead attempts to reveal the political, economical and social contributors to unequal health (Campbell, 2000). In contexts where community participation is inspired by external projects, specific institutions are perceived as a "development tool" (Cleaver, 2001, p.47) while local people are classified as the "human resource" (Mosse, 2001, p.47) used by these tools to achieve established goals based on institutional needs. This is evident in the way that mainstream health psychology thinks about the individual as the greatest resource to community work (Aboud, 1998). Participation assumes the existence of a 'social being' who through the interests of the greater community, interests which at times are influenced by outside organisations, reaches a natural state (Cleaver, 2001). The two concepts mentioned above either serve to under socialise or over-socialise community members which results in a loss of individual purpose and livelihood (Cleaver, 2001). In essence, participation can lead to a loss of the 'real' individual. On the other hand, participation can result in over individualisation where by not choosing to participate, individual members are held responsible for the failure of an intervention and the underdevelopment of the community (Aboud, 1998; Holland, 2004; Shortall, 2008). In sum, assumptions around community do not distract from the reality that participation is itself a method of individualising people.

The conceptualisation of community participation has certain setbacks. McEwans (2003) emphasises that unless the provided resources meet the needs of the whole community, participation will decrease. The problem with this is that a community is seen as a natural, repetitive and united source instead of being influenced by social factors (Cleaver, 2001; Dempsey, 2010). Up to this point, the literature has spoken about 'community' in the same taken for granted manner as many health and developmental interventions. Cleaver (2001), emphasises that "participatory approaches stress solidarity within communities" (p. 44), such

that all local needs match. This is a flawed concept in that within a single network there can exist many communities based on cultural markers, geographic location, extended family, religion, schools, gender, income and many more social factors (Cleaver, 2001; McEwans, 2003; Xu, 2007). Firth et al. (2011) reiterate this by stating that communities are influenced by society through people sharing and interacting with a common purpose. Therefore, the notion of a naturally occurring community needs to be contested further. Within health psychology, community is the backdrop against which individual behaviour is studied (Kagan et al., 2011). For this reason, a community is a necessary point to work from.

When implementing an intervention that requires participation, one has to consider whether the people being addressed form part of a common purpose or whether the community is being conceptualised in a particular way to meet the needs of the greater organisation. Even then people's perception can vary (Holland, 2004). The social factors mentioned previously also affect the level of exclusion or inclusion in community participation. Thus, the way that we define community can either include or limit certain individuals from taking part in interventions designed to benefit the whole 'community' (Dempsey, 2010). Like the term community, participation has the ability to produce inclusions and exclusion. Participatory inclusion and exclusion are mediated by a variety of social norms and structures that could potentially discredit the benefits of participation at an individualistic level (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000; Cleaver, 2001). Furthermore, Cleaver (2001) accentuates that during local participation, exclusion can increase. For this reason, in analysing community participation it is relevant to ask questions regarding conditions of participatory enactment, who is benefiting from the intervention and how and who is excluded and why (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000; McEwan, 2003).

Psychologised forms of thinking have reproduced buzzwords that spotlight interventions as being positive and persuasive (Cornwall & Brock, 2005). Such buzzwords include 'participation', 'community', 'sustainability' and 'empowerment'. Combined, these words speak of transformation and encourage a developmental agenda (Cornwall & Brock, 2005). In actuality, the words are politically vague and have the consequence of foreclosing alternative ways of thinking about community centred work. In speaking about participation, organisations fail to mention how this participation is accomplished and in many cases it is assumed to occur naturally (Ismail et al., 2003). Coupled with community, participation becomes even vaguer where many institutions fail to mention 'what' it is and 'why' they

have chosen to define a particular space as a community, at times diverting back to geographical location as a justification. Empowerment, although invested in political, social and economic structures of power inequality, is broadly conceptualised as promoting justice and decentralising dominant power structures (Israel et al., 1994). The exact meaning of empowerment is irrelevant when the word itself is taken to imply development. The present buzzwords have become 'keywords' that carry political and social values that highlight the current time frame of sustainable development (Cornwall & Brock, 2005). These words are present throughout every facet of food insecurity and food garden interventions, from the individual and community to corporate and NGO involvement. The following section will outline corporate social initiatives and public-private partnerships in the context of development.

2.5. Critiques of corporate initiatives and public-private partnerships

Much has been written about the neo-liberal and socially based approaches to development. These approaches highlight an alternative way of doing development and are prevalent in food insecurity interventions. The number of corporations, national and international, concerned with sustainable development is fast increasing. The growing global concern around social inequality, sustainability and poverty reduction has put pressure on corporations to assist in development practices (Idemudia, 2011). The reason behind corporate pressure stems from the fact that corporations are often the perpetrators in driving social inequality (Lund-Thomsen, 2004). This is evident through the links between business and society (Lund-Thomsen, 2004). Social inequality is deemed as necessary by capitalism to ensure the growth of corporations (Cronin, 2009). The broader notions of development are being infiltrated by corporate social responsibility (CSR) and investment. By critically discussing corporate initiatives this literature outlines the economic benefits and possible limitations of corporate involvement and contests their ability to promote sustainable development on a global and community scale. The literature also discusses public-private partnerships and their associated political implications.

Numerous claims have been made about the contribution of corporate social investment (CSI), within neo-liberalism, and its ability to promote development, encourage sustainability, alleviate poverty and assist with other development goals (Blowfield & Frynas, 2005). CSI is defined by Fig (2005) as encompassing "projects that are external to the

business or outward looking projects undertaken for the purpose of uplifting communities in general and those which have a strong developmental approach" (p. 601). Such a definition sees development as being separate from business with no legal or ethical obligation to assist developing communities (Banerjee, 2008; Fig, 2005). Additionally, the term development, in the above quote, is left open for interpretation. It is unclear exactly, what type or levels of development corporations intend to support (Gardner & Lewis, 2000). As such, the word development becomes a buzzword to promote corporate initiatives. In effect, corporations are avoiding taking responsibility for their role in promoting social inequality but are none the less investing in societies (Fig, 2005). CSR, in contrast, means taking action that acknowledges and recognises the greater corporations' position in social development. However, CSR carries different definitions in different contexts making juggling different expectations difficult. The overall assumption is that CSR is beneficial to both companies and societies but their social involvement is challenged by the responsibility that companies have for themselves (Blowfield & Frynas, 2005). If both CSI and CSR are limited in assisting with social development then one has to query why corporations are investing time and money in initiatives that claim to assist social development. In the end, who do corporate initiatives really benefit?

The voluntary nature of corporate initiatives signifies a charitable characteristic of a system embedded in neo-liberalism. This is supported by capitalist language that is evident in notions of sustainable development such as the first Millennium Development Goal which aims to halve the number of people whose income is less than one dollar a day (von Braun et al., 2004). Poverty is described as one contributor to social inequality and for this reason the focus is not on simple sustainability but rather economic development (Khoo, 2005). Economic development is associated with growth and investment with a limited focus on human needs and wants (Banerjee, 2008). Blowfield (2004) highlights how corporate initiatives are designed to take pressure off government by financially supplementing government social obligations so that more funds become available for development. From this perspective, development is only possible when the funding is available. This makes it easy for corporation to hijack the meaning of sustainable development and manipulate it to represent their needs (Banerjee, 2008).

Corporations lack the relevant expertise necessary for solving social problems therefore, their interest is not development but rather improving the company's reputation through corporate

branding and advertising (Blowfield & Frynas, 2005; Fig, 2005; Lund-Thomsen, 2004; Porter & Kramer, 2006). As discussed above, this is an indication of market needs governing community development. While on the outside corporate investment would appear as a social obligation, in turn it can have strong economic benefits. In South Africa, companies are rewarded for their contributions towards sustainable development with little questioning what impact corporate initiatives are having on their intended beneficiaries (Blowfield, 2004; Fig, 2005). Therefore, CSI and CSR show how the corporate and societal relationships are based on corporate interest (Banerjee, 2008; Blowfield, 2005; Idemudia, 2011). This interest is spurred by a 'business case' where CSI leads to financial returns, improved investor relations and attracting good staff (Blowfield, 2004).

A further concern is corporate avoidance in addressing the issue of taxation (Christensen & Murphy, 2004). Corporations are seen as shifting the burden of taxation from the corporate to the individual therefore contributing to the increase of social inequality (Blowfield, 2004; Christensen & Murphy, 2004). While corporate initiatives are driven by an ethical approach to conducting business practices, Christensen and Murphy (2004) observe that "it is not possible to be ethical in one area of business conduct and to act otherwise in another area" (p.39). Therefore, the consequence of avoiding taxation has the effect of creating a socio-economic environment where corporate initiative is required. CSI is a business strategy that fails to align the needs of the marginalised with corporate needs. This is particularly relevant when assessing the role of corporate involvement in community interventions. Focusing specifically on participation, corporate initiatives adopt participatory concepts to promote their assumptions of development. At present, 'participation' is employed as a corporate practice where organisations can secure financial and political benefits but avoid the costs of long term participation commitments (Mosse, 2001). Therefore, participation is operationally constrained by a capitalist context that requires corporate goals to be met (Cooke & Kothari, 2001).

It is not the intent of this research to discard the value of corporate initiatives. Corporations have a large role to play in assisting development. Unfortunately, within a neo-liberal framework, corporate interest in marginalised communities has more to do with profit maximisation that community development. Blowfield and Frynas (2005) highlight how corporations step in to fill the gaps where governments fall short. This brings to light the type of partnerships that develop when government, corporations, non-profit organisations and

communities work together. This is often referred to as the public-private partnership (PPP). The private sectors, which involve corporations, support the formation of partnerships based on assumptions that they are inclusive and promote multi-level participation (Blowfield, 2004). Private sectors are said to approach local governments and their impoverished communities with the assumption of sharing power (Miraftab, 2004). Unfortunately, as is the cases with corporate initiatives, the needs of the community are overshadowed by private interests (Miraftab, 2004). In order to avoid such power conflicts, it is the responsibility of the state to regulate the partnerships (Zadek, 2004). What has emerged is that public sectors are beginning to share their responsibility with private sectors. Therefore, where one partner falls short the other partner steps in to fill the gap (Miraftab, 2004; Zadek, 2004). Miraftab (2004) emphasises that when these types of partnerships are in effect, it is important to evaluate who is participating, on what terrain and under whose initiative.

In many cases corporations are promoted as substitutes for government regulation (Lund-Thomsen, 2005). In situations when government is faced with stagnant funds, corporations provide the relevant resources and revenue (Blowfield, 2004). Within a capitalist system, having the necessary recourses translates to economic power (Cronin, 2009). While NGOs are supposed to assist government in monitoring the activities of private sectors, their lack of organisation and funding makes them dependent on private investments (Lund-Thomsen, 2005). Even though NGOs can fall under the term ‘private’ in PPP their main interests are often invested in public, social development (Miraftab, 2004). Thus the power structures that underlie the relationships between government, corporations and NGOs have shifted to the needs of the corporation with some trickle effect on society (Banerjee, 2008). One has to be cautious with assuming that the assistance that is provided by corporations really is sustainable (Banerjee, 2008).

In the context of food insecurity, corporate interest has sparked investment in food garden initiatives. Such initiatives are publicised and advertised to the wider society further promoting the involved company’s reputation (Dawkins & Ngunjiri, 2008). The effect of this is that at the so called community level, issues around participation and empowerment emerge. Words such as participation and empowerment are employed to promote the corporation at the expense of the individual members (Cronwall & Brock, 2005). While corporations talk empowerment and outline the necessity for participation they fail to specify exactly how such goals are to be achieved. Furthermore, corporations fail to dissect what they

mean by empowerment which leaves one wondering who and how they are to be empowered (Cleaver, 2001). This talk has the consequence of passing the responsibility to the individual. Banerjee (2008) also discusses how corporations use corporate knowledge to promote their position of power. In this position, corporations have the ability to segregate the pending problem to the micro-levels, the community and individual members, in effect letting themselves off the hook. From this perspective, participation is a symptom of corporate interest which renders the micro-levels accountable for its own social problem.

In short, corporate initiatives and PPP are a 'good idea' as long as they are committed to putting development and change above their own economic gains (Banerjee, 2008). Once again, it is evident that the ways alternative forms of development are conceptualised employ the same principles of participation, community, empowerment and individualism that are prevalent in health psychology thinking. This comes as no surprise since within the field of psychology external agents, such as NGOs, are encouraged to become involved in health interventions (Aboud, 1998). The corporate problems outlined above coupled with the complex nature of concepts such as community and participation creates an opportunity to explore how such concepts are conceptualised, why they are conceptualised and what function they serve. The novelty of the work is its application to the global issue of food insecurity but specifically focusing on interventions that promote community food gardens.

2.6 Community gardening: An overview

The multi-faceted nature of food insecurity, specifically in cities, has seen an increase in community[2] food gardening. Food gardens are systems of small scale farming that include the planting of fruits and/or vegetables in order to supplement the diet or provide a source of food (Marsh, 1998). Food gardening is one of the oldest economic and nutrition production systems in the world (Marsh, 1998). Community gardening in particular provides a 'public domain' where resources are produced and shared (Ferris et al., 2001). The multiple potential benefits of food gardening range from increasing access to nutrition, improving health, generating income and promoting development through education, skills training and building relationships (Firth et al., 2011; Marsh, 1998). Additionally, food gardens are thought to have the ability to help develop food security at a community, household and

[2] In the current context, the word 'community' implies a geographical location where people are assumed to share goals. Later sections will assess the contestability of the term within the broader study.

individual level (Marsh, 1998). Community food gardening is described as a method of reconnecting with the environment, economy and local community and in most cases is accessible to the poor (Marsh, 1998; Turner, Henryks, & Pearson, 2011). Community gardens have even been framed as agents of change by: promoting food growth, community interactions and areas from training and skill development (Holland, 2004). All of the above points emphasise how food gardens are assumed to promote ecological, social and economic sustainability that supplement grassroot community development (Holland, 2004).

With such high benefits, it comes as no surprise that many NGOs and corporations are sponsoring and promoting food garden projects in developing countries. Historically, people have reverted to food gardening in times of crisis and have often been encouraged to take an active role in food production (Turner et al., 2011). Historically, good gardens were thought of as providing a means to overcome the problem of food insecurity (Marsh, 1998). With interconnecting global, political, economic and social factors, community food gardens that aim to overcome food insecurity are seen as 'feel good politics' with few communities reaping the above mentioned benefits (Firth et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2011).

The promotion of a grassroot approach is prominent in notions of development where locals are persuaded to find solutions through the emphasis of "self-help, self-development and community involvement" with some outside intervention (Holland, 2004, p. 287). The assumptions of sustainable community development are such that the needs of the people will govern the intervention which will in turn promote participation. This sits in contrast to the prominent economic development model, top down approach, where outside organisations feed into communities (Holland, 2004). External organisations directly impact on communities such that sustainable community development is delayed for the promotion of economic development. This is most evident in the way that external agents conceptualise development for their own financial gain thus focusing more on economics then sustainability (Banerjee, 2008; Khoo, 2005). Community food garden intervention, although deemed beneficial, promulgate particular assumptions around community and participation that have political consequences for the way that development is enacted specifically against the backdrop of corporate involvement and public-private partnerships.

2.7 A summary of the gaps in the literature

Food insecurity affects individuals, households, communities, societies and countries (Kregg-Byers & Schlenk, 2010). In most developing nations food 'access', rather than 'availability', is the main problem (Vogel & Smith, 2002). This emphasises inequality amongst those that can afford food and those that cannot based on a capitalist system of supply and demand (Patel, 2007). The high global prevalence of food insecurity means that there are many people suffering from poor health as a result of not having access to food. One of the main health concerns is malnutrition. Within the field of health psychology, development and food insecurity have been ignored. Health psychology has mainly studies food as health behaviour thus focusing on issues of obesity and disordered eating (Sarafino, 2002). Although MHP has touched on the effects of malnutrition, this was mainly done with the aim of understanding its effect on childhood psychological, physical and social development (Aboud, 1998). Deduced from the literature, MHP has ignored food insecurity. Such a gap in the literature provides a space for a study to explore food insecurity within a psychological framework. Furthermore, the psychologised way of thinking about health employs concepts such as individualism, participation, community, empowerment and education all with the aim of changing the mindset to promote a particular way of thinking (Aboud, 1998). This way of thinking about health is also prevalent in development. The above mentioned concepts, although not new in the field of psychology and development have not been explored in relation to food insecurity. This research provides novel insight in the way that psychologically influenced forms of thinking conceptualise food insecurity interventions.

The literature review highlights how adopting a critical framework in the shape of CHP offers an alternative way of thinking about psychology and its role in society. CHP offers a particular way of thinking that explores taken for granted concepts of community, participation and empowerment in an attempt to understand how, why and who the conceptualisation of these concepts serves (Hook, 2004a). CHP has not yet ventured into exploring the above mentioned concepts in the context of food insecurity. Therefore, there is a gap in the literature which provides an opportunity for the exploration of community and participation from a critical perspective within the field of psychology.

The literature review described community food gardens as food security interventions that assume development and sustainability through the promotion of concepts like community

and participation (Marsh, 1998). Community and participation are disputed within the psychological and developmental framework for making particular assumptions that have strong consequences for marginalised groups. In talking about the alternative way of doing development, the literature review highlights the roles of corporate initiatives and public-private partnerships. Private institutions have taken more responsibility in promoting sustainability and development (Miraftab, 2004). The consequence being that as a result of the capitalist system, corporations are reconceptualising development to supplement their own financial gains (Banerjee, 2008). What is missing from the literature is the exploration of the effects of community and participation against the backdrop of corporate initiatives and public-private partnerships. Additionally, it would be beneficial to explore what role and influence, if any, corporate initiatives and PPP have in the creation of food gardens.

2.8 Conclusion

This type of research is imperative in that it draws on critical realism and critical health psychology thinking to understand and analyse the taken for granted concepts of community and participation against the playing field of corporate initiatives and public-private partnerships in the context of food insecurity. Food insecurity is a real life problem for many, causing severe health, development, social, economic and political setbacks for individuals, communities and the state. By critically analysing taken for granted concepts, this research will stimulate new ways of thinking about food insecurity interventions. The exploration of terms like community and participation will provide for the analysis of the underlying assumptions. These assumptions in turn indicate how community and participation are thought about. The dominant forms of thinking which are evident through the assumptions foreclose alternative ways of conceptualising community and participation in the context of food insecurity. Therefore, based on the above literature review, the following research questions were generated:

2.9 Research questions

1. What assumptions about community and participation are inherent in the intervention?
2. How do the notions of community and participation in the school garden interventions foreclose alternative ways of doing and thinking about food security?
3. How do these concepts fit into the broader notions of development and health?

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This research was set in a qualitative framework as it is exploratory in understanding how community and participation are represented in the context of food insecurity from a critical health psychology perspective. As such, the study drew from two separate case studies with both cases focusing on food garden interventions in schools. Case one consisted of three different sources of data - two interviews with school members, one interview with an organisation representative and existing internet texts of the organisations fieldwork. Case two used two separate data sources - three interviews with school members and an interaction with the representative during a school visit. Both case studies also drew on field notes and observations of the school gardens as additional sources of data to supplement the analysis and discussion. The interviews were given more weighing during the analysis than the internet documents, photographs and observations.

The nature of a case study allows for the use of multiple sources to provide an in-depth analysis (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). Using multiple sources is referred to as triangulation (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). Each data source is described as revealing a particular part of the social reality under study such that interviews and texts exposed the motives for a person's behaviour but field notes and observations captured the observed behaviour in its natural context (Vershuren, 2003). Therefore, case studies are suitable for studying complex phenomena embedded within particular social concepts because they are holistic in nature, open ended and provide for comparison (Vershuren, 2003). This report was based on two case studies for the specific reason that it allowed for a more comprehensive understanding of how concepts like community and participation are conceptualised in the context of food insecurity, against the backdrop of corporate social initiatives and public private partnerships. Community food gardens in South Africa are reflective of the impact that social and political factors have on food (in)security. The collected data was analysed using thematic content analysis that drew on principles from recent writing in critical health psychology to explore the taken for granted concepts of community and participation. Such analysis provides for strong, critical and subjective interpretation of the collected data.

3.1 Sampling and sample description

The target population is members and organisations who partake in school food garden interventions in South Africa. Two representations were sampled from two different

organisations that promote school food garden interventions (Organisation-A and Organisation-B). An additional five members were sampled from two schools in under-developed communities in Gauteng. The total sum of participants was seven. Internet texts collected from Organisations-A's web-site, which included newsletters, internet articles and field notes, field observations and photographs of the two school gardens were also taken to supplement the discussion. It was decided that only the articles from Organisation-A's website will be analysed because they were richer in detail and provided opinion about the food gardens from their sponsors perspective. The motive for selecting the two interventions was derived from both organisations having done extensive work with promoting permaculture gardening within the school and community context. Additionally, both organisations collaborate with corporations to ensure that the schools and communities have some form of sponsorship and both were located in Gauteng.

Few research articles have addressed school based food insecurity interventions in an urban under-developed context, specifically in South Africa. Most of the literature focuses on addressing food insecurity through improved agriculture in rural regions (Bonti-Ankomah, 2001). Such a focus fails to tackle the high rise of food insecurity concerns in one of South Africa's most urbanised provinces. For this reason, the current sample produces novel findings in highlighting the current food garden interventions in urban locations.

The sample was purposefully selected from the greater Gauteng district. The reason for choosing Gauteng over the other eight provinces stems from its accessibility. Once the province was established the organisations were selected. While Organisation-A is a national project, Organisation-B only works with schools in Gauteng and the Western Cape. The level of interaction nationally is an indication of the size of the organisation. Organisation-A was established before Organisation-B and has a larger work force. For this reason it has established a resource base that allows it to work across all provinces. Organisation-B is smaller with most of the food garden interventions being implemented in the Western Cape, which is their main province of origin. Organisation-B is in the process of expanding into Gauteng. Despite their different sizes, both interventions have the aim of promoting the development of food gardens in an attempt to tackle food insecurity.

Community based food nutrition programmes, with the objective of improving household food security, have been applied in many countries (FAO, 2003b). The two school food

garden interventions under analysis are trying to address the issue of food insecurity by teaching educators, learners and communities how to sustainably grow their own food. Both organisations claim to have improved food insecurity across schools through the facilitation of permaculture food gardening workshops and the distribution of educational materials. Both organisations do not select individual schools but rather, schools have to apply and then they are assessed to ensure that they are eligible for the intervention. The interventions were recognised by government as leading school development programmes but are attempting to, with the support and funding from varying corporations, extend beyond the school context and impact the greater community.

Corporate involvement highlights the social obligation that greater organisations, macro-structures, have in development interventions such as community food gardens (Porter & Kramer, 2006). The type of support that these funders provide varied across corporations and schools. Within this study sample, tools and seed donations were secondary to financial assistance. Therefore, most of the funding came in the form of gardening resources. This is in line with the types of support evident in most corporate initiatives (Porter & Kramer, 2006). The organisations often serve as mediators between the receiving school and sponsor. In certain cases schools were encouraged to seek their own corporate sponsorships. Organisation-A, specifically, has a long record of successful corporate partnerships with some of the largest corporations in South Africa. Additionally, for both schools the length of engagement with corporations is limited by the duration of the contract.

Both interventions stressed the relevance of participation in order for them to extend beyond the school context. The intervention that is part of Organisation-A provides 72 workshops that aim to teach skills in cultivating permaculture gardens. In contrast, organisation-B provides a representative that works directly with the school for a set period of time with the aim of establishing a permaculture garden. This particular form of gardening is assumed by both organisations to be the most sustainable and maintainable form of gardening. Permaculture is a global grassroot development and sustainability movement that attempts to replicate existing natural relationships and apply them to the production of food, energy and fibres (Veteto & Lockyer, 2008). Permaculture aims to make people self-reliant, and provide a means to overcome their social inequalities (Veteto & Lockyer, 2008). This is assumed achievable by promoting a holistic system that is “based on the direct observation of nature,

learning from traditional knowledge and the findings of modern science" (Veteto & Lockyer, 2008, p. 48). In both cases, workshops were employed as the main sites of knowledge and skills sharing. Representing permaculture as the more sustainable form of development was evident in the language employed by the school members and the representatives and the photographs of the food gardens evident in Appendix J. The interventions described that the success of their food gardens was dependent on the participation of community members, learners and their parents. Unfortunately, the interventions did not provide insight into the level of participation that is expected, rather they assumed that through teaching educators, the whole community will benefit.

The research was interested in interviewing members who were active 'participants' in the school food gardens, for this reason purposeful intensity sampling was used (Patton, 1990). The relevant information that was required to select participants included their level of involvement with the food garden. All members that partook in the interviews were required to be either supervising the garden or working in the garden. It was significant that all members had some personal experience in working with the garden. In sum, a total of five participants, from the schools, took part in the semi-structured interview; two from School-A and three from School-B. A list of interviewees can be found in table one below. Five was the maximum number of participants that were available for interview in both schools therefore, the sample was limited by the number of members involved with the food garden. This was indicative of the broader interest or lack thereof of community participation which will be discussed in more detail in the results and discussion section. For this reason, five participants were considered to be a feasible number in obtaining rich data. The school principals of both schools were approached who then introduced the researcher to the school members involved with the food garden. The individual participants expressed their personal experiences and involvements with the food garden interventions. Although, collected individually the interviews were analysed as part of the case study.

Participant	Self-proposed Title	Organisation	School
R	Programme co-ordinator	Organisation-A	School-A
L	Facilitator	Organisation-B	School-B
P1	School teacher	Organisation-A	School-A
P2	Gardener	Organisation-A	School-A
P3	Principal	Organisation-B	School-B
P4	General assistant	Organisation-B	School-B
P5	Educator	Organisation-B	School-B

Table 1. Summary of participants that took part in the study, their self proposed titles in relation to the context of the study and the schools that they were associated with.

In addition to the representatives and the school participants, internet texts from Organisation-A's website were purposefully collected for analysis. The specific texts were selected based on their relevance to the intervention and the organisations aims and expectations with regard to the school gardens. The texts included articles that talk about the organisations involvement with the different schools across the country. They also discussed the level of sponsorship support and provided a public platform to inform first time visitors about the work that the organisation does. The diversity of the sample provided for a rich source from which to explore notions of community and participation.

The representative from Organisation-A was purposefully chosen based on her experience with food gardens and high ranking position within the organisation. The representative was the main co-ordinator of the intervention under analysis. Organisation-A's representative, R, provided an outline of the intervention from the organisation's perspective thus extending the scope of the current research to allow for analysis from the public and private viewpoint. R was contacted via e-mail and a request to participate was sent. Upon acceptance of the invitation to participate, R sent forth a list of schools in Gauteng, and surrounding provinces, which are part of their school food garden programme. The schools on the list are considered by Organisation-A to be their most established schools with high community participation. The criterion for inclusion in the study was: food insecure schools that are part of a food garden intervention. One school was selected from the list provided by R. The selected school met the relevant requirements needed for the study and it also provided the necessary permission for the study to take place. An additional school was identified and invited to participate. The second school was identified based on its prior involvement with the

university. It was through the second school that Organisation-B became part of the study. Both schools are part of a food garden initiative, supported and co-ordinated by two separate organisations. The two schools are presented as two case studies of food security interventions in a developing context. The schools are formally labelled as School-A and School-B.

School-A catered to the needs of over one thousand school children, while School-B had approximately six hundred children in their school. Both schools are primary schools[3]. The discrepancy in numbers was indicative of the population size of the area. The schools under analysis were both situated in areas that are exposed to high levels of unemployment and social inequality. School-A is situated in Orange Farm which is located, approximately, fifty kilometres from Johannesburg's central business district. It is a peri-urban area made up of a combination of brick and shack dwellings with the main populace being African residents. Orange Farm developed in the early 1990s when many informal settlers from Soweto relocated (De Wet, Patel, Korth, & Forrester, 2008). In contrast, Riverlea, the location of School-B, is situated less than ten kilometres from Johannesburg's CBD. It is an urban area in close proximity to Johannesburg's iconic FNB stadium or better known as Soccer City. The area is bordered of by mine dumps and is comprised of established residents, low-cost housing units and informal settlements (De Wet et al., 2008). The main populace of Riverlea are Coloured[4] residents with the area experiences a high influx of migrants from Zimbabwe (De Wet et al., 2008). Both locations emphasised the harsh reality of the effects of racial and economic segregation that many South Africans experience on a daily basis.

The residents of Orange Farm have been described as being very poor with the area having one of the most deprived wards in Johannesburg (De Wet et al., 2008; Joburg, 2012). The same was evident in Riverlea. Throughout the course of the study, both locations experienced high levels of poverty, low employment and limited municipal services (Joburg, 2012). Orange Farm, specifically, was described by one of the participants as struggling to access water, another human right. Riverlea had high incidents of violence which included alcohol and drug abuse, criminal activities and sexual abuse. The prevalence of the above mentioned social and economic factors were relevant when considering the context in which the study

[3] In South Africa the education system is divided into primary, secondary and tertiary education. Primary education starts at grade one, approximately age seven, and ends after grade seven.
[4] It is not the researcher's intention to promote racial stereotyping by using labels such as African, White and Coloured. Rather, such labels were descriptions for racial classification in South Africa during apartheid.

was being conducted in. People in both locations describe food insecurity as a massive problem, one that they have been dealing with for a long time. Both areas were recorded as experiencing food insecurity with 27% of Riverlea and 62% of Orange Farm being severely food insecure (De Wet et al., 2008). Unfortunately, in both cases achieving food security was secondary to the more pressing social and economic problems. This was an important observation as it speaks to the literature in showing how poverty and food insecurity are interlinked (Maxwell, 1999). Additionally, it highlights the effects of the broader area in which the schools were situated in and challenges previously discussed community assumptions. This will be discussed in more detail in the results and discussions section.

3.2 Procedure

The study was carried out once ethical clearance was obtained from the University of the Witwatersrand. The collection of internet texts started prior to the interviews. The internet texts were collected from Organisation-A's official website and the procedure required no consent from the organisation. The researcher searched the archive section of Organisation-A's website by using keywords such as the interventions name. From there the search was narrowed to include words such as 'participation' and 'sponsorships'. Once all the texts were exhausted, they were read to ensure that they discussed the intervention. Only those texts that discussed the intervention were included for analysis. Ten articles were carefully read but only three were directly quoted. By utilising internet texts the researcher was able to gain further insight about the organisation without having to conduct more interviews. Thus, the rational for using public on-line texts was a result of it being a timely and cost-effective way of collecting a diversity of data about the organisation that would supplement and enrich the interviews (Kraut et al., 2003).

Semi-structured interviews are commonly used for qualitative research because of their compatibility with several qualitative methods of data analysis (Babbie & Mouton, 2007; Willig, 2008). Within this research, the comprised questions functioned as triggers to stimulate the participants to discuss particular aspects of their experience with the intervention (Willig, 2008). Due to the semi-structured quality of the interviews, the participants were given an opportunity to become active agent in shaping the form and direction of the interview (Smith & Eatough, 2007). This was relevant in that it provided the

participants with an opportunity to elaborate on what s/he considered as an important point of discussion.

Once the texts were collected and read the information within served as guidelines for the creation of the interview schedule, see Appendix D. After receiving confirmation from the representative, a suitable time and place to meet was agreed upon. The interview lasted for approximately one hour in which the researcher was shown an educational video about the food garden initiative. The video provided additional insight into the programme and stimulated a more in-depth discussion during the interview. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that the context in which the interview took place was significant in the production of the data. Keeping this in mind, a different context would have produced different data. Prior to the interview, the representative was briefed as to the nature of the study and was asked for her consent, see Appendix A-C. Only after the consent forms were signed did the interview begin. The representative was informed that the interview was to be audio-tape recorded and the relevant permission was obtained. After the completion of the interview the representative agreed to provide a list of schools, within the greater Gauteng province and its surrounding areas. The list of schools were considered as representative of successful food garden implementation and high community participation.

The school principals, in Gauteng, were contacted telephonically and agreements were made for the researcher to come to the school. School-A was recruited from the initial list provided by R. The remaining schools refused to participate, no reason was provided. An alternative school in Gauteng which also had an existing food garden was identified; School-B. It was while working with School-B that the researcher was introduced to the facilitator, L, from Organisation-B. L agreed to partake in conversation whilst working on the food garden with the school children. The informal nature of the conversation was a result of L not having the time to meet for a formal interview. The schools were visited before the interviews were carried out. The first visit served to establish rapport with the school principal and the school, recognise potential members for interviewing and establish a date and time for future interviews. It was also used as an opportunity for the researcher to become acquainted with the school garden. During the first visit, the researcher took photographs of the school gardens. These photos worked as an additional source of data and were used to support some of the current findings. The initial visit provided informal information about the school, its social, economic and political context and the food garden. This type of information was

collected using field notes and observations. Although it was not directly used for data analysis it was taken into consideration during the restructuring of the interview schedules. The nature of the questions was not discussed during the initial visit to avoid influencing future responses.

The second visit to the schools was to conduct the interviews. Each of the participants was an active member of the food garden. Participants were briefed about the nature of the study and relevant consent was acquired. All of the participants, including the representative, were made aware of their rights as volunteers. Although both schools partook in food gardening, they employed different interventions and worked with different organisation, for this reason they did not have identical interview schedules, see Appendix H-I. The semi-structured nature of the interview ensured participant freedom of expression which means that every interview was unique to the person being interviewed. Based on the locations of the two schools, initial expectations were that a translator might be necessary. After visiting the schools it was determined that translation was not required. Some of the participants had a high command of the English language and others were able to sufficiently converse in English. The interviews were all conducted in English and while certain Afrikaans words were used they required basic translation with no loss of relevant information (Gergen & Gergen, 1987). The collected data and photographs are being stored safely at the University of the Witwatersrand and will only be destroyed upon request of the participants, as per the signed agreement.

3.3 Analysis

After completion of data collection, the tape-recorded interviews were transcribed. Basic Jefferson transcription was employed to assist in the analysis. Jefferson transcription includes the reader in the analysis of the text by indicating where important unvoiced signals occur (Potter, 2004). Although, Jefferson is often used in conversation analysis it can also be used to supplement analysis that draws on critical thinking. While this research uses thematic content analysis it draws on thinking from critical realism and critical health psychology to explore assumptions of community and participation, for this reason Jefferson was considered necessary and useful. The process of carefully transcribing talk makes it easier to analyse what action is being performed and provides a rich source which helps understand the action (Potter, 2004). Within the current analysis section only some of the symbols, deduced as

relevant by the researcher, were employed in the writing of the transcripts. These symbols were chosen based on their functionality in dictating the nature of the talk. The most commonly used symbol was (.) which indicates pauses in talk. Brackets with numbers in them, such as (1.0), show that the person paused for a certain period of time, often counted in seconds. Disjointed thought is symbolised by a dash and an interruption is noticeable by the equals sign. The increase and decrease in pace is symbolised by the use of smaller than or greater than symbols. An increase in pace is represented with the smaller than sign < and a decrease with the larger than sign >. In cases where the participant stressed a particular word, the first few letter of the word are underlined. Additionally, a colon indicates extra emphasis on the letter after which it occurs. The more colons there are the stronger the emphasis. As Jefferson (2004) said "transcription is just something one does to prepare material for analysis" (p. 13).

The transcriptions were re-checked to ensure that no relevant information was excluded. The transcribed interviews coupled with the collected online documentation comprised the raw data that was analysed using deductive thematic content analysis. Even though both sources were used the interviews were given more weighting. The flexible nature of thematic analysis allows for the application of critical thinking (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This was particularly relevant for the current study that aimed to critically analyse how concepts such as community and participation are represented in written and spoken text in relation to food gardens from a health psychology perspective. In the current study, Cleaver (2001) emphasises that a 'community' is a concept that varies according to race, class, culture and gender. Similarly, participation is a contested term that changes meaning according to context and actor therefore there is no single truth or definition of community participation (Kelly & van Vlaenderen, 1997). Therefore, the collected text and interviews provided an opportunity to study the manner in which community and participation are conceptualised and what function these concepts served from a psychological and development perspective. Thematic analysis allowed the researcher to explore common underlying assumptions and conceptualisations of community and participation from the participants persepctives (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Thematic analysis allows for the exploration of the text and the contexts that underlie varying concepts, across an entire data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The texts in this instance refer to the interviews and collected documents and the context addresses the environment in which

the schools are situated, their social and economic status and political structures. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) suggest that knowledge is created and shared through social interactions. This means that social relations, such as interviews, lead to the production and sharing of knowledge. By using thematic analysis that draws on critical realism within the field of critical health psychology, the research was able to evaluate how the different participants produced different forms of knowledge and the political consequences of this knowledge.

The collected texts and interviews provide for a rich and diverse exploration into how community and participation are thought about. Within the current study, thematic analysis was considered appropriate in that it allowed for the researcher to reflect on the reality of food insecurity but also critically explore taken for granted concepts that are prevalent in community food gardens (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This was specifically relevant in looking at how the psychologised way of thinking can lead to certain political problems.

The analysis of the finalised transcripts, photographs and documents was based on Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases of thematic content analysis. These six phases were; 1) familiarising yourself with the data, 2) generating initial codes, 3) searching for themes, 4) reviewing themes, 5) defining and naming themes, 6) producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The above mentioned phases framed the way in which the interviews were conducted, transcribed and analysed. The researcher read each transcript several times to remind herself of what was said in the interviews. During the process of reading, codes were created for items that stood out. These codes served as indicators for potential themes, such as a collection of codes that spoke to the theme of partnerships. Once the list of themes was established it was re-worked to create two clear and concise themes with sub-themes. The final themes were given names that connected with the context of the study. Where relevant, the photographs, field notes and research observations served to support the analysis process and provide a visual representation of the topic under discussion. The act of subjectively analysing interviews and texts is not neutral, rather it is politically influenced (Parker, 1992). For this reason it is important to acknowledge that the current findings are the researcher's own interpretation and have been influenced by her social context and value-system.

3.4 Reflexivity

Reflexivity implies being cognisant of the potential influence that one's' values and personal interest might have on the data collection and data analysis process (Tindall, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) emphasise the relevance of being reflexive when doing thematic analysis. By being reflexive, the researcher aims to explore the social, political and power structures that governed the research from the very start. Tindall (2006) describes how the researcher and the participant are actively collaborating on the production of knowledge. Such collaboration is significant in ensuring that hierarchical power structures are avoided in social research (Bott, 2010). By being reflexive the researcher has the ability to deduce how and why such knowledge was produced (Bott, 2010). It is not enough to focus on the social and political context and the influence that it has on the type of data produced rather, by being reflexive one should be able to locate the self within ones work and recognise the impact that s/he has had (Bott, 2010, Tindall, 2006).

A strong critique of qualitative research is that while it aims to position the researcher as a neutral body the issue of 'power' always emerges (Bott, 2010). While power was a primary concern of the current research, it was only near the end of the research that I became aware of the power dynamics that were interplayed within the different interviews. In sitting with R I was, at the start, treated as an outsider, someone who required teaching about the intervention, hence the video. Despite attempts to inform the representative that I had read up on their work she still expressed a desire to 'educate' me. I felt that this was indicative of the organisation as a whole and their teaching ethos. It was only after we had begun the interview that I sensed the power dynamics shifting slightly. Although, I remained throughout the whole procedure as an outsider to the organisation, I also felt welcomed as an academic who was showing interest in their work. At times the representative showed comfort with my presence by being more expressive with regard to inter-organisational concerns and funder issues. She acknowledged that she should not be discussing such things with me but continued to share her thoughts and opinions despite the evident tape recorder. I had entered the interview in the hope of uncovering the public-private partnership that takes place between the schools and Organisation-A as a whole but I emerged with additional insight into the concerns of an individual representative. It was important for me to remain reflexive and not confuse the professional with the personal so as not to force opinion on the individual over a matter that was on an organisational level.

The one sampling requirement ensured that the chosen schools resided within developing contexts. This had a profound impact on me, in that before I even entered the schools I was expecting extreme inequality. Being a White, middle class, female in her twenties I knew that travelling through developing areas in Gauteng, such as Orange Farm and Riverlea, would render me, based on my own classification, a target for attention. During my first visit I felt conscious of the stares that I received. I assumed that my racial classification had cemented me as an outsider in areas that have traditionally been populated by African and Coloured people. In actuality, it was my own classification structures that made me feel like an outsider. I was aware that social norms do not require White, middle class, females in their twenties to be travelling independently through townships. It was this awareness that initially made me cautious and scared. Only after my first visit to both schools was I able to challenge my ideological stance on racial township stereotypes. At both schools I was greeted warmly by the school principals but at Orange Farm I received more attention from the teachers and learners. Initially I made the assumption that my race was the reason for such attention. It was only after the first meeting in Orange Farm that I learnt that the school does not have a large number of external visitors. It was not just the social classifications that provoked interest it was also the fact that I was a 'visitor'. In Riverlea the context was slightly different. The school has, on many previous occasions participated in research and projects run by external organisations and universities. Although I felt that people noticed me, I also felt that the students were comfortable with having me around. This was most evident when the students started interacting with me.

Tindall (2006), states that knowledge is socially produced. In conducting the interviews with the school participants I hoped to instil a sense of neutrality where they would be able to openly discuss their food gardens with me. Despite my efforts to remain neutral the evident imbalances in the power dynamics lead me to willingly, at certain times, adopt the position of 'expert'. This was most evident in instances when the participants asked me to confirm that what they were saying was correct, despite knowing that there was no right or wrong answer. Additionally, by being identified as a 'researcher' from a university, I was positioned as someone with power. This was most evident in that many of the participants, at the end of their interviews, asked me to help them and their school. It is my belief that the power inequality stems from me being the 'professional' and an 'outsider' coming into a non-professional context with the intention of obtaining a particular kind of knowledge. For this reason I had to constantly monitor my own expectations and reiterate that I was there to

collect information that could 'potentially' be beneficial. Despite embodying the power as a 'professional', when asked to help I felt very powerless. The context of the study made me self-conscious of the dire inequalities between my lifestyle and that of my interviewees. My inability to take direct action made me vulnerable to feelings of guilt. I had to constantly reflect back to the aims of the study but at the same time ensure that I did not objectify the participants in order to decrease the emotional attachment that I was experiencing.

Despite the fact that the main knowledge output was produced by the participants I believe that my own expectations had a large role to play in what was said and how. The way in which I approached certain topics, like the phrasing of my sentences or reactions, could have hinted to the participants what my expectations were. One of the main challenges was to remain self-critical throughout all the interviews and ensure that I was not indirectly driving the participants' comments. In certain cases it was required of me to be the outsider so that participants could discuss issues that were of high concern to them. Mostly, those issues had little or nothing to do with the broader study. In those cases I was treated as an audience, for participants' self-expression. Based on the above, the current findings are representative of a single interpretation therefore they are open to further analysis.

3.5 Ethical considerations

The nature of the study did not expose a sensitive population; instead it focused on a vulnerable topic in developing contexts. Despite this, the ethical concerns in conducting research with human subjects have been addressed. The study's focus on food insecurity in developing contexts required human participants who were willing to discuss their own perception and experiences with community food gardens. After obtaining ethical clearance from the University of the Witwatersrand, Appendix K, the researcher began the data collection. The collection of internet texts required no permission from the main organisation because the collected articles were posted as public documents on their website which discuss the work that the organisation takes part in. Therefore, it is not the intention of the researcher to copy these texts and claim them as her own rather, they are used to supplement the original interviews and such pose no harm, threat or gain for the organisation. A list of website-pages of the on-line texts is not provided in the report in order to ensure confidentiality of the organisations involved.

An invitation to participate was extended to Organisation-A and two schools in Gauteng. After acceptance of the invitation R and the school participants were briefed as to the nature of the study and provided with information sheets, see Appendices A and E, that emphasised their rights as volunteers and discussed possible consequences. As stipulated by the National Health Act (2004), written consent for the interviews and the recording of the interviews was acquired prior to the interview process, see Appendices B-C and F-G. Based on the fact that no written consent was acquired from L, representative from Organisation-B, because of the informal nature of the conversation, it was decided that no direct quotes, from L, will be used in the analysis. Although, no quotes were used, a verbal consent provides the researcher permission to mention certain topics that L raised. These topics are not used to make assumptions about L's personal opinions but rather support the themes that emerge from the other interviews and public texts. It was further assured that the participants' and organisations' identities would remain confidential throughout the research and write up. Although consent was obtained to refer to Organisation-A by name it was later decided that considering the study focused on two separate interventions and organisations, it would be more ethical to exclude all names. No personal information that could disclose the participants' identities was included in the final write up and pseudonyms were used throughout the analysis procedure. The collected data, excluding the internet texts, have been locked up in a secure location only accessible by the researcher and her supervisor. With regard to the findings, a report summary will be made available, for both the organisations and the schools, upon request.

3.6 Quality assessment

Qualitative research is oriented towards developing understandings of meanings and experiences of people and the social world (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002). While the value of qualitative research is in its ability to produce subjectively rich data, the same subjective quality is perceived by positivist thinkers as negatively impacting on quality (Fossey et al., 2002; Long & Godfrey, 2002). For this reason it is important to discuss the quality of qualitative research so as to investigate the trustworthiness of the findings (Fossey et al., 2002). This section will briefly discuss the quality of the current study by addressing issues around credibility, transferability and confirmability. These principles are derived from the work by Guba and Lincoln (1983 as cited in Tracy, 2010).

In relation to the current study, credibility was assured by providing thick description of the data which was only possible through the author's immersion into the context under study (Tracy, 2010). This is evident due to the fact that a significant period of time was spent at each school and that each school was frequented more than once. Furthermore, credibility is assured in that the study employed a variety of data sources, a process known as triangulation, which converged to produce similar conclusions (Tracy, 2010). Triangulation also allowed for the study to explore the complexity of food insecurity (Fossey et al., 2002). Despite the fact that the current data is not generalisable to other contexts, the findings are transferable and can be applied theoretically or practically in other settings that deal with food insecurity (Tracy, 2010). The findings are transferable because the context of the study is described in detail and the main assumptions about community and participation are stated. Furthermore, the study is confirmable in that the researcher remained reflexive throughout the research process (Fossey et al., 2002). By being reflexive, the research ensured that the data collection and analysis procedures were documented without bias. Therefore, the study has quality through the above points coupled with the how the research displays authenticity by using the participants' quotes, internet texts and photographs (Tracy, 2010).

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This research aims to critically investigate the concepts of participation and community against the backdrop of corporate social initiatives and public-private partnerships on the issue of food insecurity. By exploring these concepts, the report highlights how and why they are conceptualised, what function they serve and what other concepts are prevalent. Ideas of community and participation are recognised, by health psychology, as necessary for health. These same psychological concepts of community and participation are also pervasive in development. The primary objective was to analyse how community and participation are written and spoken about in the interventions under discussion and the possible implications of these concepts on the way food insecurity, sustainable development and health are thought about. Societal, corporate and NGO perspectives and statements are also analysed in order to understand how community and participation are differently or similarly defined, their associated assumptions and political implications. The study draws on ideas of corporate social initiative and public-private partnerships in order to examine the power dynamics that emerge when corporations, NGO, governments and communities work together to solve societal problems. The research is critical of taking for granted concepts like community and participation because of their political implications.

The aims and research questions guided the analysis and write up of the present report. In an attempt to offer a comprehensive understanding of the findings, the analysis and discussion section were combined. Existing literature was used, where appropriate, in support of the findings. Two primary themes emerged:

- Conceptualising community
- Exploring notions of participation

Within the present themes, further sub-themes are discussed in support of the relevant findings. For the first main theme the two subthemes are: corporate and NGO assumptions of community and individual assumptions of community. For the second main theme the sub-themes are: assumptions of participation, understanding participation through education, private space as obstructing participation and participatory partnerships. For the analysis, direct quotes and published texts were used. To support the discussion, photographs, field notes and observations were used were used where relevant. The two case studies and the viewpoints of the intervention representatives are presented concurrently, in an attempt to highlight how the above mentioned concepts foreclose alternative ways of thinking and

speaking about food insecurity. By addressing them concurrently, the research hopes to challenge the taken for granted assumption and their effect on the way that certain objects are spoken about. Within each section, the notion of sustainability and empowerment will be addressed and contextualised within the broader notions of development. Furthermore, each section will highlight the implications of the psychologised way of thinking. It is imperative to note that the themes interlink and thus certain sub-themes can speak to other main themes. This is indicative of the fact that the points under discussion are part and parcel of the development and psychological thinking. By exploring them the research is producing a critique of the way that psychology thinks about health interventions and the way that development thinks about food insecurity.

4.1 Conceptualising community

4.1.1 Corporate and NGO assumptions of community

In talking about the interventions under analysis, all of the participants drew on different assumptions to describe their understanding of a community. The way in which community was written and spoken about reflects a psychologised way of thinking. Such conceptualisations are evident in that when talking about a community, in relation to a community garden, community is assumed to promote the idea of connectivity through a common goal and purpose (Firth et al., 2011; Holland, 2004). In line with the literature, community is thought of as necessary for the success of the interventions (Aboud, 1998). This has the effect of discrediting other ways of speaking and thinking about community. At the same time the different stakeholders, from the representatives and corporate spokes personnel to the individual school members, drew on different geographical, cultural, poverty, racial and development concepts to justify their understandings of a community. As per the literature, community is notoriously difficult to define with its meaning changing according to the context and discipline in which it is being discussed (Cleaver, 2001; Firth et al., 2011). This is significant in understanding how the different understandings of ‘community’ affect the way the interventions under analysis are implemented.

Throughout the interview process it was apparent that the manner in which R and corporate thought about community is different to that of the schools. R and corporate, which are referred to as macro-structures, often employed the term community in a simplistic manner that is suggestive of a homogeneous unit within which people share needs (Cooke & Kothari,

2001; Dempsey, 2010). When asked to describe what she understands by the term community, R becomes hesitant. Her uncertainty is noticeable in her prominent pauses, awkward laughter and disjointed comments. Her reaction was not expected, especially taking into consideration that the intervention is community based.

Extract 1

M: It does um: <just your opinion as well how would you describe a community?
R: (0.2) Wh a community?
M: A community
R: (0.3) Ah like a definition of a hhh community or=
M: =Like how would you describe a community if I (.)
R: Well a community um sh:: <I don't know I don't think I've ever lived in a community as such> let me put it that way you I to be a community is is a group of people working together towards a common goal (.) an::d um: (.) I think it's more of a sense of community I mean we're working with (.) townships (.) areas all around the country and the sense of community and they take responsibility for each other and they work together (.) you don't see that in the suburbs here (.) northern suburbs
M: Ya you don't
R: That's(hhh) why when I say I don't think I've ever <u>re</u>ally lived in a community they wor they willing to help each other (.) and they're willing to work together to achieve something (0.2)> I don't know if that's::<
M: NO that's pu:[rfect]
R: [A def]inition of a co(hhh)mmunity at all but that's how I would (.) define it I suppose the they they'll be willing to ya (.) identify what they <u>nee</u>:d as a group an:d put in what they need to do (.) in order to achieve it if they hhhh

R's direct understanding of a community is to exclude herself from ever having lived in one. By saying that she has never lived in a community, R is distancing herself from the definition that she provides. This is evident in that her answer is not based on personal experience of being part of a community but is rather based on assumptions derived from observations of working with particular groups of people. The group in question is summarised by the term 'township' which carries certain geographical, political and social connotations.

The fact that she has never lived in a community also shows that she conceptualises communities as spaces of residence and this is further supported by her geographical distinction of township and northern suburb. Township is a term that draws on geographical, socio-economic and racial concepts to define the conditions of the residences, in the current context, as embedded within poverty and unemployment (Cleaver, 2001). The concept of race is evident in that the word 'township' displays a racialised understanding of community.

During apartheid Whites and non-Whites[5] were segregated into different geographical locations with Whites residing in suburbs and non-Whites in townships (Christopher, 2001). The socio-economic and racial concepts jointly position township residents as being non-White and underprivileged. Therefore, by R acknowledging that she has never lived in a community, her definition of a community is obtained from what she is not; R is a White female in her late twenties who lives in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. The racial concept that R draws from introduces notions of collectivism where the assumption is that non-Whites, specifically African cultures, are seen as collectivist and as such inherently promote group cohesiveness (Eaton & Louw, 2000). By drawing on this notion, R is assuming that a community is something that occurs naturally in townships, this is most noticeable in the use of the of the phrase 'sense of community' (extract 1, line 8).

The term 'sense of community' is spoken about as something unique to townships thus implying that non-whites positioned within a lower socio-economic standard require a sense of community in order to take responsibility for each other and help each other. The word 'willing' (line 14 of extract 1), in this context, means voluntary action but this voluntary nature is over shadowed by the urgency of townships to adopt a sense of community in order to overcome adversity. By not associating sense of community with the northern suburbs[6], R is showing how her understanding of a community is supplemented by collectivist-individualist concepts (Eaton & Louw, 2000). In turn, contrasting townships with suburbs leads to romanticising the non-White poor (Mohan, 2001). This has the effect of excluding those in a higher socio-economic position, often White people, from being responsible and helping each other. Therefore, suburban residents do not carry the burden of responsibility. Drawing on R's response, a community can only exist when the social and economic conditions require one. Through this sense of community people are expected to 'work together' (Holland, 2004). Working together is indicative of the assumption that the word community and participation are inherently interlinked and the glue that holds these terms together are their common 'goals' (Woost, 1997). According to R and in line with the assumptions around community aims, a community identifies a goal and together work toward achieving it (Firth et al., 2011). This in itself is an assumption which is prevalent in most psychology and development community interventions and is repeated here. Therefore,

[5] In South Africa, the term non-White was use during apartheid to refer to all other races that were not classified as White.
[6] In Johannesburg, Gauteng, the northern suburbs are indicative of a high social and economical standard of living and lifestyle.

from the response provided, R draws from geographical distinctions to define a community but she also perceives a community as embedded within greater socio-economic structures. Additionally, R employs connective beliefs that assume communities to be conceptualised around common goals (Holland, 2004).

All of the discussed points are evident in the manner that developmental and psychologised forms of thinking deliberately create a sense of community to ensure a sense of responsibility. The macro-structures that create this responsibility are in turn passing it onto the micro-structures (Banerjee, 2008). The term macro-structures refers to corporations, NGO and government, while micro-structures denotes individual members. R's description of a community as embedded within socio-economic divides is further supported by internet texts, from Organisation-A, that position the community as requiring assistance. These texts also show the overlap between community and development thus highlighting the importance of having a community in a development initiative (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). Extracts two and three were taken from articles posted on Organisation-A's website. These articles describe the nature of the organisations work for first time readers and can be located on a sub-page of the website.

Extract 2

"Sustainable development is about people and popular participation, about broad consensus and common purpose about the willingness of all the agents of change to take full responsibility for the environment in the areas they live, and this is what (intervention)is working towards."

Extract 3

"(Intervention) works in partnership with government, the private and public sectors and civil society to improve the quality of life and environments for all communities of the country."

The manner in which the extracts were written indicates that the main target audience are people who are unfamiliar with the project. This is evident in the descriptive nature of the writing, which proposes definitions of terms like 'sustainability' and outlines the project. The second extract speaks about the nature of development such that it is positioned within people and their actions. It addresses the previously discussed belief that connectivity stem from a common purpose. At first glance extract two would appear to be inclusive to all structures. The 'all' implies inclusivity, evident in development interventions (Campbell &

Jovchelovitch, 2000; Cleaver, 2001). A more in-depth analysis shows how the word 'all' (extract 2, line 1) is inclusive of only a select few. If a community is understood as something that is influenced by its socio-economic environment then the 'all' in this context would be reflective of the individuals that are part of that environment. Therefore, it is these individuals that are forced to take on this responsibility.

Extract three supports R's understanding of a community by framing it as an object that requires external support and intervening as a result of its social status. The phrase 'improving quality of life', in extract three line two, is reflective of developmental thinking as found in the Millennium Development Goals. Improving the quality of life is a primary aim of developmental thinking and focused on areas considered to be embedded within poverty (Shaw, 2005). 'Improving quality of life' is also one of the assumptions that drives psychological thinking to promote community concepts (Aboud, 1998). In this context, in order to improve the quality of life of a community, a 'marginalised' community needs to exist. As mentioned in the introduction, a marginalised community is characterised by a low level of development and is also called undeveloped. The stakeholders mentioned in extract two are part of corporate social and public-private initiatives that similarly require a marginalised community to exist in order for the support to be provided (Mohan 2001). Based on the above extracts, a community is portrayed as a space where macro-structures provide support necessary for development. From this perspective, community is a concept that is created by the macro-structures and utilised according to the needs of the institutions and organisations and not the people themselves (Mohan, 2001). Apart from outlining the notions of community, extract two and three hint towards an important concept that is often assumed inherent in community interventions; participation. While extract two specifies participation at the level of the individual, extract three reflects on how different partnerships imply different forms of participating. This will be discussed in more detail when reflecting on participation below. The relevance here is to emphasise how, along with the literature, the two terms are assumed to be consistent and are often conceptualised and perceived as such (Kagan et al., 2011). These conceptualisations are adopted and embodied by individual members.

4.1.2 Individual assumptions of community

The term community was found to be challenging even for the individuals that are described by the macro-structures as being part of one. All of the participants position themselves within this 'sense of community' to best voice what they understand by the term. This is evident in phrases like 'my community' and 'our community'. None of the school participants referenced a community as a geographical location, rather P1 referred to it as '*a large number of people whereby you find different kind of people*' be it based on religion or culture. This means that a community is structured around different social categorisations (Cleaver, 2001; Dempsey, 2010). What was interesting is that P1 does not mention race as a category for differentiating between different types of people within her community. This suggests that racial concepts are not central to her understanding of a community. The same was not found for participants from School-B who often referred to their community as mainly 'Coloured'. The discrepancy can be accredited to racial compositions of the geographical locations surrounding the schools. The consequence of defining a community according to social categories is that it has the potential to exclude certain groups of people (Cleaver, 2001). Following this definition a community changes depending on the context and the prevailing social concepts within this context. The different conceptualisations of community, by the two schools in two different marginalised locations, go against the community assumptions that R previously spoke about.

In talking about the community, the participants drew on their social context to describe the nature of their community as being embedded within poverty. This is noticeable in the interviews below. Extract four represents the discussion that took place between the researcher and the principal from School-B. The principal was responding to the question 'how would you describe a community'. Extract five highlights the educator's response from School-B to the same question on defining a community.

Extract 4

M: That's brilliant (.) tell me how would you describe a community?

P3: My community is extremely poor (.) most of them are on the social grants they receive social grants and a: the bulk of my learners are currently on the feeding scheme (.) so I'm serving a <very very> impoverished community

M: >So would you say food is something that this community has to worry about?

P3: Yes because u:m (.) even during the course of the day when we're serving food even members of the community would come and an also bring their their bowls and their plates for something to eat (.) so I would say food is definitely a problem

Extract 5

M: A:nd how would you describe um ((clear throat)) excuse me a community?
P5: Our community?
M: Yes hhh
P5: Very poor community (.) u:m a li:ttle bit difficult to work with the community because: (.) of the poverty because of a:: ya you can mainly say (.) and the socio-economic you know
M: Ya
P5: Situation in the community (.) so: it's actually a challenge to a: work wit=

In the first interview, P3 is attempting to confirm the state of poverty within the community by emphasising the prominence of government involvement. Government has a constitutional obligation to support its citizens when they are unable to maintain a healthy lifestyle (Love, 2003). In extract four, the healthy life style is indicative of having a sufficient amount of food. The researcher spoke about food as something that affects the community. The researcher was guilty of promoting community assumptions prevalent in psychologised and developmental thinking. Such reflection highlights that even with the aim of being critical of community the researcher had difficulty in trying to get around notions of community in interactions. This is significant in emphasising the prevalence of the term community and how easy it is to take it for granted.

It is following the community assumptions introduced by the researcher that P3 responds and describes food as a problem. The prominence of the problem is explained by P3 as people coming with their 'bowls and plates' to get something to eat. The comment on food serves to further highlight the extent of the community's level of poverty. Other words and phrases used by the participants to describe the social state of their community include 'unprivilaged' and 'living from hand to mouth'. The fact that the school participants consider themselves part of a community is an indication of an assumed "self-evidence" of a community (Cleaver, 2001, p. 44). The researcher requested a definition of a community thus requiring a confirmation that some form of community exists. The definition which is provided conceptualises the community in a similar light to that of the macro-structures – embedded in poverty. It is only within poverty that development can occur and expectations of change can exist (Shaw, 2005; Thiesmeyer, 2009). Conceptualising a community according to its poverty status has the implication of promoting a self-identification of poverty. Therefore, the idea that a community exists, as set out by R above, is only assumed real within poverty.

The main contradiction in the definition of community was around the idea of group cohesiveness and connectivity. The second conversation with P5 speaks to this point. Macro-level structures think about community as being positioned within social inequality, they also perceive responsibility and group cohesiveness as emerging from the same inequality. These types of perceptions have the consequence of propagating inequality. The nature of macro-level involvement has the consequence of placing the problem and the solution within the same group. While community interventions aim to alleviate social inequality the way in which they are conceptualised has the opposite effect of propagating inequality. Social inequality is conceptualised differently by the macro and micro structures. The contrast is emphasised in extract five.

According to P5, 'poverty' and social inequality are barriers of community cohesiveness such that working with the community is spoken about as a 'challenge' (extract 5, line 7). Throughout all the interviews, not one of the participants indicated that a community implied a common understanding or goal rather when asked if the community got along, P1 replied '*most of the time*'. The manner in which P1 thought about community cohesiveness was indicative of respect as opposed to personal responsibility towards each other. Therefore, the socio-economic problems and social inequalities that are inherent within these 'communities' are also the factors that prevent the production of a single understanding of what constitutes a community. This has an effect of slowing down development, as development is assumed to occur through the community as a combined unit (Woost, 1997). The slow progress of development was observed in the interventions in that the food gardens were not expanding at the expected pace. This is evident in photograph one, Appendix J, where School-B specifically reflected on the fact that a lack of cohesiveness makes tending to the garden difficult.

In light of the current intervention, the difficulty in describing a community has direct consequences on the people that are intended to benefit from the food gardens. Community food gardens are identified as models for sustainability and empowerment (Turner, 2011). According to Okvat and Zautra (2011) empowerment is defined as "the mechanism by which people, organizations, and the community gain mastery over their lives" (p. 379). This can only be achievable if there is a clearly defined community that can be empowered. Furthermore, sustainability is assumed possible though the expression of communal will and desires (Turner, 2011). These research findings challenge taken for granted assumptions of

community such that different individuals, organisations and institutes were found to portray different understandings of community. Although there was certain overlap in individual and organisational perceptions, this overlap is a result of the influence that macro-level structures have over the micro-level structures. Such an influence is prompted by the power dynamics in the partnerships. The consequences of the power imbalance will be discussed in more detail below. The lack of community cohesiveness was summarised as having negative implications for development centred community work.

Contesting the term community has direct implications on health psychology. A large body of literature proposes that social relationships and community connections have beneficial effects on individual and community health (Aboud, 1998; Cock, 2006; Wakefield & Poland, 2005). The cohesiveness that is assumed as inherent in communities is described as possessing the ability to preserve health through drastic economic, social and environmental changes (Wakefield & Poland, 2005). Furthermore, it is assumed that members work together to identify and solve their communities health problems (Wakefield & Poland, 2005). If food insecurity is identified as a pressing health concern for people in developing regions then literature describes communities as the prime sites to target this problem. Based on the current findings, different definitions of community go against the cohesiveness and group solidarity assumption that is considered necessary for health promotion. Therefore the ability of the current intervention to tackle the health needs of the 'community' is questioned as it targets health within a concept that is not defined. The practicality of the intervention is undermined by the flawed theoretical conceptualisation of the term community.

By talking about communities as locations based on race and low socio-economic standards with individual members being responsible for each other, the research highlights how the food gardens are ignoring the bigger picture. This form of thinking overlooks the fact that food insecurity is not positioned at the level of the community but rather occurs on a global scale (Patel, 2007). By promulgating assumptions about what constitutes a community, macro-structures are consequently fostering the inequality that they think they are providing a solution to. Inequality calls for a need of change but the manner in which the change is carried out has the consequence of benefiting the macro-structures over the micro-structures. This is most evident in cases where community is conceptualised as necessary for solving the problem of poverty thus implying that it is for the good of the poor (Aboud, 1998). As emphasised above, poverty obstructs group cohesiveness therefore, by positioning

community as a solution to poverty, macro-structures are inadvertently propagating poverty. In discussing the concepts of community, it is relevant to address participation. Community and participation are strongly interlinked such that only though contesting definitions of community can one fully understand the implications of 'community participation' (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Woost, 1997).

4.2 Exploring the notions of participation

4.2.1 Assumptions of participation

P5: the whole project won't grow if if it is a one man show

The nature of community gardens implies the existence of a community and some form of participation (Holland, 2004). In the current study, all of the participants stressed the importance of 'participation' for the success of their food gardens. The different ways of speaking about participation demonstrates that participation is conceptualised within a specific context and is specific to each role player. A common assumption of 'participation', in development and health psychology thinking, is that it is synonymous with community, especially when a community is perceived as a homogenous group (Campbell & Jovechelovitch, 2000; Cleaver, 2001). Extract six below highlights the manner in which R speaks about participation in the context of the food garden interventions. Extract six reflects the representative's response to the question 'what do you understand about the term participation.' This particular question was asked after the conversation about community was exhausted.

Extract 6

M: =Now this is leading into my other question about (.) what do you understand about the term participation? (.) hhh

R: hhh Ahh are you trying to trick me here (.) the psycholo (0.2) hhh well parti participation in the garden I think we can look at it on a couple of levels but I think (.) TO get the initial buy in and it very difficult because a lot of these projects you're not saying we're gonna pay you to come work in the garden and none of our (.) ouwa food garden projects the trees side of things we pay them a little bit of a sti:pend just to say you've got to mission up and down the street but on the food garden side of things you've got other things to give them incentives (.) such as we'll give you land available (.) we'll give you a plot of land at this school you know or if you come in on the:: (.) weekends or during school holidays: (.) we'll give you whatever it is (.) but I think if you don't have this initial interest (.) and that initial will to learn and to do something new (0.2) and you've got people who're looking for a hand out (.) <you're gonna have the wrong type of participation> you want people who ar::e (.) >interested in

changing their lives< (.)and there then giving them you can offer them skills (.) you can offer them land at the school (.) you can offer them (.) produce from the garden (.) but to try and get them to understand from our side that (.) if you participate it's on voluntary basis (.) and the this is possibly what you can expect to: (.) get out of the garden >I don't know if [that's<]

The above extract speaks to a number of themes of participation which were evident in the internet texts and school interviews. The first point, as indicated above, is that 'participation' is difficult to describe. R demonstrates uneasiness by implying that the researcher intends to 'trick' her by asking her these questions. The word 'trick' (extract 6, line 3) speaks to the fact that participation does not have a single definition and depending on what is said, can imply certain things. This trickery relates back to the difficulty she experienced in defining a community. In this context, the representative is cautious with the way in which she describes participation. R's initial definition of participation is to frame it as something difficult. This difficulty is embedded within capitalist assumptions, where monetary incentives are required to stimulate participation. The word 'pay', in line five, symbolises an exchange, where the service or labour that one provides is appropriately accompanied by an economic reward (Mandel, n.d.; Thrift, 2005).

In existing literature, corporate thinking understands development as occurring through economic growth (Banerjee, 2008). None of the incentives specified by the representative imply immediate monetary value which could be translated to economic growth rather, they have long term assumptions of potential financial benefits. These particular benefits are only attained through voluntary action. From a socialist perspective, volunteering signifies a sense of community and responsibility. There is an assumption that these 'communities' would want to volunteer in the food gardens to help them overcome their social issues. The profit for volunteering are set out in lines fourteen and fifteen and include things like skills, land or food. Within the current research, participatory assumptions such as volunteerism are prevalent in socialist forms of thinking and positioned within marginalised communities. What is excluded from all of the interviews is the justification for assuming that socialist thinking would be successful in promoting participation within a capitalist structured state. Capitalism denotes that one's worth is calculated by the value of their labour (Cronin, 2009; Patel, 2007). If, in the current context, the gardens are assumed sustainable through participatory action then the outcome of the participation would have negative consequences for individual economic development. As is evident from the interview above, volunteering does not amount to monetary profit. Furthermore, Morgan (2001) emphasises that corporate

and NGO efforts to promote participation are effective methods of using local resources, in this case labour, to offset the costs of providing additional services. Therefore, volunteering is set out as a method of participation because it decreases the required effort on the side of the macro-structures. This is significant of a power imbalance in the public-private partnership where the solution to the problem is once again directed at the level of individual members voluntarily participating.

The prominence of capitalist ideals is such that it emerged in every interview and was perceived as an obstacle to participation for both School-A and School-B. The following extracts speak to the notion of capitalism and emphasise how capitalist thinking is prominent in constructs of participation. Extracts seven, eight and nine represent conversations with the teacher from School-A, the principal and gardener from School-B. In each case the participants were asked about the amount and nature of assistance that the school gardens receive from other community members.

Extract 7

P1: No for now >we don't have< we don't have< because you know what people are looking for they are looking for money: they they need payment

Extract 8

P4: but when you say come and help for free no it's not for free

Extract 9

P3: so normally the: the people that's willing to come and assist us is the: one that that's having a plate of food

Extract nine, above, speaks to the fact that participation is described as assistance and that the only people who are willing to assist are those who have money. 'Having a plate of food' refers to having the money to buy the food. Therefore, participation is only possible if the people who participate do not expect anything in return. Especially if the commodity that is being returned is food. Capitalist assumptions, such as not working for free and wanting payment for ones work are only considered a problem when they conflicts with other forms of thinking. This other form of thinking is evident through the assumptions of volunteerism. Phrases such as 'we'll give you land available', 'offer you skills', 'produce from the garden'

(extract 6, line 14-15) all for the physical labour that you provide are indicative of socialist beliefs, where the individual is expected to work with the intent of benefiting the 'community' (Cleaver, 2001; Mandel, n.d.). The underlying assumption being that if individual members act accordingly for the benefit of the community then they can find a way out of their food insecurity.

The consequences of not choosing to participate are contradictory to the assumptions of what participation is intending to instil. Within the current study, it emerged that the macro-level structures had to encourage participatory action. This is evident in extract six and supported by the discussion with L, where the representatives acknowledge that participation is something that their organisation strives to create and promote. If participation is assumed to occur naturally, through community cohesiveness then this simple notion is contested by the organisations acknowledging that they create and promote participation (Cleaver, 2001; Shortall, 2008). Good participatory initiatives are rewarded by their ability to acknowledge local problems and work with the 'community' in order to devise appropriate mechanism of inclusion (Mosse, 2001). The current participatory action is inclusive as far as it meets the organisations' needs. This highlights how participation is embedded within corporate expectations of meeting a particular outcome (Mosse, 2001). The main outcome, in this context, was the food garden. Both the NGOs and their supporting corporations require community participation in order to establish their food gardens. Therefore, participation is positioned as the means to achieving the outcome (Ismail et al., 2003). Macro-structures promote the relevance of participation by packaging it as a method for marginalised communities to be empowered.

Participation is identified as the means for achieving sustainability, development and empowerment (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). While empowerment and participation form part of the boarder concepts of development and health, R highlights in extract six, line thirteen that there are 'wrong' types of participation which could potential hinder development and health (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). By specifying what she means by wrong participation, R is once again constructing a sense of individual responsibility and excluding those who do not possess the 'right' participation. By assuming that there are wrong types of participation, R's conceptualisation hints towards the common assumption that there is only one type of participation and anything different from that is not participation. What is interesting to note, is that R's statement denotes socialist thinking to describe the 'wrong' participation. A 'hand

out' from a socialist perspective would imply a charitable act for the betterment of the whole community. In this context, a 'hand out' is positioned within capitalist thinking where one has to work to receive something for their work (Mandel, n.d.). The switching between concepts to describe 'participation' highlights the elasticity of the term in promoting what the greater organisation hopes to achieve (Roper, 2012). Therefore, although R thinks there are wrong and right forms of participation, the way in which she conceptualises it highlights the complexity of the term. It is only once the individual has the 'will' and recognises his/her responsibility towards the rest of the 'community' that they benefit from participation. The way in which participants benefit is through empowerment.

The strong emphasis on fulfilling empowerment implies that these schools and their 'communities' are not empowered. If concepts of empowerment position the micro-structures as powerless then power can only be found at the macro-level (Kothari, 2001). If this was the case then it is the community's responsibility to participate in order to be empowered. Hence the belief that by promoting participation, macro-structures are promoting empowerment (Kothari, 2001). Individuals that chose not to participate in the food gardens did so because they would not receive money for their work. Non-participation, in this context, is a legitimate choice that is made from the position of power (Shortall, 2008). Despite their socio-economic environment, the non-participators had the power to make the decision that voluntary action would not be the most rapid means of overcoming their food insecurity. Participation requires physical, voluntary action in order for it to exist. The power that the non-participants possess is formed through their subjective experiences (van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2004). Therefore, the participants are considered as having power based on their personal perceptions of what would be most beneficial to them.

What emerged from the study is that for those who are part of the food garden, participation does not have to mean empowerment. While all the school participants acknowledged that working in the garden can empower people not a single person described themselves as empowered. When asked how the schools are empowered by the food gardens, R's response outlines that empowerment is an outcome of knowledge production, "*Well I think your skills you're providing them with a new skill".* This conceptualises empowerment as a goal (van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2004). In line with the literature, the focus on and lack of empowerment shows how the term is used as a buzzword (Cornwall & Brock, 2005). While empowerment, in notions of development, is supposed to decentralise dominant power

structure, this is not the case with the current interventions. The fact that R admits to providing the skill is an indication of a power imbalance. These types of imbalances are prominent in health psychology, where it is the professional's role to encourage empowerment (Aboud, 1998). From a critical psychology perspective, the implications of this type of empowerment have direct negative consequences for the individual by devaluing local knowledge at the expense of outside knowledge (Hook, 2004a). The assessment of individual empowerment through knowledge production is a concept that is heavily critiqued by critical health psychologists as being oppressive and unjust (Crossley, 2008). It is unjust in that it assumes that macro-knowledge is better than micro-knowledge, which has the consequence of oppressing autonomous action and agency. This power imbalance under discussion is embedded within educational concepts that promote the education of the micro-structure by the macro-structure in order to overcome inequality and adversity (Campbell, 2004).

Throughout the interviews it became apparent that the main objective was to encourage a changed mindset. Changing the way people think is one of the requirements, specified by health psychology as necessary for empowerment and promoting a way of overcoming poverty (Aboud, 1998). By initiating a change in the way that people thought about gardening, the interventions hoped to stimulate participation and increase food security. Changing minds in an attempt to help people better their lifestyles has been heavily critiqued in health education (Rodmell & Watt, 1986). In the current study, the action of changing the mind was only possible through the facilitation and attendance of workshops. The workshop, in this context, was objectified as an education tool, within educational mode of thinking, of changing people's perspectives through the distribution of particular kinds of knowledge. The knowledge in question was embedded within corporate concepts, in that the knowledge served the purpose of spreading the message of permaculture. In this study, permaculture is recognised as the technique through which sustainable development can be accomplished (Veteto & Lockyer, 2008). This type of change is suggestive of a top-down approach to development as opposed to the bottom-up that R and L assume (Campbell, 2004). Having the knowledge therefore means that it is the NGOs responsibility to ensure that they have someone to share it with.

4.2.2 Understanding participation through education

A visual representation of a permaculture way of gardening can be seen in photographs four and five in Appendix J. By prioritising permacultre as the main technique of sustainable gardening, the interventions are discrediting alternative ways of thinking about gardening for the purpose of bettering food security (Holland, 2004). Thus inside knowledge is expressed as secondary to external knowledge (Marsh, 1998). Critical psychology literature recognises that a top-down approach of knowledge production and sharing promotes a power imbalance amongst the different stakeholders (Hook, 2004a). By ignoring local knowledge, macro-structures are ignoring local power (Mosse, 2001). This has the effect of disempowering local people and places them in a position of dependence. Therefore, by promoting expert knowledge over local knowledge the organisations are disempowering communities instead of empowering them, as they propose. The way in which they hope to empower the communities is to use the same knowledge that initially disempowered them. Through this process local members are made dependent on external knowledge. When asked how the workshops are structured the representative indicated that the same message of permaculture is shared with each school. Extract ten is a portion of the conversation that took place with the representative from Organisation-A regarding the structure and content of the workshops.

Extract 10

M: And the curriculum in the workshops I mean um: (.) how did you come up with >wha:t< you teach the people in the workshops?

R: The thin the we have basic agendas: that we wor that we (.) work of for the country (.) but each facilitato:r (.) tailors it almost to: the group that they working with so Limpopo <it also depends on the size of the group that they're working with ·h the thing is with (.)the curriculum integration some of the facilitators have more experience (.) so other will (.) each facilitator: targets the work shop basically based on them and THeir assisted skills so but it's getting the same message across you know it's getting the message of permaculture it's teaching them basics of how can they incorporate it into their classrooms as well (.) it's not dictating you must do this you must do this its >mo:re< (.) planting a see:d basically with these educators and giving them ideas to work with (.) as well ya

The representative acknowledges that the composition of the groups might change but the content of their workshops remains constant. This shows that project actors are not passive facilitators (Mosse, 2001). The facilitators own the educational tools, choose the topics and record the relevant information (Mosse, 2001). This has the effect of excluding local knowledge and needs (Cooke & Kothari, 2001).

Extract 11

"The feedback from the participants has been very positives, with many requests for more workshops, more resources and information for their schools. It is very clear from the feedback that more participants than ever before are realizing and acknowledging the urgency required to start producing their own food and living more sustainably. (Organisation) hopes that after the workshops the participants will take the teachings back to their schools and communities and spread the message widely throughout the country to ensure a more sustainable and food secure future."

Extract eleven was obtained from an article published on Organisation-A's website. The main article discusses the nature of the work that the organisation does and the feedback that it has received from participants. The article was structured in such a way that it positions workshops as a valuable space in which people are educated about sustainable living and food production. The word 'feedback' (extract 11, line 1) is indicative of workshop participation where the participants are provided an opportunity to express their opinions. While participants are allowed to provide feedback they are in no way involved with the development of the workshops and the materials that are to be taught therefore, their level of workshop participation is limited. By describing the participants' feedback as 'positive' (extract 11, line 1), the extract is alluding to the value of their workshops. This value is justified by the fact that 'more participants than ever are realizing and acknowledging the urgency required to start producing their own food and living sustainably'. The provided justification is indicative of an educational theme where only through the education provided, in the workshops, are people able to realise the urgency of their situations. The fact that the people were not aware of the urgency prior to the workshops suggests that the urgency is being created by the organisations (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). This concept was further supported in the interview with R where she specifies that people in Gauteng '*they don't rea:lise that how hungry they actually are*'. By positioning people as hungry, R is indirectly marginalising their ability to recognise their own social health situations. R's statement is creating a platform of participation for 'someone' to let the people know that they are hungry. This platform was taken up by the organisation. This type of thinking is prevalent in health psychology where health professionals assume that smokers for example are not fully aware of the effect that smoking is having on their health therefore an expert needs to educate them, change their mind set in order to help them but this can only be accomplished if the individual participates (Sarafino, 2002). In actuality, this type of thinking serves to undermine the ability of the individual. Thus, the above extract shows how 'local needs' are

created and promoted by the macro-structures and then embodied by the micro-structures through participation (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Mosse, 2001; Naidoo, 1986).

A strong assumption, which is spoken about in extract eleven above, is that workshops operate within concepts of participation. In using the word 'hope' (extract 11, line 4) the organisation is indirectly saying that their work stops after the workshops. Their 'hope' is an expectation that the skills and knowledge that are taught in the workshops will be shared with other schools and 'communities'. Nowhere does the organisation discuss their involvement in assisting the schools in sharing the skills and knowledge further. This type of sharing is suggestive of a need for 'participation'. By sharing the skills and knowledge the schools are perceived as promoting participation in that other members are invited to learn. Sharing is assumed as relevant for participation. It is also assumed that only by spreading the message, sustainability and food security can be ensured. This assumption has the effect of placing responsibility with individual members. Individual responsibility reproduces individualism, such that the people who attend these workshops, mostly educators, are forced to take accountability of their food insecurity and their 'communities' food security (Crawford, 1977; Naidoo, 1986). The consequence of this is that if the educators fail to spread the messages of permaculture, sustainable living and food security they are than blamed for their food insecurity and its accompanying health concerns (Naidoo, 1986). What is interesting is that the current interventions assume that participants who attend the workshop will go out and educate others about food gardening.

A further concern in sharing the skills and knowledge is around the assumption that the skills will empower people. From the interviews it was observed that the general consensus across both schools is that the level of participation is low and the level of educating others is also low. From this perspective, if the skill is not being shared then people are not being empowered. In contrast, notions of capitalism describe empowerment as having the ability to sell ones skills. If the 'community' does not consider the skill that is being taught as a valuable commodity then there will be no interest in acquiring it (Mandel, n.d.). This was the case in both schools. Extract twelve, below, reflects the conversation with P2 concerning his feelings towards and experiences with the food garden. P2 highlights how embodying capitalism can lead to empowerment and sustainability of the garden. P2 is employed full time and is offered produce from the garden for the work that he does. Although he was never taken to the workshops provided by the organisation, he was able to capitalise on the skills

that he learnt by working on the garden and selling the vegetables that he produced. Based on the fact that the garden was providing him with an income, P2 was adamant to ensure that it was well taken care of, in turn guaranteeing economic and ecological sustainability for himself and the garden. The example of P2, below, highlights how an individual member is benefiting from an intervention that is assumed to impact the community. Therefore, participating in the workshops is only valuable if the workshops provide the skills that their target 'community' can re-produce, re-use and sell thus ensuring power through economic development (Campbell, 2004).

Extract 12

M: Do you like the garden
P2: Too much
M: Why do you like it?
P2: (.) because I know maybe the soil
M: Mhm
P2: Can give me de: food
M: (1.0) And can you get money out of the food?
P2: Ya so I can get the money (.) from the garden you see

Another way in which permaculture skills and knowledge are to be spread is through the formation of 'committees'. A committee was extensively spoken about in the interviews with the participants from School-B. Cleaver (2001) emphasises that committees are 'associated with participation through democratic representation' (p. 42). There is a strong assumption that committees foster meaningful participation and that during this participation people are able to exchange knowledge and skills (Aboud, 1998; Cleaver, 2001). What is not mentioned is that committees have exclusionary traits such that only some members are invited to take part in committee actions. This was evident in the discussion with L who spoke about the selection of committee members. Committees are supported by macro-structures. This has the effect of creating a governing body that controls the food gardens and dictates who is allowed to take part and who is not. Therefore, a democratic concept becomes dictatorial.

4.2.3 Private space as obstructing participation

Community gardens promote the assumption of a public space that people can freely approach and offer their services (Turner, 2011). This was not found in the schools under investigation. While participation was repeatedly spoken about as necessary for the promotion of food gardens, as noted by extract thirteen below, certain actions, from the

schools, obstructed the free flow of participation. Extract thirteen reflects a comment made by the representative from Organisation-A concerning the relevance of community participation. The comment emerged when the representative was talking about the concept of and relevance of community participation.

Extract 13

R: [Ya] If you don't have com (.) munity participation >you don't have a project<

The deliberate erection of fences was seen as an obstruction to community participation. These fences are noticed in photographs two and three, Appendix J. When questioned as to the nature of the fences P3's response is reflective of an ownership concept, which forms part of capitalist thinking. By using the word 'our', P3 is excluding all those people whom she does not consider to be part of her food garden. In this context the people being excluded are 'community members'. Further indication of the privatisation of the food garden is witnessed through the use of words such as '*unwanted trespassing*' and '*unwanted entry*'. The 'unwantedness' is supported by the lock seen in photograph three. The erection of the fence is justified by P3 as something that was required to stop the damage being inflicted on the garden. The word 'protect' (extract 14, line 7) positions the garden as a vulnerable object that needs to be defended from outside invasion. The school's perception of the urgency of a fence is further emphasised by the discussion with L in which fences were chosen, by the school, over the instillation of water tanks. The water tanks were described by L as necessary for the sustainability of the garden. Based on this, privatising a public space was chosen over securing a consistent water source. Extract fourteen indicates the conversation with the principal from School-B concerning the food garden fences.

Extract 14

P3: so while we did not have the fence around people would come in and they would destroy our crops they would (.) if like the the the carrots they would just pluck it out and then they realise it is still small and then they just chuck it there so there was a lot of: a: (.) damage and harm done to the to the garden and that was a real big challenge but I can thank God that that was a time that (Sponsor) sponsored the school with ten thousand rand towards the feeding scheme >toward the the gardens< and we decided straight away that we would put up a fence around it and put netting across so that we can just protect it

In discussing the garden with P2, extract fifteen, it was recognised that while this garden was also fenced off, the severity of outside intrusion was not perceived as hazardous to the garden. A reason for this could be based on the fact that School-A has a bigger garden which has been around since 1998, while School-B's garden is smaller and much younger. The ownership concept, although not as strong, is also prevalent in School-A. P2 discusses the abundant stealing of vegetables that happens in 'his' garden. The word 'steal' implies ownership and one is only able to steal something, when that object in question is perceived as belonging to someone else. When asked to talk about how the stealing makes him feel, P2 expresses himself from within the social context of his surroundings. According to P2, stealing is justified if one is hungry. The justification of hunger is affirmed by P2 acknowledging that hungry people will not take all the food but only what they need. From a health perspective, hunger is defined as a health risk (Thiesmeyer, 2009). The effects of hunger on health have considerable implications on development. Within the current context, the fact that hungry people have to steal food that is intended for sharing with the whole community implies that the proposed health benefits of the intervention are limited to a select few. The few that are allowed to benefit are selected by the school authority or garden committees. Those that are selected as beneficiaries are often employed by the schools or have some sort of association with the school. While School-B is adamant to keep people out, School-A is willing to share its resources even if it is not in the manner that is expected within participatory assumptions. The stealing is indicative of the 'wrong' type of participation that R spoke about previously. Once again, this participation is positioned within a socialist perspective as a charitable action.

Extract 15

P2: =Yo there's plenty steal it (.) but what I can do (.) nothing
M: Is it students or other people from (.) a: the around the school
P2: E:: the people from here around the school (1.0) sometimes like the fence is ope:n (.) maybe someone is coming out
M: They just come and take?
P2: M:: but e: I see he maybe someone today take my spinach of what cabbage of what but what I can do because I:=
M: =how does that make you feel (.) when you see someone take has taken your foo:d?
P2: Hey I see I that man was hungry: (.) you see I because he didn't take it all >I was hungry let him have it<

R justified the use of using schools as main sites for community gardens based on the presumption that '*the only land available is at the schools*'. The schools in turn are imposing

their own rules as to who is allowed into the gardens, for what reason and when. This has the effect of rendering 'participation' as limited to a select group of individuals that meet the standards set out by the school. Additionally, the garden becomes a space of 'othering'. Ownership is not represented within community and participatory assumptions. As a result, the evidence of ownership of food gardens has the consequence of stimulating a re-conceptualisation of community and participation. This means, that future collaborations with ''communities', with the aim of creating food gardens, needs to address the potential of ownership. Ownership is only a problem when it excludes people who could actively benefit from the food gardens.

4.2.4 Participatory partnerships

What was excluded from all of the discussions are the different types of participatory partnerships that occur. This is best emphasised through the word 'team'. In the context of the study, team draws from notions of participation to highlight a common goal that many different players are working towards. It was interesting to note that team was defined differently by the organisation and the schools. Extracts sixteen and seventeen highlight the different constructs of the word team from the organisations and community member's perspective. Extract sixteen was taken from an article on Organisation-A's website and extract seventeen reflects a conversation with the school teacher from School-A concerning the schools planting day. The planting day is representative of the level of support that the school food garden receives. Extract sixteen below, describes team as being comprised of school and 'community' members with the main team leader being the educators. This places considerable pressure on educators to ensure that the interventions are successful. Extract seventeen has the same definition but also includes the macro-structures as members of their team work.

Extract 16

"Even though the workshops are aimed at educators, the success of the permaculture food gardens often depends on a team effort which ropes in learners, community members and parents."

Extract 17

M: What's gonna happen that planting day?
P1: On the planting day we'll we have prepared the: the plants and then what we'll be doing ah learners: parents from this community e:h from the community of the different comm - eh

organisations will be he:re and then we'll be planting all of us plati:ng: (.) watering: (.) mulching: (.) you know it will be a team work that we'll be doing

The above extract sixteen discusses the public-private partnerships around community food gardens. The article was written from the organisations perspective with the intention of informing first time readers about the nature of their relationships. In this context the private refers to the organisation and the corporate that support and facilitate the workshops, while public includes educators, learners, community members and parents. By willingly excluding themselves from the word team, the macro-structures are creating a 'team effort' that is based solely on the work and effort that is provided by the micro-structures. Once again it is evident how the macro-structures are distancing themselves from the responsibility of partaking in the food gardens. This distancing is in line with the body of literature on corporate involvement that discusses the imparting of responsibility (Fig, 2005).

In contrast, the inclusion of the macro-structures, in extract seventeen, highlights the significance of macro involvement in the food gardens. P1 positions the sponsors[7] as the main team leaders. This is further enhanced by P1's consistent reference to the importance of outside sponsorship. While macro-structures conceptualise participation at the level of individual community members, the individuals in question conceptualise participation as inclusive of corporations, NGOs and government. This is most evident in that both schools spoke about the importance of receiving external support or funding. Therefore, in the current study, macro level participation is summarised by the support that they provide. When given an opportunity to question the researcher as to the aims of the project, extract eighteen, P1 averted the conversation to assessing the potential for outside sponsorship. Her intent was to discover whether any extra support could be provided for the school. The vagueness of the term 'sponsor', would have one believe that any sort of support, be it material of capital, is welcome. In actuality, the support spoken about here was in reference to the school's water problem and the need to find someone to fix their existing borehole. Therefore, while any sponsor would be appreciated the most appropriate support would be one that tackles their immediate, self identified need. This emphasises the point that while almost all types of external participation are welcome, the most relevant form of external participation would be the ones that supplement the needs of the community.

[7] The term sponsor is used interchangeably with the term funder. Both words signify an external power often in the form of corporate support for the food garden projects.

Extract 18

P1: Yes from your: (.) from the the research that you have made
M: Mhm::
P1: ·h is there anything maybe that you can (.) you can try (.) for us: as a school?
M: In what way?
P1: In in a way maybe looking for sponsors for us (.) referring them to us:

Extract 19

P3: as soon as the donors are donating anything whether it's <see:d or or manu:re or it's too:ls> we make hundred percent sure that we take good care of it and we use it for the reason that it was given to the school so: u:m (.) at this stage (.) this garden is sustainable because our donors: is giving continuously because they can see we are trying to make a difference and we here at school are also making sure that we not disappoint our our donors so: I think with or without the the the participation of our parent wing (.) we will be able to sustain this (.) and we had been sustaining it for the pa:st few years already

Extracts eighteen and nineteen were taken from conversations with the teacher from School-A and principal from School-B. Both extracts highlight the significance of sponsorship in the establishment and maintenance of the food gardens. School-B had a wide sponsorship varying from well known corporations to less known businesses. The type of support that they received ranged from the material, as evident in the above extract nineteen, to the fiscal. L elaborates on School-B's corporate support by emphasising that the school does not have a problem with locating funders as they have been sponsored by many different groups and companies over the years. What stood out with School-B is the acknowledgement that although they consider their school to be sustainable, it is only sustainable as long as corporations carry on providing the relevant needs and funding. Therefore, external participation is deemed necessary for development. This same topic is re-iterated by R who talks about funding as being the only challenge to the sustainability of the project. This is consistent with the body of literature which speaks about development as being commandeered by corporate views (Banerjee, 2008). In this context, development is achievable through financial support and without such support the projects are assumed to struggle (Blowfield, 2004).

In contrast, School-A has low to no corporate sponsorship but has managed to sustain its food garden for a long time. This indicates that while School-B has been dependent on macro-participation from the onset of their garden, School-A has been self-sustaining. The recognition of School-A's sustainability is accredited to P2 and P1. Despite the fact that School-A has managed to sustain its food garden without external sponsors, they would still

like to obtain some form of sponsorship. School-A and School-B serve as examples of how two different marginalised communities experience different forms of development based on macro-participation and support that they do or do not receive. Corporations conceptualise the support that is provided as benefiting the communities that they work with without acknowledging the long-term effect it has on these communities (Blowfield, 2004; Fig, 2005). This research shows that macro participation can make communities dependent on the support thus undermining their potential to develop independently.

School-B validates the funding that it receives by the fact that corporations are able to see that the school is making a difference. The word 'see' in this context is a corporate concept that highlights how the school is under continuous surveillance. Such surveillance is embodied in monthly reports and visits. The consequence of this is that the 'difference' (extract 19, line 4) that the above quote is speaking of will only occur for as long as the surveillance is in place. This type of partnership is structured along notions of disciplinary power (Banerjee, 2008; Hook, 2004b). The support provided by the sponsors, serves as the mechanism that ensures that the school monitors itself and the garden (Banerjee, 2008). The school is aware that they are being observed and as a result they take the responsibility for their own actions (Hook, 2004b). Mechanisms of surveillance are predominant forms of controlling health interventions in psychology (Aboud, 1998; Hook, 2004b). In the above quote, the school acknowledges that the only way the garden is sustainable is with the help of sponsors and the only way to maintain those sponsors is to ensure that the gardens are being taken care of. Therefore, corporate and NGO participation functions in promoting a sense of surveillance and ensuring that the gardens are being taken care of. The set back being that the types of sponsorships provided are never long term. Therefore, the school would have to establish new partnerships with new sponsors and each time adjusts to a new form of surveillance. This emphasises that while macro-structures encourage long term participation for the micro-structures, they themselves are only required to participate for a limited period of time.

The nature of the corporate and school participation is positioned within a business framework with words such as 'contract', 'business card' and 'meeting' signifying capitalist thinking. Words such as these were used by the participants to refer to the types of macro-micro partnerships. This type of language conceptualises the food garden as a space where business is conducted. In a business partnership the transaction that occurs is meant to benefit

both parties (Cronin, 2009). Based on extract nineteen, the main beneficiary is the macro-structure. The type of 'participation' that is promoted by macro-structures as relevant for empowerment and sustainability is being set aside in order to meet the needs of the macro-structures. The needs in this context are to produce food gardens that are being taken care of. Thus, while corporate promotes participation they are unable to ensure it because their main priority is to see the final outcome (Ismail et al., 2003). This has the consequence of making participation secondary to corporate needs, especially when participation, as discussed above, is perceived as potentially hindering external sponsorships.

The principles of participation that the current interventions are promoting draw from a psychological way of thinking about health (Aboud, 1998). The type of participation that is being promoted by the schools is exclusionary and limited only to a select few. This is contradictory to the participation that psychological thinking promotes, development follows and the organisations encourage. Therefore, contesting the term participation has direct implications for health psychology. Based on this research, participatory assumptions vary according to the context and the needs of the expected participants showing that it is a complex and multi-faceted concept and thus should not be taken for granted. Organisations package participation as a means to an end of food insecurity without taking into consideration the greater social, political and economic context of the environment (Cleaver, 2001; Kagan et al., 2011; Xu, 2007). The varying meanings and coceptualisations of the term participation emphasise how it is a symbol employed by macro-structures because of its ability to make anything it involves look good (Cornwall & Brock, 2005; Morgan, 2001). As such, participation is conceptualised as good because it is assumed to be good for the poor and the marginalised. In actuality, the assumptions that govern participation have the consequence of inadvertently reinforcing social inequality. Therefore, not only are notions of community problematic but so are notions of participation.

4.3 Conclusion

In sum, the food garden interventions under investigation are not working to help alleviate food insecurity and as this research has shown part of the problem is understanding the way in which community and participation are conceptualised. Participatory literature highlights that the notions of community and participation are not new in fact, South Africa boasts a large number of participatory research methods (Williams, 2006). A large volume of the

research has been contextualised within underprivileged or poverty stricken areas. This is emphasised in academic texts that conceptualise community participation as synonymous with equal governance (Williams, 2006). The reality is that in South Africa, community based interventions have the consequence of making individuals beneficiaries of interventions that ultimately do not bring forth the change that they preach but establish themselves as experts (Aboud, 1998; Williams, 2006).

The setbacks of the current interventions are located at the assumption that community participation will provide a solution to food insecurity and indirectly affect health. If causes of food insecurity were solely located at the level of individual members and the community then one can justify positioning participation as a solution. As the literature has shown, one cause of food insecurity is based on the global markets controlling food supply and demand (Patel, 2007). Previous health psychology research has managed to implement interventions that promote participation and education as methods of behaviour change (Sarafino, 2002). This is evident in the work done around unhealthy behaviours such as smoking and disordered eating (Sarafino, 2002). Similar work has also been conducted with the aim of reducing malnutrition in children (Aboud, 1998). This type of work reproduces the assumption that the problem and the solution lie with the individual person. Psychological notions assume that community implies connectivity and for this reason participation is inherent in community interventions (Holland, 2004). These types of assumptions take for granted the complexity of the terms therefore ignoring the problematic political implications. By critically analysing community and participation this research has shown that psychologised notions of what community and participation mean are not only complex but have political problems that ultimately impact negatively on the people they propose to be helping.

In the broader context of food insecurity, community participation does not translate into a solution. Therefore, the way in which health psychology thinks about community and participation has the consequence of ignoring the global concern of food insecurity. Another consequence is that health psychology perceives community participation as necessary for the implementation of health interventions. As this research has shown, the manner in which community and participation are conceptualised propagates the inequality that it claims to be working against. Additionally, the psychologised way of thinking about community participation draws on problems of individualism that ineffectively blames the individual

(Crawford, 1977). People are perceived as having the ability to solve food insecurity as long as they participate. As this research has shown, the problematic concept of participation renders the individual powerless to overcome their food insecurity. Therefore, the widespread application of community and participatory assumptions foreclose alternative ways of thinking about food insecurity. One such way of thinking is that food insecurity interventions, up to this point perceive the solution at the level of the community and individual. This is problematic in that it ignores the broader global structures that directly influence food insecurity.

Participatory concepts have value, but their potential is undermined by the flawed conceptualisation of the term (Aboud, 1998). Morgan (2001), states that in developmental thinking participation is described as a 'magic' solution. The manner in which participation is promoted in the interventions is inconsistent with what the organisers hope to achieve. In order for participation to promote development, external organisers must take more responsibility for planning the type of participation that they want to see (Morgan, 2001). Time needs to be taken where mutual decisions can be made on what participation means, how it is approached and why people would participate (Stephens, 2007). If participation is described as a magic solution then one needs to question the ability of participation to provide change.

Both health psychology and development acknowledge the importance of having multiple players participating in interventions (Aboud, 1998; Chibba, 2011). Community gardens provide a space to analyse different partnerships across different stakeholders. This analysis chose to mainly address the corporate, NGO and school partnerships in order to evaluate macro-level participation. The research shows that corporate and NGO participation is invested in power dynamics. Corporate and NGOs participate as long as the participation is consistent with their aims. The manner in which they participate also has the effect of governing the work done in the food gardens (Hook, 2004b). Corporations often use the power awarded to them by their financial resource base to control the outcomes of the garden. This in turn has the consequence of making the schools dependent on the financial sponsorship thus circulating the power back into the hands of corporate. While community participation is assumed to provide a means to overcome such power inequalities, this research shows that participation has the opposite effect of promulgating inequality (Kagan et al., 2011). The analysis of participation and community can form the foundation for novel

understandings of promoting food security. This can only be accomplished once the predominant ways of thinking about community and participation, evident in psychology and development, are re-conceptualised in such a way that they consider the political implications and power inequalities common in current community centred work.

CHAPTER FIVE: IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY, STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Implications of the study

This research used a variety of sources to explore the broader assumptions that are prevalent in the way that community and participation are thought about in the context of food insecurity in a developing state. In line with the stipulated aims and research questions this reports explains the way in which community and participation are conceptualised and the implications that such conceptualisations have on potential future work within the fields of critical health psychology, development work, community work and corporate initiatives. Specifically, the critical nature of the work provides for a more dynamic understanding of food garden interventions.

In agreement with critical health psychology, this research shows that when discussing food related health concerns one has to assess what effect social, political and economic factors have (Crossley, 2008). Additionally, critical health psychology acknowledges the injustice of having an expert knowledge base that promotes power inequality in the partnerships that are formed (Hook, 2004a). For this reason, critical thinkers need to help promote the inclusion of local knowledge in a way that it is inclusive of all parties involved (Popay & Williams, 1994). This research shows that local knowledge was not considered in the development of the food garden workshops. The implication being that many of the communities' needs were conceptualised from the organisations' perspectives. Therefore, the commonly practiced process of identifying community needs for them has the consequence of ignoring what it is that the community actually requires and ultimately deterring community development and health promotion. Local knowledge needs to be considered if one hopes to promote development and health in a community context.

Critical health psychology has a strong theoretical base that provides for rich interpretation of a health concerns but as the literature suggests, critical health psychology could do with being more self critical (Hepworth, 2006). In the context of this research, critical thinking needs to lead to practical action. It is simply not enough, to critically evaluate concepts like community and participation. One has to be able to apply the critique in a practical format. Critical thinking is significant in breaking assumptions around food garden interventions. This provided novel forms of thinking about community and participation in relation to food

insecurity. Therefore, one of the implications of this research is that it emphasises how the taken for granted concepts of community and participation, prevalent in psychological and developmental thinking, actually perpetuate the problem by ignoring the bigger picture. Therefore, alternative forms of thinking about community and participation need to be considered. Such alternative forms of thinking are only possible once the assumptions of how contemporary community interventions conceptualise community and participation. Therefore, the current research not only critically explores the common assumptions around community and participation but it also challenges some of these assumptions. It is through challenging these taken for granted concepts and assumptions that novel conversations on community participation can take place and ultimately influence food garden intervention.

Food insecurity is positioned within development. Food insecurity is positioned as a consequence and potential indicator of poverty (Shaw, 2005). As such, the main focus in development has been to overcome poverty with the assumption that it will decrease food insecurity. In many cases, it was presumed that by promoting food gardens the communities would overcome food insecurity and poverty all in one go (Marsh, 1998). What this study has shown is that although food gardens are spoken about as supporting economic development they are not perceived as such by the 'communities' themselves. Food gardens embody socialist beliefs within a capitalist system. This is indicative of the boarder problems in development work where global super-powers set out targets that smaller countries are unable to meet (Chibba, 2011). Both points highlight how certain expectations are set but within the context that they are produced, are bound to fail. Promoting socialist thinking and behaviour in a global system run on capital might not lead to economic development (Cronin, 2009). A further implication of this study is that it shows how by having such a strong focus on economic development fails to address other potential development initiatives. Economic development at the individual and community level does not necessarily translate to national or global development. Therefore, community food gardens can only provide small relief to a global problem.

The nature of community work is guided by the assumption that a community is a natural and cohesive concept (Dempsey, 2010). As this study along with a large body of literature has shown this is not the case. Similarly, participation is assumed to naturally occur in community interventions. As the literature shows, participation promotes a people-centred approach to development (Kelly & van Vlaenderen, 1997). The consequence of this being

that responsibility for the success or failure of the intervention is left with the individual. The implications of contesting community and participation have been heavily discussed. What is novel about this research is that it addresses the implications of community and participation in food garden interventions. The contestability of the two terms shows that there is strong inconsistency in the way that the macro and micro structures understand community participation. Such inconsistency can be related to the low level of interaction and knowledge sharing around community and participation between the macro and micro structures. Therefore, this research shows that there is no single and true definition of community and participation. For this reason more collaborative work needs to occur, between macro and micro structures, where definitions of community and participation are derived from the needs of and benefit to the 'communities'. The nature of the collaboration has to provide for equal sharing of knowledge and power which was evidently missing in the two school based food garden interventions. The notion of stronger collaboration will ultimately have positive implications on the development of the community and community health.

This research has explored the role of how corporate thinking influences the way in which community work is enacted. Corporations have an ethical obligation to help solve societal problems (Christensen & Murphy, 2004). Although their role in development has been perceived as beneficial up to a point, corporate involvement has produced many challenges for development. Corporate thinking perceives corporate social initiatives as helping society by supporting development projects and stepping in where government falls short (Blowfield & Frynas, 2005). While this does happen, in many cases corporate involvement has more to do with corporate development than community development. Based on this, one of the implications of the current research is to emphases the problematic role that corporations can play by supporting food insecurity interventions. Corporate involvement reinforces social hierarchies all the while making it look like they are solving the problem. The consequence of corporate inequality is that development and health promotion at a community level can be compromised to meet the needs of the macro-structure. Therefore, corporations have the power to not only influence the assumptions that govern the way that community and participation are conceptualised but they also foreclose alternative ways of thinking about community and participation.

5.2 Strengths and limitations

The study data was not limited to interviews but also included public texts and photographs. One of the main strengths of the current study is that the diversity of data provides for a more in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the case studies under investigation. This is consistent with Babbie and Mouton's (2007), ascertain that multiple sources of data results in thick description. A further strength of the study is that while the multiple data sources are beneficial from a methodological perspective, they also supplement the theoretical base of the study by providing multiple perspectives from which to explore community and participation. Thus the current study gave voice not only to the marginalised school members from Riverlea and Orange Farm but also to the greater organisations.

A further strength of the study is that it highlights the significance of assessing food insecurity within a critical realism framework. While food insecurity is described by much of the literature as a fundamental health concern, this research goes far in showing that food insecurity is also conceptualised within broader notions of development. Furthermore, many of the principles that underlie food insecurity interventions are prevalent in the way that psychology thinks about community centred work. Therefore, one of the main strengths of the current study is that it provides a platform for critical thinking about a topic that in the past was not directly discussed from a psychological framework. Therefore, there is an evident link between the influence of psychological forms of thinking about health and the way that food garden interventions are implemented.

Despite the above mentioned strengths the current research does have certain theoretical and methodological limitations that need to be mentioned. The main methodological limitation of the study is that although case studies provide for an in-depth analysis of the findings they also limit the study to the two cases that are discussed (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). It is not the intention of the current research to generalise the current findings to other developing communities but the research is limited in its ability to make general claims of the conditions and conceptualisations that would be prevalent in other food insecurity interventions. As such, the current findings cannot make assumptions of the power and knowledge production of other organisations. Rather the study allows for the transferability of the theory and knowledge into other setting that are concerned with the study of food insecurity in the context of food gardens.

A strong limitation is that the current research only provides for one interpretation of the data. As Denzin and Lincoln (2005) state "there is no single interpretive truth" (p.26). This is indicative of qualitative research that aims to critically explore the taken for granted concepts such as community and participation. The interpretation was based on the researcher's subjective involvement with the research participants, photographs and internet texts. The researcher personally chose the articles that she considered relevant for the study and took the photos that were deemed appropriate. Therefore, the researcher is an active participant in the conceptualisation of the concepts under investigation. As such, the analysis was influenced by the researcher's aims and expectations and provides only one out of many different interpretations of the data. Therefore, analysed by someone different the current data could produce different findings that would be positioned within different forms of thinking.

Another observation is that the informal discussion with L limited the data that could have potentially provided more insight into the different understandings of community, participation and corporate involvement in the food intervention. Additionally, the public documents were sourced from Organisation-A's website thus elevating the one organisation over the other. This has the effect of placing more emphasis and value on one organisation's input compared to the other.

Despite the study being positioned within a critical health psychology framework, the level of information that discusses health directly is limited. Although this is set as a limitation it is also a strength of the study. The literature describes food insecurity as having considerable health implications for individuals and communities but the collected data does not conceptualise food insecurity within the same notions of health. Rather health is implicitly discussed by challenging the assumptions around community and participation. One of the reasons for failing to discuss health directly is located at the researcher's low level of probing. Deducing from the literature, health was assumed as inherent in the intervention. This in turn affected the low level of probing that occurred.

5.3 Recommendations

Future research recommendations are discussed in terms of the above mentioned limitations. The first recommendation is that when more than one case study is being analysed than equal weighting must be provided for both. This will benefit the study in collecting data that is

richer and more in-depth. Additionally, the equality of data across different cases will produce more analytical discussions that provide a link across different studies and previous knowledge (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). This link can be used to generalise findings across contexts.

The study directly addresses the way in which organisation representatives and school members think about community and participation but indirectly explores the way in which corporations and government think. This leaves room for future research to interview corporate members and government officials with regard to their perceptions of food insecurity, food gardens and community participation. This would have the benefit of further emphasising the manner in which power and knowledge are (re)produced.

The research investigates food insecurity, community and participation within one developing country. Although both case studies provided evidence that goes against participatory assumptions their evidence is founded upon varying social circumstances. School-A described the socio-economic environment in which the community is situated as limiting the level of participation it experienced. Similarly School-B identified the same factor but added that additional social obstacles included substance abuse and violence. Future research could benefit from investigating participation in different contexts and extending the analysis to include more in-depth discussion of these factors. It would be interesting to investigate how these factors are perceived and what potential effect they would have on 'community' development, sustainability and health. Additionally, research that assesses 'participation' at an organisational and corporate level can provide further insight into how participation is understood. This is significant specifically when noting that while the current research addresses the high flexibility of the term participation the main focus is from the schools perspective. Therefore, future work would benefit from a balanced understanding from both sides and provide a means of comparing different conceptualisations.

In accordance with the last limitation discussed above, future work should restrain from assuming health as inherent when discussing food insecurity but should rather address the matter directly. Despite the fact that the current study provided a theoretical foundation that foster health concerns in food insecurity intervention, the data would have been stronger if more information was provided as to what some of the health concerns were. These types of

questions will have the effect of contextualising food insecurity within broader health concerns at an individual and societal level. Additionally, such findings will supplement the theory and provide a practical translation of the findings.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Representative information sheet

School of Human & Community Development
Faculty of Humanities
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050
Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559

Representative Information sheet

Organisation representative

Hello, my name is Minja Milovanovic and I am currently completing my Masters in Research Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. One requirement of the Masters course involves the completion of a research project. Under the supervision of Professor Brendon Barnes, the study that I am conducting aims to analyse community participation within an existing food security intervention. The intervention under analysis is the Eduplant food garden. Alongside, a critique of mainstream health psychology, an analysis into community participation will provide insight into the possible position of critical health psychology in food security.

I wish to invite you to participate in my Masters Research project. Should you agree to participate, you will be required to partake in an approximately one hour interview. The interview will be based around your experience or/and knowledge of the food gardening intervention and community participation. Participation in the study is entirely voluntary, you may withdraw from the study at any time and it will not be held against you. Please note, by choosing to participate or not choosing to participate you will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. You have the right not to answer any questions you feel uncomfortable with. Your personal identity will be kept strictly confidential and it will not feature in the final report although the organisation that you represent will be mentioned. The

data (transcripts and audio-recordings) will be kept in a safe and secure location in the psychology department with restricted access to only my supervisor and me. The data will be destroyed upon request.

Your participation in this study would be greatly appreciated. If you choose to participate in the study please fill in your details on the forms below and return to the researcher. A summary of the findings will be made available to you on request.

Yours sincerely

_____

Minja Milovanovic (Student- Masters Research Psychology)
School of Community and Human Development
Discipline of Psychology
Wits
Private bag 3
2050

Supervisor's details

_____

Professor Brendon Barnes
School of Human and Community Development
Discipline of Psychology
Wits
Private bag 3
2050

NOTE: The last section of following information sheet has been adjusted to remove any personal contact details of the researcher and her supervisor in order to ensure their privacy.

Appendix B: Interview – Consent form for representative

School of Human & Community Development
Faculty of Humanities
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050
Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559

Interview - Consent form for representative

I have read and understood what this research involves and what is expected of me.

I understand that:

- Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary and no information that may identify me will be included in the research report.
- I may refuse to answer any questions that I feel uncomfortable answering.
- I may withdraw from the study at any time and it will not be held against me in any way.
- I agree to the use of direct quotes in the research report.
- I am aware that there are no direct benefits for participation in this research.
- This is a minimal risk study.

I hereby consent to participate in this research project. I also give Minja Milovanovic permission for my results to be used in the write up of this study.

Name: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Contact Number: _____

Appendix C: Recording consent form for representative

School of Human & Community Development
Faculty of Humanities
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050
Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559

Recording consent form

I _____ consent to my interview with Minja Milovanovic, in her study on the critical analysis of community participation in food security interventions, to be audio tape-recorded.

I understand that:

- The audio-recording and transcript will be kept in a safe and secure place at the University of the Witwatersrand.
- The tapes and transcripts will not be seen or heard by any person in the organisation other than the researcher and her supervisor, and will only be processed by them.
- Audio-recording and transcript will be destroyed upon request.
- No personal identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report as the researcher will make use of a pseudonym.
- I am also aware that the organisations name will be mentioned in the final write up.

I further give consent to the researcher, Minja Milovanovic, to use direct quotes that will be stripped of any identifying information.

Name: _____

Date: _____

Signed: _____

Contact number: _____

Appendix D: Interview schedule for Organisation-A

Thank you for sharing your time with me. As mentioned previously I am going to ask you a few questions about the (intervention) food gardening programme.

1. What is your name?
2. What organisation do you represent and what position do you hold within that organisation?
3. Please describe your organisation and the work that it does.
4. Could you explain the (intervention) initiative
    - The workings of the project:
    - How it is run
    - Who runs it
    - Where does it fit in with the work of the greater organisation
    - South African context
    - Its goals and aims
    - Bottom-up approach
    - Who does it intend to benefit
    - What is permeculture
5. Please explain the workshops and the cluster workshops?
    - What is taught
    - How
    - Who teaches it
    - Who organises it
    - How long it lasts for
    - Who created the curriculum ie explaining water and compost
6. What makes (intervention) sustainable?
    - The type of food that is planted?
    - How it is maintained?
    - Who maintains it?
    - Are there follow ups on the schools?
7. How would say the project has developed over the years?
8. Could you describe the public private partnership between (intervention) and its funders?
    - Who are some of the funders of the (intervention) programme?
    - How do these funders contribute towards (intervention)?
9. Tell me about the (intervention) competition
    - Its origin
    - Purpose
    - Prizes
    - Who benefits from the prize money
    - Benefits of the competition
    - How the schools are judged

- Sponsors

10. How does a school become involved with (intervention)?
    - Approximately how many schools at present are implementing (intervention)?
11. How would you describe a community?
12. At a school level intervention such as (intervention), how is the greater community affected? Explain
    - Employment
    - HIV/AIDS
    - Teaching the community/ sharing of skills and knowledge
    - How successful is it in getting the whole community involved?
13. Would you say that (intervention) empowers communities? If yes how?
    - Who
    - How
    - What are the benefits of empowerment?
14. What do you understand about the term participation?
15. Do you think that participation is important for a programme such as (intervention)? Explain
16. How is community participation enacted within the (intervention) programme?
    - Does (Intervention) stimulate community participation? How
17. At a school level intervention such as (intervention), who in your opinion gets to decide who is allowed to participate? Explain
    - What do you think that this decision of participation is based on?
    - Can you remember a time when someone was not included? What happened and why?
    - In your opinion what are the potential consequences of including some people and excluding others?
18. In your experience, have there been any difficulties in participation within the (intervention) programme? Explain
19. What are some of the contributions or benefits of (intervention) for the school, learners and educators and the greater community?
20. Could you tell me about your personal experience with the (intervention) programme
    - What were some of your challenges?
    - Were there any unintended consequences that you didn't foresee. How you overcame them?
    - What were some of your greater successes?
21. In your opinion, whose responsibility is it to ensure that communities and schools have a sufficient supply of food? Explain
22. Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you for your time; this has been a very interesting, insightful and beneficial interview

Appendix E: Participant information sheet

School of Human & Community Development
Faculty of Humanities
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050
Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559

Participant Information sheet

Dear Participant

Hello, my name is Minja Milovanovic and I am doing my Masters in Research Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. For my Masters course I have to do a research project. Under the supervision of Professor Brendon Barnes, the project that I am doing will study how community members take part in a food garden.

I would like to invite you to take part in my Masters Research project. If you want to be part of my project, you will need to take part in an interview that will last for about an hour. The interview will be about your experience with the food garden. A good time and place will be organised only after you have signed the consent forms and returned them to me. It is your choice whether you want to take part in the interview; this means that you can leave the interview whenever you feel uncomfortable and it will not be held against you. It is important for you to know that by choosing to take part or not choosing to take part you will not get any benefits and you will not be in any risk. You have the right not to answer any questions you feel uncomfortable with. The interview will be tape recorded. No one will know your name except me. When the interviews are written up a false name will be used instead of your real name. The information from the project will be kept in a safe and secure location in the psychology department with restricted access to only my supervisor and me. The information will be destroyed only if you want it to be.

I would be thankful if you chose to take part in my project. If you choose to take part in the project please fill in your details on the forms below and return them to me. A summary of the findings will be made available to you upon request.

Yours sincerely

_____

Minja Milovanovic (Student- Masters Research Psychology)
School of Community and Human Development
Discipline of Psychology
Wits
Private bag 3
2050

Supervisor's details

_____

Professor Brendon Barnes

School of Human and Community Development

Discipline of Psychology
Wits
Private bag 3
2050

NOTE: The last section of following information sheet has been adjusted to remove any personal contact details of the researcher and her supervisor in order to ensure their privacy.

Appendix F: Interview – Consent form for participants

School of Human & Community Development
Faculty of Humanities
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050
Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559

Interview - Consent form for the participants

I have read and understood what this research is about and what is expected of me.

I understand that:

- Taking part in this interview is my choice and my name will not be used.
- I chose to not answer any questions that I feel uncomfortable with.
- I may leave the project at any time and it will not be held against me in any way.
- I give permission to Minja to use my words in the research report.
- I am aware that there are no benefits and no risks for taking part in this research.

I hereby agree to take part in this research project. I also give Minja Milovanovic permission to use my interview in the write up of this study.

Name: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Contact Number: _____

Appendix G: Recording consent form for participants

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University of the Witwatersrand
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Recording consent form

I _____ agree to have my interview with Minja Milovanovic, in her project about the study of community participation in a food garden, to be tape recorded.

I understand that:

- The tapes and transcripts (a transcript is a written version of the interview) will be put in a safe and secure place at the University of the Witwatersrand.
- The tapes and transcripts will only be seen, heard and managed by Minja and her supervisor.
- My name will not be used in the transcripts or the research report. The researcher will use fake names when writing up the different people.

I also agree for Minja Milovanovic, to use the exact words from my interview and it will not show my name.

Name: _____

Date: _____

Signed: _____

Contact number: _____

Appendix H: Participant Interview Schedule for School-A

Thank you for participating in my study. As mentioned previously, I am going to be asking you a few questions about the (intervention), food gardening programme.

1. What is your name?
2. How are you involved with the school?
3. How would you describe a community?
4. Tell me about the surrounding community
    - The people
    - Do they come from different regions
    - Does the community get along
5. Is food something that this community has to worry about?
    - Explain
    - Describe your personal experience with not having enough food.
    - How do you think people deal with not having enough food?
6. Please describe the food garden in your school?
    - When was it started
    - Why was it started
    - How was it started
    - Your involvement with the garden
7. Do you think the garden has benefited/helped the school?
    - Explain
    - The children
    - Feeding
    - Taking vegetables home (who and how much and who decided)
    - What happens when there are not enough vegetables?
8. Do you think the garden has benefited/helped the community?
    - Explain
    - Elderly, mothers, anyone
    - Do people come and learn to grow their own garden or ask for food?
9. How would you describe the bigger organisation's (Organisations name) involvement with the food garden?
    - How regularly do they visit?

- What assistance do they provide?
- What do you think of their workshops? Explain
- Who gets to go to those workshops? Who gets to decide who gets to go?

10. Tell me about the (intervention's) food garden competition
    - How many times has your school entered
    - Your involvement in it
    - What did you have to do to prepare for the competition
    - How it has affected your school and community
    - Your personal experience with the competition
11. Does your food garden receive assistance/help from any other organisation/company?
    - Explain
    - For what
    - How often
    - Problems and benefit related to this assistance
    - How do they find these other organisations?
    - How long is the assistance for
12. Tell me about your experience with the food garden? (Do you like the food garden)
    - Positives
    - Negatives
    - Challenges and difficulties
    - What you like about it and what you do not like about it
13. In your opinion, what are some of the things that you have learnt working in the food garden?
    - Explain
    - How have you used this knowledge?
14. Tell me about the community's involvement in the food garden?
    - Can anyone work in the garden?
    - Can anyone help out?
    - What do they get for helping?
    - Parent's involvement
    - Other schools
    - Explain your answer.

- How do you think this affects the community as a whole?
- What are the problems and benefits associated with this?

15. Who gets to decide who is allowed to (help out) take part in the garden and who is not?
    - What is this decision based on?
16. Do you think that participation (other people taking part) is important for this food garden? Explain
17. Do you think the food garden helps to empower (make stronger) the community and the school? Explain
    - Who
    - How
18. In your opinion is this food garden sustainable/maintainable/long term/work for a long time? Explain
19. Have there been any problems with the food garden? Have these problems been fixed? Explain your answer.
20. In your opinion, whose responsibility or job is it to make sure that schools and communities have enough food? Explain
21. What would you like to see happening more in your community?
    - Explain
    - School
    - Food garden
    - Community participation

Thank you for your time this has been a very interesting and helpful interview do you have any questions for me?

Appendix I: Participant Interview Schedule for School-B

Thank you for participating in my study. As mentioned previously, I am going to be asking you a few questions about your food gardening programme.

1. What is your name?
2. How are you involved with the school?
2. How would you describe a community?
3. Tell me about the surrounding community
    - The people/demographics
    - Do they come from different regions
    - Does the community get along
    - Economic status
4. What are some of the community concerns? Explain
5. Is food something that this community has to worry about?
    - Explain/Expand
    - How do you think people deal with not having enough food?
6. Please describe the food garden in your/this school?
    - When was it started
    - Why was it started
    - How was it started
    - Your involvement with the garden
    - What function does the food garden serve?
7. Do you think the garden has benefited/helped the school?
    - Explain
    - How many people has it helped?
    - How do you decide to help and not to help?
    - The children
    - Feeding
    - Taking vegetables home (who and how much and who decided)
    - Does your garden provide vegetables for the whole school?
    - What happens when there are not enough vegetables?
8. What type of relationship does the school have with the surrounding community?
9. Do you think the garden has benefited/helped the community?

- Explain
- Do people come and learn to grow their own garden or ask for food?

10. How would you describe (Organisation-A's) current involvement with the school?
    - Was (Organisation-A) involved with the food garden? (Explain what they did)
    - How regularly did they visit?
    - Did (Organisation-A) conduct workshops?
    - Who got to go to those workshops? Who decided who gets to go?
    - Could you tell me what happened between (Organisation-A) and the school? How has this affected the school?
11. Does your food garden receive assistance/help from any other organisation/company/institute?
    - Explain
    - For what
    - How often
    - Problems and benefit related to this assistance
    - How do they find these other organisations?
    - How long is the assistance for
12. Tell me about your experience with the food garden? (Do you like the food garden)
    - Positives
    - Negatives
    - Challenges and difficulties
    - What you like about it and what you do not like about it
13. In your opinion, what are some of the things that you have learnt working in the food garden?
    - Explain
    - How have you used/applied this knowledge outside the school?
14. Tell me about the community's involvement in the food garden?
    - Can anyone work in the garden?
    - Can anyone help out?
    - What do they get for helping?
    - Parent's involvement
    - Other schools
    - Explain your answer.

- How do you think this affects the community as a whole?
- What are the problems and benefits associated with this?

15. Who gets to decide who is allowed to (help out) take part in the garden and who is not allowed to take part in the garden?
    - What is this decision based on?
16. How did the school attract/get the participants?
17. Do you think that participation (other people taking part) is important for this food garden? Explain
18. Do you think the food garden helps to empower (make stronger) the school and the community? Explain
    - How
    - Do you think empowerment is important
    - If answer to 19 above is NO then ask: What could be done to empower the school and community?
19. In your opinion is this food garden sustainable/maintainable/long term/work for a long time? Explain
    - If not sustainable then ask: How could it be made to be more sustainable?
    - Is this a possible/realistic/feasible plan?
20. Have there been any problems with the food garden? Have these problems been fixed? Explain your answer.
21. In your opinion, whose responsibility or job is it to make sure that schools and communities have enough food? Explain
22. What would you like to see happening more in your community?
    - Explain
    - School
    - Food garden
    - Community participation

Thank you for your time this has been a very interesting and helpful interview do you have any questions for me?

Appendix J: Photographs

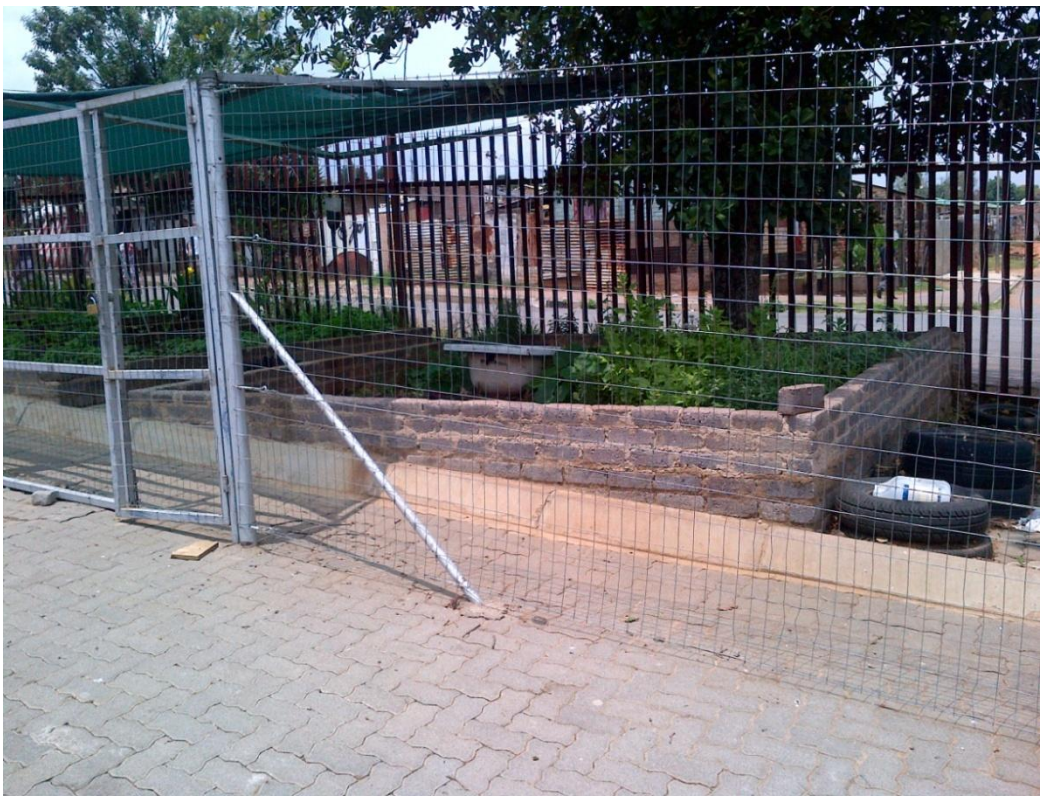
Photograph 1



Photograph 2



Photograph 3



Photograph 4



Photograph 5



Appendix K: Ethical clearance certificate