

The relationship between urban food security, supermarket expansion and urban planning and policy in the City of Cape Town: A Case of the Langa Junction Mini Mall

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Abstract

For many years, urban food insecurity has been 'invisible' to urban planners and policy makers. This is due to the misconception of food insecurity as being primarily a rural issue and attributable to a lack of supply of food; however, it is clear that the issue of urban food insecurity is systemic, embedded in socio-economic and spatial disparities.

Rapid supermarket expansion in low income areas in the City of Cape Town (CoCT), has in many ways limited access to food security, due to the urban poor's lack of financial access to this food. Through a case study method approach, the area surrounding the Langa Junction Mini Mall was used to explore the effects of supermarket expansion in low income areas on the urban poor's access to food security. Fieldwork consisting of observations at the Langa Junction Mini Mall, semi-structured interviews with the Langa Junction Mini Mall manager, the Langa Shoprite manager, informal street traders around the Langa Junction Mini Mall and City of Cape Town land use and spatial planners, as well as three focus groups conducted with Langa residents was conducted. The research findings show that supermarket expansion in Langa has drastically reduced the amount of informal street trade which is an important point of access to food security for the urban poor. Therefore, the Langa Junction Mini Mall has had an effect on the way in which the residents access food security. In addition, these findings suggest that the increase in supermarket expansion in the area are contributing to the food desertification of Langa.

Despite an Urban Agriculture Policy, the City of Cape Town has made no spatial or land use interventions in order to alleviate urban food insecurity within the City. Due to the systemic nature of urban food insecurity, interventions must take place at an institutional level in order to appropriately address this issue. This research provides recommendations towards the creation of a Municipal Urban Food Security Policy for the City of Cape Town through the formation of an Urban Food Security Policy Council, an Urban Food Charter as well as an Urban Food Security Strategy. Land use and spatial planning interventions are recommended as ways in which an affordable and equitable urban food system can be created. In addition, this research suggests that there is a need to increase awareness regarding urban food insecurity amongst land use and spatial planners within the City of Cape Town.

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Acronyms

ACC:	African Centre for Cities
AFSUN:	African Food Security Urban Network
CoCT:	City of Cape Town
FAO:	Food and Agriculture Organisation
IDP:	Integrated Development Plan
LAPI:	Local Area Planning Initiative
NDP:	National Development Plan
SASSA:	South African Social Security Agency

Chapter 1: Introduction

“The quest for food security can be the common thread that links the different challenges we face and helps build a sustainable future.”

José Graziano da Silva

United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) Director General
(Rio+20, 2012)

1.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide a brief introduction to the research problem explored within this dissertation, the values which have guided this research, as well as an outline of the remaining chapters in this document.

1.2 Urban Food Insecurity

Access to food, water and nutrition is a constitutional right in South Africa, yet based on the results of the 2013 South African Health and Nutrition Survey (SANHANES-1), an estimated 26 percent of South Africans are currently food insecure, while 28 percent are at risk of food insecurity (SANHANES-1; 2013: 147). Furthermore, in many ways the issue of urban food insecurity has previously been ‘invisible’ to urban planners and policy makers (Crush & Frayne, 2010; Maxwell, 1999; Morgan, 2009). One reason for the ‘invisibility’ of this issue, is due to the fact that food insecurity has previously been conceptualised as a rural issue attributed to a lack of supply of food (Battersby, 2012; Crush & Frayne, 2010; Maxwell, 1999). However, it is becoming increasingly recognised, that urban food insecurity is caused by lack of access to nutritious food due to various socio-economic and spatial disparities within urban areas. Due to the misconception of food insecurity as an entirely rural issue, the current planning and policy interventions, such as urban agriculture, are not appropriate to address the issue of urban food insecurity. Urban agriculture reinforces the understanding of urban food insecurity as attributed to a lack of food, as opposed to a lack of access to food. Urban food insecurity is a systemic issue; therefore, interventions to alleviate food insecurity in urban areas must be made at an institutional level, in order to recognise urban food insecurity as embedded within systemic disparities.

With half the world’s population currently living in urban areas, cities and food are becoming increasingly more important to the urban agenda (Battersby, 2012; Cohen, 2006). Therefore, industries such as spatial and land use planning in cities, are key role players in finding suitable interventions in order to alleviate the issue of urban food insecurity.

In a spatially and socio-economically segregated city such as Cape Town, urban food insecurity is a pervasive issue which predominantly effects the urban poor in low income areas (Battersby, 2011; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). Previous urban food security policies such as the City of Cape Town's Urban Agriculture Policy continue to conceptualise urban food insecurity as a lack of supply; therefore, this policy has proven to be inappropriate in addressing the systemic nature of urban food insecurity. In addition to this, the rapid rate at which supermarkets are expanding within low income areas, has had a significant impact on the urban poor's access to food and purchasing patterns and strategies (Battersby, 2012; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). To further understand this trend, this dissertation has made use of the case of the area surrounding the Langa Junction Mini Mall.

Using the case study method, the research conducted within this dissertation aims to address the need for institutional interventions into urban food insecurity within the City of Cape Town. The main research questions guiding this research and which this dissertation aims to answer are:

1. How has the Langa Junction Shopping Mall affected the consumption strategies and access to food for low income residents in Langa?
2. What are the institutional and governmental processes that enable the expansion of supermarkets in Cape Town?
3. What are the spatial manifestations and impacts of these processes?

Due to the current lack of urban food security policies, this dissertation aims to provide recommendations towards the creation of a Municipal Urban Food Security Policy for the City of Cape Town. These recommendations will consist of proposed amendments to the current zoning scheme and corresponding land uses, in order to create more just, and equitable access to sufficient nutritious food for those who live within the City of Cape Town.

1.3 Values Guiding this Research

This dissertation stems from the recognition of the transformative role planning can play in enabling socio-economic and spatial equality, in order to increase access to sustainable and just livelihoods. Furthermore, in order to create equitable and affordable access to and distribution of food within cities, spatial and land use planning must recognise its role as a pivotal, active agent within the urban food system. However, this can only be achieved through a multi-sectoral and multi-departmental approach to urban food planning, so as to enable the creation of an equitable, and affordable urban food system.

1.4 Outline of this Dissertation

Chapter 2 of this dissertation provides an over view of the research methods and various research techniques used in this study. Included in this chapter are the main and subsidiary research questions, as well as limitations of this research.

Following on from the research methods and techniques, Chapter 3 provides a review of the urban food security literature as it pertains to this topic. Moving from a global to a local scale, this literature review highlights various themes relating to urban food security which were able to guide this research.

Chapter 4 provides a contextual analysis of the current policies pertaining to urban food security in South Africa, the Western Cape and the City of Cape Town. In addition to this, this chapter provides an analysis of the current spatial and land use planning context in Cape Town as they relate to Langa and urban food security.

Chapter 5 presents the findings from the various research techniques such as observations and semi-structured interviews at the Langa Junction Mini Mall, as well as the findings from semi structured interviews conducted with land use and spatial planners at the City of Cape Town. In addition to these findings, the findings from the three focus groups conducted with Langa residents is presented.

Following the presentation of the findings in Chapter 5, Chapter 6 provides an analysis of these findings and how they relate to the themes identified through Chapter 3's literature review.

Chapter 7 presents the policy recommendations, based on the findings of this research and precedent from other cities. These recommendations include the initial steps necessary in order to create a Municipal Urban Food Security Policy, as well as the implications of this research for spatial and land use planning and practice.

Finally, Chapter 8 provides the conclusions, drawn from the research conducted within this dissertation.

Chapter 2: Research Methods

2.1 Introduction

Following the identification of the main research questions, this chapter will discuss the objectives of this research, as well as the main research method and techniques which were used within this dissertation. The method conducted responds to the research questions which have guided this research. In conjunction to the discussion of the main research method, the strengths and limitations of this method will be explained and discussed. In addition, this chapter will provide details on the main research techniques which were conducted during this research. These techniques include focus groups, semi-structured interviews, mapping and non-participant and participant observations. In relation to these techniques, this chapter will discuss the various informants who participated within this study, as well as how and when each informant was contacted. Furthermore, before concluding, this chapter will provide a discussion of the limitations of this research as well as the ethical considerations which were taken into account before and during the writing of this dissertation.

2.2 Research Questions

The research conducted within this dissertation was guided by, and aimed to answer the following research questions.

1. How has the Langa Junction Shopping Mall affected the consumption strategies and access to food for low income residents in Langa?
2. What are the institutional and governmental processes that enable the expansion of supermarkets in Cape Town?
3. What are the spatial manifestations and impacts of these processes?

2.3 Research Objectives

The primary objective of this research was to provide policy recommendations for the creation of a Municipal Urban Food Security policy in the CoCT. In addition to this, the research conducted within this dissertation aimed to elucidate the impact of supermarket expansion on the access to food and consumption strategies of the urban poor within a certain area. The chosen case study for this research was the Langa Junction Mini Mall. The mall opened in 2015, with Shoprite, a well-known South African retail company, as the mall's anchor store (Wolf, 2015; "Langa Junction shopping...", 2014). Through the research findings, this dissertation endeavoured to understand the institutional and governmental processes which enable the expansion of supermarkets within the city, and the spatial manifestations and social impacts of these processes. Based on the findings of this

research, this dissertation provides recommendations for a municipal urban food security planning policy for the CoCT.

2.4 Research Method and Techniques

This section provides an outline of the main research method which was undertaken within this dissertation. Through a qualitative research approach, this dissertation made use of the case study method. This method was selected as it responds to and is informed by the main research questions and research objectives as mentioned in section 2.2 and 2.3. Furthermore, this section will provide the rationale behind the selection of this dissertation's case study.

2.4.1 The Case Study Method

In order to respond to the research objectives and questions most appropriately, this dissertation conducted qualitative research through the case study method. While there are common misconceptions about the limits of the case study method as identified by Flyvbjerg (2011), Yin (1994) writes that the case study method is the most suitable method in order to uncover the deeper context of a particular case. In light of this, this method of research was chosen as it allowed for a deeper understanding of the network processes and social relations that exist within groups of individuals (Duminy, Watson & Odendaal, 2014; Yin, 1994). Additionally, the case study method allows for the understanding of 'why' and 'how' something occurred (Yin, 1994:2). Therefore, this aspect of the case study method allowed for the understanding of what the effects of the mall have been; why and how the development took place; and which processes were undertaken at a municipal level in order to allow for the development of this mall.

This method was also selected as this dissertation forms part of the requirements for a Master of City and Regional Planning degree. The case study method is particularly relevant to planning research, as it allows for the understanding of complex network processes and specific contexts (Duminy, Watson & Odendaal, 2014; Lindegger, 2010). The research for this dissertation was conducted in the context of a Global South country, which further highlights the relevance of the case study method for this research (Duminy, Watson & Odendaal, 2014). In African contexts in particular, the case study method is a useful research method for developing planning approaches which are more relevant, but not limited to, the context of the Global South (Duminy, Watson & Odendaal, 2014). Through this, a better understanding of the contextual realities of a specific case can lead to the production of more appropriate responses through planning and policy interventions (Duminy, 2014; Duminy, Watson & Odendaal, 2014; Inkoom, 2014).

While the case study method is useful in order to create a deeper understanding of a specific context, Flyvbjerg (2011) argues that there are five common misconceptions that researchers have of case study methods. These misconceptions result in the case study method often not being undertaken by researchers, or in the strengths of the method being underestimated (Bennet & Elman, 2006; Flyvbjerg, 2011). Flyvbjerg (2011) argues that common misconceptions of the method are that case studies are often thought of as (1) being less valuable than theoretical knowledge; (2) that generalisations can occur as the result of one individual case; (3) that case study methods are only useful in order to create hypotheses; (4) that the case study may contain bias in order to prove the researchers aims; and (5) that it is too difficult to summarise and develop general theories based on one case. However, Flyvbjerg (2011) critiques these misconceptions and shows how the case study method can provide a way to conduct collaborative, primary research in order to gain a deeper understanding of network processes and relationships.

Some of the advantages of the case study method have already been highlighted in the previous section (see Duminy, Watson & Odendaal, 2014; Flyvbjerg, 2011; Yin, 1994). An additional advantage of the case study method is that it allows for the researcher to participate in in-depth observations in order to gain first-hand information of a specific network (Lindegger, 2010; Yin, 1994). Through these observations and interactions, the researcher is able to uncover the deeper meaning of these networks and the global processes that have effects at a local scale (Duminy, Watson & Odendaal, 2014). Through the understanding of the global processes of the neo-liberal economy, the increase of supermarket expansion can also be seen at a local scale (Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). With this understanding of the global and local processes, the case study method was necessary and useful in order to fully understand the impacts of the supermarket expansion in Langa on the consumption strategies and level of food access for the consumers and residents in the area.

While there are clear advantages to the case study method, there are limitations to this particular method. One of the challenges that arises when making use of a case study method is the level of accuracy of the information provided by informants (Flyvbjerg, 2011); however, this can also be a positive aspect as it raises questions of why the informant has chosen to provide that information, or what they are trying to protect.

The case study method, as well as other qualitative research methods, have often been criticised due to their findings not being generalisable (Gomm, Hammersley & Foster, 2000; Yin, 2006). However, Yin (1994) argues that case studies are “generalisable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes” (Yin, 1994:10). Therefore, within the case study method, universal generalisation based on one case study’s research findings must be avoided. However, according to Yin (2006), the kind of generalisation that can occur within case studies is ‘analytical generalisation’. This type of generalisation expands on theory as opposed to creating

statistical generalisations. In some instances, case study research findings may have 'ecological validity' (Durrheim, 2010). This means that the findings of one particular case study, might have validity within the context of a similar case. However, an 'ecological fallacy' occurs when conclusions are drawn from the findings of a single unit of analysis, different from the unit studied (Durrheim, 2010). In this sense, results from a single case study cannot be universally applied.

Furthermore, the findings from case study research might be used to increase the examples available to practitioners and other researchers (Gomm, Hammersley & Foster, 2000). In this dissertation, there is a sample of one, meaning that the findings from this research cannot be directly applied to other cases; however, these findings can be used to prove, or disprove theory, or to create recommendations towards policy positions. The theory and policy which the findings from this study can refer back to, are not case specific; therefore, the findings and lessons from a single case study can be used to inform future policy and 'speak back' to theory, as has been done through the findings of this dissertation's single case study research (Gomm, Hammersley & Foster, 2000; Donmoyer, 2000).

In order to verify the information gained through interviews during the case study method, a process of triangulation is necessary. Yin (2006), writes that triangulations occurs when two or more independent sources refer to the same set of events, or 'facts' (Yin, 2006). The process of triangulating data adds to the validity of case study research and allows for the findings of case study research to be as robust as possible (Yin, 2006). The research conducted within this dissertation allowed for the triangulation of data, through the various different participants and research techniques employed.

2.4.2 Case Selection Rationale

The case selected for this dissertation was the Langa Junction Mini Mall in Cape Town. The case was selected as there has been little research conducted on the effects of a newly developed supermarket in a low-income neighbourhood. Through this case, the effects of a newly developed supermarket on the urban poor's access to urban food security could be assessed. Additionally, due to the Mini Mall's recent development, an investigation into and a brief assessment of the current planning requirements and policy context, as well as the approval process for supermarket developments in Cape Town was able to be conducted. With Shoprite as the anchor store of the mall, the case responds to the findings in the literature of the increased expansion of the Shoprite Group of Companies (Weatherspoon & Reardon, 2003). The selection of this case directly responds to main research questions and objectives.

2.5 Research Techniques and Analytical Tools

This section will outline the techniques used within this case study method in order to conduct the research within this dissertation. The techniques chosen include a literature review, non- and participant observations, semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and mapping. These techniques were selected as they complimented the case study method, and allowed for the provision of information required to gain in-depth understandings of the context and network processes involved in this case. The questions asked during both semi-structured interviews, and the three focus groups can be seen in Appendices A - G

2.5.1 Literature Review

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the subject matter, as well as the current debates and research about urban food security, a secondary research study was undertaken in the form of a literature review. The literature was sourced via platforms such as Google Scholar, the University of Cape Town Libraries' databases, the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN) and the African Centre for Cities publication database. Some of keywords and phrases which were searched for on these databases included 'urban food insecurity', 'supermarket expansion', 'urban governance', 'informal economy and food security', 'urban food security policies', 'food deserts' and 'urban foods security and nutrition'. This literature was also sourced through the Consuming Urban Poverty project data base and researchers. The literature review process can be time consuming and open ended; however, a time limit was placed on this phase of the research. The literature review component of the research was completed on 24 June 2016.

Following this phase, the fieldwork component of the research process was initiated. This component ran from July 2016 until the end of August 2016. This was a lengthy process due to the unavailability of informants and participants at certain times. The following sections explain aspects of the fieldwork.

2.5.2 Primary Research through Participant and Non-Participant Observation

One of the important aspects of this research was observation. Through the participant observation technique, the deeper meanings of network processes within the context of this case study was uncovered. Through non-participant observation it was possible to observe the Langa Junction site from an outsider's perspective. This allowed for observations on who makes use of the mall, what is purchased, as well as the temporal flows of the mall. Through participant observation it was possible to shop at the Shoprite within the mall and spend time around the mall. The observations of the mall took place during July, August and September 2016 and ran for approximately 2 hours per visit. The visits were conducted at different times of day and on different days of the week so as to observe how these aspects effected the usage of the mall.

The primary task of this dissertation was not to understand the lived experience of being food insecure; however, it was rather to understand the effects of supermarket expansion on access to food, and the processes through which these supermarkets are developed. Therefore, through participant and non-participant observations, both aspects of this question can be answered.

2.5.3 Semi-Structured Interviews

In addition to observations, semi-structured interviews with various relevant informants allowed for a greater understanding of the effects of the Langa Junction mall, as well as the processes which enable supermarket expansion in Cape Town. Semi-structured interviews as opposed to structured or open ended interviews were conducted, as they can provide insight into aspects of the research topic which were perhaps not previously considered. These interviews were not recorded as time was a limitation to this research, and the transcription of these interviews would have been a highly time consuming process; however, detailed notes were taken during and after each interview and meeting.

The interviews which took place in Langa and at the Mini Mall were with the Langa Junction Mini Mall manager, the Langa Shoprite store manager and informal street traders around the Mini Mall. Informants were accessed and approached while on site in order to provide greater understanding of the research project for the informant. The validity of the information was tested through the triangulation of three different informants at the mall. These were three informal street traders who traded in the area both before and after the Langa Junction Mini Mall's development. Each informant's story was confirmed by the other. During visits to the mall an isiXhosa translator was present in order to make the informant feel comfortable to speak in either English or isiXhosa, and to insure that a minimal amount of information as possible was lost in translation. The Spaza Shops in the area surrounding the mall were run by Somalians, and unfortunately were not able to speak English and therefore were unable to answer questions about how the mall has affected their business.

Other semi-structured interviews which took place were with CoCT officials in order to understand the processes involved in the development of supermarkets, as well as the institutions which govern the city. A Land Use Planner from the CoCT Southern District Land Use Planning office was approached via email and a meeting was arranged for 2 August 2016 at the Plumstead Municipal Offices in Cape Town. Following this interview with the Southern District Land Use Planner, it was recommended that Mr Gregory September from the Table Bay District Land Use Planning Office be contacted as he would have more specific information about the Langa Junction Mini Mall. Mr September was contacted via email and a meeting was arranged for 31 August 2016 at the City Media Building in Cape Town. During this meeting, Mr September invited Mr Peter Van Heerden to join the meeting as he had experience with the development of the Vangate Shopping Mall in Athlone.

While these interviews were not recorded, detailed field notes were taken before and after each meeting and interview, as well as lengthy shorthand notes during meetings and interviews.

2.5.4 Focus Groups with Residents in Langa

Three focus groups with residents in Langa were conducted in order to obtain information about the lived experiences of individuals and groups in relation to the shopping mall, consumption strategies and food security. The focus groups consisted of between four and five participants, depending on the availability of participants on the day. In total 13 participants attended the focus groups. These participants were contacted through a contact at the International Honours Programme (IHP) who had existing relationships with families and households in the area. A resident in Langa who was a contact of the IHP was approached during June 2016. The resident offered to organise participants from Langa, as well as host the focus groups at their house. The focus groups were held on Saturday 30 July 2016, Saturday 6 August 2016, and Saturday 10 September 2016 at three o'clock in Langa. The majority of the participants were female (10), while three (3) participants were male. All of the participants lived in the area. The participants varied in age from 16 – 65 years old. The main contact from Langa was asked to invite the member of each household who was responsible for the grocery shopping for the household. This may have been why the sample of participants is not entirely representative of the whole of Langa; however, these participants were the most relevant people to speak to in relation to this specific topic. In light of this, a more representative group would not have been necessary. These focus groups were conducted in English as all participants were fluent. The sessions were recorded and later transcribed. Detailed field notes were made before and after each session. These transcriptions are available on request.

These focus groups complemented and reinforced the information acquired through the semi-structured interviews with informants at the mall and provided further insight into the consumption strategies and food security in the area.

2.5.6 Mapping

A mapping exercise of the study area was conducted in order to provide a spatial understanding of the site and the various retail uses surrounding it. Aspects of the site that were mapped were the different form of food stalls (formal and informal), as well as what kind of food each store sells. Mapping of uses in the area was conducted on site and later digitised to increase the legibility of the map. The mapping on site was conducted by the researcher with the assistance of a classmate. This process of mapping retail uses was conducted by Peyton, Mosely & Battersby (2015) through the study of a portion of Lansdowne Road in Phillipi. Through this process, the consumption strategies of the customers in the area were observed, as well as the social networks

which existed between informal traders and their customers (Peyton, Mosely & Battersby, 2015). This is a useful technique when aiming to understand the spatial impact of supermarket expansion on all actors in the study area. Using Google Earth as well as the UCT GIS library, it was also possible to look at previous aerial photographs of the site prior to the development of the mall. These maps were shown to participants during focus groups who confirmed that the site was vacant prior to the development of the mall, but were also able to provide information on the previous activities which took place on the site.

Surrounding formal food retailers such as the USave in Langa and Vangate Mall in Athlone were mapped. This was useful technique in understanding the processes and logic behind the geographies of supermarket expansion as well as how and why these developments are approved. In addition to this, the location of a future Spar supermarket and mall development were mapped and located in relation to the existing Shoprite supermarket.

2.6 Limitations of the Research

During this research process, there were a number of limitations which could affect the overall research findings. One clear limiting factor was the time allocated to the completion of this dissertation. Full time work on this dissertation began on 23 May 2016 and the final dissertation was submitted on 4 November 2016. This time constraint limited the amount of in-depth fieldwork that could be conducted which made understanding the complexities of the case and fieldwork findings in relation to the literature challenging at times. On occasion, site visits were limited or postponed due to the safety of the researcher, as there were protests in Langa following heavy rains and flooding of parts of the area. This research initially aimed to approach many more informants and participants but due to time constraints, and the confirmation of information through triangulation, much fewer participants were approached on site.

The research within this dissertation focuses on urban food insecurity and the way in which the CoCT can play a role in alleviating urban food insecurity in areas of the city. During interviews with CoCT officials, particularly the Table Bay District officials, it was difficult to explain the relationship between urban food security, land use planning policy, and supermarket expansion. As a result, information received from the city was at times limited. However, this also allowed for the understanding that the issue of urban food security and the relationship between land use planning and supermarket expansion, is currently not on the City's agenda.

This research focused on the relationship between urban food security, land use planning and supermarket expansion. As a result, the research could not go into detail about the broader food systems, and the various other environmental and nutritional ramifications of urban food insecurity. Future research could be conducted

into the metropolitan food system as a whole, in terms of the infrastructure required to transport food in and around the city, in order to feed the city.

An additional limitation pertaining to this dissertation is that the researcher was not able to assess the role of urban land economics in relation to supermarket expansion as this was outside the scope of the research objectives. Therefore, while the current land use planning context is reviewed, further exploration into the urban land economics were not explored. Understanding the demand and supply of urban land suitable for supermarket development and how to guide developers away from expanding in certain areas, particularly low income areas, is an aspect which requires further research.

2.7 Ethical Considerations

Due to the fact that this study engaged human participants, the necessary ethics applications for the Engineering and Built Environment (EBE) Faculty were completed. This application included the proposed questions to be asked to informants during interviews and during focus groups. Ethical approval for this dissertation was granted by the EBE faculty on 19 July 2016. Following this approval, fieldwork research involving human participants was conducted. The Ethics approval form is attached to this dissertation (see Appendix H).

Before conducting this research, consent was granted from the informants who were asked to participate in the study. These consent forms are available on request. This consent applied to any interviews, the use of names, as well as allowing the addition or removal of any of the data collected and the interpretation of this data should the informants not agree with my interpretations. Informants were made aware of any risks and benefits of participating in the study.

When conducting the fieldwork, the researcher aimed to enter the field with as few preconceived ideas about the case study area as possible. It is impossible to be stripped completely from bias, however, the presentation of the research findings has been completed in the most objective way possible. Furthermore, this was completed while still acknowledging the researcher's own subjectivities through a continuous process of reflexivity in order to understand the researcher's positionality within the research (Eagle, Hayes & Sibanda, 2010; Ratele, 2010). Reflexivity within research is necessary in order for the researcher to be cognisant of their own subjectivities when conducting, presenting and analysing findings. The researcher must be aware that they too play an active role in the research, and must be aware of how this role effects the overall findings and analysis of the study (Eagle, Hayes & Sibanda, 2010; Ratele, 2010).

Where necessary, alternative arguments to the one presented by the researcher, which could contradict or disprove the researcher's argument, have been acknowledged. When conducting research, the researcher respected and maintained the dignity of the informants, and protected them from any kind of discrimination or harm as a result of this research, both during and after this research was conducted. Following the completion of the research findings, a draft of the recommendations for future supermarket development in the area was submitted to a representative of the participants from the Focus Groups, Mr Dingiswayo, for comment. This method was suggested by the participants as the best way to report back. This document was sent to Mr Dingiswayo for comment on 3 October 2016. At the time of submission, despite attempts to contact Mr Dingiswayo, the researcher had not yet received comments from the focus group participants on the draft recommendations. The presentation of these findings to the participants was necessary as the findings were able to assist the residents in a public participation process for the development of a new Spar supermarket in the area. From the findings, the participants were able to provide the CoCT and developers with their requirements for future supermarket developments in the area.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined and explained the main research questions, the main objectives of this research and the subsequent research methods and techniques which directly respond to these questions and objectives. Furthermore, this chapter identified and explained the advantages and limitations to the case study method, as well as the rationale behind the selection of the Langa Junction Mini Mall as the case used in this dissertation. Following an explanation of the research techniques, this chapter recognised the limitations pertaining to this particular research, as well as the necessary ethical considerations which were considered throughout this research process and dissertation. The following section will provide a review of urban food security literature.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The following chapter provides a review of the literature pertaining to urban food insecurity both at a global and local scale. This chapter will provide a brief overview of the basic concepts and definitions of urban food security. Following this, certain themes relating to the issue of urban food insecurity such as urban food security and planning, food deserts, the informal economy, nutrition and the current national policy responses to urban food insecurity are highlighted. Through this literature review, it becomes clear that urban food insecurity is a systemic issue, embedded in a myriad of socio-economic and spatial disparities.

2.2 Urban Food Security: Concepts and Definitions

In 1996, the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the United Nations defined food security as “all people, at all times, hav[ing] physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their daily dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (FAO, 1996; FAO, 2003). When one or more of these aspects is not present in a person’s life, or is not made possible due to an area’s current spatial and economic structural inequalities, they are considered to be food insecure. From the definition provided by the FAO, four main dimensions of food security can be identified. Firstly, physical availability of food refers to the ‘supply’ of food and food production (FAO, 2008: 1). The second dimension of access refers to both physical as well as economic access to food, as the physical presence of food does not result or guarantee food security (FAO, 2008:1). The issue of access is one which will be further explored later in this literature review, and is a constant theme which needs to be understood through an intersectional approach. The third dimension of food security as proposed by the FAO, is the utilisation of food (2008:1). This aspect refers to the nutritional value of the food which is physically and economically accessible and available (FAO, 2008:1). The final dimension of food security is the concept of stability within the first three dimensions (FAO, 2008:1). While a person or household may be food secure on a specific day, they may still be considered to be food insecure as the consistency of food security over a period of time is what will ultimately result in overall food security (FAO, 2008:1).

Further aspects of food insecurity include the type and duration of food insecurity. Food insecurity can be considered to be either chronic or transitory (FAO, 2008:1). Chronic food insecurity refers to long term persistent food insecurity which occurs when people or households are unable to access their minimum food requirements over a sustained amount of time (FAO, 2008:1). Transitory food insecurity occurs over a short term period and is temporary. This type of food insecurity occurs when there is a sudden lack of ability to

produce or access food to maintain daily nutritional requirements (FAO, 2008:1). Transitory food insecurity is considered to be relatively unpredictable, resulting in the need for further research into the factors which increase the chances of people becoming vulnerable to food insecurity. Suggested interventions, proposed by the FAO (2008), include safety net programmes and the recognition of early warning signs. The concept of seasonal food insecurity exists between chronic and transitory food insecurity (FAO, 2008:1). Food insecurity is often seasonal, either as a result of environmental seasons, or economic seasons (Battersby, 2011; Battersby, 2012; FAO, 2008:1; Sen, 1981). Seasonal food insecurity is considered to be a cyclical pattern of inadequate availability of and access to food (FAO, 2008:1). A study conducted on the status of urban food security in Cape Town found that there are peaks and troughs in the levels of food security for the urban poor in the city (Battersby, 2011). The most food secure period of the year was found to be during the months of November and December (Battersby, 2011). During January, and the winter months of June and July, the respondents experienced the most amount of consecutive days where they were considered food insecure (Battersby, 2011). This can be explained due to January following on from the festive period, showing how spending patterns are related to seasonal food insecurity. During the winter months, the adverse weather conditions results in many construction and trade industries employing fewer labourers (Battersby, 2011). As a result of the seasonal economic variations of urban food insecurity, it can be said that urban food security is a systemic issue, and an example of what Farmer (1996) would refer to as “structural violence” (261); therefore, future policy interventions and research must take a systemic approach in order to appropriately address the systemic nature of the issue (Battersby, 2012; Battersby et al, 2014).

The systemic nature of food insecurity has largely been ignored due to the traditional conception of food insecurity as primarily a rural issue attributed to a lack of food production, which reinforces and underpins the FAO’s position on food insecurity. In 1981, Sen’s *Poverty and Famine: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, was published which provided the first framing of food insecurity as an issue embedded within the socio-economic and political context of a society (Sen, 1981). Sen argues that the historic famines which occurred during the 1940s and 1970s were as a result of a lack of access to food, as opposed to an agricultural failure to produce food (Sen, 1981). He writes that ‘starvation depends (sic) not merely on food supply but also on its distribution’ (Sen, 1981:7). Through his proposed entitlement approach, Sen argues that starvation is “some people not *having* (sic) enough food to eat” (Sen, 1981:1), meaning a lack of ownership or ability to afford food. Sen (1981) then goes on to state that the entitlement approach “...concentrates on the ability of people to command food through the legal means available in the society, including the use of production possibilities, trade opportunities, entitlements vis-à-vis the state, and other methods of acquiring food” (Sen, 1981: 45). Furthermore, a person will starve or be considered food insecure either if they do not have the ability to command enough food, or because of a lack of ability to avoid starvation (Sen, 1981). Sen’s (1981) approach

highlights the fact that food security is embedded in socio-political and socio-economic contexts. Additionally, this allows for the conceptualisation of access to food and the barriers to access as being products of other systemic disparities or failures. In light of this, it is necessary to respond to food insecurity through the socio-economic and political systems in which it is embedded.

While Sen's entitlement approach enabled the reconceptualization of food insecurity, and in many ways enabled the development of FAO's definition of food insecurity, in recent years his work has been critiqued by many authors (e.g. Devereux, 2001; de Waal, 1990; Osmani, 1995). Devereux (2001), argues that Sen's (1981) entitlement approach indeed allowed for the shift away from the previous conceptualisation of food security as being "too many people, too little food" (Devereux, 2001: 246), and towards the issues of access and acquisition of food. A main critique of Sen's (1981) work is his lack of acknowledgement of an individual's agency to preserve their current assets in order to maintain a standard of life (Devereux, 2001). Through this critique, Sen's (1981) theory of the ability to exchange entitlements for food is challenged, as people may have suffered hunger in order to preserve their way of life (Devereux, 2001). However, despite these critiques, Sen's entitlement theory has allowed for the vital conceptualisation of food insecurity as a result of a lack of access to food due to systemic barriers, as opposed to a lack of food production or supply. This aspect of food security is one which needs continuous reinforcement as current urban planning and policy interventions have in many ways failed to address this (Battersby, 2012; Maxwell, 1999; Morgan, 2009).

2.3 Urban Food Security and Planning

Food security has traditionally been conceptualised as a rural issue, which has resulted in policy responses that aim to increase production of food through increased household farming (Battersby, 2012; Crush & Frayne, 2010; Crush & Frayne, 2011; Maxwell, 1999). While the responses to rural food insecurity are in many cases appropriate to specific rural cases, the same response has limited effects when applied to the context of urban food insecurity (Battersby, 2012). Morgan (2009) argues that a reason for urban planners not engaging with the issue of urban food insecurity is a result of the traditional conception of food insecurity as a rural and productionist issue (Morgan, 2009). This misconception of the systemic nature of urban food insecurity leads to the belief that the issue can be addressed through urban agriculture policies (Frayne, McCordic & Shilomboleni, 2014; Morgan, 2009). However, urban food insecurity has recently emerged onto the urban agenda, and in recent years there can be seen a notable increase in food planning and the need to address urban food insecurity through spatial planning tools (e.g. Denoon-Stevens, 2016; Morgan, 2009; Morgan, 2013; Morgan, 2015; Maxwell, 1999; Steele, 2008). Due to the way in which cities are spatially constructed and politically and economically governed, the complexities of urban food insecurity differ to that of rural food insecurity (Battersby, 2012; Battersby et al, 2014; Crush & Frayne, 2010). Due to half of the world's population

currently living in cities, coupled with the prediction that this number is expected to increase significantly over the next 30 years, cities and food are becoming increasingly more important to the urban agenda (Battersby, 2012; Cohen, 2006).

According to Steele (2008), “in order to understand cities properly, we need to look at them through food” (Steele, 2008: 10). Additionally, planners have previously been interested in the basic necessities of life such as water, food, shelter and air; yet, the issue of food and urban food insecurity has become invisible to spatial planners and policy makers and has been omitted from the global urban planning agenda for many years (Crush & Frayne, 2010; Maxwell, 1999; Morgan, 2009; Morgan, 2010). Steele (2008) argues that one of the reasons for the failure of planners to engage in the issue of urban food insecurity and the potential for food planning is because “food is too big to see” (Steele, 2008: ix). However, when viewing the food system from a different perspective, food can be seen as a way in which to transform “political structures, public spaces, social relationship and cities” (Steele, 2008:307).

Maxwell (1999) argues that the invisibility of urban food security, particularly in African cities, is because of three main reasons. Firstly, food insecurity has gone relatively unnoticed due to the relative importance of what urban planners and policy makers might consider to be more pressing and perhaps obvious issues such as poverty, unemployment, failed infrastructure and poor services (Maxwell, 1999). Secondly, Maxwell (1999) states that the nature of food insecurity’s manifestation in cities as a result of systemic socio-economic or spatial disparities results in urban food insecurity being made invisible to planners and policy makers. Urban food insecurity, while linked to certain financial seasonal changes, is not linked to agrarian seasonal change, which further aids in the invisibility of the issue (Maxwell, 1999). The third reason is due to the traditional conception of food insecurity and poverty as rural issues (Maxwell, 1999). As a result of this, current policy interventions aimed at alleviating urban food insecurity have responded to the issue of supply, as opposed to the issue of access.

The growing global interest in urban food planning and urban food security can further be seen by the 2007 American Planning Association publication on the *Policy Guide on Community and Regional Food Planning*. This, Morgan (2009) states was a way of making amends for the ‘puzzling omission’ (Morgan, 2009: 341), of food security from the urban planning agenda. While the issue of urban food insecurity is becoming more visible, the future responses to urban food insecurity must address the systemic nature of the political, socio-economic and spatial contexts which are embedded in each city (Battersby et al, 2014).

2.4 Food Deserts

In addition to individual and household urban food insecurity, whole areas or neighbourhoods can be considered food insecure or vulnerable to food insecurity. The concept of a 'food desert' is one which emerged in the United Kingdom (UK) and North America in the 1990s (Cummins & Macintyre, 2002; Walker, Keane & Burke, 2010). The term was first used in a government publication in 1995 in the UK by Beaumont and colleagues, as part of a policy for the Nutrition Task Force (Battersby, 2012; Cummins & Macintyre, 2002). The term has since been used in various other disciplines as a way of describing urban areas where low income residents do not have access to affordable and nutritious food (Battersby, 2012; Cummins & Macintyre, 2002; Raja, Ma & Yadav, 2008). Currently, there are multiple definitions as to what constitutes a food desert, as well as many theories as to how food deserts are formed (Walker, Keane & Burke, 2010). Initial definitions refer to food deserts as a limited amount of supermarkets in an area, which results in a lack of access to nutritious and affordable food, while other definitions refer to the complete absence of supermarkets in predominantly low income urban areas (Raja, Ma & Yadav, 2008; Walker, Keane & Burke, 2010). A general definition of food deserts as supported by Battersby (2012), is:

“...those areas of inner cities where nutritious food is virtually unobtainable. Car-less residents, unable to reach out-of-town supermarkets, depend on the corner shop where prices are high, products are processed and fresh fruit and vegetables are poor or non-existent.” (Laurence, 1997 in Battersby, 2012).

However, despite the above general definition, the lack of consensus on the definition of a food deserts, contributes to debates as to whether or not food deserts in fact exist (Cummins & Macintyre, 2002; Walker, Keane & Burke, 2010). While the food desert approach provides a useful initial conceptual understanding of urban food insecurity, Battersby (2012) as well as Battersby and Crush (2014) critique this approach's usefulness in the context of the Global South. This is because the concept of food deserts does not include the informal market as a consumption strategy of the urban poor within supposed food deserts (Battersby, 2012; Battersby & Crush, 2014). The informal economy plays a significant role in bridging this gap by responding more appropriately to the food needs of the urban poor (Battersby, 2012; Crush & Frayne, 2011; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). The ways in which the informal economy does this are varied. One aspect is that the informal economy offers customers credit during times of the month when they cannot purchase food (Battersby, 2011; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). Furthermore, the informal street traders, and spaza shops, often sell produce to the urban poor in smaller, occasionally more affordable quantities and sizes (Battersby, 2011; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). In this way, the informal economy is able to respond to the food needs of the urban poor, and provide the urban poor with access to food. Due to the fact that the food desert definition

does not take the informal economy into account, it can be argued that the concept of a food desert does not yet exist within certain global south contexts (Battersby, 2012; Battersby & Crush, 2014).

Furthermore, the food desert concept looks primarily at the household level of urban food insecurity and assumes that people shop where they live (Battersby, 2012; Battersby & Crush, 2014). Therefore, further research is needed into the socio-economic and spatial contexts which result in the lack of access (both formal and informal) to affordable and nutritional food in certain area. Through a contextual understanding at a metropolitan scale, the factors that assist in creating urban food insecure areas can be seen, allowing policy to respond at an appropriate scale.

Due to the systemic nature of urban food insecurity, the areas which are predominantly considered food deserts are low-income black neighbourhoods (Block & Kouba, 2005; Walker, Keane & Burke, 2010; Zenk et al, 2005). In many ways, food deserts are a spatial manifestation of the racial, spatial and economic inequality in many cities, which perpetuates a lack of access to affordable and nutritious food. The theories as to how a food desert is formed are varied. The understanding of systemic socio-economic and spatial inequality is one way in which these food deserts are formed (Block & Kouba, 2005; Walker, Keane & Burke, 2010). Block and Kouba (2005), make reference to a study by Morland and colleagues, which found that supermarkets were less accessible to African American participants than white participants. In a country where there is still significant racial segregation such as South Africa, it is useful to analyse the effects of apartheid era segregation and planning policies through the lens of urban food security. It is clear that the legacy of racially based segregation policies will have socio-economic and spatial ramifications. Through the lens of urban food security, it is evident that these inequalities continue to persist.

According to Battersby and Crush (2014) Africa's urban food deserts have not yet been widely acknowledge and in some cases do not exist for three possible reasons. Firstly, due to food insecurity and malnutrition being classified as rural issues, there is little research and policy focus of food security in an urban context, which has resulted in a lack of research on urban food deserts (Battersby & Crush, 2014:144). Previous research that has been conducted on urban food insecurity in African cities was when the continent was far less urbanised (Battersby & Crush, 2014; Maxwell, 1999). Secondly, the relationship between food deserts and supermarkets has appeared to be seemingly incongruent to the African context; however, due to the rapid increase in supermarket expansion in Southern Africa the food desert lens has become an important lens through which to understand urban food insecurity (Battersby & Crush, 2014). A third reason for a dearth of literature on African urban food deserts is due to the previous focus on the household scale, which tends to ignore the larger structural context and drivers of food insecurity (Battersby & Crush, 2014). Despite the lack of research into the

urban food deserts in Africa, this is not a reason to dismiss the existence of them in Africa (Battersby & Crush, 2014). Rather, there is a need to adapt the food desert concept to the Global South context due to the fact that many cities, particularly African cities, are far more malnourished and food insecure than cities in the Northern hemisphere (Battersby & Crush, 2014). In African cities it is clear that there is a complex relationship between formal and informal food retail and the urban food security strategies of the urban poor, as has been previously shown (Battersby & Crush, 2014; Battersby, 2012; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015).

In order to increase food security within food deserts, supermarkets were developed within neighbourhoods that were considered to be food deserts (Zenk et al, 2005; Block & Kouba, 2005). This approach is based on the conceptualisation of food insecurity as a result of a lack of available food; however, this approach is similar to the traditional rural understanding of food insecurity as being a lack of supply (Battersby, 2012). Therefore, the response to a lack of supply is to encourage production. Through the development of supermarkets, other dimensions of food security such as economic access is ignored (Battersby, 2012). This approach ignores the systemic nature of food insecurity, and does not acknowledge the socio-economic and spatial disparities which results in food insecurity in urban areas.

A study conducted by Block and Kouba (2005), aimed to understand the food landscape of an inner city African American neighbourhood in Chicago. The study found that despite the presence of supermarkets, it was the variety of store types that allowed for access to healthier foods (Block & Kouba, 2005). Furthermore, the study concluded that while chain supermarkets may be accessible for those with access to private vehicles, in areas with less access to this type of transport, a diversity of food retail was more beneficial to the residents (Block & Kouba, 2005). A similar study conducted by Battersby and colleagues (2014), resulted in similar findings. In the context of Cape Town, currently the supermarket model does not sufficiently meet the requirements of the urban poor's food needs (Battersby et al, 2014). Rather, a variety of food retail options is most appropriate to meeting the food requirements of the urban poor (Battersby et al, 2014). Further evidence of the need to create a variety of choices of food retail for the urban poor is highlighted through the study conducted by Crush and Caesar in Msunduzi a city in South Africa (2014). The city of Msunduzi's food supply is dominated by supermarket chains with little informal sector activity (Crush & Caesar, 2014: 174). The study found that while there is plenty of food in the city of Msunduzi, there is little choice for the urban poor which results in the urban poor often experiencing food insecurity (Crush & Caesar, 2014).

While in theory supermarkets offer a wider variety of fresher produce, the issue of access to this food is a continuous theme which occurs when analysing urban food security strategies of the urban poor. The understanding that if there is enough food in a city, it will result in no one going hungry, is one which ignores

the structural and systemic inequalities within a city which limit the urban poor from accessing sufficient food. Furthermore, a lack of choice through the blueprint solution of supermarkets as a way of increasing access to food ignores the informal market as a source of food (Battersby, 2012; Crush & Battersby, 2014; Crush & Caesar, 2014). In light of this finding, it is clear that the perceived solution to food desert areas through an increase in food availability through supermarkets is limited in reducing urban food insecurity. Therefore, future policy and research is necessary in terms of the consumption strategies of the urban poor as well as the spatial policies required in order to create areas where a variety of food retail is conveniently accessible to the urban poor.

2.5 Urban Food Insecurity and Supermarket Expansion

Previous solutions to the problem of food deserts was to develop supermarkets within food insecure neighbourhoods, therefore increasing the residents' access to food. However, as has been previously noted, food insecurity is embedded in socio-economic and spatial inequalities, resulting in the concept of access being multifaceted (Battersby, 2012; Maxwell, 1999; Sen, 1981). Access refers to more than just the physical availability of food but also to how food is accessed economically, as well as access to mobility and transport facilities (Battersby & McLachlan, 2013). When understanding access, it is necessary to take an intersectional approach, so as to recognise the various barriers that could limit some from accessing food (Symington, 2004).

The development of supermarkets in South Africa can be seen as a spatial manifestation of a negotiated neo-liberal settlement following the end of apartheid (Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). As a result, the South African economy operates on an open market, which is susceptible to local and global economic flows (Bond, 2005). While in some cases supermarket expansion may be seen as a way to increase access to food in areas such as food deserts, in many ways the rapid expansion in supermarkets can also be seen as a result of South Africa's current economy, and a way of generating profit for big supermarket companies within the private sector. By 2003, just 10 years after South Africa's negotiated settlement, the supermarket sector accounted for 50-60 percent of all food retail yet only 2 percent of all food retail outlets (Abrahams, 2009; Battersby et al, 2014; van der Heijden & Vink, 2013; Weatherspoon & Reardon, 2003: 337). In South Africa, the four main formal food retail chains are Woolworths, Shoprite, Spar and Pick 'n Pay (Weatherspoon & Reardon, 2003). Initially, the development of supermarkets took place in higher income areas; however, this has since extended into low income neighbourhoods (Battersby & Peyton, 2014; Weatherspoon & Reardon, 2003). An example of this rapid expansion of supermarket development, is seen through Shoprite and Pick 'n Pay. Between August 2013 and June 2015, Shoprite aimed to open 124 new stores in South Africa, while Pick 'n Pay planned to open 335 new stores in 18 months from October 2012 (Battersby, 2015: 3). Additionally, between 1994 and 2012, Shoprite increased its number of stores from 38 to 82 in Cape Town alone (Battersby, 2015:3). This trend, both in South Africa and globally, has distorted the image of supermarkets as being niche, luxury or specialist retailers

(Weatherspoon & Reardon, 2003). Furthermore, the rapid development of supermarkets in South Africa has spread to other African countries, through the four main South African owned supermarket companies. This pattern of retail development differs from other global trends where western owned multinational corporations have led the supermarket expansion in other countries within the Global South (Weatherspoon & Reardon, 2003; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015).

The effects of supermarket expansion on the urban poor's access to food in Cape Town have been assessed through various studies (e.g. Battersby, 2012; Crush & Frayne, 2010; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). The research conducted by Peyton and colleagues (2015), provides examples of the impact of supermarket expansion in the Phillipi area of Cape Town. Through this work, it is clear that the consumption strategies of the poor are diverse and layered in social relationships and webs of meaning (Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). In addition to this, Peyton and colleague's (2015) findings highlight the spatial disparities regarding access to supermarkets. The results found that supermarkets were unevenly distributed within the city, with low income residents being required to travel further distances than their wealthier counterparts in order to access food available at supermarkets (Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). The value of Peyton and colleague's (2015) findings is that they provide an understanding of the impact of supermarket expansion on the urban poor's consumption strategies at a local scale. However, there is a need to address the issue of supermarket expansion at various scales. Battersby (2011), states that there is a need for future research into the relationship between food security, and the institutional and governmental processes that enable the development of supermarkets and access to food. Through the understanding of these processes, and their spatial manifestations, it is possible to make suggestions towards a municipal urban food security policy, which addresses the systemic nature of urban food insecurity.

2.6 Supermarket Expansion and the Informal Economy

The expansion of supermarkets has also had an effect on the urban poor's consumption strategies in terms of the kind of food retailers they shop at and the variety of a choice of retailers. The impact of supermarkets on the informal economy has had varying effects on informal traders and the consumption patterns of the urban poor (Battersby, 2012; Crush & Frayne, 2011; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015).

The informal retail sector plays a vital role in meeting the urban poor's food security requirements, and is an important aspect of the consumption strategies of the urban poor (Battersby et al, 2014; Crush & Frayne, 2011). The informal economy has previously been studied in terms of the role it plays in the livelihood strategies of the urban poor; however, it is necessary to understand the role the informal economy plays for the user, particularly in terms of consumption strategies and patterns of the urban poor (Battersby et al, 2014).

The informal food system includes informal markets, street traders, food vendors and spaza shops. While there are differences between the formal and informal market, there are a number of areas where these two markets intersect (Crush & Frayne, 2011). Many informal traders source their stock from the same suppliers as the formal retailers, showing this intersection between the formal and the informal (Battersby et al, 2014; Crush & Frayne, 2011). In addition to this, spaza shops offer alternatives to the bulk stock at formal supermarkets such as half loaves of bread or the sale of single eggs, which while being more expensive per unit, more accurately address the consumption patterns and needs of the urban poor (Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). This is due to the fact that in many urban poor households, there is not sufficient storage for large bulk purchases, resulting in the urban poor being compelled to purchase smaller amounts, more frequently (Battersby, 2011). As a result, these smaller more frequent purchases can become costlier to the urban poor, as purchases based on the amount storage capacity available (Battersby, 2011). This example highlights another way in which the issue of urban food insecurity is systemic, and embedded in socio-economic and spatial disparities.

A key difference between the formal and informal economy in terms of the way in which the food needs of the urban poor are met, is through the provision of credit within the informal economy (Battersby, 2011; Battersby et al, 2014; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). The credit offered through the informal economy, predominantly through Spaza shops, allows urban poor consumers to meet their food needs during times of the month when they have run out of money (Battersby et al, 2014; Battersby, 2011). A lack of money within urban poor households is due to many systemic and spatial disparities which limit the predominantly black urban poor population from accessing food security (Battersby et al, 2014). Spatial disparities and apartheid settlement patterns in South African cities have resulted in the urban poor living far distances from employment opportunities and formal food retailers (Turok & Watson, 2001). This results in the urban poor having to spend significant portions of their income on transport fees, leaving little money available for food (Battersby & McLachlan, 2013). The informal economy is able to assist the urban poor through periods of the month when money is scarce, as a form of survival (Battersby, 2014; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). Furthermore, the informal economy is often more convenient for customers as stalls are located along movement routes and intersections, as found through Battersby and colleagues (2014). This shows the importance of the informal economy in the consumption strategies of the urban poor, which further highlights the need for the incorporation of this sector in urban food system analysis.

In addition to providing convenient access to food, the informal economy may also be a way to provide increased nutrition for the urban poor (Institute of Development Studies (IDS), 2015). Through future urban food security policies, the informal market should be incentivised to stock nutrient dense foods in order to

increase the level of nutrition in urban contexts (IDS, 2015). There is currently growing concern as to the increasing levels of malnutrition and obesity in relation to urban food insecurity. The informal market could be a point of intervention in order to address this trend.

2.7 Urban Food Insecurity and nutrition

A key concern with regards to food insecurity is the relationship between food insecurity and nutrition (Battersby & McLachlan, 2013). A growing trend amongst food insecure people is the seemingly paradoxical relationship between food insecurity, malnutrition and obesity (Block & Kouba, 2005; Cummins & Macintyre, 2002; Stuckler & Nestle, 2012). Examples of this relationship can be seen in India where since 1995 65 million people are malnourished while two billion people are considered overweight (Stuckler & Nestle, 2012:1). In South Africa, the statistics are fairly similar. According to the South African National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (SANHANES-1), in 2012 one in four adults had abnormal cholesterol levels, while obesity amongst women had increased from 27 percent to 39 percent between 2003 and 2012 (Battersby & McLachlan, 2013:1). Furthermore, the amount of children classified as being overweight has increased from 10 percent to 18 percent, with the rate of childhood obesity rapidly increasing, particularly in urban areas (Battersby & McLachlan, 2013:1). A study of household food consumption found that households which were considered to be food insecure consumed higher levels of sugar, and foods high in fat, coupled with low dietary diversity and low consumption of fruit and vegetables (Battersby & McLachlan, 2013:1). The main driver of this increase in both malnutrition and obesity is largely due to the global food system not sufficiently meeting the world's dietary needs (Stuckler & Nestle, 2012). This large global food system is currently more concerned with profit as opposed to nutritional diets (Stuckler & Nestle, 2012).

Stuckler and Nestle (2012) argue that in order to understand who is responsible for this failure in the food system, is to ask who runs the global food system (Stuckler & Nestle, 2012). More than half of the global soft drink production is owned by two companies, Coca-Cola and Pepsi (Stuckler & Nestle, 2012). This, coupled with the domination of other major food companies shows how the global food systems are controlled by a small number of large multinational companies which produce highly processed, empty calorie foods at low prices (Stuckler & Nestle, 2012). Due to the high cost of living in cities, and the increasing levels of poverty in urban areas, the urban poor have little choice but to purchase cheaper, yet highly processed, sugary food (Battersby & McLachlan, 2013; Stuckler & Nestle, 2012). As a result, malnutrition and obesity are rapidly increasing in urban areas, particularly amongst the urban poor (Battersby & McLachlan, 2013). Supermarkets are not necessarily a way of increasing access to healthy food, as has been previously shown. Rather a variety of food retailers, including the informal economy, are seemingly more effective in meeting the food requirements of the urban poor.

The rapid rate of urbanisation taking place in cities around the world has had a significant effect on the diets people living in urban areas (Cohen, 2006; Popkin, 1999). According to Popkin (1999), people living in urban areas consume diets which are markedly different from those living in rural areas (Popkin, 1999). This shift in diet within urban areas, has resulted in an increase in the potential for chronic disease-related health problems (Popkin, 1999). In urban areas, research has shown that diets consist of food higher in fats, more animal products, more food with a high sugar content as well as more processed foods (Popkin, 1999; Popkin & Bisgrove, 1988). This change in consumption from rural to urban areas contributes to the increase in metabolic diseases within urban areas (Popkin, 1999).

The relationship between malnutrition, obesity and urban food insecurity amongst predominantly low income residents can be seen as a manifestation of systemic disparities. In many ways this form of structural inequality is a form of what Nixon (2011) refers to as “slow violence” (Nixon, 2011:2). This form of slow violence results in the continuous oppression of the urban poor, as malnutrition and obesity are costly to the healthcare system as well as to the individual (Battersby & McLachlan, 2013). Poverty is often seen a failure of an individual; therefore, the onus of urban food insecurity and nutrition is placed on the individual. However, poverty should be seen as a systemic failure, rather than a failure of the individual. This shows how urban food insecurity has ramifications in every aspect of modern society and manifests through socio-economic, environmental and spatial inequalities.

2.8 National and Urban Governance: Current Policy Approaches to Food Insecurity

In the northern hemisphere many cities have made positive steps towards integrating urban governance and urban food systems through planning and policy (Morgan, 2009). In America, cities such as Baltimore, New York and San Francisco have all adopted policies in order to make healthy and nutritious food more accessible to the whole city, particularly poor neighbourhoods (Morgan, 2009). One method of increasing access has been to provide healthier school lunches to inner city schools, so as to instil healthy eating habits at a young age (Morgan, 2009).

In Canada, Toronto can be seen as the pioneering food security city (Morgan, 2009). The Toronto Food Policy Council has inspired American officials to follow the city’s example, and move towards sustainable food security access through food policies (Morgan, 2009).

In Europe, smaller municipalities have led the way for creating urban food security policies which focus on public health, social justice and sustainability (Morgan, 2009). Similarly, to the American policies, these strategies aim

to increase healthy food in hospitals and schools (Morgan, 2009). London and Amsterdam have launched the two most prominent food security strategies which aim to create sustainable food practices as well as reconnect the city to the hinterland for ecological and economic purposes (Morgan, 2009).

According to Morgan (2009), the largest need food planning and policy challenges are found in Sub-Saharan Africa yet little has been done to address urban food insecurity in this region. Morgan (2009) suggests that a reason for this is due to urban planners in Africa being mandated to rid the city from urban agriculture (Morgan, 2009). In contrast to this, other Global South regions such as Brazil have managed to successfully address urban food insecurity through appropriate urban policy which addresses the issue of access to food, as opposed to supply of food (Morgan, 2009). The city of Belo Horizonte in Brazil has largely been successful due to the political commitment of the city government to the issue of urban food security in the city (Morgan, 2009; Rocha & Leesa, 2009).

In South Africa access to sufficient food, water, and nutrition is a constitutional right as stated in the Bill of Rights (Republic of South Africa, 1996). In addition to this, the government has a constitutional obligation to achieve the realisation of this right. Current responses to food insecurity by the national government have taken a traditional rural and productionist approach which encourages an increase in the production and supply of food as opposed to a decrease in the barriers preventing access to food (Battersby, 2012). The Integrated Food Security Strategy (IFSS), published in 2002, recognising the increasing importance of food security issues. As per the traditional conceptions of food security, the government department in charge of this strategy was the Department of Agriculture (Department of Agriculture, 2002; Peyton, 2013). In addition to this, the African National Congress (ANC) and current President, Jacob Zuma, gained a significant amount of voter support from the rural constituency. As a result, the ANC's stance on food security is one which is embedded in their commitments to "rural development, including land reform, and food production and security" (ANC, 2009: 6). This shows that the issue of food security is one which is entrenched in the politics and current government structures and hierarchies. There is a need to acknowledge the barriers to accessing food in South Africa, particularly for the urban poor. The political and systemic nature of food insecurity requires national and urban policies which recognise this aspect of urban food security.

The CoCT introduced an urban agriculture policy as a way to alleviate urban food insecurity in the city (Battersby, 2011; Battersby, 2012; City of Cape Town, 2007). While the move towards a municipal food policy is positive, the perception that urban agriculture is the panacea to urban food insecurity is one which has been disproven through many studies (Battersby, 2011; Battersby, 2012; Battersby, 2015). Urban agriculture practices are not sufficient to alleviate urban food insecurity, primarily due to their perpetuation of food insecurity as a lack of

supply and production of food, rather than a lack of access to food. Evidence of the lack of effectiveness of addressing urban food insecurity can be seen through a study conducted in 11 African cities by Frayne, McCordic and Shilomboleni (2014). The study found that across all 11 cities, urban agriculture had limited poverty alleviation benefits, and was not a major food source or household food security strategy for respondents in these cities (Frayne, McCordic & Shilomboleni, 2014). Additional evidence to support these findings can be seen through a study conducted in Cape Town by Battersby (2011). The study found that less than 10 percent of all respondents acquired food through urban agriculture or household food gardens (Battersby, 2011). Furthermore, urban agriculture as a form of economic income has not been shown to be effective for the urban poor, as Crush and Frayne (2011) found that less than 3.7 percent of respondents with access to urban farming used the produce as a source of income (Crush & Frayne, 2011). This shows that urban agriculture is not a significant source of food for the urban poor, despite the CoCT implementing an Urban Agriculture Policy.

The need to understand urban food systems and their relationship to urban governance is one which is becoming increasingly important to urban policy makers and planners (Battersby, 2013; Smit, 2016). Denoon-Stevens (2016) argues that through land use policies and zoning schemes, supermarket expansion can be limited and more closely regulated. Governance interventions which could address urban food systems would be provision of infrastructure, provision of support such as credit and tax incentives, the regulation of the environment, as well as education and awareness campaigns (Smit, 2016). This is supported through Denoon-Stevens' (2016) argument that through particular policy guidelines, future supermarket developments could include specific infrastructure designed to accommodate informal as well as formal trade (Denoon-Stevens, 2016). Smit (2016), states that a key characteristic of a governance lens is the recognition of the large number of actors involved in the governing of a city (Smit, 2016). Therefore, the onus to address urban food insecurity cannot be on city and national government alone (Smit, 2016). Due to their large stake in the supermarket and urban food system, the private sector will also need to play a part in the alleviation of urban food security (Haysom, 2015). Smit (2016) identifies areas of the urban governance system that need greater understanding through future research. The first area he highlights is that there is little research on the effects that local government can have on a food system (Smit, 2016). Secondly, there is a dearth of research relating to the distribution of food in Africa and the effects of poor transport systems on this distribution (Smit, 2016). Furthermore, there is a need to understand the impact of supermarkets on urban food systems and the governance of these systems in Africa (Smit, 2016). More specifically, Smit (2016) highlights the need to understand what roles local governments can and do play, and what effect local governments can have in addressing urban food insecurity through policy interventions, as well as collaboration with all the actors involved in the urban food system (Smit, 2016).

Future policy interventions and research must address the systemic and structural nature of urban food insecurity, and see the issue of urban food insecurity as a manifestation of these systemic and structural inequalities. Additionally, there is a need to assess the institutional and governmental processes that enable the development of supermarkets and limit access to food. Furthermore, the role of local government within the urban food system is an area where there is a need for research. In addition to this there is a need for collaboration between all actors within the urban food system. Through the understanding of these processes and relationships, and their spatial manifestations, it is possible to make suggestions towards a municipal urban food security policy.

2.9 Conclusion

Through this literature review, various themes pertaining to the issue of urban food insecurity, both locally and globally, have been highlighted. This chapter has provided the necessary theoretical framework to guide this dissertation. As has been shown through the literature, suitable interventions into urban food insecurity must address the systemic nature of this issue. The following chapter will provide a contextual analysis of the relevant policies at a national and municipal level which currently respond to the issue of urban food insecurity. In addition, the following chapter will also highlight the current spatial and land use planning policies and the way in which they pertain to the issue of urban food insecurity.

Chapter 4: Context: Food Security Policy and the Informants of Langa.

4.1 Introduction

Moving from a national to a local scale, the following chapter will provide a description and explanation of the current context in which this research is situated, through the lens of urban food security. Included in this chapter will be an analysis of the existing South African and CoCT policy and legislative context as it relates to urban food security. In addition to this, a contextual analysis of Langa and the chosen site within the neighbourhood is provided, in order to create an understanding of the context in which the Langa Junction Mini Mall was developed, as well as the context in which it is currently situated.

4.2 South African Context

South Africa is considered to be food secure at a national level and currently produces enough food to feed all the people within it; however, this food is not being evenly distributed due to certain inequalities (Battersby, Haysom, Kroll & Tawodzera, 2015; Frayne et al, 2010). This shows that the issue of urban food security is not caused by a lack of supply of food, but rather by a lack of access to the food that is available. The 2012 SANHANES found that 26 percent of South African households are currently experiencing hunger, while another 28 percent of households are at risk (Battersby et al, 2015). According Battersby and colleagues (2015), approximately two thirds of South Africa's urban population cannot afford to purchase healthy and nutritional food. Due to the current perception of urban food insecurity as a purely rural issue, little policy focus has been placed on the issue at either urban or municipal level (Battersby et al, 2015).

The following section of this chapter will provide a contextual analysis of the current National legislation, policies and programmes which aim to address food insecurity within South Africa.

4.2.1 South African Constitution (1996)

The Bill of Rights within the South African constitution states that every citizen has

“the right to have access to . . . sufficient food and water” and that “. . . the State must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of each of these rights.”

(Republic of South Africa
Constitution, 1996: 12)

This shows that there is a constitutional mandate for all tiers of government to create the legislation, policies and strategies necessary to achieve this right.

4.2.2 The Integrated Food Security Strategy for South Africa (IFSS) (2002)

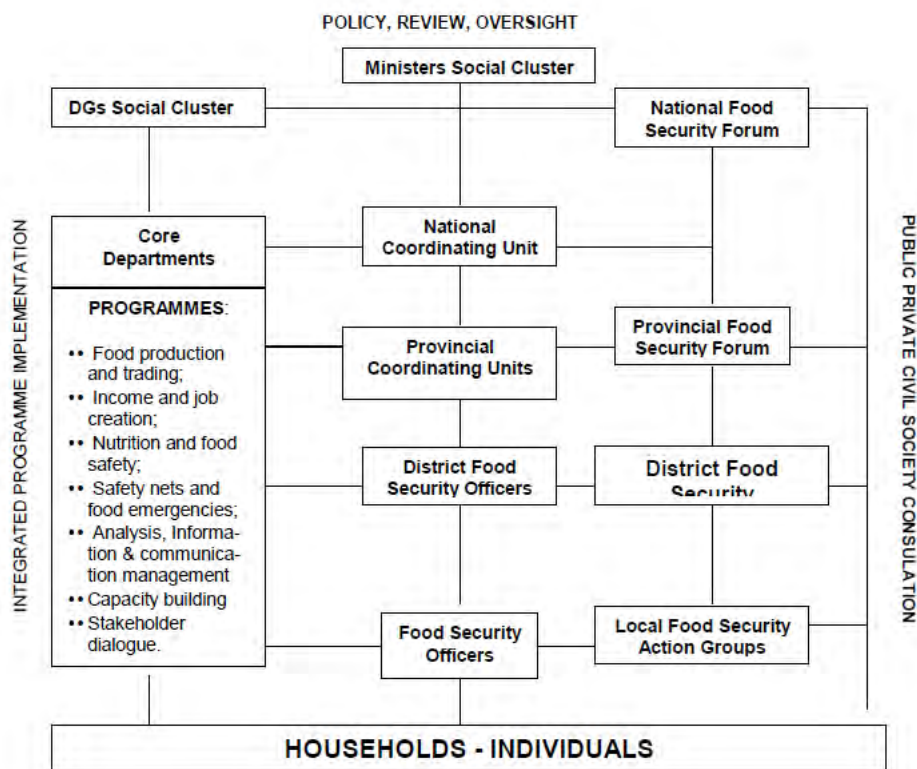


Figure 1: Institutional Arrangements and Organizational Structures (Department of Agriculture, 2002)

This national strategy recognises that access to food security in South Africa is a Constitutional right. The IFSS aims to provide all South Africans, at all times, with sufficient, safe and nutritious food, as defined by the FAO (1996). This strategy is situated in the National Department of Agriculture (Department of Agriculture, 2002). The institutional positioning of this strategy shows that nationally food insecurity is still perceived as being an issue of a lack of supply and production of food as opposed to an issue of access to food. While the strategy is located within the Department of Agriculture, a core Social Sector Cluster supports the IFSS. The lead departments included in this support core are the Public Works; Health; Social Development and Statistics South Africa. Figure 1 provides a diagram of the institutional arrangements and organizational structures pertaining to this strategy.

The structure shown in Figure 1 aims to create an inclusive and integrated programme of leaders. The structure is aimed to be compatible with all three tiers of government, so as to promote integrated government. From

this figure it is also clear that the individual and households play a significant role in this approach, highlighting that food security through this strategy is targeted predominantly at the household level.

The IFSS has a number of strategic objectives, the first of which is to “increase household food production and trading” (Department of Agriculture, 2002: 6). This objective further highlights the common misunderstanding of food insecurity as a result of a lack of production of food. Additionally, this objective place the onus of alleviating food insecurity at the household scale through increasing household food production; however, the strategy’s objectives ignore the systemic inequalities which limit access to food.

4.2.3 The National Policy on Food and Nutrition Security (2013)

Changes in the economic, social and climate change contexts have compelled a review of the 2002 IFSS, and the need for the development of a comprehensive National Food and Nutrition Security Policy.

Located within the departments of Social Development and Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, the national policy on food and nutrition security aims to ensure the availability, accessibility and affordability of safe and nutritious food at national and household levels (Department of Social Development [DSD] & Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries [DAFF], 2013). The policy recognises specific food security challenges that the country currently faces such as inadequate safety nets and food emergency management systems; a lack of national education on optimal choices for nutritious and safe diets; a lack of food production on productive land; as well as limited, timely and relevant information on food security. In order to address these challenges, the policy takes a “well-managed inter-sectoral co-ordinated” approach, which integrates existing policies in other departments such as health and education (DSD & DAFF: 6). The policy lists five pillars which will allow for this multi-sectoral approach. These pillars are:

- The availability of improved nutritional safety nets.
- Improved nutrition education.
- The alignment of investment in agriculture towards local economic development, particularly in rural areas.
- Improved market participation of the emerging agricultural sector through public-private partnerships.
- Food and Nutrition Security Risk Management, inducing increased investment in research and technology to respond to the production challenges currently facing the country.

(DSD & DAFF, 2013:7)

Based on these pillars, the policy indicates that the perception of food insecurity is due to a lack of production of food, particularly in rural areas.

The National Policy on Food and Nutrition Security, defines food and nutrition security as “access to and control over the physical, social and economic means to ensure sufficient, safe and nutritious food at all times, for all South Africans, in order to meet the dietary requirements for a healthy life” (DSD & DAFF, 2013: 8). The policy has adapted this definition from the FAO’s definition of food security. As in the case with the FAO definition of food security, through this policy’s definition the four dimensions of availability, accessibility (physical, social and economic), utilisation and stability of food supply are incorporated. The policy states that future strategies to support this policy would be related to one of these four dimensions in the following aspects:

- The utilisation of existing food supplies at a household level, with a view to addressing the short-term concerns of hunger and malnutrition (as proposed in the Household Food and Nutrition Strategy), or
- Increasing the overall supply of food through improved production, as well as various market interventions, with a view to ensuring a sufficient and sustainable supply of food for the country as a whole.

(DSD & DAFF, 2013: 20)

4.2.4 National Development Plan 2030 (NDP) (2013)

The NDP provides a long term development perspective, which aims to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030 (NDP, 2013). The NDP makes mention of food and nutrition security within Chapter 11 *Social Protection* (NDP, 2013). The aim for food and nutrition security is to ensure household food and nutrition security. The actions mentioned within the NDP in order to achieve household food and nutrition security are to identify the main elements of a comprehensive food security and nutrition strategy and launch a campaign.

Other aspects relating to food security include reducing the cost of living for low income and working class households, particularly the costs of food, transport and housing. This shows that there might be a change in the current misconceptions of food security as a lack of supply, towards an understanding of the systemic inequalities that cause urban food insecurity.

4.3. Context of the Western Cape

Due to the fact that the CoCT is located within the Western Cape, it is necessary to understand the current programmes and approaches to food security within the province. Through these programmes it is clear that there is still a rural, productionist conception of food insecurity within the Western Cape. While the Western Cape Government has encouraged residents to participate in urban farming, there is no official policy on rural or urban food security (Western Cape Government, 2016).

4.3.1 Western Cape Rural Development Coordination Programme

Located within the Western Cape Department of Agriculture, the Rural Development Coordination Programme aims to create vibrant and sustainable rural communities. As a part of this programme, the department aims to improve food security through interventions at the household scale within selected rural nodes (Western Cape Government, 2016).

4.3.2 Western Cape Government: Urban Farming 2016

The Western Cape Department of Agriculture has encouraged all residents to start their own household or community food gardens in order to promote food security within the province (Western Cape Government, 2016). The department encourages these activities as they are seen to contribute to community food security, increased nutrition and are beneficial to the natural environment as they reduce communities' carbon footprint. In support of urban farming as a way of addressing urban food insecurity, the Western Cape Department of Agriculture has committed R12 million to a range of urban farming projects for the 2016 financial year (Western Cape Government, 2016).

4.4 Cape Town Context

The following section of this chapter will provide a contextual analysis of the current socio-economic and spatial contexts within the CoCT. In addition to this, this section will also provide a description of the city's current food security policies and programmes.

Cape Town is the second largest urban area in South Africa and remains a socio-spatially, racially and socio-economically segregated city (Battersby, 2011; Miraftab, 2012). This persistent legacy of apartheid era settlement policy, has resulted in the majority of the city's urban poor population being located on the periphery of the city, with limited access to the city's resources and opportunities (Turok & Watson, 2001). The socio-economic ramifications of this layout has resulted in the urban poor being forced to spend large amounts of money on transport in order to access the opportunities within the city, while the wealthier middle class are able to live close to employment opportunities and spend less time and money on transport. This unequal layout results in the perpetuation of the current socio-economic inequalities within the city.

4.4.1 City of Cape Town Urban Agriculture Policy 2007

The CoCT Urban Agriculture Policy is primarily a sector support programme and according to the policy, it is best located within the Development Facilitation Branch of the Directorate: Economic and Human Development (City of Cape Town, 2007a). This policy is also closely linked to the Local Area Economic Development and

Business Support Branches of the same directorate. The CoCT Urban Agriculture Policy was developed in order to create an integrated and holistic approach to the meaningful and effective development of urban agriculture in the city (City of Cape Town, 2007a). The City believes that urban agriculture can play a significant role in the alleviation of poverty within in the city. In light of this, the primary focus of the Cape Town Urban Agriculture Policy is on agricultural activities conducted by the “poorest of the poor” within the urban areas of the City (City of Cape Town, 2007a: 2). The City’s vision of a “prosperous and growing urban agriculture sector” is support by four main strategic goals (City of Cape Town, 2007a:3). These goals are:

- To enable the poorest of the poor to utilize urban agriculture as an element of their survival strategy (household food security)
- To enable people to create commercially sustainable economic opportunities through urban agriculture (jobs and income)
- To enable previously disadvantaged people to participate in the land redistribution for agricultural development programme (redress imbalances)
- To facilitate human resources development (technical, business and social skills training)

(City of Cape Town, 2007a: 3)

The City’s approach to urban agriculture is twofold. The policy has focussed on both achieving household food security, as well as using urban agriculture as a way of generating income. The City acts a facilitator of this policy in order to reduce red tape and create an enabling environment for urban agriculture.

In terms of household food security, the policy allows for the creation of a City led household level food production assistance programme. This project has the following objectives:

- To facilitate and support establishment of food production initiatives in urban areas
- Targeting specific groups or beneficiaries based on vulnerability, with priority being given to initiatives involving women, children, youth and the disabled.
- Mitigation of household level food and nutritional insecurity though consumption of food produced within each household.
- Effective co-operation and alignment of policies and strategies amongst national provincial and local authorities.
- Promotion of partnerships involving NGOs, private sector and other stake holders in implementing household level of food production initiatives.

(City of Cape Town, 2007a: 5)

In relation to generating economic income from urban agricultural activities, this aspect of the policy is accommodated within the City's Sector Support and Small Business Development programmes. This aspect of the policy has the following aims and objectives:

- Facilitation of entrepreneurial and business development
- Creation of an enabling environment to start-up new businesses or expand existing activities
- To enable citizens to participate in land redistribution programmes of the country.
- Promotion of sustainable job opportunities.

(City of Cape Town, 2007a:5)

The policy also outlines its strategic imperatives which include:

- The inclusion of urban agriculture within land use management and physical planning
- The creation of linkages with existing strategies such as the Provincial Department of Agriculture and the National Departments of Health and Education.
- Establish urban agricultural consultative forums which would include role players such as the City, Provincial Department of Agriculture as well as emerging small food growers and farmers.
- Release municipal land for urban agricultural purposes, as well as the identification of urban areas suitable for urban agriculture. These identified pieces of land will be managed by the Urban Agriculture Unit.
- Provision of subsidised water for vulnerable groups
- Specific strategies for livestock keeping
- Introduction of a support programme for urban agriculture which includes assistance to access to land, basic infrastructure, tools and equipment and skills development.

(City of Cape Town, 2007a)

In terms of the institutional framework of the policy, the service delivery model comprises of an Urban Agricultural Unit (UAU), which is located within the Directorate for Economic and Human Development. This unit serves as a mechanism to align and coordinate the development efforts of all role players, as well as a clearinghouse for all urban agricultural development assistance rendered by the City (City of Cape Town, 2007a).

Based on the CoCT Urban Agriculture Policy, it is clear the food insecurity is perceived by the City to be attributed to a lack of supply of food as opposed to a lack of access to food. This policy promotes the production

of food in order to address urban food insecurity but does not address the systemic nature of the problem. There has not been a formal assessment of the Cape Town Urban Agriculture Policy. However, assessments of urban agriculture as a policy intervention for urban food insecurity, have shown that urban agriculture is not a sufficient solution to the issue of urban food security (Battersby, 2011; Frayne, McCordic & Shilomboleni, 2014).

4.4.2 Food Gardens in Support of Poverty Alleviation and Reduction Policy (2013)

The CoCT's Food Garden Policy promotes the reduction and alleviation of poverty through the development of food gardens (City of Cape Town, 2013). The policy argues that food security is closely related to poverty (City of Cape Town, 2013). The policy supports the City's existing Urban Agriculture Policy (2007). The Food Gardens policy is aligned with the Integrated Development Plan's (IDP) focus area of the Caring City. In addition to this, the policy corresponds to the NDP's aims to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030.

The policy focuses on interventions which can assist the poor in urban areas to become more food secure through the creation of food gardens. The policy has identified key role players such as:

- Social Development and Early Childhood Development Directorate
- Community Services Directorate
- Economic, Environmental and Spatial Planning Directorate
- Deputy City Manager
- Finance Directorate
- Solid Waste Utilities Directorate
- Provincial Department of Agriculture
- Provincial Department of Social Development
- National Department of Social Development
- National Department of Rural Development and Land Reform

(City of Cape Town, 2013)

The approach of the Food Gardens policy is in support of the current urban agricultural policy for the City, and promotes the idea of food insecurity as a lack of supply or production of food. The policy also relies on the role that urban farming and food gardens can play in the alleviation of poverty. However, research has shown that while urban agriculture can indeed increase food security for some, the effects of these programmes are limited (Battersby, 2011; Frayne, McCordic & Shilomboleni, 2014). This is due to the fact that urban food insecurity is a systemic issue as opposed to an issue of a lack of supply of food.

This section of the chapter has shown that while there are some aspects of these policies which are moving towards the reconceptualization of urban food security, current national and municipal policy interventions have failed to acknowledge the systemic nature of the issue of urban food insecurity. As a result, current urban food security interventions are not appropriately addressing urban food insecurity.

4.5. Langa Context

This section of the chapter will explain the current context in which Langa is situated, as well as the area's spatial location within Cape Town. In order to contextualise the area, this chapter will provide a brief history of Langa, as well as demographic, socio-economic and land use context of the area.

4.5.1 Location in Cape Town

Despite being situated 11kms away the city centre, Langa is a well located township in Cape Town due to its relative proximity to the city, as opposed to other townships, situated further away from the city centre (De Satge, 2014). Langa is adjacent to the wealthy garden city suburb of Pinelands. Figure 2 provides a location of Langa (highlighted in red) in relation to the Cape Town CBD, and main movement routes. Langa is situated along the major movement of the N2, which allows for the site to be accessed via the highway. In addition to this, there is also a Langa train station which forms part of the City's Central rail line. The Langa station is a pivotal station in the City's rail system, as it is from this station that the rail branches into three different routes to connect commuters from the Cape Town station to Mitchell's Plain, Khayelitsha and Bellville. The movement routes and transport networks will be discussed in section 4.5.3



Figure 2: Location of Langa in relation to the Cape Town CBD (Source: Author's Own; After UCT GIS Library)

4.5.2 History

Situated along the N2 highway Langa is the city's oldest formal township built for black African people (South African History Online, 2013). Figure 1 provides a map of the site location in relation to the rest of the city. The area was developed as a result of the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act, which allocated land for the country's black populations in urban areas (South African History Online, 2011). Residents from Ndabeni, situated in close proximity to the white only neighbourhood of Pinelands, were moved to Langa as a result of this legislation in 1927 (South African History Online, 2013). During this time the dominant housing typology was dormitory housing, used to house male migrant labourers (De Satge, 2014).

4.5.3 Current Context

Figure 3 shows the current layout of Langa including, public transport routes and stops, community services and schools. The border of the area is highlighted in red. Figure 3 shows that Langa has rail, taxi and bus routes which pass through it, making it accessible via various forms of transport. There are several bus stops located around the site, making the site and its surroundings accessible via bus. While there is an Integrated Rapid Transport (IRT) route which travels along the N2, there are no IRT stops in close proximity to Langa making this form of transport to and from the area inaccessible. From Figure 3 it can be seen that higher order services such as clinics and libraries within the area are located along movement routes. As has previously been mentioned, the Langa train station is an important stop as, from this station the central line splits into three, connecting areas surrounding Langa to the Cape Town CBD.

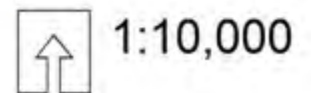
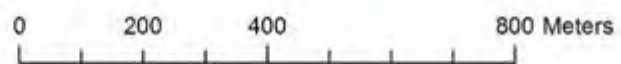
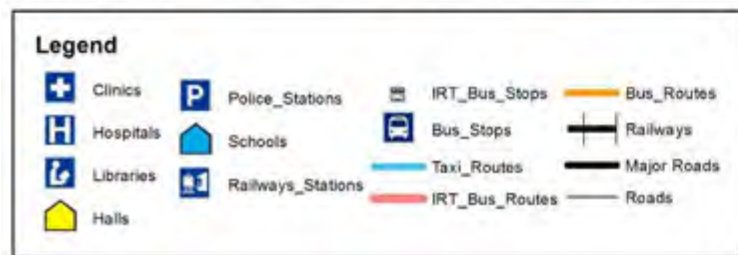


Figure 3: Current context of Langa including services and transport networks (Source: UCT GIS Library)

4.5.4 Demographics

Based on the 2011 census data the current population of Langa is approximately 52 401 people, and is made up of 17 400 households (StatsSA, 2012). Of these households, 41 percent are female headed households (StatsSA, 2012). The total area of the settlement is 3.09km², which results in a population density of over 16 000 people per km² (StatsSA, 2012). In terms of the racial make-up of the settlement, of the total population, 99 percent is categorised as black African (StatsSA, 2012). The area has a high youth population, which can be seen through the population pyramid in Figure 4. The pyramid also shows that there is a fairly even sex ratio in the area.

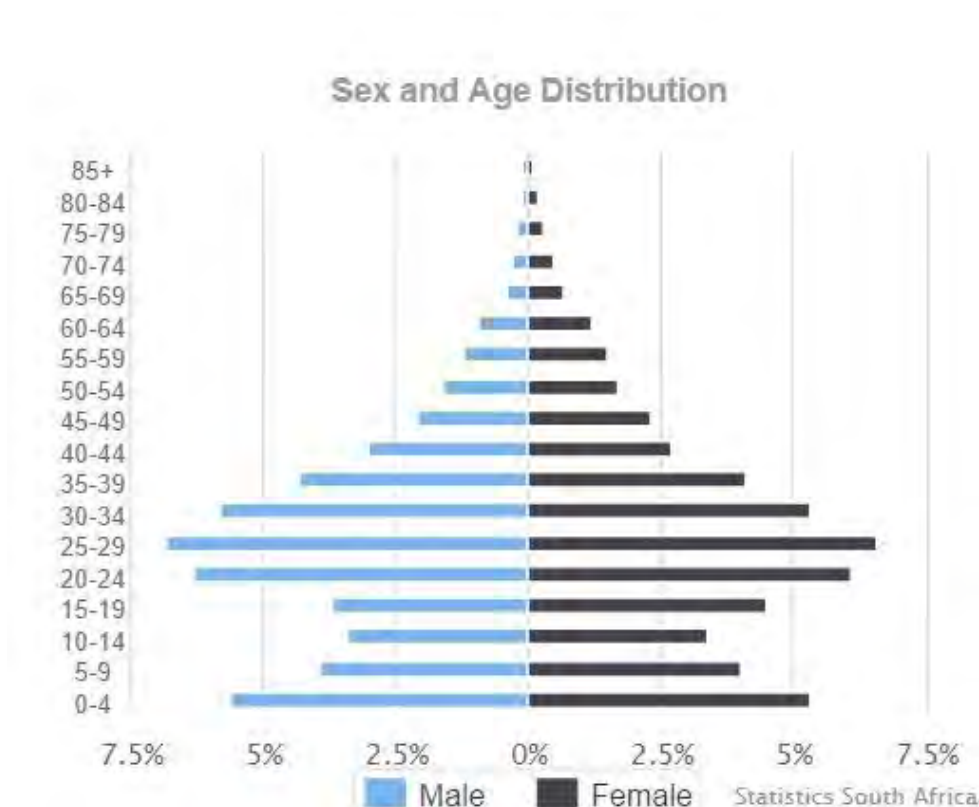


Figure 4: Langa Population Pyramid (Source: StatsSA, 2012)

In terms of education levels in the area, 45.4 percent of the population has some secondary schooling, while only 2.2 percent of the population have no schooling (StatsSA, 2012)

4.5.5 Socio-economic Factors – Income and Employment

As shown in Figure 5, according to the 2011 census, the current economic profile of the area indicates that 72 percent of Langa’s population have a household monthly income of R3 200 or less, while 22.2 percent have no income (StatsSA, 2012). While the area is considered to be low-income, there is a proportion of the households (11.4 percent) who earn between R6 401 and R25 600 pm (StatsSA, 2012). The poverty line is Cape Town is an

income of R3 500 or less per month (StatsSA, 2012). According to StatsSA, nearly 36 percent of household in Cape Town live below the poverty line, while 72 percent of Langa residents currently live below the City's poverty line (StatsSA,2012).

The level of monthly income is an important aspect to note, as it can be used to determine how many people rely on or meet the requirements to receive a social grant. For the urban poor, these grants determine how much money can be spent on food for each month. In South Africa an Old Person's Grant (Old Age Pension) is R1500 per month. If a person is older than 75 years, they will receive an additional R20 per month (Kelly, 2016). In the context of South Africa, if this grant is not supplemented by another form of income, it is an extremely small amount of money to live off of; however, it is the reality of many of the urban poor in Cape Town. In the context of this research, the majority of Langa residents interviewed were pensioners who were living off of this grant.

In terms of employment, the 2011 census found that there is a 40.2 percent unemployment rate and a 66 percent labour force participation rate. Of the total population, 72 percent are of working age (StatsSA, 2012). Figure 9 provides a graph of the current household incomes in Langa. These income and unemployment statistics relate to the systemic nature of urban food insecurity. With a high unemployment rate, coupled with the majority of households in Langa living below the City's poverty line, it is clear that access to affordable food in Langa could be a challenge. Urban food insecurity is caused by a lack of access to food as opposed to a lack of supply of food (Battersby, 2011; Maxwell, 1999; Sen, 1981). In particular, this lack of access can be financial (Sen, 1981). In this instance, the household incomes within Langa show that with the majority of households in the area living below the City's poverty line, there is a high chance that these households are not able to financially access food throughout the month.

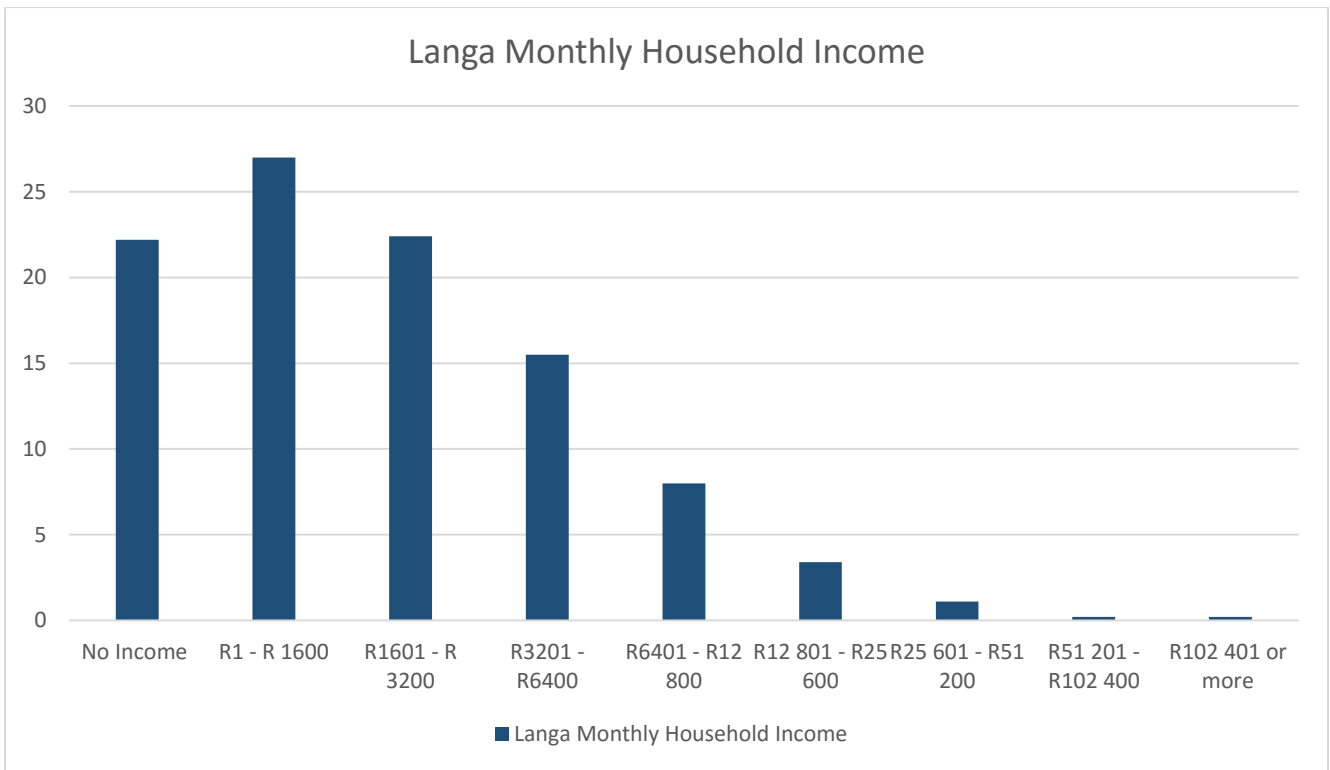


Figure 5: Monthly Household Income in Langa (Source: Author's Own; after StatsSA, 2012)

4.5.6 Housing Typologies

The 2011 Census found that there are 10 004 formal dwellings and 2 293 informal dwellings in Langa. In relation to this, 23 percent of these dwellings are paid off and fully owned while 44 percent are rented. In addition to this, 26 percent of dwellings are occupied rent free (StatsSA, 2012). Figure 6 shows the area covered by formal and informal dwellings in Langa. From Figure 6 it can be seen that there is a high level of informal backyard shacks and wendy houses in the area. This map spatializes the information provided by StatsSA in terms of the types of housing in the area, as well as the access to services. The housing typologies are important to note as they relate to the food storage capacity of each household (Battersby, 2011). Previous studies have found that housing typologies in low income areas often have limited food storage capacity (Battersby, 2011). This results in these households only being able to purchase as much food as can be stored at a time (Battersby, 2011). This process can become costly as the households would have to buy smaller amounts more frequently, as opposed to a larger amount of food which can be stored throughout the month (Battersby, 2011). Figure 7 shows the vacant land available in Langa.

Section 4.5.7 will state the existing access to services and household goods.

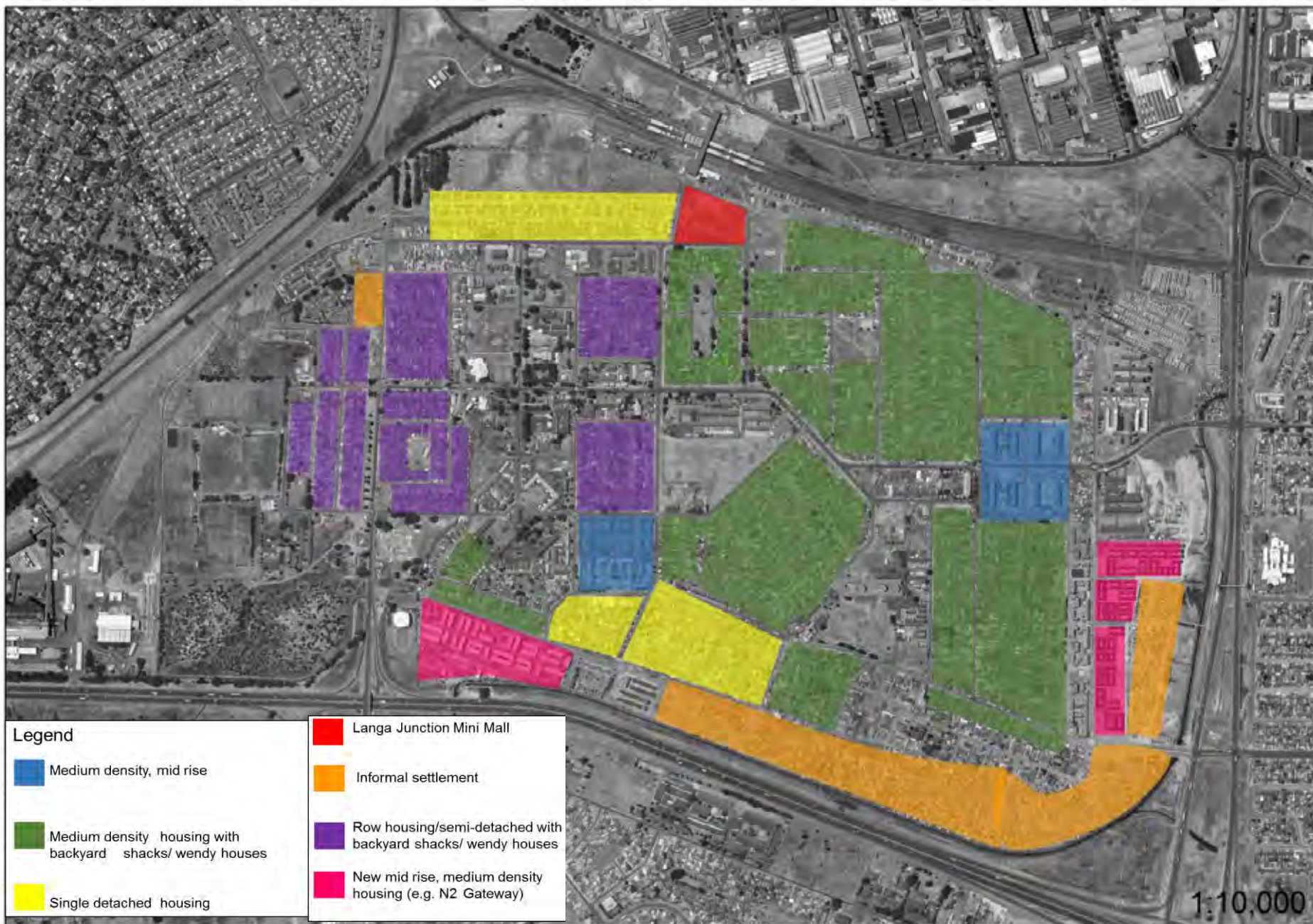


Figure 6: Housing Typologies in Langa (Source: Author's Own; after, UCT GIS Library)



Figure 7: Vacant Land in Langa (Source: Author's Own; after, UCT GIS Library)

4.5.7 Services

The 2011 Census found that the services available in Langa were as follows:

- 49.6 percent of residents had access to piped water inside their house
- 72.4 percent of residents had access to a flush toilet inside their house. 21.8 percent of residents relied on a bucket toilet.
- 97.5 percent of residents had access to electricity. 94.8 percent of residents used this electricity for cooking.

(StatsSA, 2012).

The results of the 2011 census show that while there are some formal services in the area, there is still a proportion of residents who do not have access to these formal services.

The graph shown in Figure 8 shows the percentage of the population who own specific household goods. From the graph it can be seen that a high number of the population own a refrigerator (68.8%) and a stove (92%) (StatsSA, 2012). This is important to note in the context of food security as the ownership of stoves and refrigeration facilities speak to food utilisation and food storage in Langa.

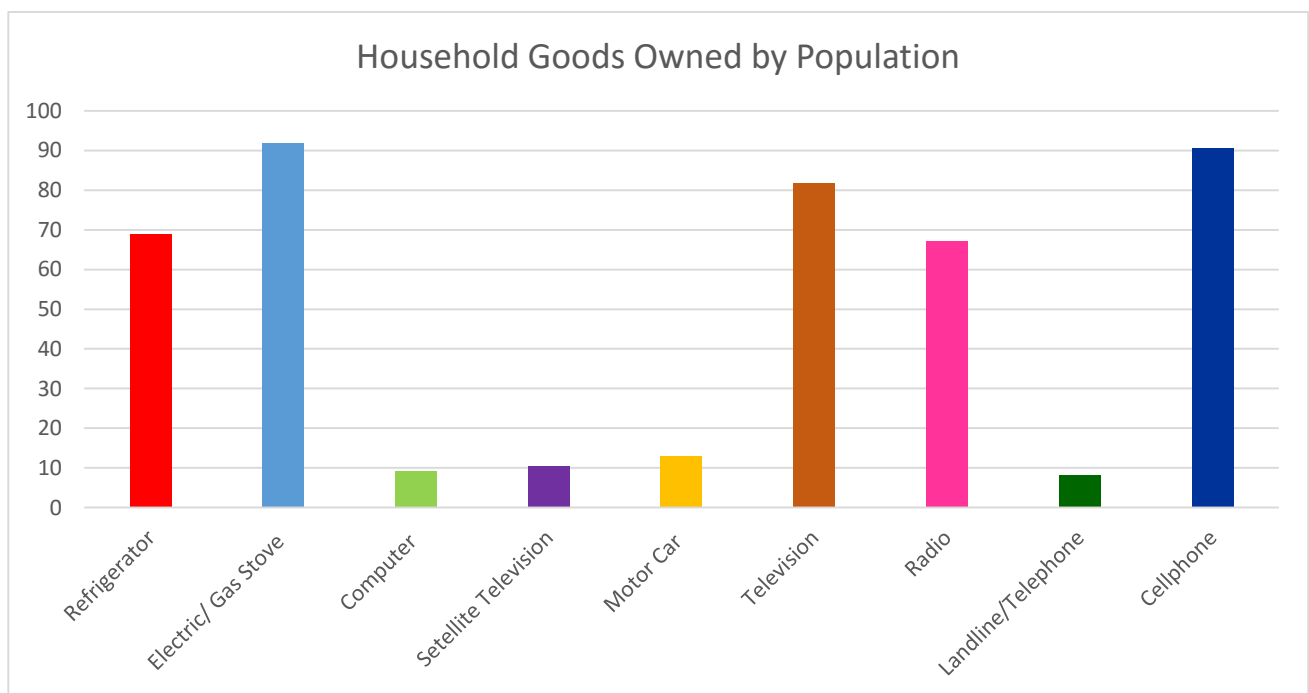


Figure 8: Household Goods owned by Langa Population (Source: Author's Own; after, StatsSA, 2012)

4.5.8 Current Formal and Informal Retail

Retail in Langa consists of both formal and informal outlets. These retailers are mapped on Figure 9. The formal services in the area are the USave, which has been in Langa since 2008, and the Shoprite and other stores within the Langa Junction Mini Mall, which have been in Langa since 2014. The informal retail services consist of both services such as hairdressing, shoe repairs, as well as food retail. These activities take place in many different forms in the area. Often informal street trade takes place out of shipping containers, whereas food traders operate on the street usually with a table or blanket to sell their stock from. Both formal and informal trade is shown in Figure 9 in conjunction with surrounding transport routes. From Figure 9 it is clear that informal street traders locate around movement routes and areas where many people pass through during the day.

The table below provides a breakdown of the types of formal and informal street food retail available within Langa.

Retail	Stores	Food or Services Available
Langa Junction Mini Mall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shoprite (Supermarket) • FryDays • Debonairs • Zebros 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Groceries • Fried Chips and Fish • Pizza • Flame Grilled Chicken
Vangate Mall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pick n Pay (Supermarket) • Spar (Supermarket) • Various Fast Food Restaurants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Groceries • Groceries • Fast Food Takeaway
USave	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • USave (Low cost supermarket) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Groceries • Bulk Shopping
Informal Traders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single person stalls and shipping containers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fruit and Veg • Amagwinya (Vetkoek/ Doughnuts) • Tripe

Table 1: Table showing available retail in Langa (Source: Author's Own)

From Figure 9 the current food retail patterns in and beyond Langa can be seen. The public transport routes such as taxi and bus routes often intersect. A popular formal retailer is the Vangate Mall in Athlone which offers a wide variety of goods and services. Vangate Mall is accessible via taxi as well as via bus. Many people in Langa

take a bus to Vangate Mall and a taxi back, as the taxi allows for their parcels to be delivered. Taxi drivers will charge commuters R6.50 for their parcels as these parcels occupy an extra seat in the taxi. The Vangate Mall is convenient for shoppers as it is accessible via public transport. Even more convenient than the Vangate Mall is the new Langa Junction Mini Mall, as residents can now walk to the mall. However, the Langa Junction Mini Mall offers little choice to the consumer as the only formal food retailer is the Shoprite supermarket. Within the Langa Junction Mini Mall there are three fast food takeaway restaurants, namely Debonairs, Zebros and FryDays. Food is also accessed at informal traders which are situated around movement routes and formal traders. The informal trade surrounding the USave is particularly popular. Informal traders in the area sell a variety of fruit and vegetables, as well as provide services such as hairdressing and learner driver's license lessons.

Chapter 5's findings will expand on where and how residents in Langa who participated in the focus groups currently access food.

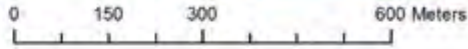
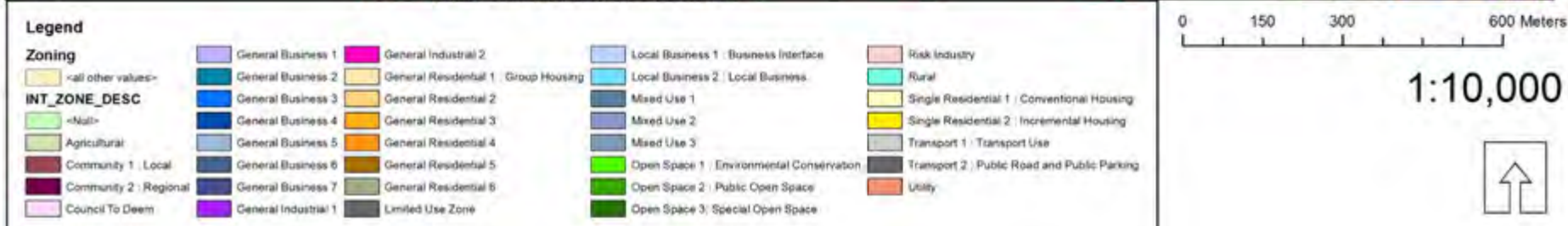


Figure 9: Current retail available and food patterns in Langa (Source: Author's Own after UCT GIS Library)

4.5.9 Land Use Elements in Langa

The zoning scheme in conjunction with surrounding public transport and services in Langa is shown in Figure 10, while the zoning scheme for the area surrounding and including the Langa Junction Mini Mall is shown in Figure 11

Figure 11 shows the zoning on which the Langa Junction Mini Mall is located. The site is zoned as General Business 4 (GB4) which allowed for the certain land use rights such as the development of the Langa Junction Mini Mall. This zoning is not restrictive, and allows for a wide range of land use rights, such as supermarkets and shopping malls. Other surrounding zones in the area include general industrial, community, residential and public transport zones. The erf on the east of the Mini Mall is owned by the CoCT and the zoning is currently unspecified. There is currently 'temporary' informal activity taking place on this adjacent erf. Future development in the area includes the development of an additional shopping centre at the Taxi rank near to where the current USave is situated (See Figure 9). The mall is planned to be developed on the two erven opposite the USave where informal fruit and vegetable street traders currently operate. The mall will include a variety of stores with Spar as the mall's anchor tenant. The proposed erven on which this development is planned to take place are zoned as GB4. The Spar will provide an additional way to access food through formal retail; however, it is unclear what will happen to the informal street traders who are currently operating on the land.



1:10,000



Figure 10: Langa Zoning Scheme (Source: UCT GIS Library)

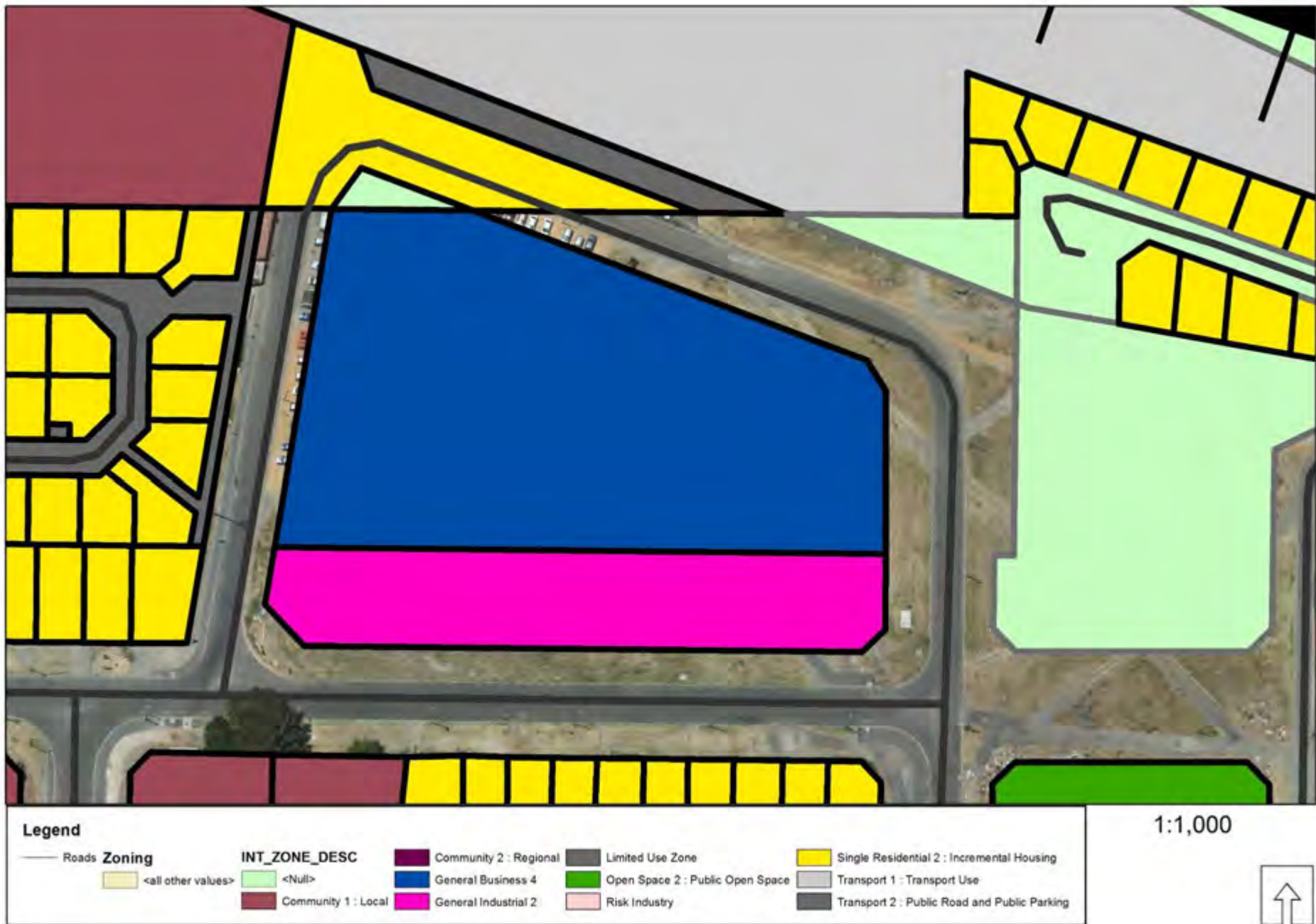


Figure 11:: Site and surrounding zoning scheme. The site is zoned GB4 as indicated by the dark blue colour. (Source: UCT GIS Library)

4.5.10 Current Spatial Planning

Table Bay District Plan Including Langa

Langa falls within the Table Bay District of the City of Cape Town (City of Cape Town, 2012a), and is one of the lowest income neighbourhoods within the district. In terms of spatial planning policy and guidelines, the Table Bay District Plan highlights Langa as an area where a high level of mixed use intensification can take place through the redevelopment of certain parts of the settlement (City of Cape Town, 2012a). This proposal is shown in the Table Bay District sub-district 4 plan in Figure 12. Additionally, this plan suggests that an increase in transport infrastructure and development around public transport and movement networks is desirable, as this forms part of the CoCT's support of Transit Oriented Development (TOD) (Integrated Strategic Communication and Branding Department, 2014). The promotion of large commercial retail and residential developments is strongly supported through the CoCT's current spatial planning and land use policy guidelines.

Other plans for Langa mentioned within the Table Bay District Plan, include a Langa Development Framework, which aims to "prepare local area framework outlining development and urban upgrade opportunities" (City of Cape Town, 2012a). This framework was due to take place 5 years after the implementation of the Table Bay District Plan. Currently the most recent development framework for Langa is from 1999 (City of Cape Town, 1999)

In addition to the Table Bay District Plan, there is also a Langa Local Area Planning Initiative (LAPI) (City of Cape Town, 2012b). This plan aims to take advantage of the various spatial opportunities that are available in Langa as well as the surrounding context. The Langa LAPI forms part of the City's continued effort to develop and improve the public realm within the area (City of Cape Town, 2012b). The Langa LAPI is shown in figure 13.

Based on these two plans the aims of the Table Bay District are made clear. Neither plan includes the incorporation of informal trade, nor does it refer to any aspects relating to urban food security. In addition to this, the planned spatial elements within Langa show that the neighbourhood is largely car oriented. This can be seen through the lack of planned walkable space or non-motorised movement routes within the area.

Both the Table Bay District Plan and the Langa LAPI show development taking place in specific areas which have been deemed appropriate for development. The LAPI, through the dotted red circles, provides the general area in which these development nodes will take place. The Langa Junction Mini Mall is located at the north of Langa, and is within an area identified as a development node. The proposed development of the Spar supermarket is located within a development node on the east of the site. Both of these areas have previously been occupied by informal street traders. It has been noted through the literature review that the informal economy plays an important role in the urban poor's food security strategies (Battersby, 2012; Battersby & Crush, 2014). Through

these plans, it could be argued that the proposed developments in the area are limiting the urban poor's access to food by locating future developments on sites currently occupied by informal street traders. This process can be seen to be contributing to the food desertification of Langa, as informal street traders who play an important role in the urban poor's access to food, are slowly being forced to stop trading due to the increase in competition from the newly developed supermarkets.



Figure 12: Table Bay District Sub-District 4 Plan, including Langa (Source: City of Cape Town, 2012a)

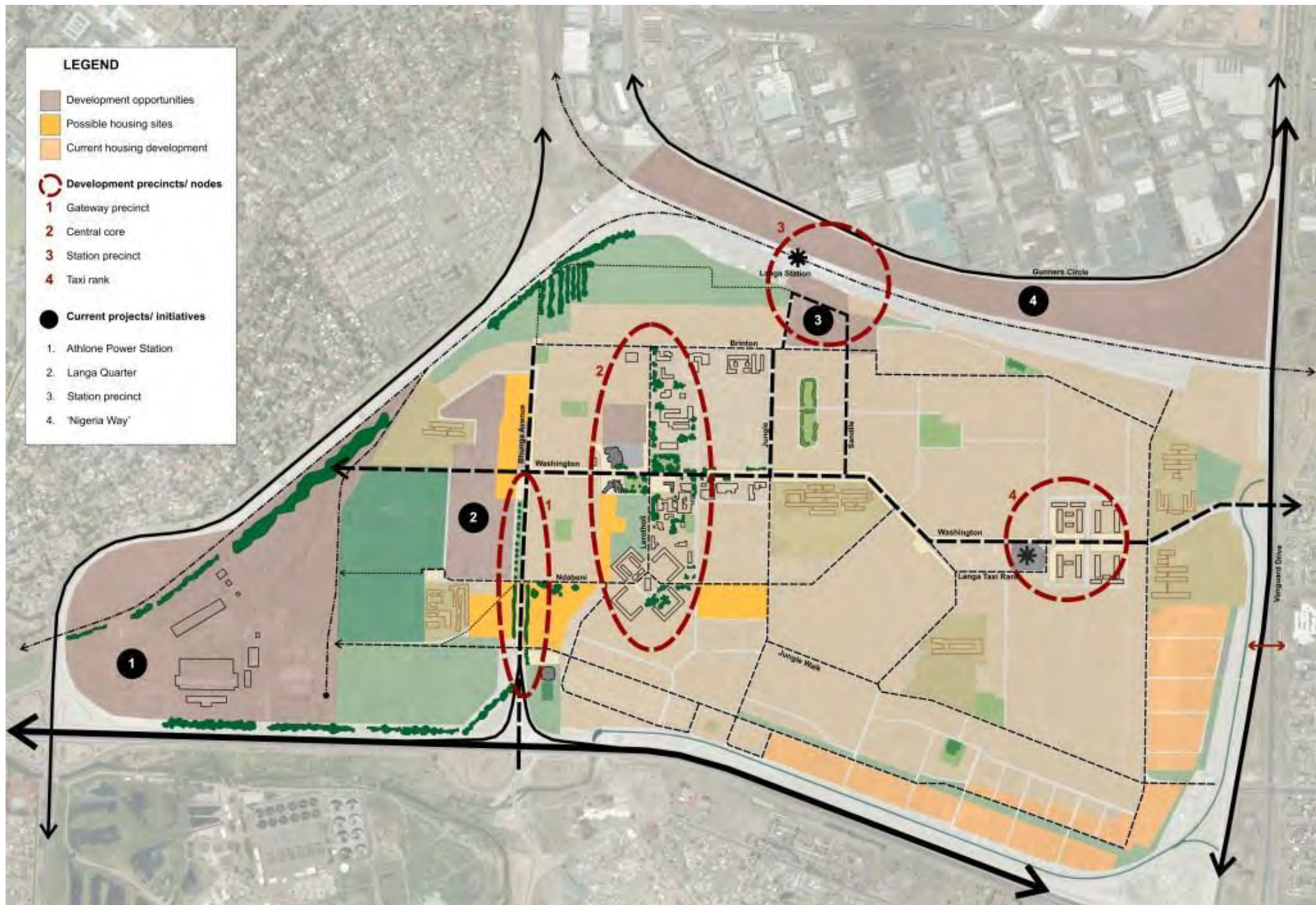


Figure 13: Langa Local Area Plan (Source: City of Cape Town, 2012b)

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an analysis of the current context in which this research is situated. In this chapter the national, provincial and municipal approaches to food security have been discussed through the analysis of relevant policies and programmes. The chapter also provides a contextual analysis of Langa and the area's surrounding context as well as an analysis of the case selected for this research: The Langa Junction Mini Mall. In relation to this, current formal and informal retailers were mapped and tabulated. Through this process the current food pattern in the area was discussed and mapped. Finally, the current spatial plans for the Langa area were analysed. This analysis shows that the CoCT is supporting future development within Langa. This can be seen through the Table Bay District Plan, as well as the Langa LAPI. The understanding of the context in which this mall is situated is necessary in order to frame the research findings presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Findings

5.1 Introduction

The following chapter will present the findings of this research through each of the research techniques used. The first section of this chapter will provide a background into the development of the Langa Junction Mini Mall. Following this, the next section of the chapter will present the findings from the researcher's own observations at the Langa Junction Mini Mall. Included in this section of the chapter will be the semi-structured interviews conducted with informal traders, the Mini Mall manager and the Shoprite manager at the Langa Junction Mini Mall. The second section of this chapter will present the findings from the semi-structured interviews conducted with spatial and land use planners from the CoCT. The final section of this chapter will present the findings from the three focus groups conducted with the Langa residents.

This chapter presents the findings from the fieldwork component of this research. The following chapter, Chapter 6, will analyse these findings.

5.2. The Langa Junction Mini Mall

This section will provide a background to the development of the Langa Junction Mini Mall. In addition to this, this section will present the findings from non-participant observations, semi-structured interviews with the Langa Junction Mini Mall manager and the Shoprite manager, as well as semi-structured interviews with informal street traders surrounding the Langa Junction Mini Mall. The questions asked during semi-structured interviews with the Langa Junction Mini Mall Manager are listed in Appendix A; the questions asked during the semi-structured interviews with the Shoprite Manager are listed in Appendix B; and the questions asked during the semi structured interviews with informal street traders are listed in Appendix C.

5.2.1 Background to the Development of the Langa Junction Mini Mall

The case selected for this dissertation is the area surrounding the Langa Junction Mini Mall on erf 4330. The land on which the mall is developed is owned by the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA) and is currently zoned as GB4. This zoning allows for the land uses such as residential, retail and office development.

The 5000m² pedestrianised mall is situated to the south of the Langa train station, on the corner of Brinton Street and Sandile Avenue. The mall is surrounded by hard and soft landscaping. The upgrading of this landscaping was conducted by the CoCT in conjunction with the development of the mall as part of the City's informal settlement upgrading objectives ("Langa Junction shopping...", 2014). The mall itself is surrounded by

an extensive security gate, which is closed and locked at night. Prior to the mall being developed, the site consisted of both service and food informal street traders. Despite reports of crime around the station, the site was a popular place for school children and informal traders in particular.



Figure 14: Entrance to the Langa Junction Mini Mall (Source: Pulker, 2016).

The Mini Mall was developed by the Nu-Hold group through their commercial property development company Krisp Properties Commercial and their sister company Nu-Way (“Langa Junction shopping...”, 2014). The Mini Mall is run by Nu-Way and is the only commercial investment that Krisp Properties has in Cape Town. The

development of the Mini Mall was completed in 2015 and is currently in its second year of operation (Mr Sandler, Interview 2016, September 7). While the Mini Mall is not a Shoprite mall, it is important to understand both the mall and the Shoprite supermarket in relation to one another. Shoprite as the anchor supermarket for the Mini Mall has in many ways allowed for the success of the Mini Mall as a whole in a low-income area such as Langa.



Figure 15: The parking lot and main private vehicle entrance to the Langa Junction Mini Mall (Source: Pulker, 2016).

The R60m development of the Mini Mall aimed to create an ‘economic boost’ for the area (Wolf, 2015:1). The developers argued that the Mini Mall would be “...the first opportunity the local community has had to have leading retailers on their doorstep” (Wolfe, 2016:1). In addition to this, the developers stated that the strategic location of the Mini Mall opposite a train station which is used by 45 000 commuters daily, made the site ideal for this form of retail development (Wolfe, 2016). The clear rationale behind this development was that it was aiming to provide a ‘neglected’ low-income neighbourhood with a formal retailer in order to uplift and improve the current status of the area.

Development of the Mini Mall began in June 2014, when an estimated 150 jobs were created (Wolf, 2015). While some reports state that the majority of the builders and contractors were from Langa, there were in fact protests prior to the development of the mall. The protest was largely instigated by the youth in the area, who demanded that they be employed both during and after the development of the Mini Mall (Bernardo, 2015). The completed Mini Mall consists of a supermarket, fast food restaurants, service shops such as hairdressers and an internet café, as well as a clothing store, a bakery and a gambling store called Hollywood Bets. The Mini Mall is accessible by private vehicle and via public transport, making it theoretically more convenient than other food retailers for the residents in the area.



Figure 16: Langa Junction Mini Mall parking lot with the fence surrounding the Langa Junction Mini Mall (Source: Pulker, 2016)

5.2.2 Participant and Non-Participant Observations

The following section of this chapter will present descriptive findings from the participant and non-participant observations conducted during July, August and September 2016. The Langa Junction Mini Mall was visited over a period of three months, at different times of the day, on different days of the week. This was done in order to observe the temporal nature of the space. The first field visit took place on 6 July and the final visit on 10

September. During these visits, interviews, field notes and observations were conducted. The field notes which were taken before, during and after each site visits are lengthy. In light of this the following participant and non-participant observations findings will provide a summary of these notes, with reference to observations from the beginning, middle and end of the fieldwork process.

First Week (6 and 8 July 2016)

The first visit to the Langa Junction Mini Mall took place on 6 July 2016 from 11:00-13:30. During this visit an isiXhosa translator, Nokubonga Ralayo, was present in order to translate interviews.

The initial impression of the mall was that it seemed slightly out of place in its surroundings. The bright yellow external wall which faces the street creates a hard edge between the mall and its residential surroundings. The mall is surrounded by a fence which is closed and locked at night. There is parking available within this fencing. There are neat manicured gardens which boarder the mall. After parking we walked around the mall to see what stores were available. While walking I notice that all informal street trade took place outside the fence which surrounds the mall. These traders operate predominantly out of refurbished shipping containers or at a table on the pavement. After walking around the outside of the mall, we then walked into the Shoprite to see what types of produce were available. The Shoprite stocks both fresh and dry food products. In addition to food products, the Shoprite also stocks a wide range of hardware supplies, basic toiletries and beauty products, as well as household cleaning products. While in the shop, we purchased a few items which Ms Ralayo needed. These were products such as a small pack of mince, 500ml of fresh cream, a pack of fresh chicken which included a breast, thigh and wing, as well as a bottle of pine nut flavoured Sparletta soft drink. Ms Ralayo stated that the prices at the Langa Junction Mini Mall Shoprite seemed much cheaper than at the Shoprite she regularly shops at in Mowbray. No formal price comparison ever took place; however, Ms Ralayo was certain that this was the case.

The lines at the Shoprite were long; however, out of the many tills in the shop only very few were open. While in the queue I was able to look at other customers' baskets to get an idea of what was being purchased. Most customers were buying frozen chicken pieces, Sparletta soft drink (also Pine Nut flavour), white bread, packets of chips, cheese flavoured savoury biscuits, fresh milk and amasi (sour milk). Interestingly, this Shoprite has a wide selection of various brands of amasi. This wide variety of amasi would not be found in a store such as Pick 'n Pay, Spar or Woolworths. In addition to the wide variety of amasi, there is also a large selection of different margarine brands. During a visit later on in the fieldwork process, 15 different brands of margarine were counted, with 20 different variations in terms of size and packing. While in the queue, it was also possible to

notice how customers were paying for their groceries. The majority of customers during this visit were paying for their groceries in cash, as opposed to with a debit or credit card.

After walking around the Shoprite, we then approached informal street traders surrounding the mall. During the first visit, two informal street traders were interviewed. The findings from these interviews are presented in section 5.2.5 of this chapter. The informal street traders were open to speaking about the effects of the mall on their business. There are four informal fruit and vegetable street traders surrounding the mall. Additional informal street trading surround the mall consists of services such as hairdressing, learner driving license test lessons, cellphone and electronic repairs, as well as second hand furniture sales. These informal street traders operate out of old shipping containers, while the informal fruit and vegetable street traders operate from a table on the pavement with no shelter.

When told by the informal fruit and vegetable street traders that the tuckshops on the eastern side of the mall were the designated area for informal traders, I walked around the mall to have a look at these tuckshops. These tuckshops have rolling metal blinds and on this visit were unoccupied. There was no signing above these tuckshops that would suggest what type of store would operate there. Further down from these tuckshops are smaller stores with sliding glass doors. While these stores had signage, they appeared to be closed and there were no people inside the stores. The signs on above these stores advertised online wine sales, business services, and clothing.

While walking around the mall I noticed the extent of the security fence. The fence which surrounds the mall is monitored by security guards. In addition to this the top of the fence is lined with additional electrified fencing. The guards are located at all exits around the mall, as well as at the train station, on the eastern side of the mall. These guards do not appear to be armed; however, they are in official private security uniforms.

The fast food stores at the Langa Junction Mini Mall were relatively quiet during this first visit despite it being lunch time. The Zebros and Debonairs had no customers during the visit, while the FryDays seemed to be busier with customers sitting outside the store and eating their takeaways. Another form of food store is the Bakery at the Mini Mall.

There are no Spaza shops within the immediate surrounding of the mall.

After being at the mall for approximately two and a half hours, and interviewing two informal street traders we left the mall.

The second visit to the mall took place during the same week as the first. The aim of this visit was to map all of the available stores within and around the mall. This visit took place at 10:00 until 13:00 on Friday 8 July 2016. Before mapping the mall, I walked around the mall to see if anything had changed since the previous visit. The Hollywood Bets betting store was the busiest store, with FryDays and the Bakery also appearing to have more customers than during the previous visit. One clear difference from the previous visit was that over two days the unoccupied tuckshops which were allocated for the informal street traders were now occupied by other businesses. Nobody who was spoken to was able to tell us what had happened.

During this visit a quick price comparison was done between the oranges and apples sold at Shoprite and the informal fruit and vegetable street trader outside the mall. Oranges from the Shoprite were sold per kilogram for R7.99. Apples were sold 2.99 per kilogram at the Shoprite. Outside, the informal trader sold her oranges and apples both for R2.50 each.

While mapping the area we were approached by a security guard who asked what we were doing. After telling him that we were students from UCT he smiled and walked away. During this visit I was also able to interview another informal trader, Rasta, who was able to confirm the two stories I had heard from the other two informal street traders. The findings from the interview with Rasta are presented within section 5.2.5.3 of this chapter.

The maps in figures 17 and 18 are the result of the mapping which was conducted onsite. Figure 18 provides a visual representation of the mall based on pictures taken of the mall during the first visits.

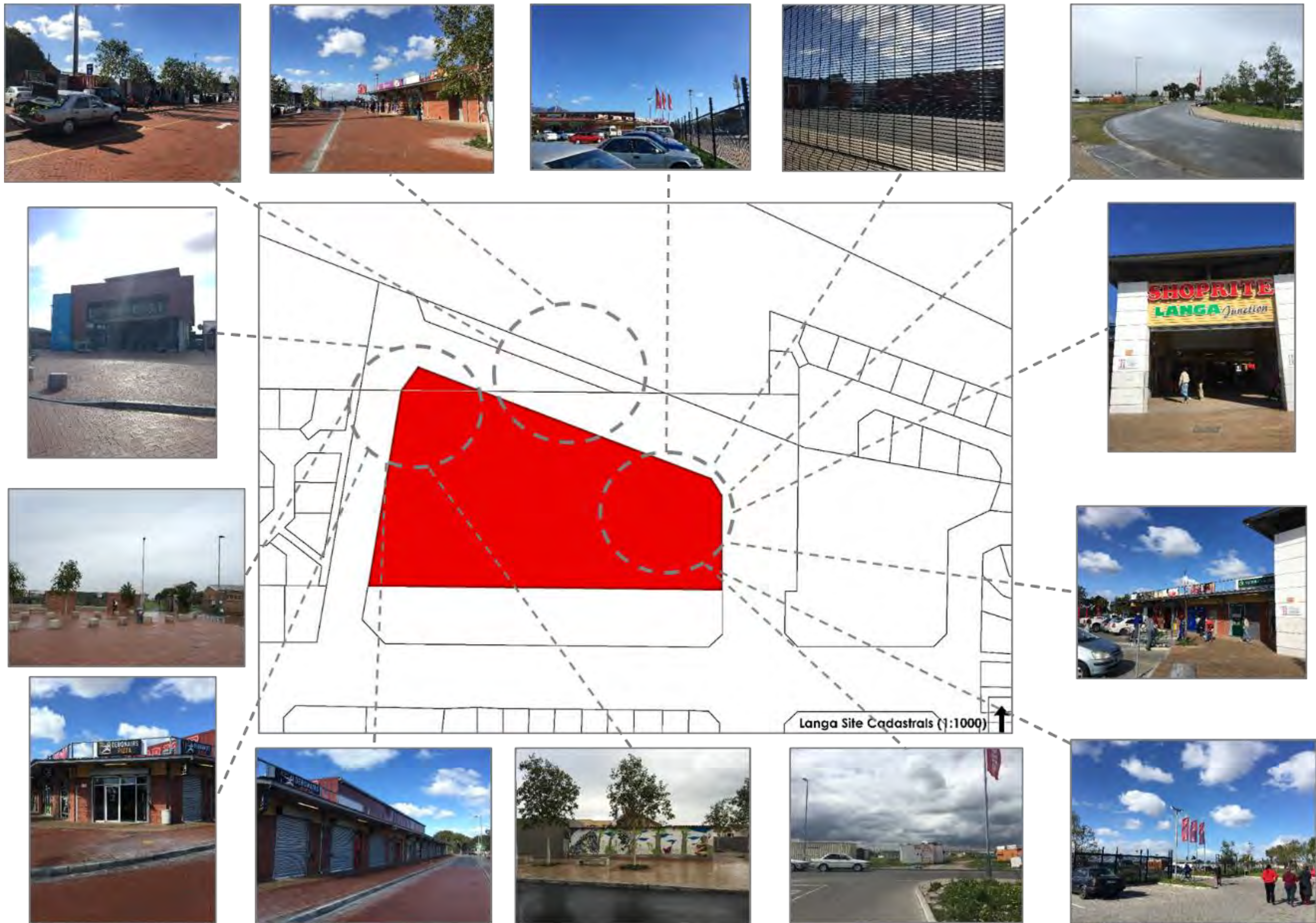


Figure 18: Visual representation of Langa Junction Mini Mall (Cadastral Map Source: UCT GIS Library; Image Source: Pulker, 2016)

Middle Weeks (30 July & 6 August)

During these visits the major change which was noticed was the amount of people at the mall. These visits took place on Saturdays from 13:00 – 15:00, as well as from 16:30 – 17:30. The visits coincided with the days on which the focus groups took place. On Saturdays the mall is much busier than it is during the week. There are also far more cars parked in the parking lot than usual. What is usually a quiet mall during the week is loud and busy during the weekend, with the FryDays on the corner providing music for customers and passers-by.

The informal street traders were not as busy as the rest of the mall was. Many of the usual traders were not there over weekends.

Final Visits (7 & 10 September)

The final visits to the Langa Junction Mini Mall took place on a Wednesday morning from 9:30– 13:30. The purpose of these visits was to conduct follow up interviews with the Shoprite and mall managers.

When I arrived at the Mini Mall, the first change I noticed was the increase in informal street trade that had taken place since my last visit. The previously vacant field opposite the mall was now full of informal street trade containers. These informal traders were predominantly offering haircuts or cellphone and shoe repairs. There was no informal food trade taking place. Through interviews and focus groups, it was explained that the informal traders were moved from their previous site due to the development of a new Spar in Langa. These informal traders were moved to the Langa Junction Mini Mall temporarily.

Another noticeable change was the amount of people who were now using the mall. The mall was previously quiet during this time of day; however, during these visits there was a clear increase in customers. This was confirmed in an interview with the mall manager who added that this increase in customers had taken place in the last three months.

5.2.3 Semi-Structured Interview with Langa Junction Mini Mall Manager

The interview with the Langa Junction Mini Mall manager, Mr Glen Sandler, took place on Wednesday 7 September at 13:00 in Mr Sandler's office at the Mini Mall. The questions asked during this interview are listed in Appendix A.

Firstly, Mr Sandler was asked if he lived in the area which he said he did not. Mr Sandler has worked in Langa since the Langa Junction Mini Mall opened two years ago. Due to the Mini Mall only having been opened for two years, Mr Sandler said that it was difficult to tell how it had affected the community. In terms of the effects that the opening of the Shoprite and the Mini Mall would have had on residents' access to food security, Mr Sandler stated that "basic logic would suggest that the mall could only increase food access for the community" (Mr Sandler, Interview 2016, September 7). Mr Sandler stated that the management of the Mini Mall is still working on the internal management structures of the Mini Mall in order to allow for the Mini Mall to operate at its full potential. According to Mr Sandler, the Mini Mall is currently operating at "30-40 percent of its potential" (Mr Sandler, Interview 2016, September 7). Mr Sandler also thinks that a lack of marketing and advertising has limited the Mini Mall's success as many people are not aware of it. Mr Sandler added that a reason for the Mini Mall not being as successful as it could be, is due to many residents in Langa having access to private vehicles and not needing to use public transport. As a result, many people in Langa who do not use the train are not aware of the Langa Junction Mini Mall which is located opposite the train station. He added that the use of private cars adds to the convenience of the Mini Mall; however, this has limited the Mini Mall's advertising.

When asked about competition with surrounding malls and supermarkets, Mr Sandler stated that it is more likely that a surrounding mall such as Vangate Mall, has been effected by the new competition of the Langa Junction Mini Mall. Mr Sandler stated that the Langa Junction Mini Mall is now more convenient for Langa residents as they can walk to the mall, and do not need to take public transport to travel to Vangate Mall. In terms of surrounding supermarkets such as USave, Mr Sandler stated that USave is currently not a competitor for the Langa Junction Mini Mall at the moment as there is more variety available at the Mini Mall than at the USave.

The informal street trade surrounding the mall is currently not as a source of competition for the Langa Junction Mini Mall, according to Mr Sandler; however, they are a concern for Mr Sandler. This is due to the fact that the informal street traders do not pay rent, yet still have access to the same benefits of the spatial location of the Mini Mall and its customers. Mr Sandler added that while the informal street traders can offer certain products at a lower price, the Langa Junction Mini Mall offers better quality and more variety. As a result, the surrounding

street traders are seen as less of a source of competition and more of an undesirable neighbour for the Langa Junction Mini Mall. Furthermore, Mr Sandler added that there were many more informal street traders in the area, and sees the development of the Langa Junction Mini Mall as an improvement for the area.

During the interview Mr Sandler was able to confirm that the owner and manager of the Langa Junction Mini Mall is NuWay Properties. Mr Sandler was also able to confirm that the mall is the company's only commercial investment in Cape Town.

When asked about the vacant land adjacent to the Langa Junction Mini Mall, Mr Sandler stated that it is unlikely that a competing supermarket would be developed there, but believes that a new community centre will be developed there. There are currently informal street traders on this land. Mr Sandler stated that these traders would most likely need to be moved away again; however, this was not a concern for the Langa Junction Mini Mall.

5.2.4 Semi-Structured Interview with Langa Junction Mini Mall Shoprite Manager

The semi-structured interview with the Langa Junction Mini Mall Shoprite branch manager, Mr Marlon Geswindt, took place on 7 September 2016, at the Langa Junction Mini Mall Shoprite. Mr Geswindt was approached during a site visit. Mr Geswindt stated that there had been a lot of student interest in the mall. The questions asked during this semi-structured interview are listed in Appendix B.

Mr Geswindt has worked at the Langa Junction Shopping Mall since it opened two years ago. Prior to this, Mr Geswindt was the branch manager of the Shoprite in Khayelitsha. Mr Geswindt said that he had noticed an increase in customers at the Langa Shoprite over the last three months. When asked what the reasons for this could be, Mr Geswindt stated that it could be due to a decrease in petrol price which means that people have more disposable income than before. In addition to this, Mr Geswindt said that due to the location of the Shoprite, Langa residents no longer have to pay for public transport to do their shopping which also increases the amount of disposable income available in the area. An additional reason Mr Geswindt provided for the increase in customers at the Shoprite could be because more people were aware that the Shoprite had opened. The store is busiest during lunch time, and from the 25th of one month until the 15th of the next month. This period is when most people get paid.

Mr Geswindt was asked about the informal trade adjacent to the Langa Junction Mini Mall. The containers on the adjacent land were moved there the previous week and took place "virtually overnight" (Mr Geswindt, Interview 2016, September 7). According to Mr Geswindt, the informal street traders are not a concern, as the

Shoprite “offers customers and the community everything that they need” (Mr Geswindt, Interview 2016, September 7). Mr Geswindt added that the informal street traders appear to be “dormant” and are not seen as a source of present or future competition (Mr Geswindt, Interview 2016, September 7).

The Shoprite chain of stores sources all of their fresh produce from local farms which is delivered to a general depot and transported to each Shoprite branch. Mr Geswindt said that Shoprite sells different fresh produce from Checkers; however, all of the dry products are the same at both stores. Shoprite targets a lower living standards measure (LSM), as opposed to the higher LSM that Checkers targets. The Shoprite and Checkers chains do not offer credit or loyalty points for customers.

Following this interview, Mr Geswindt suggested that I speak to the Langa Junction Mini Mall Manager, who was interviewed later that day.



Figure 19: Langa Junction Mini Mall on a morning field visit (Source: Pulker, 2016)

5.2.5 Semi-Structured Interviews with Informal Streets Traders at the Langa Junction Mini Mall

The semi-structured interviews with informal street traders surrounding the Langa Junction Mini Mall took place on 6 July and 8 July 2016. These interviews were conducted during site visits. The questions asked during these semi-structured interviews are listed in Appendix C.

5.2.5.1 Informal Street Trader 1

This interview was conducted in isiXhosa and was translated on site by the researcher's translator.

The first informal street trader who was interviewed sells tripe opposite the entrance to the Langa Junction Mini Mall. This trader has been selling tripe in this area for 30 years. Prior to the development of the Mini Mall the trader operated out of a shipping container. This trader now operates from a school desk and chair on the pavement. These containers were moved when the mall was developed, and the Mini Mall is now where the containers used to be. According to this trader there were many more informal street traders before the Mini Mall was developed. Now there are only a few informal street traders left.

This informal street trader stated that the developers of the Mini Mall had promised formal stalls for the informal traders who were there before the Mini Mall was developed. While the formal stalls have apparently been built, according to this informal street trader, there has been no communication with the informal street traders as to when they are allowed to move into these stalls. There are ongoing negotiations between the Mini Mall owners and the informal street traders in the area in order to agree on the terms of use for the space provided for these traders. The designated areas for the informal street traders is adjacent to the cemetery, as well as the tuckshop style stalls along the edge of the mall, opposite the cemetery.

This informal street trader sources her tripe from a farm in Robertson. She stated that the Mini Mall has not taken a significant portion of her business away, because she sells fresh tripe which is not available at the Mini Mall or Shoprite.

5.2.5.2 Informal Street Trader 2

This interview was conducted in both isiXhosa and English. Parts of the conversation were translated on site by the researcher's translator.

The second informal street trader interviewed operates from a table adjacent to the cemetery at the back of the mall. This trader is located at the bottom of the station platform and many people pass her as they arrive

in Langa via train. This informal street trader sells fruit, vegetables, sweets and nuts. She has been selling in the areas since 2010. According to this trader the new Shoprite and Mini Mall have taken “90 percent of my business and only left 10 percent for me” (Informal Street Trader 2, Translated Interview 2016, July 6). This informal street trader added that her stall is never very busy. During the interview some children came to the stall to buy sweets.

This trader stated that she purchases all of her fresh stock from the Cape Town Market in Epping and her sweets and nuts from Giants or other similar wholesalers.



Figure 20: Informal Street Trader 2's Stall at the Langa Junction Mini Mall (Source: Pulker, 2016)

According to this informal street trader the Mini Mall developers did not discuss the development with the traders. The traders were told to leave one day before the building of the Mini Mall began. Within a year of being told to leave, the Mini Mall was built where informal street trade previously took place. According to this trader the informal street traders have not had a say in the development. This trader is aware of the formal

stalls that were promised to the informal street traders. Her stall is currently in the space allocated for these formal stalls. This trader has not been told when she will be able to move into her formal stall in the tuckshop space, nor has she been told when the formal structures adjacent to the cemetery will be developed.

5.2.5.3. Informal Street Trader 3

This interview was conducted in English on site. The third informal street trader interview was conducted with a trader who is no longer able to trade around the mall due to the development of the mall, and the removal of his container. This informal trader who was known as “Rasta” was able to describe the area before the mall was developed. Rasta moved to Langa 20 years ago and is a well-known member of the community. The information he provided confirmed what had been heard during the previous two interviews.

Rasta stated that adjacent to the cemetery there were containers and shacks which informal traders used to trade out of and where traders could store their stock. When he was shown a map, Rasta was able to identify where all the informal street trade took place before the mall was developed. The containers on the west side of the mall were moved to the north of the Mini Mall. According to Rasta, the containers were moved by the developers and not by the traders. The shacks that were some traders’ stalls were demolished by the developers and not by the informal street traders.

Rasta used to sell music, t-shirts and other products out of his container. He now spends time at the Mini Mall where he sees his old customers, and sells t-shirts from his house down the road. Rasta was responsible for playing music from his container which school children used to come and listen to after school. Rasta’s description of the area prior to the Mini Mall development seems to be in stark contrast to what the area is like now. On the day of the interview, there were very few people occupying or using the space. There was no music being played either. Rasta’s description of the area was of a vibrant area of activity where people would pass through regularly on their way to and from the station, as well as conveniently purchase their food on their way to or from work.



Figure 21: Informal Street Trader 2 wraps herself in bubble wrap and sits under an umbrella to keep warm and dry during the winter (Source: Pulker, 2016)

Rasta confirmed that the developers had approached some informal street traders and gave these traders a presentation of the stalls which would be built. The aim of this was to allow for the informal street traders to continue operating in the area after the Mini Mall had been developed. Through this consultation the informal street traders and Mini Mall owners agreed on a rent of R80 a month for each stall adjacent to the cemetery, and R350 a month for the tuckshop stalls opposite the cemetery. According to Rasta this rate was understandable as sometimes he could make R20 a week which would cover his rent of R80 a month. However, he added that when he did not have to think about paying rent, he was not concerned with how much he made a week because he knew he would have a place to trade from despite making less than R20 a week some weeks. Currently, there are no stalls for these traders to rent and they have not been told when they will be given their space back to trade.

Rasta pointed to the new mosaicked sign outside the train station which says “Langa”. The sign has a small roof over it to protect it from the rain. It was raining on the day that this interview was conducted. The fruit and

vegetable street trader adjacent to the cemetery had wrapped herself in bubble wrap to stay warm and had a small beach umbrella over her table to keep her products dry (Figure 21). Rasta said:

“How can someone put a shelter above a sign, but not above people? You people go to school and get an education and then come here and say we need to clean up the place but you don’t build shelters for people. We didn’t go to school and we even know to build a shelter for someone. Who is doing it right then?”

(Rasta, Interview 2016, July 8)



Figure 22: The new Langa sign is protected by a roof (Source: Pulker, 2016)

5.3 Findings from Semi-Structured Interviews with City Officials

The following section of this chapter will present the findings from the semi-structured interviews with the CoCT officials who were interviewed. The questions asked during these interviews can be seen in Appendices D and E. Due to the semi-structured nature of these interviews, the questions listed in Appendices D and E were not necessarily asked in the order they are presented in.

5.3.1 Southern District Land Use Management Planner

The interview with the Southern District Land Use Management Planner took place on 2 August 2016 and the Plumstead Municipal offices. In order to protect the anonymity of this participant, they will be referred to as The Planner

While The Planner was unable to assist with information pertaining to the Langa Junction Mini Mall, they were able to provide information about supermarket developments in general from their own experience.

The first question asked was about the zoning of supermarkets, using the example of the erf on which the Langa Junction Mini Mall was developed being zoned for General Business. The Planner said that this zoning was a common zone for the CoCT as it supports a wide range of land uses from office space, to residential, to supermarkets. The Planner then added that this zoning gives the developer a wide range options for what to develop in the area. In relation to this, The Planner was asked if there were any specific applications requirements for the development of supermarkets. The Planner referred back to the zoning scheme and the land use rights granted within each zone.

Following this, The Planner was asked if they had noticed any trends in the development of supermarkets in the City. Initially the planner stated that they had not noticed any trends necessarily, but added that there have definitely been “more and more” applications for the development of supermarkets (The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2). Furthermore, The Planner stated that the development of these supermarkets tend to “defy any sort of logic” in terms of spatial planning principles (The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2). The example provided by The Planner was of a recent Pick ‘n Pay development which was developed in order to increase competition with a nearby Spar supermarket; however, there are two other Pick ‘n Pay supermarkets less than 5kms away from the newly developed one. The Planner added that the Spar supermarket has noticed a decrease in customers since the development of the new nearby Pick ‘n Pay. The Planner stated that the competition between different supermarket companies could be a factor which is driving the spread of the development of supermarkets.

In relation to the development of supermarkets, The Planner stated that there has been a noticeable increase in the development of mini malls and smaller versions of large supermarkets. An example The Planner gave of this trend was of their drive from home to work. During this approximately 8km trip from Rondebosch to Plumstead, The Planner stated that they could pass 8 Woolworths supermarkets.

The Planner noted that the development of a new supermarket will not increase the demand from customers, but rather it will affect the distribution of customers. Another reason why The Planner believes that these supermarkets are being developed so rapidly is due to densification taking place simultaneously to these developments.

When asked if The Planner had noticed if there was one specific chain of supermarket that had applied for more developments than another, The Planner stated that they had not noticed a specific chain of supermarket that has applied for more developments than another as each company has different business models. The Planner used the example of Checkers who does not have the same convenient stores that Woolworths and Pick 'n Pay have. The Planner added that these chains also attract different income levels. Later, The Planner added that perhaps based on raw numbers Pick 'n Pay and Woolworths would have submitted more applications due to their business model.

When asked about the role of supermarkets in the urban food system The Planner eluded to the need for a variety of formal food retailers. The Planner stated that if every shopping mall was to be developed in the same way as a large shopping mall such as Cavendish Square, prices would become unaffordable. A variety of supermarkets can offer lower prices which The Planner stated, "is not always a negative thing" (The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2).

In terms of the role that the City should play in the food system, The Planner suggested that the City should play a bigger role. This suggestion was particularly related to the amount of imported food available in supermarkets which The Planner stated is most likely negatively impacting local manufacturers. When asked what role the City should play in terms of reducing the current rate of supermarket expansion, The Planner could not speak for the whole City, but within the Southern District, supermarket development is no longer permitted to take place off corridors.

When asked about whether there could be an urban food policy for Cape Town in order to address current supermarket developments, The Planner said that within the current political landscape within the City, that "all development is good development as long as your development will promote job creation" (The Planner,

Interview 2016, August 2). The Planner added that current planning policies have become “irrelevant” to planning, as the current Mayor approves all development that promotes employment (The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2). The Planner went on to say the current “laissez faire” policy context allows for the understanding that “all development is good development” (The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2). For planning practitioners within the City, The Planner has said this has resulted in feelings of frustration and disheartenment amongst planning practitioners.

In relation to future urban food policies, when asked about the current urban agriculture policy, The Planner said that whatever policy currently exists is “entirely useless” (The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2). The Planner stated that there have been no programmes run by the CoCT to promote urban agriculture. Over a period of sixteen years at the Southern District Land Use Planning office, The Planner has not once received an application for urban agriculture within their entire district. According to The Planner “urban agriculture is dead” and the current policy is there to “make people feel good” (The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2). When asked if there could be room for future municipal food policies, The Planner stated that due to the current political landscape there is no place for policy. In terms of planning policy, The Planner stated that “planning policy is dead at the moment”, which has resulted in planners having little scope to effect “where people locate things and how they do it” (The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2). The Mayor’s current “red tape to red carpet” approach to development makes it unlikely that policy suggestions will be taken seriously, as the Mayor is the final decision maker (The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2). Many developers are enjoying the current policy context, and policy makers with “capitalist agendas are enjoying the current [policy] climate” (The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2).

Food insecurity is not an issue, broadly speaking, for the area in which The Planner works, due to the higher income level within the Southern District. Despite increasing food prices, The Planner said that the residents in the district would still be able to purchase food. In light of this, The Planner said:

“How the poor actually survive is a mystery to me. If you live on the margins, how do you actually survive?”

(The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2)

The Planner stated that the impact of a development becomes more clear after 10 years; however, The Planner added that “no developer can deny that their development will have an impact on the surrounding area especially in terms of land value” (The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2). Although The Planner did not work on the case of the Langa Junction Mini Mall, they stated that in their opinion they imagine the mall will have

more positive than negative effects for the area. "Perhaps there will be more opportunities for the area that previously didn't exist" (The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2).

After the interview, The Planner suggested that I contact Mr September, the Table Bay District Land Use Management Planning Section Head, in order to ask more specific questions about the Langa Junction Mini Mall.

5.3.2 Table Bay District Land Use Management Planning Section Head

Following the meeting with The Planner, Mr September was contacted via email in order to arrange an interview. The interview with Mr September took place on 31 August, at 09:00 at his office in the Media City Building, in Cape Town.

To begin the interview, Mr September was asked if he was familiar with the Langa Junction Mini Mall. Mr September was aware of the Langa Junction Mini Mall; however, he was not familiar with the specifics of the development. Mr September was able to search for the information pertaining to the development during our meeting. Through this information, Mr September was able to confirm that the lead developer was Nu-Way Housing Developments, and that the architects were Smuts & De Kock Architects. In addition to this, Mr September was able to confirm that the land on which the Langa Junction Mini Mall was developed is owned PRASA.

When asked if there was any form of public participation which took place prior to the development of the mall, Mr September said that due to the development complying with the zoning and corresponding land use rights available within that zone, there was no need for a public participation process. Mr September stated that a public participation process would have been required if the erf was required to be rezoned. In relation to the erf's zoning, Mr September suggested that this, as well as the surrounding public transport land uses was perhaps why the site was chosen for the development of a mall and supermarket. When asked about the vacant land adjacent to the Langa Junction Mini Mall (erf 831), Mr September said that the land is owned by the CoCT and that a plan has been approved for the development of a new substation.

When asked if there was the potential for the development of a competing supermarket adjacent to the Langa Junction Mini Mall, Mr September said he thought it would be unlikely due to the infancy of the supermarket industry in Langa. Mr September added that due to the low population in Langa, the development of competing supermarkets is unlikely.

Within the Table Bay District, Mr September stated that he had not noticed any increase in applications for supermarket developments. When asked if the developments which are proposed “defy any sort of logic” as The Planner stated is the case with supermarket developments within the Southern District, Mr September stated that within his district supermarket developments do not defy logic (The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2). When asked if Mr September had noticed an increase in proposals within the lower income areas of the Table Bay district, such as Kensington, Langa and Maitland, Mr September stated that the Langa Junction Mini Mall was the only recent application that he could recall. Mr September added that within lower income areas there were no more supermarket development applications that usual. Mr September reiterated that the reasons for a low number of supermarket development applications within the Table Bay District is due to three main reasons:

“Firstly, there are no or very few, large tracts of land, or green field sites available within the Table Bay District. Secondly, a large portion of this district is made up of the built up historical area of the city. Third, the land that is available within the city is owned by the City of Cape Town or the Western Cape Government”

(Mr September, Interview 2016, August 31).

When asked what role he thinks the City should play in the development of supermarkets, Mr September stated that the City’s role is to ensure that the proposed development conforms to the land use rights pertaining to the zoning of the erf on which the development is proposed; furthermore, the City must also uphold the property and development rights granted to the private developer. Mr September added that the City cannot intervene within the matter of supermarket expansions. In addition to this, Mr September stated that the City cannot dictate what should be developed on an erf, as this would infringe upon the rights of the private developers. In terms of policy, Mr September stated that policy intervention cannot remove the developer’s rights to develop which are enshrined within law. Mr September did not respond to the role that supermarkets play in the issue of food security, nor did he respond to the role the City could play in the urban food system. There was no mention of the relationship between supermarkets and urban food security by Mr September.

During the meeting Mr September was called away to another meeting. At this point Mr van Heerden arrived to complete the interview. Mr van Heerden is the Principal Spatial Planner for the Table Bay District. Mr van Heerden has experience with shopping malls and was involved in the planning process of the Vangate Mall in Athlone. Mr van Heerden said the Vangate Mall has been popular for a number of reasons. Firstly, the location of the Vangate Mall in close proximity to a modal interchange has allowed for people to access the mall via both private and public transport. Another reason why this mall has been successful is due to incorporation of

informal trade within the mall's development. Mr van Heerden said that maintaining the informal trade in the area where the Vangate Mall would be developed, was a condition of approval which he added to the development application. Mr van Heerden also states that because the development of the mall was initiated and led by the community which allowed for a larger amount of support from the community, and for the overall success of Vangate Mall. The importance of the role of the community in this development was stressed by Mr van Heerden.

Neither Mr September, nor Mr van Heerden were able to understand the questions that were asked about policy with both stating the difficulty of using policy to guide the development process. Additionally, neither Mr September nor Mr van Heerden understood the research questions that were asked about urban food insecurity, and the relationship between supermarket expansion and urban food insecurity. Mr van Heerden insisted that the research presented within this dissertation is about urban agriculture. After it was explained again that this research topic was not about urban agriculture, Mr van Heerden stated that the research was about supermarkets and urban land economics and suggested that Mr Claus Rabie and Mr Francois Viruly be contacted in order to discuss the role of urban land economics and supermarket expansion with the city. At the end of the meeting it was clear that neither Mr September nor Mr van Heerden were able to conceptualise the relationship between supermarket expansion and urban food insecurity, despite explanations. Additionally, it was clear that there was a hesitancy from both Mr van Heerden and Mr September to use policy as a way of guiding developments within the city, as this would infringe upon the developer's rights.



Figure 23: Mrs Tshabane, the host of all three focus groups. Mrs Tshabane is a retired school teacher and currently runs a crèche from her house for forty-five 18-month to 5-year-old children (Source: Park-Ross, 2016)

5.4 Findings from Focus Groups

The following section of this chapter will present the findings from each of the three focus groups. These focus groups were conducted in English and there was no need for an isiXhosa translator. The questions asked during these focus groups, as well as the participants of each group can be found in Appendix F. The transcriptions of these focus groups are available on request.

5.4.1 Focus Group 1

I began the focus group by introducing myself and asking for consent from all the participants as well if it was alright if I recorded the conversation. All participants consented to the session being recorded. Each person was asked to introduce themselves for the recording and to tell the group how long they had lived in Langa for and how many people lived in their house. Most had lived there for over 10 years, with two having been born and bred in Langa and had lived there for 64 and 61 years respectively. The household sizes varied from 2 to 10 people. Larger households were made up of the participant, their children, and their grandchildren. For example, Mrs Lekoma lives with six adults and two of her grandchildren, while Mrs Dingiswayo lives with her six children and six grandchildren.

All participants had been to the new Shoprite, except for Mrs Tshabane who hasn't been able to get there. When asked if there was any public participation before the Langa Junction Mini Mall was developed, the participants said that they were not aware of the development until there were protests by local residents. The residents demanded that they be employed both during the building of the Mini Mall, and afterwards when the Mini Mall was opened.

The participants mainly go to the Shoprite at the Langa Junction Mini Mall for emergencies, and prefer to go to Vangate Mall in Athlone for larger shops where there is more variety. At Vangate Mall there is a Pick 'n Pay and Spar, whereas the new mall only has a Shoprite. The participants said they prefer Vangate Mall because they can compare prices and there is more competition between the stores which means the stores can lower their prices to compete with each other.

Interviewer: Where do you all buy your food from? Do you buy it in Langa?

Mrs Simelela: I usually go to Vangate Mall. There's a Pick 'n Pay there, there's Spar, they are much cheaper than this Shoprite. That's what I have noticed. But I do go to [the Langa Junction Mini Mall] Shoprite...sometimes. For emergencies.

According to the participants, the Shoprite at the Langa Junction Mini Mall is more expensive than other malls, but participants said that the meat from Shoprite is well priced and always looked fresh. One participant had a problem with the scones from Shoprite which she said were stale three times in a row. She told the manager and he said that they make the scones on one day and sell them for three days after that. She said he handled the situation well and said he would look into changing the system. The same participant has approached the manager on multiple occasions for various reasons such as incorrect pricing on the shelves and poor customer service. Overall, the participants seemed dissatisfied with the level of customer service at Shoprite. Participants felt that the poor level of customer service was because of the Langa Junction Mini Mall's location in a predominantly black African low income area.

Mrs Sotshononda: I don't know whether it's because this Shoprite it's with us as blacks here, I'll just put it like that, in the townships. But I, I once said to another lady there I think I said, I wonder if you have been trained or workshopped by Shoprite how to speak to a customer

When travelling to Vangate Mall in Athlone, participants said they take a bus to Vangate Mall, and a taxi back to Langa.

Mrs Sotshononda: If you have got a lot of groceries you just ask the driver to deliver you, and you pay for the extra seat. Extra yes. And also....what I always do is I go with the bus. I like the bus because the bus doesn't wait for it to be full. I just go to the station and then I take the bus which is going to Khayelitsha. Then it will drop me there at Vangate. I'll take the taxi back because I've got parcels.

The types of food that the participants purchase most often are bread, milk, vegetables, potatoes, red meat and cereals. These products are purchased as they are the most cost effective products available. Health or nutrition was not a factor which the participants took into account when choosing which food products to purchase. Price and quality were clear factors with some participants preferring to choose their own loose fruit and vegetables instead of purchasing prepacked fruit and vegetables.

Mrs Lekoma: And what I like, I want to buy, I don't like the prepacks. I like to, take it loose and choose whatever I like because sometimes when you buy a prepack you may find out that there's something that is not...mm...that is spoilt. Like bananas. I like to choose.

When asked if participants preferred to purchase these loose fruit and vegetables from a supermarket or an informal fruit and vegetable street trader, the participants agreed that the fruit and vegetables are always fresher from informal street traders. In addition to these products being fresher, they are also more cost effective as informal street traders do not weigh their produce and charge per kilogram.

Mrs Tshabane: We buy from somebody who's selling...

Mrs Lekoma: Like fruit and veg.

Mrs Tshabane: We buy from the local people that sell.

Interviewer: And do you find that's fresher than the Shoprite?

Mrs Tshabane: Ja, always, always.

Mrs Lekoma: And they don't put it on the scale. You can just say I want this one, alright R5, R4. But there at Shoprite you put on the scale, the price goes up.

This relationship with the informal street traders extended to times of the month when participants did not have money for food.

Mrs Tshabane: When you haven't got money you can also go and say "*Sisi* [sister], I need something I will pay you tomorrow".

Mrs Lekoma: Buy on credit!

The participants added that they did not like shopping at the Somali owned Spaza shops as they are too expensive, and the food is not of a good quality.

Participants estimated that about 60 percent at least from their salary or income goes towards food for the month. The second biggest expense for participants was electricity.

All participants said that at the end of the month, there is no longer money for food. When asked how they access food during this time one participant said "we make means" (Mrs Simelela, Focus Group 1 2016, July 30). During these times participants said they would also borrow from loan sharks. However, these loan sharks take advantage of people in need of a loan and often charge high interest on loans.

Mrs Tshabane: And there are people who are taking advantage of that. If you borrow R100, when you give it back it must be R150.

Mrs Sotshononda: There's nothing you can do because you want to put something on the table. And the children are looking at you. "Mama there's no bread, there's no toothpaste, there's no sugar." We have got to do that.

In terms of storage, all participants said that they had sufficient storage in their house for the things that they need. Certain products such as mealie meal, sugar and flour are bought in bulk, but other products are bought fresh.

All participants of this focus group do their monthly shop after being paid. The participants of this focus group were mostly retired teachers who do their shopping on weekends or early in the morning when it is quiet. Others who work do their shopping after work or on weekends. The participants noticed that the new Shoprite is always busy, and suggested this could be because of the train station and the SASSA grant redeeming counter at the Shoprite. In addition to this the participants stated that the Langa Junction Mini Mall is the first large shopping area in the neighbourhoods and lots of people would go there. They added that the new Shoprite is convenient as you do not have to pay for public transport to get there.

Mrs Tshabane: It's the first time that we have a full scale shop. So instead of going that way [to Vangate Mall in Athlone] people will go there [Langa Junction Mini Mall] because you don't pay any money. So it's more convenient for people.

The participants of this focus group were able to confirm what the area where the Langa Junction Mini Mall has been developed looked like before it was there. Most said that there was nothing there, while others said that there were many informal street traders around. The participants said that they used to shop at the informal street traders. They would buy red meat, fruit, vegetables and other foods.

When asked about what they think of the Langa Junction Mini Mall the participants all agreed that the Mini Mall was a good addition to the neighbourhood even though it is not what they may have wanted. Most of the participants wanted more competition in the area so that they could compare prices more easily and more conveniently, in the same way they can at Vangate Mall. The participants said that without competition in the area, the Shoprite would be able to take advantage of the residents because residents would have no other option but to purchase from the Langa Junction Mini Mall Shoprite.

Mrs Sotshononda: If there was another supermarket, I will move to the other.

Mrs Lekoma: There's no competition.

Mrs Sotshononda: There's no competition they know that we will wait and we did! We waited for them until it was open and I said, wow. *Iselokshin'* [It's in the township]

The participants were asked choose which shops they would have preferred to have at the Langa Junction Mini Mall. All participants said more clothing shops such as Woolworths and Mr Price. In terms of food supermarkets, the participants would have wanted a Spar, Pick 'n Pay or Fruit and Veg City. The reasoning behind Spar and Pick 'n Pay was because both supermarkets offer loyalty points for customers, which can then be used to purchase other food at the mall. Other suggestions were for a KFC or Spur restaurant in order for the children to have a safe play area. The participants did not like the current fast food restaurants at the Langa Junction Mini Mall.

The participants stated that the mall had changed, how, when and where they shop. Participants now shop more frequently as the Shoprite is convenient and close when there are emergencies. The participants also shop within Langa; however, the participants still make use of Vangate Mall for larger shop.



Figure 24: Mrs Ngeble and Mr Dingiswayo during Focus Group 3 (Source: Park-Ross, 2016)

5.4.2 Focus Group 2

Two participants weren't able to attend this focus group because they both had to go to a funeral. This means that there were only three participants in this group, with Mrs Tshabane present again as the host.

The focus group began by everyone introducing themselves. The participants were then asked how long they had lived in the area for. All participants had lived in Langa for over 40 years, with Thandi having been born in Langa. These women are also all retired and rely solely on their pensions and other informal sources of income to get them through the month. The participants' household sizes varied between four and six people per house.

These participants mainly bought their food from the Langa Junction Mini Mall Shoprite, but occasionally would go to the Pick 'n Pay and Woolworths at Vangate Mall in Athlone. The participants agreed that the Langa Junction Mini Mall is more convenient than Vangate Mall as they can walk to the Shoprite and do not have to pay for public transport. The cost of taking public transport to Vangate Mall would be R10 without parcels on the way there and R16 with parcels.

Mrs Lengisi: Shoprite is the nearest because I walk to Shoprite. Maybe, three times a day I walk to Shoprite...if I've forgot an onion.

Mrs Mgijima stated that she preferred to purchase all of her bulk dry products for the month from Shoprite, while other products she purchases from Pick 'n Pay for Woolworths

Mrs Mgijima: I buy at Shoprite, especially those heavy ones. The sugar, the mealie meal, samp...the rice. Usually, I used to buy it at USave, but now Shoprite is the nearest to me. Ja, I buy at Shoprite. And if I want to, you know sometimes the food I'm buying are not the same, and Shoprite has not got that top...quality... But Woolworths is expensive sometimes, it's very expensive. But you know, there are things that I like there, to buy. You know the nice things like Woolworths uh chicken, the ready one, ja, and uh, ice cream.

The participants stated that they compare prices between supermarkets to make sure that they get the best value for money. The participants stated that this was easier to do at Vangate Mall where there is more variety, but for everyday emergencies the Langa Junction Mini Mall was far more convenient.

When asked what kind of food was purchased most often, the participants stated that sugar, coffee, milk, bread, rice, butter, mealie meal and meat were purchased most frequently. The participants stated that meat was an important part of their diets as Xhosa people.

Mrs Mgijima: You know we Xhosas we eat a lot of meat. If food without meat, that's not food. Even the children will tell you that! There's no food – because the meat is not there.

The participants felt that the meat prices at the Langa Junction Mini Mall Shoprite were quite competitive but that they prefer to get their chicken, eggs and cheese from the Country Fair wholesale store. The chicken that participants buy is frozen, and is much cheaper than fresh chicken from the Shoprite.

When asked why the participants bought certain foods most often, they stated that it was mainly because of price and value for money. Most of the participants in this focus group do one bulk shop a month. They added that the food that they buy is real food, and that they were raised to make their own food. As a result, this group of participants do not like takeaway fast food.

Mrs X: You said there's a Debonairs here. I didn't see, because I didn't go there.

Mrs Mgijima: And Zebros. I didn't even taste this myself.

Mrs X: Ja, I never go there. And I don't like them I never been there. Because I don't like pizza! I don't like pizza! I don't like these things!... I never go there because I don't like chips. I don't like sweet things and I don't like chips.

Mrs Mgijima: I prefer doing my own chips. And I'll make my own fish if I want it.

Mrs X: Ja, make it yourself.

The participants were then asked if they bought any food from the local informal street traders. The participants stated that they would go to these street traders when they had forgotten to buy something when they were at the supermarket.

Mrs Mgijima: I do. If sometimes you know you need one onion and you don't have any. You cannot go to town now; you cannot go to the Shoprite, it's closed then you just run and go and buy for that one.

The participants stated that their relationship with the informal street traders was not such that they could buy food on credit when they had no money.

The participants of this focus group did not shop at Spaza shops as they found them more expensive than the informal street traders and the supermarkets. The participants added that the Spaza shops are not clean and the food is often stale. These Spaza shops also did not offer credit to the participants.

When asked when the participants do their shopping they stated that they did one bulk shop at the end of the month, and smaller shops on a daily basis. All participants stated that they bought bread on a daily basis. The bulk food is transported via taxi from Vangate Mall or the Langa Junction Mini Mall. One respondent stated that she tells “...the children to help because they’re gonna eat this food” (Mrs Mgijima, Focus Group 2 2016, August 6). In addition to transporting the bulk food purchased, the participants stated that they have enough storage to keep all of this food.

The participants were then asked if they had noticed any changes in the area since the Langa Junction Mini Mall opened. All the participants stated that they have noticed more people going there, because it is closer than Vangate Mall. In terms of crime the participants said they had not noticed any crime around the Langa Junction Mini Mall since it opened. Prior to the Langa Junction Mini Mall opening, the participants stated there was a lot of crime in the area, particularly near the train station. As a result of this crime, the participants stated that they would not have gone to the informal street traders who were in the area prior to the development of the Langa Junction Mini Mall.

Mrs Mgijima: There were a lot of tsotsi’s and we could not go there at night coming from the train... they take your bags, your cellphone and all that.

The participants agreed that the changes they have noticed have been positive.

When asked if there was a time of the month when the participants did not have access to food for any reason, all the participants of this group stated that it was very rare that they would not have food throughout the month. This is because this group does one bulk purchase at the beginning of the month.

Mrs Mgijima: You know, if there is mealie meal, I cannot say there is no food. If there is flour, I cannot say there is no bread. You know what, I do buy bread, but end of the month when I’ve got money I buy 12, or 10kgs flour, because I’m not going to have that money to buy bread, so, I make a baked bread, steam bread or whatever.

In addition to this, the participants stated that if they did not have enough food for the month, they would not be able to ask their neighbours or friends for food.

Mrs Mgijima: You budget for the food. Everybody, you know it's very hard, you cannot just knock next door and say can you give me a coffee, can you please help...

Mrs Lengisi: "I've come to join you for supper!"

Mrs Mgijima: For supper, oh no! Gone are those days. You must keep what you have. If you know that you are going to get your money on the last day of the month, so it must be finished over there.

When asked what percentage of their income goes towards food per month, the participants stated that it is difficult to count but that approximately 75 percent went towards food.

Mrs Tshabane: 75 percent goes to food and then perhaps 25 percent goes on other stuff.

Mrs Lengisi: Most of our money goes this side [for food].

Mrs Mgijima: It's worse because we are pensioners.

The participants stated that they were not aware of the development of the Langa Junction Mini Mall until there was a protest. The protest was due to the developers not employing local people to help build the mall and to work in the mall after it was completed.

Mrs Lengisi: There were people from, not staying here at Langa. So, there was a fight. Our kids were picketing in front of Shoprite.

Mrs Tshabane: Because they took from other people, from other areas, from other townships. Rather than taking from here in Langa.

This issue of locals not being employed is apparently a common issue in Langa. Mrs Tshabane stated that from her experience when she was a teacher, she would not be employed in Khayelitsha because she lives in Langa. The same rules apparently do not apply in Langa as people from all areas are able to work in Langa. According to Mrs Tshabane, people know that Langa is the quietest suburb. As a result, developers and employers take advantage of this aspect of Langa and employ people from outside of Langa.

When asked if the current Langa Junction Mini Mall meets all of their food needs the participants stated that it did not because they still need to go to Vangate Mall and supermarkets other than Shoprite. Despite this, all

participants agreed that the Langa Junction Mini Mall was a necessary development for the area. The new Shoprite allows the participants to purchase bus tickets and electricity more easily.

The participants were then asked which shops they would have put in the mall if they had the choice. All the participants agreed that they would take the FryDays away. Instead the participants would have liked supermarkets such as Spar, Pick 'n Pay, and Woolworths. In relation to this Mrs X stated that there might be a Spar coming to Langa near the taxi rank. Mrs X's son has been involved in designing the building for the proposed Spar.

The participants stressed the need for competition between the supermarkets in the area as currently Shoprite has the monopoly over the area. These participants felt that while the new Langa Junction Mini Mall Shoprite is more convenient, the variety available at Vangate Mall is something they would like in Langa.



Figure 25: Tea Time during Focus Group 3 (Source: Park-Ross, 2016)

5.4.3 Focus Group 3

This focus group consisted of five participants, three of whom were males who were aged between 16- 60. The other two participants were two women between that age of 40 and 65. Mrs Tshabane was present at this session as the host.

To begin, participants were asked to introduce themselves and state how many people lived in their house with them. Most of the participants had lived in Langa for over 30 years, while some have been living in the area for 10 years. In terms of household size, the number of people per household varied between one and twelve.

When asked where the participants do their shopping, they stated that it was done at more than one supermarket. All of the participants stated that they shop at Vangate Mall in Athlone as well as the Langa Junction Mini Mall.

Mr Mabaso: ...we don't usually buy food from, in one place. We change places, maybe Spar, maybe Pick 'n Pay. And if we want to go to Shoprite we will go there to buy our food. If we have no money, like at the end of the month, then we'll go to there [Shoprite]. But it's to [Vangate] mall during the month. We'd go to Shoprite because we don't have money to travel.

Some participants mentioned that they would buy their fresh fruit and vegetables at Shoprite but not their meat as some participants had bought expired meat from Shoprite before. All participants stated that they purchase food from different supermarkets after comparing prices at each supermarket. Most participants went to the Langa Junction Mini Mall Shoprite for emergencies and for convenience. As a result, these participants go to this Shoprite multiple times a week.

Mrs Qagiso: ...it's like a life saver because of the Shoprite. Me personally I'd say I go 2 or 3 times a week for basics.

The products purchased most often by this group are maize, rice, meat, bread, milk and vegetables. The main reason for purchasing this food is due to price and the quality of the product in relation to this price.

Mr Dingiswayo: It's the price, the price matters but the quality as well do matter. But you find out sometimes that the quality that you need to buy, you can't afford. Then that's where you have to supplement the other products because they are cheaper but it's not that

we go for the cheaper stuff, we go for the good quality, but it must be at a reasonable rate.

Participants were then asked if they ever shop at informal street traders. All participants said they shop at informal street traders in emergencies or when the participant has forgotten to buy something, as the informal street traders are sometimes more convenient than the Shoprite.

The participants' responses to when they do their shopping were varied. Some prefer to go in the morning when it is quiet, while others prefer to go at night for the same reason. All participants do their grocery shopping after they have been paid. This is most likely during the first week of the month. One participant who lives alone does not have to wait until pay day as he is able to shop throughout the month. This participant has few dependents meaning he has more disposable income than larger households.

All participants stated that they use a taxi to transport their food whether it is from the Langa Junction Mini Mall or Vangate Mall. The cost for an extra seat for their groceries is R6.50. These shops often consist of large bulk purchases for the month and it is not possible to carry it all home, despite the Langa Junction Mini Mall being conveniently located.

In relation to transporting their food, participants were asked if they had enough storage space at their homes for their monthly shop. Some said that they had enough space while others said the amount of storage space at home affected the amount of food the participants were able to purchase.

Mr Dingiswayo: It depends...there are some of us that lives in wendy houses that are two roomed. So we use one room as a bedroom then we use the other one for...sort of like an open plan kitchen and dining room...when we buy, we buy according to the space that you have and according to the need... If I buy a 10kg of maize meal I know... it's going to last me the whole month, so I have got to make space for it... But if I don't have space for it then I'll buy 5kgs, then it will last me two weeks, then I buy another one and its two weeks again.

Participants were asked to think about what the area where the Langa Junction Mini Mall was developed was like prior to the development. Some participants remembered it being an open space with no activity, while others remembered there being fruit and vegetable, and fresh red meat traders. Most participants did not shop

at these informal street traders regularly, but knew that the traders were there. The participants stated that if they were taking a train, they would occasionally stop at these informal street traders.

Mr Dingiswayo: No, we just knew that it was there. Maybe if you were coming by train.

Mrs Ngeble: Maybe if you are coming from the station you can buy there.

Mr Dingiswayo: If you're on your way home and if you see what you need there, you just buy it on your way home.

The participants had noticed that crime in the area had decreased due to the high level of security at the Langa Junction Mini Mall. The participants all agreed that before the Langa Junction Mini Mall development, the area was unsafe. Due to the lack of lighting in the area, walking home from the station at night was not safe.

In relation to the informal street traders, participants also stated that the Somali owned Spaza shops were too expensive and the food is often stale or expired.

The Langa Junction Mini Mall Shoprite has affected how the participants shop, as well as when they shop. Participants mentioned shopping more frequently due to the convenience of the new Shoprite.

Mr Kakaza: I think for me, since Shoprite [has] been here I don't have to buy bulk food. I mean, it's easy to be there and get what you want. You may have a small money; you don't have to have a big money to get something.

Mrs Qagiso: Exactly. I mean you can go there for a fresh bread and a fresh milk. You know? If you feel like muffins, you can just walk there.

Mr Dingiswayo: There's always a reason to go.

Due to the convenience of the new Shoprite, participants stated that even if they could get the product cheaper at Vangate Mall, they would rather purchase the product at a higher price from the Langa Junction Mini Mall Shoprite.

The participants had all experienced a time of the month when there was no food in their house. This happens at the end of every month for about two or three days.

Mr Mabaso: Before pay day. Those days before pay day, are like hectic you know. No money, no food. So you struggle a little bit but it's a temporary struggling. It's a temporary struggling. Maybe two days, three days.

Participants stated that when they do not have money they do not go shopping. When there is no food in their house, the participants of this group stated that they would borrow food from each other.

Mrs Tshabane: Because we know each other, we can say Rachel, I've run out of rice.

Mrs Qagiso: I want onions.

Mrs Tshabane: And she'll come to me.

Interviewer: So you all support each other?

Mrs Ngeble: Yes.

Mrs Tshabane: We all support each other.

Mrs Qagiso: At the end of the day you've got a meal.

In relation to this, the participants also stated that they form good relationships with the informal street traders so that they can purchase food on credit during times of the month when they do not have money.

Mr Kakaza: And the other thing now, since these developments are coming up they are moving all the informal traders, whereas the people who, of the community, they used to go to the informal traders, and ask on credit, Shoprite doesn't do that.

When asked what proportion of their income goes towards food each month, participants stated that at least 50-60 percent was spent on food.

This group were aware of the development of the Langa Junction Mini Mall, as some participants are members of their street committee. According to Mr Dingiswayo, a street committee member, there is always communication about "every development that's being put...in Langa." (Mr Dingiswayo, Focus Group 3 2016, September 10). Other developments that the participants have been made aware of are a hospital and a Spar which will be developed at the taxi rank. Mr Dingiswayo added that there is a high demand for supermarkets such as Pick 'n Pay and Spar in Langa. This is due to the fact that there is currently only one supermarket in the area, which makes comparing prices difficult for the consumer.

Mr Dingiswayo was also able to provide information about the increase in shipping containers and informal street traders opposite the Langa Junction Mini Mall. These containers were on the plot where the new Spar is going to be built, and were temporarily moved to the field across the road from the Mini Mall Shoprite. The residents in that area are apparently unhappy about it but Mr Dingiswayo stressed that this would be temporary. The participants showed some concern about how the informal traders were being moved around but felt that Spar coming to the neighbourhood would be good for competition. Another store they would want in the area is Fruit and Veg City, and Mr Price or Ackermans. Fruit and Veg City was suggested due to the vegetable and fruit combos the shop offers. Other suggestions included a McDonalds so that children could play in the play area.

Some of the participants of this group felt that the Langa Junction Mini Mall met all of their food needs, while others felt they still preferred to go to other supermarkets.

Mr Dingiswayo: I buy the dry food and the basic stuff I do buy at Shoprite because I know it's fresh and if anything goes wrong I take it back straight. I don't have any problems with that. That's the only stuff but I'll buy maybe the snacks and all that stuff because I know it's cheaper. But meat and fruit and veggies I won't buy there.

Despite this all the participants agreed that the Langa Junction Mini Mall was a necessary development for the area.

A clear concern of this focus group was what happens to expired food when it leaves the local Shoprite. Participants suggested donating this food to old aged homes, crèches and clinics in the area. Following this focus group, Mr Dingiswayo requested the findings from all three focus groups be sent to him in order to assist with the development of the new Spar. These findings were emailed to the participants to assist with the new development of the Spar.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings from the various research techniques conducted in this dissertation. The findings show that the expansion of the Langa Junction Mini Mall has significantly affected the informal street traders surrounding the Mini Mall. The findings from focus groups suggest that the consumption strategies of the residents are diverse. The current monopoly of Shoprite in the area has resulted in a lack of retail variety. The focus group findings suggest that while the new Langa Shoprite is convenient, it does not meet all of their food needs. In addition to this, residents stated that they were unable to access food

throughout the month, particularly towards pay day. In Chapter 6, the food security status of these residents will be further analysed. During the focus groups, it became clear that there are plans for the development of a Spar in Langa. This development could contribute to a further loss of informal street trade in Langa.

Based on the interviews with the CoCT Spatial and Land Use Planners, it is clear that the systemic issue of urban food insecurity, and the relationship between urban food insecurity and supermarket expansion, are currently not on the City's agenda.

The following chapter, Chapter 6, will analyse these findings in relation to the themes identified in Chapter 3's literature review, such as the informal economy, access, storage, the relationship between supermarket expansion and urban food insecurity, as well as the role spatial and land use planners play in the urban food system.



Figure 26: Participants of Focus Group 3 and the researcher. (Source: Park-Ross, 2016)

Chapter 6: Analysis

6.1 Introduction

The following chapter will analyse the findings presented in Chapter 5, through the themes identified within Chapter 3's Literature Review. These themes include access to food in low income areas, the role of the informal economy in the urban poor's access to food security, as well as the impact of supermarket expansion on the urban poor's food security and consumption patterns. These themes will be analysed within the context of the case study area: Langa. In addition to this, the role that spatial and land use planning played, and could play in future developments such as the Langa Junction Mini Mall will be assessed.

The relevance of Chapter 5's findings to the overall research questions will be made clear through the analysis and discussion within this chapter. Following this chapter, Chapter 7 will provide recommendations for spatial and land use planning policy and practice.

6.2 Food Security within a sample of Langa Residents

The following section will analyse the findings from the three focus groups conducted with Langa residents. This will be done through the assessment of the findings in relation to the existing urban food security literature. Certain themes of access, the informal economy, social networks and social capital, consumption strategies, health and nutrition as well as storage will be used to analyse the focus group findings.

6.2.1 Langa Participants' Food Security Status

"So you struggle a little bit but it's a temporary struggling. It's a temporary struggling."

Mr Mabaso (Focus Group 3 2016, September 10)

Based on the findings from the three focus groups, it can be said that the Langa participants who were interviewed are currently food insecure. The FAO's (1996) definition of food security highlights four aspects of food security namely (1) supply of food, (2) physical and economic access to food, (3) utilisation of food and (4) the stability of all of these aspects (FAO, 2008). In addition to these four aspects, the type and duration of food insecurity is either considered to be chronic (a sustained lack of access to food) or transitory (a temporary lack of access to food) (FAO, 2008). The type of food insecurity experienced by the Langa focus group participants is one which is both transitory and chronic. This is due to the participants stating that they only experienced a

lack of access to food for a few days every month before pay day, yet this occurred consistently each month. In this sense, the Langa focus group participants' type of food insecurity falls on the spectrum of chronic and temporary, according to the FAO's (1996) definition of the type and duration of food insecurity. Food insecurity for these participants is not as simple as being either chronic or transitory. In many ways, the Langa participants' food insecurity status is economically seasonal, as it occurs on a monthly basis before payday (Sen, 1981; FAO, 2008). As stated by Mr Mabaso during focus group 3 "Those days before pay day, are like hectic you know. No money, no food. So you struggle a little bit...it's a temporary struggling" (Mr Mabaso, Focus Group 3 2016, September 10).

Seasonal food insecurity can occur as a result of environmental or economic seasons as argued by Sen (1981), as well as Battersby (2011; 2012). Battersby (2011), states that food security has various peaks and troughs. For these participants the peaks are on payday and for a week after that date, while the troughs are noticeably towards the end of the month on the days leading up to the next month's pay day. Furthermore, these findings are supported by Sen's (1981) entitlement theory and food insecurity as a lack of equal distribution of food. Through this argument Sen (1981) illustrates how food insecurity is embedded within the socio-economic and political context of a society. In this case, the Langa participants' food insecurity status is embedded within the economic system and their monthly salaries. The money received each month included government pensions for retired participants and monthly sources of income of other working participants. This seasonal food insecurity becomes a cyclical process for the Langa participants as each month there is an insufficient amount of money to sustain the household's food secure status. Participants stated that they budget throughout the month; however, with up to 75 percent of the participants' monthly income going towards food, there is still a time of the month when there is not enough money to purchase food for the household (Focus Group Findings, 2016). Coupled with this, due to the low income status of Langa, it can be assumed that this monthly income is not a sufficient amount of income in order to sustain food security. As stated by Mrs Mgijima, "It's worse because we are pensioners," (Mrs Mgijima, Focus Group 2 2016, August 6). In this context, there are clear economic barriers to accessing food security for the Langa participants which are a result of various systemic disparities and failures.

6.2.2. The Role of the Informal Economy in access to food security

“When you haven’t got money you can also go and say ‘Sisi [sister], I need something I will pay you tomorrow’.”

Mrs Tshabane (Focus Group 1 2016, July 30).

During times of the month when money is scarce the participants stated that they “make means” (Mrs Simelela, Focus Group 1 2016, July 30) in order to access food for the rest of the month. In two out of the three focus groups, participants stated that during food insecure times of the month, they were able to purchase food from the informal street traders on credit. This pattern has been noticed in other food security literature where participants were able to purchase food on credit from Spaza shops and informal fruit and vegetable street traders (Battersby, 2011; Battersby et al, 2014; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). In addition to this, participants stated that while the informal street traders might be more expensive per unit, their food was always fresher in comparison to the Shoprite at the Langa Junction Mini Mall. This shows that while credit at the end of the month is one reason the urban poor shop at informal street traders, their quality of the produce is also a factor.

Similarly, to previous studies (see Battersby et al, 2014; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015), during interviews with informal street traders surrounding the Langa Junction Mini Mall, it was found that the mall has significantly reduced the amount of customers who used to shop at informal fruit and vegetable street traders. Should this trend continue, people such as the Langa participants, will have limited access to food security during times of the month when money and subsequently food are scarce. This is due to the fact that the informal economy is currently more capable of meeting the food requirements of the urban poor (Battersby, 2012; Crush & Frayne, 2011; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). The relationships between the participants and the informal street traders have been formed over time. This forms a specific kind of social network and social capital which is used in order to access food on credit. Those who do not have this relationship with the informal street traders are not able to purchase food on credit. In Focus Group 2 the participants stated that they would not be able to purchase food on credit at informal street traders as they did not have the same relationship with these traders that other participants have. This relationship between the participants and the informal street traders further highlights the need for the inclusion of the informal sector within urban food system analysis, as well as practice.

6.2.3 Social Networks as Safety Nets

“At the end of the day you’ve got a meal”

Mrs Qagiso (Focus Group 3 2016, September 10)

In addition to the credit offered by the informal street traders, focus group participants stated that they were able to borrow food from one another. Mrs Tshabane stated that “because we know each other...we all support each other” (Mrs Tshabane, Focus Group 3 2016, September 10). While this was true for participants of Focus Group 1 and 3, participants from Focus Group 2 stated that due to the scarcity of money and food in their households, they were not able to share their food with neighbours. During focus group 2 Mrs Mgijima stated “you know it’s very hard, you cannot just knock next door and say can you give me a coffee, can you please help...gone are those days! You must keep what you have” (Mrs Mgijima, Focus Group 2 2016, August 6). This perhaps indicates the varying degrees of urban food insecurity which these participants currently face. While there are social networks in place which form a type of safety net to a certain degree, there are still some households who cannot participate in these safety nets and therefore cannot benefit from them either. This suggests that in certain contexts, such as the Langa participants’ there are social barriers to accessing food security through these social networks.

The finding of social networks which assist in the creation of social safety nets is upheld by previous studies conducted by Battersby (2011). In a study conducted by AFSUN on the state of urban food insecurity in Cape Town, it was found that social networks were one of three ways in which the urban poor access food (Battersby, 2011). While the Langa participants did not speak of formal safety nets such as feeding schemes, or food kitchens as sources of food, the presence of social networks was an additional way in which the participants were able to access food during times of the month when money was limited. In addition to Battersby’s (2011) findings, Crush and Frayne (2011) found that the sharing of food between neighbours, and this form of social capital was more common in Cape Town than in the other cities that were surveyed. These studies support the findings of the existing social networks amongst the Langa participants who use this network as a safety net in order to access food during times of the month when there is little money and ultimately food available to the household.

6.2.4 Consumption Strategies of the Focus Group Participants

“There’s no competition they [Shoprite] know that we will wait and we did! We waited for them [Shoprite] until it was open and I said, wow. Iselokshin’ [It’s in the township]”

Mrs Sotshononda (Focus Group 1 2016, July 30)

The consumption strategies of the Langa focus group participants are diverse, as food is sourced from both the formal and informal sectors, and at multiple different sites within these sectors. During focus group 3 Mr Mabaso stated “...we don’t usually buy food from, in one place. We change places, maybe Spar, maybe Pick ‘n Pay,” (Mr Mabaso, Focus Group 3 2016, September 10). Prior to the development of the Langa Junction Mini Mall, all participants stated that they did all their grocery shopping at Vangate Mall in Athlone where there is a variety of supermarkets. All participants shopped at various different supermarket chains in order to find the supermarket that would offer them the best specials, and the best value for money. The participants stated a need for an increase in competition in Langa, which can be interpreted as a need for variety. Furthermore, an increase in competition can result in a decrease in prices. The current monopoly which Shoprite has within Langa has resulted in little diversity for consumers. In addition to this a participant stated that “if there was another supermarket, I will move to the other,” (Mrs Sotshononda, Focus Group 1 2016, July 30).

An increase in competition is no doubt necessary in the area; however, these supermarkets should address the needs of their consumers. In support of an increase in competition, the Langa focus group participants stated that the current Langa Junction Mini Mall does not meet all of the participants’ food needs. A variety of formal and informal retail is needed in order to meet the food needs of the urban poor. This need for a variety of store types and retailer as a way of increasing access to healthy, nutritious food is supported by findings presented in a study conducted in an inner city African American neighbourhood in Chicago (Block & Kouba, 2005). Furthermore, Battersby and colleagues (2014) found that the current supermarket model does not sufficiently meet the food requirements of the urban poor. This is due to a number of reasons, namely that the supermarket model does not understand the urban poor’s food requirements (Battersby et al, 2014). These requirements include the opening hours of the supermarkets which do not respond to the working hours of the urban poor; the lack of credit offered by the supermarkets; as well as the quantities in which produce is sold (Battersby et al, 2014; Crush & Frayne, 2011). The packing and weighing of products conducted by formal supermarkets was seen to be more expensive by the participants, than selecting loose fruit and vegetables from an informal street trader. A comparison between apples and oranges sold at the informal street traders and the Langa Junction Mini Mall Shoprite, found that per kilogram Shoprite charged R7.99 for oranges and R2.99 for apples. The informal street trader outside sold both oranges and apples for R2.50 each. While it appears that the oranges

and apples may be cheaper per kilogram from Shoprite, the benefit of being able to pay R2.50 for an apple or an orange from the informal street traders, means that the price does not change depending on the weight. Therefore, it could be possible to purchase over a kilogram of oranges for less than R7.99. Due to the fact that the informal street traders do not weigh their produce, an orange will cost R2.50 no matter its size. Mrs Lekoma stated "...they [informal street traders] don't put it on a scale. You can just say I want this one, alright R5, R4. But there at Shoprite you put on the scale, the price goes up" (Mrs Lekoma, Focus Group 1 2016, July 30). A variety of formal and informal retail options is most appropriate in order to meet the food needs of the poor in low income neighbourhoods such as Langa. This trend is supported by the findings of this research.

The Langa participants stated that credit or loyalty points were desirable features of supermarkets such as Pick 'n Pay and Spar. These points are a minimal return on what the consumer is paying for their produce; however, they are useful for the urban poor as they could be redeemed at the end of the month in order to purchase food.

It is clear that the Langa Junction Mini Mall has had an effect on the Langa focus group participants' food purchasing strategies. Many participants stated that they would walk to the Shoprite at the Langa Junction Mini Mall multiple times a week. Previously, shopping was done less frequently as the nearest shopping mall was outside of the neighbourhood, in Athlone. The participants stated that in order to get to Vangate Mall they would have to use costly public transport. The cost of public transport for the urban poor has been recognised by Battersby and McLachlan (2013), as an additional barrier to accessing food. Participants would previously spend up to R40 on transport for one grocery shopping trip. This cost of public transport for the urban poor is high relative to the urban poor's monthly income. The distance the urban poor need to travel in order to purchase food from shopping malls is a direct result of the spatial disparities within Cape Town (Battersby & McLachlan, 2013; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). The increase in frequency of shopping trips to the Langa Junction Mini Mall has no doubt affected how much money is spent on food. Purchasing products in smaller quantities more frequently can quickly become costly (Battersby, 2011). As one focus group participant stated due to the new Langa Junction Mini Mall and Shoprite "there is always a reason to buy something" (Mr Dingiswayo, Focus Group 3, 2016, August 6). However, due to the location of the Shoprite, participants are able to walk as opposed to taking public transport. This was supported by Mrs Qagiso who said "if you feel like muffins, you can just walk there," (Mrs Qagiso, Focus Group 3 2016, August 6) and Mr Mabaso who added "if we have no money, like at the end of the month, then we'll go to there [Shoprite]...we'd go to Shoprite because we don't have money to travel," (Mr Mabaso, Focus Group 3 2016, September 10). The money saved on public transport could be spent on more frequent trips to the Langa Junction Mini Mall which could balance out the cost of the extra trips. It was expected that the development of the Langa Junction Mini Mall would increase

the convenience of, not access to, purchasing certain food; however, it was not expected that the Langa Junction Mini Mall would increase the frequency of trips to the supermarket.

Other noticeable findings from the focus groups were that, despite the participants regularly going to the Langa Junction Mini Mall, monthly grocery shopping still took place at Vangate Mall in Athlone. This was due to the range of foods available at Vangate Mall which allows the participants to compare prices more conveniently. The Shoprite at the Langa Junction Mini Mall was predominantly used for emergencies by participants when they had run out of a certain ingredient. For example, Mrs Lengisi stated “Shoprite is the nearest because I walk to Shoprite. Maybe, three times a day I walk to Shoprite...if I’ve forgot an onion,” (Mrs Lengisi, Focus Group 1 2016, July 30). This particular use of the Langa Junction Mini Mall could be due to the Mini Mall having only been open for two years, or because of the convenience of the Mini Mall. Mrs Qagiso, who visits the Langa Junction Mall “two or three times a week for basics”, stated “...it’s like a life saver because of the Shoprite,” (Mrs Qagiso, Focus Group 3 2016, September 10). More frequent trips, and purchasing products in smaller quantities can indeed result in the consumer spending more money. As has been stated previously, the loose vegetables sold by informal street traders are considered by the participants to be cheaper than the loose vegetables stocked at the Shoprite.

Through the focus groups it became clear that the Langa Junction Mini Mall has affected when the participants shop – more frequently; where they shop – within Langa; as well as how they shop – in smaller quantities more frequently.

6.2.5 Health and nutrition

“...I never go there...I don’t like pizza!... I don’t like these things...I don’t like chips. I don’t like sweet things and I don’t like chips.”

Mrs X (Focus Group 2 2016, August 6)

The relationship between nutrition and food insecurity is one which has been studied from a public health perspective (Block & Kouba, 2005; Cummins & Macintyre, 2002; Stuckler & Nestle, 2012). This is due to the growing seemingly paradoxical relationship between food insecurity, malnutrition and obesity (Cummins & Macintyre, 2002; Stuckler & Nestle, 2012). The participants from the three focus groups stated that health was not a factor which they took into consideration when purchasing food. Rather, the price and quality of the product are the main selection criteria for the participants of the focus groups. Mr Dingiswayo explained that “it’s not that we go for the cheaper stuff, we go for the good quality, but it must be at a reasonable rate.” (Mr

Dingiswayo, Focus Group 3 2016, September 10). In addition to this there was little support shown by the participants for fast food restaurants. The participants stated that they prefer to prepare their food themselves rather than purchase fast food takeaways. One explanation for this finding could be the age group of the participants, as many focus group participants were pensioners. The disinterest in fast food restaurants is supported by the observations at the Langa Junction Mini Mall where fast food restaurants were almost always empty. Time of day could have been a factor affecting these observations; however, observations took place both during lunchtime in the week and over weekends.

A lack of dietary diversity is also seen a contributing factor to the increase in malnutrition and obesity amongst food insecure people (Battersby & McLachlan, 2013). The participants from the focus group stated that the most commonly bought food items were fruit, vegetables, sugar, milk, bread, flour, mealie meal and cereal. The majority of these products are highly processed and consist of so called empty calories (Battersby & McLachlan, 2013). However, due to the low cost and larger quantities of these products, they are purchased by the urban poor as argued by Stuckler and Nestle (2012), and as affirmed by the findings from the focus groups.

The assessment of the health status of the participants was outside of the scope of this research; therefore, the effects of the Langa Junction Mini Mall on the participant's access to healthy, nutrient rich food was investigated. Previous understandings of supermarket expansion have been that by developing supermarkets in areas vulnerable to food insecurity, access to healthy, nutritious food will increase (Block & Kouba, 2005; Battersby, 2012; Cummins & Macintyre, 2002). However, this is not the case as the urban poor do not have financial access to this newly available food. Similarly, despite the Shoprite within the Langa Junction Mini Mall containing a wide variety of fresh fruit and vegetables, the participants lack financial access to this food at times. This is partly due to the fact that fresh food expires faster than the highly processed alternatives such as sugar, cereal and mealie meal. This affirms the systemic nature of urban food security and the corresponding relationships between health and malnutrition. Despite this, the onus of increasing the nutrition and overall health of those who are food insecure should not be placed on the individual. The systemic nature of the urban food insecurity results in urban poor's obligation to purchase the most cost effective, empty calorie foods in order to provide enough food for the household. Therefore, despite the increase in supermarket retailers in the Langa area, in order to increase access to nutrient rich foods, the systemic nature of urban food insecurity and its manifestations in Langa need to be addressed.

6.2.6 Storage

“...when we buy, we buy according to the space that you have and according to the need”

Mr Dingiswayo (Focus Group 3 2016, September 10)

An additional aspect which affects the way in which the urban poor are able to purchase and utilise food, is the amount of storage available within the house. The participants of the focus group confirmed previous findings by Battersby (2011) that a lack of storage capacity within houses in low income areas results in food being purchased more frequently and in smaller amounts. As stated by participants, food is only purchased based on how much space there is to store the food within their house. This process is ultimately costlier for the urban poor, and increases the likelihood of a lack of money towards the end of the month (Battersby, 2011; Crush & Frayne, 2011). This contributes to the cyclical and seasonal food insecurity experienced by all focus group participants. In relation to this, while participants stated that they had sufficient fridge and freezer space to store fresh produce, the majority of food purchased by participants were dry non-perishables. This is due to the longer shelf life of the non-perishable products as opposed to the shorter shelf life of the fresh products. As one participant stated “if there is flour in the house I cannot say there is no food” (Mrs Mgijima, Focus Group 2, 2016, August 6) meaning that these non-perishables are able to be used during times of the month when there is less money to purchase fresh produce. A lack of storage space and facilities contribute to the relationship between urban food insecurity and increasing malnutrition and obesity as the urban poor have little choice but to purchase food which will not perish, resulting in processed foods being purchased most often. This costly process is yet another way in which the systemic nature of urban food insecurity can be seen, and how those most vulnerable are the most effected.

6.3 Food Desertification in Langa

Based on the observations and interviews conducted at the Langa Junction Mini Mall, it is clear that the mall has had a wide range of effects on the area, as well as on the residents. Through the information provided during the three focus groups it was also made clear that there are plans for the future development of malls within Langa. Previous research has shown that over time informal street traders locate outside supermarkets in order to sell customers items they may have forgotten to purchase inside the supermarket (Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). Coupled with this trend is the loss of business informal street traders may experience as a result of supermarket expansion (Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). Despite only being in its second year of operation, the Langa Junction Mini Mall has shown similar trends to previous studies. Informal street traders outside the Langa Junction Mini Mall have stated that the mall has resulted in a significant decrease in

customers. In addition to this, the land on which the Langa Junction Mini Mall was developed, originally hosted numerous informal street traders. Similarly, land on which the planned development of an additional mall is located, is currently utilised by a large number of informal street traders.

The assumption by the Langa Junction Mall manager, Mr Sandler, that the development of a supermarket in a low income area could “logically” (Mr Sandler, Interview 2016 September 7) only increase the residents’ access to food highlights the lack of understanding of the relationship between urban food insecurity and supermarket expansion. Mr Sandler is not alone in his ignorance of this relationship, as the literature has shown that supermarket development in low income areas in the cities of the global north aimed to increase access to food (Block & Kouba, 2005; Cummins & Macintyre, 2002 Walker, Keane & Burke, 2010; Zenk et al, 2005). This assumption has since been disproven as supermarket expansion in low income areas in fact limits the urban poor’s financial access to food (Battersby, 2012; Battersby & Crush, 2014). Battersby (2012) has argued that the effects of the food desert have not been as prominent in global south cities due to the role played by the informal economy in the food system and consumption strategies of the urban poor. This role is not included in the wider food desert literature or definitions (Battersby, 2012). The findings from this dissertation’s research support the fact that the informal economy plays a significant role in the urban poor’s access to affordable food as the informal economy responds more appropriately to the needs of the urban poor. Despite this, additional findings show that future development of supermarkets in the Langa area will contribute to the creation of a food desert in the area. This is occurring due to informal traders being unable to compete with formal supermarkets, as well as supermarkets developing in areas where informal trader was taking place.

The role of the informal economy in assisting the urban poor to access food during times of the month when there is a scarcity of money in the household, has been identified through various studies (e.g. Battersby, 2011; Battersby et al, 2014; Peyton, Moseley & Battersby, 2015). In terms of food desert literature, it has been found that a main reason why South Africa and other countries of the global south have not experienced the food desertification of areas, as much as their global north counter parts, is due to the role played by the informal economy (Battersby, 2012; Battersby & Crush, 2014). The informal economy plays a vital role in assisting the urban poor to survive during financially tough times of the month. The current Langa Junction Mini Mall as well as the plan for the development of an additional supermarket, are not only contributing to supermarket expansion in the area. By locating these malls and supermarkets where informal trade is currently taking place, the expansion of these supermarkets is also contributing to the reduction of the existing informal street trade in Langa. Given the important role that these informal street traders play in assisting the urban poor in access food, the reduction of this industry can be seen as a threat to the Langa urban poor’s overall food security, and access to food security. Overall, this process can be seen as the beginnings of the food desertification of Langa.

According to Battersby and Crush (2014), food deserts within African cities do not yet exist. This is due to the informal economy playing a significant role in preventing the food desertification of urban areas in cities of the global south, by responding to the food needs of the urban poor. As a result, there is a dearth of literature pertaining to urban food deserts within African cities. However, when informal traders are displaced due to developments such as supermarkets, these food deserts can begin to emerge. From this research it is clear that through the planned development in Langa, such a food desert is emerging as a result of supermarket expansion. Therefore, it is necessary that the role of the informal economy in the urban poor's access to food be acknowledged. The effects of the increase in supermarket expansion in Langa has already been noticed by participants with one participant stating that, "since these developments are coming up they are moving all the informal traders...the community, they used to go to the informal traders and ask on credit. Shoprite doesn't do that," (Mr Kakaza, Focus Group 3 2016, September 10).

6.4 Relevance of Findings for Spatial and Land Use Planning in the City of Cape Town

The findings from the interviews with the CoCT land use and spatial planners, support the trend identified in the literature that there remains a lack of understanding of urban food insecurity as a systemic issue rather than an issue due to a lack of supply of food. As argued by Maxwell (1999), the issue of urban food insecurity remains invisible due to other more 'obvious' issues such as poverty, unemployment and poor service delivery. For these reasons it has been argued that urban food insecurity has remained off the urban planning and policy agenda for many decades (Crush & Frayne, 2010; Maxwell, 1999; Morgan, 2009). Another reason for the invisibility of the urban food insecurity issue is due to the food system being "too big to see" (Steele, 2008: ix). In the case of the CoCT land use and spatial planners, the main reason for the invisibility of the urban food insecurity issue is due to a lack of knowledge about the problem.

While there is a lack of knowledge about the issue of urban food insecurity as a systemic issue, there is an understanding of urban agriculture amongst the city planners who were interviewed. The literature suggests that urban food insecurity is missing from the urban planning and policy agenda due to the traditional conceptions of food security as predominantly a rural issue, which occurs due to a lack of supply of food (Battersby, 2012; Crush & Frayne, 2010; Crush & Frayne, 2011; Maxwell, 1999). The findings from the interviews with the CoCT land use and spatial planners confirmed this. During these interviews this research topic was misunderstood as being about urban agriculture as a way to reduce urban food insecurity. Despite further explanation about this dissertation's research topic, there was still little understanding by the land use and spatial planners as to what the relationship between supermarkets and urban food insecurity could be. This showed that while there is a conceptual understanding of food insecurity as an urban issue, the systemic nature

of the issue is not yet common discourse amongst the CoCT land use and spatial planners who were interviewed. Therefore, the current response to supermarket expansion and urban food insecurity from a spatial and land use planning perspective is non-existent. The literature has made it clear that urban agriculture is not the panacea for urban food insecurity; however, this is not clear to those who facilitate spatial planning and land use within the CoCT. As a result, the responses to urban food insecurity, through urban agriculture are inefficient in addressing urban food insecurity as an inherently systemic issue (Battersby, 2012; Frayne, McCordic & Shilomboleni, 2014).

This lack of understanding of urban food insecurity does not imply that there is a lack of concern about the issue. During an interview with the Southern District Land Use Planner, there was clear concern as to how the urban poor are able to survive in the current socio-economic conditions of the city. This concern from spatial and land use planners should be channelled into addressing urban food security as a fundamentally systemic issue, embedded in the socio-economic and spatial context of the City.

It has already been established through the literature that there is a relationship between supermarket expansion, and a lack of access to food by the urban poor (Crush & Frayne, 2011; Peyton, Mosely & Battersby, 2015). Land use and spatial planners play a role in guiding and influencing where future development takes place in a city. However, based on the interviews with the CoCT land use and spatial planners, it appeared that developers are the ones driving and dictating where development takes place. While planners are equipped to prevent this process from happening, the land use and spatial planners who were interviewed implied that there was little to be done to regulate the influence of developers within the City. This is in part due to the CoCT's current perception of "all development as good development" (Southern District Land Use Planner, Interview 2016, August 2), as well as the current neoliberal policy climate within the City. As a result, development is promoted over strategic spatial planning principles. Furthermore, this means that the increase in supermarket expansion is unlikely to decline. Based on the impact supermarket expansion in low income areas has on the urban poor's access to food, this process can be seen as a factor significantly limiting the urban poor's access to food and subsequently access to food security.

6.5 Conclusion

Based on the analysis of these research findings, it is clear that the Langa Junction Mini has had an effect on the participant's access to food security. Through the focus groups it was clear that the participants currently experience an economically seasonal form of food insecurity. The trends identified from participants during focus groups were supported by findings from previous studies on urban food insecurity. Additional findings which were upheld within this study were the role of the informal economy in the urban poor's access to food

security; the urban poor's consumption strategies; the effect of storage capacity within households in low income areas; and the relationship between health and urban food insecurity. An unexpected finding was that there was not as much support for fast food restaurants by participants as was expected. A further significant finding which was upheld by this study was the effect that supermarket expansion has on the informal economy. In relation to this the threat of future supermarket development in the Langa area of the informal economy could result in the food desertification of the area. In terms of spatial and land use planning, there is a clear need for the increase in understanding and education of urban food insecurity as a systemic issue. While the spatial and land use planners showed concern for the issue of urban food insecurity, the lack of understanding of the issue as inherently systemic has resulted in ineffective interventions. It is clear that urban agriculture is not the panacea for urban food insecurity (Battersby, 2011; Battersby, 2012; Frayne, McCordic & Shilomboleni, 2014). Therefore, while there is the potential for urban food insecurity to be addressed through spatial and land use planning, this must be done through a multi stakeholder approach, through appropriate planning policy and practice.

Based on the analysis of the findings presented in this chapter, the following chapter, Chapter 7, will provide policy and other recommendations for interventions into the issue of urban food insecurity and supermarket expansion. These recommendations will be based on the findings of a single case, and cannot be used to generalise the effects of supermarket expansion on urban food insecurity throughout the CoCT. Rather, these recommendations will be based on the lessons learnt through this research which can be used to improve future cases of a similar nature.

Chapter 7: Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

Based on the analysis and findings of this research, this chapter will provide recommendations for the creation of a Municipal Urban Food Security Policy in Cape Town. Before developing this policy, it is recommended that certain related projects and programmes be created. These include an Urban Food Security Charter, an Urban Food Policy Council, an Urban Food Security Strategy and an Urban Food Security Awareness and Education Campaign. These projects and programmes will create a foundation from which to base the Municipal Urban Food Security Policy. Following these policy recommendations, this chapter identifies the significance of these research findings for land use and spatial planning and practice in the CoCT.

7.2 Towards a Municipal Urban Food Security Policy

The following section will propose recommendations towards the creation of a Municipal Urban Food Security Policy for the City of Cape Town. These suggestions will be informed by the results of this dissertation's research findings, as well as precedent from cities in both the northern hemisphere and the global south. The recommendations made within this section of the chapter are aimed at providing a suitable foundation upon which a municipal food security policy can begin to be developed.

7.2.1 Urban Food Security Policy Precedent

Recently, there has been a clear increase in interest in urban food security planning and governance. This increase in interest has been particularly noticeable in North America, Europe and Australia (Morgan, 2009). In October 2015, 103 cities signed the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact, which commits the mayors of these cities to developing "sustainable food systems to grant healthy and accessible food to all" (Milan Urban Food Policy Pact, 2015). Cities such as Toronto, London, Amsterdam, Turin and Melbourne are leading the way for urban food security policies. Toronto in particular can be seen as the pioneering urban food security city (Morgan, 2009). The dominant model in these cities is one of a multi-stakeholder Food Policy Council (Battersby, n.d.). These councils are varied in their formation and include both government, civil society and private stakeholders from diverse food related areas (Kent, 2010; Battersby, n.d.). In many ways, these councils act as advisory bodies on issues relating to food systems in cities (Kent, 2010; Haysom, 2015). The strengths of these food policy councils is that they are able to bring multiple stakeholders from various spheres of the food system together in order to work towards generating solutions to issues within their city's urban food system (Battersby, n.d.). Due to these food policy councils not being housed in government, they are able to work outside of the rigid

departmental functions, and promote a multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary approach to finding solutions for the urban food system. However, due to the fact that these Food Policy Councils are not part of the government structure, it is difficult to align the Food Policy Council objectives and the city's strategic objectives (Battersby, n.d.). Furthermore, in cities such as Cape Town where there is little awareness of the urban food system, as well as various socio-economic barriers, creating a representative and informed Food Policy Council appears to be a challenge (Battersby, n.d.).

In the global south, the case of Belo Horizonte in Brazil, has been highly successful (Morgan, 2009; FoodPolicy.org, 2009). This is largely due to the low cost of the programme, as well as the role played by the city in building effective partnerships with stakeholders (Battersby, n.d.). A key strength of this city's approach has been the direct involvement of city's government (Battersby, n.d.; FoodPolicy.org, 2009). The three main interventions undertaken in Belo Horizonte were to assist households and individuals at risk by supplementing their food consumption needs; to increase food outlets in areas of the city which were previously neglected by formal food retailers; and to increase food production and supply (Rocha & Lessa, 2009; Battersby, n.d.). These policy interventions were supported by various legislation which allowed for the interventions to be enforced (FoodPolicy.org, 2009). Similar models to Belo Horizonte's are taking place in other South American cities such as Bogota, in Colombia (Rocha & Lessa, 2009). The strengths of these approaches are that they are enforced and supported by the government, and can operate multiple, interrelated programmes and projects within a clear agenda (Battersby, n.d.). However, similarly to the Food Policy Councils, the weakness of this model lies within its strengths. Without a clear political mandate and objective, the South American policy interventions could not be successful. Furthermore, due to this government led approach, there is little scope within this model for an inclusive, multi-stakeholder approach.

Based on the two approaches, it is clear that there is a need for a combination of the two, in order to create a multi-sectoral Food Policy Council, which is supported through legislation and clear policy objectives. Similar initiatives, which are not located within the formal departments of government, such as the Cape Town Partnership, have already been initiated within the City. The Cape Town Partnership was initially started by the CoCT, the South African Property Owners Association, and the Cape Town Regional Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The Cape Town Partnership aims to promote the safety, transformation and within the Cape Town City centre (Cape Town Partnership, n.d.). This partnership has successfully worked in collaboration with the CoCT on a number of projects relating to the economic and spatial improvement of the Cape Town city centre. The Cape Town Partnership is currently working on the need to create a more socio-economically equitable city centre, through people-based place making and grassroots policy development (Cape Town Partnership, n.d.). While not located within the formal government departments, the Cape Town Partnership has proved to be

able to promote policy reform and transformation within the city. The success of the Cape Town Partnership and the collaboration with the CoCT, show that a similar partnership such as the Urban Food Security Policy Council, is possible in the CoCT.

7.2.2 Urban Food Policy Council

Based on the research findings of this dissertation, and precedent from other cities, the first proposal made towards the creation of a Municipal Urban Food Security Policy, is an Urban Food Policy Council. Through this Urban Food Policy Council, various projects and policies can be developed in order to intervene in the CoCT's urban food system. These projects would aim to create sustainable, healthy, and safe access to the food needs of all people living in Cape Town, with specific emphasis of the needs of the urban poor, and those most vulnerable to urban food insecurity. The recommended projects and programmes respond to the scope of this research. The proposed primary projects which could be initiated by this Food Policy Council would be:

- The development of a Food Charter
- Working towards an Urban Food Security Strategy
- A city wide Urban Food Security awareness and education campaign, with specific programmes for government officials, schools, tertiary institutions and Cape Town residents.

While the Urban Food Policy Council would not be located in any specific department, the strength of the Council would lie in its multi-sectoral approach. The issue of urban food insecurity cannot be solved through one department's mandate. Urban food insecurity is systemically pervasive, resulting in the need for a multi-sectoral and multi-departmental policy approach. Furthermore, due to the constitutional right to the access to food security for all South Africans, there is legislative support for interventions which enable access to this right, as has been recommended by other urban food security author's such as Battersby (n.d.; 2012). This legislative support proved useful in the example of Belo Horizonte's and Bogota's policy interventions. Therefore, there is significant potential for political support for these urban food security campaigns, policies and interventions. As a result, this Urban Food Policy Council would make use of the strengths from the precedent of both the north and south American urban food security policy models by being located within the Municipality but drawing on stakeholders from outside of government. Furthermore, through the creation of a Municipal Urban Food Security Policy, the CoCT has the potential to become the pioneer for urban food security in South Africa.

7.2.2.1 Recommended Urban Food Policy Council Members

Due to the multi-sectoral and cross departmental design of the proposed Urban Food Policy Council, there will be a wide range of members who will work within this council. Due to the scope of this research, these recommendations include only the relevant actors at a municipal level. The following list provides an overview of the proposed departmental members of the Urban Food Policy Council. Each member has been selected as they form part of the urban food system in various different ways. The proposed makeup of the Food Policy Council would consist of the following actors and stakeholders:

City of Cape Town Departments:

- Spatial Planning and Urban Design (SPUD)
- Land Use Planning and Management
- Health
- Social Development and Early Childhood Development
- Integrated Development Plan & Organisation Performance Management Representatives from the Mayoral Committee

Local Industry:

- Philippi Horticultural Area (PHA)
- South African Informal Traders Alliance
- StreetNet International (streetnet.org.za)
- Representatives from each major supermarket chain e.g. Shoprite, Pick 'n Pay, Spar, Woolworths, and Fruit and Veg City.

Civil Society:

- Public Health NGOs e.g. Impilo Phambili Public Health
- Cape Town Partnership
- African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN)
- Local academic with expertise in this area.



Figure 27: Urban Food Security Policy Council Stakeholders (Author's Own)

7.2.3 Urban Food Security Charter

The development of an Urban Food Charter is a key aspect to the creation of a Municipal Urban Food Security policy. Similar charters have been developed by various cities, with the City of Toronto's Food Charter being seen as a useful precedent (Battersby, n.d.). Within the City of Toronto's Food Charter, the values of the city and the city's conceptualisation of the urban food system are made clear. For example, the City of Toronto's Food Charter includes the acknowledgment of "the right of all residents to adequate amounts of safe, nutritious, culturally acceptable food without the need to resort to emergency food providers" as well as ensuring that this food is convenient to access and affordable (Toronto City Council, 2000:1). Further aspects of the charter include partnering with "community, cooperative, business and government organisations to increase the availability of health foods" (Toronto City Council, 2000:1).

The CoCT has already formed a clear set of values through the five pillars for the City listed in the Integrated Development Plan (IDP). These are the Opportunity City; the Safe City; the Caring City; the Inclusive City; and the Well-Run City (City of Cape Town, 2016). Through these existing values, the City through the Policy Council can begin to create guidelines for the formation of an Urban Food Security Charter. Furthermore, these existing values can be expanded on to include *The Food Secure City* as an additional value. Through an Urban Food Security Charter, the City's values and aims for the creation of urban food security can be made clear. In addition to these values, the right to access to food security is a constitutional right in South Africa. This right should be a key aspect of the Urban Food Security Charter. Additional aspects which should be included in this charter should be decided upon through the Urban Food Policy Council, as well as through a widespread public participation processes.

7.2.4 Urban Food Security Strategy

Through the creation of an Urban Food Security Charter, the city's values and aims for achieving urban food security will be clear. In addition to this charter, in order for the Urban Food Policy Council to operate effectively, there must be a clear policy objective put forward by the CoCT, in partnership with the Urban Food Policy Council. This objective would inform the types of projects the council would be able to develop. A clear strategy would allow for a unified approach which would enable various different projects, run by multiple stakeholders, with one common aim.

It is highly recommended that in this strategy, the role and position on formal food retailers is developed. Currently, the formal supermarket retailers seem to be invisible within the current urban food system. The research presented in this dissertation has shown that spatial and land use planners within the CoCT currently do not fully recognise the entire role played by the supermarket industry within the urban food system. These supermarkets are a main provider of food for the city; therefore, any Urban Food Security Strategy must include a way in which to provide low income residents with sustained access to affordable, nutritious food.

In addition to the role of supermarkets, it is essential that the proposed Urban Food Security Strategy include a position on the role of informal food retailers such as informal street traders, and spaza shops. It has been shown through this research as well as previous studies pertaining to urban food security for the urban poor, that the informal economy plays a vital role in the urban poor's access to food security, and consumption strategies throughout the month.

Furthermore, it is recommended that this strategy include a position on food waste. Based on the findings from the focus groups conducted in Langa, there was a clear concern from participants about the issue of food waste. In light of this it is recommended that future supermarkets donate all food products which have reached their sell by date, but which are still safe for consumption, be donated to local social services such as schools, old aged homes and crèches.

All proposed aspects of the Urban Food Security Strategy should be multi-sectoral in their approach and include a wide range of stakeholders.

7.2.5 Urban Food Security Awareness and Education Campaign

Based on the interviews with land use and spatial planners from the CoCT, there is a clear need for the increase in awareness of the issue of urban food insecurity amongst practitioners. In addition to this, based on the current national and local policy and strategy approaches to urban food insecurity, there is still an understanding of food security as a lack of supply, as opposed to a lack of access to food (see, IFSS, 2002; City of Cape Town, 2007a; City of Cape Town, 2013). While in rural areas, a lack of supply of food may be a cause of food insecurity, in urban areas food insecurity is systemic and embedded in socio-economic and spatial disparities (Battersby, 2011; Battersby, 2012; Sen, 1981). In order to increase the understanding of urban food insecurity as an issue of unequal distribution of food, a public awareness and education campaign must be developed. This campaign would need strong political backing in order for it to be recognised by the public. This education and awareness campaign would involve nutritional awareness and education programmes, as well as information about the issue of urban food insecurity.

7.2.6 Action Plan

While the recommendations mentioned in this chapter are limited to the lessons of the Langa Junction Mini Mall and surrounding area, these recommendations can contribute to the formation of a Municipal Urban Food Security Policy. In order to achieve this, there are specific actions which must be taken so as to allow for the practical implementation of these recommendations. Without implementation, these recommendations are unable to change the status quo. The proposed Action Plan for the implementation of the proposed recommendations is limited to the scope of this research; therefore, the time frame for this implementation is extremely short. Furthermore, this time frame highlights the urgency of the need to appropriately address the current state of urban food insecurity in the CoCT.

The following Action Plan is recommended to be implemented within the next two years as an initial response to the findings of this research.

7.2.6.1 Year 1

In the first year it is recommended that the formation of the Urban Food Policy Council begins. This council should be formed through approaching individuals and organisations who are already knowledgeable in the field of urban food security. The Urban Food Policy Council should remain outside of any specific department of the City, so as to allow for a multi-disciplinary and multi-departmental approach to policy creation.

Following the formation of the Urban Food Policy Council, future projects can be managed by the Urban Food Policy Council. Projects which should be initiated in the first year could include the formation of an Urban Food Security Charter. It is recommended that this process include a widespread public participation processes. This public participation process could be run in conjunction with the Urban Food Security Awareness and Education Campaign.

7.2.6.2 Year 2

Following the projects in Year 1, the development of an Urban Food Security Strategy should begin. This strategy is informed by the previous year’s Urban Food Policy Council and Urban Food Security Charter. The creation of an Urban Food Security Strategy would assist in creating a stable base from which to work towards and Municipal Food Security Policy for the CoCT.

During both years, the need for a multidisciplinary and cross-departmental approach is vital for the success of the recommended proposal. Despite this, there are specific recommendations which pertain to spatial and land use planning which will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

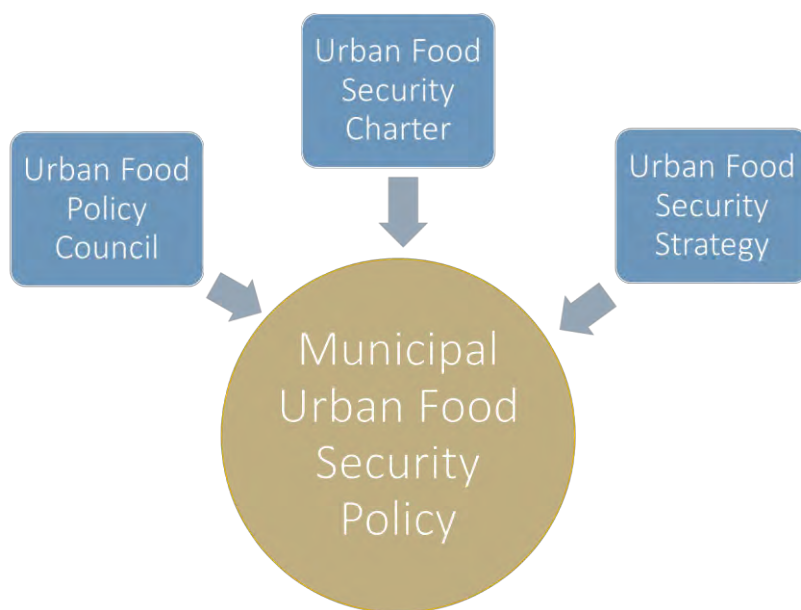


Figure 28: Process to creating an Urban Municipal Urban Food Security Policy (Author's Own)

7.3 Implications for Planning Practice in the City of Cape Town

The following section will provide details on the recommendations specific to land use planning in the CoCT and amendments to the current the zoning scheme. These recommendations are based on the findings of this dissertation as well as precedent from various cities.

In addition to policy interventions, there is a clear need for the understanding of the role of planners as active agents within the urban food system. While the land use and spatial planners interviewed show concern for the issue of food insecurity, their inability to regulate private development has been unhelpful in alleviating the issue of urban food insecurity. Planners should show additional concern for the expansion of supermarkets as these developments have clear socio-spatial manifestations, such as their impact on the urban poor's economic access to food. Therefore, based on the findings and analysis, there are a number of ways in which interventions from a spatial planning perspective can take place. In order for these interventions to be successful, multiple stakeholders and actors, including the private sector must be involved (Haysom, 2015; Smit, 2016). The potential for urban food planning is available within the City; however, based on the findings there is still a significant amount of information about urban food insecurity which is necessary for planners and policy makers to understand in order to appropriately address this systemic issue.

7.3.1 Food Planning Precedent

Precedent for the following recommended interventions can be seen in cities such as Baltimore, and Portland. While these are global north cities, there are lessons that can be applied to the context of a global south city, such as Cape Town. In Baltimore, there is a need to increase the variety of supermarkets in areas considered to be food deserts. The Baltimore Food Desert Retail Strategy recognises the need to improve 'non-traditional grocery retail options' (Baltimore Food Policy Initiative, n.d.). This acknowledges that supermarkets are not the only food access points, specifically within food deserts. In the context of Cape Town, this can be applied to the need to acknowledge the role of the informal economy within the urban food system. In addition to increasing the variety of retail options in Baltimore, the Baltimore Food Desert Retail Strategy also includes fresh food markets within food desert areas in order to increase access to affordable nutritious food (Baltimore Food Policy Initiative, n.d.).

In terms of the development of fast food outlets in low-income areas, Belo Horizonte's public restaurants in low-income areas provides a successful example of how convenient food can be nutritious (Rocha, 2001). Belo Horizonte's public restaurants provide low cost meals to the public; however, the majority of these restaurant's customers are from low income areas, or are homeless. These subsidised meals are planned by a team of

nutritionists to ensure that the meals are both low cost and nutritious. This example shows that convenient meals are able to be nutritious and affordable.

7.3.2 Spatial Planning Recommendations – Lessons from the Langa Junction Mini Mall

The findings from the Langa Junction Mini Mall provide specific lessons as to what was effective about the mall and what was ineffective. These lessons are based on spatial planning principals as well as the influence these supermarkets have on urban food security. In order to evaluate the Langa Junction Mini Mall's current spatial performance a set of criteria of what is a desirable shopping mall for urban food planning, as well as for the residents in Langa who were interviewed, was developed. These criteria are based on the focus group findings as well as on suggestions made through the literature (Denoon-Stevens, 2016; Smit, 2016). Through these criteria it is also possible to determine how accessible the Langa Junction Mini Mall is to the urban poor. These criteria include, the incorporation of the informal economy, the location of the mall in relation to public transport routes and hubs, the relationship of the shopping mall to the surrounding area – for example, does the shopping mall promote an active street. The following section provides specific lessons for spatial planning from the Langa Junction Mini Mall.

7.3.2.1 Inclusion of Informal Economy

Through the research findings as well as the literature it is clear that the informal economy plays a significant role in the urban poor's consumption strategies and access to food security (Battersby, 2012; Crush & Frayne, 2011). Through the analysis within Chapter 6, it was shown that there is a development trend emerging in Langa which is allowing for the development of supermarkets on pieces of land which are established areas of informal street trade. In the case of the Langa Junction Mini Mall, the informal street traders were promised formal structures to trade from, following the development of the Mall. The construction of these structures has yet to take place. Based on the responses from the three focus groups, there is a clear need to include the informal economy into the design of supermarkets.

The informal street traders cannot necessarily compete with the formal retailers in terms of price, or quantity and variety of stock; however, the informal street traders are able to compete based on spatial location, times of operating and existing social relationships which allow known customers to buy on credit. This advantage can be seen through the location of informal street traders along movement routes and at popular public transport hubs. With these factors in mind, in order to create a more equitable supermarket or shopping mall model, it is recommended that generous designated areas for informal street traders be located within and around future malls, and in direct proximity to the mall entrances and pedestrian routes. These spaces provided for informal

traders should range in size, as well as type. This would include small formal spaces, for which a small rental might be charged, where traders could operate from, as well as informal spaces which provide the traders with only shelter, but at a lower rental. Surrounding these trade areas, both informal and formal spaces must be in close proximity to supporting services and infrastructure such as rubbish bins, waste removal, water and washing points, electricity and lighting. Services such as water points should not be evenly distributed so as to prevent the creation of contaminated water points.

7.3.2.2 Location

The spatial location of the Langa Junction Mini Mall is one of the advantages and replicable aspects of this mall. The Langa Junction Mini Mall is located outside a busy train station, the Langa train station. This station is used by thousands of commuters on a daily basis. As has been identified by Battersby (2015), informal street trade is an important source of food for the urban poor. It is clear that the high amount of informal street trade which took place in the area surrounding the Langa train station, prior to the development of the Langa Junction Mini Mall, was in response to the high number of people passing through the space. The development of the Langa Junction Mini Mall at a major public transport hub, has contributed to the early success for the mall, and this can also contribute to a successful and complementary informal food market. In order to continue this success, the Langa Junction Mini Mall needs to address their interaction with the surrounding area, and the role it plays in creating active streets – as explained in the next section.

7.3.2.3 Relationship to Surrounding Area

The physical building of the Langa Junction Mini Mall is surrounded by a large yellow wall, and security fences. These elements of the mall do not promote interaction with the surrounding streets. A building such as a shopping mall which interacts with the street has a wide range of benefits for the surrounding area. One benefit is of passive surveillance, which is created through active street interfaces. In a low-income area such as Langa, public transport stops are also areas with high crime rates. Therefore, passive surveillance is a desirable aspect of a building such as a shopping mall. Instead of creating hard edges and barriers through walls and security fences, security can be increased in the area through the incorporation of the mall with the surrounding area.

7.3.2.4 Increasing choice and variety in order to increase access to food security

A variety of formal and informal trade, as well as a variety of food outlets has been shown to increase the urban poor's access to nutritious food (Block & Kouba, 2005). As advice for spatial planners, future commercial retail developments should incorporate both larger and smaller food outlets, while still maintain restrictions on fast food outlets. In relation to this, spatial planner should understand the value of a fresh food market within a low

income area. This food market could be run by the informal street traders, incorporated into future developments. There are multiple benefits to a local fresh food market in a low income area, one of which being an increase in access to affordable, nutritious food.



Figure 29: Informal markets work well adjacent to transport interchanges: Bree St taxi rank in Johannesburg. (Source: Battersby, n.d.)

7.3.3 Land Use Planning and Zoning Recommendations

Based on the lessons of the Langa Junction Mini Mall, and the various criteria for the creation of a more inclusive formal food retail model, there are certain amendments which can be made to the current Development Management Scheme (Zoning Scheme) in order to assist in the creation of this inclusive formal food retailer.

The planners who were interviewed for this dissertation seemed disheartened and defeated by the current dominance of the private developer, however there are specific ways in which spatial and land use planning can restrict supermarket expansion. The supermarket is unlikely to disappear from the modern urban food system; however, there are ways in which it can be modified in order to respond to the context in which these supermarkets are developed. Smit (2016) and Denoon-Stevens (2016), argue that it is precisely through land use planning and zoning schemes that local government interventions into the issue of urban food insecurity

can take place. The findings from interviews with land use planners suggest that the rigidity of land use management and zoning schemes allow for the regulation of the development of supermarkets. Denoon-Stevens (2016) argues that these particular regulations could include a way for supermarkets to integrate the formal and informal economy. This is supported by the focus group findings and the important role that the informal economy plays in the urban poor's access to food. Interventions at a policy and structural level are necessary in order to address the systemic and institutional failures, of which urban food insecurity is a manifestation.

The current zoning scheme allows for the development of supermarkets within the various General Business zones. These zones have limited restrictions to development which allows for the development of supermarkets in seemingly illogical places, as mentioned by The Planner (The Planner, Interview 2016, August 2). Based on the findings from this research clear interventions can be made to create a zoning scheme which responds to the rapid rate of supermarket expansion, and the need to address the relationship between urban food security and supermarket expansion. These restrictions would promote more equitable and pro-poor access to healthy, safe and nutritious food throughout the month. Examples of restrictions which could be placed on supermarket developers in areas such as Langa are listed below. These recommendations for the current land use requirements for the General Business Zone, are a combination of the findings from interviews and from the specific lessons provided by the focus group participants in the area surrounding the Lang Junction Mini Mall.

- 1) **Including the informal economy in the development of supermarkets** - The important role that informal street traders play in the urban poor's access to food must be acknowledged. These traders should be involved in the development process of future malls. In addition, designated spaces within and around the mall should be made available for informal street traders to operate out of.
- 2) **Monitoring the commitment to the inclusion of the informal economy** - A clear declaration of commitment to accommodate informal street traders must be made by potential developers, in order for developers to be held accountable should these spaces not be developed timeously. This should be followed up on by the City of Cape Town and the proposed Urban Food Policy Council.
- 3) **Restricting the development of fast food outlets within malls** - There has been a clear disinterest in the fast food outlets currently available at the Langa Junction Mini Mall. As a result, it is recommended that no further fast food outlets be developed within future shopping mall in Langa. Rather, an alternative to these fast food restaurants should be investigated. Through the example of the Belo Horizonte's Public Restaurants, convenient food can be nutritious and affordable.

These recommendations are based on the findings and lessons from one case study: the area surrounding the Langa Junction Mini Mall. As a result, these findings could not be used to generalise the effects of supermarket expansion on urban food insecurity in low income areas. Instead, these findings are able to inform research and planning for future retail developments, and provide recommendations based on the lessons of one case study.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a range of recommendations which respond to the need to create a municipal food security policy, as well as interventions into spatial planning, land use management and the zoning scheme. The issue of urban food insecurity is in many ways related to spatial and land use planning; however, it is not possible to solve the issue of urban food insecurity through these sectors alone. Therefore, in order for these interventions to be effective, a multidisciplinary and cross sectoral approach must be adopted. The creation of an Urban Food Security Council is a way in which this processes can be started. Following this, the development of an Urban Food Strategy and an Urban Food Security Charter, will create a platform from which a Municipal Urban Food Security Policy for the City of Cape Town can be developed. The systemic nature of urban food security, means that interventions must take place at an institutional level in order to appropriately address the issue.

The following chapter will provide the overall conclusions from the research conducted within this dissertation, as well as recommendations for areas of further research within the field of urban food insecurity and urban governance.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This dissertation has explored the effects of supermarket expansion on the urban poor's access to food security, in low income areas in the CoCT. Specifically, this dissertation has investigated the effect the Langa Junction Mini Mall has had on a sample of Langa residents and their access to food.

Through a review of the existing relevant urban food security literature, it became clear that urban food insecurity is a systemic issue, and a manifestation of various socio-economic and spatial disparities, which have resulted in a lack of access to food. Following this review, a contextual analysis of the current national and municipal responses to urban food insecurity was conducted. This analysis showed that current policy interventions continue to conceptualise food insecurity as a rural issue, and attribute food insecurity to a lack of production of food. The literature review and contextual analysis of the current policy responses to urban food insecurity at a national, and municipal level provided a theoretical and policy framework, which was able to guide the fieldwork aspect of this research.

Fieldwork was conducted through three focus groups with residents from Langa, participant and non-participant observations at the Langa Junction Mini Mall, semi-structured interviews with the Langa Junction Mini Mall manager, the Langa Shoprite manager, informal street traders around the Mini Mall, and CoCT spatial and land use planners. This fieldwork aimed to explore the effects that the Langa Junction Mini Mall had had on the Langa residents in the area surrounding the mall, as well as the current land use and spatial planning policies and processes which enable the expansion of supermarkets in low income areas.

Through the focus groups, it was found that the residents who were interviewed are currently food insecure. This type of food insecurity can be categorised as chronic, yet temporary as it is influenced by the monthly economic season: when participants get paid, and when money runs out. The findings from this fieldwork showed that the Langa Junction Mini Mall has affected the way in which the Langa residents shop; however, despite the opening of the Mini Mall, residents stated that the informal street traders are still important points of access to food, particularly towards the end of the month when money is scarce. Findings from interviews with informal street traders in the area surrounding the Mini Mall show that these traders were promised formal space within the development of the Mini Mall. These spaces have not yet been created, and informal street traders continue to trade without shelter outside the Mini Mall. Furthermore, these findings also suggest that the Shoprite has dramatically reduced the informal street traders' business by 90 percent. While the Mini Mall may have created jobs for locals in Langa, for informal street traders this has resulted in a significant loss of income and livelihood strategies. In addition to this, due to the important role that the informal economy

plays in the urban poor's access to food, this loss of informal street traders, could overtime result in a loss of access to food security for the Langa residents. This process can be seen to be contributing to the food desertification of Langa.

Additional effects of the Mini Mall are that residents now shop more frequently, and in smaller amounts due to the convenient location of the Mini Mall. Interestingly, the fast food restaurants were not appealing to the participants of the focus groups. Through the focus groups it was identified that an additional supermarket and shopping mall will be opening in the area with Spar as the anchor store.

Based on observations conducted at the Mini Mall, there was little interaction of the Mini Mall with the surrounding area. The Mini Mall frontages were not seen to promote active streets.

The findings from the interviews with the CoCT land use and spatial planners indicated that there is a still a lack of understanding and awareness about the systemic nature of urban food insecurity, as well as its relation to supermarket expansion. These planners referred to the existing Cape Town Urban Agriculture Policy as a way of addressing food security.

8.1 Significance of Research Findings

Based on these findings, recommendations towards a Municipal Urban Food Security Policy were presented, as well as the implications of this research for land use and spatial planning and practice. Precedent from various cities was used to inform these policy recommendations. Recommendations towards the creation of an overall Municipal Urban Food Security Policy include the formation of an Urban Food Security Policy Council, and Urban Food Security Charter, as well as an Urban Food Security Strategy, and an Urban Food Security Education and Awareness Campaign. Due to the complex nature of urban food insecurity, these policy recommendations strongly advise that a multi-sectoral and departmental approach be taken through the Urban Food Security Policy Council.

In terms of planning, both spatial and land use policy and practice recommendations were provided. For Spatial Planning, it was recommended that future supermarket development incorporate informal street traders, as well as promote active street frontages through the location and design of the buildings. For Land Use Planning, it was recommended that amendments are made to the current zoning scheme and corresponding land uses, in order to promote an equitable, pro-poor and affordable access to nutritious food throughout the month. A key recommendation was the overall inclusion of the informal economy within future supermarket developments.

8.2 Limitations of Research

The limitations to this research have been identified through the methods outlined in Chapter 2. These limitations include the unique nature of the case, and its applicability to other contexts. Despite this, the findings from this research can be used to inform future research of a similar nature, as well as policy interventions.

8.3 Recommendations for Future Research

Based on the findings of this research it is recommended that further, long term research be conducted within the Langa area, in order to follow the development of the proposed Spar supermarket. Through this long term study, a more comprehensive understanding of the effects of supermarket expansion on residents' access to food and consumption strategies could be explored. Furthermore, this research would be able to test the assumption of the food desertification occurring in Langa, through the development of formal food retailers and the erosion of informal trader businesses.

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Appendix A

Questions for Semi-Structured Interview with the Langa Junction Mini Mall Manager.

The following questions were asked during a semi-structured interview with the Langa Junction Mini Mall manager which took place at the mall on 7 September 2016.

1. Do you live in the area?
2. How familiar are you with Langa?
3. How would you rate the success of the mall?
4. What are your views on the informal street traders surrounding the mall?
5. Why was Shoprite chosen as the anchor store for the mall?
6. Is there any likelihood of competition with other malls such as Vangate Mall? What would be your response to an increase in competition?
7. Are there any plans for the extension of the mall, that you know of?
8. Are you aware of the users' level satisfaction with the mall? How would you rate the mall's customers' satisfaction?

Appendix B

Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews with the Shoprite manager at the Langa Junction Mini Mall.

1. What kind of produce does your shop sell?
2. Does your shop sell different produce from the other stalls within your franchise?
3. When is your shop the busiest?
4. Does your store offer any kind of credit for your customers?
5. Who are your main suppliers of stock?
6. What do you think about the informal traders in the area?

Appendix C

Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews with Informal Street Traders in Langa

The following questions were asked during semi-structured interviews with informal street traders in Langa.

These interviews took place during visits to the mall.

1. How long have you been trading in the area for?
2. Have you noticed a change in the number of informal traders in the area after the new mall opened?
3. Have there been any restrictions placed on traders since the opening of the mall?
4. When is your stall the busiest?
5. Where do you purchase your stock from?
6. Do you have any regular customers?
7. Does your stall offer credit of any kind for your customers?

Appendix D

Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews with City of Cape Town Officials

The following questions were used as a guide during the interview on 2 August 2016 with Southern District Land Use Planning and Management Planner.

1. What are the current application requirements for supermarkets to be developed in the city?
2. Are there areas where supermarket development is more favourable? If so, why do you think that is the case?
3. Are there any zoning or land use guidelines for the development of supermarkets?
4. Have you noticed any trends in the current developments of supermarkets – where they take place, or what kind of store they are?
5. What kind of role do you think supermarkets play in the urban food system?
6. What role do you think the city should play in the development of supermarkets?
7. What role do you think the city should play in terms of urban food security and access to food for residents in the city?
8. Do you think there should be an urban food policy for Cape Town with specific guidelines for the development of supermarkets? If so, what do you think these guidelines should be?

Appendix E

Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews with City of Cape Town Officials

The following questions were used as a guide during the interview on 31 August 2016 with Mr September, Table Bay District Land Use Planning and Management Section Head, and Mr Van Heerden, Principal Spatial Planner.

1. Are you familiar with the Langa Mini Mall?
2. Do you know who led the development of the mall?
3. Do you know if there was any public participation that took place during the development process? Are you aware of the protests that took place during the development process?
4. Why was that site more favourable than others for the development of a Shoprite? Do you know what the rationale behind the development was?
5. Are there areas where supermarket development is more favourable? If so, why do you think that is the case?
6. Have you noticed any trends in the current developments of supermarkets – where they take place, or what kind of store or brand they are?
7. What role do you think the city should play in the development of supermarkets?
8. What role do you think the city should play in terms of urban food security and access to food for residents in the city?
9. Do you think there should be an urban food policy for Cape Town with specific guidelines for the development of supermarkets? If so, what do you think these guidelines should be? Do you think this would be viable?

Appendix F

Focus Group Questions

The following questions were asked to all members of Focus Group 1 (30 July 2016), Focus Group 2 (6 August 2016) and Focus Group 3 (10 September 2016). All three focus groups took place in Langa on a Saturday at 15h00 at Mrs Tshabane's house.

1. How long have you lived in Langa for?
2. How many people live with you?
3. Where do you buy your food from?
4. Why do you buy your food from there?
5. What kind of food do you buy most often?
6. Why do you buy this food? (Health reasons? Is that a factor when buying food?)
7. Do you buy different food from different stores?
8. When do you do your shopping? (Before or after work? On weekends?)
9. How do you transport all of your food?
10. Do you have place for storage in your house?
11. Have you noticed any change in the area since the mall opened?
12. Do you remember what the area was like before the mall was built? Can you describe it?
13. Has the mall affected how, when and where you shop? Has it effected what you buy?
14. Have you ever been unable to purchase or access food during the month for any reason?
15. What percentage of your income goes towards buying food every month?
16. Was there any kind of public participation process before the mall was built that you are aware of?
17. Does the current mall meet all of your food needs?
18. Do you like the mall? Do you think it was a necessary development?
19. If you could redesign the mall, what kind of stores would you like to have in it?

Appendix G

Focus Group Participants

Focus Group 1 Participants

Mrs. Nosipho Tshabane

Mrs. Nocawe Dingiswayo

Mrs. Nomalizo Sotshononda

Mrs. Kholeka “Gloria” Simelela

Mrs. Nolitha Lekoma

Focus Group 2 Participants

Mrs. Thandi Lengisi

Mrs. Nomakhaya Mgijima

Mrs. Beauty X [no surname given]

Focus Group 3 Participants

Mrs. Rachel Qagiso

Mr. Sifizo Mabaso

Mr. Emmanuel Dingiswayo

Mr. Mkoseli Kakaza

Mrs. Funeka Ngeble

Appendix H: Ethical Approval

Application for Approval of Ethics in Research (EIR) Projects Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of Cape Town

APPLICATION FORM

Please Note:

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form before collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application prior to embarking on research is to ensure that the highest ethical standards in research, conducted under the auspices of the EBE Faculty, are met. Please ensure that you have read, and understood the EBE Ethics in Research Handbook (available from the UCT EBE, Research Ethics website) prior to completing this application form: <http://www.ebe.uct.ac.za/user/ebe/research/ethics.pdf>

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant	Alison Pulker	
Department	Architecture, Planning and Geomatics	
Preferred email address of applicant:	alpulker@gmail.com	
If a Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.,	MCRP
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	Prof. Vanessa Watson
If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship	Click here to enter text.	
Project Title	Click here to enter text.	

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that:

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

SIGNED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant:	Alison Jean Pulker	Signature removed	Click here to enter a date.

APPLICATION APPROVED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	Prof. Vanessa Watson	Signature removed	Click here to enter a date.
HOD (or delegated nominee) Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section 1; and for all Undergraduate research (including Honours).	Tonca Berlanda	Signature removed	Click here to enter a date.
Chair: Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.	Click here to enter text.		Click here to enter a date.