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ORDROB001

**‘A Tale of Two Sea Points: Gentrification,
Supermarkets and Food Security for
Lower-Income Residents.’**

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Abstract

This research is founded on the argument that food systems are (and should be) a core mandate for urban planners, particularly as food is connected to many other functions relevant for built-environment professionals. To date, city officials and built-environment professionals in South Africa have adopted a *laissez-faire* attitude to food systems, simply assuming that for their constituents, food security can be easily solved by supporting urban agriculture projects and allowing the private sector to open new supermarket retail outlets across a city. While the literature on food security in South Africa's poorer areas is vast, no other published South African studies have considered the ways in which inner city regeneration and commercial supermarket expansion combine to impact the food security of the urban poor. Using a case study approach, this research aims to uncover the food security implications, which arise from gentrification and the growth of the commercial supermarket sector, for middle- and low-income households in Sea Point, an inner-city neighbourhood of Cape Town. This study used techniques including interviews, photography, mapping, food-price recording, document and archival research, and direct observation. It was discovered that gentrification creates an environment where local food systems are altered by policy prescriptions and improvement projects which, in turn, enable the growth of commercial food retail and high-end food service outlets. This research shows being located close to a supermarket is no guarantee of being able to afford what's being sold, and this is important because inadequate access to good-quality food has implications for health and human development over time. The experience and knowledge gained from this research has been used to support appropriate food security policy recommendations for the City of Cape Town.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

“Hunger is not a natural phenomenon. It is a man-made tragedy. People do not go hungry because there is not enough food to eat. They go hungry because the system which delivers food from the field to our plates is broken. And now in this new age of crisis – with increasingly severe and extreme weather and dwindling natural resources – feeding the world will get harder still” (Tutu, 2010).

1.1 Foreword

This dissertation is situated at the convergence of themes concerning commercial supermarket expansion, urban regeneration, food deserts, and the household food security of the urban poor.

Southern Africa’s population is urbanising at breakneck speed, with implications for how cities in the region feed themselves. According to the United Nations Habitat (2010), it is estimated that by 2050 more than 77% of the region’s 85-million future inhabitants will live in urban centres. In addition, economic growth in the region is taking place without job creation, which means that income inequalities are widening (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015). Southern Africa’s cities are now and will continue to be characterised by an unmistakable contrast between affluence and abject poverty.

South Africa is no exception. In fact, not only is South Africa rapidly urbanising, but the country has the highest income inequality in the world. Moreover, South Africa’s urban food systems are dominated by the commercial supermarket sector, which accounts for more than two-thirds of all food retail (Planting, 2010). This means that a substantial portion of the responsibility of feeding South African cities falls to a small handful of corporate entities. Most urban residents are highly dependent on the cash economy to buy food to support household nutritional security (Battersby, 2011). Given the fixed and frequently high prices of food offered at supermarkets, what are the implications for the urban poor who must survive on meagre incomes? (This is assuming that the poor have physical access to a commercial grocer. Some neighbourhoods may not have one nearby.)

Traditionally, South African urban food research has focused its attention on the nutritional security of poorer suburbs and informal settlements. For instance, in 2008 the

African Food Security Network (AFSUN) launched a research endeavour into household food security in eleven cities across nine Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries. Their case study on Johannesburg looked at the low-income suburbs of Joubert Park, Alexandra, and Orange Farm and found that up to 83% of households were either moderately or severely food insecure (Rudolph et al., 2012). The study on Cape Town looked at Philippi, Ocean View, and Khayelitsha (also low-income suburbs) and found that up to 80% of households were moderately or severely food insecure (Battersby, 2011). A study on Msunduzi (Pietermaritzburg) found that up to 87% of households were moderately or severely food insecure (Ceaser et al., 2013).

Beyond the AFSUN project, research by Oldewage-Theron et al. (2006: 798) studied the nutritional security of residents in an informal settlement in the Vaal Triangle (south of Johannesburg). It found that 58.3% of households spent less than R100 on food per week and the average household size was 4.9 people.¹ Research by Naicker et al. (2015) studied the informal settlement of Hospital Hill in Johannesburg and found that 71% of households were moderately or severely food insecure and nearly 50% of these households had children.

These studies on community-level food security are valuable because they provide insight on bottlenecks in the local food system (i.e. production, distribution, and retail), as well as on the general welfare of local residents. As Oxfam (2014: 7) points out, food insecurity “often results in malnutrition and prevents people doing physical or mental work, from learning, from recovering from illness and even from growing – it is a key cause of childhood stunting”. In addition, Laraia (2012) identifies that an inadequate dietary intake can lead to a higher rate of obesity and non-communicable diseases such as diabetes, high cholesterol, and heart disease. In short, ensuring that all South Africans have consistent access to a healthy and varied diet is a prerequisite for promoting human development and safeguarding national security.

From an urban development perspective, planning for adequate access to food is a key component of building healthy, productive and inclusive settlements which inspire a sense of belonging. Yet as cities grow, managing them becomes increasingly complex. Most notably in the Global South, the sheer speed and scale of urbanisation, population growth and urban transformation present formidable challenges to city officials (South African Cities Network, 2016). Certainly, within the boundaries of Cape Town, there are many types of ‘urban’

¹ This roughly translates to a daily expenditure of R4.08 per person.

bubbling to the surface. Informal settlements sprawl on the periphery, while well-located inner-city suburbs undergo intensive regeneration. These two different types of urbanity, as well as everything in between, present unique sets of food security implications which need to be considered in research and policy.

While the canon of South African urban food research has focused on the nutritional security of low-income communities, the scholarly community seems to have forgotten about the ‘other urban’. There is no published research identifying the food security consequences for regenerating, mixed-income, inner-city settings. There may be several reasons for this omission. Firstly, low-income neighbourhoods and informal settlements have a far higher degree of poverty and therefore pose the greatest human development challenges. Secondly, some academics might assume inner-city suburbs have better access to food retail and are thus automatically more food secure, thus warranting less or no investigation. Thirdly, donors may prefer to fund research on nutritional insecurity only in low-income areas.

But as this dissertation emphasises, it is often the stories one least wants to hear that most need to be told. If the scholarly community intends to support planners and policymakers in addressing urban food security in Cape Town, they should reassess their choice of focus and rededicate themselves to thorough investigation. The idea that is foundational to this dissertation is that researchers need to assess levels of food security and the bottlenecks in the food system that lead to hunger *in a variety of settings*, even mixed-income, inner-city neighbourhoods previously assumed to be food secure. As different areas present unique food security challenges, a holistic approach ought to lead to comprehensive and empirically based policy prescripts which are better suited to realise food security across all of Cape Town.

Based on this call to understand food security in all settings, the research presented in this dissertation was conducted in the suburb of Sea Point, which is located in Cape Town’s Atlantic Seaboard. The reasons behind the choice of Sea Point as a case are fully discussed in Chapter 2. It is one of a few neighbourhoods in Cape Town where instances of affluence and poverty exist within tens of metres of each other.

Within the last decade, urban regeneration efforts have led to extraordinary changes in the composition of the suburb, with property values spiking and luxury developments flourishing. These changes have also led to conflict, with many middle- and low-income residents mobilising under the banner of ‘Reclaim the City’ to battle the growing prevalence

of evictions and to hold government officials accountable over the issue of affordable housing in the well-located inner city. In short, Sea Point has been chosen because it is both a textbook example of inner-city gentrification and because of the complexities this field site has afforded.

1.2 Research Problem

The research presented in this dissertation aims to uncover the food security implications, for middle- and low-income households in Sea Point, arising from gentrification and the growth of the commercial supermarket sector. To explore this topic thoroughly, the following research questions have been identified:

- How has the growth of the commercial supermarket sector affected Sea Point's food-retail system over the past fifty years?
- In light of any changes to Sea Point's food-retail system and neighbourhood dynamics as a result of gentrification, what are the food security implications for middle- and low-income residents who continue to call this suburb home?
- Are the current sets of policy prescriptions from the City of Cape Town adequate to address food security implications which arise in a mixed-income urban setting like Sea Point?
- What appropriate policy interventions might better serve the food security requirements of middle- and low-income households in Sea Point and, more broadly, Cape Town?

The research questions were used to identify an appropriate method to be used for this study. As a result, this research made use of a single, paradigmatic case study design. Six weeks were spent conducting field research in the Sea Point area. The researcher used a suite of techniques including interviews, mapping, photography, food price recording, document and archival research, and direct observation.

1.3 Outline of Dissertation

This section outlines the structure of this dissertation.

Chapter 2 will detail this study's research design and ethical considerations. It will provide the rationale for choosing the case study approach, detail how the researcher went about selecting his study area and sample population, give context on the research

instruments and analytical techniques employed to conduct and write-up this study, and highlight how the researcher handled ethical issues arising in the field.

Chapter 3 presents a review of the literature from which the research questions established above are drawn. This chapter considers: theory on food security at the global and regional scales and why it matters for urban planners; literature on commercialisation of the food-retail sector and its impact on small retailers; and ideas around food deserts and unsupportive food environments. Finally, as examples of what can be done to support urban food security, Chapter 3 references two international city-scale food-system policy interventions.

Chapter 4 presents a contextual analysis of the study area. This chapter defines Sea Point's geographic characteristics through maps, displays Sea Point's neighbourhood-level census data for the last fifty years and income data for the last twenty years, and reviews South Africa's policy landscape on urban food security. An additional research question has been drawn from this chapter.

Chapter 5 presents this research's findings to answer the research questions established above. The chapter first flags the historical food-retail trends which have characterised the study area over the last fifty years. It presents data on the contemporary configuration of the food services and retail system in the area, and uses interview data to discuss the food security implications for middle- and low-income residents of the area.

Chapter 6 discusses this study's findings by comparing its data with the theory that informs this inquiry. Each of this study's research questions is discussed and answered individually. Based on the evidence presented in this dissertation, the second to last section of this chapter presents general city-scale policy recommendations which can be used to support a more food-secure Cape Town.

Finally, Chapter 7 presents this study's conclusion with final reflections on the significance and limitations of this research. In addition, this chapter offers some ideas on how one might improve upon this research to better understand the topic of food security in other gentrifying, inner-city settings.

Chapter 2: Research Design & Ethical Considerations

2.1 Introduction

This purpose of this chapter is to report on this dissertation's underlying method and ethical considerations. The research questions which have been identified are as follows:

- How has the growth of the commercial supermarket sector affected Sea Point's food-retail system over the past fifty years?
- In light of any changes to Sea Point's food retail system and neighbourhood dynamics as a result of gentrification, what are the food security implications for middle- and low-income residents who continue to call this suburb home?
- Are the current sets of policy prescriptions from the City of Cape Town adequate to address food security implications which arise in a mixed-income urban setting like Sea Point?
- What appropriate policy interventions might better serve the food security requirements of middle- and low-income households in Sea Point and, more broadly, Cape Town?

The next section will discuss the method used in this research's design, along with the strengths and weaknesses of this method. The third section will establish the rationale for this choice of study area and sample population. The fourth section will lay out the suite of research techniques used in this study: document and archival evidence, mapping, food price recording, direct observation, photography, and interviews. The fifth section will provide insight on the analytical techniques used to develop this case, including pattern matching, explanation building, and reflexivity. The sixth section concerns the embodied ethical approach to the research design. The final section will detail the post-research procedure.

2.2 Research Method

This study made use of a qualitative, single, paradigmatic case study design. Case study research can be defined as:

“an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the ‘case’) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the

boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident”
(Yin, 2014: 14).

That is, case study allows intensive analysis of a temporally and spatially complex unit. Additionally, Yin (2014: 12) notes that case study is the preferred method when examining contemporary phenomena without being able to manipulate relevant behaviour experimentally.

The literature shows that case study method has three key attributes which are useful in social inquiry (from Flyvbjerg, 2011; Gerring, 2007; Odendaal et al., 2014).

First, case study allows the researcher to identify a unit of study, and draw conceptual boundaries around it, to determine what counts as part of the case and what is contextual to it. The boundary is loosely defined and may be social, temporal or geographic. Defining the subject of study in this way allows a researcher to evaluate changes to the case vis-à-vis its living context.

Second, the intensiveness of case study research affords great detail, richness, completeness, variance, and depth, due to large quantities of data and rigorous analysis. A good case study supports the development of a ‘thick description’ account of information gathered in the field: a description so deep that it takes the reader to the core of the situation being interpreted.

Third, case study research typically focuses on endogenous and exogenous developmental factors which influence the research subject. When a researcher asks why something has happened, they must engage with the full spectrum of causes: theoretical, social, and methodological.

Case study theory indicates that a case is deemed ‘paradigmatic’ when carefully selected and unique examples are extracted from phenomena. The act of isolating a unique case opens up a conceptual space, situating the unique case among a class of cases that the paradigm is designed to reveal. “Such a comparison does something unique: it places the paradigmatic case alongside the phenomenon... it steps out of a class at the very moment that it reveals and defines it” (Pavlich, 2012: 646). Pavlich goes on to note that the strengths of a carefully selected and well extrapolated paradigmatic case can contribute to a “nuanced exploration of otherwise unelaborated phenomena” (2012: 647).

Case study research is flexible and allows a researcher to draw upon many techniques, both qualitative and quantitative, to conduct intensive field research to arrive at a deeper understanding of the topic. In addition, Gerring (2007: 40) identifies that, due to the flexible nature of this method, case studies have a natural advantage in exploratory research, particularly “when a subject is being encountered for the first time or is being considered in a fundamentally new way”. It affords a researcher free license to look at subject from many directions and through many lenses. Also, due to this method’s subjective nature, case study research allows many hypotheses and insights to be generated that would not emerge from other methods (Gerring, 2007).

On the other hand, case study research is not without limitations. By definition, this method includes only one or a small number of cases of a general phenomenon. Thus, observations cannot be generalised to a population as a whole. However, the knowledge gained through this method can be generalised back to theory. Case study “is generally weaker with respect to external validity” (Gerring, 2007: 43). Another possible limitation of the case study method is bias towards a researcher’s preconceived notions. However, Flyvbjerg (2011: 311) argues that this bias is no greater in case study than in other methods of inquiry, and that case study actually contains a greater bias towards *falsification* of preconceived notions than towards their verification. Nevertheless, the author of this dissertation has taken seriously the possibility of bias in this study.

Case study method was chosen to deepen both researcher’s and readers’ understandings of food security in Sea Point. The descriptive nature of this case allowed a rich analysis and description of the multiple sets of data recorded for this dissertation. The study was designed to be paradigmatic because no other published South African research has focused on the linkages between commercial supermarkets, gentrification, and food security. This study has provided key insights into a previously un-conceptualised phenomenon, with the aim of opening a forum for future research.

2.3 Study Area and Sample Population Selection

2.3.1 Study Area Selection

The case study for this dissertation took place in the suburb of Sea Point. A City Improvement District (CID) was implemented in the Sea Point area in 2002. Practically, this means that the process of gentrification has been ongoing for the last fifteen years. Mass media reports show that, as a result of this CID project and other factors, property values in

Sea Point have doubled over the last five years. Rising property values and rentals have led to the displacement of many middle- and low-income households. Sea Point is a textbook example of inner-city gentrification.

Sea Point was the most suitable study area for several reasons. Firstly, there was ample literature to be found on life, community events, and development projects in the area. Secondly, it was easy for the researcher to access people with in-depth knowledge on how Sea Point has changed over time. Thirdly, the researcher lives in the suburb, so he could assume the role of participant observer and leverage his first-hand knowledge of the area and rapport with other residents. Fourthly, Sea Point is an easily accessible and safe atmosphere in which to conduct fieldwork. Finally, its urban and affluent nature contrasted with other places in Cape Town and South Africa that are often studied by food-security research.

In line with the rules of case study method, this research has drawn conceptual boundaries around Sea Point. Chapter 4 of this dissertation provides maps and a discussion detailing the location and geographic boundaries of the research area. Temporal boundaries are also assumed: this study evaluates changes to the area's food-retail system and neighbourhood dynamics only over the last fifty years. Anything mentioned outside of these limits has been considered contextual to this case.

2.3.2 Sample Population Selection

This section speaks to how the sample population of middle- and low-income households were identified for the purpose of the survey interview. This report recognised that Statistics South Africa (StatsSA) have pre-defined income categories which have been used in the 2001 and 2011 national censuses. According to StatsSA (2015: 13) a low-income household receives an annual income of R1 to R19,200 and a middle-income one receives R19,200 to R307,200.

Rather than asking individuals how much they earned, the researcher targeted specific occupations which were known to earn annual incomes within with these bands. The individual could be employed in either a full- or part-time position, or in an ad-hoc manner. The occupations included domestic workers, cleaners, gardeners, building caretakers, handymen, security guards, nurses, retirement home attendants, office administrators, and store clerks. In theory, this study targeted people who were residents of the suburb at the time

research was being conducted, but in practice two interlocutors were included that had recently moved outside the suburb for reasons discussed in Chapter 5.

The researcher's original plan to identify and approach study participants was to seek help from community organisations that work in the area, such as Ndifuna Ukwazi, Reclaim the City, and others. The researcher discussed his topic and study aims with these organisations and was met with mild interest. However, the organisations ended up acting more as gatekeepers for this study than actual partners (Keesling, 2011). This may be a result of having policies in place which prohibit putting their constituent communities in contact with academic researchers, purportedly because of the problematic implicit power dynamics.

Instead, the researcher began by interviewing domestic workers who reside in his apartment block. The researcher then used the snowball sampling technique to contact additional research participants. "Snowball sampling uses a small pool of initial informants to nominate other participants who meet the eligibility criteria for the study" (Morgan, 2012: 816). The process began with the researcher explaining the topic of study, conducting the survey interview, and developing rapport with the first interviewees. Thereafter, the researcher asked these interviewees to put him in contact with acquaintances, friends, or relatives who live outside the apartment block, in other parts of Sea Point, particularly those who fit the population criteria listed above. Two of the original interviewees were particularly instrumental in networking with other low-income residents in the area.

A sample population of long-term Sea Point residents was selected for unstructured interviews. The criteria set by the researcher were individuals who had lived in or near the study area for fifty years or more, and had strong recollections of how the suburb has changed over time. Based on these criteria, the researcher identified and interviewed individuals who either were neighbours, family members, or family members of friends.

2.4 Instrumentation

Yin (2014: 105) identifies that a good case study ought to rely on as many sources as possible to fully understand the phenomenon being considered. Triangulation occurs when data points and sources are combined in a way "that might yield a fuller and more complete picture of the phenomenon concerned if brought together" (Bergman, 2008: 27). Yin notes that when a case draws on and combines multiple streams of evidence, it allows multiple measures of the same phenomenon, which increases the 'construct validity' of the research as a whole

(2014).² This research has drawn on and combined the following research techniques to collect data.

2.4.1 Document and Archival Research

Documentary and archival research is an important and frequent technique of case study research, specifically to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources (Yin, 2003: 87). On the 29th and 30th of August of 2017, the researcher used the Macmillan Clippings and Photograph Collection (part of the University of Cape Town's (UCTs) Special Collections Library) to find newspaper clippings pertinent to the study area. The study used indexed keywords like 'Cape Town Planning', 'Cape Town Harbour', 'Cape Town Waterfront Development', 'Green Point', and 'Sea Point' (over a period dating back to 1970). Newspaper clippings identified as relevant were scanned using the library facility and archived on a USB flash drive for reading and analysis. Later, the researcher grouped the articles by date and then analysed them to draw out pertinent themes and events.

With regards to archival research, the author made use of UCTs Government Publications Library to source suburb-specific population survey data for the 1970, 1980, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2011 censuses. Once the data was retrieved, the researcher tabulated it in Microsoft Excel and represented it in graphs and charts which have been included in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

Yin (2003: 87) notes that the strengths of using a document and archival research technique lie in the fact that the evidence is stable and can be retrieved repeatedly. It is exact and contains names, references, and details of an event, and covers a long span of time, many events, and many settings. Additionally, archival records have the added bonus of being precise and quantitative. The limitations of using these techniques include the length of time it takes to retrieve the information (if retrievable at all), a selection bias if the collection is incomplete, and that some evidence may reflect an unknown bias by the author of the document. The researcher mitigated these limitations by working closely with UCT's subject librarians to find appropriate material. He used reflexivity as an analytical technique to minimise bias in the study.

² Yin (2003: 34) defines construct validity as a method of "establishing operational measures for the concepts being studied".

2.4.2 Mapping

The researcher used maps to collect, explore and display data about the location of food retail and service outlets in the study area (Chapter 5). The researcher created a feature class in ArcGIS v.10.5.1 which prompted him to collect information on attributes like outlet name, hours of operation, type of outlet, fresh food sold on site, junk food sold on site, and a host of food-pricing variables. The researcher then uploaded the newly created feature class to ESRI's ArcGIS Online and gave it a topo-cadastral map as a background. Finally, the researcher synchronised and downloaded the feature class and map on to his iPhone 5, through the ESRI Collector app, for portable use in the field.

Once the map and feature class were accessible on his iPhone, the researcher was able to walk around Sea Point, drop 'points' on the map to denote the location of a retail or service outlet, and collect pertinent information requested by the attribute fields noted above. This process occurred between the 11th and 29th of September. To ensure consistency in the data set, no other information was added later. Once the mapping project had been finalised, the data was downloaded from ArcGIS Online to ArcGIS v.10.5.1, where it was cleaned, converted to a shapefile, and visualised in maps.

The strengths of this method lie in the fact that maps are powerful visual tools which show spatial relationships and minimize distortions in spatial attributes like shape, area, direction and distance. This provides a visual artefact for the researcher and reader to analyse (McKinnon, 2012). The major limitation of this technique is that maps "tend to simplify the world and fix objects in space, favouring representations of static landmarks over dynamic temporal processes... This limits what can be represented" (McKinnon, 2012: 464). The researcher minimised the impact of these limitations by using additional techniques, such as direct observation and photograph.

2.4.3 Food-Price Recording

In tandem with the mapping technique above, the researcher constructed an ArcGIS feature class to allow him to record pricing data on a basket of food items. Data was drawn from food-retail outlets mapped within the Sea Point area and five commercial supermarkets outside the study area in low-income areas of Cape Town. To maintain consistency, all food prices were recorded between the 11th and 22nd of September, with no information added afterward. Figure 5-22 (in Chapter 5) provides a complete breakdown of all the food-price attributes captured for this study. To maintain measurement consistency, the researcher

developed his own guidelines on the price points being captured, focusing on capturing prices of specific brands and unit weights (noted in Figures 5-22 and 5-23, Chapter 5).

This section briefly explains the process followed to collect food-price data. First, the researcher would ‘drop’ a pin to show the location of a food-retail outlet in the ESRI Collector app. Second, he would record pertinent store information, including name and hours of operation. Third, he would record the price in rand (R) of the food item. When a store did not stock an item, the attribute field was left blank. While supermarkets readily put price labels on their products or underneath the product on the shelf, the researcher discovered that convenience stores and superettes in the study area do not include price labels on their products. As a practicality, the researcher scaled back the number of food items being priced and focused on four staple food items (bread, eggs, maize meal and long-life milk) to create a price comparison across the various store types. The store owners and shop clerks were then asked directly for this information. Two of the shops in the Sea Point area chose not to participate in the study.

The strength of this technique is that it allows a spatial representation of food prices and store types, creating an understanding of where people might prefer to shop and which outlets cater to a lower-income consumer segment. Its limitations lie in the fact that stores stock different brands of food and in different unit weights. Supermarkets also periodically discount their food prices to create special promotions or offerings. As a result, it can be difficult to maintain consistency in the food-price points being recorded. The author mitigated these limitations by developing his own brand and unit-weight guidelines to create a consistent and methodical data-capture process. To limit the impact of special promotions on food prices, he recorded food prices only in the middle two weeks of the month.

2.4.4 Direct Observation

The researcher kept a fieldwork journal where he recorded observations about Sea Point’s food system. Such observations included the different food brands and unit weights being sold at the various stores, particularly when something new or unusual was encountered for the first time. The researcher would also note whether a store was particularly busy, note the time of day it was busy, and estimate the number of customers in the establishment. Additionally, when the researcher interacted with a store owner or shop clerk, any pertinent information gained from the exchange was recorded.

Direct observation grants access to people and situations where surveys and interviews are impossible or inappropriate. It provides experiential data, useful for explaining meaning and context (Yin, 2003). Its limitations are that it is time-consuming, observations are subject to the researcher's observational biases, and the presence of the researcher in the field may affect the situation being observed, thus affecting the validity of the findings (Yin, 2003). To mitigate some of these limitations, the researcher employed reflexivity as an analytical technique to minimise his own bias. He supplemented observational data with findings from other techniques like photography to create a more complete picture of the phenomenon.

2.4.5 Photography

The researcher used his personal Nikon Coolpix S9500 to capture contextual photographs of Sea Point's built environment, external facades of retail spaces, and the fresh produce offerings inside some of the shops. These images are shown throughout this dissertation. They were used to support a fuller, richer analysis. Permission to take photographs inside stores (and when and where) was first sought from the shop owner or store manager.

The strengths of photography as a visual research technique include its ability to portray accurately the visual and spatial dimensions of a situation being encountered and its capacity to materialise the researcher's perceptions for further analysis. Its limitations include a form of commodity fetishism, in which the attraction of a visual artefact displaces attention towards the phenomena they are intended to represent³. Photography allows researchers to generate too much data in a very short space of time, and sometimes visual technologies can be clumsy and difficult to manage (Wagner, 2012). The researcher mitigated these limitations by restricting the number of images taken, focusing the use of this technique only on the core elements of the study, and only including images which are directly related to the study's contextual elements or findings.

2.4.6 Interviews

This study used interviews as an additional technique, with two different interview formats. First, the researcher conducted two open-ended interviews with long-term Sea Point residents (defined in section 2.3.2). The study was inspired by some of the literature on photo-

³This means that the researcher might lose sight of the fact that a photograph is a 'thing'. Rather their focus may shift to the phenomenon encountered which is reified in the photograph. One should not lose sight of the fact that photographs are something created, or fashioned by the researcher. As such, they may be subject to the researcher's observational bias.

elicitation, a technique that has been developed in anthropology. In this technique, to elicit memories, ideas, and any other response pertinent to the topic, the researcher shows an interviewee photographs during the interview (Lapenta, 2012). In the absence of photographs, the researcher printed several newspaper clippings from the Macmillan Collection. These clippings were then shown to the interviewees and questions were posed about life in Sea Point during a variety of periods from the 1970s onwards. Second, the researcher conducted ten survey interviews with middle- and low-income residents of Sea Point. The study used a pre-defined, open-ended set of questions which is located in Appendix 1.

After being granted permission by the study participants, the researcher recorded all interviews using the Voice Memos app on his iPhone 5. He also logged in his fieldwork journal the tone of voice, expressions and gestures in the flow of the dialogue (Kvale, 1996). Another tactic employed by the researcher was to note in his journal important topics and keywords spoken by his interlocutors so they would not be forgotten and could be queried later in the interview. The researcher transcribed all recorded interviews in the evening following the exchange.

According to Yin (2014: 106), the strengths of the interview technique lie in the fact that it allows a researcher to focus directly on the case study topic and to uncover explanations, stories and personal views about the topic at hand. Its limitations include bias arising from poorly designed questionnaires and poorly articulated questions, bias on the part of the researcher when interpreting data, inaccuracies due to poor recall, and that the interviewee may sometimes tell the interviewer what he or she wants to hear.

The researcher mitigated these limitations in the following ways. First, narratives drawn from the long-term Sea Point residents were triangulated with the newspaper clippings to check and ensure consistency where possible. Second, the researcher focused on obtaining a minimum sample population of ten middle- and low-income Sea Point residents to allow for patterns to emerge. Finally, the researcher employed reflexivity as an analytical technique when engaging and managing the data.

2.5 Data Analysis

Rather than waiting until field research was finished, the researcher analysed data ‘on the fly’. This study made use of pattern matching and explanation building as analytical techniques. The goal of a pattern-matching approach is to compare an empirically based

pattern with the ones predicted by theory (Yin, 2003: 116). The goal of an explanation-building approach is to explain the case: “to stipulate a presumed set of causal links about it” (Yin, 2003: 122). Both approaches are iterative, requiring several revisions of study propositions before properly conceived explanations can be built and patterns can be extrapolated.

The strength of these analytical techniques lie in the fact that matched patterns and a well constructed analytical explanation serve to strengthen a case’s internal validity.⁴ The limitation of these techniques is that their iterative nature makes it easy for the researcher to lose focus of the topic. To mitigate this limitation, the researcher made a concerted effort to constantly refer to the aim of the study. Additionally, the use of theory as part of the architecture of this case has strengthened its external validity.⁵

2.5.1 Reflexivity

The final analytical technique employed in this study is reflexivity. Simply put, reflexivity is a form of self-awareness which empowers a researcher to reflect systematically on how their actions subtly or overtly impact on the act of knowledge construction (Finlay, 2002). For the purposes of this study, the researcher periodically paused to reflect on the efficacy of the research process and the knowledge it created, specifically to diminish the possibility of bias resulting from his own way of being in the world.

2.6 Ethical Considerations

This research applied for and was granted ethical approval by UCT’s Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment: Ethics in Research Committee on the 23rd of July 2017 (see Appendix 2). This study acknowledges that UCT has its own code of ethics for research involving human participants. The researcher chose to use ethical guidelines provided by Anthropology Southern Africa (2005), which compels a researcher to protect respondents and anticipate harm, seek informed consent at all times, ensure respondents are not made more vulnerable as a result of the research process, and ensure research happens in a fair, collaborative, and transparent way. The study chose this ethical code because of its rigour and clarity on how a researcher ought to act in the field.

⁴ Yin (2003: 34) defines internal validity as a way of “establishing causal relationships, whereby certain conditions are shown to lead to other conditions; as distinguished from spurious relationships.”

⁵ External validity is defined as “establishing the domain to which a study’s findings can be generalized” (Yin, 2003: 34).

Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment rules dictate that all researchers must use consent forms when conducting original research with human participants. The researcher created and submitted a consent form for ethics approval. However, the researcher experienced a problem in the field in that not all interviewees were fully literate or equal in their ability to understand written English. This made a consent form inappropriate in many cases. The researcher made an on-the-fly adjustment to his interview question schedule to include informed consent requests at the beginning and end of each interview. The researcher's verbal requests seeking informed consent, as well as answers from the interviewees, were recorded as part of the interviews.

Finally, the researcher gave all participants the option to be anonymised. Due to the somewhat sensitive nature of this research topic, many of the respondents expressed a preference to remain unidentified. In these instances, identity signifiers were not recorded in any dataset and the interviewee was given an alias. The researcher used the named storms list from the 1986 Atlantic hurricane season as a source for many of the pseudonyms.

2.7 Post-Research Procedure

Upon the conclusion of this dissertation, the researcher has archived and stored all fieldwork data, shapefiles, images and literature on a USB storage device, and will continue to do so for a period of ten years. If the researcher is no longer using these records after that period has elapsed, the files will be deleted. Should any of this study's participants want access to these files, the researcher will send copies of research notes pertinent to them personally.

2.8 Conclusion

This purpose of this chapter was to identify the research questions addressed in this study and to report on the technical, analytical and ethical approaches used to collect empirical data. The second section showed that this study used a qualitative, single, paradigmatic case study design. The third section established the rationale for the researcher's choice of study area and sample population. The fourth section laid out the suite of research techniques used in this study, which included document and archival evidence, mapping, food-price recording, direct observation, photography and interviews. The fifth section provided insight on the analytical techniques used by the researcher to develop this case, which were pattern matching, explanation building and reflexivity. The sixth section explained the researcher's approach to ethical research design. The final section laid out detail on the post-research procedure.

The next chapter will review the literature to establish a constellation of theories and case studies which will inform this research and guide this case's findings.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to detail the breadth of literature and research pertaining to food insecurity on scales ranging from the global to the urban. The first section will begin by establishing a contextual understanding of food insecurity at the international and Southern African scale, and how it relates to the planning profession. The second section will explore ideas presented by the Supermarket Revolution Hypothesis (SRH) to explain the proliferation of corporate supermarkets across the Global South, and their impact on small, locally owned retailers. The third section will locate itself in the nexus between poverty, economic and physical access to food and the dominance of a corporate food system through a survey of food deserts literature. The fourth and final section will look at innovative ways that two cities, namely Belo Horizonte and Toronto, have used policy to tackle urban food insecurity. It is envisioned that this survey of the literature will: afford an in-depth understanding of how food system operate; identify potential barriers to accessing food; and highlight innovative ways to confront issues of food insecurity in urban spaces.

3.2 Planning for Food

This aim of this section is to contextualize food insecurity at the global and regional scale and to articulate the literature's pleas for food systems to be considered by the urban planning discipline. This research adopts the widely cited definition of food security (as provided by the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations [FAO]) which states that food security "exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (2015: 58). The FAO's conceptualization of food security imagines four key components that ought to be met through policy, namely food availability, economic and physical access, food utilization, and stability.

Recent figures highlight that around 795 million people are undernourished globally (FAO, 2015). The FAO report carries some encouraging news in that it shows the global prevalence of undernourishment has decreased from 18.6% to 10.9% of total population in the reporting period between 1990 and 2015 (FAO, 2015: 8). This progress is important because it has been achieved against a challenging global economic environment described as the New Food Equation by Morgan and Sonnino (2010) and reflects more food-secure people

in a growing global population. The New Food Equation refers to a set of disquieting trends which have put pressure on global food systems, including: climate change; land conflicts as wealthy but food insecure countries invest in fertile land in poor countries in Africa and Asia to bolster their own security (Brooks, 2016: 8); a growing global population; and food price surges – such as the one in 2007-8 when global wheat prices nearly doubled and rice prices almost tripled overnight, leading to riots and political instability in several countries around the world (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010: 209-210). In light of these trends, food security was declared a matter of national security at the G8 conference in Treviso, Italy in April of 2009 (Mittal, 2009).

Nevertheless, the FAO report makes it clear that about 98% of the hungry live in the developing regions of the world (FAO, 2015: 9). Sub-Saharan Africa in particular shares a disproportionate amount of the world's hungry, with just under one in every four people (23.2% of the total population) estimated to be undernourished in the 2015 reporting period (FAO, 2015: 12). South Africa fares slightly better in the regional picture: it has managed to maintain undernourishment levels below or close to 5% of the total population since reporting began in 1990 (FAO, 2015: 13). However, this data is contradicted by another recent study by Shisana et al. (2013) which interviewed 6,306 households across various South African districts and found that 28.3% of respondent households were at risk of hunger, while 26% definitely experienced hunger. Different metrics used to assess food security could account for the numerical inconsistency between the two reports. Despite the FAO's positive outlook on food security in South Africa, this report takes the position that 5% is still too high.

The literature shows that the outlook and policy prescriptions arising from international organisations aimed at combating food insecurity have traditionally centred on the promotion of smallholder agriculture and rural development. While the literature readily acknowledges that food insecurity exists in rural African regions, it tends to be driven by seasonal change and can manifest as a community-wide phenomenon (Maxwell, 1999a: 1940). However, it is alarming that the international and national policymakers' preoccupation with rural development has coincided with an inadequate research and policy focus on food security in urban settings. This trend has been dubbed the "rural bias" (Crush and Frayne, 2010: 8).

A very recent example of rural bias in policy arises in the FAO Committee on World Food Security (CFS) report, which proposed the “twin-track approach to hunger reduction” which included “(a) direct interventions and social investments to address the needs of the hungry [e.g. food aid, social safety nets, et cetera], and (b) long-term development programmes to enhance the performance of the productive sectors (especially to promote agriculture and rural development)” (2006: 16). This approach was informed by a belief that a majority of the poor in developing regions depend on agriculture either directly or indirectly for income-earning opportunities and that agriculture is critical to the development of rural economies and food security (CFS, 2006: 11). Looking towards Africa, the CFS report maintained that “revitalization of the agricultural sector remains fundamental for altering the region’s hunger trend, especially since 80 per cent of Africans depend on farming for income” (CFS, 2006: 9).

Critiquing this policy focus, Crush and Frayne (2014: 115) candidly state that “in all of the policy documents and statements relating to [the food security] agenda, it is almost as if the urban does not exist in Africa”. Echoing this sentiment, Battersby and Crush (2014: 149) highlight that “just because more food is being produced or is available in a country is certainly no guarantee that it is more accessible to the bulk of the urban population”. Their pragmatic position suggests that rural areas are likely to remain the locus of poverty in Southern Africa well into the current century. However, the rate at which poverty is shifting to urban settings requires a greater policy focus on the urban (Naylor and Falcon, 1995).

In support of this position, two reports by different arms of the United Nations point to a markedly different future for the continent. The State of World’s Cities 2010/2011 report and the World Population Prospects 2017 Revision report both show that as of 2010, 58.8% of Southern Africa’s estimated 58 million inhabitants already lived in urban settings. It is theorised that 77.6% of the region’s 85 million future inhabitants will be urbanized by 2050 (United Nations Habitat [UN Habitat], 2010: 12; and United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs [UN DESA], 2017). Additionally, based on 2010 estimates, slightly more than half of the region’s 58 million inhabitants were estimated to live at or below the \$1.90 a day poverty line (World Bank, 2010). The latest indicators suggest that regional economic growth is taking place without job creation: “inequalities are widening and per capita incomes are up to 5 times lower than in other regions at similar urbanisation levels” (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015).

Against this background, the UN Habitat (2010) report is striking because it highlights that international policy aimed at addressing food insecurity is largely incongruent with the lived realities of the many urban dwellers in developing regions. In fact, the report raised the alarm on a silent emergency in urban settings because of the high degree of acute malnutrition in non-emergency times. The issue at hand was said to be

“not one of food *supply*, but rather of *access* – access not only to food of sufficient quality and quantity for the household, but also access to income with which to buy or barter for food while on top of this paying for basic health services, education and other needed goods and services” (UN Habitat, 2010: 104, emphasis in original).

The statement above presents two different conceptions of access: proximity and affordability. Proximity is the physical distance middle- and low-income households are required to travel to and from places to acquire high-quality, nutritious and culturally acceptable food (Battersby, 2011; Battersby and Peyton, 2014). Affordability can be defined as the ability to pay the asking price for food items.

Most “city dwellers tend to be far more dependent than their rural counterparts on the cash economy to acquire food” (Battersby, 2011: 547). Therefore, wage employment and social security grants form an essential component of the poor’s ability to nourish themselves. This trend is confirmed by Dixon et al. (2007: i119) who show in their analysis that urban dwellers are at particular risk of under- and over-nutrition due to their reliance on the commercial food supply, which requires income from wages. Under extreme conditions, low-income households can spend up to half of their net income on food items alone. Limited household finances can also lead to poor dietary diversity, with negative health implications over time (Battersby, 2011: 551; also UN Habitat, 2010). Crush and Frayne (2011b: 539; echoed by Battersby, 2011) point out that in many countries “food prices are rising faster than the rate of inflation, with deleterious consequences for household food security amongst the poor”. These two concepts of access identify that food may be affordable but spatially inaccessible, or it may be spatially accessible but unaffordable (Crush and Frayne, 2011a).

While proximity and affordability pose two distinct challenges to policy makers, Maxwell (1999a) proposes a possible third conception of access that ought to be considered: that of the poor’s access to political processes. As Maxwell (1999b: 27) identifies, food insecurity is politically invisible in contemporary African cities for several reasons. The first

reason is that urban managers are overburdened with many pressing problems including unemployment, growing informal settlements, decaying infrastructure and declining services. The second reason is the traditional view that food security is primarily a rural phenomenon. The third reason is that, in the absence of a supply disruption or crisis, food insecurity in urban settings is only visible at the household level. The rumbling of hungry bellies is not heard in City Hall until the situation reaches the point of calamity.

A fourth reason is that some built-environment professionals understand food security to fall outside the mandate of the planning profession and see it as primarily a function of the private sector. The needs of the urban poor are secondary to commercial profit margins (Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 2000).

Koc et al. (1999) give a fifth reason. The overall food system comprises a multitude of complex, interdependent parts, a complexity that obscures the interlinkages within and beyond it. Food security is difficult to grapple with even at a localised scale. For these reasons, the literature implies that a different approach may be needed to solve the “silent emergency”.

In trying to find a different approach, Welsh and MacRae (1998) remind us that food touches our lives in so many ways. Food and its production are tied to Earth’s ecological systems and the human endeavour to survive. Food is a nexus for industry, rural-urban relations, global trade relations, domestic and social life, biological health, social belonging, the celebration of community, expressions of care, and abuse of power. Food is simply an all-encompassing part of daily life (Welsh and McRae, 1998: 242). In her seminal book *Hungry City*, Steel (2008: 324) argues that “the global food system is a network in which we are all complicit. If we do not like the way it works, or the world it is creating, it is up to us to change it”. The literature overwhelmingly indicates that urban planning has major role to play in transforming the food system so that the benefits it brings can support equitable, healthy and cohesive communities.

Urban planning is defined as “a technical and political process concerned with the welfare of people, control of the use of land, design of the urban environment including transportation and communication networks, and protection and enhancement of the natural environment” (McGill University, n.d.). On the other hand, food systems are defined as “the chain of activities connecting food production, processing, distribution, consumption, and

waste management, as well as all the associated and regulatory institutions and activities” (Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 2000: 113).

From a glance at these definitions, it is easy to understand how the two systems connect. Good-quality air, water and food are the requisite ingredients for the health and vitality of urban communities and planners have been heavily involved in the improvement of air and water through pollution-control programmes (Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 1999: 220). A more in-depth interrogation shows that many other facets of the food system intersect or are supported by mundane planning activities like zoning, policies supporting urban food production, or strategies to put local, fresh food in schools, yet contemporary planners consider food security only in a compartmentalised way. Meanwhile, the current food system still places a disproportionate burden on the shoulders of the poor, who spend a higher proportion of their income on food but have fewer quality food choices (Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 1999: 214).

Many have argued that planning by its very nature is an ethical activity: planning “is only defensible as an activity if it is believed that it will deliver a future that is ‘better’ than that which would result without” (Cambell and Marshall, 1999: 476). Considering that food is so deeply entangled with human welfare and connects people to the network of systems that breathe life into urban settlements, and considering current rates of food insecurity and how much more acute this situation may become as Southern African cities grow into the future, this paper suggests it seems appropriate that urban planners start regarding food security as part of their *raison d'être*.

If this research is to consider more ethical and holistic ways to address the silent emergency then it is going to have to understand the roots of the crisis. While this section considered the general dynamics of food insecurity and has articulated the need for an urban planning that is mindful of food systems, the next section will delve into the literature on the Supermarket Revolution Hypothesis to identify some of the structural elements driving this crisis.

3.3 The Supermarket Revolution Hypothesis

The literature presented in this section considers the Supermarket Revolution Hypothesis (SRH), a theory which explains the proliferation of the food-retailing corporations throughout the world. As a point of reflexivity, this research also considered and was inspired by Food

Regime Theory (FRT). FRT identifies the underlying drivers and dynamics which have enabled private-sector control of food production and distribution systems at the global scale. As inspired by Born and Purcell (2006: 198), this research adopts a position of scalar relativity, which implies that a local scale only has meaning in relation to larger scales. That is, this analysis must examine a range of scales simultaneously to interrogate the dynamics linking international and national policy to localised malnutrition. Unfortunately there is no space to consider FRT further in this chapter. However, a short discussion on these ideas has been provided in Appendix 3.

Nestled within and subordinate to the corporate consolidation and control of global food systems explained in FRT, the SRH explains the international shift of food retail markets from fragmented and localised urban marketplaces to larger and centralised commercial wholesale and retail operations. These new supermarket entities operate across subnational, national and international scales and their operations fundamentally alter the shape and form of the local food retail environment. To an extent, corporate supermarkets even alter the shapes and forms of cities (Reardon et al., 2003; Steel, 2008).

In her in-depth historical analysis of food systems, Steel (2008) notes that the earliest supermarkets originated in the USA and slowly started appearing in Europe during the post-war era. This is a trend which first saw the advent of self-service stores, followed by the consolidation and restructuring of the retail sector under increasingly few corporate entities over the past fifty to eighty years (Reardon et al., 2003). The literature highlights that the predecessors of today's supermarkets located themselves on the fringes of towns or in affluent areas, servicing a relatively small urban elite (Crush and Frayne, 2011a; Steel, 2008). However, over last thirty years the supermarket retail format has increasingly been exported to countries beyond the United States and Europe and has begun to service middle-class and poor consumer segments.

The literature offers a set of demand- and supply-side determinants which allowed for the accelerated exportation of the supermarket retail format. The literature hypothesises that supply-side factors began with the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) which drove institutional and regulatory reforms in the 1980s and 1990s and firmly entrenched an environment of trade liberalisation throughout most of the globe (Battersby and Peyton, 2014; Reardon et al, 2003). Trade liberalisation allowed food-procurement and retail companies as well as financial investors from wealthy countries in North America, Europe

and the Far East to expand their operations to other parts of the world through Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). FDI was critical as it allowed retail and procurement operations to capture opportunities in developing regions which offered much higher margins and relatively weak local competition. International expansion was particularly important for corporate entities given that many faced highly saturated and competitive markets at home (Reardon et al., 2003).

Coupled with FDI, a second supply-side factor caused enhanced retail-procurement logistics and inventory-management technologies. The SRH suggests that through improved technology, retailers implemented and used specialised procurement agents that largely bypassed traditional urban wholesale markets. They shifted their procurement towards a distribution-centre scheme that served a large number of stores at subnational or national level, and they introduced private grades and standards to compensate for poor public standards infrastructure (Humphrey, 2007: 436-437). These trends and technologies offered, and continue to offer, substantial savings through efficiency gains, taking advantage of economies of scale through bulk procurement and coordinated cost reductions. Reardon et al. (2003: 1142) note that “these efficacy gains fuel profits for investment in new stores, and, through intense competition, reduce prices to consumers of essential food products”.

On the other hand, the literature affords a host of demand-side determinants which have also accelerated the proliferation of the supermarket retail format. These include urbanisation, per capita income growth growing the middle class, the diffusion of refrigerators and cheap motorised vehicles (particularly resulting from trade liberalisation), better transportation infrastructure, and the increased presence of women in the labour force (Battersby and Peyton, 2014; Humphrey, 2007; Reardon et al, 2007).

Furthermore, the literature presents the exportation (i.e. takeoff) of the supermarket retail format as happening incrementally over time, or in a series of waves. Reardon et al. (2007) highlight that the first wave of supermarket-sector expansion happened in the mid-1990s, targeting affluent countries in South America and East Asia, Northern-Central Europe, the Baltics and South Africa. Thereafter, the second wave of supermarket-sector expansion occurred in the early 2000s, targeting Mexico, Southeast Asia, Central America and Southern-Central Europe. Finally, the third wave occurred on the tails of the second wave, targeting parts of Africa, poorer countries in Central and South America, Southeast Asia, China, India and Russia. Reardon et al. (2007: 404) argues that the proliferation of FDI

corresponds with the waves of diffusion of supermarkets throughout the world. This trend reveals a spatiotemporal logic as transnational companies sought out new opportunities and better returns in untapped markets.

Finally, food retail companies undergo more localised transformations as they become more established in a new market, principally with regards to consumer segment focus and product offering. Through their research, Reardon et al. (2003) show that newly established supermarkets will often focus first on upper-income consumer segments in affluent urban centres, then on the middle-class, and finally on the urban poor. This trend is not absolute and may be subject to other interrelated factors including timing, procurement and inventory-management capabilities, and product offering.

With reference to product offerings specifically, Reardon et al. (2007) highlight a trend by which supermarkets will roll out different product offerings based on the strength and complexity of their supply chain. Usually, newly minted food retail entities will focus on processed foods including canned goods and dry and packaged items such as rice, noodles and edible oils. As supermarkets centralise their procurement, they begin to incorporate semi-processed foods with varying degrees of processing and/or packaging like dairy, meats and fruits.

The final product offering stage is largely dependent on the efficacy of the supply chain. In this final stage, supermarkets begin to offer more delicate fruit and vegetables, particularly leafy green vegetables in imitated wet markets. These delicate produce items require frequent delivery from the farm or wholesaler in refrigerated transportation, hence the link to an effective and centralised procurement operation (Reardon et al., 2007). Overall, the trend is that, over time, supermarket chains take advantage of efficiency gains in procurement and logistics to expand their offering and attract new customers. Concomitantly, an increase in numbers of stores alongside an uptick in sales allows for planned bulk purchasing, enabling economies of scale to drive down the cost of food for consumers.

Focusing specifically on South Africa, the literature illustrates that supermarkets were present in as far back as the 1960s. However, for much of the later parts of the 20th century, supermarkets were confined to the urban centres and affluent neighbourhoods. Claasen (2002) suggests this may have been due to apartheid-era legislation and political unrest which prevented supermarket penetration into the townships and former homelands. Upon the first democratic election in 1994, economic sanctions against South Africa were dropped.

Thereafter, the newly elected African National Congress (ANC) proceeded apace with economic reform and adopted the principles and policy measures of trade liberalisation afforded by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Schneider, 2003). These two trends effectively opened the South African economy to FDI. A move towards free trade also allowed South African companies previously excluded from participating in the global economy to expand into developing regions to their north and beyond.

In the mid-1990s, South African retailers did not immediately expand into peri-urban areas and townships. Rather, the literature identifies that the period between 1990 and 2000 was characterised by a period of consolidating business in the cities, particularly focusing on the upper and middle-income consumer segments (Claasen, 2002; Weatherspoon and Reardon, 2003). Thereafter, the early 2000s were characterised as a key period of transition. The market share of food retail turnover began to consolidate in the hands of corporate entities through the expansion of the supermarkets into peri-urban and township neighbourhoods. In 2002, Weatherspoon and Reardon (2003: 337) estimated that the South African supermarket sector accounted for 55% of all food retail with just 2% of all retail outlets. By 2010, Planting (2010; also Battersby et al., 2016) estimated that the supermarket sector accounted for 68% of all food retail, with the four largest retailers accounting for 97% of food sold within the formal sector.

The literature explains that this process of reorganisation and consolidation has been driven by a few very large, hugely concentrated and very competitive food retail corporations. These companies include Pick n' Pay, Shoprite, Woolworths, Spar, Massmart, and Fruit & Veg City (Crush and Frayne, 2011a). Moreover, the literature identifies that South African supermarkets have achieved this level consolidation over the entire food retail sector through experimentations in store format and improved logistics capacities (Crush and Frayne, 2011a; Battersby and Peyton, 2014; Weatherspoon and Reardon, 2003).

The use of varying store formats is particularly interesting as it effectively allows supermarkets to tailor their offerings to suit the available floor space and to mirror the socioeconomic dynamics of the neighbourhood where the store is located. Such store formats include hypermarkets, supermarkets, superettes/convenience shops, and the ubiquitous petrol station forecourt shop. While Weatherspoon and Reardon (2003) argue that store-format experimentation has let supermarkets embed themselves in low-income communities,

Battersby and Peyton (2014) show through their case study that food retailers may alter their product range and supply affordable yet lower quality food to low-income communities.

At the national scale, an estimate of the number of supermarkets in operation shows that Pick n' Pay currently has 1280 stores, Shoprite has 1519 stores, Woolworths has 1395 stores, Spar has 2033 stores, and Massmart currently operates 139 stores under the operating names of Makro and Game (Massmart, 2016; Pick n' Pay, 2016; Shoprite, 2016; Spar, 2016; Woolworths, 2016). In their 2014 analysis, Battersby and Peyton (2014: 157) found a total of 269 supermarket retail outlets in Cape Town, consisting of 99 Shoprite stores, 67 Pick n' Pay stores, 56 Woolworths stores, and 47 Spars. This research recognises that these estimates are now out of date. It is likely there are more stores in operation across Cape Town and beyond. It should also be noted that virtually all of these retailers have plans for further expansion in Cape Town as new retail developments take place.

Based on the analysis above, two critiques of the SRH arise from the literature. First, Abrahams (2009) and Humphrey (2007) highlight through their research that the SRH is not nearly as linear and regimented in reality as it is in theory. Rather, they argue that there is a host of exogenous and endogenous factors which may help or hinder supermarket expansion into developing regions and that a more contextual understanding needs to be formulated to explain this process.

The other critique highlighted here is important for this paper. In a world driven by neoliberal policy, the growing power of supermarket corporate entities has serious implications for other aspects of food security in cities, which need to be properly understood and contextualised, particularly as they relate to the urban poor (Crush and Frayne, 2011a). Much of the research by Crush and Frayne (2011a) and Battersby et al. (2016), among others, argues that the urban poor rely on a mixture of formal and informal retailers to acquire their daily and weekly food purchases. And while the expansion of supermarkets into middle- and low-income areas may be seen as a boon for food security by policy makers, businessmen and members of the general public, research suggests that the opening and/or location of corporate supermarkets negatively impacts the viability of independent grocers and informal retailers in the area. This is problematic particularly as many small retail enterprises are community institutions that offer employment opportunities, food in more affordable quantities, or even food on credit when times are tough for the consumer (Battersby et al.,

2016). A 2010 baseline study focused on Southern African cities found that as many as 70% of urban poor households sourced their food from informal retailers (Frayne et al., 2010).

Given how intensely corporate supermarkets compete against each other and against small independent retailing enterprises, what are the implications of these observations? Tustin and Strydom (2006: 62-65) argue that independent and informal food-retailing enterprises may lose their market share at the hands of a changing retail-shopping environment in middle- and low-income areas, potentially risking exclusion from the food retail industry. This is echoed in a case study focusing on township communities in the north of Pretoria by Ligthelm (2008: 52) who argues that the opening of shopping centres led to the slow “cannibalization of existing small retail market share”, particularly where consumers had good access to the centre.

Adding to this narrative, a study commissioned by Urban LandMark in 2009 looked at the impact of township shopping-centre developments on the local retail environment in six case studies located across South Africa (McGaffin, 2010). This study found that, since shopping-centre developments were completed, the weighted percentage spent at local traders had decreased from 25% to 14%.⁶ However, the preliminary report found that 76% of local traders reported no change in their business (McGaffin, 2010: 4). Conversely, an article written by Bisseker (2006) several years earlier identified that the inroads being made by large retail chains via township shopping-centre developments in Soweto were directly attributable to the closure of 150 informal retail stores and the loss of 1,500 jobs. Perhaps the damage had already been done and shops had already closed by the time the Urban LandMark study had started, hence the incongruent results.

Potts (2008) confirms that trade liberalisation and the growth of corporate supermarkets and shopping-centre developments undermine the viability of more localised, small and independent retail operations in Africa. However, the converse is also true in that the strength of the original independent/informal sector may decrease the efficacy of and/or completely undercut supermarkets’ ability to expand into low-income communities. Potts states that “the viability of FDI in new modern shopping malls and the development of new ‘legal’ markets... were undermined by the previous scale and nature of the [informal and independent retail] sector” (2008:159). Ultimately, this suggests that there are many factors to

⁶ “Weighted percentage spent...” is vaguely defined in the McGaffin (2010: 4) report. This research interprets this finding as the weighted percentage of money spent by consumers at local traders.

consider that may impact upon the success of supermarkets and their smaller, independent counterparts.

Ultimately, the literature universally agrees that supermarket expansion poses grave consequences for small, independent food-retailing enterprises. While this section used the SRH as a vehicle to explain the proliferation of supermarkets in South Africa and beyond, the next section will weave this argument back to urban food security through a discussion of urban “food deserts”.

3.4 Food Deserts and Food Mirages

This section interrogates more closely the nexus between food retail, proximity and affordability in the food desert literature. To reiterate, the overarching argument adopted by this research is that the paramount considerations for municipal policy-makers are economic and physical accesses to good-quality and nutritious food.

At its core, the idea of food deserts provides a “metaphor for the complex nexus of interlinkages between increasing health inequalities, retail-development-induced differential access to food retail provision, compromised diets, under-nutrition and social exclusion” (Wrigley, 2002: 2032). This research acknowledges that there are several kinds of food deserts (Shaw, 2006). However, the traditional visualisation of food deserts is considered to be areas of cities which have poor access to healthy and affordable food retail outlets. Beaulac et al. (2009: 1) note that while a food desert can mean “a literal absence of retail food in a defined area”, more studies have focused on differences in economic and physical access to food between advantaged and disadvantaged areas.

Identifying and addressing urban areas with poor access to good-quality food retail is important as these areas may contribute to “deprivation amplification”, a process whereby the disadvantages arising from poorer quality environments (for example, poor transport or lack of food) amplify individual disadvantages in ways that are detrimental to individual health and wellbeing (Macintyre, 2007). The World Health Organisation (WHO) (2014) notes that inadequate access to healthy and fresh food is one of the leading causes of non-communicable diseases like obesity, diabetes and heart disease.

Battersby and Crush (2014: 144) note that the concept of food deserts is relatively recent, first arising in mainstream academic research in the United Kingdom and the United States in the early 2000s. The research shows that the paucity of supermarkets in North

American urban neighbourhoods stems from the post-war restructuring of the food retail sector and the migration of middle-class families to the suburbs (Pothukuchi, 2005; Short et al., 2007; Zenk et al., 2005). For a variety of reasons, supermarkets followed the customers they perceived to have money, which left many inner-city residents without access to quality retail outlets. The United Kingdom fared differently, in that many parts of the nation underwent a period where edge-of-city food super-store building was in vogue, particularly in the 1980s and early 1990s (Whelan et al., 2002; Wrigley, 2002). Wrigley (2002: 2031) notes that this trend “unevenly stripped food retailing out of parts of British cities or repositioned that provision downwards in range and quality terms relative to the food choice offerings of the superstores”.

Supermarkets follow a capitalist logic. Pothukuchi (2005) identifies that, in the USA, supermarket entities were particularly hesitant to continue their inner-city operations on the account of urban crime, degradation and perceived lack of buying power. Instead, they sought locations embedded in communities with higher buying power. Suburban and exurban locations were ideal as they offered more land for parking, easier loading and unloading for trucks, convenient access to highways and arterial roads, and a development context that favoured and facilitated much larger stores (Pothukuchi, 2005: 232). The consequence of this development trajectory guaranteed that inner-city, low-income communities have fewer retail chains and poorer options offering good-quality, nutritional food (Beulac et al., 2009).

The literature highlights several major themes. For instance, food desert-oriented case studies focusing on low-income neighbourhoods highlight the strong correlation between race, class, and proximity to supermarkets (Franco et al., 2006; Ghosh-Dastidar et al., 2015; Morland et al., 2002; Zenk et al., 2005). In particular, Morland et al. (2002) show in their case study focusing on urban areas in Mississippi, North Carolina, Maryland and Minnesota, that the types of food stores and food-service places that exist in poor and wealthy neighbourhoods are different. Through their evaluation of census data, Morland et al. highlighted that the prevalence of black residents increased as the wealth of the neighbourhoods decreased; that the greatest difference between wealthy, white neighbourhoods and poor, black neighbourhoods was that supermarkets were four times more likely in the former; and that as numbers of supermarkets decreased, the number of convenience stores increased which sold affordable, nutritionally-dense and unhealthy foodstuffs (processed or junk food in everyday parlance). As a result of inadequate

transportation, convenience stores were the only affordable option for many of these low-income households.

A similar trend was confirmed in a 2006 case study evaluating urban neighbourhoods in Baltimore, which found that between 43-46% of predominantly poor and black neighbourhoods had the lowest access to healthy food compared to their white and wealthy counterparts (Franco et al., 2006: 561). A 2005 case study on Detroit's east side showed that "poor access to supermarkets in black communities, a symptom of economic divestment, has negative implications for residents' fruit and vegetable intake" (Zenk et al., 2005: 7).

Another theme that arises from the literature is access to transportation. A case study by Clifton (2004) focusing on the City of Austin found that 22 out of 27 households interviewed had poor access to private and public transportation. Given that supermarket and convenience-store access was poor in the neighbourhoods under scrutiny, residents had to shop in other parts of the city to acquire healthy food. This research concluded that lack of access to transportation hindered both the ability to secure and maintain employment and the ability to acquire healthy and affordable food, thus inhibiting household well-being (Clifton, 2004: 410). Finally, Cotterill and Franklin (1995) note, in their case study which looked at supermarkets across the United States, that stores in zip codes with a high proportion of ethnic minorities were almost half the size in square feet per capita than their counterparts in wealthy, white areas. Ultimately, food-desert literature highlights the ways that neoliberalism, class, race, and geography meld together as a form of structural violence operating against the health and well-being of the urban poor.

The relatively new concept of the "food mirage" has emerged, which adds depth to the food-deserts debate. Short et al. (2007) argue that a location in neighbourhoods with good access to supermarkets and independent retailers is no guarantee that all residents can actually pay for what is being sold. In contrast to a food desert, a food mirage is "an area where full-service grocery stores appear plentiful but, because food prices are high, healthful foods are economically inaccessible for low-income households" (Breyer and Voss-Andreae, 2013: 131). Moreover, Breyer and Voss-Andreae (2013) note that because food mirages occur at the intersection of high costs of living and low wages, traditional methods for identifying food deserts do not make them visible.⁷

⁷ Breyer and Voss-Andreae (2013: 132) argue that conventional approaches to food desert identification evaluate nutritional environments through three distinct assumptions. First, commercial supermarkets are assumed as a proxy for the presence

The literature is clear that there is sometimes a very strong link between food mirages and gentrification, a process characterized by “increased capital investment into an area which results in a rise in property value, ultimately causing demographic changes – primarily in the form of displacement, class transformation and physical transformation in that area” (South African Cities Network, 2016: 12). This was confirmed in a case study on Portland by Breyer and Voss-Andreae (2013), which concluded that some of the acutest food mirages in this city were in gentrifying tracts of north and northeast Portland, where a wide variety of urban amenities, including higher-cost grocery stores, had recently clustered to service increasingly affluent (and mostly white) residents. “This shift is associated with the increasing costs of living, in terms of both housing and food, which has led to the displacement of low-income households into suburban areas in the east where the cost of living is lower” (Breyer and Voss-Andreae, 2013: 136).

Gazing north of the border, Canadian inner-cities in recent times have been growing and transforming rapidly. The food-mirage trend was confirmed again in a case study in Winnipeg where “nearly 85,000 people in the inner city lived in areas identified as severely unsupportive food environments” (Wiebe and Distasio, 2016: 13-14). A closer look at these numbers show that 60,000 people lived in severe food mirages, and 25,000 in food deserts. The crucial caveat to this research is the understanding that access differentials exist unequally within neighbourhoods and between residents (Wiebe and Distasio, 2016). Considering the complexities of the spatial forms of urban food insecurity in Winnipeg, this study concluded that addressing issues of food access will require programmes that target socioeconomic issues and the cost of food. It will require bringing healthy, affordable food into an area, or bringing individuals to healthy, affordable food.

Very little has been written on food deserts in South Africa, barring one essay by Battersby and Crush (2014). These authors build their argument from a 2010 baseline food-security project looking at low-income communities in eleven cities in nine Southern African countries (Frayne et al., 2010). They suggest that despite the proliferation of the supermarket retail format, 79% of poor urban households sourced food at supermarkets and 70% from informal retailers. However, when the frequency of patronage is factored, their analysis

of nutritious, affordable food. Second, households have been assumed to buy food from the nearest retailer. Third, food deserts are assumed to exist only in areas of concentrated poverty. These assumptions allow food environments to be reduced to quantities and scrutinised from afar. However, Breyer and Voss-Andreae argue that the evidence to support the validity of these sets of assumptions is mixed.

shows that informal retailers are patronised far more frequently than their supermarket counterparts (Battersby and Crush, 2014: 145).

Adding depth this argument, these authors show that African cities are characterized by spatial inequality where low-income residents are located on the fringes of the city, far from places of opportunity. “These cities are characterized by high daily mobility even by the very poor and households do not necessarily shop in the neighbourhoods where they live” (Battersby and Crush, 2014: 146). Additionally, these authors identify gender as a critical feature affecting mobility, household income, and ability to access to social protection. Therefore, Battersby and Crush argue that an analysis of food insecurity needs to look at the spatial inequality found within the food system. Ultimately, these authors define African food deserts “as poor, often informal urban neighbourhoods characterized by high food insecurity and low dietary diversity, with multiple market and non-market food sources but variable household access to food” (Battersby and Crush, 2014: 149).

The literature on South Africa considered in this chapter focuses mainly on food insecurity in low-income formal and informal settings. As identified above, these settings are often far from the centres of opportunity in wealthier precincts and central business districts. While this remains a point of contention, South African cities are not defined by an absolute separation of the wealthy from the poor. Neighbourhoods and precincts characterized as mixed-income do exist in the South African context and usually have a plethora of supermarkets, convenience stores, and food service outlets. The literature is silent on how the growth in supermarkets has contributed to food insecurity for middle- and low-income residents in these mixed-income neighbourhoods. Is it possible that for some urban dwellers, inner-city Cape Town is a food desert? Might other inner-city precincts currently undergoing gentrification become food mirages for the low-income residents who remain?

In sum, this section suggests that planners and policymakers need to acknowledge the interplay of numerous socioeconomic factors in any given location. These include limited personal ability to carry groceries, lack of a car, poverty, food prices and distance to supermarkets. These factors interconnect to create what may be an unsupportive local food environment for some households, while others may not be as adversely affected (Shaw, 2006: 238).

This section has considered the implications of food deserts and food mirages in a variety of locations. The next section will consider city-led food policies from Toronto and

Belo Horizonte that aim to create supportive local food environments for their constituencies. These examples will be considered as policy precedent on how one might address food security in Cape Town.

3.5 City-Scale Food System Interventions

While governments at international and national scales have relinquished control of the food system to private enterprise, a new trend has emerged in the last thirty years where municipal governments have increasingly found innovative ways to reduce malnutrition and support the development of their constituencies. This section will contemplate two municipal food-security policy responses from Belo Horizonte and Toronto to imagine how they could contribute to food-security policy responses in Cape Town.

The most important case study for this paper is that of Belo Horizonte (BH), Brazil. BH is home to approximately two million people and, like many other cities, suffered from high food prices, unequal distribution of food outlets and problems with decaying infrastructure. The literature shows that BH's food policy began in 1993 when the newly elected municipal government created the *Secretaria Municipal do Abastecimento* (SMAB), a distinct and statutorily created municipal office commanding its own budget (Chappell, 2009; Rocha and Lessa, 2009).⁸ Given the high rates of poverty in the region, this office was created to ensure that access to adequate and quality food was a lifelong right of citizenship (Rocha, 2001).

Rocha (2001) identifies that the food-security program implemented by SMAB had three distinct lines of action. The first encompassed policies geared towards helping the poor and vulnerable to supplement their food-consumption needs. The second was directed towards working with and/or manipulating the private sector to bring food to areas of the city that were previously neglected by commercial interests. The third line of action aimed to increase food production and supply through technical and financial incentives for small producers (also, Chappell, 2009).

Some of the key projects implemented under this program include *Restaurante Popular* which serves nearly 12,000 subsidized meals a day using local, fresh ingredients and planned by municipally employed chefs and nutritionists.⁹ One meal costs one Brazilian

⁸ '*Secretaria Municipal do Abastecimento*' directly translates to 'Municipal Secretary of Supply'.

⁹ '*Restaurante Popular*' directly translates to 'Popular Restaurant', but the program is also referred to in the literature as 'The People's Restaurant'.

Real¹⁰ and is open to all potential patrons. The overhead costs not recovered through the retail price of the meal are subsidized by the BH Municipal and Brazilian Federal governments (Rocha and Lessa, 2009). Alongside *Restaurante Popular*, SMAB has a direct interest in providing meals to municipal schools using locally sourced, healthy and fresh ingredients. This is of course a boon for local farmers in the greater BH region (Rocha, 2001). SMAB also has policies to support urban agriculture, often tied to local schools (Rocha and Lessa, 2009).

The BH precedent has two key programs of interest to this research in addressing food retail. First is the *Alimentos a Baixo Custo* (ABC) vendor program, which provides a number of convenience-stores partnerships throughout the city, generally located in close proximity to major thoroughfares, where the price of a handful of healthy and fresh food items (around 20-25 products) is regulated by SMAB.¹¹ The shopkeeper is allowed to determine their own prices on virtually every other item they stock to make up for the low and controlled prices on the healthy and fresh food items mentioned above (Chappell, 2009: 77). Chappell notes that the general benefit of this program for the urban poor is that it encourages mixing and matching, and a variety of food items to support nutritious diets.

The second SMAB program of interest is called *O Comboio do Trabalhador* which grants a fixed number of traders access to centrally located points in the city throughout the week.¹² These points are usually in prime, high-traffic CBD locations. Through his research, Chappell (2009) shows that in exchange for access to these prime retail spaces during the week, the program compels these traders to go to peripheral neighbourhoods on weekends to sell produce and other healthy food items at low, fixed prices.

Overall, SMAB is an important precedent to consider as it is one of the earliest, most successful and innovative programs to make food-security considerations mainstream in public policy. Its success lies in several factors: it was created through local government statute, it has its own budget, and it was started with unwavering political support and was staffed by competent, dedicated people (Rocha and Less, 2009). Finally, Rocha (2001) argues that by framing food security as a market failure, the SMAB has achieved its goals by leveraging and even manipulating planning and market mechanisms to provide adequate food for all.

¹⁰ 1 Brazilian Real is worth 4.12 South African Rand/ 0.32 US \$ on 02 September, 2017 (www.xe.com).

¹¹ '*Alimentos a Baixo Custo*' directly translates to 'Food at Low Cost'.

¹² '*O Comboio do Trabalhador*' directly translates to 'The Worker's Train'.

Another important precedent to consider is drawn from Toronto, Canada. On the back of increasing urban inequality, the Toronto City Council voted in favour of the Toronto Food Policy Council (TFPC) in the autumn of 1990 (Welsh and MacRae, 1998). The TFPC was nested within the Toronto Board of Health (TBH). It was staffed by three permanent employees and had twenty volunteer members who sat on the council, consisting of community advocates, nutritionists, social scientists, members of industry and environmentalists (Blay-Palmer, 2009). Welsh and MacRae note that despite the drawbacks of a modest budget and the inability to pass or enforce law, the TFPC supported an innovative and collaborative environment to experiment with policy, afforded opportunities to build alliances between the City and civil society, and ultimately created a mechanism for “food democracy” and “food citizenship” to emerge. Research by Blay-Palmer identifies that the underlying logic behind the TFPC was “the power of ideas, [which] inspired individuals and empowered communities” (2009: 405). In essence, it was a council of citizens.

The key feature of TFPC is that it acted as an intermediary between citizen input and City Council. It was effectively a channel for Toronto’s citizens to have their voices heard in City Hall on to food issues. Blay-Palmer (2009) notes the TFPC had the ability to define policy parameters for City Council on issues related to food security, including access, income, education, production, etc. Moreover, the TFPC often engaged in projects pertaining to community organisations, school food infrastructure programs, building local capacity for grant-application writing, agricultural land preservation and urban planning. In actively involving citizens in food policy development, the TFPC attempted to create a “friendship-dense economy” founded on relationships of trust between Torontonians and City Hall. Additionally, the TFPC sought to ensure community food-security needs were considered alongside other city goals and initiatives (Blay-Palmer, 2009).

Based on the hard work and social capital accumulated by the TFPC and the TBH, City Council passed Toronto Food Strategy (TFS) in 2008. While the TFPC was public-facing and based on community engagement, the Food Strategy sought to empower all departments within the City to start considering their impact on the municipal food environment. Mah and Thang (2013: 97) note that the TFS is founded on the notion of “food in all policies”, which suggested “that policy actors should be encouraged to reflect upon where food already fits within their existing mandates, allowing them to ‘see themselves’ in the work of the Food Strategy”. That is, the strategy sought to compel City employees in divisions as far removed as emergency services, transportation, waste management and even

accounting and parks and recreation to imagine how their operations supported or impaired community food security at local and municipal scales.

Some of the key initiatives to arise from the TFS included food-access mapping to identify spatial gaps in food availability across the City. Mah and Thang (2013: 103) argue that this “helped City Divisions who were not explicitly engaged in food to ‘see’ food as a core element in planning a complete community”. Another initiative was the ‘Community Food Skills and Employability Pilot Project’ which sought to combine formal food-standards safety training and certification with a program in food literacy and employability geared towards immigrant and marginalized communities.

Based on Mah and Thang’s (2013) assessment, this research argues that the TFPB and the subsequent TFS affords an important precedent for three reasons. First, the TFS directed attention to the assortment of municipal policy instruments that dealt directly and indirectly with food. Second, the Food Strategy and the TFPB allowed for the brokering of working relations within City government division and directorates, and with civil society. Finally, the pragmatic approach adopted by the City of Toronto understood that a single entity could not and should not manage the full range of interventions needed to change the existing food system. Rather, these policy instruments allowed for the simultaneous leveraging of multiple, existing resources and stakeholders to move the food-security project forward. Ultimately, both the Toronto and BH case studies illustrate that a city’s underlying policy design can actively and positively influence how well a city eats.

The main argument arising from this section strongly suggests that there is very little chance of mitigating the growth of urban food insecurity without the development and implementation of sound, evidence-based, city-wide food-security strategies (Battersby and Crush, 2014: 149; Morgan, 2009). Based on the literature considered in this section, and more broadly in this chapter, two policy implications become very clear. First, in order to drive a food-security agenda, cities will need to adopt a “food democracy” lens, food democracy being a principle for making choices when values and interests collide, a demand ‘from below’ for greater access and collective benefit from the food system for all (Hassanein, 2003; Lang, 1999). Second, pioneering interventions in the food system may require “the blurring of the categories of volunteers and bureaucrats, governance and management”, blending the categories of state, market and civil society (Larner, 2005: 15). Overall, the literature shows that effective food-policy interventions require a departure from traditional

roles and perspectives of how a city ought to operate and a move towards unorthodox and innovative ways to build local capacity and deliver food to those who need it most.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has detailed a breadth of literature pertaining to food security at a variety of scales. The first section established a contextual understanding of food insecurity in the broader international and Southern African settings and specifically focused on why food is a distinctly urban problem which needs to be adopted and addressed by urban planners. The second section analysed the macroeconomic and development factors which have contributed to the proliferation of commercial supermarket retailers, as articulated by the SRH. This section concluded that the supermarket sector in South Africa, and across much of the global south, was growing extremely fast, potentially hampering the viability of smaller, independent enterprises operating in the same space.

Through a survey of food-deserts literature, the fourth section located itself in the nexus between poverty, economic and physical access to food, and a corporate-dominant food-retail sector. This section found that low-income communities' ability to access healthy foods was hampered when supermarkets were located outside their neighbourhoods and when supermarkets were close by but the food was unaffordable due to rapidly rising costs of living. The final section drew upon the experiences of Belo Horizonte and Toronto to find innovative ways to tackle urban food insecurity through policy. This section found food insecurity could only be tackled when governance structures used evidence-based, city-wide food-security strategies and adopted innovative and collaborative ways to involve multiple stakeholders and give effect to the principle of food democracy.

The overarching aim of this research is to uncover the food security implications, for middle- and low-income households in Sea Point, arising from gentrification and the growth of the commercial supermarket sector. Based on this survey of the literature, the following questions arise:

- How has the growth of the commercial supermarket sector affected Sea Point's food-retail sector over the past fifty years?
- In light of any changes to Sea Point's food-retail system and neighbourhood dynamics as a result of gentrification, what are the food security implications for middle- and low-income residents who continue to call this suburb home?

- What appropriate policy interventions might better serve the food security requirements of middle- and low-income households in Sea Point and, more broadly, Cape Town?

From the review of the literature established in the current chapter, the next chapter will articulate the contextual informants pertinent to this case study on food security in Sea Point.

Chapter 4: Contextual Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The theoretical insights from the previous chapter inform the objectives of the current chapter, which are to evaluate the contextual informants pertinent to this case study on the Sea Point area. The information in this chapter underpins this research's findings, which are laid out in a subsequent chapter.

First, maps will establish the location and boundaries of this research's case-study area. Second, census data dating back to 1970 will illustrate the demographic trends which have unfolded in the area for the past 50 years. Finally, this chapter will examine the current food-security policy landscape to understand how the different levels of government engage with the topic of hunger in South African cities.

4.2 Location of Case Study Site

The case-study site being considered in this research lies in the City of Cape Town in the Western Cape Province of South Africa (see Figure 4-1). According to the latest census report conducted in 2011, Cape Town is South Africa's second-largest metropolitan region by population, with approximately 3.7 million inhabitants (Statistics South Africa [StatsSA], 2011). Cape Town has two primary central business districts (CBDs), Cape Town and Bellville, and many minor nodes which include but are not limited to Claremont, Muizenberg, Durbanville, Kuils River and Somerset West. As per Figure 4-1, Sea Point is located on the western edge of Cape Town, known as the Atlantic Seaboard, which is home to many middle-class and affluent neighbourhoods and bordered by the southern Atlantic Ocean.

Zooming into the case-study site, Figure 4-2 shows that Sea Point is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean on the northwest side and Table Mountain National Park to the southeast. The suburbs of Three Anchor Bay, Mouille Point, Green Point and Cape Town CBD lie to its immediate northeast. Southwest of Sea Point are the suburbs of Bantry Bay and Clifton.



Figure 4-1 - Map illustrating the location of Sea Point study area in relation to the City of Cape Town and the Southern African region.



Figure 4-2 - Map illustrating the boundaries of the Sea Point study area.



Figure 4-3 - Context photo of the Sea Point study area taken from the top of Lion's Head Peak in the Table Mountain National Park (29 October, 2017).

The site's natural topography helps in establishing the study area's boundaries. The boundary runs along Three Anchor Bay and Glengariff Roads and down the border of Table Mountain National Park which forms its eastern boundary. In the southwest, the boundary runs through the Avenue Le Sueur 'green belt', northeast along Kloof Road and then northwest along Queens Road to the beach. The Atlantic coastline forms the western boundary of the study area. In total, the area measures roughly 310 hectares.

Figure 4-3 is a photograph of the study area taken from the top of Lion's Head. This illustrates the geographic bounding of Sea Point between the steep terrain of Signal Hill and Lion's Head, two local peaks situated within in the national park, and the Atlantic Ocean. The photograph also shows that much of Sea Point is densely populated. The flatlands between Main Road and the beach hold high-rise apartment blocks, while many of the dwellings above Main Road consist of smaller apartment blocks, row houses, and densely packed single homes.

This section considered the geography of the study area. The next section will discuss the demographic trends that have unfolded in Sea Point over the last 50 years.

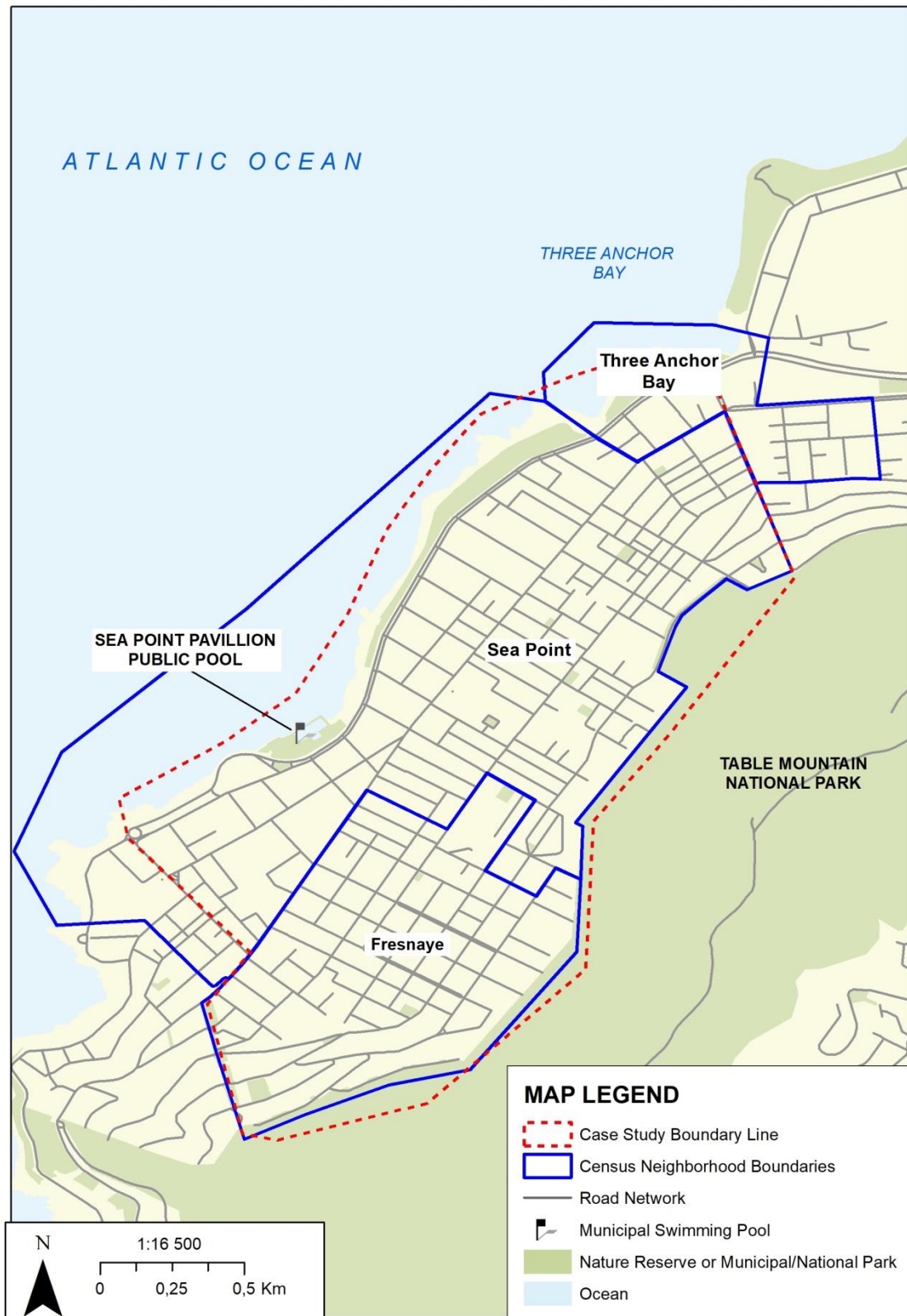


Figure 4-4 - Map illustrating the boundaries of the suburbs of Fresnaye, Sea Point, and Three Anchor Bay.

4.3 Demographic Trends

The current section considers the demographic trends prevalent in the study area over the past 50 years. Fortunately, the South African census has recorded neighbourhood-level population data since 1970, which this research considers below. Figure 4-4 above shows that there are three neighbourhoods within the study area: Fresnaye, Sea Point and Three Anchor Bay. The boundaries of these neighbourhoods are more or less the borders of the study area. Given the age and established nature of these neighbourhoods and in the absence of information indicating changes to the census boundaries shown above, this research assumes the borders of the three neighbourhoods have remained fairly static over the past 50 years.

However, this research cautions against literal readings of data drawn from census surveys conducted before 1996, as the data can be uneven and unreliable, especially in regards to South Africa’s Black African population. Apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act and the Native Urban Areas Amendment Acts skewed official statistics and grossly underestimated the number of South Africans living in cities (South African History Online, n.d.). Therefore, the analysis below will place greater emphasis on interpreting census surveys conducted post-1996.

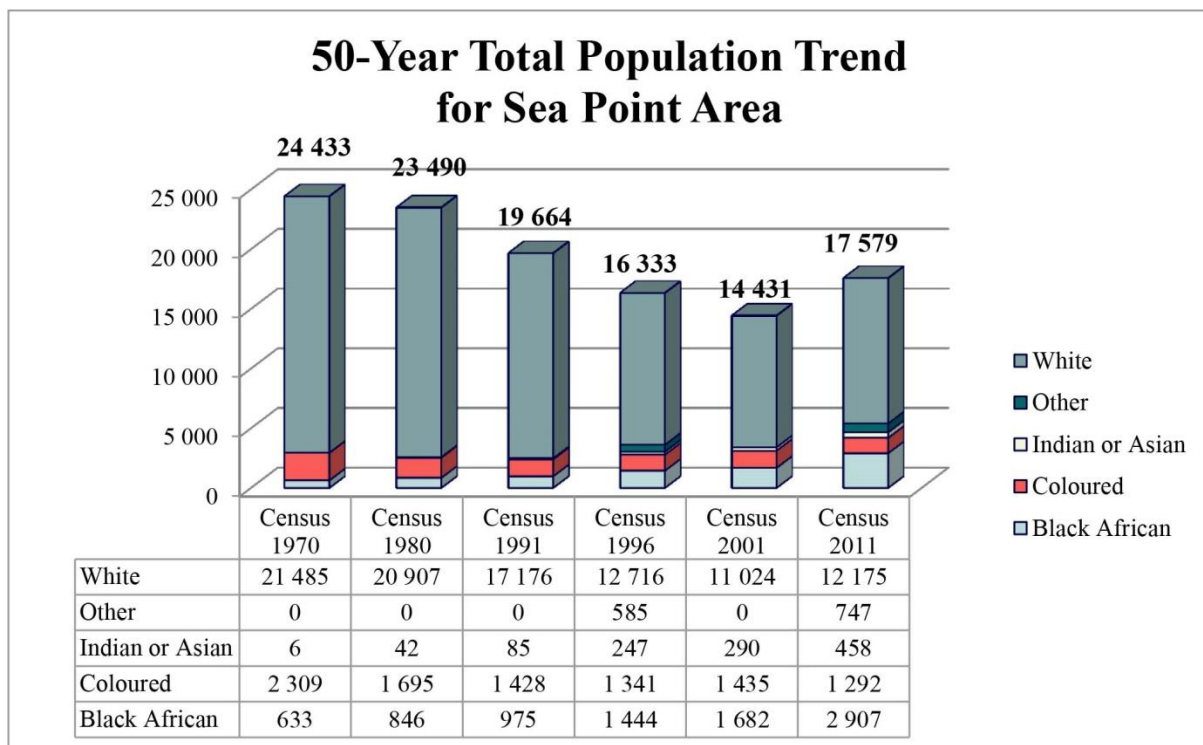


Figure 4-5 - 50 year total population trend for Sea Point study area.

Figure 4-5 above illustrates the demographic trends found in the census data for Fresnaye, Sea Point, and Three Anchor Bay (drawn from Republic of South African Department of Statistics [RSA DoS], 1970; Republic of South Africa Central Statistical Service [RSA CSS], 1985 and 1991; and StatsSA, 1996, 2001, and 2011). The graph indicates that for the census periods of 1970 and 1980, the study area's population declined marginally, but remained above 20,000 residents. By census period 2001 the area had lost about 10,000 individuals for a total population of 14,431. This decrease is attributable to many factors, including emigration, urban decay, and higher rental rates forcing middle-class families to seek accommodation in the suburbs. However, the latest enumeration saw an increase of 3,148 individuals for a total population of 17,579.

The earliest census reports are incomplete or incoherent on the annual wages of 'non-white' residents. Figure 4-6 below illustrates individual monthly income for all residents in the census periods of 1996, 2001 and 2011.¹³ In the 1996 survey, 22% (3,562) of residents are listed as having either no income or unknown income. Moreover, the 1996 data shows that 43% (6,992) earned anywhere between R1 and R3,500 a month. This begins to shift in Census 2001 where 15% (2,126) of residents were categorized as having no income. 34% (4,920) of residents were listed as having monthly incomes ranging between R1 and R6,400 a month.

The data in Figure 4-6 illustrates a further shift with monthly income becoming noticeably higher by Census 2011. This survey tallied around 21% (3,742) of individuals having no income and a further 13% (2,331) as having an unknown income. Moreover, 21% (3,605) of individuals fall into an income bracket between R1 and R6,400 a month, and 39% (6,848) fall into a higher income bracket between R6,401 and R51,200 a month. This research has no explanation for the sudden uptick in the reporting of individuals in the unknown income category.

¹³Referring to Appendix 4, this research used the historical consumer price inflation percentage data to calculate the difference between the South African Rand [R] in the 1996, 2001 and 2011 census periods and 2017 (Cronje et al., 2017: 115).

- R1 in 1996 is equivalent to R3.43 in 2017.
- R1 in 2001 is equivalent to R2.48 in 2017.
- R1 in 2011 is equivalent to R1.41 in 2017.

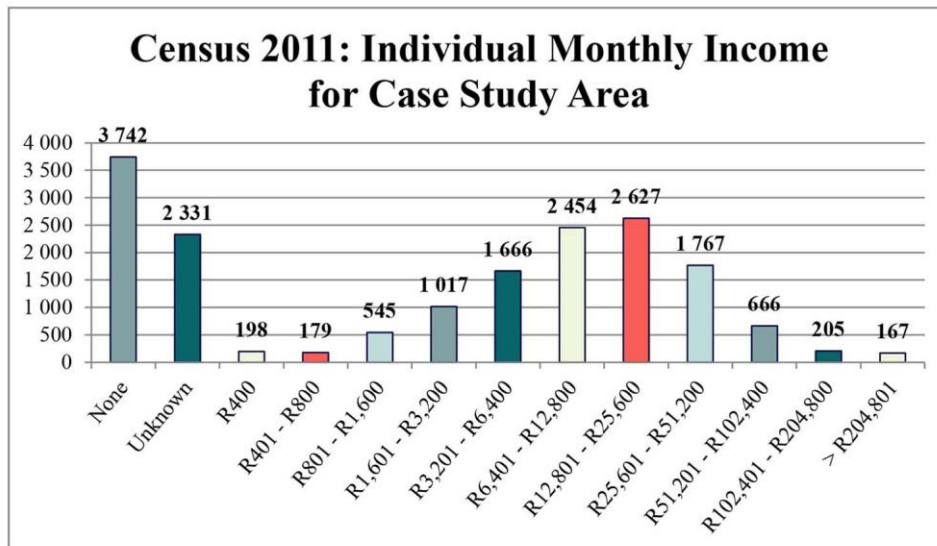
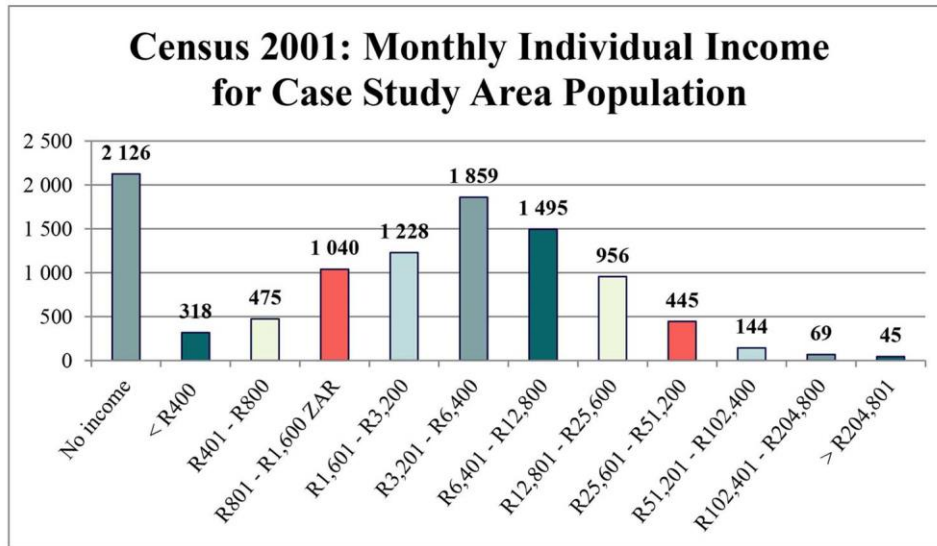
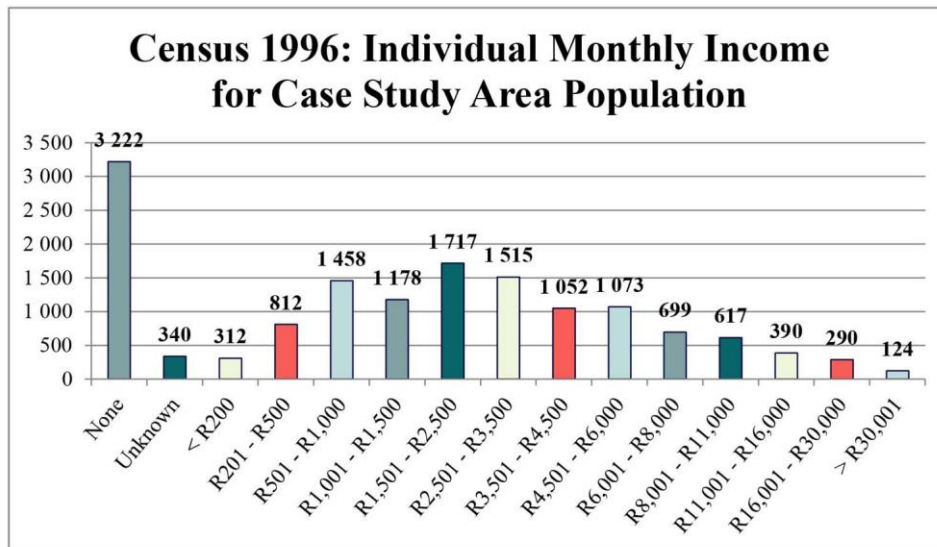


Figure 4-6 - Individual monthly income for Sea Point study area population: census periods 1996, 2001, and 2011.

The data presented above describes a neighbourhood that went into population decline near the end of apartheid and reached its nadir around the beginning the century. Given that the various census surveys used different metrics to assess individual income and that inflation rates over the past 50 years have been relatively high, it is difficult to gather a clear picture changes in the study area's income levels since 1970.

Based on the data considered above, this research assumes that income levels have followed a trajectory similar to the population trend visualized above in Figure 4-5, dipping in the late 1980s and 1990s as residents moved out of the area. The most striking example of changing income levels occurred in the 2001-2011 period, which saw a sharp increase in the number of individuals located in higher income brackets. As will be identified in Chapter 5, this data infers that rising income levels correlate to increasing property values which support the argument that Sea Point is undergoing gentrification.

Whereas this section considered census data to contextualize Sea Point, the next section will consider the current South African food-security policy landscape

4.4 Food Policy Informants

The previous two sections evaluated the geographic characteristics alongside historical demographic trends relevant to the Sea Point study area. This section now considers the pertinent policy and statutory landscape arising from the three different spheres of the South African government. This research considered a wide range of food-related statute and policy informants promulgated by the South African government, and regrettably, there is no space to discuss all in this dissertation. Therefore, statute and policies directly pertinent to this study are listed below. Policies which impact on food, but are not directly significant to this study are considered in Appendix 5. The question arising from this analysis will be whether South African food-security policy is adequate to address the urban context of the Sea Point study area.

4.4.1 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa

South Africa's Constitution was promulgated into law in December 1996. Chapter 2 of the Constitution is the Bill of Rights, which enshrines and protects the constitutional rights of all people in South Africa. Food security is specifically recognised through the granting of socioeconomic rights in Section 27, which stipulates that "(1) everyone has the right to (a) have to access to health care services, including reproductive health care; (b) sufficient food

and water; (c) and social security, including if they are unable to support themselves and their dependents, appropriate social assistance”. Thereafter, Section 28 sets out a range of rights that provide additional protection for children above and beyond the protections granted by Bill of Rights. Specifically, Section 28 (1)(c) affords children a right “to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services and social services” (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act. 108 of 1996: chap 2).

Section 152 (1) (a-e) establishes the role of local government, which includes enabling a democratic and accountable form of governance, the provisioning of services in a sustainable manner, the promotion of social and economic development, promoting a safe and healthy environment, and encouragement of community participation. Thereafter, Section 156 (1) (a-b) establishes the executive authority and legislative competencies of a municipality and allows for the other two spheres of government to assign additional responsibilities on matters as deemed necessary.¹⁴ Furthermore, 156 (2) specifically empowers a municipality to make and administer by-laws for the effective administration of the areas over which it has executive authority. Figure 4-7 below provides a snapshot of the various powers and functions of a municipality, specifically related to planning for food systems (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996: chap 7).

The right to food as envisioned in the section 27 and 28 of the Bill of Rights are addressed through the following National and Provincial policy documents.

| <i>Constitution of the Republic of South Africa:</i> | <i>Food Related Legislative Competencies:</i> |
|--|--|
| Schedule 4: Part B sets out functional areas of concurrent legislative competence between national, provincial and local government. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipal Planning • Trading Regulations |
| Schedule 5: Part B sets out areas of exclusive legislative competence for local government. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Licensing and control of undertakings that sell food • Local amenities • Markets • Municipal abattoirs • Municipal parks and recreation • Public spaces |

¹⁴ The executive authority and legislative competencies of a municipality are specifically established through Part B of Schedule 4 and Part B of Schedule 5 of the Constitution.

| | |
|--|---|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Refuse removal, refuse dumps and solid-waste disposal • Street trading |
|--|---|

Figure 4-7 - Constitutionally enshrined food-related areas of municipal legislative competency.

4.4.2 National Development Plan (NDP) (2012)

The National Development Plan (NDP) for 2030 is important to mention here as it affords a detailed blueprint and political statement for how South Africa’s government intends to eliminate poverty, increase employment, and invest in the wellbeing and development of its citizens. The objectives and actions established in the NDP are intended to inform policy across all spheres of government. The NDP offers a broader framing of the State’s role in food security than had previously been articulated by the South African government (Battersby et al., 2014). Key features of the NDP that are related to food-systems planning include the recognition of the links between household food security, livelihoods, wellbeing, developmental growth and preventative healthcare. Improved food and nutrition security “will help bring down the future costs of health care and improve education outcomes” (National Planning Commission [NPC], 2012: 379).

The NDP also recognizes the adverse relationship between individual and/or household poverty and economic access to healthy and quality food. Therefore, it proposes targeted microeconomic reforms in the national food systems to reduce food prices and better connect the poor to food of higher nutritional value. It identifies the need for interventions to stabilise inflation of food prices and provide affordable, adequate and reliable public transportation and predictable energy prices (NPC, 2012: 116). The NDP states that “lowering the cost of living is a necessary adjunct to raising the standard of living and encouraging investment” (NPC, 2012: 39-40). The NDP identifies the need for a comprehensive food-security and nutrition strategy to respond to bottlenecks that create food insecurity in both urban and rural areas. Moreover, the policy identifies the need for greater public- and private-sector involvement to address shortfalls in the food system.

The NDP is significant as it marks a departure from food systems being understood primarily as an issue of agricultural production in rural areas. Instead, the NDP widens its gaze to evaluate the macroeconomic factors as well as household-scale socioeconomic determinants of who has access to food, which is both an urban and rural issue.

4.4.3 Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000

Turning now towards local government, the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 is one of a series of statutory instruments that give effect to the intended role of local government. While not directly food-related, chapter 7 of this act articulates that the organization of a municipal administration should:

- Be responsive to the needs of its constituency
- Facilitate a culture of public service and accountability amongst its staff
- Be performance-oriented and focused on the objectives of local government established in the Constitution
- Ensure elected officials, line-department managers and their staff members align their roles to the priorities established in the integrated development plan
- Establish clear relationships, co-operation, co-ordination and communication between elected officials, municipal administration and the broader local community (Local Government Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000, as amended. 2011: chap. 7)

Chapter 5 mandates each local government adopt an integrated development plan (IDP) which is a strategic-level document that assess and links, in a holistic and harmonising manner, the municipal budget, local environmental considerations, and human settlement and infrastructure requirements. An IDP must consider: a status-quo assessment of the state and needs of a municipality's constituency; articulate local government's long-term development goals, strategies, and objectives; ensure development endeavours are aligned with plans formulated in the other spheres of government; and include a spatial development framework which provides guidelines for land-use management in the area (Local Government Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000, as amended. 2011: chap. 5). Relating this to food, if food systems are not being adequately considered as a core component of both the administrative structures of a local government and a key part of the integrated development plan, any attempt to address food systems through program and policy will inevitably be piecemeal at best.

4.4.4 Cape Town Municipal Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) 2017-2022

The City of Cape Town has recently released its draft Spatial Development Framework (SDF) which is a requirement of the IDP process established in the prior section. An SDF is a statement of intent and an instrument used to guide the spatial distribution of current and future land uses while giving effect to the goals, strategies, and objectives found in the municipal IDP. This research notes that the current IDP for the City of Cape Town does not consider food security, food systems, or agriculture as a key priority for the city (City of Cape Town, 2017b). The draft SDF, a key part of the IDP, mentions food a total of 23 times, but only contemplates measures to address food insecurity as one of promoting urban agriculture and preventing the alienation of arable land for urban development (City of Cape Town, 2017a).

4.4.5 Urban Agricultural Policy for the City of Cape Town 2007

Historically, the City of Cape Town has seen urban agriculture as a key part of its response to food insecurity. In 2007, the City developed an Urban Agricultural Policy. The intent of this policy was to foster a common vision across all municipal departments for a food-productive urban land use and development project. It also aimed to clarify the roles and responsibilities of all relevant public- and private-sector stakeholders, create a forum for community participative and consultative processes to take place, and to integrate an urban agriculture land use (into existing institutional frameworks (City of Cape Town, 2007)).¹⁵ Key projects arising from this policy included the folding-in of urban agriculture to existing land-use and planning schemes, the release of municipal land for urban agricultural purposes, subsidized water for vulnerable communities, the development of strategies for keeping livestock in the city, and the integration of urban agriculture projects into the commercial agricultural sector.

4.4.6 Food Gardens Policy in Support of Poverty Alleviation and Reduction 2013

Nested within and as a direct result of the 2007 urban agriculture policy, the City of Cape Town developed the Food Gardens in Support of Poverty Alleviation and Reduction Policy, 2013. The Food Gardens policy was designed to give effect to and clearly articulate many of the directives arising from its 2007 predecessor. The overarching outcome of this policy was to weave together various stakeholders from the City, most notably the Social Development

¹⁵ This would be done through amendments to the City of Cape Town's Municipal Planning By-Laws and Zoning Regulations.

and Early Childhood Directorate, to address food insecurity for the urban poor through the establishment and funding of food gardens in low-income areas (City of Cape Town, 2013a).

4.4.7 City of Cape Town Informal Trading Policy 2013

The City of Cape Town's policy shows that formal retail is seldom subject to spatial regulation. On the other hand, informal traders are very actively regulated by planning, which is supported by law enforcement. This is an important consideration because informal traders may form part of a household's daily or weekly food procurement strategy. They also contribute to the food security of the business owner. The Informal Trading Policy of 2013 makes provision for four policy tools to regulate informal retail: spatial planning, business registration, allocation of public space for trading, and a tariff structure linked to size and desirability of allocated space (City of Cape Town, 2013b).

4.5 Conclusion

The first part of this contextual analysis used maps to establish the location and boundaries of the case-study site. The second section evaluated census data ranging back to 1970 to illustrate the demographic trends which have unfolded in the area over a fifty year period. The final section analysed statute and policy arising from various spheres of government aimed at addressing food security and allowing for intervention in the municipal food system. As established in chapters prior, the aim of this research is to uncover the food security implications, for middle- and low-income households in Sea Point, arising from gentrification and the growth of the commercial supermarket sector. An additional question is born from the policy context laid-out above:

- Are the current sets of policy prescriptions from the City of Cape Town adequate to address food security implications which arise in a mixed-income urban setting like Sea Point?

Based on the contextual analysis established in the current chapter, the next chapter will articulate this study's research findings on Sea Point's urban food system.

Chapter 5: Research Findings: Changing Urban Food Systems & Food Security

5.1 Introduction

This study aims to examine how the growth and change of the commercial supermarket sector has affected Sea Point's food retail system over the past fifty years and to identify the consequent food-security implications for middle- and low-income residents who remain in the area. The knowledge gained through this study should help calibrate appropriate food-system policy interventions aimed at middle- and low-income households who reside in the gentrifying inner-city neighbourhoods of Cape Town. Following the constellation of theories, case studies and policy standpoints presented in the previous chapters, this chapter presents the data and findings that emerged from in-depth fieldwork conducted in the Sea Point area and beyond.

A qualitative investigation using a paradigmatic, single case study method was conducted with data collected from interviews, mapping, food price recording, document and archival research, and direct observation (refer to Chapter 2 for a complete discussion on research methods). Pseudonyms were created to uphold the privacy of all participants.

The first section aims to draw out memories and context on how Sea Point's food retail environment has changed over time. The second section aims to map the study area's contemporary food retail and service environment, delineating attributes such as type, hours of operation, availability of fresh produce, the price of a basic basket of food items, etc. The last section aims to provide evidence of buying patterns as well as indications of food security levels for 10 middle- and low-income residents of Sea Point. The findings provide evidence to answer the following research questions in the subsequent chapters:

- How has the growth of the commercial supermarket sector affected Sea Point's food retail system over the past fifty years?
- In light of any changes to Sea Point's food retail system and neighbourhood dynamics as a result of gentrification, what are the food security implications for middle- and low-income residents who continue to call this suburb home?
- Are the current sets of policy prescriptions from the City of Cape Town adequate to address food security implications which arise in a mixed-income urban setting like Sea Point?

- What appropriate policy interventions might better serve the food security requirements of middle- and low-income households in Sea Point and, more broadly, Cape Town?

The experience and knowledge gained through this research will inform policy recommendations to help urban planners' effectively address and support food security for middle- and low-income households in Cape Town's gentrifying, inner-city suburbs.

5.2 '*I Remember When...*': Views On Sea Point's Changing Retail Landscape:

This section turns to the media archives and two unstructured interviews with long-term Sea Point residents to investigate how the area's food-retail system has changed over the last fifty years. From the media, three different periods emerge: pre-Waterfront development, post-Waterfront development, and the post-City Improvement District (CID) project implementation. These three periods will be discussed below.

5.2.1 Pre-Waterfront Development

By analysing old newspaper clippings, this research found that the period between 1965 and the late 1980s was a 'boom' period for the Sea Point area. Writing in 1965, a municipal reporter for the Cape Argus newspaper wrote that Sea Point was one of the choicest neighbourhoods in all of Cape Town and noted a boom in development with fourteen new apartment blocks, a new medical centre and three hotels due to open in that year. Moreover, this reporter claimed "that there is hardly any longer a need for Sea Point residents to travel into the city to satisfy their shopping needs. The commercial area is already comprehensive and offers both cheap goods and goods of the highest standards" (The Argus Municipal Reporter, 1965).

Another anecdotal account of Sea Point's food system points to both Main and Regent Roads having a cosmopolitan high street-like atmosphere with wall-to-wall shops and restaurants. "One could find food from a myriad of destinations", including Israel, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Greece, France and Spain (Coetzer, 1987). Older newspaper articles on retail in Sea Point tended to be quite sparse, but described a neighbourhood with a food-retail scene that was largely owned by local families. When asked about Sea Point Main Road during the 1970s, the general reply from this research's two interlocutors was that there was a greater variety of independently-run food retail stores to be found.

Walter: *“There were a lot of a lot of cafes.”*¹⁶

Me: *“What do you mean by cafes?”*

Walter: *“We used to call them ‘Greek Cafes’ where you can go in and buy anything from a bunch of carrots to a chocolate éclair. That type of thing, you know... cigarettes, everything! Not really much sitting and having a cup of coffee as such. It was mostly buying something. It was the, uh, how can I put it... compare to these shops you get at garages. [They were] convenience stores! And being a convenience store you obviously paid the convenience price so it was slightly ratcheted up. But you could go there at 12 o’clock at night and get something from a loaf of bread to a bar of chocolate.”*

Me: *“Do you remember there being fruit and vegetables on offer at these establishments?”*

Walter: *“Oh yes! Yes! Outside before you even went into the store. They had a whole display of fruit and vegetables; before you had even got into the store.”*

Me: *“And can you remember how many there were?”*

Walter: *“There was literally, and [my wife] would back me up, at least one on every street corner if not two! Plenty! And I can remember the names... ‘The Penguin Café’, ‘Sloppy Sam’s’... and going right through to Regent [Road]. From Glengarriff Road right through to Regent Road. There must have been close on one-hundred.”*

Me: *“Was there a butcher shop in Sea Point?”*

Walter: *“Oh yes there, I would think, there were over a dozen. Because you had your specific kosher butchers towards Regent Road at the end, which catered for that market. And then you had your ordinary butchers. ‘Brahm’s Butchery’ which was a butchery chain. And then there were also fish shop... or fish mongers I should say. And there were a number of those also in Sea Point, going right through to Three Anchor Bay here which catered for the sale of fresh fish, on a Friday. Which was... from a religious aspect, where we always had fish on a Friday which became a tradition.”*

Shary, the other contributor to this portion of the research, also vividly remembered Main Road having a variety of shops.¹⁷

Shary: *“The one thing that sticks out was the ‘Ritz Plaza Hotel’ with the revolving restaurant... I mean, that was like a big thing. Umm, ‘Little Jacks’ the shop, ‘Laughton’s’, that hardware shop. ‘Venezia’, the ice cream shop. And then it got terribly exciting because ‘Clicks’ came in to Sea Point... because that was quite a thing.”*

¹⁶ ‘Walter’ is a pseudonym.

¹⁷ ‘Shary’ is a pseudonym

“Yeah, you had all of your little shops. There was a pharmacy on the corner of Glengarriff and Main Roads. Um, none of the sort of big supermarkets or anything like that. And then, Woolies [Woolworths] was at the end, right at the end of Sea Point. It is still there on St. John’s Road, you know that building on the corner. And then what happened, the Sea Point Medical Centre was built, but I don’t know if that’s still there.”

Me: *“And in terms of supermarkets, you mentioned Woolworths on St. Johns Road?”*

Shary: *“But the Woolworths didn’t have a food section. It was just clothing.”*

When asked about door-to-door food retail/delivery services, both research contributors indicated a variety of potential food sources, referencing again memories of Sea Point during the 1970s:

Shary: *“Yes, but life was different. I mean, my mum [would buy from] the ‘veggie’ guy... they would call him the ‘Sammie’. [The Sammie] would reverse his truck up our road and she would buy her fresh veggies and whatever. Milk was delivered to the door. Bread, she used to go out and buy. So, she and my dad used to go to this ‘Little Jacks’ supermarket in Sea Point which was kind of near the Ritz Plaza Hotel. I can’t remember exactly where... And they would sort of do the weeks shopping... the meat and the whatever.”*

* * *

Walter: *“Oh yes, I think the milk was still around in the late 60s and early 70s where there was a milk delivery to the door. In the 60s, there was still a bakery delivery. I can remember the bakers van coming up our road there, St. Bedes Road in Three Anchor Bay. Stopping halfway up, opening his doors and spending ten minutes there waiting for people to come down and buy fresh rolls, bread loaves, and things like that. Of course the variety wasn’t there in those days that you’ve got today, but uh. But yes, a van came up there. And there could have been other delivery services.”*

And then of course you had in the 60s and 70s hawkers who came around selling things like fish. They had the fish monger. [In summer] a chap... would come around with his basket over his shoulders, going door to door, selling strawberries. So there was still that sort of thing around.”

One of the earlier supermarket-like retailers in the Sea Point area was the business of J. Mackenzie, which stood on the corner of Rocklands and Main Roads and was in operation between 1906 and 1968 (Staff Reporter, 1968). The Mackenzie family imported foodstuffs like ham, bacon, eggs, cheese, and butter from all over the world and traded on their reputation for carrying the best quality and freshest items. Moreover, the Mackenzie family apparently were “the only merchants to do their own importing of foodstuff”. However, this

business shut its doors after being out-competed and out-manoeuvred by commercial supermarkets which had begun to spring up in other parts of the study area. These supermarkets included a Pick n' Pay at the Adelphi Centre at the corner of Main and Rhine Roads, a Grand Bazaar at the corner of Holmfirth and Main Roads, and an OK Bazaar located directly above the Sea Point Pavilion Swimming Pool at the corner of Regent and Clarens Roads.

When asked about commercial supermarkets in Sea Point area during the 1970s and 1980s, Walter replied:

Walter: *“The first type of supermarket was a place called Mackenzies run by two Scottish gentlemen. [They] weren't born in Scotland, their father was born there. He came out from Scotland and started what he called a grocery shop. He sold mostly dry items, like flour, and this, and tin foods, and smoked hams, and at Christmas he got-in a bunch of turkeys. And he had a delivery service to your door where you phoned him up, or he phoned you, and asked ‘what's your order this week Mrs. X?’ and she would read out ‘I would like a few tins of this, I need a pound of butter, I need so much flour and sugar’. And of course you could buy your toiletries there; soaps, shampoos. And that would all come then packed and delivered to you within twenty-four hours... I worked there in my school holidays in 1968...”*

Me: *“And so what about the commercial [supermarkets] we know today, like Pick n' Pay, Spar?”*

Walter: *“Pick n' Pay started... in about 1971. And then they started expanding and they opened a store in Sea Point in that Adelphi Centre building, where they are today... Then you had a supermarket called Grand Bazaars which was further into Sea Point. Not into Regent Road yet... opposite that Shell Station. Sort-of halfway down towards Sea Point... with that tall block of flats above it. On the base [of the block of flats] there was a shop called Grand Bazaars.”*

“There is a Shoprite there now. I think Shoprite bought... Grand Bazaars. And there was also a shop called ‘Little Jacks’ which was a very small, like a superette if you can call it that... just opposite the Adelphi Centre on the corner there. So there were supermarkets starting out.”

“And I think towards the end of Sea Point, there was some sort of smaller supermarkets. I think they were geared a lot towards the Jewish community; providing kosher type of foods. So it was all sort of...even with Pick n' Pay, Grand Bazaars, and the more-smaller scale sort of stuff. It wasn't the ‘Point Centre's’ of today.”

“So that was all there. And you had quite... a choice of what you wanted to do. And you still had the remains of the sort of your sort of family-type grocers still hanging in there. But as time moved on into the 70s and I

suppose coming close to the 80s, places like Mackenzies couldn't cope with the pricing offered by Pick n' Pay in the Adelphi Centre and the Grand Bazaars. So they closed their shop. So, gone are the days where you phoned up, or they phoned you and gave an order and it was delivered the next day. You had to get out yourself and get it. So there was a whole big change."

5.2.2 Post-Waterfront Development

The Sea Point area underwent an immense change in the late 1980s and early 1990s due to the compound effects of a recession brought about by economic sanctions placed against the South African State, and by the redevelopment of the old harbour into the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (V&A Waterfront). The waterfront development opened in 1990. Its first phase of development included a hotel, a shopping arcade, a maritime museum, and a tavern located in the historic Pier Head precinct of the harbour (Williams, 1990a and 1990b). In spite of the limited scale of this first phase, a reporter writing for the Cape Argus in 1991 noted that "restaurants [in the Sea Point area]... have felt the pinch as the V&A Waterfront becomes increasingly popular... there are fears that food and clothing retailers would face a similar fate" (Kneen, 1991). The article indicates that the fledgling waterfront development, despite being small in size and offering, was already having a negative impact on the vitality of the Sea Point study area.

The company tasked with redeveloping the waterfront began its second phase in 1991. This included the redevelopment of the Victoria Wharf into a shopping and entertainment complex which would eventually house a Pick n' Pay, eleven cinemas, twelve restaurants, a fish market, an arts and crafts market, offices and more than 170 retail outlets (Sawyer, 1991; Staff Reporter, 1992). The Victoria Wharf shopping centre opened in the summer of 1992 and is shown below in Figure 5-1. Also, Figure 5-2 below provides context on where the V&A Waterfront is located in relation to the Sea Point study area.



Figure 5-1 - The Victoria Wharf Shopping Centre at the V&A Waterfront development, Cape Town (24 September, 2017).



Figure 5-2 - Map showing the location of the Sea Point study area in relation to the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront.

When asked about the period when the V&A Waterfront opened, Walter replied:

Walter: *“[A] factor that affected Sea Point greatly you may have heard about this was the start of the Waterfront in 1992. So that took a lot of business. Whether it was a novelty to start with; people going to this marvellous place down at the docks. Which really transformed, I think, the way people on this side of the mountain did their shopping. Initially anyway... And that particularly caused the demise of many things like restaurants. Sea Point was always fairly well-covered in terms of restaurants. Always! But [the V&A Waterfront] put a lot of them under pressure with people going to the Waterfront for their entertainment and eating out.”*

After 1992, the Sea Point neighbourhood entered a period of urban decay. The literature from this period indicates a number of shop closures along Main and Regent Roads, with many of these retail spaces remaining untenanted over the next ten years. Some of the main concerns expressed by community groups in this period, such as the Green and Sea Point Trader’s Association, include an increase in litter and untidiness, a lack of upkeep in building stock and public spaces, and an increase in crime which was directly attributable to a decline in policing services (Cavanagh, 1993; Levett-Harding, 1991a; Levett-Harding, 1991b; Levett-Harding, 1991c; Peters, 2003; Waring, 1993). Ultimately, this urban decay shifted consumer preferences away from strip developments and towards shopping centres, which offered climate-controlled comfort, security, and parking. The businesses that were financially stable enough to survive this downturn in the Sea Point area were the cash-flush corporate food retailers like Pick n’ Pay and Shoprite.

Ancillary to this narrative, both research contributors highlighted that the 1980-90s also saw an influx of migrants from African countries to the north (especially Zimbabwe, Congo and Nigeria), some of whom settled in the Sea Point study area. Previously, migration had been tightly regulated by the apartheid government. The perception held by both contributors to this research is that alongside the arrival of these new migrants came criminality and drugs. The negative outlook on the study area resulting from a perceived rise in crime meant that retail foot traffic began shifting away from Sea Point towards the V&A Waterfront. The lack of information on food services and retail presented below may imply that both interlocutors did their shopping outside of the Sea Point study area during this time.

Walter: *“The policing wasn’t there to combat that type of crime. And so, that sort of, created a bad image for Sea Point amongst many people. And I think some people moved out of Sea Point for that reason... because crime levels rose. The state of the streets, in terms of litter was atrocious.”*

So it really became a place not to be, and not to be seen. So that obviously increased the movement to the Waterfront of shopping and things like that so, I think a lot of businesses suffered as a result...

Because the Waterfront does give you sort of a one-stop convenience in many, many aspects. You can go for clothing, food, cosmetics, medical, you can do a couple of things there."

* * *

Shary: *"Yes, Sea Point after the Waterfront went into dreadful decline. It was shocking! Main Road was beyond 'seedy'... 'Adult World' shops and, you know those gambling shops. It just looked so seedy. I can't specify the names of all the shops. And there was so many sex workers hanging around... and there were a lot more pubs and bars as well. Quite a few pubs in fact. Particularly in that area where Loreto Convent used to be [near the corner Regent and St. Andrews Road]."*

5.2.3 Post-CID Project Implementation

By 2000, nearly 100 shops on Main Road stood empty. The area was characterized as the "crime and grime area of Cape Town" (Petersen, 2005). The major turning point for Sea Point came in 2002 when residential and commercial property owners along Main Road established the Sea Point City Improvement District (SP CID), which aimed to clean up the area, compel property owners to look after their building stock, and make the area once again a tourist- and shopper-friendly destination. MirafTAB (2007: 605) notes that "CIDs are zones that receive privately funded additional services for security, cleaning, and marketing" and that once a simple majority of property owners have voted to adopt a CID, all owners must pay additional fees (up to 13% on top of their normal rates) to the City for enhanced services.

When discussing Sea Point after the CID project, Walter said:

Me: *"Can remember when the major turn-around point for Sea Point's regeneration was?"*

Walter: *"I think probably, you are looking at 2000 onwards... Because then they started to realize that they needed to clean-up Sea Point's act. And then you had that SPCID which was formed. They started to get to the landlords, and say to the landlords 'this block of flats is not worthy of habitation anymore, you've got to clean it up... you've got to make it habitable'."*

Sea Point's story post-CID implementation (i.e. after 2002) is one of intense capital investment. New housing and shopping developments sprung up along Main and Regent Roads, including: the Piazza St. John Shopping Centre, a mixed-use centre housing a Woolworths, smaller shops, restaurants, and apartments; the Piazza Da Luz Shopping Centre,

a mixed-use development home to a Spar and a Woolworths, restaurants, and a hotel; the re-developed the Galleria Shopping Centre on the corner of Kei Apple and Main Roads, which continues to house a Checkers, restaurants, and offices; the renovated Adelphi Centre which houses a Pick n' Pay and many other smaller stores; and a number of luxury sectional title buildings and a new petrol station at the southern end of Regent Road (Fortein, 2005; Norris, 2005; Phillip, 2006).

Articles printed this year (2017) indicate that Sea Point is once again back in vogue. The literature highlights the success of the SPCID in boosting Atlantic Seaboard residential property prices by as much as 105% over the past five years (Pillay et al., 2017; Philander and Tswana, 2017). On the other hand, the impact of this intensive capital investment has made the area's housing unaffordable for middle- and low-income households. This research notes that the area's food retail and service outlets may be changing to reflect the tastes, comfort and needs of an increasingly affluent community. An article by Staff Reporter (2017) subtly confirms this theory by writing about an event earlier this year in which Shoprite, an area supermarket which caters for a middle- and low-income consumer segment, began denying entrance to the community's homeless population who sought admission to the store to buy food.

Another development worth noting here is the redevelopment of the old OK Bazaar market facility into a permanent food market and hotel located on the corner of Regent and Clarens Roads. Known as Mojo Market, this facility opened in the autumn of 2017 and promotes itself as a "hybrid and eclectic mix of 45 designer retail stalls, 20 food vendors, two bars and a fresh goods market, a live entertainment stage and a wellness zone" (eProperty News, 2017). Many of the food stalls in this facility cater to a high-end and international tourist consumer segment with meals costing well above R70 a plate. Continued capital investment in the Sea Point area will surely bring about further changes in the food-retail and services systems.

When asked to compare Sea Point's retail environment in the 1970s to today, both research contributors indicated that what one sees along Sea Point today is markedly different from the tenant mix of 40 years ago.

Shary: *"It was a bit more like a high street then. Then the big thing was the cinema. And directly across from the cinema was Adelphi Outfitters. And that was a clothing store, and when I went to Loreto Convent School,*

they stocked the Loretta Uniform. And then Woolworths was at the end of Sea Point.

Look, it was very pleasant then. I wouldn't say it was upmarket or anything. It was functional; it was a shopping area..."

* * *

Walter: *"I think you had the number of shops is on par with what you have today, but they were different types of shops, I think. So there was quite a lot of variety, in terms of what was there. And there were shops that had been there for many, many years and had been handed down from one generation to the next. So there were a lot of family businesses in Sea Point. I don't believe it's the same today".*

Me: *"Why not?"*

Walter: *"Well, I think what you've got there... particularly [along] Regent Road... you've got The Point [Shopping] Centre there; which to me has changed the whole length from say, the turnoff going up to Kloof Road where Regent Road starts at the splits, I think that has changed that area quite significantly. And, will continue to change that area."*

The voices arising from the archives, alongside the narratives drawn from Shary and Walter, highlight a food-retail environment that has transformed significantly since the 1970s.

While this section considered historical shifts in food retail, the next section will use maps to represent spatially and understand the food environment as is found today.

5.3 The Spatial Configuration of the Food System in 2017

Through the use of mapping, this section will discuss the contemporary arrangement of the food system in the Sea Point study area. These findings are ancillary to the historical perspective established in the previous chapter, which showed that since 1970, Sea Point's food retail system has changed in response to factors including the rise of commercial supermarkets and mega-developments in other parts of Cape Town. This section aims to identify what kinds of food retail and service outlets are available and where they are located, to determine whether contemporary Sea Point has adequate physical access to supermarkets and shops, particularly those selling healthy food items.

This research used the ESRI Collector smartphone app to note the location of all food retail and service outlets in the study area.¹⁸ The survey found a total of 125 locations (Figure 5-3). All but six were located along the Main and Regent Road corridors. These outlets are categorised and tallied as 7 supermarket locations, 15 superettes or convenience stores, 5 petrol station forecourt convenience stores, 77 restaurants, 16 fast food outlets, 2 food markets, and 3 informal retailers or street-side vendors.

Restaurants excepted, all of these service and retail outlets will be considered in the paragraphs below (this research understood restaurants as higher-end dining outlets). The data suggests that most of these establishments are financially out of reach of the working-class households who live in the area. Spatially, restaurants were concentrated along Main and Regent Roads with a majority of the more expensive restaurants concentrated along Regent Road Corridor in the southern parts of the study area. Also, at the time of conducting this field research the Adelphi Centre (which houses Pick n' Pay as its anchor tenant) was being renovated. With the exception of Pick n' Pay, which continues to operate, many of the food outlets that used to occupy this shopping centre had been shuttered to accommodate the renovation process.

¹⁸ Outlets like pharmacies and hotels which may offer food as a product or service were excluded as there was no data to show that these outlets were frequented by working-class households who live in the area.



Figure 5-3 - Consolidated food retail and services map for the Sea Point study area.

5.3.1 Supermarkets

Figure 5-4 below shows the location of the seven commercial supermarkets currently located in the Sea Point study area. Woolworths currently operates three stores in the study area: one street-facing shop at the intersection of Fort Road in the northern half of the study area (Figure 5-5 below), one at the Piazza St. John Shopping Centre at the intersection of Main and St. Johns Roads (which also has a clothing and home offering) (Figure 5-6), and one at the Piazza Du Luz Shopping Centre at the corner of Regent and Solomons Roads in the southern half of the study area (Figure 5-7).

Shoprite Holdings currently operates two outlets in the study area: one Checkers which is an anchor tenant to The Point Shopping Centre at the intersection of Regent and St. Andrews Roads (Figure 5-9), and one Shoprite which has its own street-facing position at the corner of Holmfirth and Main Roads (Figure 5-8). Pick n' Pay continues to operate one supermarket outlet in the study area at the Adelphi Centre at the corner of Rhine and Main Roads. Spar operates an outlet in the Piazza Du Luz Shopping Centre alongside the Woolworths mentioned above. Data presented in the prior section shows that the Shoprite and Pick n' Pay outlets have both been operating in their current locations since the 1980s. On the other hand, the four supermarket outlets located in the southern half of the study area (Checkers, Spar, and the two Woolworths) are in shopping centres which were constructed after the initiation of the Sea Point CID project in 2002. No information could be found pertaining to the Woolworths on Fort Road. These supermarkets are generally open from 8 am to 8 pm.

In terms of physical proximity, this research adopts the position that 500 metres is a comfortable distance to walk to and from the shops to purchase food. Figure 2 highlights the extent of the Sea Point study area that lies within a 500-metre radius of a supermarket outlet. It illustrates that most residents in the study area, barring people living in Upper Fresnaye, live within 500 metres of a supermarket outlet. Certainly the ten low-income individuals who were interviewed for this research (discussed in section 5.4 below) live in the densely populated flatlands adjacent to the Main and Regent Roads. For these individuals, physical proximity to the supermarkets was not a problem. However, this research acknowledges that there are likely to be low-income residents in the Upper Fresnaye area who do not live within 500 metres of the shops. No information has been gathered about the shopping habits and food security status of these residents.



Figure 5-4 - Map of the commercial supermarket locations in the Sea Point study area.



Figure 5-5 - Woolworths food market at the intersection of Main and Fort Roads (22 September, 2017).



Figure 5-6 - Woolworths food market and department store at the Piazza St. John Centre (27 September, 2017).



Figure 5-7 - Woolworths food market and Spar in the Piazza Du Luz Shopping Centre (27 September, 2017).



Figure 5-8 - The façade of Shoprite on Main Road in Sea Point (22 September, 2017).



Figure 5-9 - The façade of The Point Centre which has Checkers as its anchor tenant (27 September, 2017).

5.3.2 Superettes and Convenience Stores

This research also found a total of fifteen superettes/convenience stores, and five petrol station forecourt convenience stores in the Sea Point study area (Figure 5-10). Four of these shops are speciality retailers which provide different offering from ordinary corner superette or convenience store. However, they have been included in the category of Superettes and Convenience Stores as they are not easily classifiable in any other category.¹⁹

Beyond these four specialty shops, the area has eleven independently owned superette/convenience stores. Most are concentrated in the northern half of the study area along the Main Road corridor. They are open longer than area supermarkets, usually from around 6:30 am to midnight or later. Most of these stores sell an assortment of dry, canned and processed foods. Other staples include a limited selection of cereals, bread, long-life milk, coffee, and occasionally fresh milk and produce. They also stock food in a variety of unit weights and sizes, particularly in smaller packaging that is not ordinarily seen in area supermarkets. Figures 5-11 through 5-13 below provide an illustration of the façades of these superettes and convenience stores.

Additionally, the study area has five petrol station convenience stores which are spread along the Main and Regent Road corridor. These stores are generally open 24 hours a day. Like other convenience stores in the area, they offer the basics in terms of dry, canned and processed foods. Some will stock cereals, bread, long-life milk, coffee and occasionally fresh milk. Only the Pick n' Pay Express, Total Bonjour, and Engen Woolworths Food Stop have expanded their offerings to include a very limited range of healthy foods like fruits, vegetables, yoghurts, cheeses, etc. Figure 5-14 below illustrates a petrol station convenience store façade in this context. Both the superette/convenience stores and the petrol stations carry a substantial offering of sweets, crisps and cool drinks.

¹⁹ These four stores are as follows:

- Sea Harvest Fish Shop - A small, street facing commercial outlet for Sea Harvest; a commercial fishing business based in South Africa.
- New Asian Spice Supermarket - Importer of spices and foodstuffs from Southeast Asia.
- Chinese Supermarket - Importer of spices and foodstuffs from East Asia.
- Montagu Nuts Shop - A small shop that sells nuts and dried fruit.



Figure 5-10 - Map illustrating the location of superettes and convenience stores in the Sea Point study area.



Figure 5-11 - Sea Point Superette: Main Road, Sea Point (22 September, 2017).



Figure 5-12 - iWorld Convenience Store: Main Road, Sea Point (22 September, 2017).



Figure 5-13 - Harry's Supermarket: Main Road, Sea Point (22 September, 2017).



Figure 5-14 - Engen Woolworths Foodstop: Main Road, Sea Point (22 September, 2017).

5.3.3 Fast Food Outlets and Tourist Markets

This research identified sixteen fast food outlets and two tourist markets in the Sea Point study area. Figure 5-15 illustrates the location of fast food outlets in the study area. Easily recognisable brands including McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) Nando's, Domino's Pizza, Steers, and Snoekie's were present within the study area, as well as independent outlets including The Chicken Shop, Call-A-Pizza, Franky's Diner, etc. All are concentrated in the northern part of the study area along the Main Road. Most have long operating hours and are open from 10:00 am to 10:00 pm. KFC opens at 6:00 am and closes at 11:00 pm, while McDonald's remains open 24 hours a day. All of these outlets offer food that is affordable to most, yet rich in calories and overabundant in sugars and fats.

Two tourist markets are worthy of mention. Mojo market has already been cited in the previous section and has been shown in Figure 5-15. The food stands in Mojo market are open from 9 am to 10 pm. This research also found a cluster of concession stands located adjacent to the Sea Point municipal pool. These stands offer a more affordable alternative to the newly minted Mojo market and cater to a variety of clients, including locals and tourists. On offer are foodstuffs like ice cream, 'slap' chips²⁰, pancakes and other fast food-like items. As these stalls are located outdoors, they are ordinarily open during normal daylight hours and weather permitting.

5.3.4 Informal Retailers

Referring again to Figure 5-15, this research found three informal retailers that were operating along Main and Regent Road corridors at the time this research was conducted. An additional two informal retailer carts were found in front of Shoprite and Pick n' Pay. However, during the data-collection period these informal retailers were shuttered for unknown reasons. A pattern that was noticed throughout the study area is that the informal retailers will locate close to one of the major supermarkets. The informal retailers located in the Sea Point area operate from around 5:00 am to 6:00 pm. They sell a limited variety of foodstuffs: mostly crisps, sweets, small plastic packets of scones or bread rolls, fresh fruit on a per-unit basis (i.e. bananas, oranges, or avocados) and cigarettes.

²⁰ 'Slap chips' is a colloquial term for french fries.



Figure 5-15 - Map illustrating the location of fast food outlets, tourist markets, and informal retailers in the Sea Point study area.

5.3.5 Availability of Fresh Produce

The survey also noted whether fresh produce was sold in the shop. Figure 5-16 is a map of all the retail outlets that sell fresh produce. The three categories of stores recorded for this map are supermarkets, superettes and convenience stores (which also includes petrol stations) and informal retailers. In this map, blue signifies that fresh produce is sold on-site while red signifies that fresh produce is not sold on site. Overall, the map illustrates that most retail outlets in the study area offer fresh produce. Five locations identified on the map as superettes and convenience stores were recorded as not offering fresh produce, of which three are petrol stations. One informal retail outlet identified on the map did not offer fresh produce.

Figures 5-17 through 5-19 below illustrate the fresh produce offered by the convenience stores and superettes in the study area. Generally, these outlets stock a narrow assortment of fresh produce, mostly limited to items that can remain unrefrigerated, like apples, oranges, naartjies, tomatoes, potatoes, and onions. Moreover, all are sold on a per-unit basis (rather than by weight). In summary, while fresh produce was sold in these smaller outlets, the bulk of the stores' offering was in dry, canned, and processed foods including staples like cereals, breads, long-life milk, tea, coffee, and an array of crisps, sweets, and sweetened cool drinks.

By contrast, Figure 5-20 below illustrates of the produce section at Spar, one of the area's supermarkets. Generally, the supermarkets in the study area had the most comprehensive offerings in terms of fresh fruit and vegetables, some of which included delicate leafy greens and berries which require constant refrigeration and have a short shelf-life. In addition to the much broader selection of fresh produce, supermarkets in the study area had dedicated sections and refrigeration space to accommodate the sales of a wide variety of meats, milk, yogurts, cheeses and frozen foodstuffs. They also had the most comprehensive product offering in terms of dry, canned, and processed foods, including crisps, sweets and sweetened cool drinks.

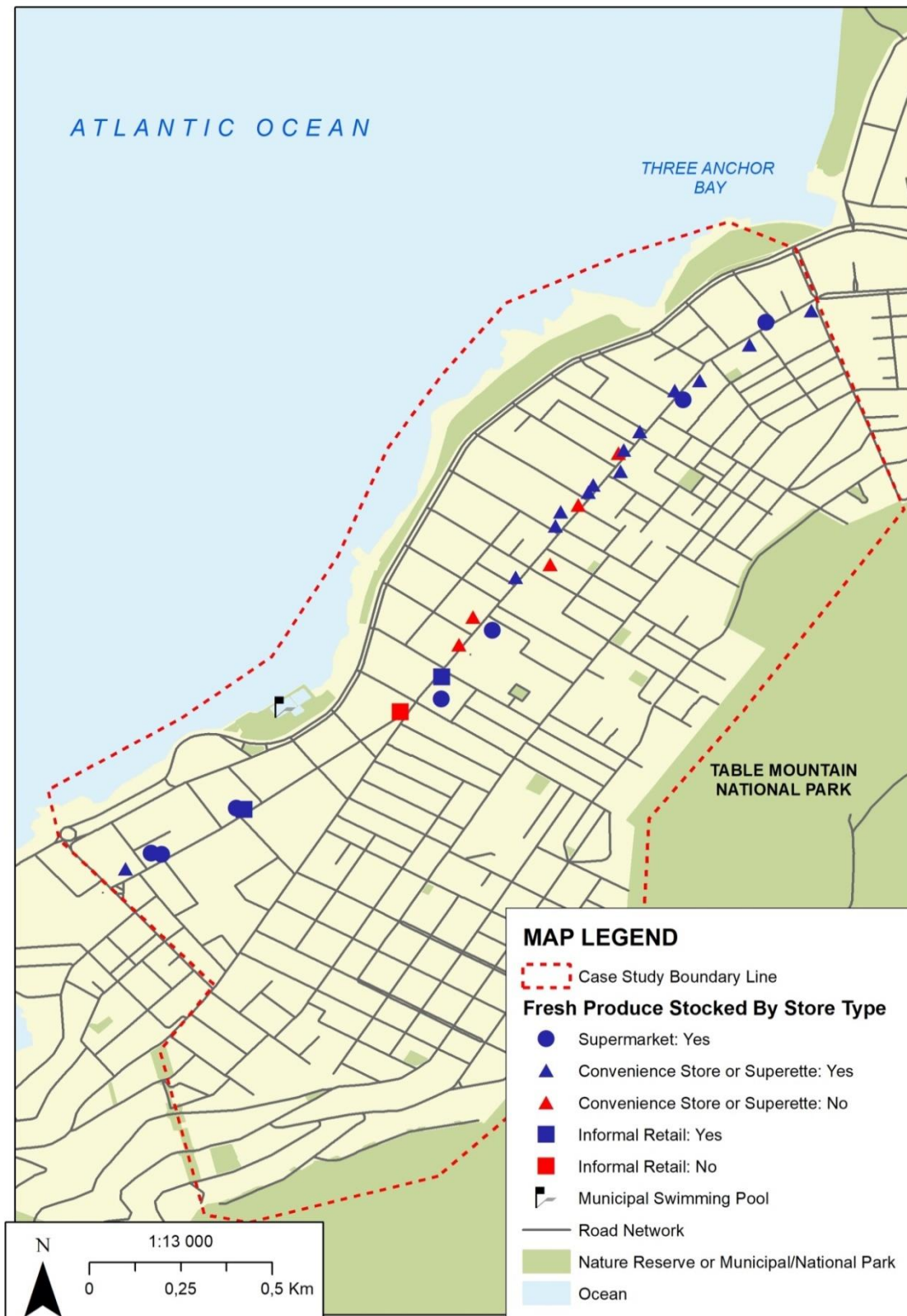


Figure 5-16 - Map illustrating whether fresh produce is on offer by store-type in Sea Point study area.



Figure 5-17 - The fresh produce offering at Brother's Convenience Store, Sea Point (22 September, 2017).



Figure 5-18 - The fresh produce offering at iWorld Convenience Store, Sea Point (22 September, 2017).



Figure 5-19 - The fresh produce offering at the Atlantic Café, Sea Point (22 September, 2017).



Figure 5-20 - The produce section of Spar at Piazza Du Luz, Sea Point (1 October, 2017).

5.3.6 Food Price Comparison

Finally, data gathered from semi-structured interviews (discussed in section 5.4) indicated that many low-income households felt that food was more expensive in the Sea Point study area, particularly compared to lower-income suburbs in the broader Cape Town area. This research also collected the prices for a basic basket of food items from the supermarkets and superettes/convenience stores located in the Sea Point study area, as well as prices for similar items from five Shoprite stores in the lower-income suburbs of Cape Town. These stores were located in Athlone, Hanover Park, Maitland, Mowbray and Wynberg. Figure 5-21 below shows the location of these supermarkets relative to the Sea Point study area.

Figure 5-22 provides a breakdown of the prices offered by the various retail outlets in Figure 5-21 (for a full explanation of this technique, please see Chapter 2). Figure 5-23 provides notes pertinent to the food-price chart presented in Figure 5-22. Overall, the pricing data presented in Figure 5-22 shows three trends.

Firstly, superettes and convenience stores are generally more expensive than their supermarket counterparts (except for eggs). Most of these shops are independently owned and operated, so they lack the buying power of commercial supermarkets and cannot unlock better pricing through economies of scale. The eggs sold through these outlets seemed to be locally sourced and of inconsistent quality, while supermarkets generally sell eggs which have been inspected and graded to ensure quality control. The supermarkets' stringent inspection process may account for the higher pricing on these items.

Secondly, within Sea Point, there are substantial differences in food prices between commercial supermarkets. For instance, Woolworths and Spar are more expensive on a number of items, and Checkers and Shoprite (both owned by Shoprite Holdings) are generally the cheapest options available in the study area. On most food items, Pick n' Pay sits somewhere in between. This research assumes that supermarket food prices are indicative of the consumer segment being targeted by each commercial retailer, with more affordable outlets targeting a more diverse range of customers.

The third and most important trend shows that Shoprite Holdings exercises a degree of price uniformity across its stores in various parts of Cape Town: a given food item likely has the same price in Hanover Park as it does in Sea Point. With regards to the Sea Point study area, it is certainly true that food prices at other, non-Shoprite owned outlets may be

more expensive. It should also be noted that the prices recorded do not reflect the total product offering for the Shoprite-owned stores in Sea Point. This is an important consideration as supermarkets often change their product offering to fit the demographics of their suburb. Regardless, the data presented in Figure 5-22 complicates the generalization which may suggest that food is more expensive in the Sea Point study area.

This section has used mapping techniques to highlight the spatial arrangement of the food system in the Sea Point study area. The data presented here show that Sea Point is well endowed with food retail and service outlets, with 125 food-related businesses recorded. Moreover, the data shows that the commercial supermarket sector is a dominant player in bringing good-quality, fresh produce into the area.

From this perspective, the next section will discuss the findings accrued from a series of interviews with low-income residents in Sea Point to determine shopping habits and levels of food security.

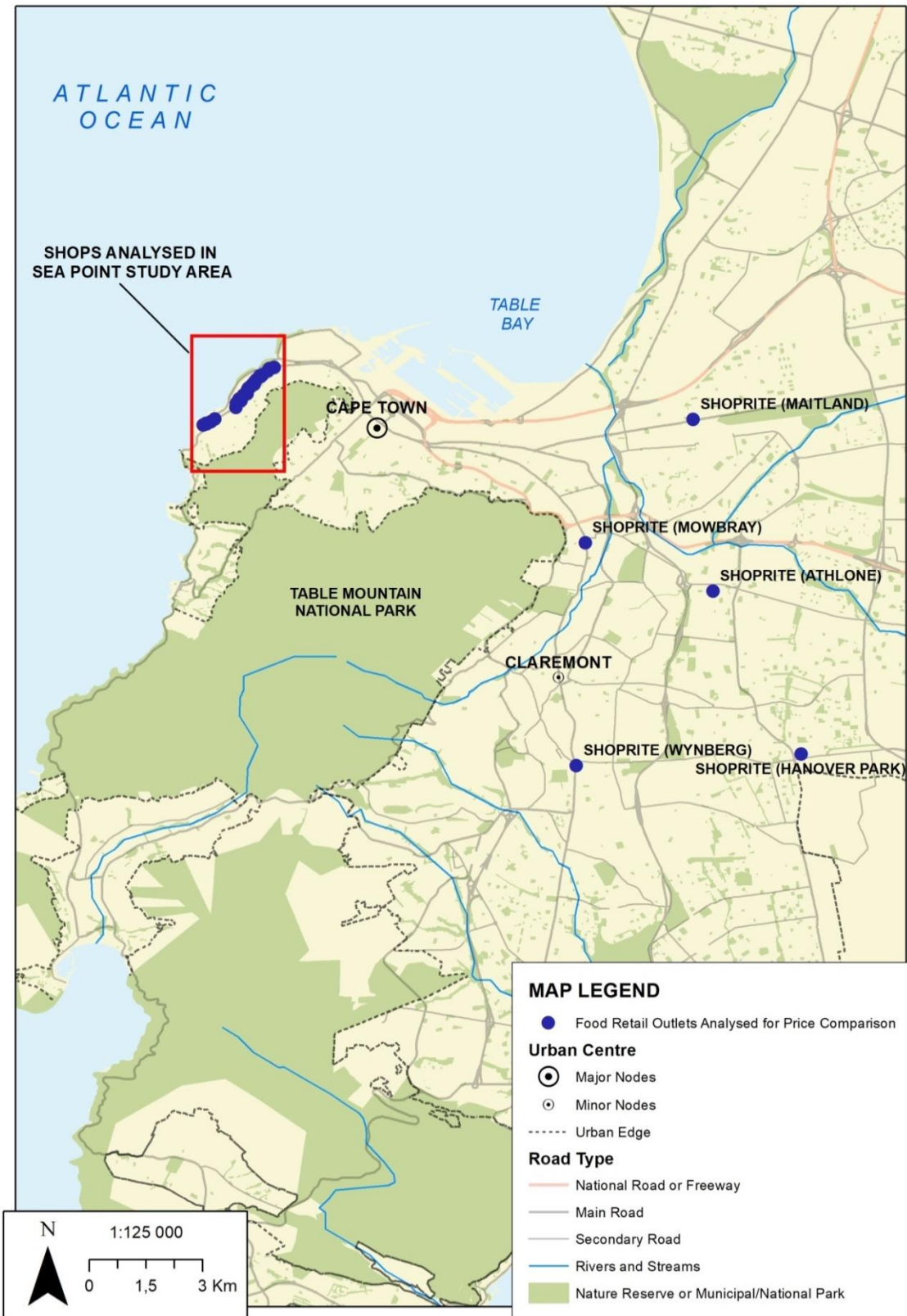


Figure 5-21 - Map illustrating the location of outlets analysed for price comparison in the Cape Town area.

| Food Price Comparison Chart ⁱ | | Sea Point Study Area | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Lower-Income Areas (CPT) | | | | |
|---|---|----------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------|
| Average Price Per Item | Convenience Stores / Superettes ⁱⁱ | | | | | | | | | | | Supermarkets | | | | | | | Supermarkets | | | | |
| | Dubai Superette | Brothers Superette | Madina Superette | Khan Supermarket | 7 Eleven | The Atlantic Café | Harry's Supermarket | iWorld Convenience Store | Sea Point Superette | Woolworths Food Stop (Engen) | Woolworths (Fort Road) | Woolworths (Piazza St. John) | Woolworths (Piazza Du Luz) | SPAR (Piazza Du Luz) | Pick n' Pay (Adelphi Centre) | Shoprite (Main Road) | Checkers (The Point Centre) | Shoprite (Wynberg) | Shoprite (Hanover Park) | Shoprite (Athlone) | Shoprite (Maitland) | Shoprite (Mowbray) | |
| Operating Hours | 0630-2300 | 0700-0000 | 0630-0300 | 0600-0200 | 0630-0000 | 0630-0000 | 0700-2300 | 0600-0200 | 0700-0000 | 24 Hrs | 0800-2100 | 0800-2000 | 0800-2000 | 0700-2000 | 0800-2000 | 0800-1900 | 0900-2100 | 0830-1800 | 0800-2100 | 0800-1830 | 0800-1830 | 0800-1800 | |
| Maize Meal (2,5 KG)ⁱⁱⁱ | 25.49 | 32.00 | 33.50 | 32.00 | 28.00 | 29.99 | 30.00 | 29.00 | 22.00 | 30.00 | - | 25.99 | 26.99 | 28.95 | 18.99 | 23.99 | 19.99 | 19.99 | 19.99 | 21.99 | 21.99 | 19.99 | 19.99 |
| White Bread Loaf^{iv} | 12.33 | 14.00 | 13.50 | 14.00 | 14.00 | 13.00 | 13.00 | 14.50 | 12.00 | 14.00 | 13.99 | 13.99 | 13.39 | 13.99 | 11.99 | 11.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 |
| UHT Full Cream Milk (1 L)^v | 15.05 | 16.00 | 18.50 | 19.00 | 18.00 | 16.99 | 18.00 | 17.00 | 14.00 | 12.00 | 14.49 | 14.49 | 14.49 | 13.99 | 18.99 | 14.59 | 12.95 | 12.95 | 12.95 | 12.95 | 12.95 | 12.95 | 12.95 |
| Large Eggs (6)^{vi} | 14.28 | 12.00 | 12.00 | 12.00 | 12.00 | 14.99 | 12.00 | 12.00 | 10.00 | 10.00 | 20.99 | 20.99 | 20.99 | 26.99 | 16.99 | 12.99 | 12.49 | 11.99 | 12.49 | 12.49 | - | 12.49 | 10.99 |
| Potato (Per KG) | 10.66 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 9.99 | 11.99 | 13.99 | 9.99 | 11.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 |
| Onion (Per KG) | 10.37 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 12.99 | 11.99 | 11.99 | 12.99 | 8.99 | 10.99 | 8.99 | 9.99 | 8.99 | 8.99 | 9.99 | 8.99 | 8.99 |
| Tomatoes (Per KG) | 15.63 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 16.99 | 16.99 | - | 19.99 | 13.99 | 13.99 | 14.99 | 14.99 | 14.99 | 14.99 | 14.99 | 14.99 |
| Cabbage Head | 13.41 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 15.99 | 15.99 | 15.99 | 19.99 | 12.99 | 13.99 | 15.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 |
| Fresh Full Cream Milk (1 L)^{vii} | 14.21 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 17.45 | 17.45 | 17.45 | 17.45 | 10.99 | 12.99 | 12.99 | 12.99 | 12.99 | 12.99 | 12.99 | 12.99 | 12.99 |
| 'Amasi' / Sour Milk (2 L)^{viii} | 25.57 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 29.99 | 29.99 | 29.95 | 29.99 | 28.99 | 25.99 | 25.99 | 21.99 | 19.99 | 19.99 | 21.99 | 21.99 |
| Margarine (Per 500 G)^{ix} | 16.76 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 32.99 | 32.99 | 24.99 | 25.99 | 13.99 | 15.99 | 9.99 | 10.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 | 9.99 |
| Ricoffy Instant Coffee (250 G / 750 G)^x | 44.54 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 79.99 | 79.99 | - | 32.99 | 79.99 | 29.99 | 36.99 | 29.99 | 29.99 | 29.99 | 29.99 | 29.99 |
| Mixed Portion Frozen Chicken Bag (1,5 KG)^{xi} | 52.49 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 54.99 | - | 51.99 | 51.99 | 51.99 | 51.99 | 51.99 |
| Fresh Chicken Pieces (Per KG) | 55.99 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 89.99 | 49.99 | 99.99 | 61.99 | 66.99 | 58.99 | 54.99 | 55.99 | 34.99 | 34.99 | 38.99 | 39.99 | 39.99 |
| Mince (Per KG) | 79.14 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 105.98 | 95.99 | 95.99 | 95.99 | 89.99 | 59.99 | 69.99 | 89.99 | 64.99 | 59.99 | 59.99 | 79.99 | 59.99 |
| Boerewors (Per KG) | 84.22 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 119.99 | 109.99 | 109.99 | 99.99 | 99.99 | 49.99 | 64.99 | 84.99 | 74.99 | 74.99 | 64.99 | 69.99 | 69.99 |
| French Polony (Per KG)^{xii} | 33.70 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 29.99 | 27.99 | - | 29.99 | 39.99 | 27.99 | 39.99 | 39.99 | 39.99 |
| Sugar (1 KG) | 18.87 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 17.99 | 17.99 | 18.99 | 18.99 | 19.99 | 18.49 | 18.99 | 18.99 | 18.99 | 18.99 | 18.99 | 18.99 | 18.99 |

Figure 5-22 - The food price comparison chart.

Notes for the Food Price Comparison Chart (Read with Figure 5-22)

- i) All prices recorded between the 17th and the 29th of September and are reflected in South African Rand (ZAR).
- ii) Superettes and Convenience Stores in Sea Point do not generally put prices on their merchandise. Therefore, only the prices of a small basket of items were gathered from these stores, usually directly from the store owner or shop clerk.
- iii) The price of 'Iwisa' brand maize meal was generally recorded. Other brands of maize meal were considered when 'Iwisa' was not stocked, with preference given to the most affordable option.
- iv) This research generally chose the most affordable loaf of white bread available. Ordinarily 'Albany', 'Sasko', or 'Blue Ribbon'. Other brands were considered when these brands were not stocked.
- v) The price of the most affordable option available.
- vi) The price of the most affordable option available.
- vii) 'Darling Full Cream Milk' was generally chosen. Otherwise, the price of the most affordable option available was chosen.
- viii) 'Darling Amasi' was generally chosen. Otherwise, the price of the most affordable option available was chosen.
- ix) This research generally chose the most affordable margarine available, ordinarily 'Ruby', 'Helios', etc. The price of other brands was considered when these brands were not stocked.
- x) Some stores stocked the 250g canister of 'Ricoffy' while others only stocked the 750g. This research captured the prices of what was available, hence the significant difference in prices.
- xi) Generally, 'Farmers Choice' or the price of the most affordable option available.
- xii) This research generally chose the price of the most affordable French Polony available. Ordinarily 'Enterprise', 'Estcourt', or 'Bokke'. The price of other brands was considered when these brands were not stocked.

Figure 5-23 - Notes for the food price comparison chart (to be read with Figure 5-22).

5.4 The Food Buying Habits of Sea Point's Working Poor

This section aims to identify the buying habits and food-security status of Sea Point's middle- and low-income residents. The data discussed below has been drawn from ten semi-structured interviews with working-class residents of Sea Point, which occurred throughout the month of September 2017. The data will be presented in three parts. The first section will establish the demographic particulars of the study group. The second section will report on the food-buying and/or -sourcing habits of the ten interviewees. The third and final section will report on indicators of food security for the same study group.

5.4.1 Demographic Particulars of the Study Group

All of the information discussed in this section is drawn from Figure 5-24 below. The majority of the research contributors were working-age women who lived and worked in Sea Point. 8 of the 10 participants were women. The youngest participant was 35 and the eldest was 72, with the average age being 53. In terms of ethnicity, one research participant was white, three were coloured and six were black African.

8 of the 10 individuals interviewed worked in the Sea Point study area. Six contributors were domestic workers, two worked as cleaning contractors who looked after the common areas of residential apartment blocks in the study area, one worked in the tourism industry in town, and one was officially unemployed but occasionally acquired temporary jobs at the docks or at construction sites as a painter or tiler. All interviewees were heavily dependent on wages earned through employment to acquire food for themselves and their families.

Of the eight research participants who lived in Sea Point, five lived in domestics' quarters in the study area's apartment blocks, two lived in bachelor flats (studio apartments in today's parlance) and one was homeless, living on the street next to a convenience store. The two participants who did not live in Sea Point had moved from the study area to other parts of Cape Town earlier in 2017. One had been evicted from her rented domestics' quarters and was living in temporary accommodation provided by her employer in central Cape Town. The other had been living on the streets of Sea Point (on Rocklands Beach) for five years prior to 2017 and had recently moved to temporary accommodation in Observatory, provided by a local church.

Most interviewees were thus long-term residents of the Sea Point study area. The shortest length of residency had been five years and the longest was 42, with the average at 23 years. Moreover, four individuals reported having members of their family living with them: two in bachelor flats, one in domestics' quarters, and one in temporary accommodation.

All of the interviewees did not own their own vehicle and instead relied on public transport, predominantly taxis, when they needed to get to other parts of Cape Town. However, as most lived and worked in Sea Point, travel tended to occur on weekends, or occasionally an ad-hoc basis.

Finally, eight interviewees reported having a place to cook their own food in their dwelling. Research participants who lived in bachelor flats generally had stoves and/or ovens, while those who lived in domestics' quarters cooked on hot plates and, in one instance, in a very old microwave. Seven of the interviewees reported having an adequate place to store food, including pantries or cupboards and refrigerators. Those who did not lived either in temporary accommodation, on the street, or in very cramped domestics' quarters.

The next section will investigate the food-procurement habits of the ten interviewees.

| Schedule of Research Participantsⁱ | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Name | Age | Population Group | Occupation | Currently Live In Sea Point? | How Long? | Live with family? | Type of house? | Do you pay rent? | Work in Sea Point? | Own Transport? | Place to cook food? | Place to store food? |
| <i>Irma</i> | 51 | Coloured | Cleaning Contractor | Yes | 9 years | Yes | Domestics' Quarters | Yes | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| <i>Charleyⁱⁱ</i> | 46 | White | Cleaning Contractor | No | 5 years | No | Temporary Accom. | No | Yes | No | No | No |
| <i>Bonnie</i> | 55 | Black African | Domestic Worker | Yes | 31 years | Yes | Bachelor Flat | No | Yes | No | Yes | Yes |
| <i>Hermine</i> | 66 | Coloured | Domestic Worker | Yes | 10 years | No | Domestics' Quarters | No | Yes | No | Yes | Yes |
| <i>Joyce</i> | 64 | Black African | Domestic Worker | Yes | 30 years | Yes | Bachelor Flat | Yes (50%) | Yes | No | Yes | Yes |
| <i>Lisa</i> | 72 | Black African | Domestic Worker | Yes | 42 years | No | Domestics' Quarters | No | Yes | No | Yes | Yes |
| <i>Mitch</i> | 35 | Coloured | Unemployed | Yes | 16 years | No | Homeless | No | Sometimes | No | No | No |
| <i>Nicoleⁱⁱⁱ</i> | 38 | Black African | Tourism | No | 24 years | Yes | Temporary Accom. | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| <i>Paula</i> | 49 | Black African | Domestic Worker | Yes | 25 years | No | Domestics' Quarters | Yes | Yes | No | Yes | Yes |
| <i>Virginie</i> | 55 | Black African | Domestic Work | Yes | 34 years | No | Domestics' Quarters | No | Yes | No | Yes | Yes |

Table Notes: ⁱ⁾ All interviews conducted during the month of September, 2017. Interviewees have been anonymised to protect their identity. All names presented above are pseudonyms.
ⁱⁱ⁾ This interlocutor was homeless, living on the streets of Sea Point for a period of 5 years prior to 2017. In August of 2017, he was offered temporary accommodation in Observatory (another part of Cape Town) by a local church. He continues to have strong ties to the study area and therefore, has been included in this study.
ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ Likewise, this interlocutor was subject to an eviction earlier this year and is living in temporary accommodation in town provided by her employer.

Figure 5-24 - Schedule of research participants.

5.4.2 Food-Procurement Habits of the Study Group

The information presented in this section is based on a series of questions about the food-procurement habits of the ten interviewees. Questions were asked on where they purchased their food, how often (on average), and what they bought.

All interviewees said that they had purchased fresh food (i.e. raw meats, dairy, fruit, vegetables, bread, maize meal or pasta) from commercial supermarkets in the past four weeks. The main difference between the interviewees was the frequency with which they bought food. Three indicated that they frequented the supermarkets about once a week, which implies both forward planning and sufficient space to refrigerate perishables and store non-perishables.

Joyce: *“Yes, I think every week we buy fresh stuff. Meat and the vegetables...”*

Paula: *“Once a week. If I got to Shoprite, I buy enough stuff. Like on Friday, or on the weekend.”*

Virginie: *“I go to the shops every Saturday. Once a week, that’s right...”*

Four interviewees said they frequented the supermarkets on average every other day (i.e. 2 - 4 times a week) to try and ensure the food remains fresh and edible. It may also imply a lesser amount of storage space within their respective housing unit.

Irma: *“I buy two to three times a week depending on what I need and if I have money.”*

Bonnie: *“I buy food when I need it. I don't keep food in the fridge or in the cupboard. I buy from Checkers or Shoprite... Like if I buy on a Monday. On Tuesday I don't need to buy bread again, so maybe on Wednesday or Thursday. Like the sour milk, I don't buy all the time. Maybe if I buy the sour milk on Monday, I can buy it again next week. It depends...”*

Nicole: *“I always often buy it [food], because I don't want to buy a lot which I must keep in the refrigerators. So I just buy a little bit, which I'm going to use it. And then I go again to buy it.”*

Two participants said that they do not stick to a specific food-purchasing schedule. Their ability to purchase food is hampered by a lack of storage capacity and a meagre income. Both visited supermarkets daily, when they had the money to spend.

Charley: *“I go to the supermarket... well, whenever I can get money.”*

Mitch: *“On a daily basis... yes sir.”*

When asked where they bought their food, nine out of ten said Shoprite. Three said they also frequented Pick n’ Pay, two went to Checkers on a semi-regular basis, and one occasionally visited Spar or Woolworths for special purchases. The location of shopping was also determined by the directions they preferred to travel within or beyond the study area.

Joyce: *“Most of the time we go to Shoprite... Yeah, we like Shoprite just because it's near us. We don't want to waste money to go to Checkers just because we must take a taxi.”*

Nicole: *“My favourite place is Checkers.”²¹*

Hermine: *“I go to Pick n’ Pay... at the Adelphi Centre. I go whenever I need something. Or, I go and buy my airtime there. I go and buy my food there. Or bread, whatever. As I walk towards Green Point, as I come back I go past Pick n’ Pay for whatever. Or sometimes, I go to Shoprite and I buy my milk there. I like their milk.”*

When asked about the products bought, interviewees articulated a shopping list. This data presented is particularly pertinent as it illustrates affordability as well as dietary diversity. Six of the ten research participants indicated they purchased at least some fruit and vegetables during their recent visits to the supermarket. Some of the replies included:

Lisa: *“Yeah, I buy vegetables from Pick n’ Pay. I buy vegetables, and the milk, and the meat, and the chicken. I put it in the freezer... Meat, bread and vegetables. Broccoli and cauliflower, carrots, and milk.”*

Bonnie: *“I buy the bread, chicken, potato, [and] milk because I’m staying with my granddaughter, weet-bix, rice, maize meal, sour milk... amasi... what else? Colgate, soap, toilet paper, all the essentials.”*

Paula: *“Rice, meat, ‘top-notch’, and then I like sausage. Yes, I buy fruit. And then the vegetables,... cabbage is my best, and carrots. I buy rice, mielies, and I like cake flour. Because I want to make bread myself. That’s why I don’t... but I eat the bread from the shop but I don’t use a lot. Because I like to make my own bread.”*

The other four participants gave no overt indication of a diet with healthy fruit and vegetables, which may be due to their inability to afford or store food. Some of the responses included:

²¹ This interlocutor lives in temporary accommodation in another part of the city and will take a taxi specifically to the Sea Point Checkers outlet because this is her ‘favourite’ store. The housing unit she was evicted from was located within 100 metres of this store. The money spent on the taxi fare will add to the total cost of the food being purchased. She insists that she does not go anywhere else.

Irma: *“Once a week, I buy potatoes, milk bread. And then every month, I buy porridge, fish oil, rice, butter, Nespray [powder milk] for the boy, peanut butter, jam, and sugar.”*

Mitch: *“[I buy] something that I would have to consume within my mealtime. I would have to go and buy something to eat in the morning for like, breakfast. So I don’t keep food over. If I have food leftover, I will share with someone.”*

Charley: *“Bread, and sometimes polony to put on the bread.”*

Finally, when asked whether these individuals purchased hot food or ready-made convenience meals from the supermarkets, the group was evenly split with five indicating that they do. However, the data shows that this is mostly rare, with the exception of Mitch who does not have cooking or storage facilities as a result of living on the street.

Irma: *“Yes, I did, like a Pick n’ Pay or Woolies [Woolworths] Chicken. Pick n’ Pay and Woolies, because I got a card, I do these. Like once a month when I have no more money.”*

Hermine: *“Sometimes I buy a piece of chicken from Pick n’ Pay... only from Pick n’ Pay, nowhere else. But it only happens like once a month, or every other month...”*

Mitch: *“Yea, stuff like that is just the deli department at the back. Where they sell curry or chicken or something...Like once or twice a week if I get money.”*

Only four individuals said they had purchased any food from superettes, convenience stores and petrol stations in the past four weeks. However, these purchases tended to be infrequent, only for very specific items, and usually late in the evening when the supermarkets were no longer open. Again, the exception is Mitch who, for reasons of proximity, irregular shopping hours and inconsistent income, may shop more frequently at convenience stores despite these outlets being more expensive.

Bonnie: *“Yea, I do. But not all the time. Most of the time I’m using Checkers or Shoprite. Most of the time, I buy airtime [from these shops]. And maybe chips, 'knick-knacks'. But it’s very expensive.”*

Joyce: *“Yea, we like to go to iWorld. Chips, airtime and bread sometimes. Or maybe a cold drink if we need something.”*

Paula: *“Yes. Airtime, sometimes chips.”*

Mitch: *“Yes. Khan’s. Vegetables, instant cereal, sugar, spread like peanut butter, jam, and cold meats... if I get money.”*

The restaurants and fast food outlets in the Sea Point study area were unaffordable for most. When asked whether they had purchased any food from restaurants and fast food outlets in the past four weeks, only three contributors indicated that they had, with fast food outlets being the main source. Most replied that area restaurants are already too expensive or becoming so. The replies included:

Irma: *“Yes, Debonairs like only once a month if I have the money. Up the road here in Sea Point. But it’s getting so expensive...”*

Paula: *“No, not a lot. But I like KFC, it’s my best. It’s so expensive now it’s R70. R60 before, but now it’s R70... if you want six chicken with the bread and the gravy. But I only buy once a month.”*

Looking beyond the borders of the Sea Point study area, two interviewees indicated that they regularly send food as a form of support or remittance to family members in other parts of the city. This is an important consideration because several of the individuals interviewed here are breadwinners whose incomes support immediate and extended family members here in Sea Point or in other parts of Cape Town and beyond. Virginie afforded the best example of this trend, in that she buys staples and supplies in bulk and sends them to her family in Khayelitsha on a monthly basis.

Virginie: *“Yes, in the location [Khayelitsha] sometimes. I’m coming to them, yes.”*

Me: *“And they send food to you or you send food to them?”*

Virginie: *“I’m sending the food through to them. Yes.”*

Me: *“Is that where you family is?”*

Virginie: *“That’s where my family is. In Khayelitsha. Yes.”*

Me: *“And what do you normally send through to your family in Khayelitscha?”*

Virginie: *“Rice, oil, sugar...”*

Me: *“All the basics?”*

Virginie: *“Yes *laughs*.”*

Me: *“And how often does that happen?”*

Virginie: *“Once a month.”*

Finally, ‘outshopping’ was another phenomenon identified in the data, with five of the research contributors indicating that they will travel to other parts of Cape Town to find

better priced or more culturally appropriate food. Some of the replies indicated that these trips to purchase food outside of Sea Point were occasional occurrences, and for very specific food items like meats.

Charley: *“Yes, I go to Wynberg. I always look for the cheaper shops that I can go to and buy.”*

Me: *“And, what shops do you go to in Wynberg?”*

Charley: *“Normally a meat market... D.C. Meats, it’s sort of near the station. I buy cheese, and viennas and polony...”*

* * *

Joyce: *“No, only here in town [Cape Town CBD] sometimes... A butcher on Plein Street... maybe once a month, and we’ll use a taxi to get there.”*

Paula: *“Yes, I like the butcher from Cape Town because it’s cheaper than Shoprite and Checkers. I like to buy chicken and sausage, because it’s cheaper. It’s the one in town next to ‘First Class’. I forgot the name... but I know which one it is... like every other month.”*

Of all the people who indicated that they had outshopped, only Bonnie indicated that this trend happened on a frequent basis and for a variety of food items beyond meats.²² This data implies that Bonnie plans ahead and employs a specific method to acquire sufficient and affordable food and transport it back to the suburb where she lives and works. None of the other respondents said they had shopped at informal traders and spaza shops as part of their normal routine, but when Bonnie was asked if she frequented these outlets, she replied:

Bonnie: *“I do buy food on the weekend when I go home.”*

Me: *“Yeah? And where is home?”*

Bonnie: *“Philippi.”*

Me: *“And, what do you buy from Philippi?”*

Bonnie: *“In Philippi, I’m buying staples for the whole month. ‘10 kgs’... of mielie meal, flour, sugar, rice, oil...”*

Me: *“So you buy in bulk in Philippi?”*

Bonnie: *“Yeah, I buy in bulk for the whole month. And electricity, and veggies, I must buy a combo of veggies like potatoes, a big bag of carrots... a lot of stuff for the month.”*

Me: *“Why in Philippi?”*

²² ‘Outshopping’ generally refers to the act of purchasing food, or any other item, outside one’s own local shopping area.

Bonnie: *“It’s not so expensive. And there you can get the inside meats also. It’s cheap there.”*

This data illustrates the food-procurement habits of the ten interviewees. Exceptions notwithstanding, this section shows that most of the contributors to this research are heavily dependent upon Sea Point’s commercial supermarkets as part of their monthly and weekly food-procurement strategies.

The next section aims to uncover whether these households are able to procure food in a consistent manner, which will afford an understanding of their food-security status.

5.4.3 Food Security Status of the Study Group

The data presented in this section is based on a series of five questions which inquired as to whether the research contributors were able to afford food consistently throughout the month and year, and whether any coping mechanisms are employed to acquire food when they were running short on money.

The first question asked whether there were any times during the month that were difficult for affording food. Seven individuals indicated that there were definitely times during the month that were more difficult to afford food. All interviewees were dependent on their wages to buy food from their local supermarkets and most did not earn particularly big monthly incomes. The seven who replied in the affirmative indicated that their wages would sometimes or often not last through the month, making the week or two prior to payday food-scarce. They also indicated that when things become unaffordable, they were prone to cutting back on the quantities of food they purchased, limiting themselves to food items like very affordable starches and carbohydrates, or not purchasing food at all. Some of the replies included:

Charley: *“Yes, right through the month... Well, it normally starts from the 7th, like from today. It starts from the 7th and right up until the end of the month.”*

Lisa: *“Yes. I find that money for the kitchen, you know. It’s not a lot. It’s small money. Sometimes you are struggling for food. You know that. Sometimes you cook ‘stywe pap’ ... just finish. You eat that. Yea, the 15th of the month... going to 20 is hard. Because money, you know, everything is expensive. The money’s got to go. And, the money they are paying us is not a lot.”*

Paula: *“Yes, I struggle during the month. I think from the 2nd of the 3rd week. Like, from the 15th you see...”*

Additionally, when asked whether the research contributors found that there were difficult times of the year to afford food, the same individuals indicated that January was a particularly vulnerable month as their December wages and Christmas bonus, if they got one, did not stretch all the way through to the January payday. Again, these seven individuals reported that when things became unaffordable, they would be prone to cutting back on the quantities of food they purchased, limiting themselves to food items like affordable starches and carbohydrates, or not purchasing food at all. What is clear from these responses is that for many, January can be a hungry season.

Bonnie: *“Yeah... January is worse. Because you spend all the money in December.”*

Joyce: *“January is a bad month. You come from Christmas, and the school is closed. You must buy uniform, stationery... It’s not easy.”*

Paula: *“After Christmas is very hard because the money’s finished. You struggle, no money... nothing.”*

Two questions were asked about the coping mechanisms employed when food became unaffordable. Nine of the ten respondents reported borrowing food or money from friends, neighbours or their employers, or relying on food donations from others. Some of the responses include:

Charley: *“I haven't been exchanging food, but I have been receiving food from people... Normally, some of the people I do private jobs for here [in the building I clean for]. They sometimes give me cooked food that I can take home. Or, whatever is left over from lunch, and they give that to me as well so I can take it home.”*

Lisa: *“I just go to my boss. My boss must give me food or borrow money to go to buy it. And then for month-end, I'm paying back.”*

Paula: *“Yes, I ask my friend if I have no food. Or, my neighbours, you see. Or, my boss, like that. But the best is my boss... I ask my boss if there is no food. To borrow something, you understand?”*

Three of the ten respondents also indicated that they will buy food on credit as a coping mechanism when food becomes unaffordable. All three indicated that they will make use of a Woolworths store account to purchase the bare essentials to make it through to the next payday.

Irma: *“Yes, I’ve got the Woolworths account. I pay them and then the same day I take. Just to survive where food is concerned... Coffee, sugar, milk... sometimes chickens.”*

Bonnie: *“I do loans when I need money for food, yes. My loan is from Woolworths.”*

Five of the ten individuals said there have been some times in the last few months then they have gone without food. Mitch said:

Mitch: *“Too many times to remember. I would prefer doing something in return for food. Sometimes I have to sit here for days, sometimes I go to sleep without food. It’s fine, I’ll survive but... As long as I don’t take from someone. I don’t see any sense in it. So that makes things difficult sometimes...”*

Another theme to arise from the data is the degree to which evictions and higher rental rates can render an individual food-insecure in a short space of time. For instance, Nicole noted that things have become increasingly difficult to afford since she was forced to relocate to town. She was cutting back on her spending in anticipation of having to find accommodation to rent. Two interviewees noted they are living in domestics’ quarters but are not employed full-time by the owner of the unit. This directly contravenes the body corporate rules governing the apartment blocks where they live. Both indicated that a relocation to another part of Cape Town, and being required to pay market rates for rented accommodation, would place a heavy burden on their meagre budget, making food even more unaffordable. The only person whose situation has improved marginally is Charley, who now lives in temporary accommodation, albeit in Observatory. He noted that he was grateful to have a roof over his head, but the cost of the commute to and from Sea Point on a daily basis was making it difficult to afford food.

Finally, this research asked if the interviewees felt that their situation had improved or worsened with regards to being able to afford food. Nine of the ten felt that their situation had worsened and that many food items were becoming increasingly out of reach. Some of the contributors recognised that the increasingly expensive local food environment was a direct result of food inflation. While food inflation is a national problem, it has real consequences for people at localised scales. The long-term Sea Point residents had the following to say:

Bonnie: *“You know in 1987, when I start working here, it was [I earned] R15 a day. R15 a day... But can you imagine now. A day now is R200-250... But that time. There was money to buy that R15... because it was*

not very expensive. But now everything is expensive man. Very expensive...”

Lisa: *“Very expensive... This time, everything is so expensive. You know before... before that time it was very easy. You could buy a lot of things for R100. But these days, for R100 – it’s three things, four things. R100 is nothing. I’m talking to R1000... R1000 is nothing. You can never buy a lot of things for R1000 these days. But before, for R1000 it was a lot of money... That time I’m starting for working..., you know how much for the month? R30! I’m starting working for my [employer] for R30 a month. But that time, I never struggled. That R30 I used for a lot of things.”*

Joyce: *“Sometimes we go to shop, we didn’t get everything. Sometimes the shelf is empty. Just because there is a lot of people here [in Sea Point]. To me, I think it’s expensive just because it’s in town. And, you know the white people, you see, you are staying in a place where the most of people who are here are the white people. So, they’ve got a lot of money. So everything is expensive. And they don’t care about that, they just buy. But to us, if you go to the shop, you take time and see how much, all those kind of things.”*

These three narratives imply that wages have not kept pace with the rate of food inflation, which has made buying food from commercial supermarkets more expensive. Joyce added that she perceived changes in the composition of the neighbourhood (i.e. gentrification) as having a real impact on food prices and availability in the area for which she lived.

The data presented in this section shows that, for ten middle- and low-income residents of Sea Point, the area’s supermarkets are the main sources of food for their respective households. For these individuals, accessing food was not a problem of proximity but one of affordability. On the food-security spectrum, the ten interviewees sit somewhere between somewhat secure and very insecure. This section has shown that food insecurity is not confined to lower-income districts of Cape Town but can manifest in wealthier suburbs as well.

5.5 Conclusion

The evidence from this case study on Sea Point’s food system has yielded several insights. The first section used evidence from the archives as well as two unstructured interviews to draw out memories and context on how the study area’s food retail environment has changed over time. Over a 50-year period, the study area’s food-retail system has transformed from one dominated by many small, independent retailers to one dominated by commercial supermarkets and high-end restaurants. This section also offered a cautionary tale of ways in

which mega-developments in other parts of the city can affect neighbourhood retailers in adjacent districts.

The second section used evidence from GIS mapping techniques, photography, and food-price recording to show that the area is currently dominated by seven supermarkets. Most residents in the area live within 500 metres of at least one of these outlets. Furthermore, there are a number of small convenience stores and superettes in the area, of which most are concentrated in the northern half of the study area. This section also compared the quantity and variety of fresh produce for sale at both independent and commercial food retail outlets and found that supermarkets generally have a far more comprehensive offering. Finally, a food-price comparison showed that within Sea Point, supermarkets were generally more affordable than their small, independent counterparts. This section also showed that supermarkets, particularly Shoprite, exercise a degree of price uniformity across their stores which show that assertions about food being more expensive in the study area are unfounded generalisations.

The last section used evidence from ten semi-structured interviews to show that the working-class households who participated in this study are heavily dependent on wages to afford food for themselves and their family. One or two exceptions notwithstanding, all of the research contributors indicated that their first choices for food shopping are the study area's commercial supermarkets, particularly the ones with lower prices and a comprehensive offering like Shoprite, Checkers and Pick n' Pay.

While on the surface Sea Point appears to be a food-secure suburb, this research showed that a strong majority of the research participants did not enjoy consistent access to good-quality food throughout the month and the year. When times were tough, they would employ a range of coping mechanisms including borrowing food or using credit. The most troubling aspect of this research is that some interviewees had gone without food because they could not afford it and many felt that food had become increasingly unaffordable as their wages were not stretching as far as they had in the past. In summary, for these middle- and low-income residents, Sea Point is not as much of a 'food Eden' as this research initially assumed.

From this foundation, the next chapter of this dissertation will use the evidence established in this chapter to answer the research questions laid out above (section 5.1).

Chapter 6: Discussion & Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

This chapter connects this study's findings directly to the theories, case studies, and policies established in prior chapters, in order to address this study's research questions. The research questions are as follows:

- How has the growth of the commercial supermarket sector affected Sea Point's food-retail system over the past fifty years?
- In light of any changes to Sea Point's food-retail system and neighbourhood dynamics as a result of gentrification, what are the food security implications for middle- and low-income residents who continue to call this suburb home?
- Are the current sets of policy prescriptions from the City of Cape Town adequate to address food security implications which arise in a mixed-income urban setting like Sea Point?
- What appropriate policy interventions might better serve the food security requirements of middle- and low-income households in Sea Point and, more broadly, Cape Town?

The research questions will be answered in this chapter in the order presented above. The next section will discuss the long-term 'supermarketisation' of Sea Point. The third section will discuss the food-security implications arising for middle- and low-income residents as a result of the current food system. The fourth section will comment on whether Cape Town's current set of policies are adequate to address food-security implications in a mixed-income inner-city suburb like Sea Point. The fifth and final section will imagine a different policy trajectory that would be better calibrated to address inner-city food-security issues in Cape Town.

6.2 The 'Supermarketisation' of Sea Point

This section speaks directly to the first research question:

- How has the growth of the commercial supermarket sector affected Sea Point's food-retail system over the past fifty years?

A trend was uncovered in this study on Sea Point which showed that the area's food system in the 1970s was comprehensive and mostly dominated by small, independently owned and operated food retailers who were based along Main and Regent Roads. Commercial supermarkets, as we know them today, started establishing themselves in Sea Point in the early- to mid-1980s with the opening of retailers like Grand Bazaars and Pick n' Pay. This study considered Reardon et al.'s (2007) argument, which indicated that the first wave of international supermarket-sector expansion happened in the mid-1990s and targeted an array of countries, including South Africa. However, this research identified that commercial supermarkets were already invested in Sea Point well before commercial food FDI started seriously impacting South Africa. The data presented in this study infers that Sea Point's burgeoning supermarket outlets in the 1980s served a relatively small urban elite, in an affluent area, in line with what has been observed by Crush and Frayne (2011a) and Steel (2008).

Tustin and Strydom (2006) identified that independent and informal food-retailing enterprises may lose their market share at the hands of a changing retail-shopping environment due to supermarket proliferation. The data from this research confirms that the opening of supermarkets in the 1980s placed pressure on other, smaller and independent food retailers in the Sea Point area, eventually consuming their market share and forcing them to close their doors. This is confirmed through narratives about grocers such as Mackenzie's, who could not cope with the pricing and procurement practices of commercial supermarkets. So began the shift in Sea Point's food-retail system towards supermarket dominance.

This study has also taken note of another trend identified from Bisseker (2006) and Ligthelm (2008). Their research pertains to the impact of new township shopping centres on small-retail market share in the area. As customers begin to favour the convenience offered by local shopping centres, these developments have been shown to push independent and informal retail outlets out of business – or, at the very least, to capture a portion of smaller retail's pre-existing business.

The Sea Point case is incongruent with the geographic and socioeconomic contexts that arise from Bisseker's and Ligthelm's township shopping-centre research. However, that research highlights a trend that is equally applicable to this case: new shopping centres slowly erode the viability of small, independent retail outlets situated nearby. This research on Sea Point has shown that a mega shopping and entertainment development like the V&A

Waterfront can and has adversely impacted the viability of small, independently owned businesses nearby. Shortly after the Victoria Wharf Shopping Centre opened to the public, customer foot traffic began shifting in its direction, which forced many of the restaurants and remaining small retailers in the Sea Point area to close their doors.

In addition, a trend is visible in population census data spanning over the last fifty years which showed that Sea Point had been losing residents since the beginning of the 1980s, reaching its lowest point in the mid-1990s. The literature on to this period refers to the 1990s and early 2000s as Sea Point's decline and notes that much of the street-facing retail spaces were vacated and remained unoccupied. In addition, a decline in the frequency and quality of municipal services, such as rubbish removal, street cleaning and policing, meant that Sea Point lost its desirability for many shoppers who previously supported the businesses in the area. The few food retailers able to withstand the changes happening in the suburb at the time were the cash-flush commercial supermarkets. This further entrenched supermarket dominance in Sea Point.

The Supermarket Revolution Hypothesis literature shows that the mid-1990s were characterised by supermarkets consolidating business in the cities, focusing specifically on the upper and middle-income consumer segments (Claasen, 2002; Weatherspoon and Reardon, 2003). It was only in the early 2000s that aggressive supermarket expansion began, with new outlets opening in low-income and rural areas that had not been previously serviced by commercial grocers. Supermarkets proliferated by rolling out a variety of store formats, improving their logistic networks and modifying the product offering to suit the demographics of the suburb or region they were servicing.

By contrast, this case research on Sea Point shows that a small handful of supermarkets were already established in the study area prior to Sea Point's decline (Pick n' Pay at Adelphi Centre and Shoprite are particularly visible in the data). The implementation of the CID project in 2002 was a tipping point for the suburb. The Sea Point CID project nurtured an 'investment-friendly' atmosphere by cleaning up the streets (i.e security and waste removal) and compelled property owners to look after their buildings. The year 2002 marks the beginning of Sea Point's gentrification.

After 2002, the data shows a growth in investment in small shopping centre developments along Main and Regent Roads. In these centres, supermarkets act as anchor tenants, which bring customer foot traffic and justify higher rental rates for smaller retail

outlets and restaurants who share the same structure. These shopping centres attract people off the street to do their shopping, they cater to a higher-income consumer segment, they are privately owned, and they employ private security to maintain a degree of order. These characteristics mark a departure from the ground-floor, street-facing retail environments of the 1970s. A concern raised by this research is about this tendency towards privatising what used to be a traditional public space, particularly as not all residents of Sea Point may be able to access these spaces equally. Currently, Sea Point's food-retail system is dominated by four commercial supermarket companies who have seven retail outlets in the suburb.

On the subject of product offering, Reardon (2007) notes that food retailers will roll out different product offerings based on the strength and complexity of their supply chains. What became clear in this inquiry is that commercial supermarkets had the most complex, fresh and standardised food offerings in the suburb. Their ranges included food items which had short shelf-lives and required refrigeration, such as leafy greens, meats and dairy. On the other hand, the superettes and convenience stores predominantly carried the ubiquitous processed, pre-packaged and dry foods, with a very limited selection of fresh produce and dairy. Unhealthy and junk foods were readily available from all food retailers in the suburb.

In terms of pricing, Humphrey (2007) noted that bigger food retailers will use centralised procurement systems to make bulk food purchases and unlock savings through economies of scale. In essence, the act of procuring in bulk drives down the cost price of food. The data presented in this study highlighted that when comparing the price of a basic basket of food items between supermarkets and convenience stores, supermarkets were more affordable by far. In addition, supermarkets in the area were stratified in terms of affordability, with retailers like Spar and Woolworths being the more expensive outlets in the suburb, and Pick n' Pay, Shoprite, and Checkers outlets offering food at more affordable prices. Based on Humphrey's (2007) observation, this research presumes that the food retail price differences witnessed between Sea Point's supermarkets and independently owned stores might be linked to that individual retailer's capacity to coordinate store procurement and procure in bulk; thus increasing profit or driving down the retail price of food. In short, the larger the retailer, the more substantial their buying-power is.

Shoprite-owned supermarkets are particularly noteworthy. This research identified that Shoprite exercised a degree of price uniformity across their stores. For the time being, this renders assertions about food being more expensive from supermarkets in Sea Point mere

generalisations. However, an important question is raised from this research. Given that Sea Point continues to undergo urban regeneration, with new developments being built and property values more than doubling in the last five years, what will the impact be on food prices when property values continue to increase and reflect in commercial rental and property rates? This research speculates that the price of food might increase as well.

The final point to be made is that it is not yet clear how supermarket dominance affects the viability of the superette and convenience stores in the study area. However, given that Sea Point's convenience stores are open very late and have different product offerings, this research hypothesises that these two types of retailers are likely to be targeting different types of consumers (or the same type of consumer who uses both types of outlets for different purposes).

For a suburb in a South African city, Sea Point has remarkably little informal retail. This study considered research by Battersby and Crush (2014) which argues that, in low-income suburbs where supermarkets are not present or physically accessible, informal retail moves in to fill the gap and capitalise on consumers' daily or weekly shopping patterns. Sea Point seems to have inverted this trend. This study revealed that the CID project altered the neighbourhood (and the food retail system) by enabling the requisite environmental conditions to support the dominance of seven commercial supermarket outlets. This dissertation hypothesises that a combination of factors including inadequate food-retail policy, gentrification, and supermarket dominance has created severe entrance barriers for informal retailers wishing to establish themselves in the suburb.

The conclusion from this section is that the multitude of changes to the food system over the last fifty years has created in Sea Point a suburb that is heavily dependent on four commercial supermarket companies to provide for the food security of an urban population. The argument presented here also suggests that when planners affect neighbourhoods, particularly through urban regeneration and general development processes, they simultaneously change the way people are able to access food. This needs to be considered more thoroughly by decision makers' in local government.

6.3 Food (In)Security in Sea Point

This section speaks directly to the second research question:

- In light of any changes to Sea Point's food retail system and neighbourhood dynamics as a result of gentrification, what are the food security implications for middle- and low-income residents who continue to call this suburb home?

This study considered the FAO's (2015: 58) definition which envisioned food security to be a situation present "when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life". This research recognised that all parts of the FAO's definition are important. However, this dissertation measured only whether Sea Point residents had adequate physical and economic access to safe and nutritious food.

The metaphor of the food desert provides researchers with a lens to view the interlinkages between health inequalities, compromised diets, under-nutrition, and retail development-induced differential access to food retail (Wrigley, 2002). The traditional conception of a food desert is an area with a literal absence of food retail, or differential access to food retail between areas of affluence and poverty. The data collected from this study shows that Sea Point is an area with good access to commercial food retail and that most residents live within 500 metres (i.e. walking distance) of a supermarket. The individuals interviewed for this study highlighted that a substantial part of their weekly shopping requirements are satisfied by the retail offering in the suburb. Therefore, this study suggests that when one looks at Sea Point from the FAO's requirement of good physical access to food (i.e. proximity), the suburb more closely resembles a food Eden.

However, the issue of food security is more complex than a simple calculation of physical proximity to the shops. The literature is clear that residing close to a supermarket is no guarantee that area residents can afford what is being sold (Short et al., 2007). The metaphor that has been developed to explain this phenomenon is a food mirage: an area where supermarkets appear plentiful, but because food prices are high, healthy food is economically inaccessible for lower-income households (Breyer and Voss-Andreae, 2013). The data which emerged from this study suggests that Sea Point often resembles a food mirage for many middle- and low-income residents.

South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world. The disparity between affluence and poverty is vast. It should come as no surprise that South Africa's inequality manifests in many other ways, including through, as observed in this study, a suburb-level food-retail system. This study has noted that Sea Point is well endowed with supermarkets,

convenience stores, restaurants and fast-food takeaway shops. Arguably, the suburb is one of the most food-dense neighbourhoods in South Africa. This is likely a result of the gentrification process driven by the Sea Point CID project discussed in the previous section.

Yet, out of 125 food outlets identified in Sea Point, the data shows that middle- and low-income households can only afford to shop at three or four of the area's supermarkets (the more affordable grocers like Pick n' Pay, Shoprite and Checkers). This means that less than 5% of Sea Point's food-retail and service outlets are financially accessible to working-class residents who live in the area. Importantly, this study shows that one's socioeconomic position is tied to the variety of food retail types one is able to afford.

Another theme to arise from the literature is that food prices in South Africa are rising faster than inflation, which poses grave consequences for the household food security of the urban poor (Crush and Frayne, 2011b; Battersby, 2011). Supermarkets, like most other retailers in the formal sector, sell their products at fixed prices: if one is unable to afford the set price of an item, one simply cannot purchase it. All working-class residents interviewed as part of this study were and remain dependent on wages earned through employment to access healthy and nutritional food. When one earns a meagre income, the only economically accessible food outlets in the suburb are the more affordable commercial grocers. Troublingly, the narrative drawn from several of the older interviewees confirmed that, over time, their salaries did not keep pace with the rate at which food prices increase.

The consequences of this trend became noticeably clear when this study's interlocutors reflected on issues of food affordability over the course of a calendar month and year. Two-thirds of the interviewees indicated that their wages were not lasting through the month, with many struggling to afford food after the 10th. Thereafter, a variety of coping mechanisms would kick in, including borrowing food from others, buying food on credit, scaling back on the variety of food being purchased or, in extreme cases, going without food. In addition, the same interviewees indicated that January was a particularly vulnerable time, as wages earned in December would often not last through the holiday period to the January payday.

Therefore, this study shows that food insecurity in Sea Point has both temporal and variable characteristics. Temporal means that economic access to food, for the working class interviewees, oscillates between times when wages will allow for the purchasing of healthy foods and times when a healthy diet is completely or partially out of reach. Variable means

that the implications arising from economic access to food are not felt uniformly across all middle- and low-income residents. For a variety of reasons, some residents are more food insecure than others.

The data presented in this study is important because it unseats simplistic notions of location and proximity as sufficient constituents of food security. The facts of this case show that Sea Point has varying degrees of food insecurity which are linked directly to the issue of food affordability. This means that academics and urban planners cannot assume that supermarkets support food security for all. Rather, in mixed-income, inner-city settings, planning for a more food-secure neighbourhood may require policies which aim to augment the formal food-retail offering with more affordable and informal options.

This study also argues that the food-mirage metaphor has a lot of currency in the South African context. This dissertation theorises that a food mirage may develop as a result of gentrification or planning and development processes that are negligent towards supporting diversity in neighbourhood-level food retail options. However, it has been learned through this study that South Africa is slightly different from the Global North contexts which have given rise to the food-mirage metaphor. That is, the inequality in South African society coupled with high rates of food inflation make food mirages all the more severe, prolific, and important to remedy.

From the analysis established above, this research raises an important question. Given the identified links between gentrification, commercial supermarket dominance and the food-security repercussions established in this research on Sea Point, what are the implications for other inner-city suburbs of Cape Town currently undergoing redevelopments, such as Salt River and Woodstock? Would future case studies in these areas yield similar results?

6.4 The Efficacy of Cape Town's Current Food Policies

This section considers the following question:

- Are the current sets of policy prescriptions from the City of Cape Town adequate to address food security implications which arise in a mixed-income urban setting like Sea Point?

Cape Town's current food-related policy prescriptions are discussed in depth in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

Turning to the literature, Maxwell (1999a; 1999b) and Crush and Frayne (2010) have argued that food-policy responses in South Africa have tended to be conceived primarily as an issue of rural development and agricultural production. That is, food policy has a rural bias. The data which has been gathered as part of this study shows that the City of Cape Town's current policy responses are incongruent with the causes of food insecurity which arise in an inner-city suburb like Sea Point.

Given the built-up and densely populated characteristics of the suburb, there is little to no open space left for urban agriculture. In addition, many of the middle- and low-income residents of Sea Point are already employed and work long hours. When an individual works a full-time job, it is impractical to expect them also to spend time producing their own food. This research contends that urban agriculture is not an adequate policy response in the Sea Point context.

In addition, while there is no evidence in this study to suggest that lower-income residents of Sea Point support the area's informal traders, it is important to note that these small businesses contribute to the food security of an individual or household somewhere. Given the dense nature and high foot traffic of this inner-city suburb, there are likely to be some potential customers who might prefer to shop at informal traders if they were located in the area. It is troubling, however, that the City actively regulates informal traders as heavily as they do, yet commercial supermarkets do not receive the same degree of scrutiny.

This research argues that having a variety of retail formats targeting different income groups may work to strengthen area food security. It is easy to overlook that the street markets of Europe, or the municipal markets of Latin America, or markets of Warwick Junction in eThekweni (Durban), are informal organisations. Yet these mundane institutions enhance individual and household access to locally grown food, contribute to the security of the traders who operate in these spaces, and support the development of a sense of community. This research notes that the City of Cape Town's informal trader policy is not entirely appropriate. With a bit of imagination, there may be innovative, context-appropriate and inclusive ways to integrate informal traders into the Sea Point food-retail system.

The South African Constitution recognises the right of all people to access food and grants municipal governments an array of legislative powers to regulate and manage food security for their constituencies. Furthermore, promoting better nutrition to improve livelihoods and reduce poverty is a core component of the National Development Plan. Given

the strong mandate, why has the City of Cape Town abdicated its role in regulating, managing and providing food to the private sector? In line with Maxwell's (1999b) observations, this research has no answers for the City's motives but can only speculate that it is overburdened with other pressing issues, including crime, unemployment, housing, infrastructure, water scarcity and service delivery. Yet there is a subtle irony in the fact that food is directly connected to all these issues.

This research argues that city officials and planners need to start contemplating the ways that their actions impact on city-wide and suburb-wide household food security. At a metropolitan scale, when a planner designates a suburb for densification and/or regeneration, particularly through a spatial development framework, they need to understand that the long-term gentrification process will slowly modify the area's food system, possibly making it more expensive over time. A similar observation holds true for large shopping-mall developments, as these retail facilities have been shown (in this study and others) to erode the viability of smaller retail in their vicinity. But it is difficult to effectively assess the impact of these changes.

At a more localised scale, in an inner-city environment, as planners consider the merits of development applications for new buildings, they need to contemplate how these structures will impact on neighbourhood-level food security. Would a new, luxury, mixed-use building with high-end retail seem as appropriate if it were understood to be replacing a structure which housed a local greengrocer that was central to the food security of poorer residents? Given that development applications are considered in a piecemeal way, what are the food-security implications for poorer residents over a decade or two when several higher-end buildings are approved and developed in the same area? Without an integrated, long-term vision for adequately managing urban development and land-use processes to support food security, gentrification will lead to a 'death by a thousand cuts' scenario, placing low-income residents in ever more precarious situations.

The literature indicates that a city's underlying policy design has the power to actively and positively influence how well a city eats (Mah and Thang, 2013). However, the converse is also true. This research argues that ill-conceived and inadequate policy could have zero effect on food security, or it could worsen the situation entirely. Currently, the evidence of this case shows that Cape Town's policy prescriptions are doing very little to support food security for the working-class, inner-city residents of Sea Point.

In summary, food security is a crucial element in building integrated and inclusive neighbourhoods which inspire a sense of belonging in all. If planners and city officials are to achieve this objective, they need to call on a set of comprehensive, well designed, evidence-based, city-wide food policies and strategies. Through a process of imagining, the next section outlines what these policies and strategies could be.

6.5 An Alternative Approach to Food Security

The purpose of this section is to address the final research question:

- What appropriate policy interventions might better serve the food security requirements of middle- and low-income households in Sea Point and, more broadly, Cape Town?

The previous section established that the City of Cape Town does not have a set of coherent urban food policies. Chapter 3 of this dissertation asserted that urban planning is an ethical activity whose interventions are only justifiable when they lead to a better future than would arise should the status quo persist (Cambell and Marshall, 1999). Therefore, the following section will imagine a different planning and policy trajectory that would better address food security for all residents of Cape Town.

Many of the policy recommendations presented below have already been proposed to the City of Cape Town and are attributable to Battersby et al. (2014). So far, city officials have not heeded the plea to improve food security for their constituents, with the report by Battersby et al. completely ignored. The policy recommendations presented below are designed to set up the basic institutional arrangements so that food systems and nutritional security are taken seriously on the City's agenda. Without the basics in place, any intervention to boost food security in the Sea Point area will be haphazard at best. The policy recommendations that this research supports are articulated below.

6.5.1 Establish a Food Policy Council

This report recommends the adoption of a food policy council (FPC) for the City of Cape Town. An FPC is a governance structure that folds together many stakeholders from diverse food-related areas to examine how the municipal food system is working and propose ways to improve it (Haysom, 2015). Based on research by MacRae and Donahue (2013), an effective structure for a council would be a hybrid civil-society/government institutional structure with

direct conduits to decision makers through the municipal council, and with dedicated municipal funding, similar to the FPC created for the City of Toronto, discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

The purpose of the FPC would be to create a collaborative space where the knowledge and insights from a variety of food-related stakeholders and actors could combine to generate insight, research, and recommendations (i.e. a think-tank) for realising a more food-secure Cape Town. The council should consist of a representative group of food-related actors, including non-governmental organisations, community organisations, health professionals, social scientists, business leaders and members of the public sector. The FPC would be given a broad mandate to analyse shortcomings in all aspects of the food system across the entire municipality.

The FPC should sit at a strategic level within the municipality, acting in an advisory role to the decision-making processes at City Council, as well as contributing information and insight towards the formulation of the IDP. The IDP is a crucial instrument as it sets the development agenda and allocates resources for the implementation of strategies, policies and key projects. If food systems are not considered at the level of the IDP, then the danger exists that City-led responses will be fragmentary and haphazard. The FPC should receive its own municipal budget.

6.5.2 Develop a Municipal Food Strategy

Ancillary to the formulation of an FPC, the City of Cape Town should consider the development of a municipal food strategy (MFS). An MFS is a document that lays out how a municipal government envisions changes in its food system and how it strives towards this change. It “aims to place food on the urban agenda, capitalising on efforts made by existing actors and creating synergistic effects by linking different stakeholder groups” (Moragues et al., 2013: 6). The MFS ought to take a holistic view of a food system, considering both the horizontal and vertical dimensions which contribute to the nutritional security of a city.

According to Moragues et al. (2013: 15-21) the processes commonly followed to create an MFS include:

- 1) *Stakeholder mapping*. This involves identifying the relevant food-system stakeholders, clarifying and understating their motivations and their incentives and disincentives for participating in the development and implementation of the MFS.

- 2) *Planning and implementing the process of participation.* This involves devising a step-by-step process for public participation. This plan should engage a wide audience to build food-issue awareness and a smaller audience of strongly engaged stakeholders who will help to develop specific points of action.
- 3) *Involving an effective facilitator.* A successful MFS ordinarily appoints an individual who will act as the public face for the project and who is adept at dialogue facilitation to support the participation process outlined above. This is a particularly crucial step when many different and often conflicting viewpoints and interests are involved.
- 4) *Assessing the current food system.* This involves comprehensive research into all aspects of the local food system, as well as identifying challenges and issues faced by city residents in accessing a healthy, varied and fresh diet. This assessment should be as comprehensive as municipal resources will allow, so that an adequate baseline understanding can be developed which can be fed back to the FPC and the MFS development process.
- 5) *Finding joint visions and goals.* The facilitator should engage stakeholders and the public to identify a shared vision and set of goals to act as normative guidelines for change in the local food system. A broader consensus amongst stakeholders generally leads to a stronger vision and goals that can withstand changes in the political configurations of the municipality.
- 6) *Defining a plan of action.* This final process involves identifying and prioritising actions and interventions, allocating responsibilities to relevant actors, and ensuring resources and skilled individuals are available to implement the action plan.

The evidence presented in this research suggests that the MFS should take the time to consider and develop a coherent set of city-wide food-retail policies and actions that would form part of the body of the document. These policies should aim to create a new, holistic style of food-retail environment planning that better supports local nutritional security. In addition, the proposed policies should seek to include stakeholders from the formal and informal retail sectors and to identify interventions that create vibrant retail environments that cater to the poor, the wealthy, and everyone in between.

This research has identified four specific interventions which ought to be incorporated in the development of the MFS. First, this research argues that high-level discussions need to be conducted between the FPC, the Transport and Urban Development Authority (currently in charge of spatial planning) and various private-sector stakeholders on the positive and

negative externalities arising from shopping-mall developments, especially given that the development of these retail centres negatively affect the viability of existing retail on their peripheries.

Second, this research suggests that informal traders' associations must be included as key stakeholders in the development of the MFS. With additional research and stakeholder input, the City ought to begin to recognise the key strengths and opportunities these micro-enterprises offer, namely their flexibility, affordability, and their ability to (sometimes) bypass commercial supply chains. With the input from stakeholders, the City should identify areas suited for informal traders and provide appropriate market infrastructure across the municipality. (The Farm-To-Sea Point Market programme identified below is an example of how market promotion could operate in a suburb such as Sea Point.)

Third, this research argues for the creation and adoption of a Food Security Impact Assessment tool for use in urban planning. This tool would be used as part of development applications for new structures, particularly in the inner-city, to obligate the consideration and mitigation of suburb-level food security issues which arise as a result of urban development processes. Fourth, the MFS should have a component which educates and compels employees in all municipal departments to see how their individual mandates impact on various aspects of the local food system. That way, departments can better coordinate and integrate their efforts to give effect to the constitutional right to food and nutritional security.

Ideally, the MFS should fall under the mandate of the FPC and should be developed in collaboration with municipal departments whose mandates impact on food systems. It should be ratified by City Council and, once approved, the MFS should inform the IDP and SDF. The MFS should be reviewed every five years to ensure its strategies are still relevant, to identify new priorities, and to assess and monitor existing interventions.

6.5.3 Enhanced Information and Knowledge Management

One of the biggest challenges in planning food systems is the lack of publicly available information to support the monitoring and evaluation of city nutritional security and food prices. Cape Town has three robust public research universities including the University of the Western Cape, University of Cape Town, and Stellenbosch University. This research proposes that the City of Cape Town partner with these universities to generate research on

an ongoing basis to directly inform the activities of the MFS and FPC and to contribute to public awareness. This research identifies four areas where research inputs are sorely needed:

- 1) *Household food security and dietary diversity.* This research proposes using three quantitative surveys developed by the Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance Programme (FANTA) in Washington D.C. As these are quantitative surveys, an adequate number of respondents should be surveyed so that a statistically significant picture of food security and dietary diversity can emerge. As this research has shown, even wealthier suburbs like Sea Point have varying degrees of food insecurity. Therefore, these surveys should be conducted in a variety of suburbs, representing a diverse array of socioeconomic backgrounds, every ten years so that long-term food-access trends can be identified. The three survey tools are:
 - The Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS) developed by Coates et al. (2007) which delivers insight on levels of household food insecurity and coping mechanisms individuals employ to augment household resources.
 - The Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning (MAHFP) developed by Bilinsky and Swindale (2010) which affords an indication of whether a household has consistent access to food throughout the year.
 - The Household Dietary Diversity Score (HDDS) developed by Swindale and Bilinsky (2006) which delivers insight on whether households have access to varied and healthy diets which include fruits, vegetables, meats, etc.
- 2) *Food Price Monitoring.* Similar to the technique employed in this dissertation, this research supports the recording of food prices on a basic basket of items, at retail outlets across Cape Town. This research showed that some commercial supermarkets exercise price-uniformity mechanisms across their stores. However, this research hypothesises that the contours of the urban land market may still impact at the local level upon food prices at other retail outlets. Once enough data has been gathered, the price of food in a suburb can be averaged and spatially displayed on a map. Higher food prices in a suburb may have an adverse impact on the food security of lower-income households. Additionally, average price differences between suburbs may indicate shortcomings in the local food system which can then be followed up with other types of research.

- 3) *Food Outlet Mapping*. Similar to the technique employed in this dissertation, this research proposes mapping food-service and retail outlets across Cape Town. Such a map would be a powerful tool to identify suburbs where physical access to healthy and nutritional food may be limited or non-existent. This should inform site-appropriate spatial interventions.
- 4) *Qualitative Studies*. It is this researcher's view that the world cannot be holistically understood through quantitative investigation alone. To augment the findings of the other three points of inquiry, this research argues for a broader use of qualitative study methods, including ethnographic, visual and participatory research to document important aspects of the city's food system. Important topics for further consideration include explorations on the impacts of gentrification on suburb-level food security, whether gender or age affect individual food security, and the correlation between neighbourhood crime and violence and household food security.

6.5.4 Farm-to-Sea Point Market Programme

This final policy recommendation specifically addresses food security in the suburb of Sea Point. Instances of food insecurity in the suburb occur not because of a lack of physical access to food but because middle- and low-income residents struggle to afford healthy and varied diets throughout the month and year. Therefore, this research proposes the development of a Farm-to-Sea Point Market programme, which aims to bring affordable produce directly into the suburb by bypassing the commercial supermarkets whose value chains and profit margins add additional and unwarranted cost to food.

This programme seeks to identify and use a centrally located and city-owned property in Sea Point as a location to start a farmers' market. One potential market location could be the Sea Point Pavilion Pool, as it is owned by the municipality, easily accessible by foot and public transport, and has adequate space for multiple vendors on its street-facing forecourt which currently sits unused (see Figure 6-1). Other, more appropriate locations may yet be identified. More site-specific research should be conducted to determine the most appropriate location.

The Farm-to-Sea Point Market is envisioned to occur two or three times a week, opening in the early afternoon and closing by 8 pm so that residents who work full-time can make use of the facility. The programme would aim to build partnerships with NGOs and

farmers connected to the Philippi Horticultural Area, and other agricultural areas in and around Cape Town. In addition, this research recommends the use of public outreach, education and advocacy programmes to demonstrate to all Sea Point residents the important role Cape Town’s horticultural areas play in reducing the distance food has to travel from farm to plate, and supporting urban food security.



Figure 6-1 - Context photo showing underutilised public space at the Sea Point Pavilion Pool. This could be one of several potential future sites for an informal farmers market (30 October, 2017).

Farmers who agree to be partners would be invited and given free space to sell their produce directly to the public. It is envisioned that the programme manager would work with the City and the local ratepayers’ association to source funding for semi-permanent food stall structures, lighting to create a space that is safe and enjoyable in the evening, and cleaning services to ensure the space is well maintained and orderly on days when the market is not there. Finally, this research maintains that this project should fall under the mandate of and report to the FPC proposed above.

6.6 Conclusion

The objective of this chapter was to connect this study’s findings directly to the constellation of theories, case studies, and policies established in prior chapters, in order to address this

study's research questions. The first section established the outline that the chapter would follow. The second section discussed the long-term supermarketisation of Sea Point. The third section highlighted the food-security implications which have arisen for middle- and low-income residents as a result of the supermarketisation of the local food system. The fourth section commented on whether Cape Town's current policy prescriptions are adequate to address food-security implication in a mixed-income, inner-city suburb like Sea Point. Finally, the fifth section imagined a different policy trajectory that would be better calibrated to address food-security issues for Cape Town and Sea Point. The next and final chapter will conclude with a summary and reflections on this study's findings.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Epilogue

The approach used to study urban food security in this dissertation was unconventional by many accounts. As noted early in the dissertation, the canon of South African urban food research has focused on the nutritional security of households and individuals in low-income areas, specifically focusing on the implications arising from poor physical and economic access to retailers who offer good quality, healthy food.

South Africa is characterised by high income inequality and the region's cities are urbanising quickly and in incongruent ways. Very poor and informal settlements sprawl on the periphery of the city, while well located, inner-city suburbs undergo intense regeneration. Each area of a city presents a unique set of food-security challenges. This dissertation was unconventional because it opted to study the '*other*' urban: it studied food-security implications arising in a gentrifying, mixed-income, and inner-city setting.

Using the suburb of Sea Point as a case study, this research aimed to uncover the food-security implications for middle- and low-income households which arise as a result of gentrification and the growth of the commercial supermarket sector. This topic was identified as an under-studied area in existing South African research. This study's research questions and method were refined from the literature with the aim of contributing to this body of knowledge.

The main research questions which guided this dissertation were:

- How has the growth of the commercial supermarket sector affected Sea Point's food-retail system over the past fifty years?
- In light of any changes to Sea Point's food-retail system and neighbourhood dynamics as a result of gentrification, what are the food security implications for middle- and low-income residents who continue to call this suburb home?
- Are the current sets of policy prescriptions from the City of Cape Town adequate to address food security implications which arise in a mixed-income urban setting like Sea Point?

- What appropriate policy interventions might better serve the food security requirements of middle- and low-income households in Sea Point and, more broadly, Cape Town?

This dissertation used a single, paradigmatic case study design, as well as a suite of research techniques including interviews, mapping, photography, food price recording, document and archival research, and direct observation. Roughly six weeks were spent in the field collecting original research. Description building, pattern matching and reflexivity were used as analytical techniques to build and explain the case.

Firstly, this study has described how Sea Point's food retail and service system transformed from being one dominated by an assortment of small, independently owned convenience stores, grocers, and specialty food shops, to one dominated by commercial supermarket outlets. This study has observed that changes in a local food system can occur through a variety of means. For instance, the opening of a supermarket outlet or a shopping-centre development can affect the viability of smaller grocers and shops located in the immediate vicinity, forcing them to close their doors. In addition, this study has shown that gentrification can enable a set of conditions that are requisite for certain types of commercial outlets to flourish. Sea Point is now dependent on four commercial food-retail entities to provide for its community food security requirements.

Second, this study has shown that the move towards a commercialised food-retail system, alongside changes to the suburb which have occurred as a result of gentrification, create food-security challenges for middle- and low-income households who remain in the area. Physical access (i.e. proximity) to the shops is not an issue, as the suburb is home to many commercial supermarket and retail outlets and most residents live within easy walking distance to one or two of these. Rather, the issue raised in this dissertation is one of economic access to food. Given the income inequality in the suburb and the high rates of food-price inflation, many households struggle to afford a healthy and nutritional diet consistently throughout the month and year. From this line of inquiry, this dissertation has concluded that, for the urban poor who live in the area, Sea Point often resembles a food mirage.

Third, this study concluded that the City of Cape Town's current set of policy prescripts were wholly inadequate to address the food-security challenges that arise in a mixed-income, inner-city suburb like Sea Point. The City's *laissez-fair* attitude towards inner-city redevelopment and its assessment that Cape Town's nutritional security can be

supported solely by the commercial grocers and a handful of urban agriculture projects, completely ignores the issue of economic access to food for the urban poor. In all likelihood, the lack of a comprehensive, empirically based set of policies may exacerbate food-insecurity issues arising in the inner city.

Finally, this study imagined what policy structures might better create a more food-secure Cape Town and Sea Point. This study determined that without a set of conducive basic institutional arrangements, any intervention in the metropolitan food system would be piecemeal at best. Through a process of imagining, this dissertation recommended that a strong starting point for tackling food-security issues would be to establish a Food Policy Council to offer guidance to decision makers, to formulate a municipal food strategy and to promote regular, in-depth, and publicly accessible food-systems research. In addition, this dissertation envisioned and recommended a programme that would regularly bring fresh, affordable produce directly to the residents of Sea Point, bypassing the rigid pricing mechanisms of commercial supermarkets.

7.2 Significance and Limitations

This research is significant because it has revealed that food insecurity can arise in wealthier parts of Cape Town as well as poorer ones. In addition, the drivers and dynamics of food insecurity in mixed-income, inner-city settings can be different than those observed in traditional case research on low-income communities.

One of the themes flagged in this research is gentrification. The marginalising effects of urban regeneration on the urban poor have been well documented in a number of places. Yet, the link between gentrification, the urban land market, and food access remains an avenue still to be fully explored in South Africa. The author of this dissertation hopes that evidence arising from this study will nudge the scholarly community towards a broader approach, scrutinising nutritional insecurity in a wider variety of settings.

The limitations of this research are established more fully in Chapter 2. Given the nature of case research and that this study was designed around a single case with a limited number of respondents, the findings should not be generalised to other contexts. However, the author hopes that the ideas raised in this study will inspire further research so that a cross-case understanding can be developed to strengthen the external validity of this research and allow for accurate generalisations to be made in future.

7.3 Opportunities for Future Research

The author of this dissertation believes that this study can be enhanced in the following ways:

- Analysing shopping till receipts is a method already employed in nutritional studies. What picture might emerge if urban food-security research were to collect till receipts, tabulate what is being purchased, and interview people about their food buying habits? Would any temporal patterns emerge in the data? Might there be a disjuncture between what people say they buy and what they actually buy? It would also be useful ethnographically to engage a greater number of respondents over a longer period of time.
- This research has already suggested using the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS) and the other instruments mentioned in Chapter 6 to develop a quantitative picture of food insecurity in Sea Point. What might such research discover about the nutritional security of a larger percentage of Sea Point's residents?
- It would be useful to broaden an understanding of the City's rationale in supporting urban regeneration projects. Using critical discourse analysis and looking through old planning documents, research could identify the actors driving this process, their values, whether those values have changed over time, and whether food has ever been considered in the development decision-making process.
- This dissertation showed that a large commercial supermarket exercised price-uniformity measures: one would pay the same price (more or less) for a basket of food items in Sea Point as in a lower-income suburb elsewhere in the city. The author of this research hypothesises that there may be a correlation between the urban land market and food prices, which may not be readily visible through the commercial supermarket sector. Using a food-price recording technique and expanding the scope of analysis to include a fuller basket of food items at independently owned superettes and convenience stores, might researchers discover a link between area retail-space rental rates and the price one pays for food at the till?
- Finally, this research proposes similar case studies in other gentrifying, inner-city suburbs, like Salt River, Woodstock, Mowbray or Observatory. What are the food-

security implications arising in these settings? Might such a study yield similar results?

7.4 Final Reflection

As a researcher, this project has been exciting, humbling, and in a few instances distressing. There are no words to describe the knot in the stomach at 2 a.m. when transcribing an interview in which the interviewee repeats over and over again how they do not have enough food to eat. No amount of how-to guides or research manuals can prepare a researcher for when research plans go wrong. This dissertation process taught the researcher to think on his feet and to be flexible to meet the demands which arise in the field.

However, this study has also reaffirmed the author's interest in food as a topic. He hopes to continue this line of inquiry, perhaps turning this project into a PhD thesis. This study has also filled the researcher with hope. There *are* policies and programmes which can be used to help make Cape Town, or any other urban settlement, a more food-secure city. All that is needed is the political will to make it happen. Therefore, it seems appropriate to conclude this report with the following quote.

“Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody” – Jane Jacobs (1961: 238) in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*

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Image References

Figure 4-1 - Ordelheide, R. 2017. *'Map illustrating the location of Sea Point study area in relation to the City of Cape Town and the Southern African region'* [Map, 20 September]. Scale: 1:400,000. Data layers: Provincial Boundaries 2016 (ESRI Open Source); District Municipality Boundaries 2016 (ESRI Open Source); Local Municipality Boundaries 2016 (ESRI Open Source); Cape Town Urban Edge (City of Cape Town: Open Data Portal [CCT ODP]); Municipal Parks (CCT ODP); South Africa Protected Areas Database Q2 (Department of Environmental Affairs); South African Road Network (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform); Streams and Rivers (Department of Water Affairs); the remainder drawn by author: Shapefiles [Computer files]. Using: ArcGIS for Desktop Advanced [GIS]. Version 10.5.1. Redlands, CA: ESRI, 2017.

Figure 4-2 - Ordelheide, R. 2017. *'Map illustrating the boundaries of the Sea Point Study area'*. [Map, 20 Septemeber]. Scale: 1:13,000. Data layers: Road Centre Lines (CCT ODP); Wards (CCT ODP); Municipal Swimming Facilities (CCT ODP); Municipal Parks (CCT ODP); South Africa Protected Areas Database Q2 (Department of Environmental Affairs); the remainder drawn by author: Shapefiles [Computer files]. Using: ArcGIS for Desktop Advanced [GIS]. Version 10.5.1. Redlands, CA: ESRI, 2017.

Figure 4-3 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 4-4 - Ordelheide, R. 2017. *'Map illustrating the boundaries of the suburbs of Fresnaye, Sea Point, and Three Anchor Bay'* [Map, 20 September]. Scale: 1:16,500. Data layers: Road Centre Lines (CCT ODP); Wards (CCT ODP); Municipal Swimming Facilities (CCT ODP); Municipal Parks (CCT ODP); South Africa Protected Areas Database Q2 (Department of Environmental Affairs); the remainder drawn by author: Shapefiles [Computer files]. Using: ArcGIS for Desktop Advanced [GIS]. Version 10.5.1. Redlands, CA: ESRI, 2017.

Figure 4-5 - Ordelheide, R. 2017. *'50 year total population trend for sea point study area'*. Tabulated and displayed in Excel 2010 from RSA DoS (1970), RSA CSS (1985 and 1991), and StatsSA (1996, 2001, and 2011).

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Figure 4-7 - Ordelheide, R. 2017. *'Constitutionally enshrined food-related areas of municipal legislative competency'*. Adapted from Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act. 108 of 1996: schedule 4 and 5.

Figure 5-1 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5-2 - Ordelheide, R. 2017. *'Map showing the location of the Sea Point study area in relation to the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront'* [Map, 01 October]. Scale: 1:40,000. Data layers: District Municipality Boundaries 2016 (ESRI Open Source); Local Municipality Boundaries 2016 (ESRI Open Source); Cape Town Urban Edge (City of Cape Town: Open Data Portal [CCT ODP]); Road Centre Lines (CCT ODP);

Municipal Parks (CCT ODP); South Africa Protected Areas Database Q2 (Department of Environmental Affairs); South African Road Network (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform); Streams and Rivers (Department of Water Affairs); the remainder drawn by author: Shapefiles [Computer files]. Using: ArcGIS for Desktop Advanced [GIS]. Version 10.5.1. Redlands, CA: ESRI, 2017.

Figure 5-3 - Ordelheide, R. 2017. *'Consolidated food retail and services map for the sea point study area'* [Map, 01 October]. Scale: 1:13,000. Data layers: Road Centre Lines (City of Cape Town: Open Data Portal [CCT ODP]); Municipal Parks (CCT ODP); South Africa Protected Areas Database Q2 (Department of Environmental Affairs); Sea Point Food Systems Map 2017 (Ordelheide, R.); the remainder drawn by author: Shapefiles [Computer files]. Using: ArcGIS for Desktop Advanced [GIS]. Version 10.5.1. Redlands, CA: ESRI, 2017.

Figure 5-4 - Ordelheide, R. 2017. *'Map of the commercial supermarket locations in the Sea Point study area'*. [Map, 01 October]. Scale: 1:13,000. Data layers: Road Centre Lines (City of Cape Town: Open Data Portal [CCT ODP]); Municipal Parks (CCT ODP); South Africa Protected Areas Database Q2 (Department of Environmental Affairs); Sea Point Food Systems Map 2017 (Ordelheide, R.); the remainder drawn by author: Shapefiles [Computer files]. Using: ArcGIS for Desktop Advanced [GIS]. Version 10.5.1. Redlands, CA: ESRI, 2017.

Figure 5-5 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5-6 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5-7 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5-8 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5-9 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5-10 - Ordelheide, R. 2017. *'Map illustrating the location of superettes and convenience store in the Sea Point study area'*. [Map, 01 October]. Scale: 1:13,000. Data layers: Road Centre Lines (City of Cape Town: Open Data Portal [CCT ODP]); Municipal Parks (CCT ODP); South Africa Protected Areas Database Q2 (Department of Environmental Affairs); Sea Point Food Systems Map 2017 (Ordelheide, R.); the remainder drawn by author: Shapefiles [Computer files]. Using: ArcGIS for Desktop Advanced [GIS]. Version 10.5.1. Redlands, CA: ESRI, 2017.

Figure 5-11 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5-12 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5-13 - Ordelheide, R. 2017

Figure 5-14 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5-15 - Ordelheide, R. 2017. *'Map illustrating the location of fast food outlets, tourist markets, and informal retailers in the Sea Point study area'*. [Map, 01 October]. Scale: 1:13,000. Data layers: Road Centre Lines (City of Cape Town: Open Data Portal [CCT ODP]); Municipal Parks (CCT ODP); South Africa Protected Areas Database Q2 (Department of Environmental Affairs); Sea Point Food Systems Map 2017 (Ordelheide, R.); the remainder drawn by author: Shapefiles [Computer files].

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Figure 5-16 - Ordelheide, R. 2017. *'Map illustrating whether fresh produce on offer by store-type in Sea Point area'*. [Map, 01 October]. Scale: 1:13,000. Data layers: Road Centre Lines (City of Cape Town: Open Data Portal [CCT ODP]); Municipal Parks (CCT ODP); South Africa Protected Areas Database Q2 (Department of Environmental Affairs); Sea Point Food Systems Map 2017 (Ordelheide, R.); the remainder drawn by author: Shapefiles [Computer files]. Using: ArcGIS for Desktop Advanced [GIS]. Version 10.5.1. Redlands, CA: ESRI, 2017.

Figure 5-17 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5-18 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5-19 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5- 20 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5-21 - Ordelheide, R. 2017. *'Map illustrating the location of outlets analysed for price in comparison in the Cape Town area'* [Map, 01 October]. Scale: 1:125,000. Data layers: Local Municipality Boundaries 2016 (ESRI Open Source); Cape Town Urban Edge (City of Cape Town: Open Data Portal [CCT ODP]); Municipal Parks (CCT ODP); South Africa Protected Areas Database Q2 (Department of Environmental Affairs); South African Road Network (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform); Streams and Rivers (Department of Water Affairs); Sea Point Food Systems Map 2017 (Ordelheide, R.); the remainder drawn by author: Shapefiles [Computer files]. Using: ArcGIS for Desktop Advanced [GIS]. Version 10.5.1. Redlands, CA: ESRI, 2017.

Figure 5-22 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5-23 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 5-24 - Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Figure 6-1 – Ordelheide, R. 2017.

Appendix 1: Interview Question Schedule

I) Getting to Know You Questions:

1. As this interview is for research and may be made publicly available do I have your consent to interview you, can I use your name? Or, would you like to remain anonymous?
2. Roughly, how old are you (you may give me an approximate number)?
3. What is your occupation?
4. Do you live here in Sea Point?
5. How long have you lived in Sea Point?
6. Do you have a family and do they live with you?
7. Describe where you live? (i.e. flat, domestic quarters, house, retirement home, etc).
8. Do you pay rent for your unit?
9. Do you work here in Sea Point, or elsewhere in the City?
10. Do you have your own transportation, or do you use public transportation?
11. In your housing unit, do you have a place to cook food?
12. In your housing unit, do you have a place to store food? (this includes a pantry, refrigerator, etc.)

II) Buying Habits:

13. In the past four weeks, have you purchased fresh food (i.e. raw meat, dairy [maas/milk], fresh fruit, fresh vegetables, bread, maize meal or pasta) from a supermarket?
 - a. How often did this happen and was the food purchased here in Sea Point?
 - b. Can you describe where you purchased your food in any further detail?
 - c. What kind of food do you normally buy? (e.g. what is a normal weekly shopping basket).
14. In the past four weeks, have you purchased cooked food/ready-made meals from a supermarket?
 - a. How often did this happen and was the food purchased here in Sea Point?
 - b. Can you describe where you purchased your food in any further detail?
 - c. What kind of food do you normally buy? (e.g. what is a normal weekly shopping basket).
15. In the past four weeks, have you purchased cooked food from a restaurant or takeaway/ fast food shop?
 - a. How often do you buy from these shops and was the food acquired here in Sea Point?
 - b. Can you describe where you purchased your food in any further detail?
16. In the past four weeks, have you purchased fresh food (i.e. raw meat, dairy [maas/milk], fresh fruit, fresh vegetables, bread, maize meal or pasta) from superette, convenience store or petrol station?
 - a. How often did this happen and was the food purchased in Sea Point?
 - b. Can you describe what you purchased and where you purchased your food in any further detail?
17. In the past four weeks, have you purchased hot/cooked food or ready-made meals from a superette, convenience store or petrol station?
 - a. What about candy/chocolate/fizzy drinks/crisps from a superette, convenience store or petrol station?
 - b. How often did this happen and was the food purchased in Sea Point?
 - c. Can you describe what and where you purchased your food in any further detail?

18. In the past four weeks, have you exchanged food with a neighbour, friend or relative living in Sea Point?
 - a. How often did this happen?
 - b. Can you describe this food exchange in any further detail?
19. In the past four weeks, have you exchanged food with a friend or relative living in another part of the city or province?
 - a. How often did this happen?
 - b. Can you describe this food exchange in any further detail?
20. In the past four weeks, have you consumed food that you have grown in your own garden or from a local community garden?
 - a. How often did this happen and was the food acquired in your immediate neighbourhood?
 - b. Can you describe this process in any further detail?
21. If you work in another part of the city, do you acquire food for your household on your commute to or from your place of employment?
 - a. How often does this happen?
 - b. Do you use public transport or our own vehicle to get there?
 - c. Can you describe this process in any further detail?
22. In the past four weeks, have you purchased fresh food (i.e. raw meat, fruit, vegetables, bread or pasta) from an informal trader or spaza shop?
 - a. How often did this happen?
 - b. Can you describe what you purchased in any detail?
 - c. Was the food purchased in Sea Point?
23. In the past four weeks, have you purchased sweets, chocolate, crisps or sweetened soft drink from a street-side vendor or spaza shop?
 - a. How often did this happen?
 - b. Can you describe what you purchased in any detail?
 - c. Where was the food purchased in?
24. Do you ever travel to other parts of Cape Town to acquire food that you like?
 - a. What do you normally buy, where and why?

III) Food Affordability

25. Are there times of the calendar month that you find difficult to afford food?
 - a. Difficult times of the year to afford food?
26. In the last six months, if food has become unaffordable, have you ever borrowed food from others?
27. In the last six months, if food has become unaffordable, have you ever purchased food on credit or through loans?
28. In the last six months, if food has become unaffordable, have you ever gone without food?
29. As a resident of Sea Point, when it comes to food affordability, do you feel like your situation has improved or worsened over time?

Mandatory: As this interview is for research and may be made publicly available do I have your permission to use this information in my study? May I use your name, or would you like to be anonymised?

Appendix 2: Faculty Ethics Approval Form

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/usr/ebe/research/ethics.pdf>

| APPLICANT'S DETAILS | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant | Robert Lee Ordelheide | |
| Department | Planning - APG | |
| Preferred email address of applicant: | ORDROB001@myuct.ac.za | |
| 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 | N/A | |
| Project Title | 'Cape Town's Hungry Future' | |

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 | Robert L. Ordelheide | Robert L. Ordelheide | 25 Apr 2017 |

| APPLICATION APPROVED BY | Full name | Signature | Date |
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Appendix 3: A Brief Contextual Discussion on Food Regime Theory

At its core, FRT combines the theoretical tools of both French Regulation Theory and Political Regime Theory to identify key sets of relationships that underpinned periods of growth and transition in the world economy (Campbell, 2009: 310; Friedmann and McMichael, 1989). A food regime is understood to represent “particular periods of hegemony, and hegemonic transitions, in recent capitalist history” (McMichael, 2009: 283). Echoing this sentiment, Friedmann (2005: 228) argues that the myriad components that constitute a food regime are drawn from “a specific constellation of governments, corporations, collective organisations, and individuals that allow for renewed accumulation of capital based on shared definition of social purpose by key actors, while marginalizing others”. Critiques notwithstanding (see Araghi, 2003), FRT affords a useful lens through which to examine the drivers of food production, control, distribution and demand at the global scale.

Research shows that the contemporary food regime began in 1972-1973, when the USA leveraged an opportunity to sell off its agricultural surpluses for hard currency. This enabled a world food crisis in 1974, when food staples prices more than tripled in a short space of time, causing global supply shocks, political instability, and widespread hunger (Friedmann, 2005). The official response to this crisis is found in the World Food Summit in 1974, which declared food insecurity an issue of hunger rather than market failure and would lay the foundations for the emerging corporatized food regime.²³ In the same period, global policymakers started experimenting with neoliberal policy, which was institutionalized by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank through Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and compelled national governments to implement key policies including export promotion, civil-service downsizing, trade liberalisation and the privatisation of state-owned enterprises.²⁴ The trend towards neoliberalism and free-trade ideology was further entrenched in global food systems through the establishment of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1995, which set out its own Agreement on Agriculture.

²³ This research adopts a definition of ‘market failure’ as articulated by Rocha (2007: 6); market failure being a “circumstance in which private interests do not lead to an efficient use of society’s resources or a fair distribution of society’s goods”.

²⁴ This research adopts a definition of ‘neoliberalism’ as articulated by Brooks (2016: 4). Neoliberalism is the view that “individual liberty and freedom are paramount; best achieved and protected by an institutional structure comprising strong private property rights, free markets and free trade... the state should not be directly involved in the economy, but should use its power to protect property rights and institutions of the market”.

Our contemporary corporate food regime operates on the basis of what Harvey (2003) calls accumulation by dispossession. That is, governments at a range of scales have abdicated to the whims of private capital their role in ensuring food security.²⁵ Dispossession has occurred through the dismantling of key institutions like grain marketing boards, price supports and subsidy programs, as well as the selling-off of community assets including markets, public commons and street vendors (Brooks, 2016; McMichael, 2005; and McMichael, 2009). Ultimately, this trend has eliminated “extant systems of provision”, transforming circuits of capital towards vertically integrated and controllable units in the corporate food regime’s proliferating supply chains (McMichael, 2005: 283-284).

FRT stipulates that the current food regime has enabled in developing regions the proliferation of supermarkets, which are composed of an intensified combination of food processing, supply chain and retailing strategies. This has effectively granted corporate entities control of most facets of food production from seed to supermarket (McMichael, 2005: 284). The crux of contemporary FRT thought is that the parameters of the emergent corporate food regime represent the reconditioning of a globally integrated food system. Under neoliberalism, this system is touted as a requisite condition of food security while it surreptitiously immiserates populations, including its own labour force (McMichael, 2005: 285).

As a theoretical body, FRT was considered by this research as contextual to, and enabling of the proliferation of commercial supermarkets at a global scale.

²⁵ “What “accumulation by dispossession does is to release a set of assets (including labour power) at very low (and in some instances zero) cost. Over-accumulated capital can seize hold of such assets and immediately turn them to profitable use” (Harvey, 2003: 149).

Appendix 4: Consumer Price Index Values

| Year | Consumer Price Index (CPI): Headline Inflation |
|------|---|
| 1996 | 7,4% |
| 1997 | 8,6% |
| 1998 | 6,9% |
| 1999 | 5,1% |
| 2000 | 5,3% |
| 2001 | 5,7% |
| 2002 | 9,2% |
| 2003 | 5,8% |
| 2004 | 1,4% |
| 2005 | 3,4% |
| 2006 | 4,7% |
| 2007 | 7,1% |
| 2008 | 11,5% |
| 2009 | 7,1% |
| 2010 | 4,3% |
| 2011 | 5,0% |
| 2012 | 5,6% |
| 2013 | 5,7% |
| 2014 | 6,1% |
| 2015 | 4,6% |
| 2016 | 6,4% |

The annual headline inflation rates listed above were drawn from Cronje et al. (2017: 115) and used to calculate and compare the value of the Rand (R) reflected in the 1996, 2001, and 2011 census periods, to the Rand (R) in 2017. This was done to understand whether the monthly individual incomes earned reflected in the census surveys were similar in value across a twenty year period. The calculation has been included in footnote 15 on page 57 of this dissertation.

Appendix 5: Other Food-Related Policies from the South African National Government, and the Western Cape Provincial Government

The information considered in this appendix is ancillary to the list of food policies established in Chapter 4. These policy instruments have a rather indirect bearing on local, inner-city settings such as the one witnessed in Sea Point. While these policies are important and should not be ignored, the researcher felt they would have been more appropriate for consideration in an appendix.

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

In 2002, the South African Cabinet set out to create a national food-security strategy that would harmonise and integrate the piecemeal food security programs which existed at the national scale into one single Integrated Food-Security Strategy (IFSS). The IFSS sought to entrench public-private-civil society partnerships across various scales of government to focus upon and intervene in household-level food insecurity without overlooking the context and requirements of the national food system (Department of Agriculture, 2002).

The IFSS was functionally nested within the Department of Agriculture. In order to operationalise its mandate, the IFSS called upon several other departments including the Public Works, Health, Social Development, Statistics South Africa and others, aiming to engage key stakeholders and create policy and programmes to address malnutrition and food insecurity. The strategic objectives and development approaches of this program include:

- Increasing household food production and trading
- Improving income generation and job-creation opportunities to support economic access to food
- Improving nutritional education and food safety
- Increasing food-welfare programs and emergency food-management systems
- Improving data capture, analysis, and information management to continually make informed decisions
- Providing for capacity building in key sectors
- Improving levels of governance, coordination, and integration between all three spheres of government

- Holding stakeholder dialogue to build connections and share relevant experience

National Policy on Food and Nutrition Security (NPFNS) (2013)

A decade later, born from the experiences learned from the IFSS, the South African government sought to promulgate a national policy on food security which was gazetted in August of 2014. The National Policy on Food and Nutrition Security (NPFNS) was designed to provide a broad framework for the fulfilment of the constitutional requirement of access to sufficient food. It was mandated by and a key pillar of the NDP for 2030 and was used to provide a common definition of food security, to support interdisciplinary approaches to enhance the national food system, and to support regional food-security leadership in the Southern African community (Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries [DAFF], 2013).

The report states that “the strategic goal of the [NFNSP] is to ensure the availability, accessibility and affordability of safe and nutritious food at national and household levels” (DAFF, 2013: 30). The report notes further that the NFNSP is designed to build upon existing strategies, initiatives and systems and ensure stricter alignment, better coordination and stronger oversight amongst key stakeholders across various scales of public and the private sector. The NFNSP makes use of a “five-pillar approach” which aims to address various elements of food production and security through specially crafted initiatives and programs. These program streams included:

- Improved nutritional safety nets through government-run nutrition and feeding programs and emergency food relief
- Improved nutrition education at a local level to assist households and communities via the use of consumer literacy and improved meal-planning programs
- Alignment of agricultural investment towards local economic development to support employment for rural South Africans and to escalate food production as well as enhance food storage and distribution networks
- Through the use of public-private partnerships, enhance market participation for an emergent agricultural sector and connect these

enterprises to the agro-processing sector through enhanced economic empowerment policy

- Enhanced risk management in South Africa's food-production sector and a more thorough use and management of data to periodically review the state of food security in the country (DAFF, 2013: 31)

Western Cape Rural Development Coordination Programme

On the scale of provincial government, food security is addressed by the Western Cape Department of Agriculture through the Rural Development Coordination Programme (RDCP). The primary goal of the RDCP and its subprograms is to coordinate service delivery across all three spheres of government, targeting sixteen rural areas in the province that are identified as having a high degree of need (Western Cape Government Department of Agriculture, n.d.). Through the RDCP, food security is loosely addressed through targeted interventions at household level to improve access to food.

Western Cape Government: Urban Farming 2016

In addition to the RDCP, the Western Cape Government also actively encourages and funds household and community food gardens for poor urban communities across the Western Cape through the Urban Farming 2016 program (Western Cape Government [WCG], 2016). This program is envisioned to provide employment opportunities and a source of financial income for the urban poor. Urban farming is arguably a more environmentally conscious alternative to the commercial agricultural sector, as growing food locally reduces the distance that food needs to travel before being consumed. All in all, WCG (2016) claim that the targeted local garden interventions supported by the Urban Farming 2016 program improve food security in the province.