

# Planning for Urban Food Security

## Leveraging the Contribution of Informal Trade in the Case of Bellville Station Precinct

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of Masters of City and Regional Planning

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University of Cape Town  
November 2017

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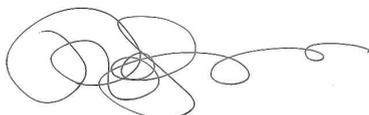
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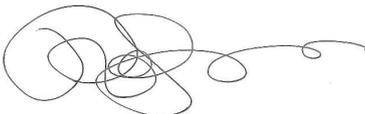


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# Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to humbly thank all research participants who took part in this process for engaging with me so generously and allowing me the opportunity to learn from them.

Secondly, I would like to extend the deepest appreciation and gratitude to my family; Rory, Penny, Jo, William and of course Dustin, for their endless support and generosity throughout this dissertation, this degree and all my years of study.

Thirdly, I would like to express the utmost gratitude to my classmates. Whose encouragement, engagement and friendship have been invaluable to me over the past two years. I would also like to thank past student Alison Pulker for her mentorship throughout this degree.

Foruthly, I would like to thank the Hungry Cities Partnership, specifically like to thank Gareth Haysom, for generously granting me access to their data.

The generous funding support from the Ada and Bertie Levenstein Bursary Fund is also gratefully acknowledged.

Lastly, I would like to extend my gratitude to the entire Planning Department. I deeply appreciate the role that the lecturers, support and cleaning staff have played in facilitating this chapter of my education. Special acknowledgements must go to my supervisor, Professor Vanessa Watson, for her guidance and insight throughout this dissertation. Her immense knowledge has been invaluable in this process.

# Abstract

South African cities, similarly to other cities across the Global South, experience high levels of food insecurity. Urban food insecurity is particularly prevalent in low-income households, with 72% of households in low-income urban areas in Cape Town identified as food insecure in a 2013 African Food Security Network survey. In the context of rising urbanisation, poverty, and unemployment levels this issue is expected to increase into the future in the absence of proactive intervention. Despite the severity of the issue, urban food insecurity continues to be largely neglected by planners and policymakers. This invisibility can be attributed mainly to the persistence of the popular conceptualisation of food insecurity as an issue of production, resulting in a focus on increased rural food production and urban agriculture as the panacea for food insecurity. This limited rural and productionist framing has resulted in a persistent neglect of the dimensions of access in food security, specifically in urban settings. This neglect has included the invisibility of the contribution that informal trade makes to urban food security through supporting access to food.

Through the case study of the Bellville Station Precinct in Cape Town, I argue that informal food traders are playing a crucial role in supporting urban food security through enabling greater access to food for economically stressed urban residents. This argument is made through the exploration of the extent that these traders are using various entitlement enhancing strategies that support physical and economic access as well as access to viable food options that cater to food preferences. Based on the understanding and acknowledgement that informal food traders, in this case, are supporting access to food for economically stressed users of the space, I then explore the role that spatial planning should play in leveraging this contribution. This is done through exploring the myriad of challenges faced by the traders currently in making this important contribution, and specifically through highlighting how this role has been undermined by the way the City has interacted with, intervened in and managed the space.

While the research reveals a reality where traders currently face a myriad of compounding and growing challenges, I argue that a different path is possible. This path necessitates spatial planners acknowledging and valuing the contribution of informal trade to urban food access as the basis for taking responsibility for protecting, supporting and maximising it. This is explored through a three-pronged supportive planning proposal for the precinct. Firstly, this proposal includes necessary legislative and institutional changes. Secondly, it provides a spatial design concept for how food trade could be spatially prioritised as the precinct develops through the provision of a system of supportive infrastructure. Lastly, the proposal outlines a transition to a form of management that is grounded in collaboration and facilitation through the gradual rebuilding of trust between stakeholders. In this way, this dissertation provides an indication of the form that context-specific food sensitive planning could take in the case of the Bellville Station Precinct.



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## List of Acronyms

AFSUN	African Food Security Urban Network
ATA	African Traders Association
BSP	Bellville Station Precinct
CoCT	City of Cape Town
DAC	District Area Coordinator
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GTP	Greater Tygerberg Partnership
HCP	Hungry Cities Partnership
PTI	Public Transportation Interchange
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SERI	The Socio-Economic Rights Institute
VRCID	Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

“If planners are not conscious [of food issues], then their impact is negative, not just neutral”  
(Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 2000)

### 1. Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the dissertation as a whole. This is done through first setting out the nature of urban food insecurity, which is the broad issue under investigation. It then outlines that within this broader issue, the scope of this dissertation is to focus the contribution of informal food trade to supporting food access for economically stressed urban residents, and the role that spatial planning has in leveraging this contribution. This chapter also outlines the rationale for this research and provides an overview of the structure of the document.

### 2. Urban Food Insecurity: The Invisible Crisis

Urban food insecurity is a global issue but manifests specifically severely in cities of the Global South. In Cape Town a December 2013 survey the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN) study revealed that overall 58% of urban households surveyed were food insecure, but that 72% of the households surveyed in low-income urban areas were food insecure. This illustrates that there is a direct correlation between urban food security and urban poverty, with economically stressed residents being disproportionately affected (Battersby et al, 2014: c).

Since at least the 1980s addressing food security has been perceived as an issue of food production, hence the push for rural development and increased agricultural production (Crush and Frayne, 2010: 12). This limited understanding negates the many complexities of food security that surpass production and availability of food, such as access to food. This rural framing also negates the complexity of the urban dimension of food security and points to the importance of taking a food systems approach in which the entire food distribution value chain is considered (Crush & Frayne, 2010; Jones and Corbridge, 2010: 3). This framing has resulted in a spatial planning approach to the urban food insecurity that, when present, is limited to the promotion of urban agriculture, making it inappropriate to address the severity and complexity of this issue.

Physically and economically accessing food that is preferentially, nutritionally and culturally appropriate presents a critical issue for urban residents, but remains poorly understood. In the context of rapid urbanisation, this issue is expected to worsen into the future. The ‘invisibility’ of the issue as a whole has resulted in the lack of recognition of the contribution that informal food trade is making to urban food security through enhancing food access for economically stressed urban residents (Battersby et al, 2014). This marginalisation and neglect of the plight of economically stressed urban residents has led to urban food insecurity being referred to as the ‘invisible crisis’ (Crush and Frayne, 2010: 7). This leads to the need for the generation of context-specific literature around the topic to contribute stimulate discussion, further research and problem solving around this complex issue.

While the complex dynamics of urban food security has been gaining more attention over the past years, the role of spatial planning in supporting the contribution of informal trade remains a gap in knowledge, despite the fact that spatial planning has the potential to be a key role player in addressing food insecurity into the future. This dissertation thus aims to respond to the lack of understanding around the contribution of informal food trade as well as the role of spatial planning in leveraging that role.

In response to this complex issue, this dissertation aimed to use the case study method to address the following main and subsidiary research questions through the case of Bellville Station Precinct;

1. What is the role played by informal food traders in urban food security in the case of Bellville Station Precinct?
  - To what extent are food access enhancing strategies used by the food traders at the BSP?
2. How can this contribution to urban food security be supported and leveraged through spatial planning?
  - What are the challenges and obstacles faced by traders in fulfilling this contribution?
  - What is the current role of spatial planning in relation to informal food trade at the BSP?
  - How could the current role of spatial planning be improved?

### 3. Underpinning Values

The position taken through this dissertation, which underpinned and guided the research, is that all people deserve equitable access to nutrition and that unequal access to food in South Africa has been shaped an unequal past. This research is also grounded in a belief food should be a key concern of planning as it is a fundamental of life, and that the neglect of it until this point has been detrimental to food access in cities.

This research is also premised on a belief that informal trading and urban markets are an inherent and desirable part of cities in the global south. These market spaces are understood as playing important and positive roles in the city. This understanding is centred on the contribution to urban food security, which is the focus of this dissertation, but includes an understanding that informal trade plays other important social and economic roles.

### 4. Document Structure

Chapter 2 outlines the research design of this dissertation providing a clear and transparent description of the way in which the research was conducted.

The literature review (chapter 3) provides an overview of the literature that exists at the nexus of food security and informal trade. It moves from the broader food security literature, to look more specifically and literature focused on the role of informal food trade in urban food security with a focus on South Africa and specifically Cape Town. The review then moves on to looking to existing literature to outline the role of urban planning in supporting the contribution being made by informal food trade to urban food access.

Chapter 4 provides a contextual analysis, locating the Bellville Station Precinct both spatially within the city, as well as outlining the City of Cape Town (CoCT) plans that have a bearing on the precinct. This is done from the metropolitan scale, the district scale as well as the site scale.

Chapter 5 is the first of two chapters that focus on reporting on the findings. This chapter first provides a more descriptive overview of the food trading landscape, then moving on to an exploration of the ways in which informal food trade in the case of the Bellville Station Precinct is supporting food access. This is done through analysing the extent to which certain strategies that

enhance physical, economic and preferential access to food are being used by the food traders of this space.

The second of the chapters that reports the research findings, chapter 6 focuses on the challenges faced by informal traders in making this contribution to urban food access. This chapter analyses the current role that spatial planning is playing in relation to the informal food traders.

Chapter 7 presents the proposal for a new path for the precinct, in which spatial planning plays an enabling role in supporting the contribution of informal food trade to urban food security. This proposal consists of a threefold solution; legislative and institutional changes, a design concept and a collaborative management framework for the precinct. It then moves on to outline the implementation of the proposal.

Finally, chapter 8 provides the conclusion to this dissertation.

# Chapter 2

## Research Methods

### 1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the research design of this dissertation including the methods, techniques and analytical tools chosen to answer the research questions and fulfil the aims of this research. While providing an overview of the process used to unearth the narrative of the market spaces within the Bellville Station Precinct, this chapter also clearly outlines the limitations and ethical concerns that arose from this process.

### 2. Research Objectives

The aim of the research is to understand how spatial planning can protect, support and leverage the contribution of informal food trade to urban food security. To understand this, the dissertation firstly aims to investigate and understand the contribution of informal food traders in urban food security, through the setting of Belleville Station Precinct. Secondly, this dissertation seeks to analyse what challenges are faced by the trades in playing this role and what the current role of spatial planning is in relation to the food traders. Thirdly, this dissertation aims to provide a proposal for how the food security contribution of informal trade can be leveraged through spatial planning in the case of the Bellville Station Precinct.

### 3. Research Questions

There are two main research questions for this dissertation. Both of the main research questions are further unpacked into subsidiary research questions which were identified through the literature review and the process of research, which was conducted iteratively, allowing for constant refining. These main and subsidiary research questions guide the research;

1. What is the role played by informal food traders in urban food security in the case of Bellville Station Precinct?
  - To what extent are food access enhancing strategies used by the food traders at the BSP?
2. How can this contribution to urban food security be supported and leveraged through spatial planning?
  - What are the challenges and obstacles faced by traders in fulfilling this contribution?
  - What is the current role of spatial planning in relation to informal food trade at the BSP?
  - How could the current role of spatial planning be improved?

### 4. The Case Study Method

The case study method has been used as the overarching method through which to conduct qualitative research to respond to the research questions and meet the aim of this research. Qualitative research was undertaken to respond to the research questions as it allows for a focus on the more human dimension of planning practice and is well suited to account for and unearth social dimensions and meaning, adding authenticity and texture to the research through its capacity to capture the nuance of urban settings. It is also used to ensure that the proposals

provided in chapter 7 relate directly to what the users of the space will value (Silverman, 2015: 140-141).

Duminy, Watson and Odendaal (2014) argue that case study method is the pre-eminent research method “for the purposes of understanding and intervening in complex environments and processes,” outlining its suitability for responding to the research questions outlined above (Duminy et al., 2014: 21). In comparison to the array of other methods, the single case study model was chosen for its “ability to examine, in-depth a case within a real-life context” (Yin, 2004: 1, 5). The method allowed for the production of detailed, context-based and value-driven knowledge that provides insights into the complexities of the role of the informal traders in how people are accessing food on a daily basis, and what planning can do to support and leverage this contribution through a defined area. It was utilised as a means of both presenting, as well as developing a first hand understanding the complexity and uniqueness of this bounded system (Duminy et al., 2014: 22- 23; Flyvbjerg, 2011; Yin, 1994; Yin, 2004).

This research was conducted with an awareness of both the advantages and limitations of the case study research method and was selected based on its appropriateness to this research. It was chosen as the most appropriate method to apply due to the descriptive nature of the research questions, as the method is highly suitable as an explanatory research strategy to reveal what has occurred in the setting and how things have occurred in this way. It also has a strong association with experience and detail, making it the most appropriate method of the research which involves a significant focus on the experience of the food traders. Another advantage is its suitability to record and analyse processes that are dynamic. This means that while the focus of the research was in the present situation, this method also revealed the way that things have changed for the traders over time, through tracing the process and the links between the various actors over time. There was limited access to and control over the actual behavioural events in the process of research, another quality making the case study approach the most appropriate (Duminy et al., 2014; Yin, 1994).

The use of a case study method facilitated the need for simultaneous data collection and analysis, which allowed for a responsive and iterative research process. This was especially important in the context of the research focus on the need for planning to maximise participation and collaboration with traders, necessitating research that itself was responsive to the narratives of the traders (Yin, 2004). It was also chosen for the fact that it is more accessible to non-specialist audiences than other research methods, and is, therefore, a useful communication tool for a broader audience. This is especially important in planning research that engages stakeholders outside of the planning profession. The method also provides a means through which to generate knowledge about the realities of cities of the global south that may differ from conventional knowledge. In this case, the method is used to generate knowledge around the contribution of informal trade to urban food security, challenging preconceived ideas around informality (Duminy et al., 201). It is the combination of this array of advantages that make the case study method the most appropriate for this research.

This method is however not without criticism based on the identification of various limitations. These include that it is not possible to use a single case study to generalise to other cases and this method is not useful for hypothesis testing or theory building. With a recognition of this limitation, this study does not intend to represent anything more than its own uniqueness. In this way, the research is used to speak back to the case itself, as well as broader concepts and ideas, with the potential of contributing towards broad principles for spatial planning that is supportive of informal trade.

Another notable limitation is that this method can contain a bias towards confirming researcher preconceptions (Yin, 2004). There are multiple ways that I attempt to mitigate this. Firstly, I have exercised to the best of my ability openness to having preconceptions proven wrong. This included being cognisant throughout this research process of my subjectivities and how they might influence my work. Secondly, I focused on the principles for supportive planning that may be more generally applicable to multiple settings rather than focusing on the exact form of this setting. Thirdly, I have used various research methods and techniques to counteract the limitations of each method or technique. I have also received ongoing feedback from my supervisor on how to improve my research. In this way, the advantages of the case study method have been maximised through the mitigation of the various limitations of the method.

## 5. Unit of Analysis: Bellville Station Precinct

Spatial boundaries have been drawn around the defined Bellville Station Precinct (BSP), and everything falling outside of the precinct is defined as context to the study area. The unit of analysis is the system of actors, actions and relations within the Bellville Station Precinct as the research is concerned with the transaction link of how consumers are accessing food through retail in the precinct as well as the interaction of the City in the space (Duminy et al., 2014). Figure 1 locates the BSP in the country, province and city.

The precinct was chosen based on its potential to illuminate the research questions. The high potential to maximise learning through this specific case is based on the reality that the site is a hugely important site of daily mobility for the entire city, second only to the Cape Town CBD. As a complex space, it offers to opportunity to increase the existing knowledge around the contribution of the informal sector to urban food security, which extends in relevance beyond the spatial boundaries of this precinct. Another important criteria for selection were the relative ease of access to the site. The selection of this case was also based on the understanding that the importance of this site will only increase in the city in the context of increasing investment into the area, continued urbanisation and the impending north-south Blue Downs rail link which will increase use of the interchange. The type of case is an 'extreme case' as it was selected purposefully for its potential as a case and its importance as a node in the City, making it unusual. This selection was made on the basis that extreme cases can often reveal more than 'typical' cases. No other cases were considered as this stands out as an exceptional case in the city (Duminy et al., 2014; Flyvberg, 2001; Yin, 2004).

This research was done through embedded, single case design. This means that there is more than one unit of analysis, as the precinct as a whole is the unit, within this case the public transport interchange (delineated as the taxi rank and bus terminus area) arose as the subunit of analysis. This was based on the way the research revealed that this was the area of most of the food traders, it also emerged as the most contested space with the concentration of most of the challenges to the traders intersecting in this space. In this way, it emerged as a logical sub-unit. This



Figure 1: Locating the BSP (Source: Author 2017, After D Maps)

allowed in-depth research into this area of the precinct, as a specific space of great interest where many of the dynamics that this research is concerned with play out (Duminy et al., 2014; Yin, 1994).

## 6. Research Techniques and Analytical Tools

The empirical research is made up of multiple sources of evidence. The collection of data consisted of five main elements; qualitative semi-structured interviews with various stakeholders, the use of a structured survey conducted by the Hungry Cities Partnership (HCP), the analysis of existing documentation, field observations, mapping and photography. This mixed methods approach of combining multiple sources of data obtained through numerous research techniques was used to enhance the investigation and to triangulate findings. This was done to counteract the limitations of any one technique, to control for the bias that is involved in any one of the methods or techniques and to ensure a wide spread of data and information collection (Duminy et al., 2014).

The sources of data engaged through this range of techniques and tools include the urban landscape, plans, policies, photos, maps, reports, a meeting, media articles, official documents, the Hungry Cities Partnership survey, and users of the space as human sources of data (Duminy et al., 2014).

The analysis was an ongoing and iterative activity in the research process. This allowed for responsiveness and adaptability throughout the research process which was sensitive to what participants were responding to, what information was being unearthed and the process of discovery in general. This ongoing data analysis also informed the continuous refining of the research design to respond to the changes or information arising from the analysis of the data (Silverman, 2015: 141).

### 6.1. Semi-structured Interviews

The semi-structured qualitative interviews were used to capture and understand both the trader, customer, trader association, City and Voortrekker Road Improvement District perspective on and experience of the space. The interviews were used to access the narratives of the people and processes that have shaped and changed the way people have been able to trade in this space. This was done to anticipate how this type of trade is aided or negatively affected, which informed my proposal for the area.

During the process of fieldwork, I conducted sixteen interviews with various stakeholders. Regarding location, both the trader and customer interviews were conducted on-site in the locations that the traders were operating their businesses or where the customers were shopping. In cases where traders were willing to be interviewed but the timing was an issue, I returned at a prearranged time determined by the trader to be most convenient. However, in the case of the two City officials, the Urban Manager of the VRCID and the academic research interviewed, the interviews were conducted by appointment and at places of work which were off-site. The use of multiple interviews of different stakeholders is used to collect data that represents the standpoint of a multitude of constituencies affected by the proposed intervention that provides the outcome of this dissertation (Silverman, 2015: 140).

Eleven traders of varying nationality, gender, location within the site and food retail type were interviewed to establish a holistic picture of different experiences of trading in the space. The main focuses of the interviews were to, firstly, gain an understanding of the use of entitlement enhancing strategies by the traders and secondly to establish the main challenges faced by the food traders in conducting their business and fulfilling their role in supporting food security. This was done for the proposed intervention to respond directly to what traders self-identify as elements to be overcome for the functioning of their business and therefore their role in food

access to be optimised. The interview process was done over a few weeks and interviews were conducted on different days and at different times of the week. This was done to establish a more well-rounded picture of the space. Interviews were also done at times identified by traders themselves as the quietest and therefore the most convenient times of the day. This was done to create the least possible disruption in the traders business operations. An interview with the chairperson of the only active trader association in the precinct, the African Traders Association, was conducted. This interview was used to establish the governance landscape, the experience of trader self-organisation and to gain a deeper understanding of the role of the City through the trader structures that interface with the City.

The customer interviews were used to establish the advantage of informal food trade for customers and why it makes sense for them to access food through this channel. This proved a challenging area of research due to the nature of the site as a commuter hub, through which people move with purpose. The time-constrained character of customers to the informal food retailers meant that it was challenging to identify customers willing to dedicate time to an interview. This limitation meant that two customers were interviewed.

The semi-structured, flexible nature of the in-situ interviews with the traders, trader association chairperson and the customers allowed for responsiveness to what was meaningful to the users of the space, which comes out regarding what they feel the strongest about and thus as the focus of what they wish to speak to. The aim is to gain deeper insight into the lived experience of the users of the space with a focus on what is meaningful to them, rather than what is assumed to be meaningful from a planning perspective (Van den Broeck, 2015: 137). In line with this, the use of direct quotes in the reporting was used to directly reveal the narratives and insights of the users of the space (Duminy et al., 2014).

While some participants were eager to be interviewed, other participants required a degree of relationship building that led up to the interview. This development of rapport and trust allowed for the respectful research process and contributed to the quality and depth of the information gathered (Duminy et al., 2014). All interviews were recorded (with the interviewee permission) and transcribed to allow for listening to the exact words of the participants after the fact and avoid the use of only my own subjective interpretation of the interaction. Only one Somalian trader declined to be recorded, so notes were taken during his interview. The transcriptions and notes of all interviews are available upon request. The question frameworks for each type of interview are attached in the appendix 2. It is important to note that one of the City officials (identified in this document as SS) involved in the Upgrading project (outlined in chapter 4) wished to make it clear that she was being interviewed in her personal capacity, not as an official but rather based on her years of experience in informal markets and working for the City and for her understanding of the BSP and that all opinions expressed were her own and do not reflect the stance of the City.

## 6.2. Use of Hungry Cities Partnership Survey

The HCP Survey is in the form of a structured survey which was conducted in the in multiple locations across Cape Town. The survey was conducted at the Bellville Station Precinct over five days between 24 March and 7 April (24 March, 25 March, 2 April, 3 April, 7 April). The BSP was one of the areas in which the city-wide survey was conducted, and I was fortunate enough to be granted access to the raw data set for the BSP area. I was granted permission and encouraged to use the data by the project coordinator, who indicated that a smaller scale look at their city-wide data was welcomed as a way of maximising the extensive dataset generated through the survey. I used this data in conjunction with conducting my own first-hand research as a means of triangulating my research. The sample is of the population of informal food retailers operating around the Bellville Station Precinct. The sample is 187 informal food traders, making it very representative of the food traders in the precinct, and thus meaning that inferences can be made

about the broader population of traders in the precinct from the data.

Where there are non-response errors in the data set, the data will be excluded for the selected variable, and it will be identified how many respondents there were for that variable to avoid missing values skewing the results. The dataset includes both quantitative and qualitative data. For the presentation of the data descriptive statistical methods both in the form of graphical techniques as well as descriptive measures are used to convey the results of the survey.

### 6.3. Analysis of Existing Documentation

The research was also conducted through the analysis of existing documentation. This included existing plans, policies, maps, reports, media articles and Official documents. The analysis of existing documentation was used throughout chapters 4, 5 and 6. These documents were sourced from various places including the City website and news sites. The interview process also led to access to additional documents that would otherwise not have been available.

### 6.4. Observations

I conducted primary research through direct observations of the operations of the traders, other users and urban landscape of the Precinct. I also conducted participant observation through identifying myself as a researcher but engaging the traders as a customer and purchasing food from a range of traders to gain a deeper understanding of this exchange (Yin, 2004: 10). Observations were used for their suitability to visualising the perspectives, values and experience of users of space (Van den Broeck, 2015: 137). By observing the setting and traders in-situ, I was able to observe the reality of the space to the greatest degree possible and avoided the opportunity for the people I was researching to alter or change any element of the reality (Yin, 2004: 10).

### 6.5. Mapping

Closely linked with observations, mapping of the space was also used to understand and communicate the spatial dynamics of the precinct. This process would involve the rough recording of information on site during the fieldwork, which was later compiled and translated into digital graphics. Various elements of the existing informal market activity were mapped to understand the food trading landscape, what is being traded and the rhythms of the market. The pedestrian activity and flows were also mapped, through the use of pedestrian counts. This mapping was also done to directly inform the spatial proposal to ensure the proposal was responding directly to the existing spatial reality.

### 6.6. Photography

Photo documentation was used to record the reality of the precinct. It was chosen as a powerful tool for visual communication. The use of this technique was however limited due to the element of safety concerns in the space as well as concerns around being intrusive. Most photo documentation was purposefully taken from a distance in a way that individuals are not recognisable, to be least intrusive to the users of the space. In instances where individuals would be identifiable in photographs, as well as photos of traders stands permission was requested before taking the photo.

### 6.7. Assessment Criteria

The dominant analytical tool in this dissertation was the use of assessment criteria. Through the literature review as well as the research process itself, two sets of criteria for findings analysis were established. Firstly a set of strategies used by traders to support food access was established through the literature review and secondly the set of criteria for a supportive spatial planning role was established both through the literature review and through the research process. The findings were first analysed against the set of strategies to established to what extent if at all these strategies were being used by traders in the BSP. This was done to understand the role of the

in urban food access. Next, the findings were analysed against the criteria for supportive spatial planning. This was done to understand both the current role of planning as well as how this role could be improved. The process of this analysis included first coding key quotes and information arising from the interviews into themes and then analyzing these themes against the criteria established.

### 7. Triangulation of findings

Triangulation techniques are important in case of study research as a means of promoting the accuracy and reliability of the research. The triangulation of findings in this dissertation was done through the process of combining multiple sources of data established through multiple research techniques. The use of multiple data inputs was used as a means of validating and substantiating the findings, to ensure rigorous research. In this way, the data that was collected through any one technique or method was cross-checked (Duminy et al., 2014: 35; Yin, 2004).

The use of the Hungry Cities survey is a key part of the triangulation method and was used as a way to overcome the limited time and scope of the research that I could personally conduct for this dissertation. It is used to provide a broader understanding through a larger sample group. The interviews I conducted are used both to provide the perspectives of a wider group of stakeholders, aside from the traders alone, as well as to delve more deeply into the individual narratives and lived experiences of the users of the space. In this way converging lines of information have been established as a means of triangulation, to ensure robust findings (Yin, 2004: 9).

The diagram below provides an overview of the use of the sources of data and research techniques in the presentation and analysis of the findings. The diagram provides a representation of the triangulation of each chapter through the use of multiple sources and techniques.

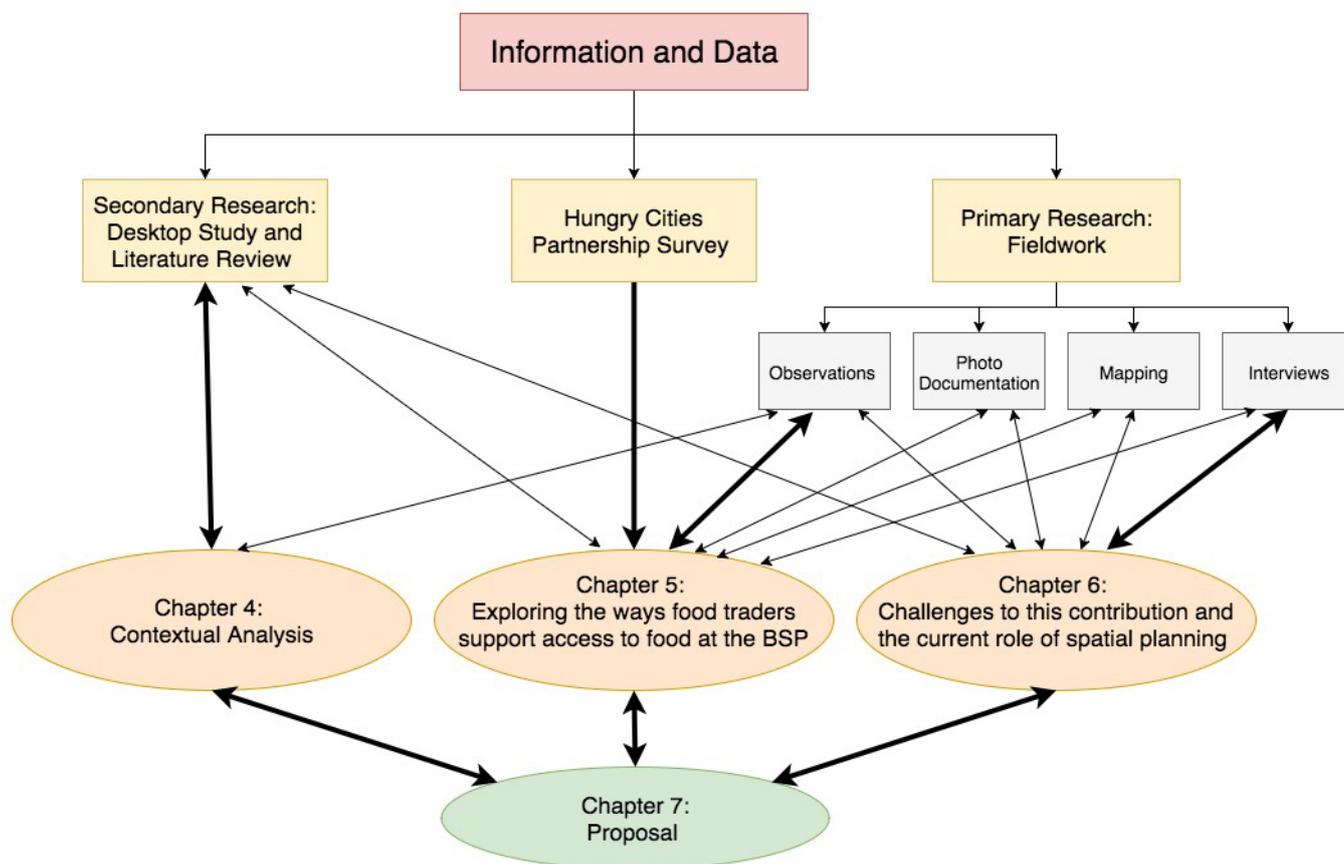


Figure 2: Triangulation and Use of Findings Diagram (Source: Author, 2017)

## 8. Feedback

The research was also validated through a process of feedback (Duminy et al., 2014: 36). A draft proposal was taken back to the African Traders Association Chairperson for feedback and to establish whether the proposal had picked up on, and was responding to what she understood to be the key issues of the space. As a user of the space who has been trading there for roughly 24 years, as a prominent member of the trader community and as the Association chairperson her feedback on the proposal was invaluable. This is based on the recognition that a user of the space, especially one involved in the governance of the space holds a much deeper, nuanced and real live understanding of the complexities of the space that could ever be gained by a researcher, especially in such a limited time frame. In this way, it was validated through feedback that the findings presented in this dissertation deal with the key issues of the space. The feedback session was also used to collaboratively generate some of the details of the proposal, which is outlined in chapter 7.

## 9. Towards Food Sensitive Spatial Planning

The findings of the BSP case were used to increase understanding of the 'phenomenon' of the contribution of informal food trade to urban food security, as well to develop a deeper understanding of the role that spatial planning can play in leveraging this contribution (Duminy et al., 2014: 25). The case study method has received criticism for the low potential it has for generalising. Flyvberg (2006) highlights that contrary to that criticism, a well-selected case study is useful for generation theoretical propositions as well as for testing of propositions (Duminy et al., 2014: 25). In this case, it is possible to generate a framework of principles for how spatial planning can leverage the contribution of informal food trade to urban food security. This framework can then be tested in other settings. In this way, generalising from this case study is about guiding action for the precinct but also potentially for elsewhere (Duminy et al., 2014).

## 10. Ethical Considerations

The research was undertaken with an awareness of the fact that no research is entirely objective and that I needed to be conscious of when my own subjectivity. The main ethical consideration for this research was interacting with interviewees in the least disruptive way possible. When conducting the interviews I took into consideration both the fact that I was taking up people's time for my own research purposes as well as the reality that some of questions and content of the interviews had the potential to be sensitive to some interviewees due to the high level of social tension currently experienced in the space. For this and other reasons, there was a strong focus on consent, and I initiated the conversations by letting interviewees define how much time they could give to the interaction. I respected any signs that these individuals did not want to engage in my research or did not want to respond to specific questions.

All trader and customer interviewees are anonymous, and this was explained up front. When using any form of recording (visual, audio or both), I informed participants upfront and allowed them the opportunity to decline the use of such recording. I was clear and transparent about the purpose and process of my research, to avoid any confusion or expectations.

## 11. Limitations

The limitation with the largest impact on this dissertation was the time-constrained nature of the time frame allocated. Due to uncontrollable factors, I lost three weeks of this research process which in total encompassed just over four months.

While multiple perspectives, especially those challenging the dominant narrative that came across through key actors was pursued, a limitation of this study was the difficulty in accessing the narratives of the traders on the taxi rank itself (Duminy et al., 2014). These traders represent the most vulnerable of the traders in the area as they are all illegal traders and are subject to both

vulnerabilities to law enforcement as well as high levels of social tension with the traders mainly of the bus terminus area. Due to their high level of vulnerability, in the end, it was not possible to interview any of these traders or to take any photographs in this area. Of the attempts that were made to interview traders in this area, none of the interviews made it past the first few question. Despite attempts to alter the questioning to make these traders more comfortable to answer, it became apparent that the entire situation was contested and precarious, and a decision was made not to pursue further attempts at interviewing traders in this area. The main concern of the traders was that due to the drastically high degree of distrust between actors in the area, the traders were concerned that I would in some way report back to law enforcement. As neither my personal reassurance nor official UCT documentation could convince the traders otherwise, I decided to disengage from interacting with those traders.

To counteract this limitation, the interviews that were conducted were focused on other traders experiencing vulnerabilities such as foreign nations, females and permitted traders who felt forced into trading illegally. In this way the broadest picture possible was provided of the experience of trading was established. Triangulation was also used to cross-check information that was conveyed about the taxi rank traders by other actors in the space to establish an idea of their reality, despite not being able to hear their experience directly.

Another limitation of the research was the element of safety. Due to the prevalence of criminal activity in the area, I was strongly advised by multiple actors in the space, from traders themselves to those involved in security, to be acutely aware of personal safety. Due to this, the times of day that I was able to research in the space were very constrained, and I was not able to observe the evening or night time realities of the space. This constrained the ability of the research to reveal the nuances of the temporal dimensions of the space, and I indicate that this is an area for future research to be conducted by a group of researchers to ensure a greater degree of safety.

## 12. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the design of the research. It has conveyed the research objectives and the research questions used to meet these objectives, the use of the single case research method, the definition of the unit of analysis as the Bellville Station Precinct, the research techniques and analytical tools, the use of the research, the ethical considerations of the research and the limitations of this research. This transparent overview of the way in which the research was conducted was necessary as a foundation for the rest of the dissertation.

# Chapter 3

## Literature Review

### 1. Introduction

This chapter provides a review of the literature that exists around the intersection between urban food security and informal trade. This is done through moving from a broader global south overview to a more specific overview of the literature around the experience in South Africa and Cape Town. The review will outline that the informal food sector is an integral part of the food system and plays an important role in how poor households in urban areas are able to access food, but despite this remains largely invisible to the field of planning (Battersby et al., 2016, Crush et al, 2011).

Firstly, the literature review unpacks the definition of food security used in this dissertation and outlines the persistence of a limited productionist framing of food insecurity. The chapter then looks to Sen's entitlements approach as a conceptual framework for understanding how people access food and outlines that supplementing this approach with the concept of foodways provides a more robust understanding that re-centers the agency of the consumer. After which, the chapter moves to looking specifically at the literature around the role of informal trade, highlighting the need to move away from the 'formal' and 'informal' duality and the current lack of recognition by the CoCT to this important contribution to food access. The chapter then looks at the manifestation of the supermarketisation trend in Cape Town. The chapter then unpacks the literature around this contribution and looks at what research has shown are the significant challenges faced by traders in fulfilling this contribution. Lastly, the chapter provides an idea of the role that spatial planning could take in supporting and protecting this contribution through drawing from a variety of sources and ideas.

### 2. Defining Food Security

For the purposes of this dissertation, food security is understood as the often-cited definition outlined by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations established at the World Food Summit in Rome in 1996. This definition outlines food security as a state "when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life". This definition is in line with the fundamental right of every person to be free from hunger. An important aspect of this definition is that it provides a focus on access to food, rather than on production, however, this focus continues to be overlooked (Battersby & Crush, 2014: 149; FAO, 2006; FAO, 2008).

There are four main dimensions of food security that arise from this definition. These are; physical availability of food, economic and physical access to food, food utilisation and stability of the other three dimensions. In this way, this conceptualisation of food security provides a holistic definition that encompasses supply, access and nutritional aspects of food security. This understanding states that if all four of the dimensions of food security are not fulfilled simultaneously, then food insecurity is occurring (FAO, 2008).

It is also important to recognise the temporal dimension of food security. The FAO outline two general forms that food insecurity can take. The first form is chronic food insecurity, which is

persistent or long-term food insecurity. The second form is seasonal food security, which is outlined by the FAO as “recurrent, transitory food insecurity” which falls somewhere between these two categories as it has a limited duration but relative consistency and predictability (FAO, 2008). In the setting of Cape Town previous research has identified a pattern of December being the most food-secure month, with the highest degree of food insecurity manifesting around January (directly following the December festive season), as well as over the winter period (Battersby, 2011a, Battersby et al., 2016:15). The temporal nature of food insecurity highlights that the experience of food insecurity is the result of complex dynamics, and is experienced differently by different people depending on the degree and type of vulnerability that is experienced.

Understanding these complexities and various dimensions of food security and acknowledging the multifaceted nature of the urban food question is an essential part of starting to tackle food insecurity in a meaningful way. Morgan (2013) warns against a narrow nutritional agenda or a reductionist understanding of the issue that tries to simplify these complexities into a single issue. He argues that “a purely needs-based conception cannot possibly do justice to the kaleidoscopic character of the food system and the multiple prisms –social, economic, ecological, cultural, political, psychological, sexual- through which food is viewed, valued and used in society” (Morgan, 2015: 1380). This highlights the importance of understanding the embedded nature of food insecurity in relation to the socio-economic and cultural setting in which it occurs.

### 3. The Persistence of a Productionist Framing of Food Security

Crush and Frayne (2010) identify that the framing of present-day food insecurity issues in Africa continues to be mostly productionist with a focus on the rural areas. South Africa’s national food policy is a direct illustration of this. Food insecurity interventions at the national scale in South Africa rarely move past a rural framing to address urban areas, but when they do the focus continues to be on production in the form of urban agriculture. This framing is further illustrated by the fact that national-level food security programmes are primarily located within the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (Battersby, 2015).

This framing is increasingly being challenged by research that reflects the reality of the extent and nature of food insecurity in the South African setting. This involves recognition of the existence and prevalence of food insecurity in urban areas as well as recognition of dimensions of food security that go beyond production, with a specific focus on the dimension of access, and thus on food retail. This indicates a need for a national re-framing of the understanding of food insecurity that more truly reflects the reality of the issue, specifically in terms of acknowledging the urban reality of food insecurity (Battersby, 2015).

The continuation of an anti-urban bias neglects the vulnerability of the urban poor to food insecurity. This approach is perpetuated by policy agendas on the national, provincial and local levels. It means that there is a disproportionate focus on availability, while all other dimensions of food security are systematically disregarded (Battersby, 2012b, Skinner & Haysom, 2016: 11). Crush and Frayne (2010) argue that this understanding of food insecurity is a static and limited conception of the problem. When addressing future projections of urban growth and influx, it is apparent that more focus needs to be given to urban food security and issues of access, especially in the context of the Global South (Crush and Frayne, 2010: 12).

### 4. Understanding Food Insecurity in the Global South: the Need for a Contextual Understanding

While undernourishment is a global crisis (Institute of Development Studies, 2015), Southern theory outlines the imperative to move away from a more general or global north framing of realities in the global south. This theory calls for a resurfacing of global south knowledge and understanding (Connell, 2007). In line with this argument, this dissertation invokes a global south

approach to the issue under study, based on the recognition that the issue of food insecurity is experienced as a result of unique complexities in its manifestation in global south settings which are rooted in historical, socio-cultural, economic and political contextualities.

Africa is a continent undergoing vast and rapid urbanisation, with trends of drastic increases in urban population, including urban poor, which are projected to increase foreseeably (Crush and Frayne, 2010: 6-7; Morgan, 2009). The reality of the future of Africa's cities makes the neglect of urban food security issues unrealistic and short-sighted. Crush and Frayne (2010) argue that current urban policies are ill-informed and insensitive to an urban poor who have recently experienced rising food costs, food shortages and inadequate diets. They also bring attention to the fact that the urban population is considerably more vulnerable to high food prices, but despite this harsh reality, virtually no proposals or policies specifically highlight the food security issues of the urban poor (Crush and Frayne, 2010).

This neglect of urban food insecurity and the phenomenon of invisibility of the issue to policy makers in Africa can be attributed to multiple factors. This includes the sheer complexity of the issue, the current proportions of people who live in or depend on rural areas as well as the ingrained nature of anti-urban bias which advocates a perpetuation of policy focus on the rural areas.

The neglect of urban food insecurity in the African context is also consistent with the global framing of food security. This is illustrated by the Sustainable Development Goals. While Goal 2 is 'Zero Hunger' and Goal 11 is 'Sustainable Cities', these goals are framed in relative isolation from each. This is due to the neglect of the urban dimension of food security under the Zero Hunger goal, and the neglect of a food security focus under the Sustainable Cities Goal (UN General Assembly, 2015: 14-16, 21-22). This means that while both food security and cities are on the agenda and the prominence of food insecurity on the agenda of both the preceding Millennium Development Goals as well as current Sustainable Development Goals, there is a continued disregard of the urban food insecurity. This poor alignment to the reality of the issue in such a prominent forum perpetuates a framing that is unresponsive to the rapidly shifting experience of food insecurity, specifically in the African context and leads to the perpetuation of a partial and therefore insufficient understanding of this issue (Battersby, 2017).

In Africa, the rate of urbanisation and poverty levels moving forward calls for a break from the rural and productionist framing perpetrated globally in favour of a rebalancing of the focus to incorporate urban food security with a focus on food access. This is necessary not only discourse but also into policy and planning to ensure a stable future for the growing cities of Africa (Crush, Frayne and Pendleton, 2012: 286). This can only happen through the necessary transition to a food systems approach, which provides an understanding of the system and processes of food from the growth of food to the mouths of consumers, including all value chains and processes in between. The food systems approach allows for an understanding that food security at a household scale is largely shaped by the broader food system that it is embedded in (Battersby et al., 2014).

## 5. Sen's Entitlements Approach as an Intersectional Understanding of Access to Food

As a rejection of the limited rural and productionist conceptualisation of food security, Amartya Sen's (1999) Entitlements Approach is useful as a theoretical lens for understanding the complex dynamics of how people access food in the urban context of the Global South. Sen rejects the idea of production or food availability as the overarching determiner of food security and focuses on how people are able to access food based on their entitlements (Sen, 1981, Sen, 1999). This approach will be applied to the Bellville Station Precinct case as a way of exploring the role that informal trade is playing in food access.

Sen explains entitlement to be “the set of alternative commodity bundles that a person can command in a society using the totality of rights and opportunities that he or she faces” to access food (Devereux, 2001: 246). Sen argues that income alone is not sufficient in understanding poverty, famine and hunger. Rather, he states that the ‘entitlements’ that each person enjoys is controlled and dictated by other factors linked to personal wellbeing (such as illness or disability) as well as the system and context in which individuals or communities exist (Sen, 1999). Sen outlines that individuals face starvation or food insecurity when their full entitlement set, or sources of access to food, do not provide adequate nutrition. This is seen as ‘entitlement failure’. This understanding importantly shifts the entire focus from food production and supply to the actual ability of individuals to access that supply (Devereux, 2001).

Sen raises the importance of factors outside of the traditional concern surrounding food insecurity, highlighting the political, social and economic arrangements and systems of a country or society as highly influential factors on people’s ability to be healthy and acquire sufficient food and nutrition (Sen, 1989, Sen, 1999).

This approach provides a framework for understanding why different groups and demographics can access food differently and how food prices and other dynamics affect access to food. This relates directly to the concept of intersectionality, which is another useful lens for understanding how people have different levels of access to food based on the intersection of the multiple privileges or oppressions they experience based on their identity (Crenshaw, 1989). An illustration of this is that gender shapes mobility which in turn shapes ability to access food from the most affordable source (Battersby & Crush, 2014). An intersectional understanding of food security is important in recognising the systemic nature of the issue as well as the way in which it is contextually embedded in a social, cultural, political and economic setting. This is also useful in understanding the nuances of challenges faced by informal food traders, outlined in the presentation of the findings in chapter 6.

This intersectional recognition of the compounding of various oppressions in influencing access to food leads to the importance to acknowledge the strong link between urban poverty and food insecurity, which is also recognised by the FAO (FAO, 2008). This is supported by evidence such as an AFSUN survey, which spanned poor urban households across 11 African countries. The survey found a direct correlation between impoverishment in poor urban areas and moderate to severe levels of food insecurity (Crush, Frayne & Pendleton, 2012: 286).

In South Africa, as with many other Global South countries, poverty is a systemic issue that has its roots in historical processes of colonialism and apartheid. The link between poverty and food insecurity is explained by the concept of structural violence in which the injury or suffering experienced by people is an outcome of historical process and forces (often economic), which work against individual agency. This understanding points to the importance of identifying the forces working together to induce and sustain suffering (Farmer, 1996). This supports the need for an intersectional understanding of how people are able to access food based on the intersection of the various oppressions or privileges they experience through race, class, gender and more (Crenshaw, 1989, Farmer, 1996).

The systemic nature of poverty and food insecurity are tied up in many aspects of the informal sector such as the fact that racial exclusion prohibited black people from owning their own businesses in classified white urban areas under Apartheid. This has led to the establishment of commercial and retail areas that are exclusionary in terms of both access and ownership. Despite the formal end of apartheid in 1994, this exclusion has continued to be perpetuated to this day by market forces (Denoon-Stevens, 2016: 20). This relates directly to an intersectional

understanding of how people can access the economy based on multiple axes of oppression and exclusion as well as highlighting the importance of livelihood strategies such as informal trade that have allowed otherwise excluded citizens to participate in economic activities.

It is important to acknowledge that Sen's ground-breaking work is not without criticism. Devereux, for example, highlights specific issues, such as 'starvation by choice', 'fuzzy entitlement' and Sen's supposed neglect of socio-political factors. He also criticises Sen's explanation of his entitlement approach as unclear in its classification. (Devereux, 2001: 246-7). Devereux also focuses on the issue of people 'choosing to starve' as a loophole in Sen's work. He outlines that people's actual food intake may fall short of their entitlements due to any number of factors including, but not limited to, apathy, fixed habits relating to food, ignorance as well as people's long-term choice to starve over selling their assets (Devereux, 2001: 248).

The criticism of Sen's work is essential in building on the important foundational ideas laid down by Sen in order to improve and refine this valuable contribution to the food security literature. To address a criticism put forth by Devereux around the neglect by Sen of the agency of consumers, I will use the concept of foodways to emphasise the role of the consumers and their agency around food choices.

## 6. Foodways

People generalised as 'urban poor' are not passive victims, nor are they a homogenous or 'separate' group and should not be understood as such. In relation to the issue of urban food insecurity, it is essential to recognise the agency of all actors involved and to highlight that economically stressed citizens, while operating under systematic oppression, are making deliberate and concrete decisions around food and are in turn influencing the food systems around them. This is directly illustrated in how the business survival and success of informal food traders is based on their ability to be responsive to the economically stressed citizens they cater to (Battersby et al., 2016; Kroll, 2017).

A useful way of understanding the process of these consumers accessing food is as foodways, which are "the set of strategies shaping what food people choose as well as how and where they access and consume it" (Kroll, 2017: 1). Foodways are embedded in a socio-cultural context that must be acknowledged in addressing urban food security. The strategies that comprise these foodways are often complex, dynamic and informed by a plethora of considerations including but in no way limited to cultural preference, local knowledge and financial considerations. These foodways are a manifestation of gender, class and other identities as well as aspirations (Kroll, 2017). The use of the concept of foodways in conceptualising how economically stressed citizens access food contributes to an intersectional understanding of food security.

Unfortunately, the economically stressed nature of these citizens often necessitates strategies such as opting for energy dense but nutrient poor foods as well as reducing the quantity and quality of food. These strategies contribute to the experiencing of triple burden of malnutrition, which can be explained by the presence of micronutrient deficiency, hunger and obesity. The use of these strategies over the long term erodes health, employment and upward mobility prospects, highlighting the systemic and self-perpetuating nature of food insecurity (Kroll, 2017).

## 7. The Current City of Cape Town Approach to Urban Food Security

In the setting of Cape Town, the prevalence of the rural bias and productionist lens in the framing of food security has resulted in a failure of understanding on the supply side of the system and a disregard for the critical strategies that the urban poor leverage in accessing food and enabling food security (Skinner & Haysom, 2016, 11). This perpetuates a response to food security from urban managers, planners and policymakers that neglects questions of access to food which is

highlighted by the focus on urban agriculture in the CoCT's response to food security. This leads to a failure to address the root causes of food insecurity through the neglect of the systemic nature of the problem (Morgan, 2009; Skinner & Haysom, 2016: 11).

The invisibility of the role of informal food trade is illustrated in the way that all CoCT policies and programs relating to the informal sector have an almost exclusively livelihood focus. While the livelihood approach is important and should be supported, this one-dimensional understanding, neglecting the vital role in urban food security as well as the increased accessibility of other essential goods and services (Battersby et al., 2016: 27). This policy neglect and limited approach are reflective of a broader disregard of the informal sector in general (Battersby, 2011b; Battersby et al., 2016; Rogerson 2016). Battersby et al. (2016) also critique the approach of current food security projects as being reactive to problems arising in the food system, rather than understanding and confronting the systemic nature of the issue.

Research has indicated that despite the constant emphasis on urban agriculture in food security policy and planning, it appears to play a very minor role in the solution to the issue (Kroll, 2017; Skinner & Haysom, 2016). Crush et al. (2011) demonstrated that in many poorer areas of SADC cities the contribution of urban agriculture to household food security is largely unsubstantial.

It is important for planners to understand the realities of the context that they are planning for and the interpretations of the AFSUN survey show that the food retail environment of Cape Town looks different to what was previously assumed. The biggest reality to be considered is that urban residents of Cape Town who are economically stressed access food most commonly and frequently through the informal sector (Caesar & Crush, 2015, Skinner & Haysom, 2016). This highlights the need for the City to look to the complex dynamics of access in food security and thus to take the role of informal trade in food security seriously. This means that while the recognition of informal trade as a livelihood strategy is important, there needs to be a broader recognition of the importance of informal trade regarding urban food security for economically stressed urban citizens (Battersby et al., 2016: 33).

While contradicted by statements from the City, the literature outlines that even with the livelihood focus there is a concern about the approach of the City being too regulatory, and neglecting to support and enable informal traders. This attitude is illustrated by the Informal Trading By-Law which arguably places unreasonable conditions on informal vendors, with the heaviest and strictest regulatory burden falling on informal food traders due to public health concerns (Battersby et al., 2016: 32).

Informal food trade is often confronted with concerns around health and food safety in the way in which it is managed, regulated and policed. These concerns can overshadow the benefits in the eyes of the City, policy makers and law enforcement and lead to devastating effects for informal food trade. However, international as well as local research shows that informal food markets do not necessarily involve safety risks any greater than formal food markets. This is due to a multitude of factors including consumer practices, but importantly reinforces the understanding of informal trade is an important point of access for urban food security that should be enabled, not eradicated (Institute of Development Studies, 2015, Even-Zahav & Kelly, 2016).

In the setting of Cape Town, informal trade and ways of enabling it continues to be neglected in the spatial planning. The CoCT's Spatial Development Framework and other formal plans of the City show very little recognition of informal trade and instead where informal trade does come up, there is a strong focus on regulation (CoCT, 2012). I argue that this neglect will have negative repercussions for urban food security, through the undermining of the contribution made by food traders to the urban food security of economically stressed citizens.

## 8. Supermarketisation in Cities of the Global South

An important process of the food system that has influenced people's ability to access food is supermarketisation. The pattern of expansion of supermarkets in the Global South urban context has been different to its manifestation in the Global North, which supports the imperative for a Global South and context-specific approach.

In South Africa as well as other African contexts, the expansion of these supermarkets from wealthy and middle class areas into less wealthy areas was viewed with optimism by some of the literature, which assumed that this distribution would increase food security in these areas due to dynamics such as the ability of supermarkets to buy in larger bulk quantities and thus lower food prices. This is premised on the idea that price is the main determinant of access to food and nutrition. In the context of the increasing domination of large supermarket companies over value chains from production to sale, there has been another side to the debate in the literature which expresses concern over the impact on food security and sovereignty (Battersby & Peyton, 2014, Crush and Frayne, 2011, Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011; Reardon & Minten, 2011).

Battersby and Peyton (2014) made a valuable contribution to the literature through providing an interrogation of the actual geographies of the manifestation of this process in Cape Town. Seen in Figure 3, they provide a clear spatial representation of how the majority of Spar, Pick'nPay, Shoprite and Woolworths stores continue to cluster in areas of higher income. This distribution pattern reflects the profit-seeking behaviour of these entities and indicates that despite the supermarketisation process the current distribution of supermarkets continues to be skewed to wealthy areas (Battersby & Crush, 2014; Battersby & Peyton, 2014).

This pattern relates to an important and well-recognised dynamic of food access in South Africa; 'outshopping'. This practice of shopping outside of the area of residence points to the strong link between mobility and food access. The apartheid spatial logic of exclusion that lingers in the urban form of South Africa cities necessitates long movement patterns for the lower income residents of Cape Town to access both employment opportunities, other services and amenities offered by the city as well as food (Battersby & Crush, 2014; Battersby & Peyton, 2014).

Overall the impact of supermarketisation in Cape Town has been widely debated, but a strong argument has been made by various authors that this process of expansion negatively impacts urban food security of economically stressed citizens. The reality of the manifestation of this supermarketisation process has revealed that even as these supermarkets move to lower income areas, the physical existence of these outlets does not by default make them accessible to economically stressed residents of the area because access has dimensions other than just proximity (Battersby et al., 2016). Battersby (2012) highlights the way in which supermarket development can lead to the disregard for other elements of food security and that access should be understood holistically as a neglect of any dimension of access can lead to a skewed understanding of barriers to the acquisition of food and nutrition. This includes an interrogation of economic access, as 'cost' is often associated with a price tag while neglecting other prices involved such as time and transport costs (Battersby & Crush, 2014; Battersby & Peyton, 2014).

Battersby and Peyton (2014) also argue that typically in lower income areas supermarkets tend to stock less health and nutritious food and that this means that even the combination of locational and economic access to a supermarket does not increase the access to healthy foods for residents in lower-income areas. They go on to argue that it is possible that this process of supermarketisation may accelerate the nutrition transition. The nutrition transition is widely recognised as a reality in the global south where there is a transformation towards diets with a high proportion of sugar, low-fibre refined food and saturated fats. This transition has been observed since the 1990s and occurs largely in the urban areas (Battersby & Crush, 2014; Battersby & Peyton, 2014).

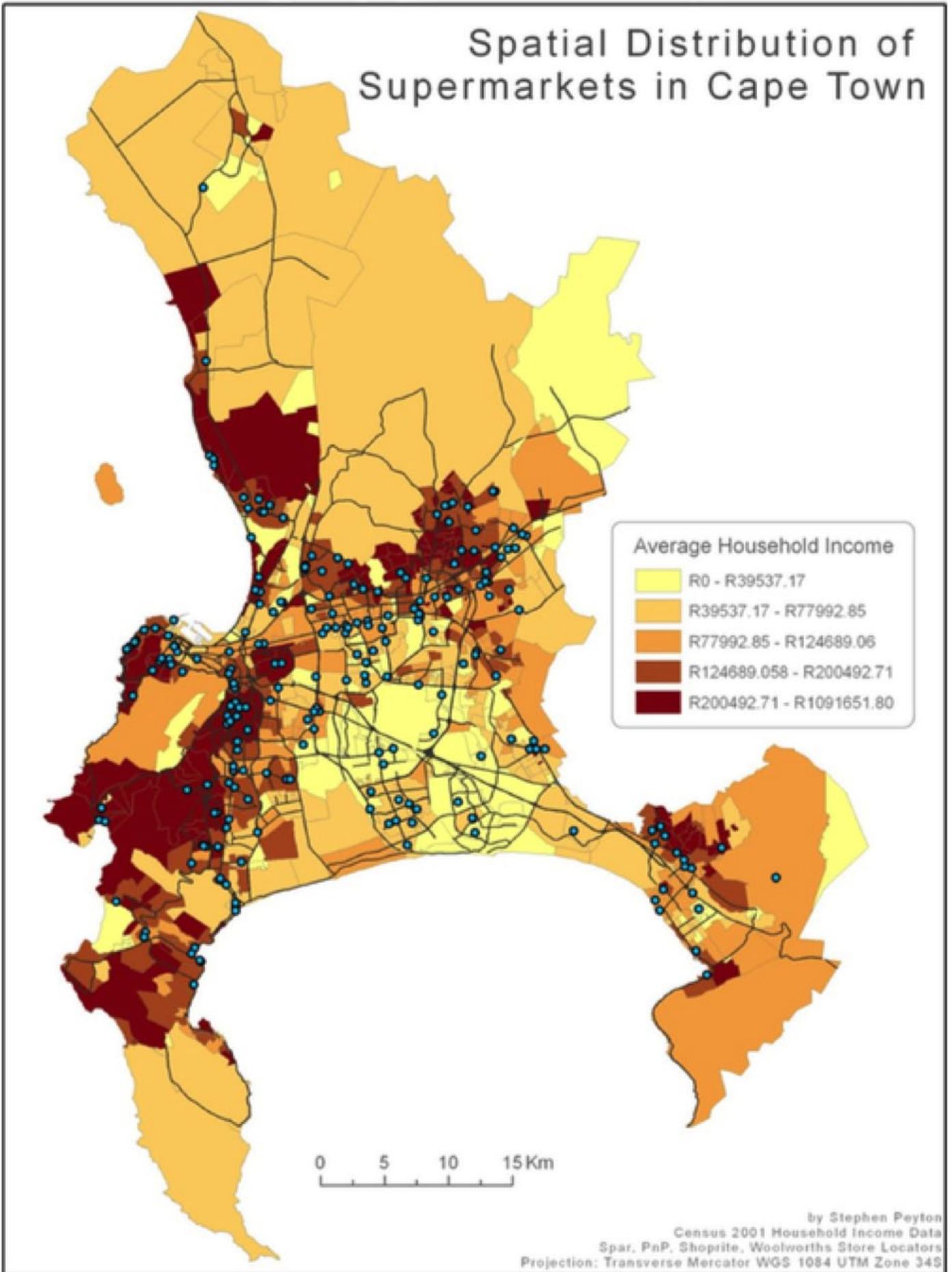


Figure 3: The spatial distribution of supermarkets in Cape Town (Source: Battersby & Peyton, 2014)

In addition, there is an indication in the literature that this process impacts negatively on informal food traders, as it can force them out of business in that area or force them to change their business model. This negative impact on informal food traders hinders their important role in enhancing and supporting the food security of these residents as well as impacting negatively on these crucial livelihood opportunities (Battersby, 2011b; Battersby & Crush, 2014; Battersby & Peyton, 2014: 156, Ligthelm, 2008).

## 9. Interrogating the Duality of 'Formal' and 'Informal'

Turning now to more specific focus on the role of informal trade, it is important to interrogate generalisations and simplifications that characterise the common understanding of the informal sector. While it is an important part of the food system, this sector is highly diverse in terms of differing contexts, products, business models, vulnerability and more. It encompasses a range of diverse enterprises that operate across food value chains in retail, processing, distribution, trade and farming which vary dramatically in size and levels of informality (Battersby et al., 2016, Institute of Development Studies, 2015). Recognising the role that the informal sector plays in the broader urban food system is an important part of recognising the interconnected nature of the informal and formal sectors (Battersby et al., 2016: 31).

Understanding street trade as 'informal' trade reinforces the largely artificial conceptualisation of a dual economy. This understanding disregards important, complex and long lasting linkages and interactions between the 'formal' and 'informal' economy. This further entrenches the imperative to 'incorporate' or 'formalise' what is seen as informal economic activity. This imperative ignores the pressing need to confront and deal with the systemic challenges that define a system of unequal access to the economy. The term also has connotations of illegality, which reinforces perceptions that this form of activity should be eradicated rather than enabled as an important livelihood strategy (SERI, 2015). In reality, informal businesses are a form of proactive self-reliance, with the potential to keep people out of poverty (Turok, Scheba & Visagie, 2017: 32). Viewing 'informal trade' through the lens of food security provides another dimension to the argument for enabling rather than criminalising, eradicating or 'formalising' this activity based on an acknowledgement of the crucial role it plays in ensuring greater food security for the economically stressed urban residents.

While conceptualised as separate from the formal economy, there are many points of interaction and interdependence between the formal and informal sectors (Battersby et al., 2016: 3). In reality, the informal sector in general, and informal food sector specifically are closely linked to the formal systems. A key linkage across the sectors is the sourcing of food by informal food traders, with the majority of traders in Cape Town sourcing through formal outlets. For example, most fresh produce sold informally comes from the Cape Town Fresh Produce Market in Epping, which supplies both informal and formal food outlets. Sourcing fresh produce there allows informal traders the flexibility to choose the supplier they purchase from on a regular basis, based on price and quality, which in turn benefits consumers (Battersby et al., 2016: 17).

While using the terms in this dissertation, I acknowledge that 'informal trade' 'informal economy' and the concept of urban informality, in general, are contested terms that need to be interrogated. The continuation of separation of the 'formal' and 'informal' economy and activity reflects the oversimplification of a system of complex interactions into a neat duality that allows 'othering' and exclusion of important urban livelihood strategies.

## 10. Understanding the Contribution of Informal Food Trade

The current literature around informal food traders in South Africa often does acknowledge in some form the contribution that they make to making affordable meals and food accessible for economically stressed households. AFSUN goes further by quantifying this role through

its extensive survey of 6453 households in specifically economically stressed localities in 11 Southern African cities, revealing important insight about food consumption patterns (Crush & Frayne, 2011b, Skinner & Haysom, 2016).

Based on this survey Crush and Frayne (2011b) indicate that as income poor households become more food insecure, their reliance on the informal sector to obtain food increases. This research also revealed that while 79% of respondents shopped at supermarkets, this was based on a pattern of monthly bulk shopping for staples at supermarkets, with heavy reliance on more frequent shopping from informal outlets for the rest of the month. This is supported by the indication that around two thirds (59%) of the households indicated accessing food through the informal economy at least once a week, with a third (32%) doing so nearly daily (Crush & Frayne, 2011b, Kroll, 2017, Skinner & Haysom, 2016).

The literature indicates that this tendency to rely on informal food retail is largely based on the way in which Informal trade has developed strategies (also considered as characteristics in the literature) that accommodate households with extremely limited incomes. This is rooted in the inherently locality based nature of informal trade, which leads to an embeddedness in the community the trader is based. This necessitates the traders being responsive to the local purchasing capacities and needs as a means of livelihood survival, resulting in this use various business strategies that cater directly to supporting food access (Battersby et al., 2016: 7).

I have organised these strategies, identified across the literature, according to the element of food access that each strategy responds to in order to provide a clear framework through which to assess the findings as a means of understanding how informal food traders are supporting the various elements of food access. In addition to physical and economic access outlined by the FAO definition, and in recognition of the foodways concept outlined above I argue that it is useful to consider preference as the third element of food. This is based on the need to acknowledge the agency of consumers in making choices about food access and that customer demand is based on a myriad of factors (Kroll, 2017). This framework of strategies in relation to the three identified elements is illustrated in the diagram below, and the application of these criteria of assessment can be found in chapter 5

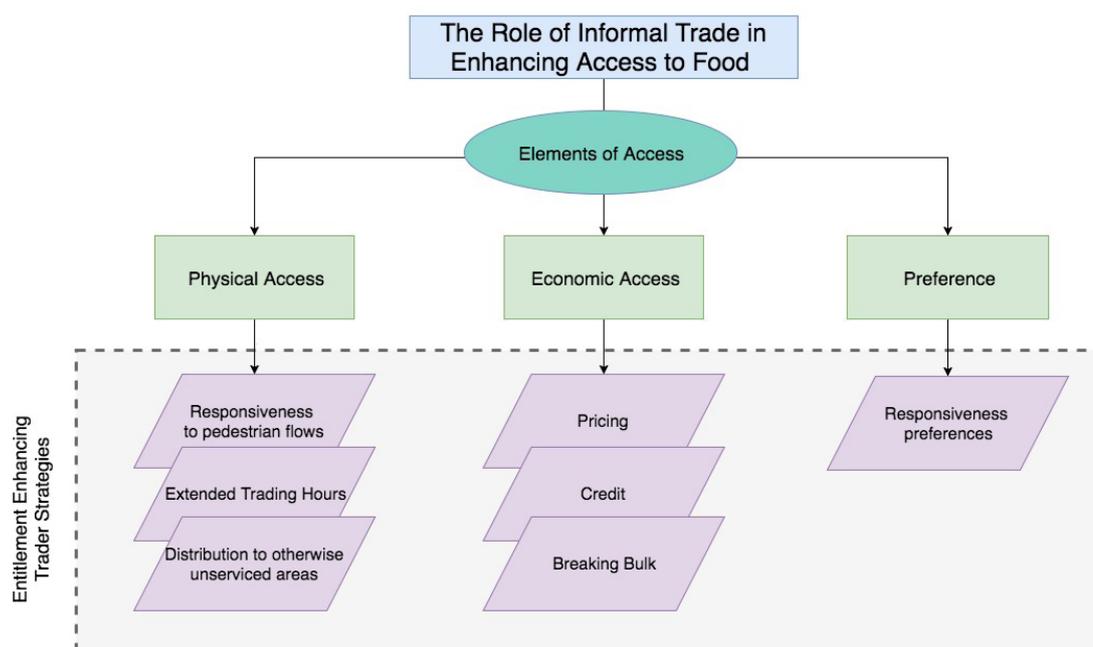


Figure 4 : Food access enhancing strategies used by informal food traders

### 10.1. Enhancing Physical Access to Food

The strategies identified in the literature which facilitate greater physical access to food are; locating along commuter routes in response to pedestrian activity, the distribution of food purchasing opportunities to areas not serviced by the formal sector and the extension of trading hours beyond that of the formal retail options.

Pedestrian movement is a key determinant of successful business for an informal trader due to the reliance on foot traffic as the trader's customer base (Dewar & Watson, 1990). This characteristic of informal trade leads to a high degree of responsiveness to pedestrian activity which manifests in the strategy of locating along commuter routes and pedestrian flows (Dewar & Watson, 1990; Skinner & Haysom, 2016). In the case of food trade, this increases the physical access that these pedestrians have to food retail options along their daily commutes. This increased convenience and ease in physical accessibility of food along commuter routes becomes especially significant when the context of the mobility dynamics of Cape Town are considered, in which economically stressed people of colour in Cape Town are subject to the longest and most expensive commutes (Pieterse, 2009; SERI, 2016; Turok, 2012).

The literature also indicates that informal traders often operate for longer hours than formal retail in relation to commuting peaks. This provides the opportunity for people, especially commuters, to access food at times when it would not have otherwise been possible. This is another important strategy that links directly to the mobility dynamics of the city (Battersby et al., 2014). The distribution of food to areas that are not serviced by formal food retailers is another way in which informal food traders enhance people's physical access to food. This is often in relation to areas where infrastructure is poor and would not support formal retail (Institute of Development Studies, 2015).

### 10.2. Enhancing Economic Access to Food

The strategies identified in the literature review that supports economic access to food are pricing that involves small markups, the provision of credit and the breaking of bulk into smaller unit sizes.

While previous research suggests that supermarkets are generally cheaper per unit of food, this will be analysed in the case of the BSP to determine if the pricing applied by informal food traders is supporting economic access to food (Battersby et al., 2015: 1). In contrast to this, the literature indicates that the provision of credit is a specifically significant way that informal trade caters to the food provision needs of the urban poor, illustrating the responsiveness of informal trade to the needs of their customer base. It means that these customers are able to continue accessing food even at times of the month when they have no cash, reducing their risk of food insecurity. The systems of credit and amount of traders offering credit are vastly different in different localities and often embedded in social networks of trust (Battersby et al., 2016: 21).

In addition to credit, the option for customers to purchase in small unit sizes is outlined in the literature as important in accommodating the limited purchasing power of customers. In this way, traders enhance people's ability to access food based on the availability of funds that they have. This is also an important way in which the informal food sector caters to households with limited storage and refrigeration capacity (Battersby, 2015, Battersby et al., 2016: 7).

### 10.3. Enhancing Preference

Considering the element of preference allows for a deeper understanding of the complexity of food choices related to the cultural appropriateness, meaningfulness and familiarity of food that is available. This is also in line with an understanding of access to food choices not as a calculated decision purely based economics or nutrition, but rather as a system of food choices informed by the complex interaction of a multitude of cultural, taste, economic and other considerations (Kroll,

2017). This added element is in recognition that we are not only economically rational beings but that rather we have agency in the choices that we make which are informed by the intersection of a myriad of dimensions of our identity and context.

As previously noted, informal trade is a micro-enterprise that relies upon being responsive to customer demand in order to survive and flourish. This is due to its embeddedness and small-scale nature of these enterprises, which indicates that the very nature of the business model of informal food trade dictates that it is responsive to customer preferences (Battersby, 2015; Battersby et al., 2016; Institute of Development Studies, 2015; Kroll, 2017).

## 11. Challenges Faced by Informal Food Traders

It is important to acknowledge the challenges faced by these traders in fulfilling the role of contributing to urban food security. The literature indicates the array of these complex challenges. This includes cash flow, transportation and limited refrigeration capacity, which determine the quantities, types and frequency of supply purchases (Battersby et al., 2016: 18). Competition from supermarkets is another challenge to business survival indicated in the literature, although informal trade has provided resilient in the face of supermarket competition in many cases due to the advantages that informal trade offers which have been outlined in the previous section (Battersby et al., 2016: 22).

Spoilage is another challenge faced by informal food traders. This is often due to lack of adequate storage or refrigeration as well as the ways in which transportation of produce occurs as it can become damaged or overheat in transit (Battersby, 2015; Battersby et al., 2016: 22). Security challenges, specifically in the form of vandalism and theft, pose yet another challenge to informal food traders through not only lost stock but also through fear of crime. This fear influences the volume of stock, trading hours and location of traders and thus can impact on their business viability (Battersby et al., 2016: 26).

Other obstacles include governance, management and a negative perception of informality in general. These challenges can manifest as difficulty accessing trading permits, expensive trading permits, and harassment by the city and law enforcement and relocations. These challenges also relate to the issue of access to information such as rules, regulations and rights (SERI, 2015).

Based on the previously outlined importance of informal trade in urban food security, this dissertation argues urban planning has a responsibility to minimise any of the multitudes of challenges faced by these traders that are within the realm of influence of planning with innovative and collaborative solutions.

## 12. The Role of Spatial Planning

Food holds significant importance as an essential component of life as well as through the multitude of ways in which the food system shapes the city. Despite this, Pothukuchi and Kaufman (2000) identify food and the food system as a stranger to the planning system. In 2007 the American Planning Association produced its Policy Guide on Community and Regional Food Planning in recognition that the planning community as a whole had neglected to engage the food system. The many justifications for this omission include the way in which the productionist framing of food security has led to an understanding that this is a rural issue, leaving urban planners in a space to claim that it is out of their realm of influence. In reality, as has been discussed previously, there is a very real urban dimension to the food system (Morgan, 2009; Morgan, 2013; Morgan, 2015).

In discussing the role of spatial planning in urban food security, it becomes necessary to define spatial planning and to relook at the scope of planning to ensure that it encompasses the processes necessary to support informal food trade. For the purposes of this dissertation spatial planning

is understood as wide-ranging, in that it aims to facilitate sustainable development and use of land through addressing social, environmental and economic issues. It is also understood as integrative, in that it aims to be the intersection of multiple functions and to play a cross-cutting and coordinating role. This role includes facilitating the way the use of space changes and develops into the future, the provision of infrastructure and services, the maintenance of the space and the facilitation of community participation and involvement (Taylor, 2010). In line with this definition, and through an exploration of the existing literature I developed a framework for a spatial planning role that is supportive to the contribution of informal trade to urban food security seen in figure 5. The rest of this section provides an overview of the literature that informed this framework. This framework was also refined through the research process and is used in chapter 6 as a means of assessing the current role.

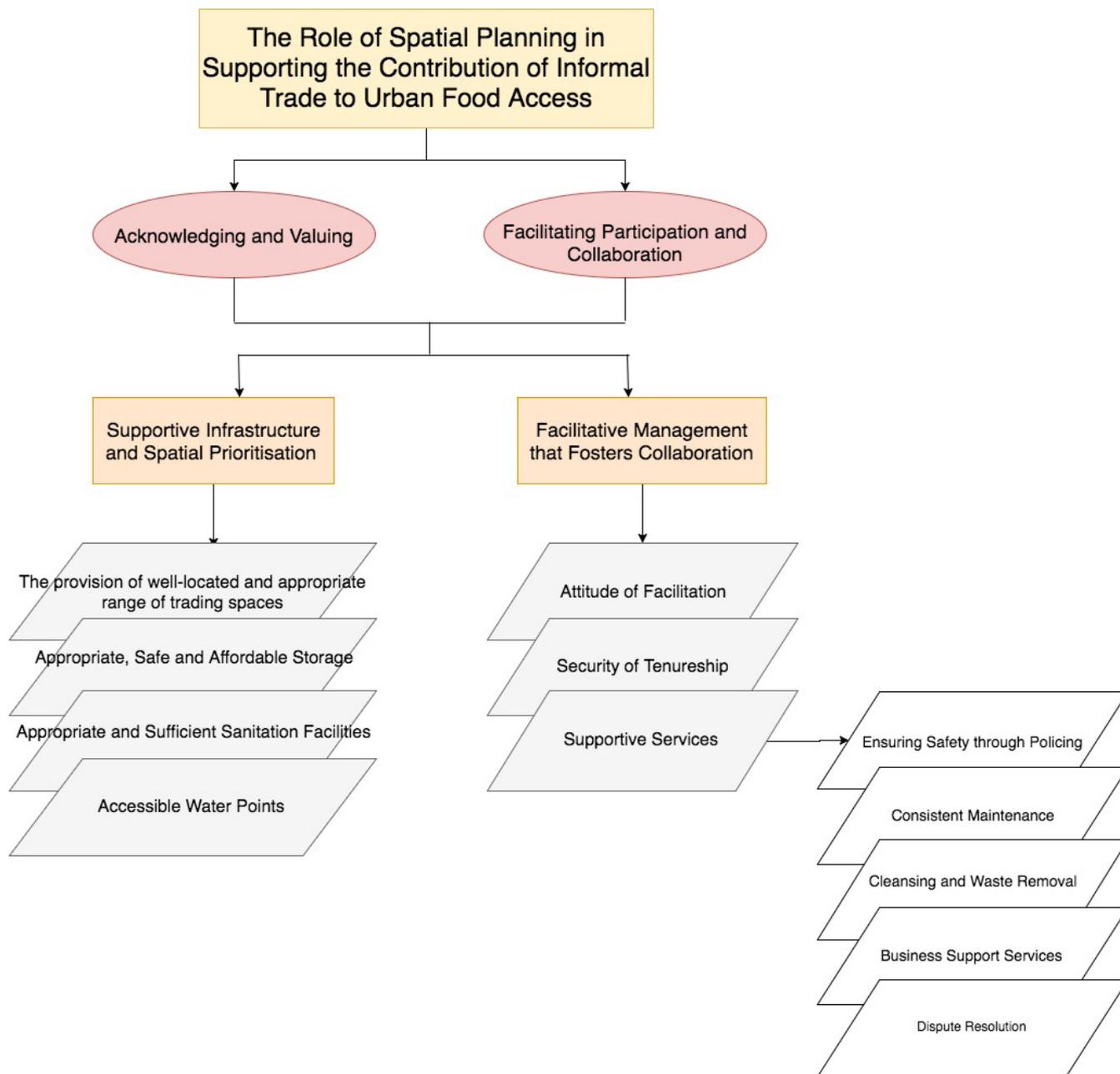


Figure 5: Framework for a supportive planning role (Author, 2017)

The multifaceted nature of the food system leads to it being interrelated to a multitude of areas of concern to planners such as public health, water, land, equity and many others. A range of present-day realities will continue to compound the difficulties of food security and thus its importance.

Some of these realities include increasing urbanisation, rising food prices, the escalation of the conflict over land and increasingly drastic climate change effects (Morgan, 2009). As discussed previously this is especially true in the cities of the Global South where the interplay of these realities is most stark, thus placing additional onus on spatial planners in the context to confront the urban food question (Morgan, 2015). Despite this, African spatial planners have previously played a negative function in urban food security through aiming to eradicate both urban agriculture and street food vendors from the city. This was based on both public health concerns and questionable ideas of urban modernity and reflects a lack of understanding of the dimension of access to food (Morgan, 2009). This illustrates how “if planners are not conscious [of food issues], then their impact is negative, not just neutral” (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 2000). Battersby et al. (2015) emphasise this point by outlining that despite the fact that it is not consciously planned, that the food retail landscape is profoundly shaped by municipal planning.

The World Health Organisation’s Healthy Cities programme outlines three core themes that implicitly embed the role of spatial planning in two of the themes. Theme one, caring and supportive environments and theme three, healthy urban design both indicate to the key role of spatial planning and urban design communities in achieving health and food secure cities. Morgan (2009) argues that urban planners are in fact the key players in the drive for healthy cities, whether they have recognised that role yet or not. He indicates that planning has a responsibility to enable health-promoting sustainable urban environments. While speaking from a Global North perspective, he provides an important argument for planners in all contexts to take responsibility for this omission and confront the urban food question.

Much of the literature around the role of informal trade in urban food security, specifically in South Africa, is largely focused on policy interventions. While this is relevant to, and within the scope of planning, there is more that spatial planning can do to enable this role. I take the position through this dissertation that the spatial prioritisation of informal food trade should be embedded in the planning process in the global south. While this relates to the importance of informal trade as a livelihood strategy, this is predominantly based on the important role that informal food plays in urban food security. I further argue that planning has a responsibility to ensure the effectiveness of spatial interventions through facilitative management. This means that spatial interventions alone are not enough to support the role of informal trade due to the multitude of challenges traders face and that planning has a responsibility to ensure that urban market spaces are developed alongside facilitative market management models that ensure a sustainable supportive environment for traders into the future.

Spatial dimensions and interventions of the role of informal trade in urban food security receive very limited attention in the literature. There are a few places where ideas surface that relate to the spatial prioritisation of informal food trade. This includes a recommendation by Kroll (2017) for the provision of subsidised market facilities for fresh produce that would aim to reduce costs while boosting local access. He also indicates the need for collaboration with traders for optimal outcomes (Kroll, 2017). There is, however, a broader informal trade literature, mainly with a livelihood focus, which outlines the role that planning might take in supporting urban markets and some of the key ideas are indicated below.

Dewar and Watson (1990) outline how urban markets should be planned and managed through an attitude of facilitation rather than one of control or over-regulation. I argue that a deep appreciation and valuing of the food security role of informal food trade create the foundation for this attitudinal shift. Unfortunately, in most settings “[m]unicipal trade restrictions have greatly influenced the business patterns and strategies while also rendering traders illegal and vulnerable” (Charman et al., 2015: 437). Roy (2005) outlines how municipal officials often perceive informality as an ‘epidemic’ infecting the city with negative effects on the urban environment and fabric. In line with

aspirations of cities becoming 'world class' cities, this informality must be wiped from the city. Roy critiques this mentality and rejects the neo-liberal stance that the mentality reflects, arguing instead for the acknowledgement of informality as an integral part of urban areas (Roy, 2005).

The Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI) also identify what are essentially spatial planning considerations for enabling and supporting informal trade through their research in Johannesburg. This includes ensuring supportive service and infrastructure provision that includes storage facilities, waste removal, shelter, proper sanitation and access to water. This is based on the understanding that the level of access to infrastructure will affect the running and success of traders businesses and livelihoods. To add to these spatial considerations, they outline some recommendations regarding regulation and management of informal traders. This includes a recommendation of the reform of how regulative mechanisms such as lease agreements and smart cards are used and applied. They also recommend the reform of the processes and procedures of regulation such as verification, documentation, confiscation and rent payment (SERI, 2015).

Market management also receives very little attention in food security literature. Despite this, the FOA outline that a key element necessary to achieve the aims of market provision is "the provision of an efficient and cost-effective market management system, including trained and motivated market staff and users". This highlights how the provision of supportive infrastructure cannot be isolated from its management context. This includes the overall market management system, operational procedures and institutional arrangements (Tracey-White, 1999). That is, the provision of supportive infrastructure alone is not enough to ensure a supportive trading environment for food traders. Effective management allows for collective benefits to be gained through coordination of spending as well as human actions, for common goals to be reached through collective actions, for resources to be directed towards priority areas and for essential tasks to be organised and initiated (Mattingly, 1995: 1). Regarding supportive services, Crush et al. (2015) highlight, for example, the pressing need to address the lack of small business support "not only to dissipate tensions between migrant and South African entrepreneurs but to realize the full potential benefit of informal entrepreneurship" (Crush et al., 2015: 18).

### 13. Conclusion

While informal trade is not a panacea for the issue of urban food insecurity, the literature shows that despite previously neglected, the informal food sector plays an essential role in supporting the access food for economically stressed residents. This role is played through a high level of responsiveness to economically stressed households not exhibited by formal food retail outlets but which is embedded in the economic logic informal trade. (Battersby et al., 2016; Institute of Development Studies, 2015). Based on the important contribution, planners have a responsibility to enable and support informal food trade as a crucial food security strategy. This chapter has outlined that this role can be supported through spatial prioritisation of market spaces and the provision of supportive infrastructure and that this should be embedded in a management context which facilitates collaboration and ensures the provision of supportive service.

# Chapter 4

## Contextual Analysis

### 1. Introduction

This chapter provides a contextual analysis of the site from its role in the broader city to a sub-metropolitan perspective and lastly an analysis of the site itself, focusing explicitly on what is relevant to the informal trading landscape. At each scale, this chapter will also provide an overview of the existing plans of the City that have a bearing on the Bellville Station Precinct.

This is done through first providing a city-wide perspective that outlines the importance of this node in the metropolitan as well as outlining how CoCT views the current and future role of this Node in the 2012-2017 Spatial Development Framework (SDF) for Cape Town. The contextual analysis then moves to the sub-metropolitan scale and locates the precinct within the surrounding areas as well as establishing the role of the precinct outlined in the Tygerberg District Plan. Lastly, the analysis moves to the precinct itself and provides an understanding of the movement hierarchy as well as the public transportation arrangement and routes in relation to informal trading areas before providing an overview of the Trading Plan and the City plans for upgrades of sections of the precinct.

### 2. City Wide Perspective

This section provides an overview of the role of the precinct in the city as well as the how it is emphasised in the current SDF.

#### 2.1. The Role of Bellville Station Precinct in the City

The Bellville CBD and the station precinct within it play an important role in forming the eastern anchor of the Voortrekker Road Corridor, which provides the concentration of economic opportunity in the city (CoCT, 2012: 33). The Bellville CBD area itself remains the second most important concentration of service sector activities and public institutions, after the Cape Town CBD (CoCT, 2012: 14). The proximity to the concentration of commercial and industrial activity along Voortrekker Corridor in combination with the role of the precinct in the mobility of the city means that the site provides a gateway to the economic activity and opportunity occurring in this part of the city. This is represented in figure 6 where the concentration of economic opportunities (depicted in a gradient of cool colours) manifest along this corridor.

The BSP plays an integral role in the mobility of the city, with the rail station falling second only to Cape Town Station in terms of use, and is followed by Khayelitsha Site C Station as the third most used station. The interchange includes a rail station for both city wide trains and the Shosolozha Meyl long-distance train, as well as a large scale minibus taxi rank, Golden Arrow bus terminus and long-distance bus terminus. The reality that 52% of Cape Town's population relies on public transportation, and 95% of these public transportation users fall into the lower middle to low-income brackets of the city, highlights the importance of this interchange in supporting the mobility of Cape Town residents as an imperative of spatial equity (CoCT, 2012; TCT, 2015).

This role in the mobility of the Cape Town is extremely important in the setting of spatial mismatch, in which the highest residential densities (represented in the warm tones) manifest in the Metro South East, at the furthest distance from the concentrations of economic activity (represented in the cool tones). In this setting, many people of colour experiencing systemic poverty remain marginalized on the peripheries of the

city. This results in disproportionately high travel costs and amounts of time spent commuting for the most economically vulnerable (Pieterse, 2009; SERI, 2016; Turok, 2012). This spatial pattern and urban form is as a result of racist apartheid policy such as forced removals and embeds and reinforces the systemic racial inequality that exists in South Africa (DCGTA, 2016: 20).

These spatial patterns result in the precinct playing an important role in connecting citizens from more marginalised and less wealthy parts of the city to the economic activity which remains concentrated in the traditional CBDs of Cape Town and Bellville. In recognition of the commuter reality of economically stressed residents of Cape Town, especially in relation to long travel times for the economically stressed, it becomes clear that it is necessary to safeguard all channels that these residents have to access food and nutrition along their commuter journeys in their daily experience of moving through the city.

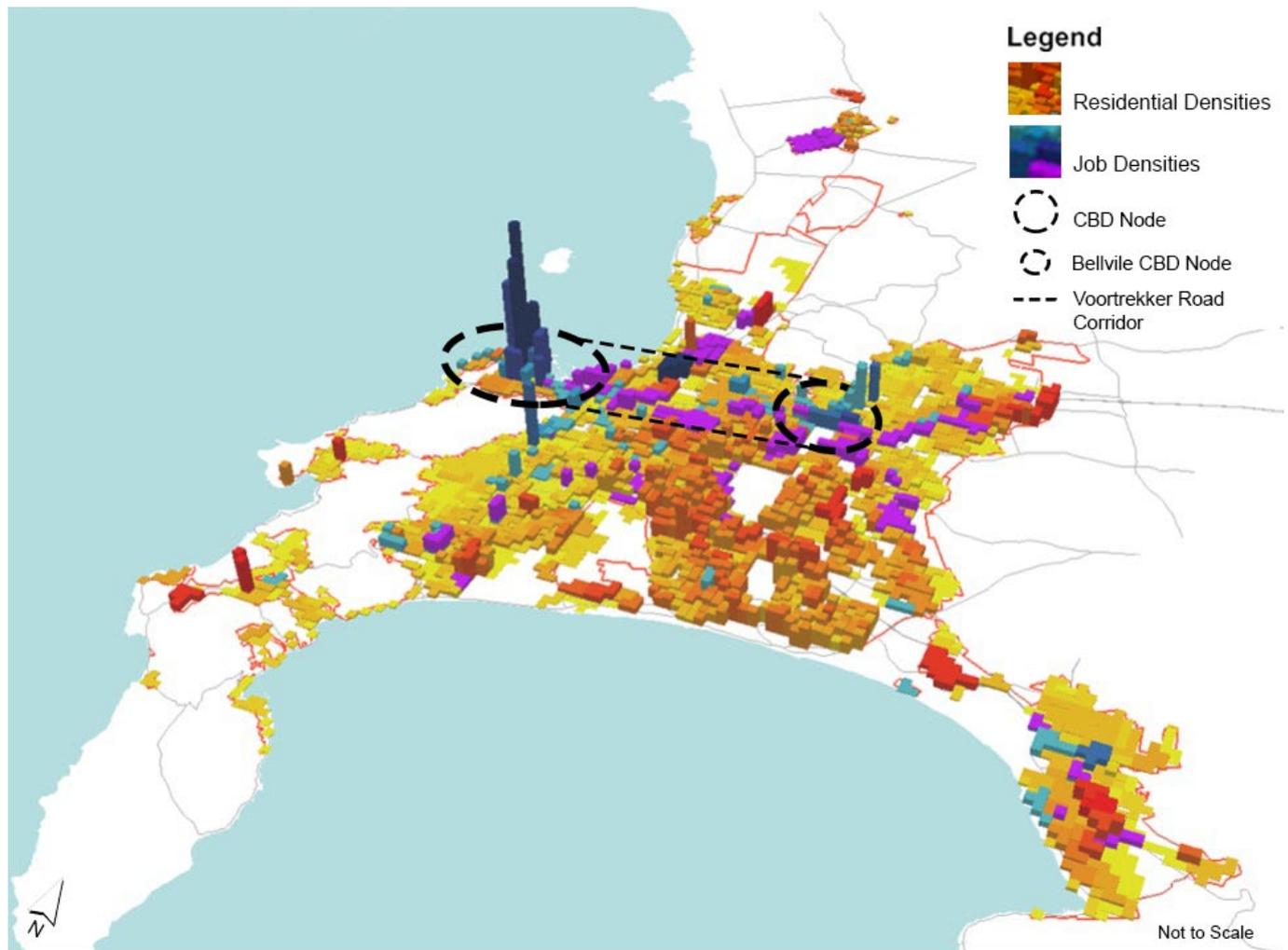


Figure 6 : The Role of the Bellville Station Node in the city (Source: Author, 2017 After Rabe, 2016)

## 2.2. City of Cape Town Spatial Development Framework 2012-2017

In the current SDF, there is a strong emphasis on the Bellville CBD as the eastern anchoring node of what is termed by the City as the ‘urban core corridor’, which is otherwise referred to in the Voortrekker Road Corridor in this document (see Figure 7). This corridor is the centrally located broad band stretching between Cape Town and Bellville CBDs in which formal employment for the city is largely concentrated. The main structuring element of this corridor is Voortrekker Road which links from Salt River Circle to Bellville CBD. Because it attracts a range of investment and development opportunities along its length and accommodates a significant percentage of the city’s employment opportunities this corridor, is understood by the City to be the ‘economic backbone’ of Cape Town (CoCT, 2012: 25). The perspective of the City conveyed in the SDF is that the Corridor as a whole as well as Bellville CBD specifically, have the potential to grow and intensify the important role they are already playing. This is represented in the way that this

corridor is the largest corridor indicated in the Spatial Development Concept (figure 7) below in brown as an area of intensification. The Cape Town and Bellville CBDs are clearly indicated on the same map as the two dominant urban nodes in the hierarchy of the city.

The SDF also views the Bellville CBD as the important northern anchor to the eastern corridor, an important citywide structuring element which forms a direct linkage from Khayelitsha/ Mitchells Plain to Bellville also depicted in figure 7. There is, however, a current lack of north-south connectivity regarding movement route continuity, which is restricting the role of the node in the city. The SDF outlines that the City plans to improve public transportation links between the Metro South East and major economic nodes such as Bellville CBD, through both the development of the Blue Downs rail link to connect Khayelitsha to Bellville as well as through prioritising IRT service from Bellville to the Metro South East. The reinforcement of this corridor through this rail link and the IRT services are outlined as essential steps in improving access to socio-economic opportunities between the urban core corridor and the Metro South East, where the highest densities of the city manifest (CoCT, 2012). When this link is made, there is the potential for a drastic increase in ridership which would increase the importance of precinct itself as well as the node in general.

The SDF also aims to facilitate employment generating opportunities in areas that are accessible to the Metro South East, with Bellville CBD being identified as a priority area. The strategies put forth emphasise the business intensification of Bellville CBD to encourage the development of a diverse, mutually supportive system of economic areas. This indicates the underlying message of a move towards economic activity that is more decentralised from the Cape Town CBD along the urban core corridor and concentrated in Bellville CBD. This is done partially as a way of dealing with the current congestion experienced around the Cape Town CBD as well as to spread economic opportunities and activity more equitably in the city. The SDF outlines that the node itself has high development, intensification and land use potential. While outlining the importance of this node there is an acknowledgement that there are infrastructural constraints in terms of electricity and wastewater capacity and maintenance and that that parts of it are in need of upgrading. There is also a recognition of the reality that the Bellville CBD is currently underperforming and has been affected by various factors including the shifting of A-grade office accommodation and high-end retail activity to Tygervalley. (CoCT, 2012).

While only mentioning informal trading in two places in the document, the SDF does outline that “it is essential to support informal sector and small business through innovative management practices” (CoCT, 2012: 25). The City recognises that in general, the formal urban areas are not supportive of small businesses and the informal sector and that this results in the spatial exclusion of these traders from the wealth of the city. They outline their responsibility in providing appropriately located trading facilities with the possibility of establishing a number of new trading sites and leasing or selling City-owned land for the use of small business and informal traders (CoCT, 2012: 25, 104).

While still in the draft phase at the time of this writing, the SDF for the 2017-2022 period takes a mobility, and public transportation focus with the new ‘Transport Orientated Development’ stance (CoCT, 2017). This means that into the future the importance of intermodal interchanges such as BSP will only increase, which aligns with the City’s public commitments to invest millions into the Bellville CBD area, focusing on the station precinct (Duval, 2017) and emphasises the need for informal trade to be considered and prioritised in how this investment unfolds.

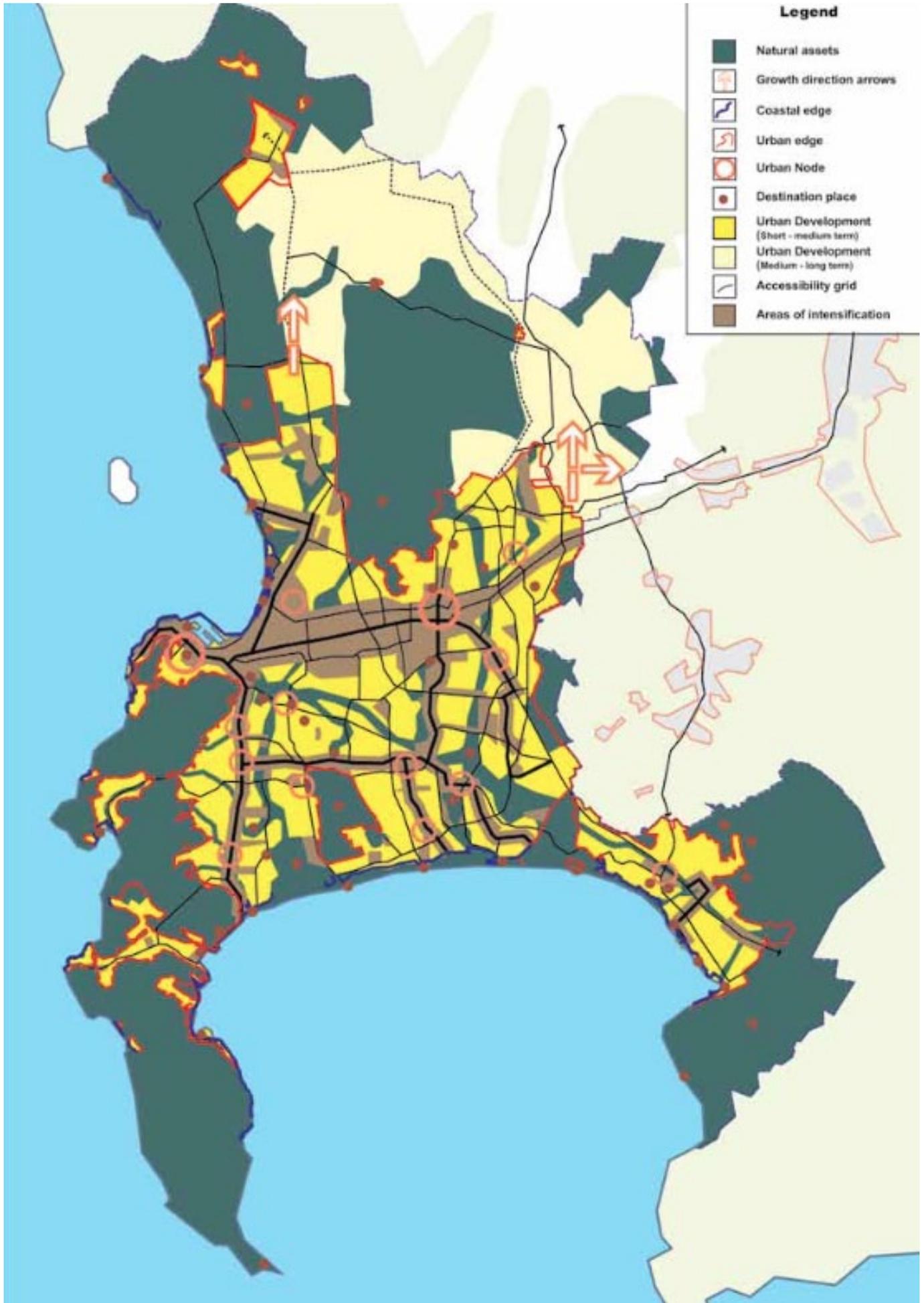


Figure 7 : CoCT 2012 Spatial Development Concept (Source: CoCT, 2012: 37)

### 3. District Scale Perspective

This section will provide a brief analysis of the surrounding area to locate the BSP within its immediate urban context. It will also outline the role of the precinct as indicated in the Tygerberg District Plan.

#### 3.1. The Role of Bellville Station Precinct in the District

From the sub-metro perspective, as seen in figure 8 below, it is apparent that the biodiversity network and soft open space network function as structuring elements of the area, with the Elsieskraal Riverine Corridor running along the west boundary of the site and providing direct access from the precinct to the soft recreational space provided by Elizabeth Park. In terms of movement structures, the area is well serviced by a variety of different routes, although there are limited north-south connections in some areas. The rail line, the Voortrekker activity route and the N1 highway run parallel.

It is also clear to see from figure 8 that the node is well located in terms of a variety of social services and amenities. This includes access to the cluster of hospitals seen to the west of the site that forms a medical cluster of metropolitan significance. To the south of the site Cape Peninsula University of Technology and the University of the Western Cape, as well as a variety of other colleges in the area form a tertiary education node that provides ridership for the interchange. In the more immediate vicinity, the BSP is located in convenient, walkable proximity to other civic points of interest such as Bellville Library, South African Revenue Service (SARS) and the Department of Home Affairs. It is, however, important to note that the quality of the services and amenities tends to be better north of the rail line in the traditionally white suburbs, which serves as a manifestation of the spatial inequality experienced in Cape Town, mainly along race lines (Pieterse, 2009; Turok, 2012).

The spatial legacy of Apartheid is clear in figure 9 which shows how drastically divided the racial demographics of the surrounding suburbs remain. This map indicates increased racial diversity along Voortrekker Activity Corridor in general and around the station precinct specifically, but it also illustrates that this node and corridor are surrounded by largely white (represented by purple) suburbs to the north and largely coloured (represented by yellow) suburbs to the south. This highlights the fact that not only does this node play an integral role in the wider city in terms of mobility and access to economic opportunity, but it also plays an important integrative role for the more immediate surrounding area. It creates a unique space of diverse interactions which is otherwise unapparent in the surrounding mono-racial suburbs. The spatial prioritisation of a diverse and supportive public realm, including market spaces, is essential in ensuring that continued role.

The indication on figure 8 of City allocated trading bays within the site boundary demonstrates that within this important area of the city, the precinct provides a rare opportunity for informal trade that is not present elsewhere in the surrounding area. The existing multifaceted role that this informal trade is playing in supporting access to food, as well as livelihoods and socio-cultural integration should be safeguarded and expanded.

#### 3.2. Tygerberg District Plan

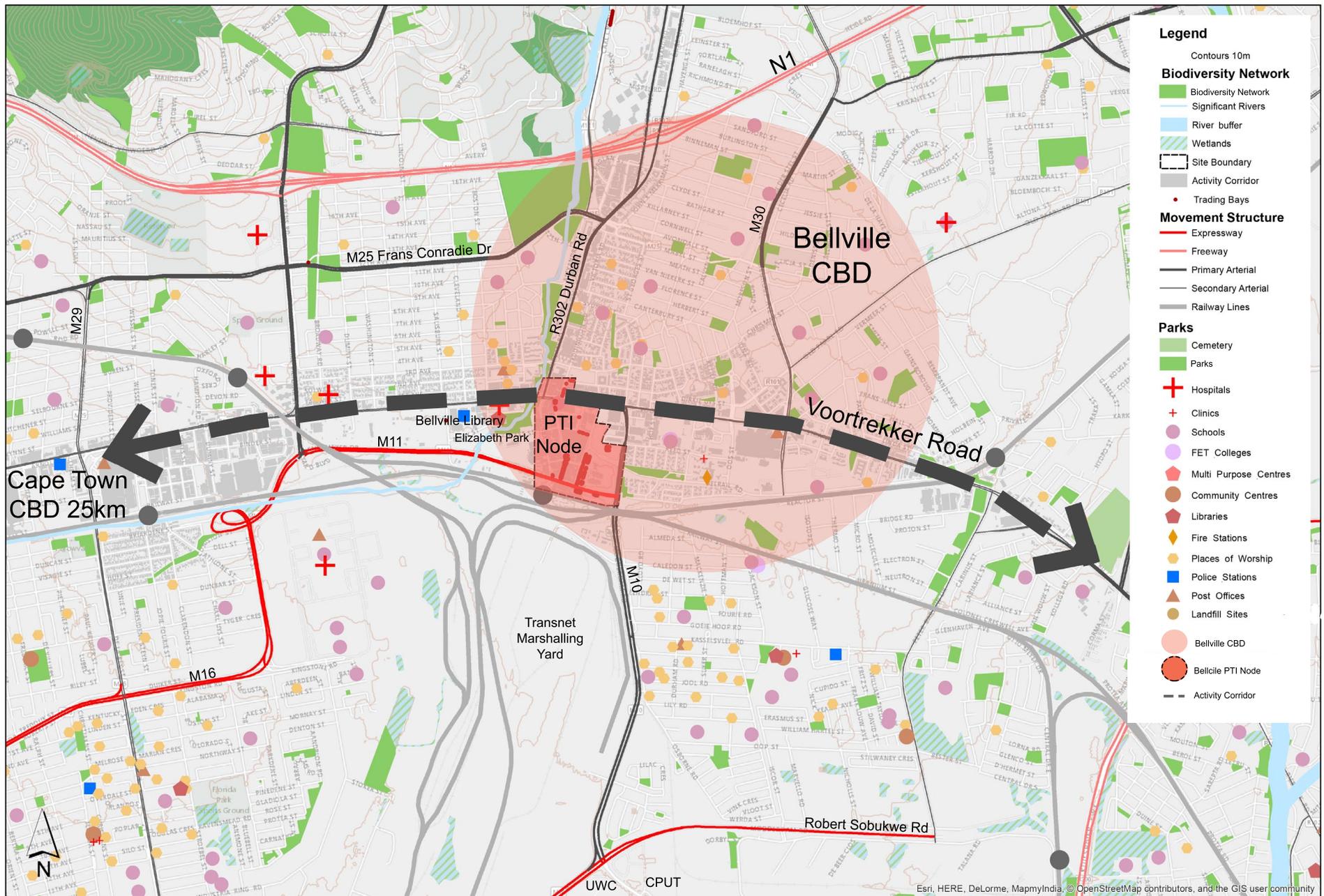
The Tygerberg District Plan echoes much of the City's emphasises that Voortrekker Road Corridor is the 'economic backbone' of the city that forms the primary urban structuring element of the district. The Plan echoes the SDF's emphasises on Bellville CBD specifically as the second largest economic growth node, a major employment precinct in the city, a higher order civic precinct of metropolitan significance and a primary nodal investment hub of the district. This is due to the clustering of public institutions and social facilities at the point of highest accessibility in the area due to its location on the accessibility grid at the intersection of multiple modes and routes of mobility. This is an important element, as this public investment creates opportunities for private sector relationship (CoCT, 2012b).

In line with the SDF, the strategies put forth in the plan aim to reinforce and intensify the existing role of both the corridor and the Bellville node. Some key strategies include facilitating improved access to the corridor and economic opportunities of the north through better north-south linkages, reinforcing the corridor itself through improved public transport and increased intensity of development and urban regenera-

tion along the corridor. There is a focus on commercial and mixed-use development as well as densification to intensify existing nodes including Bellville. The plan does emphasise that development must be done in line with the principle of socio-economic integration (CoCT, 2012b). The plan also states that the Bellville CBD is in need of an urban upgrade.

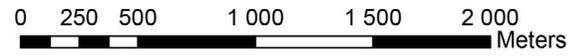
More specifically for the Bellville CBD the plan outlines private investment should be encouraged through the establishment of an enabling environment for high density mixed use development and that there should be focus on the upgrading of the station precinct is identified as a priority in order to increase quality and efficiency of rail service as well as facilitate ease of pedestrian movement to improve the accommodation of peak time commuter flows (CoCT, 2012b).

This document outlines the reality that this space will be undergoing serious changes, with the combination of urban upgrading by the City as well as the private development being incentivised by the City. This is highlighted by the fact that the entire station node falls into the blue 'mixed-use intensification' category (figure 10). I argue that this emphasis on the station precinct, the focus on pedestrian movement, the strategy to maintain and improve the quality of existing public realm and the use of the principle of socio-economic integration support and reinforce the imperative for deep considerations of informal trade in the way that the area is planned and developed into the future.



- Legend**
- Contours 10m
  - Biodiversity Network**
    - Biodiversity Network
    - Significant Rivers
    - River buffer
    - Wetlands
    - Site Boundary
    - Activity Corridor
  - Movement Structure**
    - Expressway
    - Freeway
    - Primary Arterial
    - Secondary Arterial
    - Railway Lines
  - Parks**
    - Cemetery
    - Parks
    - Hospitals
    - Clinics
    - Schools
    - FET Colleges
    - Multi Purpose Centres
    - Community Centres
    - Libraries
    - Fire Stations
    - Places of Worship
    - Police Stations
    - Post Offices
    - Landfill Sites
    - Bellville CBD
    - Bellville PTI Node
    - Activity Corridor

Figure 8: Sub Metropolitan Analysis  
 (Source: Author, 2017: GIS Technical Library UCT)



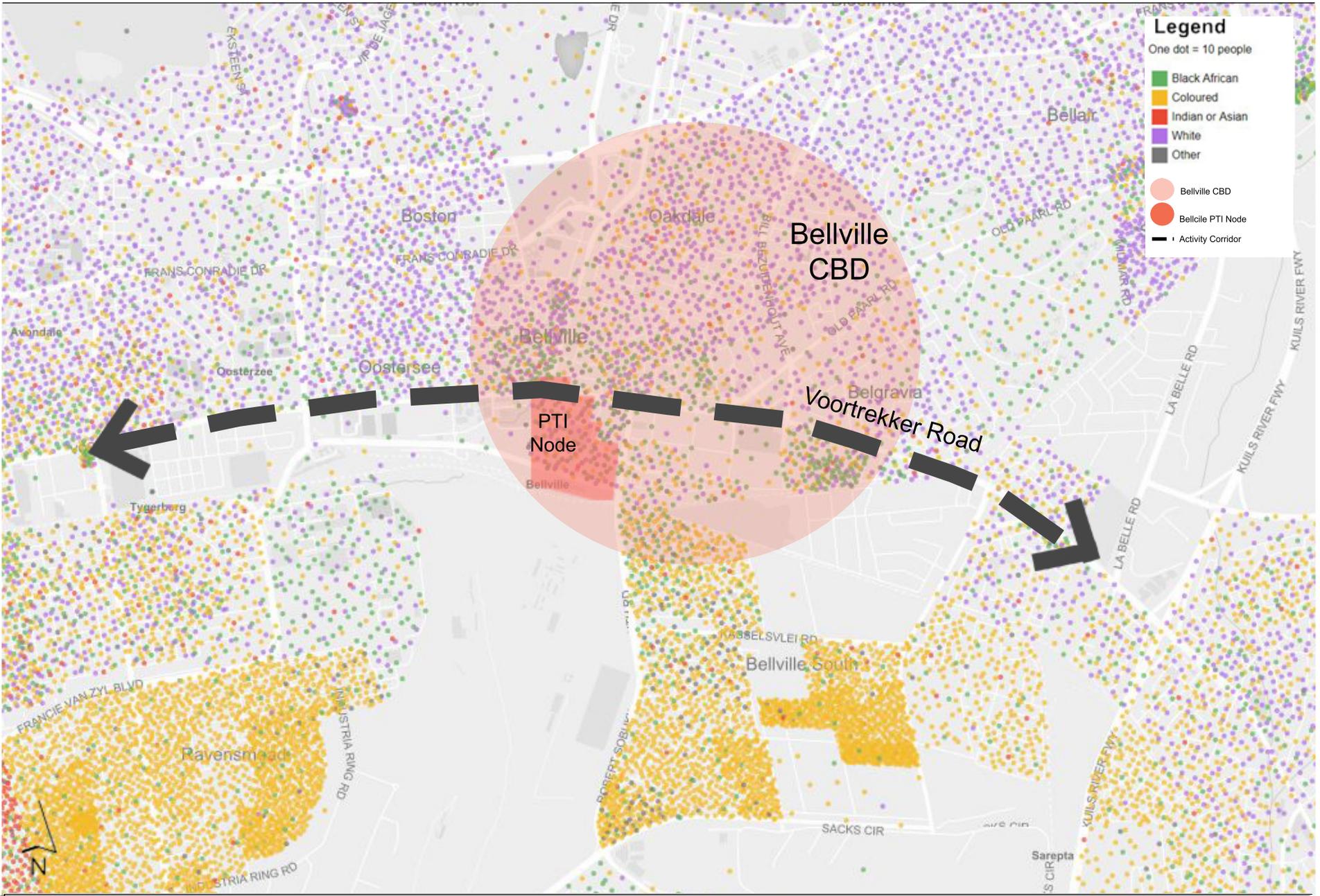
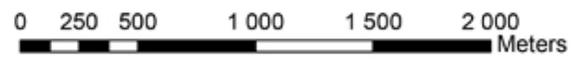


Figure 9 : Sub Metropolitan Analysis: Racial Demographics  
 (Source: Author, 2017:Frith, 2015)



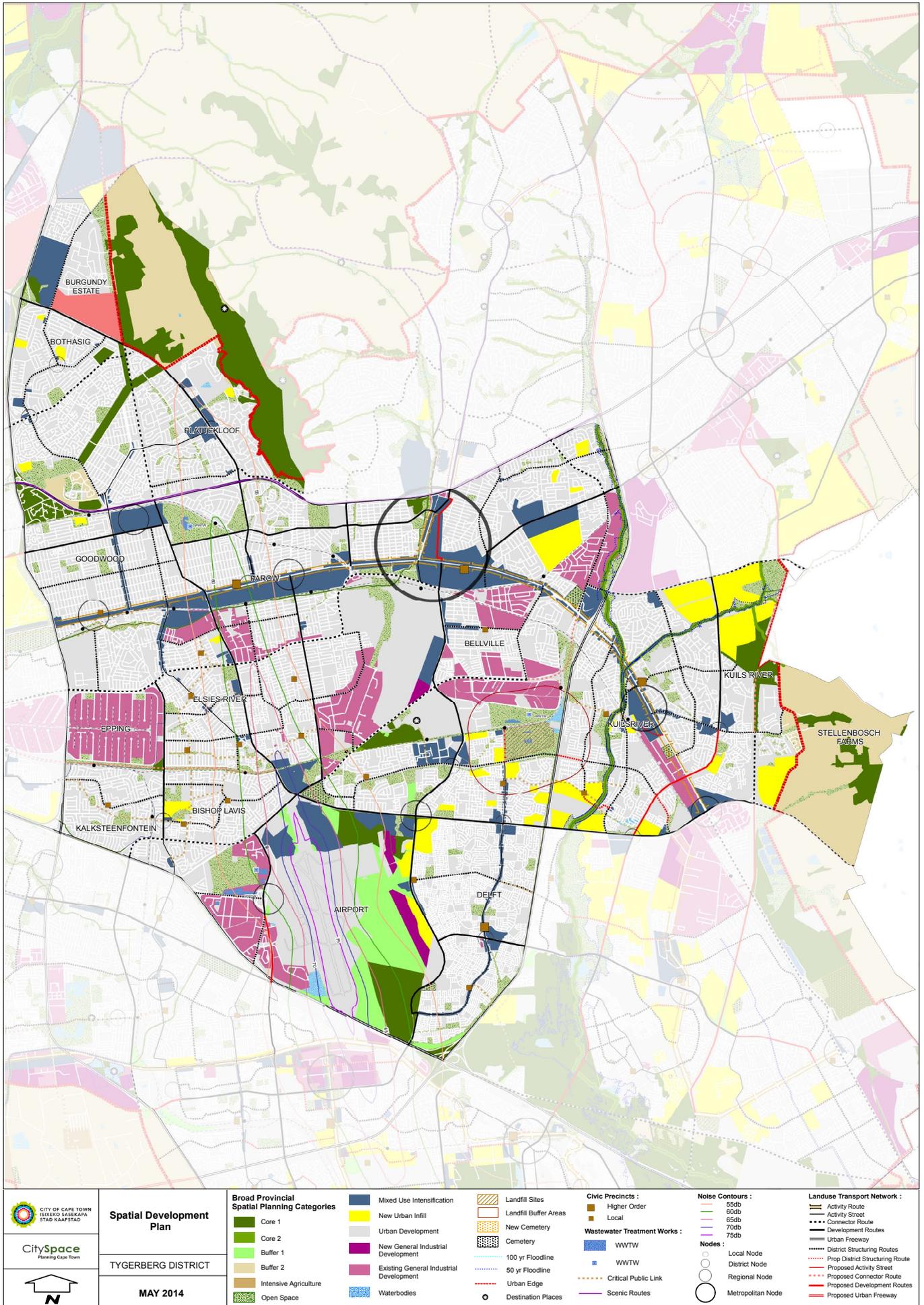


Figure 10 : Tygerberg District Plan Composite Map (Source: CoCT, 2012b: 180).

## 4. Site Analysis

This section will provide an analysis of the site itself in terms of land use, the movement structure and the public transportation network. Figure 12 indicates the boundary of the site which is referred to in this document as the Bellville Station Precinct (BSP). It also identifies the locations of informal trade activity in relation to the site.

### 4.1. Movement Systems Hierarchy

The movement hierarchy seen in figure 13 indicates that the site is well serviced by a variety of movement routes. Most routes, especially of higher order, prioritise vehicular movement. This is especially true of Robert Sobukwe Road (M10) on the Eastern border of the site as well as the Tienie Meyer Bypass Bridge (M11) which passes above the street in front of the rail station. This bridge plays an important role in creating a form of structured shelter for users of the space, including some traders who use it as protection from both the sun and the wind. The smaller side streets as well as the pedestrian sections (indicated by a black dotted line) prioritise pedestrian movement, although the movement system is rife with pedestrian and vehicular conflict, which will be addressed in the pedestrian flows section located in the next chapter.

As the Transnet Marshalling Yard takes up the space on the south side of the rail station and lines, there is limited connectivity beyond the site to the south. The connectivity to the south is also limited by the rail lines which function as a barrier. In all other directions the site experiences good vehicular connectivity to both surrounding areas and the Voortrekker Activity Route, as well as to the N1 and other highway routes that provide faster movement connectivity to Cape Town CBD and other areas of the city.

### 4.2. Public Transportation

The BSP is an interchange of metro-wide significance in terms of public transport mobility. The layout of the interchange as well as the routes of different modes is indicated on in figure 14. The rail station plays an important role in the Northern, Central and Malmesbury/ Worcester lines as well as the Shosoloz Meyl long-distance train line. It is the role of this interchange as the intersection of not just multiple modes, but also as the intersection of multiple routes of each of these modes that make it such an important space of mobility in the city.

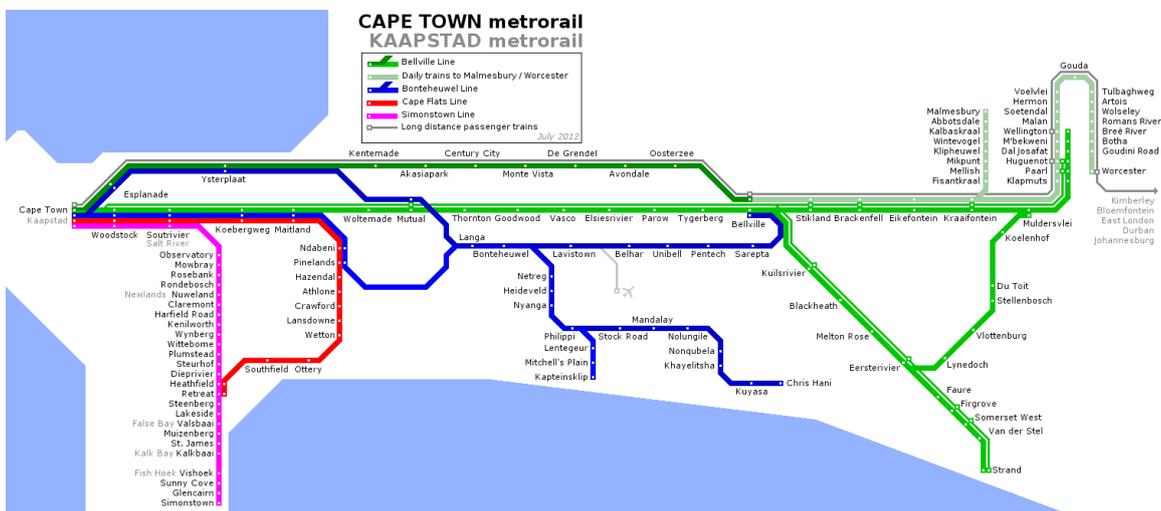


Figure 11 : Bellville Station as an important rail interchange in the Metrorail Network of Cape Town (Source: World Design Capital Online, n.d.)

### 4.3. Land use and zoning

Figure 15 represents the current land use of the area and shows that the dominant use is commercial. It does however also indicate that there is a level of mixed-use occurring in the area and my observations indicate that many of the areas indicated as commercial sector also feature multiple storeys with multiple uses occurring across floors. As indicated on the map, the majority of the trading happening in the precinct is currently happening in areas indicated as 'other public service', 'transport facilities' and 'utilities and infrastructure'.

There are however issues with the design, capacity and the degradation of the interchange. The current minibus and taxi facilities are around 20 years old, with the current demand on the facility exceeding the capacity. There is also considerable disjuncture between the three modes, which forces commuters in some cases to walk up to 550m to transfer between the taxi and rail modes (Duval, 2017, QPMS, 2015). With 400m representing the traditionally accepted standard for how far people will comfortably walk for public transport, this current layout of the interchange is clearly not meeting standards for a convenient commuter experience (Walker, 2015). The limited integration between trunk and feeder services, the inconsistent and incoherent identity as well as the inappropriate design and capacity of the current facilities are identified by the City as the priority issues to be addressed through the upgrading. This includes the lack of appropriate circulation system or alighting, disembarking or staging area for the bus and taxi ranks (Duval, 2017).

### 4.3. Bellville Station Precinct Trading Plan

At the site level, there are multiple plans that apply to the precinct. In relation to informal trade specifically is the Trading Plan. All informal trading activity that occurs in Cape Town must abide by the trading plans provided by the City. These plans indicate bays and other spaces (such as kiosks) allocated for informal trading. The map below indicates in red the official trading bays designated by the City for the precinct (CoCT, 2008). The traders must apply for permits to trade, and if successful they are allocated a bay from which to trade. Trading permits come with a monthly fee. This process is legislated in the City of Cape Town Informal Trading By-Law (CoCT, 2013). This plan (see figure 16) serves to dictate which of the traders falls outside of the law and thus has a huge bearing on their daily lives and ability to earn a living but is rarely updated. The issue of permits and allocated bays is a contested one in this space, as well as in others across the city. This will be addressed in the next two chapters through the narratives of both the traders as well as those involved in management and regulation.

### 4.4. Kruskal Avenue Upgrading

Falling within the BSP and forming the crucial link between the train station and Voortrekker Road, Kruskal Avenue is viewed as an essential connectivity route and due to this function has been prioritized by the City for the first urban upgrade in the precinct. The proposed concept plan (see figure 17) for the upgrading puts forward a plan that prioritises the human element of being in the space with a strong emphasis on shading, visual legibility and recreational quality. While the plan aims to accommodate the existing traders as well as make provision for more traders, there is a change of layout to provide increased pedestrian permeability (CoCT, 2017b). This plan could have an effect on the livelihoods of these traders as well as the ability of the few food traders in the avenue to support access to food for the people moving through the space. This is because informal trading is a small scale economic activity that relies on the micro dynamics of the immediate context, especially in relation to pedestrian flows (Dewar & Watson, 1990). This means that even an intervention that moves a trader a few metres may have a drastic effect on their operations.

### 4.5. Future Plans for the Upgrading of the Bellville Public Transportation Interchange

Although no plans have been established to date, The City has earmarked R5 million of the R350 million allocated for infrastructure projects in the Voortrekker Corridor for the upgrading of the precinct. The infrastructural investments are part of a process of substantial restructuring intended to give effect to the City's new Transit-Oriented Development Strategic Framework. The upgrade is also in line with the City's Integrated Public Transport Network plan. It is intended to ensure that current and projected commuter volumes are accommodated and to create a 'commuter-friendly' environment with a strong focus on seamless intermodal transfers through improved coordination. The main issues identified to be addressed include the lack of appropriate facilities, both regarding design and capacity, for the buses and taxis (Duval, 2017).

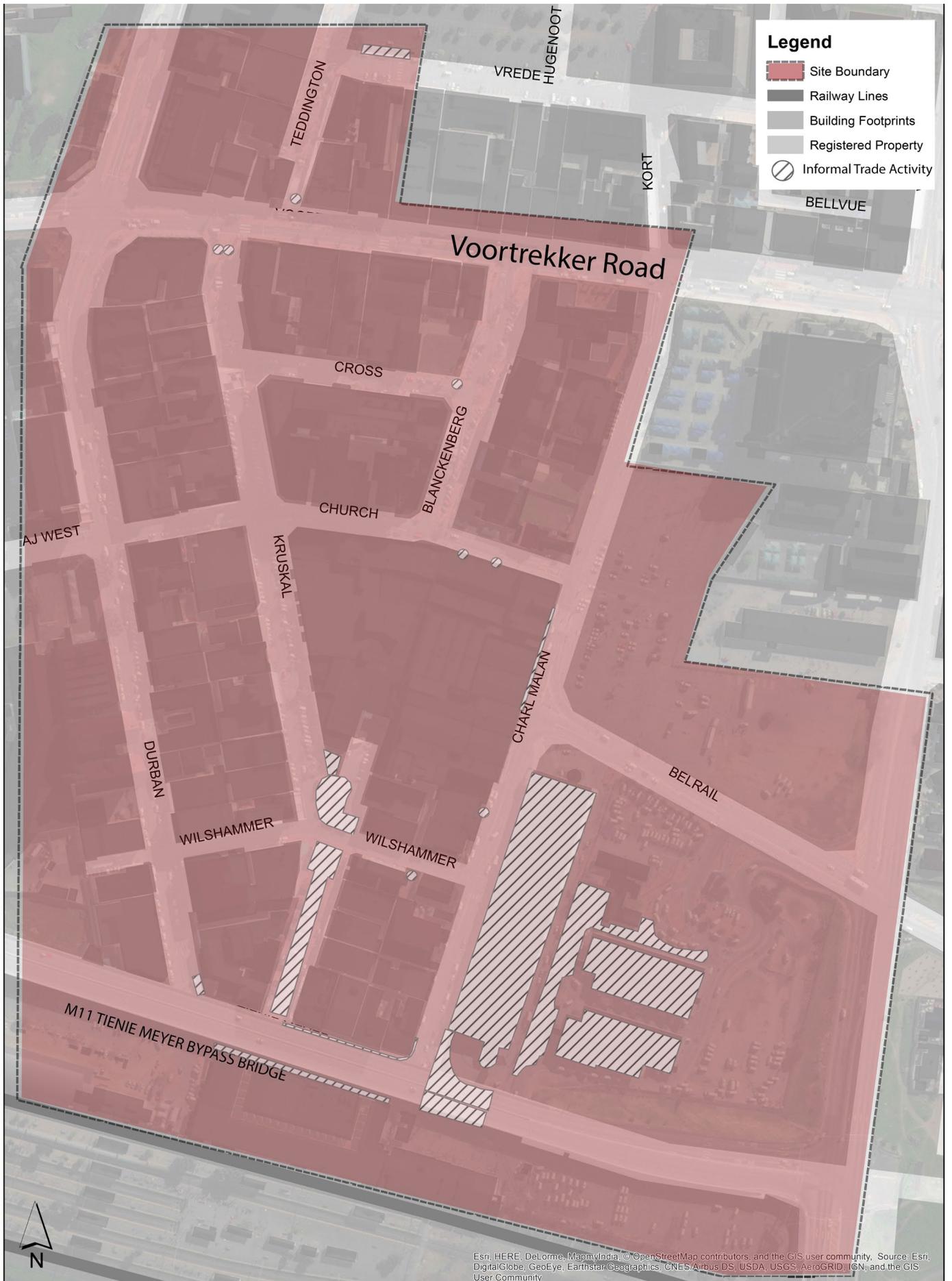


Figure 12 : Site Boundary  
 (Source: Author, 2017: GIS Technical Library UCT and CoCT Data)

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 Meters

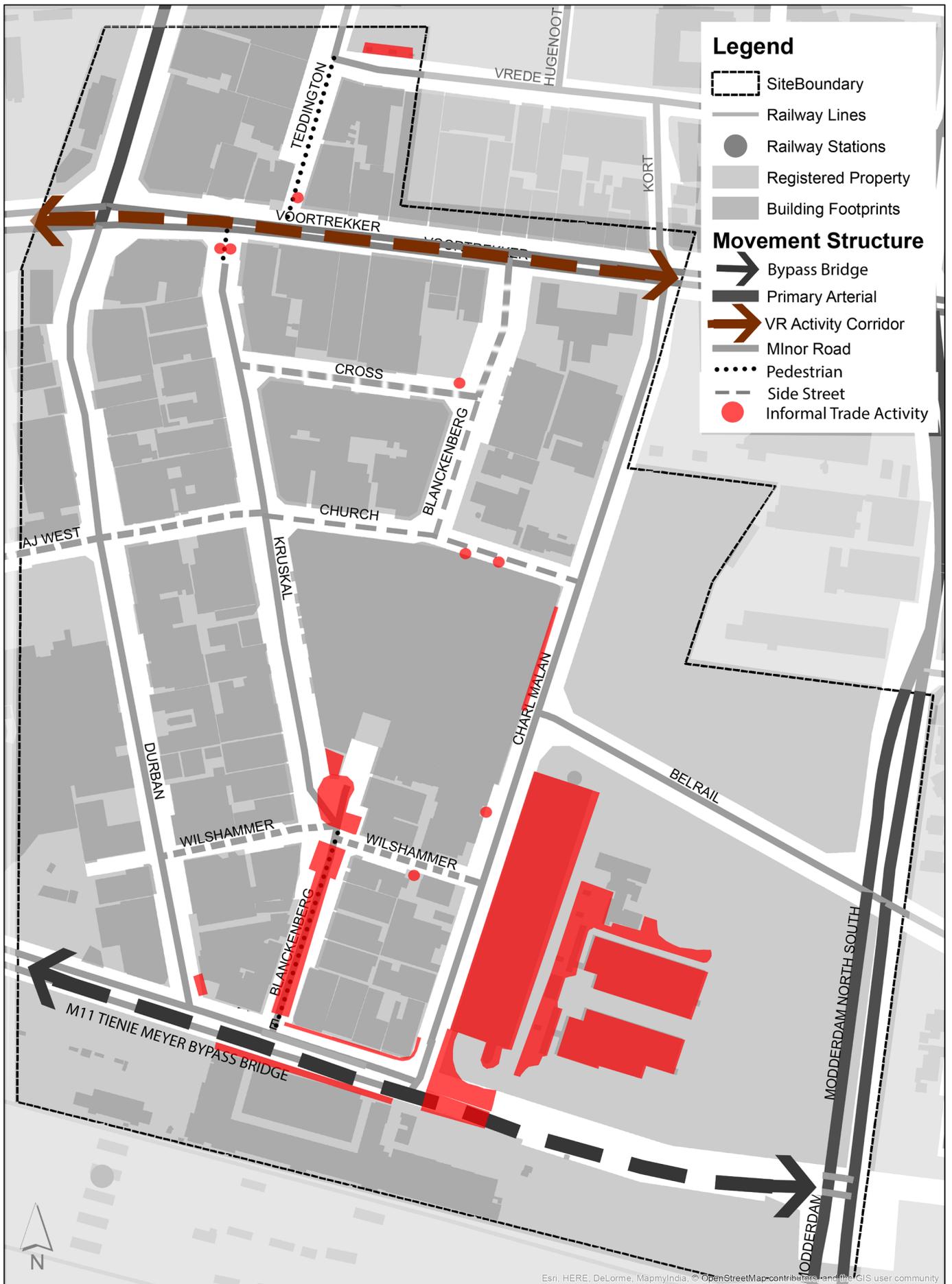


Figure 13 Movement Structure Hierarchy  
 (Source: Author, 2017: GIS Technical Library UCT and CoCT Data)

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 Meters

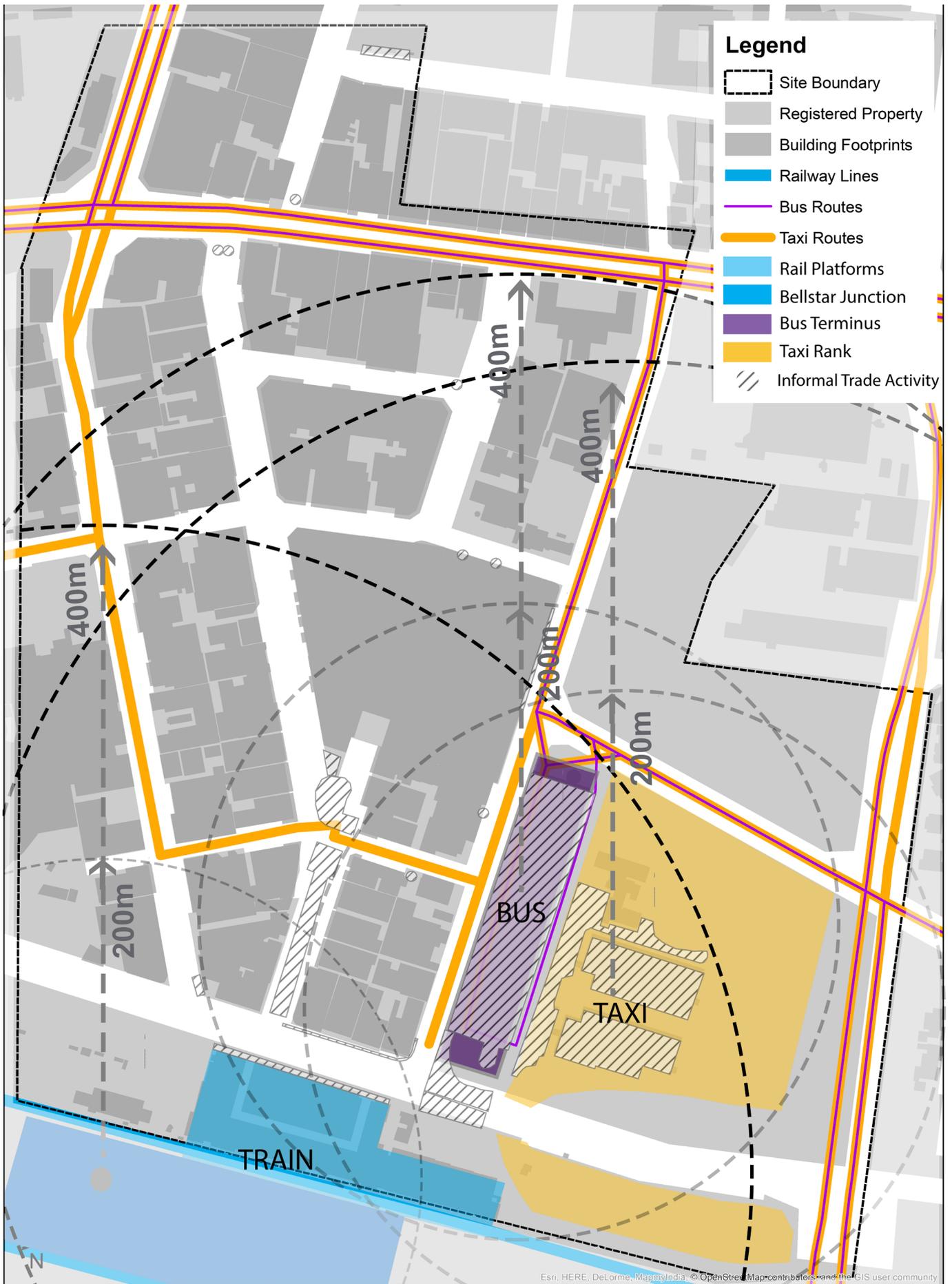


Figure 14 Public Transportation Layout and Routes  
 (Source: Author, 2017: GIS Technical Library UCT and CoCT Data)

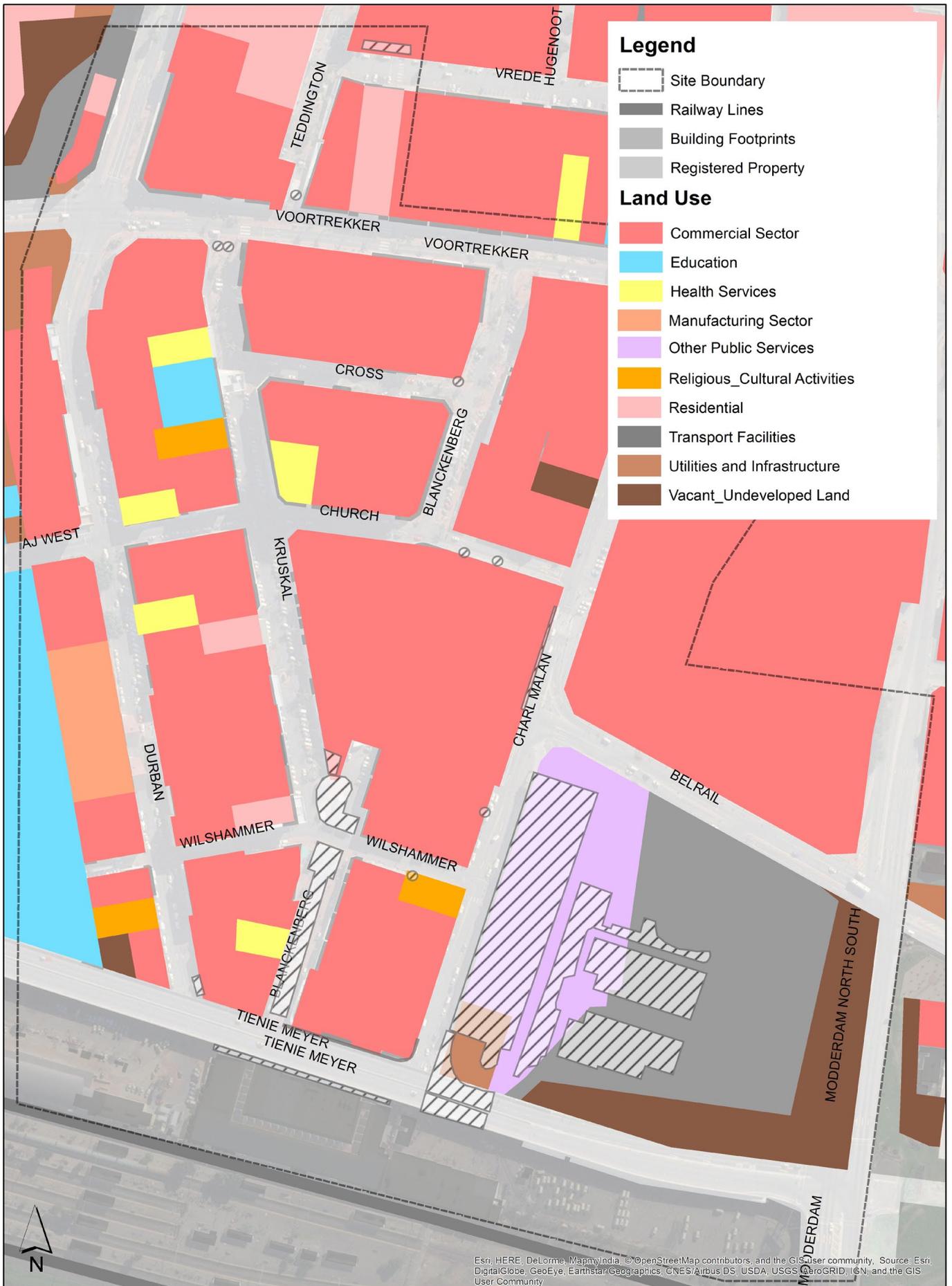


Figure 15 Land Use  
 (Source: Author, 2017: GIS Technical Library UCT and CoCT Data)

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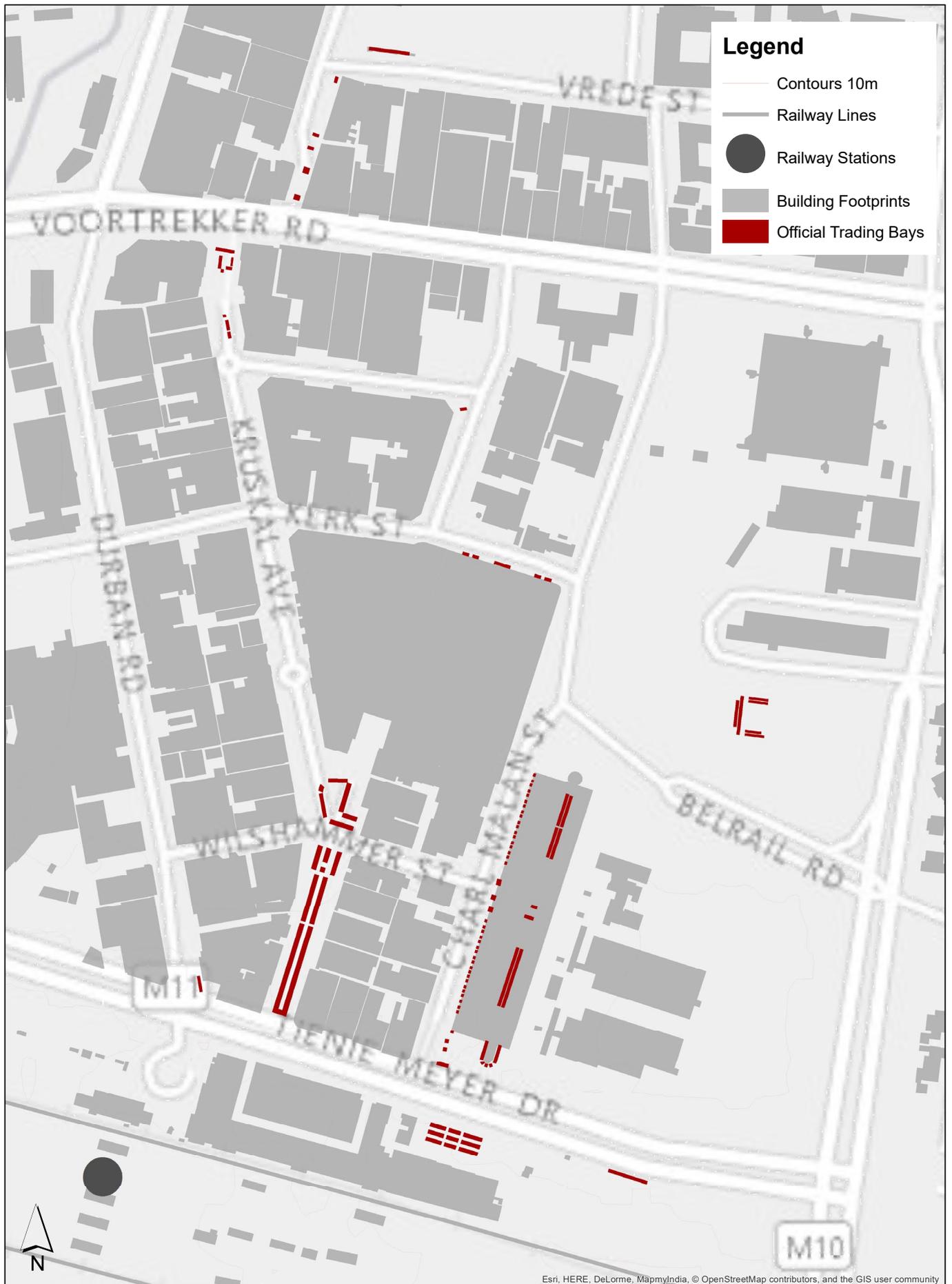
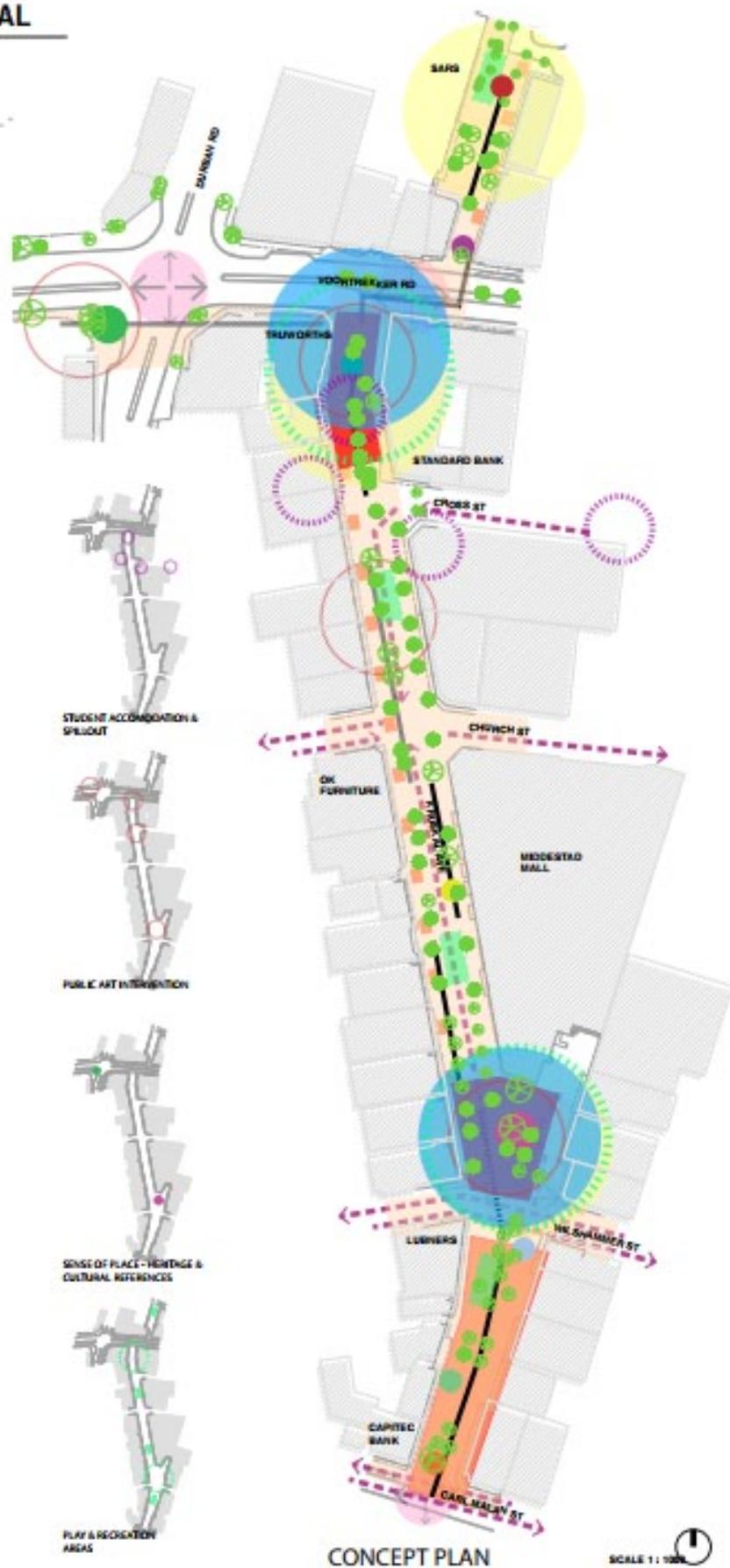
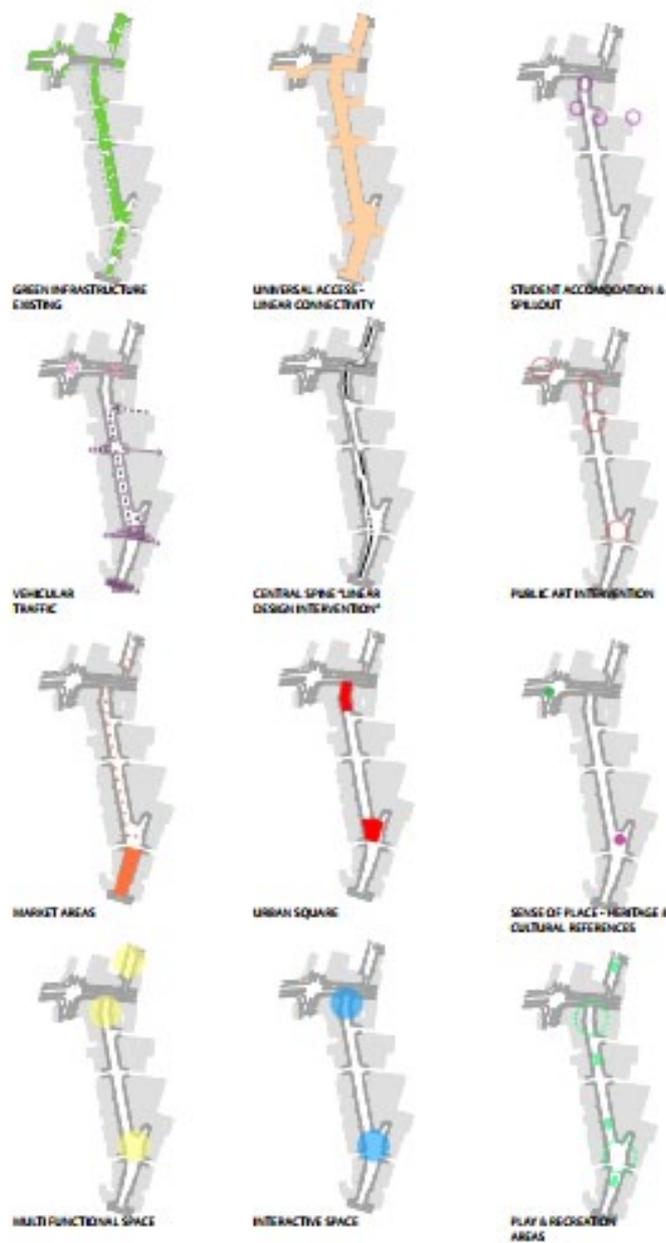


Figure 16 Official CoCT Trading Bays in the Bellville PTI Node  
 (Source: Author, 2017: GIS Technical Library UCT and CoCT Data)

# 4 CONCEPT DESIGN PROPOSAL



LINEAR SPINE CONCEPT



CONCEPT PLAN

SCALE 1:1000

**KRUSKAL AVENUE URBAN UPGRADING**  
Bellville, Cape Town  
28 February 2017



Figure 17 : Kruskal Avenue Urban Upgrade (Source: CoCT, 2017)

## 5. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined that the BSP plays an integral role in the city, primarily through its importance in both the mobility and the economy of the city. Its location on the accessibility grid on the City, at the intersection of Voortrekker Road and multiple modes of public transport make it an essential node in the everyday commuter reality of many Capetonians. The contextual analysis has also outlined how through both City investment and the Blue Downs rail link, the precinct is expected to only increase in importance in the City. The important contextual understanding provided in this chapter forms the foundation for the subsequent chapters, which outline the findings of the research and provide a more fine grain picture of the informal food trading landscape and dynamics.

## The Food Trading Landscape and the Analysis of the Use of Entitlement Enhancing Strategies

### 1. Introduction

The following chapter provides the first of two chapters which present the findings and analysis of the research. This chapter aims to respond to the research question that asks 'what is the role played by informal food traders in urban food security in the case of Bellville Station'? In order to respond to this, the chapter focuses mainly on the subsidiary question to this main question which asks 'what are the strategies used by the traders in order to play this role of supporting access to food, and to what degree are these strategies being used by the Bellville Station Precinct food traders?' By outlining the degree to which each strategy is used to enable the physical, economic and preferential elements of food security, it becomes possible to understand what type of role is being played by these informal food traders in facilitating greater access to food and thus food security in this space. The information in this chapter is based both on the HCP data as well as my own primary research, which has been outlined in chapter 2 on research methods.

Firstly this chapter provide an overview of the food trading landscape at the BSP based on the research findings as an access point to understanding the realities of the space. Following this, the chapter will outline the way in which the dimension of access to food will be addressed through its various elements and the way in which the business strategies employed by informal traders support the various elements of access to food. The following section will link back to Sen's Entitlements approach, outlined in the literature review, and make the argument that these strategies are entitlement enhancing for economically stressed residents and thus deserve the protection and support of planning. Following this, the chapter moves onto unpacking the elements of access to food based on the entitlement enhancing strategies used by informal food traders. That part of the chapter is divided into three sections which are structured according to the elements of food access which are in turn broken down according to the informal trader strategies which support each element.

### 2. The Food Trading Landscape

This section provides a slightly more descriptive overview of the food trading landscape at the precinct, based on my research, which is necessary in setting the context for the findings that follow. In understanding the patterning of the informal trade it is important to recognise the self organising nature of informal trade. There is an spatial logic underpinning the way that the traders appear and organise in space which is based on the trade off of a variety of factors (Dewar & Watson, 1990).

The research revealed that informal traders first started moving into the Bellville Station Precinct around the time of the transition to democracy in South Africa and that traders continued to arrive at an accelerating rate once people realised that the space provided an economic opportunity. The oral history conveyed by the traders outlines that around 1994 there were about 4 traders around the public transportation interchange (PTI) area (the taxi rank and bus terminus area), by 2001 there were around 56, by 2006 there were over 100, by 2011 there were around 224 but

that at this time there are only around 84 permitted traders operational while there are around 300 unpermitted traders operating at the PTI.

It's about twenty-four years ago..when we started this little business in Bellville. And then I met some of.. a few traders were here already. I think there were about three of them. And at that time, we just moved on like, say for another two, three years, and then the traders started increasing, you know, daily. You know how it goes, when I see you do this and I think okay, this is what I wanted for myself, then I'll just come... So in 2001 it was fifty-six traders. This is how much they increased over the years. (African Traders Association [ATA] Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

## 2.1. Access to Sources of Supply

An important aspect of the BSP for trading is its location in the city. One of the key determinants of a successful location for urban markets is their proximity to sources of supply (Dewar & Watson, 1990: 26). In this regard the trading activity at the Bellville Station Precinct is remarkably well located in close proximity to various sources of supply. It's location provides easy access to the important supply source of the Epping Fresh Produce Market which is 11,3km away and can be reached in 15 minutes by car via the M11. This is an important supply source for traders selling fresh produce.

Within the site itself, Durban Road provides an important source of supply for the traders selling snacks (mainly in the form of chips, chocolates, sweets, cool drinks, nuts and other similar food). Durban Road consists largely of wholesaler stores that provides convenient access to wholesale supplies in close walking distance from trading areas. The Durban Road wholesale suppliers also provide an important supply for many informal traders who operate in other areas of the city, mainly in the Metro South East (VRCID Urban Manager, 8 September 2017).

This close proximity to various sources of different types of supply makes this location highly conducive for a market environment that supports small scale traders who are the most economically stressed. This is because the locational elements allow small scale traders to be able to afford transportation costs due to close proximity to a range of supply sources (Dewar & Watson, 1990: 26). This locational advantage, specifically for food traders trading or using produce as well as snack traders, further supports the need to protect and and enhance the current market activity occurring in at the BSP.

## 2.2. Trading Precincts

The actual current pattern of trading differs in many places from the pattern created by the official City allocated trading spaces as indicated on the figure 18. The site itself can be understood in terms of the smaller trading precincts that make it up. This is indicated as the 'trader precincts' on the following map. There are traders that fall outside of the three main trading precincts but these areas capture the vast majority of those trading in the space.

### 2.2.1. Kruskal Avenue Precinct

This precinct is made up of around 80% clothing traders with a few fruit and vegetable traders (QPMS, 2015: 6). The majority of these traders offer a range of branded clothing and shoes which is a large drawcard of the area, especially on Saturdays. The trade occurs mainly in line with the City's official trading bays with only a few traders closer to the Middestad Mall entrance trading 'illegally' (Personal Observations). The traders in this Avenue function as an extension of the formal stores and local business in Kruskal Avenue as many traders in this area, specifically Somali traders, have links or are extensions of the more formal retail shops in the area. This emphasises that different traders operate at different levels of vulnerability. In a 2015 survey of the traders commissioned by the City, 98% of these traders communicated that their monthly turnover is less than R5000. This same survey identified that these traders do not adhere to official trading hours and that rain and high wind have a detrimental effect on traders business due to the lightweight nature of their structures. Better kiosk structures and better security were

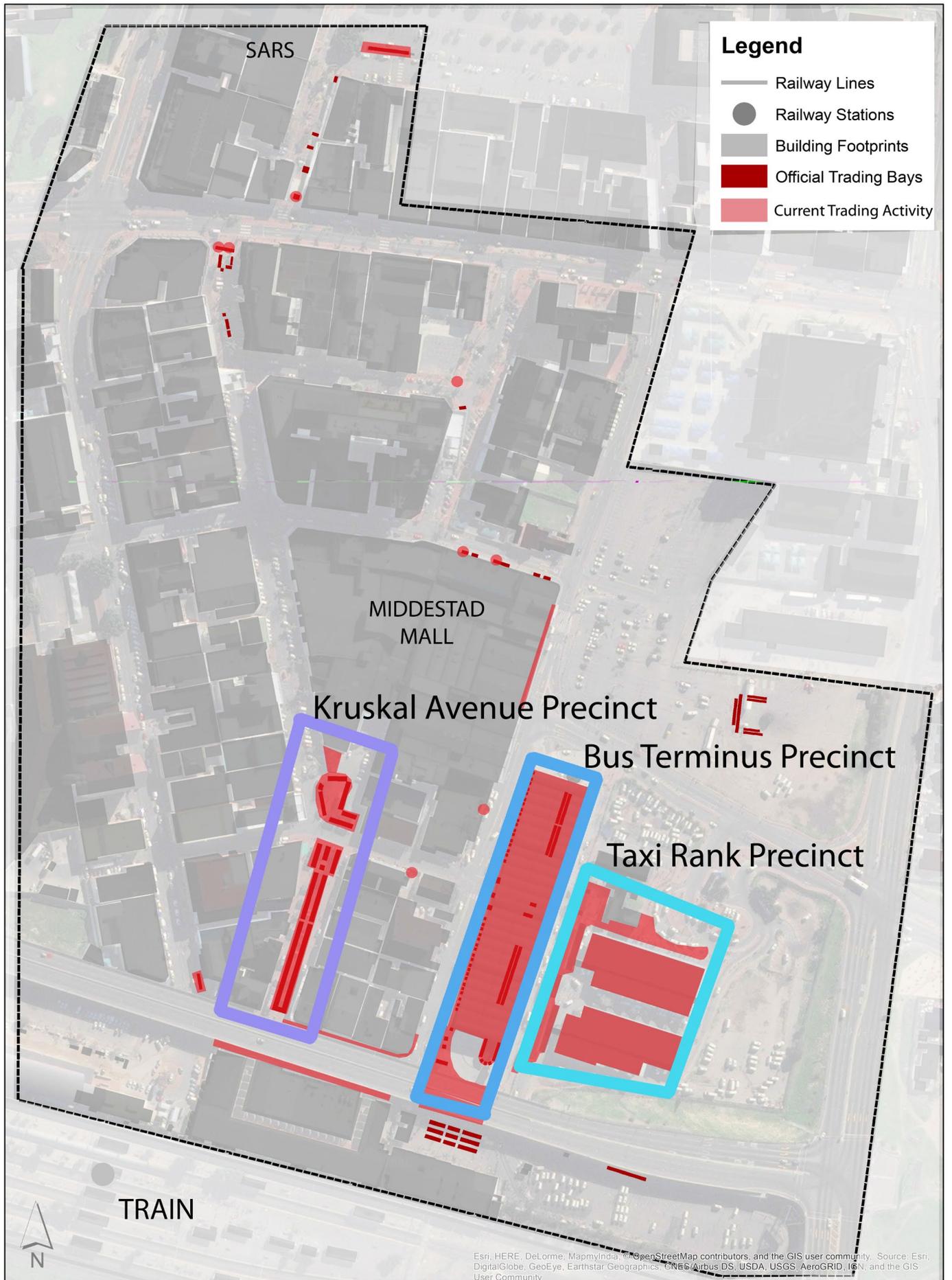


Figure 18 The Food Trading Landscape  
 (Source: Author, 2017: GIS Technical Library UCT and CoCT Data)



identified as the two biggest priorities for traders for improving their business (QPMS, 2015: 6; VRCID Urban Manager, 8 September 2017).

In this area users of the space including the public, formal stores and organisations identified high crime levels and drug trafficking as a priority issue that bothered them in the space with the leading idea of how to improve the space being “more police and more security”. The public also identified lighting issues in the avenue which negatively impact safety (QPMS, 2015: 7 & 8). The urban environment in this area experiences high levels of congestion, both in terms of vehicular traffic (especially delivery trucks), as well as pedestrian traffic. Walkways are limited by the amount of informal trade in combination with the congestion of pavements by ‘illegal’ traders and gamblers (QPMS, 2015: 9).



Figures 19, 20 & 21: Views of Kruskal Avenue (Author, 2017)

### 2.2.2. Golden Arrow Terminus and Surrounds Precinct

The majority of the traders active in this precinct are legal traders with up to date permits but some of these traders choose to trade away from their allocated bay, meaning that despite paying the monthly permit fees they are still categorised as 'illegal' traders. This choice to move away from allocated bays is primarily based on the poorly located nature of many of the official bays (Interviews, 2017). There is quite a big mix of trading in this area with the most common businesses being in fruit and vegetable, hair salons, traditional clothing, traditional medicine. This precinct also consists of a range of City built and allocated 'kiosks' which provide a typology for trading that is more formal and secure. Some of these kiosks are kitted out with electricity and running water for cooking, such as the kiosks on the border of the taxi rank, and thus play an integral role in the provision of accessible cooked meals for the users of the space (Personal Observations).



Figure 22, 23 & 24 : Trading activity in and around the bus terminus (housed under the yellow roof) (Author, 2017)

### 2.2.3. Taxi Rank Precinct

This area also experiences a huge variety of trader types. The mix is mainly between fruit and vegetable sellers, DVD sellers and kebab sellers that cook on small portable grills. The traders in combination with the volumes of both commuters and taxi's creates a space that experiences an extremely high degree of conflict between the pedestrians and vehicles. There are no official trading bays in the taxi rank area due to transport safety regulations of the city, yet the rank itself is full of traders. These traders experience an incredibly high degree of vulnerability due to the illegality of their trade. There is also an extreme degree of hostility between the legal and long standing traders in and around the bus terminus and the 'illegal' traders of the taxi rank (Personal Observations, Interviews 2017). This tension will be explored in more depth and from various perspectives in the following chapter.



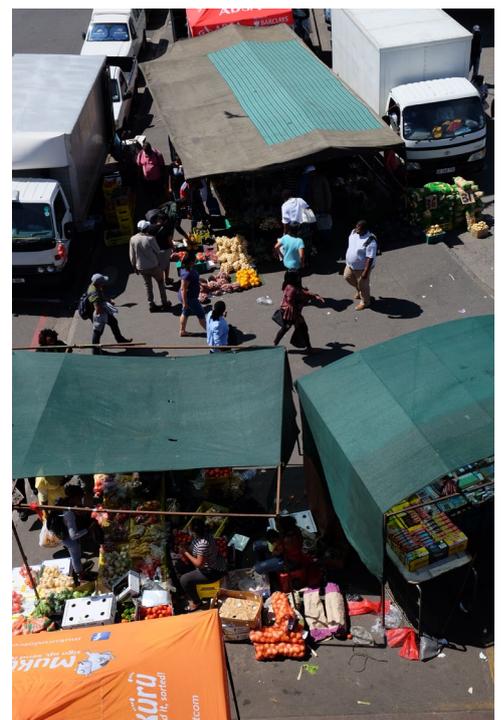
Figure 25, 26 & 27: Views of the taxi rank (Author, 2017)

### 2.3. Degrees of Informality

As discussed in the literature review chapter and in terms of understanding the space, it is essential to recognise the diversity in the informal sector, rather than understanding the sector as one homogenous group or sector (Battersby et al, 2016, Institute of Development Studies, 2015). At the BSP the degrees of informality vary drastically, as pictured below. The degree of formality is linked to a multitude of factors including legality as well as resources. Degrees of informality are often closely tied to degrees of vulnerability. In the Station Precinct the traders who experience the most vulnerability from law enforcement display the highest level of informality due to the need to be as mobile as possible in the case of a law enforcement sighting (Personal Observations; Interviews, 2017).



Figures 28 & 29 : Permanent City constructed kiosk with running water and electricity on the edge of the taxi rank (Author, 2017)



Figures 30 & 31 : Traders with semi-permanent self erected structures on the edge of the Golden Arrow Bus Terminus (Source: Author, 2017)



Figures 32 & 33: Impermanent, mobile and 'illegal' fish trader on on Charl Malan Street (Author, 2017)

### 3. Understanding access to food in terms of the elements of physical access, economic access and preference

The literature review has clearly outlined the need for a research focus on the dimension of access to food, due to the persistent neglect of this dimension (FAO, 2008; Sen, 1999; Skinner & Haysom, 2016: 1). Based on this argument this dissertation is focused on this dimension of food security, which is further unpacked into the elements of physical access, economic access and preference. This section provides a focused analysis of the way in which informal trade is supporting these elements through the assessment of the findings from my primary research in combination with the HCP survey in order to explore in relation to the framework of strategies identified through the literature review (Sen, 1999; Skinner & Haysom, 2016).

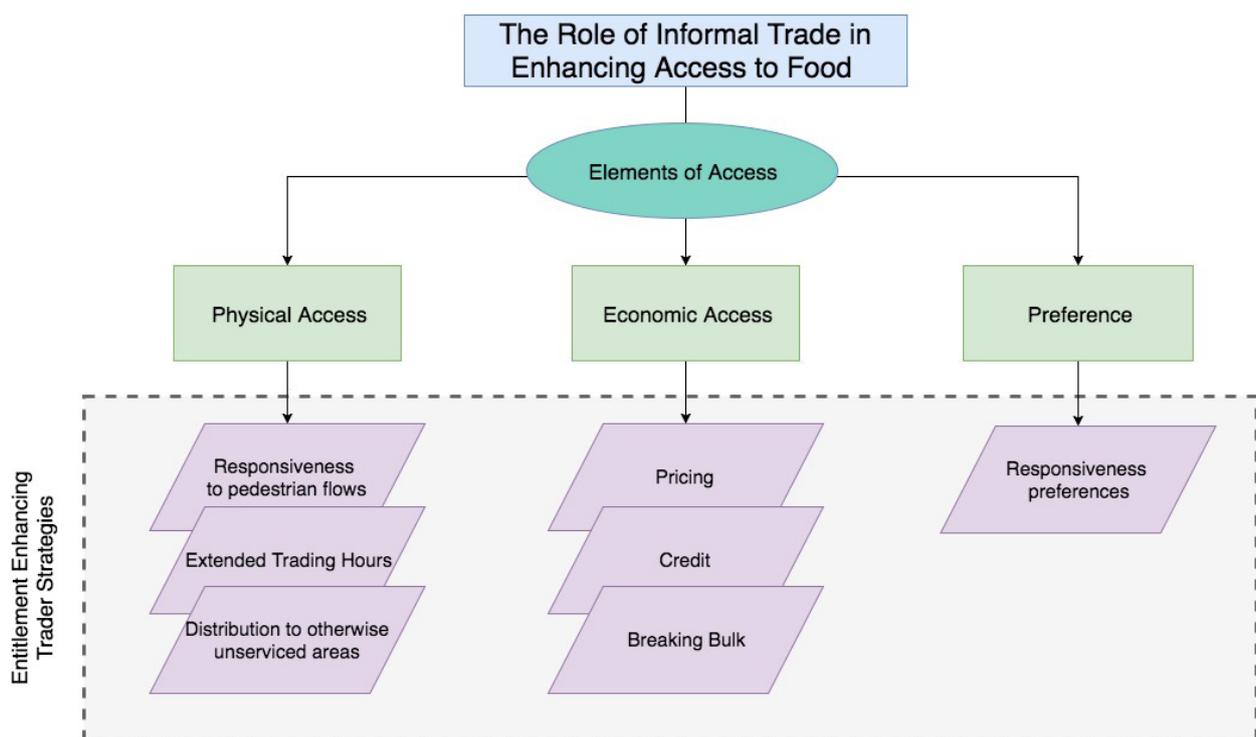


Figure 34: Framework for spatial planning role that leverages the contribution of informal trade (Author, 2017).

This is done with a recognition that there are other factors affecting people’s access to food outside of the role of informal trade, which include factors that relate more specifically to the realities and actual entitlements of the customer. For example, economic access to food depends heavily on household income, which in turn relates specifically to the broader socio-economic and political context and history of South Africa. This broader context includes the market, governance and policy setting in which access to food is facilitated. While noting that there are these other important elements of access at play, the scope of this dissertation is to look specifically at the role of informal food trade in supporting the elements of access to food, and what role planning can play in addressing this (Sen, 1999; Skinner & Haysom, 2016).

#### 4. Informal Trader Strategies as Entitlement Enhancement

I argue that due to the way in which these informal trader strategies support the various elements of access to food, they provide ‘entitlement enhancement’. I argue that informal food trade, due to its very nature, plays an important role in enhancing the entitlements that people are able to leverage in order to access food. This is done through the various strategies used by food traders.

This is based on the fact that for informal food traders, staying in business and earning a living means facilitating people’s access to food. In this way the very nature of the business is in line with supporting access to food. Through informal trade, it is possible for people’s entitlements to be enhanced through the various strategies employed by informal food traders to facilitate people buying their products. This is illustrated by the example of the strategy of providing credit. While Sen argues that income and access to money is an important part of a person’s entitlements, I argue that the use of credit provision allows the customers entitlements to be enhanced or to ‘go further’ as they are able to access food even without having money to pay for the food at that moment, but rather the trader provides them the possibility of accessing food based on the promise of being paid when the customer does have the money available. This example of the ‘stretching’ of the entitlements that a person can leverage in order to access is just one example of the ways in which the entitlements that people have to access food are enhanced through informal food trade.

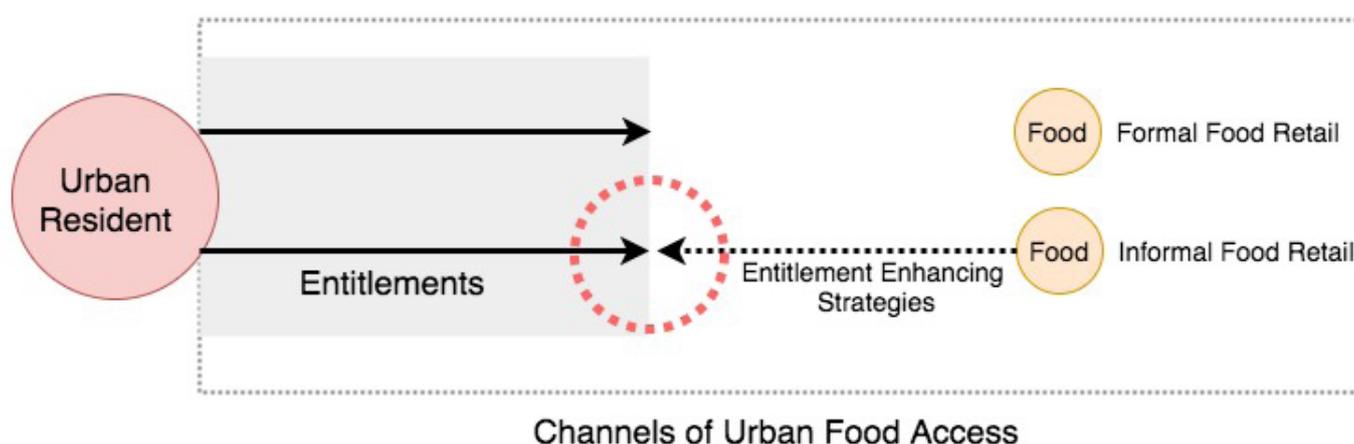


Figure 35: Saturday shopping at the BSP(Author, 2017).

Sen’s argument is also used to show that the entitlements that an individual or household can leverage in South Africa today relate to a myriad of historical, social and political processes. This means that current reality is that people are left to fend for themselves in accessing food, even though their entitlements, or ability to access food is based on various factors that often relate directly to the historical exploitation and oppression of people of colour by the state. The

recognition of this reality in combination with the acknowledgement of the historical role that planning has played in South Africa as divisive and oppressive, points to the need for a shift towards a future where the state and specifically the planning community take responsibility for enhancing people's entitlements in a myriad of ways. Supporting, protecting and maximising the existing role that informal food trade has taken in enhancing these entitlements is one of the crucial strategies that must be used to address the unjust imbalance in South African society of who has access to food. While not advocating that this is a fix-all solution, I argue that the complexity of the issue of food insecurity warrants a multifaceted strategy that encompasses a variety of tactics. I see supporting, protecting and enhancing the role of informal trade as a crucial part of this multifaceted strategy. The need for a multifaceted strategy also points to the need for more research into various other tactics that can be employed in South Africa and elsewhere to combat this issue that permeates our society.

## 5. Enhancing Physical Access to Food

This section explores the application of strategies identified in the literature which enhance physical access to food by the traders in the precinct. These are locating along commuter routes in response to pedestrian activity, the distribution of food purchasing opportunities to areas not serviced by the formal sector and the extension of trading hours beyond that of the formal retail options.

### 5.1. Responsiveness to Pedestrian Movement

The pedestrian mapping and observations revealed that the major flows of pedestrian traffic occur between the transport modes (rail, bus and taxi) rather than connecting to Voortrekker Corridor (Fieldwork, 2017). This reinforces the understanding of this space as primarily a space of mobilities, with commuters serving as the primary customer base for the traders. This also reinforces the importance of food traders providing conveniently accessible and affordable sources of sustenance along the time-consuming daily commute experienced by many economically stressed Capetonians.

Figure 36 overleaf depicts the pattern of pedestrian activity in the area, indicating the strong correspondence between the concentrations of pedestrian activity and the areas of informal trade. It also depicts the impermeable edges in relation to pedestrian activity and that the pedestrian activity clusters mainly in areas of active and permeable frontage, as well as around the public transport modes, and that the areas of informal trade mostly correspond directly with the concentrations of pedestrian flows. Figure 37 then breaks down the pedestrian movement according to daily weekday flows, with morning flows tending to come mainly from the taxi rank towards the other modes of transport as well as other points of interest in the area with the Shoprite in Middelstad Mall and the SARS specifically attracting pedestrians. The afternoon/ evening flows tend to be in the opposite direction. This map further illustrates how directly the areas of informal trade correspond with commuter flows through the space. This map also indicates area of pedestrian and vehicular conflict, which is common in the node due to the high volumes of both pedestrian and vehicular traffic.



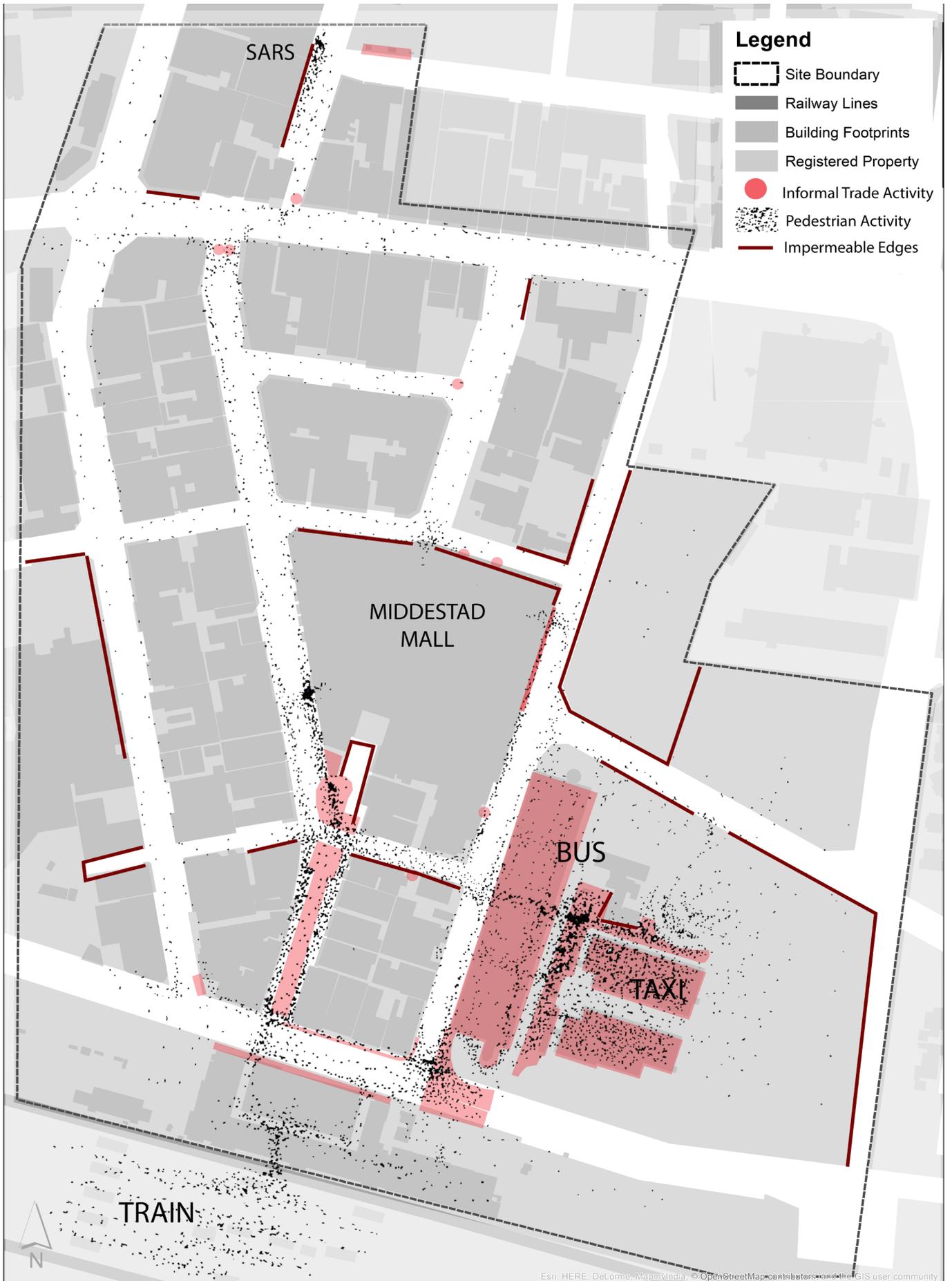


Figure36 Pedestrian Activity in Relation to Informal Trade  
 (Source: Author, 2017: GIS Technical Library UCT and CoCT Data)

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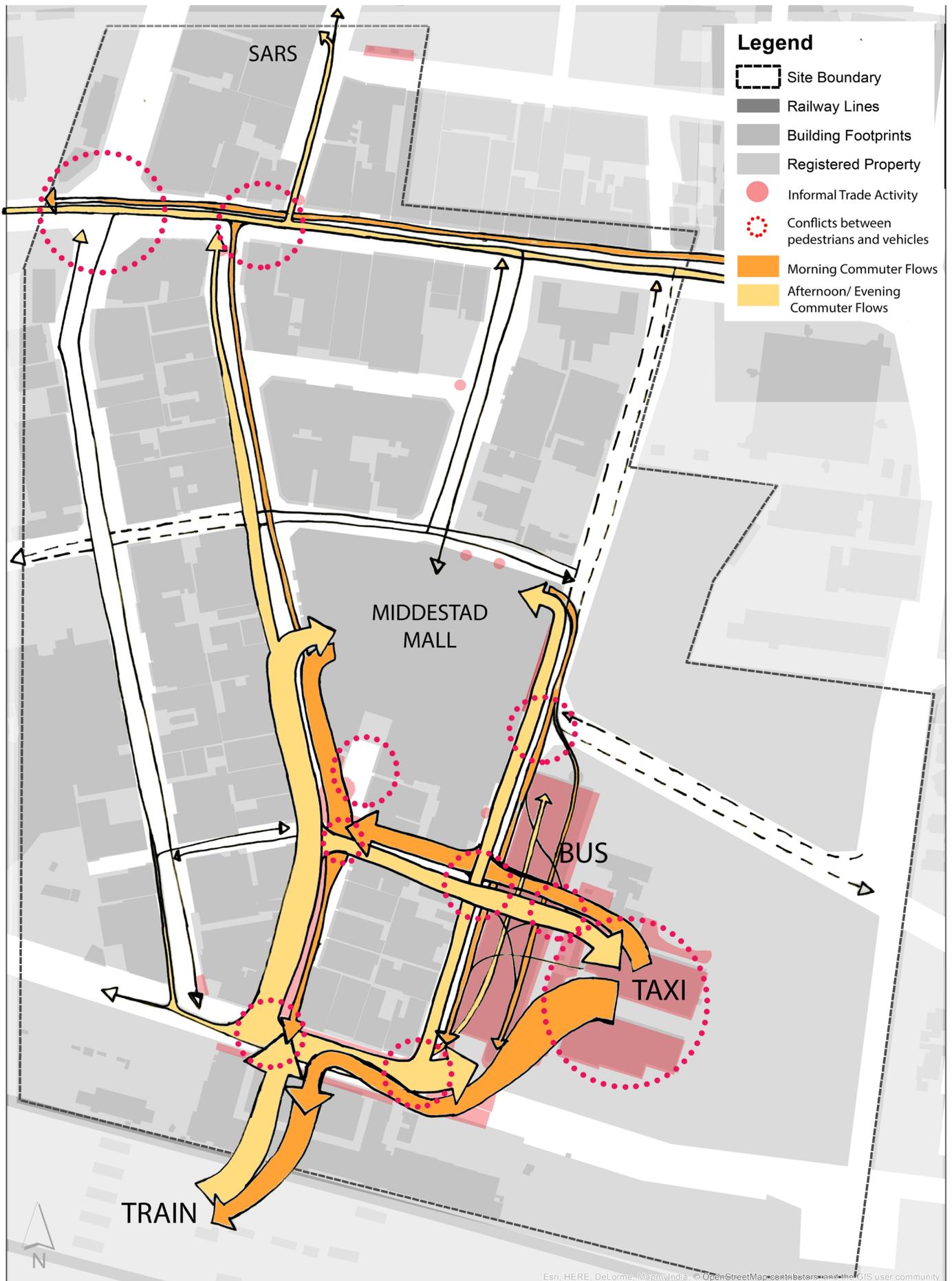


Figure 37 Pedestrian Flows and Conflicts  
 (Source: Author, 2017: GIS Technical Library UCT and CoCT Data)

The findings of the HCP survey also reflects that among the precinct traders there is prominent use of the strategy of locating in relation to pedestrian activity and commuter flows (see figure 38). This is illustrated in the results that 91% of the traders surveyed by the HCP listed either 'place with greatest number of customers,' 'due to passing traffic' or both when asked to identify their primary reasons for their businesses where they are currently located. While traders could list multiple reasons, the most frequently identified reasons were; firstly 'place with greatest number of customers', secondly 'close to public transportation' and thirdly 'due to passing traffic' (HCP Survey Data, 2017). This illustrates how dominant the considerations of pedestrian foot traffic are in the locational choices made by the food traders at the BSP.

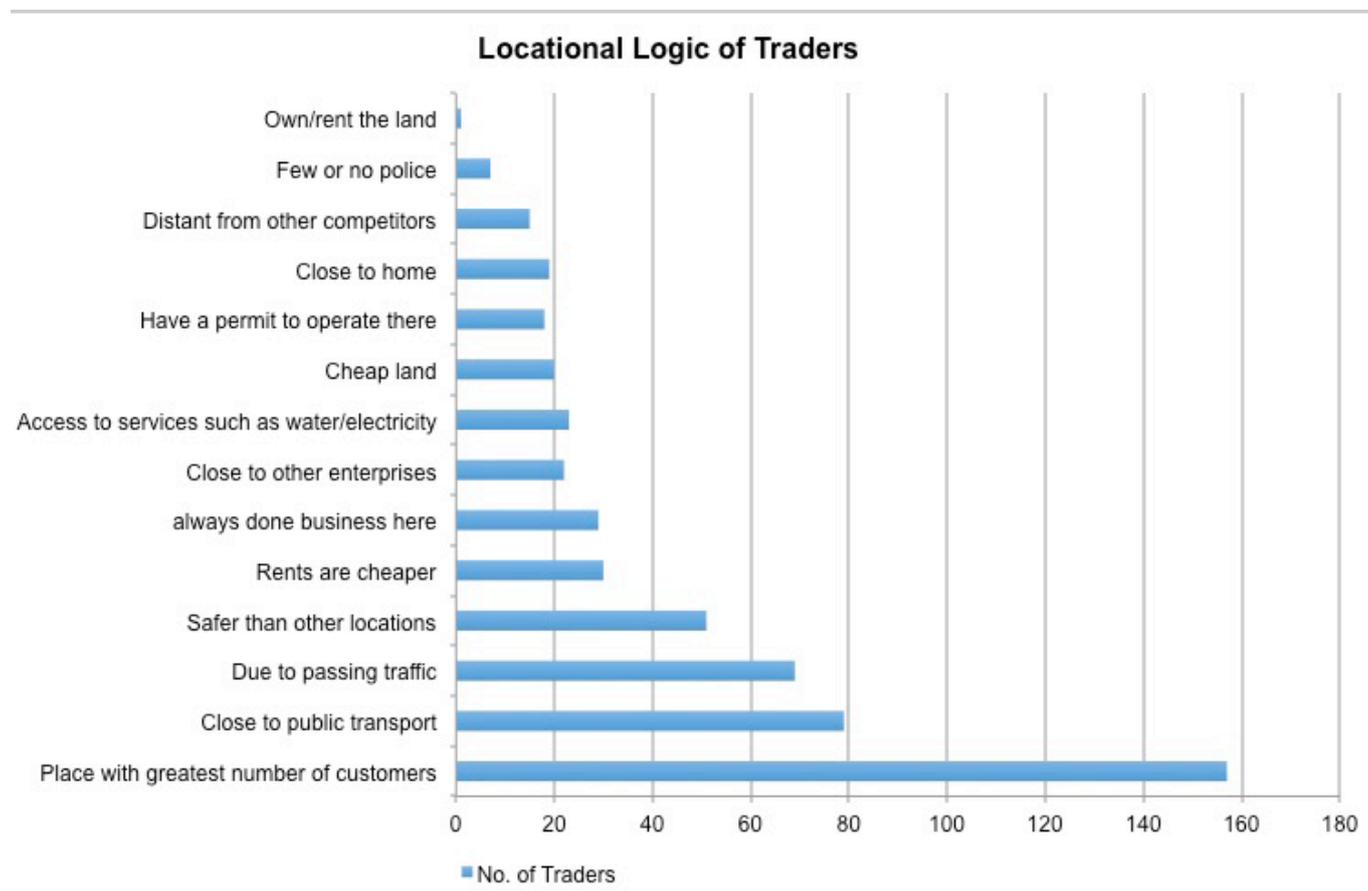


Figure 38: Bar graph of locational logic of traders (Source: Author, 2017 After HCP data, 2017)

Some traders even described the ways they find to leave their designated bays to locate in areas with more foot traffic. In doing this the traders risk vulnerability to fines and having their goods confiscated by law enforcement. Trader 3 describes how she is unsatisfied with the location of her allocated bay in relation to foot traffic and so waits until the afternoon when law enforcement goes home for the day to relocate to an area of high pedestrian traffic in response to the evening commuter flows;

“This side ... it’s quiet né, no business this side. So when it’s later on, past four, because now from this time law enforcement is too much né. So I can’t go that side né. Me I’m selling there at Shoprite. ... If I go early, law enforcement are going to take my stuff. So I got there ... around past four, something to five. Ja, it’s quiet. I can’t say even R50 a day fine. So me, I say uh-uh, let me make a plan, né. Then when it’s late, people they are coming from working... I’ve got there at Shoprite, at the door of Shoprite.” (Trader 3, 4 September, 2017).

The access to food retail along commuter routes also cancels out the potential cost that could be incurred for those who have to travel off their daily route to access food. The travel costs involved in accessing food have often been neglected in the understanding of economic access to food but in this case the convenient provision of a variety of food retail options along commuter routes

negates the need to pay extra transportation costs to access food.

The mapping of informal trading areas in relation to pedestrian activity as well as the results of the HCP survey and the descriptions of traders commitments to being close to pedestrian traffic all support the unsurprising finding that the strategy of locating in relation to pedestrian activity and commuter flows is being used to a large degree. This is tied intrinsically into the This illustrates that in the case of BSP the informal food traders are enhancing customers physical access to food through locating conveniently. This also points to the need for future proposals to take the fine grain location of informal trade into account due to its sensitivity to pedestrian flows.

## 5.2. Extended Trading Hours: The Temporal Dimension of Trading

This section will focus on the degree to which food traders at precinct facilitate physical access to food through extended trading hours. In order to understand the importance of these extended hours, it is essential to look first to the commuter flows in the space in order to understand when the space is activated with users.

Pedestrian movement and activity has a temporal element that relates directly to commuter cycles of the day, week and month. The conceptual diagrams below represent the cycles of pedestrian activity and by extension, trader business. The first diagram (figure 39) indicates the weekly cycle demonstrating that Saturday is the busiest day of the week and is also the day of the week when people come specifically to enjoy the space rather than just as commuters. This means that these pedestrians tend to stay for longer periods and are more willing to shop (Personal Observation). Some of these customers travel from other parts of the city specifically due to the perception that Bellville is a good shopping space both in terms of affordability and convenience

From our survey that we did, we discovered that people go to Bellville over weekends to go and shop; from all over. Khayelitsha.. wherever the train lines and the bus and the taxi runs run to. There's a perception that the clothing is specifically very much cheaper at Middestad Mall and at the traders. So that was quite a interesting finding, that a lot of people actually go there on the weekends to shop (SS, 8 September 2017).

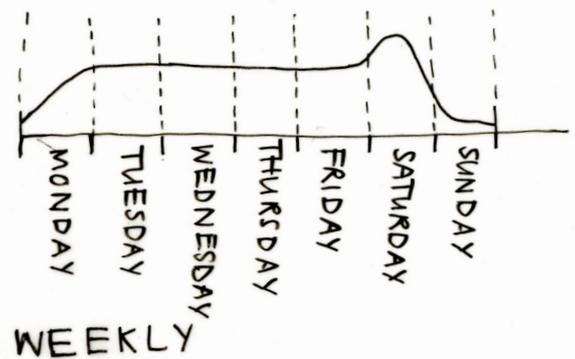


Figure 39: Weekly activity cycles for traders at the BSP (Author, 2017 Fieldwork)

The second diagram (figure 40) breaks down the rhythms of the space even further, into daily cycles. Based on field observations, the weekdays tend to follow the same daily pattern, with Monday being fractionally quieter than other days. The weekdays experience two peak times (morning and afternoon) which is closely linked to commuter patterns. In comparison the Saturday peak is from midday onwards and lasts for a longer period of time with people meandering more leisurely around the areas (Personal Observations).

With an understanding of the times at which people are using the space, table 1 illustrates how the traders often trade for a few hours on either side of when the formal retail options are operating described below;

The busiest times is in the morning, say around about six o'clock, when people arrive in Bellville, and 'til about say the latest, nine. From there, you will find their.. you know, the movements is.. becomes less. And then it will start again any time from say four o'clock, when people will now move back into the rank from the different workplaces that they comes from. Some from the train station, from the buses, taking taxi back home. (African Traders Association Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

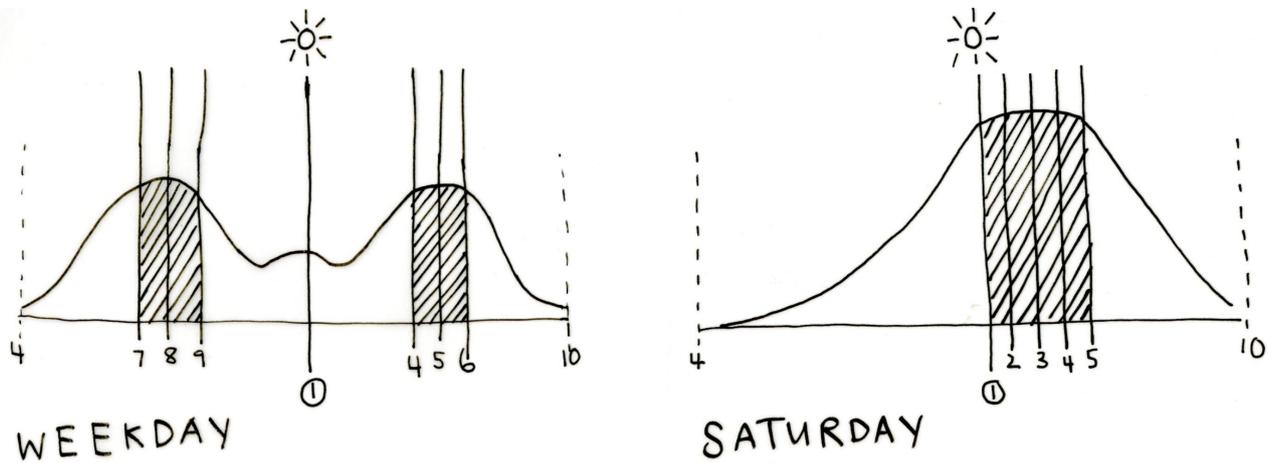


Figure 40 : Daily activity cycles for traders at the BSP (Author, 2017 Fieldwork)

The table includes only the traders who provided both their days and times of operation in the interviews I conducted, as well as the two main formal food retailers in the area. The table demonstrates how in some cases the traders are operating and thus providing access to food up to 2 or 3 hours before and 2 or 3 hours after the formal food retailers are operating. When viewed in context of the daily activity cycles above, this indicates that these are crucial times of day when the space is building up to and coming down from peak activity times. This illustrates how informal food traders are enhancing the physical access to food that people using the space have, through trading at times when other options to access food are not available.

Food Retailer	Trader 2	Trader 3	Trader 4	Trader 5	Trader 7	Trader 9	Shoprite (Middesta d Mall)	USave (Belstar Junction)
Days open	Mon- Sat	Mon- Sun	Mon- Sat/ Sun (depending if produce is sold on Sat)	Mon- Sun	Mon- Sun	Mon- Sat	Mon- Sun	Mon-Sun
Hours Open	6/7am-7pm	9am-7/8pm	6am- 6pm (used to trade until 8pm but feels unsafe)	6am-6pm	8/11am-8/9pm	7:30am-6pm	Mon-Fri 9-6 Sat 9-4 Sun 9-1	Mon-Fri 8-6 Sat 8-3 Sun 1-1

Table 1 : Food retailer trading days and times (Author, 2017 After Interviews and Personal Observations)

### 5.3. Distribution of Food to Unserviced Areas

In the case of the precinct this strategy can be seen on a microscale in terms of the trade occurring within the bus terminus and taxi rank. While formal food retail is located nearby, the convenience of having access to food along the commuter paths can be meaningful for an economically stressed and time pressured individual. This has already been touched on in the section regarding commuter flows.

It has already been identified in previous sections that the bus terminus and taxi rank are the areas of the biggest concentration of informal trade. This is significant as these are areas where formal food retail does not feature. The taxi rank traders are of specific interest because although they are trading illegally and in direct contradiction to the City's safety regulations for the rank, they are providing convenient access to a range of foodstuffs to the vast amount of commuters

who are using the rank. This in itself is causing tension between the legal and 'illegal' traders but this will be picked up in the next chapter. The reality is that due to the taxi rank regulations it is not possible for formal food retail or even permitted informal retail to directly serve the taxi rank, which means that these 'illegal' traders are providing access to food in that immediate area that could not be provided in any other form. Outside of the debate around legality, it is clear to say that on a microscale the informal food traders are providing access to food in areas otherwise unserved by formal food retail. This micro scale is significant in the context of economically stressed and time pressed pedestrian commuters. In this way the informal food traders are enhancing the physical access to food for the commuters using the space.

This section has outlined that the informal food traders of the BSP do support and enhance



physical access to food through the various strategies, which are employed to various degrees. The combination of the use of the strategies of locating along commuter routes in response to pedestrian activity, distribution of food purchasing opportunities to areas not serviced by the formal sector and the extension of trading hours beyond that of the formal retail options is specifically significant as it illustrates that physical access to food is being supported in various ways.

Figure 41: Taxi rank traders providing convenient access to fruit (Author, 2017)

## 6. Enhancing Economic Access to Food

This section presents the findings that relate to the element of economic access to food, specifically in relation to the degree to which strategies of pricing that involves small markups, the provision of credit and the breaking of bulk into smaller unit sizes.

### 6.1. Pricing

While previous research suggests that supermarkets are generally cheaper per unit of food, the research reveals that at least for fresh produce the informal traders are generally cheaper (Battersby et al, 2015: 1). Unlike large scale supermarkets who use huge markups on the products they sell, many informal traders have a relatively precarious livelihood and do not have the leeway to charge large markups. This is also due to the vast amounts of competition of multiple traders selling similar or the same products in a small radius. While this makes for difficult earnings for the traders, this is advantageous to economically stressed customers as it enhances the entitlements they can leverage to access food by making their money go further. Trader 3 explains the narrow profit margin that she gets from some of her produce;

If I take this box [of green peppers from Epping market] né, I take it how much? R80. My profit you know it is how much? R10. (Trader 3 , 4 September, 2017).

This small markup is reflected in the prices that the food items are sold at. The table below provides an overview of fruit and vegetable prices at the informal traders interviewed in comparison with the prices at the Shoprite at Middestad Mall. The prices recorded show an average of what the informal traders interviewed charge for these items, with most of them charging the same amount. The comparative price provided for Shoprite is provided for a quantity as close as possible to the quantity provided by the traders. This table clearly illustrates that the majority of items randomly chosen are considerably cheaper at the informal traders, with just spinach and carrots being

marginally cheaper. This price difference ranges from just R1 (or 10%) more expensive for onions at Shoprite to R24, 99 (or 250%) more expensive for peppers at Shoprite.

Food Item	Food Retailer	
	Informal Traders	Shoprite
Bunch of spinach	R10	R8
3 Peppers (mixed colours)	R10	R34,99
Sweet potatoes	R10	R17,99
Potatoes	R7	R12,69
Bananas	R10	R12,99
Tomatoes	R10	R14,99
Half cabbage	R6	R8-10
Carrots	R7	R6
Onions	R10	R11

Table 2 : Food price comparison (Author, 2017 After Personal Observations)

Customer 1 also indicated that he shops at both the formal retail as well as informal traders for the foodstuffs he needs with price being his main determinant

[I shop at both] the kiosk and the retail shops and.. because why? I normally go where there's.. where I can get the bargain. (Customer 1, 15 September 2017).

This illustrates that economic access to food is enhanced through the pricing of food items offered by the precinct's food traders through the small markup that is included. While this adds to the difficulty of the experience of making a living as a trader, it works in favour of economically stressed users of the space who are able to access food at lower costs than what supermarkets offer.

## 6.2. The Provision of Credit

The provision of credit was noted in the literature review as a specifically significant way that informal food trade caters to the food provision needs of the economically stressed urban population (Battersby et al, 2016: 21).

It is important to note that the results of the HCP show a disparity in the amount of traders offering credit to their customers. This is due to the fact that traders were asked two separate questions on whether they offered credit at different points in the interview. While 46% of traders surveyed responded that as part of their business they are currently giving credit to their customers when asked this question towards the beginning of the survey, only 29% of the same traders responded that they currently offer credit to customers as a business strategy when asked at a later stage in the survey. While noting this discrepancy, the important thing that can be drawn from the result is that between 29% and 46% of traders surveyed offer credit to customers under the right conditions. This means that the existence of informal food trade in the space provides the opportunity for customers to access credit that is not possible to access from formal retailers such as supermarkets.

Figure 42 displays the 46% of traders that indicated they offer credit in the HCP survey (when asked towards the beginning of the survey). This shows that while the data is unclear in indicating that between 29% and 46% of traders surveyed offer credit, it also indicates that those that indicated that they do offer credit are well distributed across the precinct. The map is based on the first question about credit that was asked during the survey which asked "as a part of your business at this food enterprise, are you currently giving credit to your customers?".

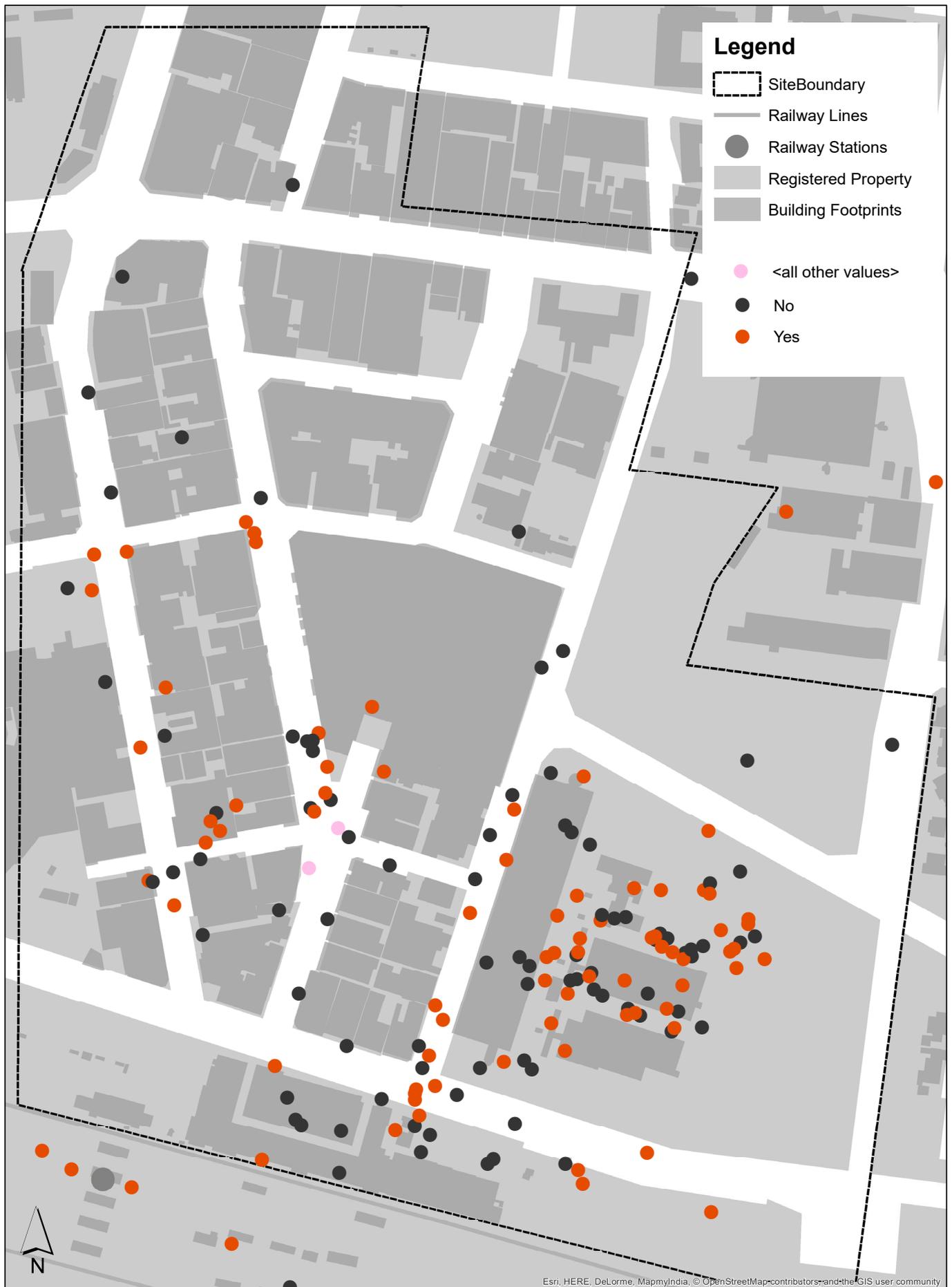


Figure 42 The distribution of informal food traders offering credit to customers (Source: Author, 2017: GIS Technical Library UCT and CoCT Data)

This means that as a customer that needs to access food but lacks the capital at that time, there are multiple options for traders who are willing to offer credit under the right conditions. This means that economically stressed consumers using the space have the opportunity to make use of a credit system that facilitates to access food even at times of the month when you do not have direct access to cash. The conditions that allow customers to access credit are based on establishing a relationship with a trader to build trust. For a commuter who passes through the space regularly to access work (possibly twice a day, every week day in the case of a weekday job), there is a strong possibility of establishing the type of relationship that would allow access to credit.

So while there are specific conditions to accessing credit as a customer and while not all traders offer credit, it is important to note that informal trade in the precinct provides the possibility of accessing credit from a variety of types of informal food retail, whereas formal food retail does not. This demonstrates that in terms of the strategy of credit provision, at the precinct the informal food traders are supporting greater economic access to food for economically stressed urban residents.

### 6.3. Breaking Bulk

The pricing section already alluded to the fact that informal food traders often buy in bulk quantities from wholesalers or large markets (depending on the products) and break up the large quantities into smaller units. The images below illustrate the use of small plastic bags to separate out specific quantities of fruit and vegetables, usually into quantities of 6 items per packet. The use of this strategy was observed to be used by all fruit and vegetable traders in the area as they all sell in these quantities. This points to the fact that although difficult to quantify the exact extent of the use of this strategy by the Bellville Station Precinct informal food traders, observations indicate that almost all food traders in the space are using this strategy. This demonstrates that this strategy of enhancing economic access to food is being used.



Figure 43 & 44 : Fresh produce bought in bulk from Epping market and broken into smaller unit sizes for resale (Author, 2017)

This section has outlined that the informal food traders of the precinct are using the strategies that facilitating greater economic access to food. These strategies are; pricing that involves small markups, the provision of credit and the breaking of bulk into smaller unit sizes. While these strategies may be used to varying extents, they are being used and thus greater economic access to food is being facilitated. This is specifically significant considering that economic access to food is one of the biggest challenges to food security.

## 7. Enhancing Preference

It's just like if you buy here, then it's like.. if you buy food there it's like buying.. it's like being at

home. Because like it's house food and so on, you see. Yes, because why? They get home made food here and some of.. she cater for people that wants cooked food and cater for people who wants like chips and chicken and fast food, and someone that just want.. you can have breakfast, lunch and supper at Auntie Margie's kitchen. (Customer 1, 15 September 2017).

The kiosk trader mentioned above, indicated herself that despite not being Xhose herself, she cooks a range of Xhose dishes because she has identified over the years that for many people using the taxi rank that is their preference. As indicated by the trader above, she provides these more traditional dishes in conjunction with various other rice dishes as well as more 'fast food options' (such as 'slap chips'). She also described making a pasta dish a few times a week because she had some regular customers who enjoy pasta dishes (African Traders Association Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

The traders interviewed displayed an acute awareness of their vulnerability to the preferences of customers. When asked about his motivation for stocking the combination of spinach and yoghurt, one trader responded that he does not rely on selling a set range of products but rather chooses to sell "what I find [at Epping produce market] and then what the customers want" (Trader 7, 15 September 2017). When asked a similar question about the produce she stocks, another trader responded "Because I know, every day they want to cook every day, ja. That's why I decide [to sell vegetables]" (Trader 3, 4 September, 2017). Both of these explanations illustrate that traders, based on the very nature of their enterprises, are conscious of the preferences of the customers of that space.

While this provides a picture of a broader attempt by traders to be responsive to the food preferences of their customers, these preferences are also accommodated on a more personal level. The following pie chart (figure 45) illustrates that of the food traders who were surveyed by HCP who have regular customers, just under two thirds of them (62%) currently stock items especially for these specific customers (HCP Survey, 2017). This indicates a very direct interpersonal link where customers can shape their access to food items through regular patronage of a specific trader.

Portion of traders with regular customers who stock items especially for these customers



Figure 45: Portion of traders with regular customers who currently stock food items especially for their regular customers (Author, 2017 after HCP Survey)

While it is difficult to quantify the degree to which the element of preference is being supported at the precinct, the findings indicate that the preferences of the informal food traders' customers are taken very seriously into consideration and catered to a great deal by these traders. This is largely due to the nature of business in which it makes economic sense to cater to the preferences of a customer base in order to ensure the highest possible sales, and thus profits. This illustrates how

the nature and flexibility of informal food retail is tied to the economic need to respond to customer preferences, thus supporting customers access to food options that complement preferences.

## 8. Conclusion

This chapter has provided the first section of the findings and has explored the extent to which informal food traders at the Bellville Station Precinct use the responsive strategies identified in the literature review to facilitate access to food. The findings from the research illustrate that informal food traders of the Bellville Station Precinct are making use of the full array of these strategies that support access to food for the users of the space. This chapter has illustrated how these strategies are applied to varying but often quite high degrees in the Precinct. It has also outlined how the use of these various strategies means that these traders are supporting physical, economic and preferential access to food. It can therefore be said that these traders are playing a vital role in supporting access to food through enhancing entitlements of the users of the space. Through established that the Bellville Station Precinct traders are supporting access to food, this chapter has provided the foundation for the following chapter which turns to the current challenges that are hindering the food traders in fulfilling this role to their full potential. The following chapter also looks to the current role of planning in relation to this role.

## Challenges Faced by Traders and the Analysis of the Role of Spatial Planning

### 1. Introduction

Chapter 5 has outlined that the informal food traders at the Bellville Station Precinct are enhancing the access to food for economically stressed users of the space. They employ various strategies that enhance these users entitlements to access food in terms of physical access, economic access and preference. However, the literature review has outlined the way in which an array of challenges faced by traders can limit the degree to which the traders are able to fulfil their potential contribution to food access for economically stressed urban residents. This is through challenges to their business determining the way in which they can function including frequency, type and quantities of supply purchases (Battersby et al., 2016: 18).

Based on a recognition of this contribution as well as an understanding that these traders face a plethora of challenges, I argue that spatial planning must play a leading role in supporting and enhancing this crucial contribution. In line with this argument, this chapter aims to respond to the second research question which asks 'how can this contribution be protected and further enabled through spatial planning'. To answer this question, this main research question is unpacked further into three subsidiary questions

- 'What are the challenges and obstacles currently faced by traders in trying to fill this role?',
- 'What is the current role of spatial planning in supporting the traders?'
- 'In what ways can spatial planning play a supportive and enhancing role in order to fully leverage the contribution of informal food trade?'

The chapter that follows will be structured according to these questions; the first section focuses on the various systemic issues that are having a significant bearing on the traders and the second section will move on to the role of spatial planning. For the section on spatial planning, the current role that is being played is analysed according to a framework for a supportive and enabling spatial planning role. This framework is composed of the criteria established through a variety of sources in the literature review and simultaneously responds to subsidiary research questions two and three. This section will provide a focus on the spatial and management challenges that the food traders at the BSP currently face.

### 2. The prevalence of systemic Issues

The research revealed that there are various systemic issues playing out that are drastically infringing on the informal food traders ability to fully realise their role in supporting urban food security. Importantly the challenges faced by the informal traders interact and compound, making the situation ever more dire. The extract below provides an introduction to the complexity and interaction of a variety of challenges impacting of the functioning of the informal food traders. This quote specifically highlights how criminal activity such as drug trading, lack of responsiveness from the City and the tension between permitted and unpermitted traders all compound in the daily operations of selling food at the Precinct;

This is what happened here, we're sitting with a lot of drug dealers, which I'm not scared of talking about, because I'm sitting in big meetings, with City of Cape Town, with their officials and putting

this, about every time when I attend these meetings, the very same grievances on the table. And as I said before, I know they try to sort these things out. But the time that they take, it is above my.. It is not.. you know, just I think, five minutes before you arrived here, we had a fight here with the drug dealers. And people just have to run. So this is what happens around us, we're sitting with people not paying rent, making a lot of money, getting all the commuters getting out of the taxi, they're right there. Our people that is the permitted traders who pay rent every month, they have to sit in their little place and wait for a customer. And I'm talking about myself here. People come walking here every day with food, and they come stand right in front of our places and do their thing. (ATA Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

The following section will highlight the key systemic issues that the research revealed are impacting on the informal food traders at the BSP.

## 2.1. Precariousness of Livelihoods

Sometimes you win, sometimes you lose. But you have to do it... from the hand to the mouth, you see that is how we live. (Trader 8, 15 September 2017)

When understanding the array of challenges facing informal traders, it is crucial to realise that many of these traders, although to varying degrees, experience a high level of precariousness of their livelihoods. While not all traders live in this 'hand to mouth' way as different enterprises experience different levels of success and formality, this precariousness is prevalent in the informal economy and relates to the strong link between the informal economy and urban poverty. This illustrates how informal food traders while supporting urban food access often experience great difficulty in performing this function. These difficulties are in turn often related to elements and intersections of elements of trader identity, which will be explored below. An acknowledgement of the severity and range of challenges to these traders' businesses points to the need for spatial planning to support traders through all means possible in order to maintain the vital function that these traders are serving.

## 2.2. When Identity is Bad for Business: an Intersectional Understanding of the Experience of Trading

In looking to the lived realities of the traders, it is important to first premise that while the findings illustrate that there are common challenges faced by many of the traders, challenges are also faced to different degrees depending on degrees of vulnerability, which in turn is intrinsically linked to identity. The findings reveal that the vulnerability of the food traders in the space is deeply tied to intersections of gender and nationality specifically but that there are intersections of both disadvantage and privilege experienced by the array of traders.

### 2.2.1. The Migrant Trader Experience: the Prevalence of Xenophobic Attitudes and Tendencies

Migrant entrepreneurs are often vilified in South Africa, with disdain and prejudice from officials validating hostility from people on the ground (Crush, Chikanda & Skinner, 2015: 2). In the context of the BSP, there is a high degree of tension around nationality, with prejudice towards foreign nationals rife both between the traders themselves as well as in the attitude of the City towards the traders. This is specifically towards the Somali traders of Kruskal Avenue as well as the array of other African foreign nationals who are mostly trading without permits around the taxi rank. So in addition to the on-the-ground social tension and prejudice that these traders experience, they are also faced with an endemic issue of an array of legal and regulatory obstacles to the success of their enterprises as well as a culture of impunity from officials and law enforcement (Crush, Chikanda & Skinner, 2015: 3; Personal Observations; Interviews, September 2017).

Trader 7 who is Zimbabwean explains the vulnerability he faces regarding difficulty accessing a trading permit which in turn results in vulnerability to exploitation from other traders and vulnerability to law enforcement. These vulnerabilities compound to work against the success of his business and can all be traced back to his identity as a foreign national;

Like me, I'm renting this place, it's not mine. The City... they are not offering us permits because we are foreigners. So we end up renting. So maybe the owner can say, today I want to put my things

there, and you will be chased all over, Law Enforcement. So we are facing a lot of difficult as a foreigners (Trader 7, 15 September 2017).

This illustrates the way in which the prejudice that this particular, and many other foreign traders in the space experience, directly hinders business and thus the contribution to food security.

Trader 1 who is Somalian indicated a further vulnerability to physical violence, outlining that he had come to set up business in Bellville after experiencing two violent attacks trading in what he referred to as the 'locations' (Trader 1, 4 September 2017). This is in line with the findings of research by Gastrow and Amit (2012) who identified that many of their Somali respondents had relocated either to Bellville, Mitchells Plain or to other informal settlements in Cape Town in the wake of experiencing crime (Gastrow & Amit, 2012). This shows a pattern across the City with Somalian traders facing violence in the daily operation of their businesses. This also points to the perception as Bellville as at least slightly safer than other areas of Cape Town for Somalian traders, despite the fact that the research revealed that prejudice towards foreign national is present in the precinct.

The tension between South African and foreign nationals was further illustrated in a meeting between the CoCT and the informal traders of Kruskal Avenue which was held to update traders on the progress of the upgrading plans. In this meeting, a South African trader expressed deep frustration and anger with the fact that a volunteer translator from the Somalian traders was conveying what was being said by the two City officials to his Somalian peers who had a limited grasp of English. He took issue specifically with the way in which the meeting was being conducted during business hours and therefore the extra time spent on translations he expressed to be unfair on his business, stating "this meeting is just for the Somalians" (Kruskal Avenue Upgrade Informal Trader Information Session, 27 September 2017). While it seems in line with the core principle of a public participation meeting to ensure that all stakeholders can understand the information that is being communicated to them, the South African trader asked of the Officials why they were wasting the time of the South African traders and went as far as to suggest that in the future separate meetings be held for the Somalian traders. The series of heated comments highlight that the design of the public participation process which entails meeting during the operational hours of the traders creates the conditions for inter trader tension when translations or further explanations are needed to ensure clear understanding. It further illustrates that South African traders feel a deep frustration that can, in the right conditions, bubble over into aggression, frustration and disrespect for the livelihoods and rights of these foreign nationals.

A common reality of many migrant traders, whether they are from other areas of South Africa or other countries, is the added responsibility of providing for multiple family dependents back home. This means that there is another important dimension to the contribution of these migrant traders to food security, as they are providing the means to feed many more family members outside of role they are playing at the BSP.

[I trade] Every day, ja. For me to say.. you see, I'm twenty-seven years, so.. but I'm feeding eleven people in my country [Zimbabwe]. So if I face any trouble here, they will be crying also at home. So they must hear our cry, they must give us working permits... and also selling permits. And our.. give us, or maybe some stands for us, put it on my name. (Trader 7, 15 September 2017)

This section has highlighted how national identity influences the ease of trading, but this is just one element of identity that determines the experience of trading. Gender is another key element that influences the daily experience of trading.

### 2.2.2. The Female Trader Experience: the Weight of Gender Dynamics in the Urban Marketplace

...[F]or females it is very difficult. Because look, you've got children at home. You've got your house... most of these ladies are really single parents. You have to see in the morning that your kids are okay, they're safe at school... And then... you don't have transport of your own, so they have to take a taxi to Bellville. And then you have to go to the market to get some goods for you to

work on for the day. That, you still need to hire a car. So yes, and you sit here some days, nothing happen. You know how many of these traders sometimes come to me, who also suffer, to ask me for taxi fare home... Sometimes I cry with them. It is not easy for a woman to sit here and trade. (African Traders Association [ATA) Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

This clearly indicates the way in which the gender identity of a trader is another key element of identity that shapes their experience of trading. It highlights that as a female trader you have extra responsibilities to perform daily which defines the way that female traders are able to operate their businesses. For example, the role of ensuring that children get safely to school will impact on the time at which it is possible for a trader to begin operating.

Being a female trader can also mean increased vulnerability to harassment and exploitation. When asked if it is more difficult to be a female trader, trader 4 responded

Yes. You have to have that part of being a risk, if you are here, I tell you, because if you are that kind of a person who's so soft, everyone will step on your head. Even the customers sometimes... they start swearing at you, calling you names. So sometimes you just watch, you keep quiet, but the customers that.. the more you keep quiet, the more he's provoking you (Trader 4, 12 September 2017).

This illustrates that the gender identity of a trader may play into their vulnerability to exploitation and harassment even by customers and thus the extent to which they are able to fulfil their potential role in supporting food access through their business.

### 2.2.3. The Intersection of Multiple Dynamics of Identity

Gender and nationality have been pulled out in this section as key elements of identity that arose through the interviews as having a large bearing on the ability of food traders to conduct their business to its full potential at the BSP. It is essential to indicate that a multitude of elements of identity intersects and result in the people's lived realities, including the experience of trading. While these issues are related more to systemic societal issues that are outside of the direct sphere of influence of spatial planning, it is essential to recognise that these societal inequalities are presenting major challenges to informal food traders in BSP fulfilling their contribution in urban food security. While spatial planning may have no direct over these systemic prejudices in our society, for example, the vulnerability of women to harassment, planners should ensure that the design of both spaces as well as systems to manage those spaces are sensitive to and minimise to the largest possible degree the existence of these inequalities and dynamics and instead maximise the safety and equality of traders.

While outside of the scope of this dissertation, the drastic impact that both gender and national identity are having on the experience of trading at the BSP is an area for deeper potential future research.

### 2.3. The Prevalence of Criminal Activity

[Crime and lack of safety is] a very big issue, and they increase daily. It is like, against us, you know. The ...the Americans and the Scorpions, and the.. you name them. That.. this is my territory. You cannot come sell here, you know. And they fight, you know. I saw people fighting. It's bad. My poor traders has to run. They have to leave their places, and then the skelms, the tsotsis, the thieves, move in and they take the poor people's stuff. Because that is a chance for them to benefit for their own, you know, whatever they have, drugs and go sell the stuff to somebody else, you know. (ATA Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

Despite being a well used and activated space, the Precinct experiences a high level of crime, which is indicated on the Voortrekker Road Crime Incident Map for 1 July 2016 - 30 June 2017 (see figure 46). The level of crime ranges from petty to organised with a high presence of pickpocketing, mugging, drug trafficking as well as incidents of murder. The range of criminal activity occurring adds to the perception and experience of vulnerability for users of the space, which includes both customers and traders. The QPMS survey of the Kruskal Avenue section of the site identified poor lighting as a key issue in the perception of safety (QPMS, 2015). Both the crime itself as well as the perception of being unsafe hinder the functioning of the traders business and limits their ability

to make use of the food access enhancing strategies (discussed in the previous chapter), thus limiting their ability to support food security of the users of the space.

Crime provides a challenge to the informal traders in multiple ways. Trader 3 describes here how it can directly affect the business through theft of stock; “Ja sometimes they come and take our stuff when I’m not here, I’m going there, then they come and take our stuff, ja.” (Trader 3, 4 September 2017). Crime can also affect the amount of customers, as people may begin avoiding spaces based on perceptions of safety. When considered in conjunction with the foot traffic sensitive nature of informal food trade, this can be drastic for these businesses.

When asked about the biggest issues that affect her business trader 4 answered;

Crime. Drug dealers. All sort of crime in Bellville, I tell you. Because sometimes you must be alert, even if the customer’s standing in front of me, I must watch when a man is passing here, because they take from in the bags, from the pocket. So you must scream, you must shout at them, and the others they come to threaten you... you are scared.. And then there’s these people that are selling drugs, when they fight, the foreigners, ooh. It’s like when we talk like that, it’s like we are causing this xenophobia what, what. But it’s.. they are getting out of hand. You see, as they are standing there, they are selling drugs. And when the customer maybe comes to one of them and it’s somebody else’s customers, they start fighting. When they start fighting, they throw stones. So I’m not safe, customers are not safe. There are customers that sometimes, I met them in Cape Town, they say, ooh, for a year I don’t come to Bellville, because I don’t like what is happening in Bellville. (Trader 4, 12 September 2017).

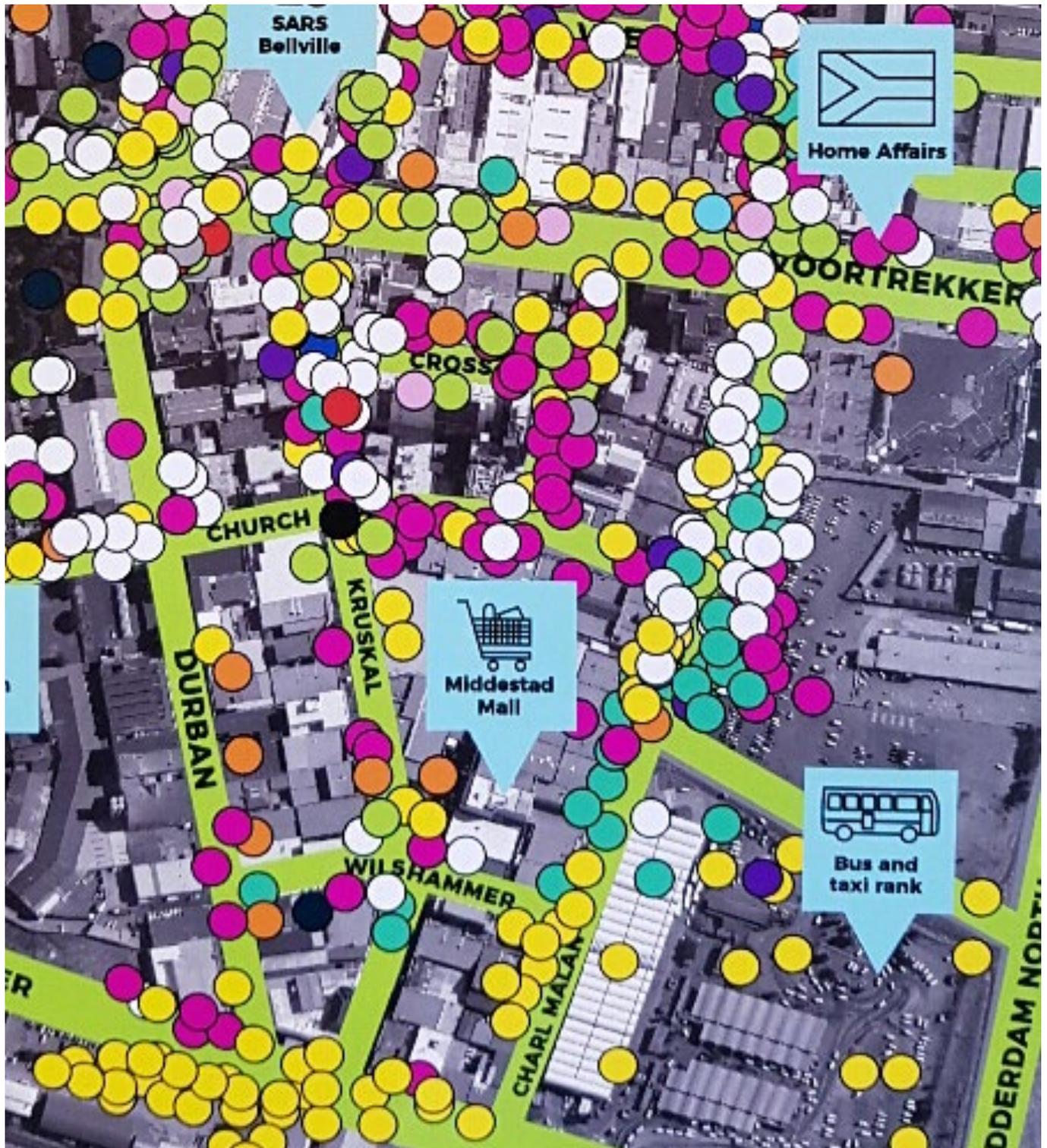
It is reiterated from the customer perspective that prevalence of these activities is a key concern for potential buyers “If [the City] can firstly and firstly, if they can take away all this guys that’s... the druggies. And if they can.. and the people that sells like, illegal stuff man.” (Customer 1, 15 September 2017).

While the strategy of extended business hours has been discussed in the previous chapter, the systemic issue of crime limits or entirely prevents informal traders use of these various strategies that support access to food for economically stressed urban residents. Trader 4 discusses how she has had to start packing up and going home earlier due to crime in the area where she is staying;

Ah, these days you start [packing up] by half-past five to six. Because you know mos it’s dangerous these days in the location. But before, hai, we used to pack even eight o’clock. Ja, because there’s still people waiting for the bus long... people that are still buying, but you’re scared when you reach the location, the skollies are waiting for you. So you have to be early to go home. (Trader 4, 12 September 2017)

In this case trader 4 has been forced to change her operating hours and thus the extent of her role in supporting access to food after formal food retail is closed, for fear of her own safety on the other side of her own commute home. This illustrates that the presence of crime across the city hinders the role of informal food traders in supporting access to food.

The severity of criminal activity at the BSP is clearly infringing drastically on the ability of food traders to employ the entitlement enhancing strategies that dictate them supporting food access. This is intrinsically linked to the way in which the space is policed, which is discussed later on in the chapter.



(Source: GTP, 2017)

Figure 46: Greater Tygerberg Partnership Crime Mapping July 2016 - 30 June 2017

ABANDONED/CONFISCATED TROLLIES	ROBBERY
ASSAULT	SEXUAL ACTS IN PUBLIC
BURGLARY	SOLICITATION (PROSTITUTION)
ILLEGAL STRUCTURES OR SQUATTERS	SUBSTANCE ABUSE
ILLEGAL TRADERS	THEFT
MALICIOUS DAMAGE TO PROPERTY	KIDNAPPING
MURDER	ARSON
	INTIMIDATION
	ATTEMPTED RAPE
	ATTEMPTED MURDER

### 3. The Role of Spatial Planning in Supporting the Contribution of Informal Trade to Urban Food Access

This section moves on to analysing the role of spatial planning in supporting informal food trade in the case of the BSP. This is done by analysing the findings through the framework for a supportive spatial planning role (figure 47). This framework was established through an iterative process of refining what was outlined in the literature with what emerged from the research. By using these criteria for assessing the current reality of the space, this section simultaneously responds to the research questions of ‘what is the current role of spatial planning in supporting the traders?’ as well as ‘In what ways can urban planning play a supportive and enhancing role to fully leverage the contribution of informal food trade?’.

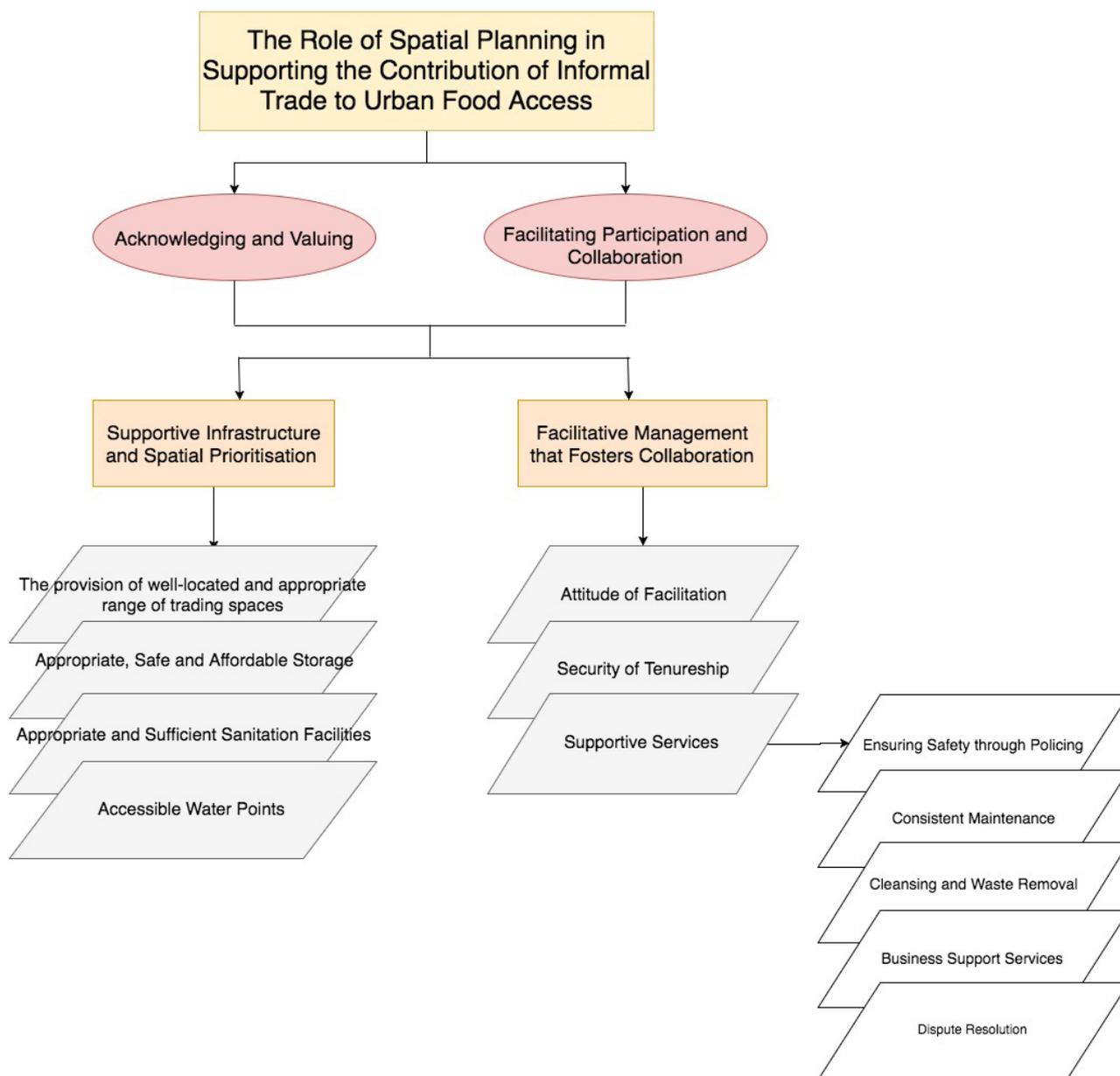


Figure 47: Framework for the Role of Spatial Planning in Supporting the Contribution of Informal Trade (Author, 2017).

At this point, it is important to note that the City and the spatial planning element of the City are not the same, as spatial planning is one function of the City. However, for the purposes of this dissertation, the current role that the City is playing in this space is considered as a spatial planning role. This is based on a wide-ranging and integrative understanding of spatial planning outlined in the literature review. Based on this understanding, what research participants understand the role of the City is equated in my research with the role of spatial planning.

### 3.1. Acknowledging and Valuing the Contribution of Informal Food Trade to Urban Food Access

In order for planning to play a supportive role to informal food trade on the basis of the contribution that is made to urban food security, there first needs to be a recognition of this contribution, based on a deep context-specific understanding of the way in which informal trade is performing this role in different settings and therefore, what planning can do to support and enhance this contribution in different contexts. Without this foundational base of understanding and acknowledgement of why this form of trade should be supported and enhanced, it will not be possible for the current role of planning to shift because there will be no motivation or basis for it.

While The City of Cape Town's Informal Trading Policy acknowledges the role and legitimacy of the informal economy in relation to economic growth and employment prospects, there is a complete absence of any mention or understanding of the role of informal food traders in relation to food security (CoCT, 2013). This reflects the broader invisibility of food security issues. This invisibility was also reflected in the interviews with the two City Officials who both indicated that there are no conversations happening around the role of informal trade in food security. This makes sense in the context of the lack of a holistic food security policy for CoCT.

### 3.2. Positive Engagement with the Traders: Facilitating Participation and Collaboration

A key characteristic of a supportive spatial planning role is leveraging participation and collaboration with traders. Unfortunately, traders in the BSP feel deeply frustrated at the way in which they have been dealt with by the City. Firstly, there is a feeling that they are not being properly consulted in planning that occurs;

...We're not happy with the City. There is sometimes some plannings, some discussions, and they just want to come and implement. That is not fair on us also. We are the ground people here. And we know more what is happening in Bellville... We know a lot. We know what happened in that corner, and we know also.. what they can do maybe in that corner. Maybe we don't have that big knowledge and that big words and things that they use. But we can give our input and say, that is the reason why this kiosk and this rank is looking like it looks like now. Because they didn't make us, on the ground, part of it. But they call us stakeholders. Now how do you understand that?... They just want to discuss and plan and then they come and they implement. And what do we do? We fall in because ooh, if we don't fall in, we can lose our space. That is the fear that we have. And yet, we feel it is not fair what they do on us. (ATA Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

Secondly, there is a high level of participation fatigue due to the way that traders feel they have been continuously ignored over years of giving input, lodging complaints and using their time to engage with the City to no avail,

Sometimes me myself, feel like just giving up. Because I'm fighting a losing battle... Because I'm coming here every time with the same old story, the same song, and nothing happen (ATA Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

The District Area Coordinator (DAC) indicates that she is fully aware of this valid frustration, [The officials] come up with an agenda [for meeting with the traders], the traders give us their comments or complaints... and usually it's Law Enforcement and cleansing, you know, those type of things. And we have an official from the various departments present, and giving them presentations and being able to answer those questions. But the link that is missing, is that there's never any strategy as to how we're going to address their complaints, and what we're going to implement in order for us to rectify it. (DAC, 7 September 2017).

The lack of response to these complaints relates to lack of capacity of the City (in terms of both human and financial resources), the fragmentation of responsibility and the apparent lack of power vested in the DAC to hold other departments accountable to the service they are supposed to provide.

The way in which traders are currently engaged with and the neglect of the key issues of the

space leads to a situation that fosters social tensions and forces traders to turn to adaptive, informal solutions. This form of management also leads to disillusionment in the City as well as resistance from the traders. This manifested most drastically in 2015 when both the permitted and unpermitted traders put aside their tensions with each other to protest together;

Because of the situation in the Bellville PTI, the legal occupants of the facility, they're very frustrated. So the one thing that stands out to me, is about two years ago.. they phoned me, on the road, and they said to me, your traders are here. And about sixty of those traders came down and they toyi-toyed in front of the office, because of frustration. Now this is legal and illegal traders. (DAC, 7 September 2017).

### 3.3. The Provision of Supportive Infrastructure

The provision of supportive infrastructure is an essential part of enhancing the ability of informal traders to fulfil their food security role. This includes the provision of a range of appropriately located trading space options, appropriate and safe storage, appropriate and sufficient sanitation facilities and access to water. This is based on the understanding that the level of access to infrastructure will affect the running and success of their business and livelihood (SERI, 2015). This is also in line with the CoCT Trading Policy which indicates that a "flexible and appropriate level of infrastructure, shall be provided over time to foster sustainability of the traders while improving the environment for all stakeholders" (CoCT, 2013).

This subsection will outline how in the case of the BSP the provision of well locate trading spaces stands out as a key issue. However, it also reveals that a basic level of other forms of infrastructure (such as sanitation and water points) have been provided in this space and while this infrastructure provision could be expanded on, the findings point specifically to the issue of maintenance, rather than provision as the key issue. A key discovery of this section is that the provision of these forms of infrastructure is being completely undermined by the way in which the space is managed, rendering the physical presence of this infrastructure irrelevant. The issue of management will be addressed in more detail in the following subsection.

Another point of interest is the lack of understanding of the responsibility of providing supportive infrastructure

The question to ask is, should Council get involved with providing that sort of [informal trade] infrastructure? Because you're almost treading on, you know, economic.. you're getting involved with the economic infrastructure that gives some people advantage above others. Sure people pay for it, but is that Council's role, to provide shopping centres, or shops to informal traders, you know? That's something that we must ask ourselves. Is it maybe more private sector role... (SS, 8 September 2017).

This quote specifically shows how, in the absence of this shift in understanding, there is uncertainty around how much responsibility the City needs to take for the provision of market infrastructure. While in other parts of the world urban markets are considered as essential infrastructure that provides a public service (Dewar & Watson, 1990).

#### 3.3.1. The Provision of well-Located and Appropriate Range of Trading Spaces

The key element of supportive infrastructure is the provision of a range of well-located appropriate trading bays and structures. This indicates the imperative to spatially prioritise informal food trade in the city. The CoCT Trading Policy identifies the role of forward spatial planning as a role of identifying suitable trading areas that support the viability and sustainability of informal trade. These areas may be of metropolitan and district significance, identified new growth areas, spatial structural elements that would reinforce informal trading, such as the MyCiti bus system, transport interchange hubs, commercial centres and pedestrian routes (CoCT, 2013:10).

The trading areas of the BSP have been identified in chapter 4 as well-located in the city. However, at a site scale, the requirement for the provision of well-located trading areas (either bays, structures or kiosks) relates directly to the informal trader strategy of locating in response to pedestrian

activity and commuter routes. In the precinct, many of the bays provided are inappropriately located. This necessitates traders who have permits and pay rent increasing their vulnerability to law enforcement by trading away from their allocated bays. This, in turn, creates tension with permitted traders who remain in their poorly located bays and become further disadvantaged by the adaptive tactics of other traders.

Unfortunately, some of these [traders] were not happy. Because the places where they've been accommodated, is no footage. There was no business, really... So most of those traders now, they're moving around here on the taxi-rank. Now what causes that is, we as the legal traders, and who is paying a rental to the City, is actually the ones that is suffer at the moment. Because we're sitting now with more illegal traders than legal traders, permitted traders, who is just doing their business (ATA Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

In this case, trading legally can actually largely reduce the success of a traders business, and in turn their ability to support access to food. This highlights that the current allocation of trading spaces is undermining, rather than supporting the success of these enterprises.



Figure 48: Inappropriate allocation of bays leads to lack of use, even on the busiest day of the week (pictured here) (Source: Author, 2017).

The variety of trading space options is also very limited, with the majority of traders being allocated simple painted bays.

At the Bellville PTI [in the Trading Plan] it was only said that, you're going to have a painted bay to pay, and that's it. And in the Bellville area, it's R95 per month, and it's renewable every single month. (DAC, 7 September 2017).

While there are some kiosks with access to water and electricity in the precinct, the only option currently available is painted bays. This leads to a great deal of vulnerability to bad weather conditions, but some traders indicated that they prefer to provide their own structure so that they avoid incurring excessive costs from the City for shelter provision.



Figure 49: Vulnerability to the elements due minimal municipal trading infrastructure (Source: Author, 2017).



Figure 50: Lack of sufficient space within kiosks (Source: Author, 2017).

The kiosks themselves are very small (4 x 4m) and come with no shelving or storage, meaning that traders have to bear the costs of kitting out the kiosk so that it is actually functional.

The process of current upgrading plans illustrate how trading is not seen as a use to spatially prioritise, but rather one to 'fit in' to other plans;

There has to be, in terms of [the upgrading teams] planning, for instance, say okay, the design is going to be that the bus terminus is now going to be where the taxi-rank is. They're going to.. all the various Line departments.. so I'll say, okay fine they want to do that, I need to fit in X amount of traders down here, so you need to do XY and Z and then they will adjust their plans, if they can't then we'll need to find alternatives, obviously. (DAC, 7 September 2017).

It is clear that far from being spatially prioritised, a lack of understanding as to the importance of informal food trade has resulted in the provision of trading areas being secondary to other uses, something to be added onto plans and that this has resulted in the provision of many bays in economically unviable areas.

### 3.3.2. Appropriate, Safe and Affordable Storage

Storage presents a huge issue for the traders at the BSP, and it cannot currently be said that the City has provided appropriate and safe storage. The municipal storage area is left unguarded, is badly lit in some areas and is easy to break into. This leads to traders having to find alternative ways and informal arrangements to ensure their goods are safely stored. Some traders indicated that they resort to taking their stock home daily. Trader 4 indicated that some traders also employ others to adapt the municipal storage infrastructure to be more secure;

"...maybe to employ people to make some latches for us, then you can lock your different locks, you.. maybe three locks, see. So we try. But for me, I'm a bit safer because my one is in front, like in the light. I'm not in there on that side." (Trader 4, 12 September 2017).

Many of the traders indicated that they resort to using expensive private storage;

[Storage] is a big problem, because now, this foreigners, like Somalians, they see the opportunity to make business out of us... for storage. You know people, they pay 150 a week for one trolley, you know. Paying 120, the other one is paying 150 a week" (Trader 4, 12 September 2017).

Another trader indicated the private storage was costing her R200 per month which is paid in R50 instalments every Saturday (Trader 3, 4 September 2017). In comparison to the roughly R100 a month fee for the municipal storage area (paid in addition to the permit fee), the payment of R200 to R600 a month drastically reduces the profit margin and therefore livelihood of these traders. The ATA chairperson also indicated that the City has been completely unresponsive to the complaints of the traders in relation to this issue, resulting in the situation getting worse and the storage infrastructure being co-opted for criminal activity and sex work. This has resulted in the City wanting to shut down and demolish the infrastructure, further disadvantaging the few traders still using it. This could have been avoided through the provision of appropriately designed safe storage facilities in well-lit areas.

We asked the City to just make changes like the door, some safety gates or stuff there for the people. And it didn't happen. That door is so weak, you can just pull it open and it's open. So these people outside, for them it was easy to just.. and because of the complaint of the breaking-in into the kiosk, into the storage, the users, or the owners of those storage and the kiosk, they got so frustrated, they gave up. Look, the City's doing nothing. I am going to make another plan, where I rather then pay that person, where I know my goods is safe... So now what happened now, the places is just standing there and then this drug dealers and it is a sex place... But now last week, the manager came to me, and she told me that the City decided to close down all the storage. You see, another thing that they just decided on, while we told them, there's still some of the traders that's using those. Now what's going to happen to those people now? (ATA Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

### 3.3.3. Appropriate and Sufficient Sanitation Facilities

The research reveals that the issues with access to sanitation at BSP has less to do with the provision of infrastructure, and more to do with maintenance, cleaning and operational times of the facilities. This will be picked up later in this chapter;

And we've got a lot of toilet problems, because the people that they're sleeping outside here, it's the ones that they're doing the mess in our toilets. And the cleaners, they clean the toilets. But you can't go otherwise, because that people, they're staying outside, they wash themselves, they do anything [in the bathrooms]. In the morning, you just eat and go there, you must vomit. Ja, it's not nice about the toilet, but you can't do nothing about it (Trader 6, 15 September 2017).

The lack of maintenance and cleaning leads to frustration for the traders and impacts their everyday use of the space. Trader 4 describes the severity of the situation here;

I tell you, that by six o'clock, sometimes the toilets are closed. You are still in Bellville, where are you going to go? Where are you going to use the toilets? The toilets are closed, by eight o'clock in the morning, you go to the toilet. Now we are cleaning. But six o'clock at night, they were telling you that they were cleaning. And then you find maybe there's only two toilets working here. Those toilets are blocked, they are closed, the toilets at Usave are blocked... There was a time that the toilets at Usave were closed for four years. (Trader 4, 12 September 2017)

The lack of access to functional sanitation facilities leads to people having to go to the bathroom in inappropriate areas, creating further cleanliness issues as well as issues of vulnerability, especially for women. This is described here by the VRCID Urban Manager,

All of this traders, they go and do their stuff right at the back here, at the corner there.. [at Middestad Mall loading area]" (VRCID Urban Manager, 8 September 2017).

It also became clear that the further traders have to go to access bathrooms, the longer they have to leave their stand, and that this has a detrimental impact on their business as they are not there to protect or sell their stock.

### 3.3.4. Accessible Water Points

Toilets is a problem, and water. Especially water, water, hey. Difficult if you are doing business, it must be close to us. (Trader 7, 15 September 2017).

The traders at the BSP currently have no access to water points aside from the bathrooms. It has

already been explained above that these bathrooms are in a bad state, making it worse that this is the only place where traders can access water. While there are water points in the precinct, the City has turned off the water supply due to the current drought. The VRCID Urban Manager elaborates below that this was done due to a perception that the users of the space were wasting water

They waste the water. There was a tap there that was running for weeks. It was just open overnight, it was running. So we managed to close it. There was four taps, but they used to wash the taxis there. (VRCID Urban Manager, 8 September 2017).

This illustrates that the traders are suffering from lack of access to water even though they were not the users perceived to be wasting water. While the kiosks still have access to water, this is detrimental to other food traders who need water to ensure cleanliness of their operation.



Figure 51: The use of the bathroom on the edge of the taxi rank as a water collection point. This bathroom is next to the old water point which is now switched off (Source: Author, 2017).

### 3.4. Facilitative Management that Fosters Collaboration

The current management of the BSP is highly fragmented. There is a disjuncture between the Area-Based Service Delivery Department which is responsible for the registration and administration and the other departments involved in the management and operations of the space. The trader's direct interface with the City is the District Area Coordinator for Bellville of the Area Economic Development Unit within this department. The Law Enforcement and Security Department is responsible for enforcing regulations and safety of the space. The Transport and Urban Development Authority (TDA) is responsible for the planning of the provision of infrastructure and specifically the two upgrades that are occurring in the precinct. The Solid Waste Management Department is also involved as the responsible party for cleansing and refuse collection. The Market Manager for the PTI was also described by traders as extremely hard to get hold of and in fact almost entirely absent. The attempt made at coordination is through the use of the DAC as the point of contact for the traders through which their complaints can be directed to the correct line department. This system is failing the traders as there has been a degree of breakdown of

almost all services and the continuous voicing of issues to the DAC with no outcomes has left the traders disillusioned and frustrated.

Additionally, the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID) is involved in the management of the precinct as a 'top-up' service for the City, focusing mainly on operational functions such as cleaning and additional security. Their focus is on Kruskal Avenue, which creates further fragmentation in the space as areas within the precinct are being managed and regulated differently by different entities and the research revealed that the lines of how much power this private entity have are blurred.

The lack of integration and coordination of management has negative implications for the market. Overall, it is significant to note that the current management landscape is actually undermining rather than supporting the functioning of the space, the willingness of the permitted traders to cooperate and ultimately hindering the contribution of food traders. This is further unpacked below.

### 3.4.1. An Attitude of Facilitation

In the setting of Cape Town, the Informal Trading Policy is framed through a facilitative attitude which aims to "improve conditions for informal trading, assisting it to thrive by focusing on 1) planning and development, 2) policy issues, and 3) institutional arrangements" (CoCT, 2013:9). Despite this, the research reflects a framing of 'controlling' management and regulation of the trading at BSP. This points to a disjuncture between the policy and reality that warrants attention. This is illustrated in the language used by the DAC;

We support, in terms of, obviously the monitoring and controlling of our traders themselves, and the area (DAC, 7 September 2017).

The interesting use of the words 'support' and 'control' in the same sentence shows how there is a tension between these two attitudes in the way the space is managed. The attitude of control will be further unpacked through the three main forms of control found in the BSP (Dewar & Watson, 1990: 96).

Firstly, control is enacted through licensing. The process for applying for a trading permit can only be done online, which immediately disadvantages those who are computer illiterate, without access to a computer or the internet. It is also extremely difficult for foreign nationals to acquire trading permits. The various barriers to accessing permits and the difficulty of the process results in people trading without permits, causing high levels of tension.

Secondly, control is enacted upon the traders through the City dictating where they can trade through the permit system (Dewar & Watson, 1990: 96). It has already been discussed that the provision of trading spaces is inconsistent with the areas best suited for trade in terms of foot traffic which means that the location allocations by the City are not supportive of the trader's businesses.

Thirdly, control is enacted through enforcement and inspection. The way in which traders in the space are regulated is explicitly punitive. The current punitive attitude criminalises these

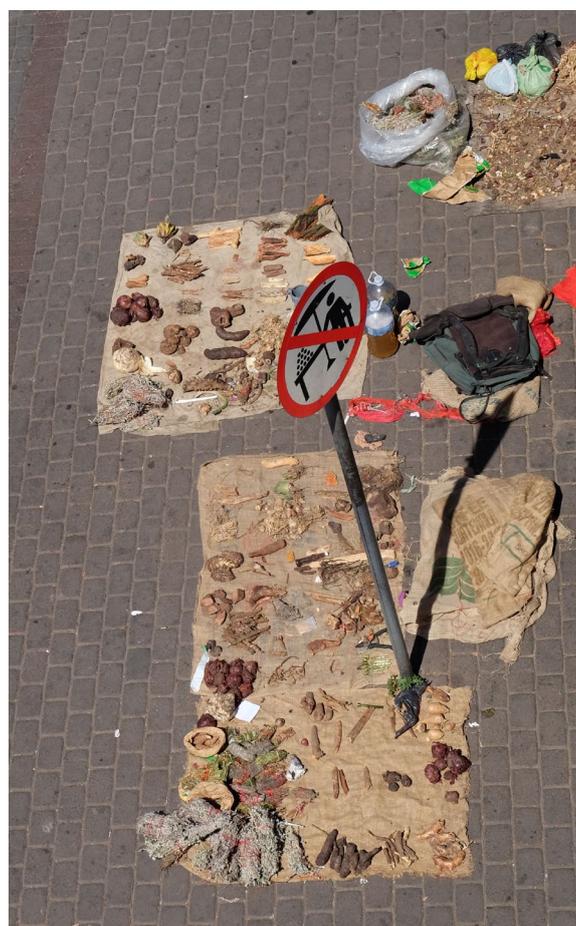


Figure 52: A display of people resilience to trade despite conditions of control (Source: Author, 2017).

economically stressed urban residents and infringes on their livelihood strategies, and in turn their ability to support urban food access. This punitive attitude of control is illustrated in a variety of ways. Firstly, traders are faced with large fines for disregarding regulations despite the fact that often these regulations are being disregarded due to other issues in the space. For example, traders leaving their allocated bay to trade elsewhere due to the poor allocation of bays in areas where it is impossible to earn a living.

if it's just a matter of trading without a permit, so the goods are impounded and it's R700 to get your goods back... And the fine would be R1000. (DAC, 7 September 2017).

Secondly, the ATA chairperson highlighted that traders of prepared food are subject to extra regulation

Traders of prepared food] need the Business Licence from Environmental Health, as well as the Certificate of Acceptability (ATA Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

While the DAC herself displays a facilitate approach towards the traders, the structures, systems and processes of the City restrict the effect that she can have. This is compounded by the fact that it seems that the DAC herself does not hold enough power or weight to hold the other line departments accountable when there is an issue. In other words, it is not enough to have one person with a facilitative attitude, as the entire system still works against them, but rather there is a need for a shift in the approach of the whole system.

### 3.4.2. Security of Tenureship

In order to facilitate an environment of collaboration from the traders, it is essential for traders to enjoy a degree of tenure security. This security allows for traders to feel invested and take ownership of the space and allows space for them to feel deeply invested in the functioning of the space, such as safety and cleanliness. Under these conditions, traders may feel capable and incentivised to get more involved in these aspects, as well as to invest more in their own businesses.

The ATA Chairperson fears that she will lose her kiosk when the upgrade happens:

Because of arrears, because of this, because of that. The City always see that, but the City will never look into what happen around us. That as much as we want to be on a level with them, there's the things around us, that keeps us back. And there's nothing we can do about it. But them! I mean that is their work to see that these things don't happen. (ATA Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

This shows that traders in the space do not enjoy a high enough degree of security of tenureship, and instead feel vulnerable about not having their leases renewed.

### 3.4.3. Supportive Services

The consistent and equal provision of supportive services is an important element of the management of urban markets. The provision of these supportive services should encourage and facilitate the greatest degree of trader collaboration as possible in the preservation and improvement of the state of the market areas. Despite this when asked what the services and infrastructure that the City is mandated to provide to permitted traders, the DAC answered;

It's just the bays, ja. The automatic services that is there, is cleansing, refuse removal, those are all City duties anyway. (DAC, 7 September 2017).

#### 3.4.3.1. Ensuring Safety through Policing

A key service that is needed to support the functioning of the trader's businesses is the provision of policing that keeps the space safe due to the drastic impact of the prevalence of crime in the area. Unfortunately, the lack of consistent policing of the space is exacerbating the issue. The policing and regulation of the space are highly inconsistent, and when there is a law enforcement presence it tends to be directed at the traders themselves, rather than the array of more serious criminal elements. This shows the punitive attitude towards the traders, where they are conflated as part of the problems of the space to be 'cracked down on.' This reflects a narrow understanding of informal trade in relation to both livelihood and food security roles.

You know, I already tried to give my little input in this monthly ACT meetings that we have. I feel

that police and Law Enforcement must be more visible. Because you can see when they just see a vehicle from the police or Law Enforcement, then these guys are like, you know, getting them outside, out of the way. So that is a sign for me, that they, you know.. But Law Enforcement, police themselves, they are around, but I think only at the times that it suits them. Whereby we, as African Traders, requested from the City, let them be visible at least from say, five o'clock in the morning 'til six o'clock in the afternoon. But it is not happening... Every time we hear, there's not enough manpower, they cannot get more officials in, to assist the few that is here. Yes, I do understand and I respect the fact, because I witness it myself. If Law Enforcement move in here, in this rank, they are the ones who got hurt the most. Because they're getting attacked by the tsotsis.. people. So for them it is a bit difficult and I do understand that. But I really feel, if they can get law officials that can be here available daily. And not a half an hour or twenty minutes, like it happen now, for this past few years. It is just.. we're going to have a operation. What is a operation? Then they come in here for ten, fifteen, twenty minutes... How can you call that a operation? Then they make this people run around here and.. And after twenty minutes they're gone and this people just move back as if nothing happen, and they just continue with what they're busy with. (ATA, 12 September 2017).

The ATA chairperson also highlights the gatekeeping role of the taxi associations which traders feel is the thing that is keeping police out of the taxi rank and therefore stops them from addressing the traders in this area. One trader specifically indicated that she believed this was due to the connections between the taxi associations and the gangs operating in the area. Due to this law enforcement often skirts along the edge of the taxi rank, without going more than a few metres across the threshold (Personal Observations).

The main policing tactic is the use of 'operations' which occur at the most once every three months and involve SAPS, law enforcement and the VRCID coordinated by the DAC sweeping through the area in order to crack down on all illegal activity. This form of policing is extremely inefficient in a setting devoid of more sustained police presence.

I just think, at the end of the day, it is a matter of.. it's come to that point where we need to crack down on the area, be it with SAPS or Law Enforcement, we need to.. and it needs to be a sustainable plan. We cannot go in every three months and expect the area to change. (DAC, 7 September 2017).

Again the DAC shows that she acknowledges the issues and what needs to change but does not seem to have the power to make it happen.

The lack of police presence and responsiveness also leads to people turning to the VRCID to fulfil the functions of the police; "Sometimes the public phone us... if they don't get joy out of the police, they phone VRCID." (VRCID Urban Manager, 8 September 2017). This results in further confusion of responsibility and fragmentation of management.



Figure 53: When police or law enforcement are visible the stick to specific areas and are often only present for short amounts of time (Source: Author, 2017).



Figure 54: VRCID portable stations are visible on Kruskal Avenue (Source: Author, 2017).

The state of crime and policing in the space has also led to traders using adaptive means of staying safe. In some cases, they have even been forced into a situation, where due to the failure of the state to keep the space safe, they feel forced into taking responsibility for that role themselves, in turn making themselves vulnerable to repercussions. This cycle, which continues to compound the disadvantage to the traders is described here by trader 4;

Maybe if they are fighting this lady, I must also run, because if I fight with this lady, then the City.. the Law Enforcement will start arresting us, because we take the law in our hands. So you must run up and down looking for them. I mean, in places like this, like this.. there's this shop. Those are the people that are paying in the bus terminus, big amount of money. I.. for me, to my understanding, I think at least there must be a security, up and down in this place. (Trader 4, 12 September 2017).

The research has clearly shown that both the prevalence of criminal activity, as well as way in which the policing is occurring in this space, compound to present a huge barrier to the safe and effective daily functioning of the market spaces. Based on the severity of the issue of crime as well as the inconsistent, fragmented and misdirected way in which the space is policed these issues emerge as key challenges to be dealt with in order for a different future for the space to be possible.

The City is aware of the weight of the issue of crime largely due to repeated communication from the traders themselves. When asked about the main issue for the traders business the DAC identified;

Crime. We have big-time drug dealing at the facility. We have cases of prostitution. And then obviously the street people. In terms of their trading, they are fine with their locations, it's just the outside factors of the illegal trading and all those anti-social behaviours that is affecting them. And it's affecting them financially, not just safety, but financially as well, because they're not making the money that they used to before. So ja, hopefully with strategy planning they [the Majoral Urban Regeneration Programme team] will be able to sort that out. (DAC, 7 September 2017).

This illuminates how the setup of the Council, both in terms of processes as well as structures, is not conducive to responsive governance of the space. This is highlighted by the way in which the District Coordinator as well as the traders themselves, all of whom hold the in-depth on the ground knowledge of the space, are excluded from the drafting of the 'strategic plan' for the area that is intended to deal with the issue of crime, urban decay and other serious concerns in the area. The fact that this planning is being done through separate committee in a separate structure of the City without the involvement of the users of the space illustrates the deep fragmentation of how the issues of this space are being addressed by the City.

### 3.4.3.2. Consistent Maintenance

The provision of supportive infrastructure is rendered irrelevant without responsive, consistent and good quality maintenance in order to ensure the continued functioning of the infrastructure provided. In the case of the BSP, maintenance came up as a key issue for many of the traders interviewed. It is seen to be inconsistent, poor quality and in some cases outright absent, reinforcing the impression that the City does not care about the space or the traders;

There's no toilets.. sometimes you see the [maintenance] people they come for a week, just to fix the blocking toilet, for one week. And then you see them, they are sitting in the car, sitting in the sun... they are supposed to fix the toilet. Those are the things that before, we pay and they give us the places, those are the things that the City promised us, but those promises are empty. (Trader 4, 12 September 2017)

The ATA chairperson even sees the way in which maintenance is occurring (when it does happen) as part of the problem due to the use of cheap materials. She also identifies that there are many people moving through the facility at night that she feels are the cause of the breakages;

It's the maintenance of the toilets that causes the breakage and you know, I don't know if they use cheap materials... but every week those toilets [break]. And it's not one. This lady's toilet, there's five toilets in it. But you go there now, one is working and four is broken. Here, none is working inside here. Then on the other side... two will work, three is broken. So now you question, the toilets

is working today, tomorrow it's broken, next week it's working... the week after it's broken. Now maintenance. What happened? Why it break so quick. Okay it can be also from the people that is moving up and down in the night. There's a lot of skelms here, there's a lot of vagrants. (ATA Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

### 3.4.3.3. Cleansing and Waste Removal

Cleansing and waste removal are essential conditions for a healthy urban environment from which food trade can occur. The cleanliness of the market areas is a key concern for the traders, and it is in their own economic interest to trade from a clean, healthy and appealing urban environment. This is especially important in relation to food trading in terms of health concerns as well as business feasibility.

While there does not seem to be an issue with refuse removal, except for the build-up of cardboard by the waste disposal area, there is a huge issue with the way in which the space is cleaned. This has been touched on in the sanitation section, but it is important to highlight here that the cleansing of the area appears to be erratic and insufficient. This is despite the fact that the City, who is primarily responsible for the cleansing is making use of the 'top up' cleansing service provided by the VRCID. This can be attributed to a confusion over the cleansing responsibilities of the two entities, the lack of resources of the entities or the severity of the state of the urban environment. Whatever the root cause of the issue with cleansing, it is clear that this must be addressed to improve the trading conditions, especially in the case of food traders.

When asked what his main considerations for shopping from specific traders was aside from price, customer 2 highlights the current issue with the lack of cleanliness by identifying the urban environment as a key determinant of where he shops,

The environment. They are selling, say for instance now say there by that there..there's a place where they normally have to throw the cardboard and so on, but it smells not nice, or it doesn't look nice, then I would say no... (Customer 1, 15 September 2017).

The ATA chairperson, who is also a kiosk trader describes below how the onus falls on her to clean her immediate area, indicating that

We're sitting with [vagrants] in the night... they're doing their thing all over in the night. Every day when I come to my kiosk in the morning, I have to wash around the kiosk first. Really. And I have to see that I have Jeyes Fluid, every time in my little kiosk, because I know now, tomorrow morning I have to go clean outside (ATA Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

Trader 4 emphasizes how previously traders have felt more invested in getting involved in the cleaning of the space, and that the quality of cleaning has deteriorated

Honestly speaking, for me, even if they can leave the Bellville like this, it doesn't make a change to me, because what they are going to change, is to suck us dry, financially. Just like they are doing now. Because before we used to make money, no complaint, you used to clean Bellville for us, even if they strike, we started to clean your place and around your place, and somebody else mos clean. Ja, then we clean, we clean, we clean, the terminus is clean. But now there's cleaners but they are only picking one paper. There's nothing that you can say that, because the City's involved for things happening (Trader 4, 12 September 2017).

The break down of the provision of cleansing is clearly impacting the urban environment and the functioning of traders businesses and resulting in the traders themselves being forced to pick up the slack, and take responsibility for the cleansing of their immediate area. This also illustrates how it makes economic sense for traders to operate in a healthy and clean environment and how some traders, under the right conditions, are willing to exert agency in ensuring this.

### 3.4.3.4. Business Support Services

The provision of business support services is an example of how the management system can be set up in a way that supports the success of informal trade to the greatest degree possible, largely in the interest of urban food security. The ATA chairperson shares this view and indicates here how the traders requests for this type of support have been ignored by the City;

“I think what the City can do for us is, is our traders... they need to know how to run their businesses... Ja, they need business support. And.. because a lot of them are.. they’re just there. They know they’re coming to work. I think a lot of them just know, I’m coming to work, I’m going to make money and that’s it, today. They’ve got no idea. And I already asked.. not just me, but a lot of us, to give us workshops, we need those workshops, we need that support on how to run your businesses. (ATA Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

The DAC indicated that the permit only gives traders access to bays and the automatic that the City provides anyway (cleansing, refuse removal etc.). Contrary to this she also indicated to the existence of a Business Support Unit as a mechanism of educational support for traders preparing food;

...the conversations that we’ve had thus far [about the importance of food traders], was with the Medical Research Council, and they’ve gone out to various areas. They’ve even plotted the food vendors in various areas of the City, and via that, they also educate. So we’ve got what we call the Business Support Unit, and if needs be, then they would then find a stakeholder to educate traders in terms of that.” (DAC, 7 September 2017).

At the very least this contradictory response indicates that there is leeway in the existing system for this form of supportive service to be pushed.

### 3.4.3.5. Dispute Resolution

An additional service currently missing from the management of the BSP is that of conflict resolution (Tracey-White, 1999: 30). The provision of the means for conflict resolution would ensure a different kind of support for the functioning of traders. This is especially important and necessary in the context where the way in which the municipality has interacted with the space has festered this level of tension, which is illustrated below:

I am getting swayed out by a lot of them every day... I cannot sometimes walk here, because some of these guys don’t like me. Then I will never.. really, I will never try to walk here. Because these women sitting here, they swear very badly. It’s like, footsack... what are you fucking doing here. It’s like that. (ATA Chairperson, 12 September 2017).

The ATA chairperson explains that this tension has even bubbled over into violence, specifically in an incident of protest in 2011; ...that day, 2011... Law Enforcement had to protect us inside this building because [the protesting traders] were all around. They stole my kiosk, they wanted to burn my kiosk down. Like that. So I am.. I’m used to this (ATA Chairperson, 12 September 2017).



Figure 55: The border between the taxi rank on the right and the bus terminus on the left is an area of high tension as the line of intersection between permitted and non-permitted traders (Source: Author, 2017).

#### 4. A Downward Spiral: the Current Trajectory

The research revealed that most interviewees currently feel pessimistic about the future of the precinct and feel that things are deteriorating relatively rapidly. Trader 6 emphasises this feeling; It's getting worse. Until they do this thing that they told us, it's getting worse... It's getting worse. ...if they continue for this thing that they promised for us. It will be better. But so long, it is going worse and worse and worse (Trader 6, 15 September 2017).

The reality that the situation is deteriorating means that there is a pressing need for proactive intervention in the current trajectory of this space. In order to effectively change the current trajectory of the space, it is essential for the proposal to respond to the array of challenges that hinder the trader's ability to perform their role in urban food security.

Another element that adds to this sense of urgency is the commitment of the City to the Blue Downs rail link. "Once [the Blue Downs rail link] is in place, this place is going to burst out of its seams." (SS, 8 September 2017). This means that Bellville will only increase in importance in the mobility of the city as it will experience a drastic increase in users of the space. This provides a strong imperative to ensure that the role of informal trade in food access is protected and enhanced in this space. It also highlights the pressing need to deal with the issues of the space before they are exacerbated by growing use.

#### 5. A Different Path: Conditions for Redirecting the Future

...Basically what we're facing at this moment, [is] very painful for us. It is not easy for us to work in situations like that, but because we need to work, we are here. And we try to make things better for ourselves. (ATA Chairperson, 12 September 2017).



Figure 56: Pictured here is the ATA chairperson inside her kiosk with an employee (Source: Author, 2017).

While this analysis of the current reality of BSP paints a dire picture, it is important to identify that there are many conditions for redirecting this trajectory. These conditions for a different future include;

- The nature of an urban market provides economic incentive for collaborative action towards collective gains and a better future for traders
- There is a history of deeper involvement and investment from the traders
- The commitment from the trade association leader who has endured through the challenges of the role and remains committed to improving the situation

- The commitment of the DAC to improving conditions for traders
- The context of City restructuring allows leeway for innovation in the management of this space
- The existing infrastructure provides a foundation for improving the conditions for the traders
- The City has already publicly committed to the upgrading of the precinct
- The social network of the traders provides a strong base of human capital as strong relationships exist through well established trader networks but are currently taking strain.

## 6. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear that many of the of the traders interviewed are experiencing the same challenges and difficulties in the operation of their businesses. These challenges are complex but revolve around disillusionment with the City, unhappiness at the growing criminal element of the site and frustration at the insufficient way in which the space is policed, cleaned and maintained (Interviews, September 2017). It is also clear that the supportive role of spatial planning is completely lacking from this space, and that this contribution is actually being undermined. This means that the contribution of informal trade to urban food security is currently being ignored and neglected by spatial planning, resulting in a dire situation for traders. It is also clear that the situation is getting worse. Despite this, there are various conditions in place that form the basis for redirecting the current trajectory. I argue that a transition from the current role of planning to a supportive role is the change that is needed in order for the future of trading in this space to be redirected. In line with this, the next chapter will provide a proposal for how this trajectory could be redirected through supportive spatial planning. The proposal responds directly to the supportive planning framework established through this dissertation.

## A Food Sensitive Planning Proposal for Bellville Station Precinct

### 1. Introduction

This chapter presents a proposal for the Bellville Station Precinct. It provides a gesture at how the framework for supportive spatial planning, established through the literature review and findings, could be applied to the setting of Bellville Station Precinct. It provides an illustration of the way in which spatial planning can play a role in addressing the vast array of challenges identified through the research that the food traders are currently facing. It aims to symbolise the valuing, supporting and leveraging of informal food trade through contextually relevant interventions to be implemented at various scales. It aims to maximise food trade and the role that it is playing in urban food security while simultaneously maximising commuter convenience at the interchange. It aims not only to accommodate and support the existing traders operating in the space, but to drastically increase the trading opportunities into the future. It also aims to ensure that the trading is embedded in a facilitative and supportive management landscape that encourages collaboration. The proposal, therefore, aims to provide a proactive instrument to stimulate and leverage the contribution of informal food trade to urban food security in the case of BSP (Dewar & Watson, 1990).

This chapter has three main aspects; firstly city-wide legislative, legal and institutional changes necessary for a paradigm shift, the conceptual design proposal to ensure supportive infrastructure provision and the spatial prioritisation of traders in the future development of the precinct and the facilitative management proposal.

### 2. Redirecting the Future

The conditions for redirecting the future of the BSP have been outlined in the previous chapter and point to the foundational attributes present that make it possible to change the current downward trajectory. It is important to stress that the research indicated that traders have previously been much more invested and involved in the daily management of the space, especially in terms of the cleaning. This points to the possibility of reviving and supporting this culture of traders being invested in the everyday running of the area as an important lynchpin of changing this directory. Another important basis for this proposal is that there is South African precedent for redirecting the trajectory of an urban market setting, provided by the Warwick Junction case.

#### Precedent:

#### Warwick Junction: securing common gains through collective action

Warwick Junction in Durban provides an important precedent for an urban renewal project that was centred on including informal traders in urban plans and the collective gains that can come from this collaborative approach. It illustrates how supportive planning was able to change the trajectory of a dire situation in which levels of distrust and hatred were extremely high. In Warwick, there was a history deep hatred and violence. In the setting of a highly fractured community, incremental long-term trust-building between the parties was a key element of the success of the project. In Warwick, this meant both within the trader associations themselves as well as between

the trader associations and the City Council who had failed them repeatedly (Dobson, Skinner & Nicholson, 2009; Caroline Skinner, 2 October 2017).

What Warwick speaks to, is the fact that you can rise above those differences, united by the common need for livelihoods... of feeding your families. (Caroline Skinner, 2 October 2017)



Figure 57: Warwick Junction (Source: Dobson, 2009 Available: <https://aet.org.za/warwick-junction>)

### 3. Vision

The vision of this proposal is to transition from the current reality of trading at the precinct as a fragmented series of trading activities, which exists in a management landscape that actively undermines its viability, to a system of flexible and supportive market infrastructure that is embedded in an integrated, responsive and facilitative management setting that encourages collaboration. This proposal aims to ensure that the Bellville Station Precinct grows as a convenient food hub where commuters can easily access safe, nutritious and preferentially appropriate food (Battersby et al, 2015).

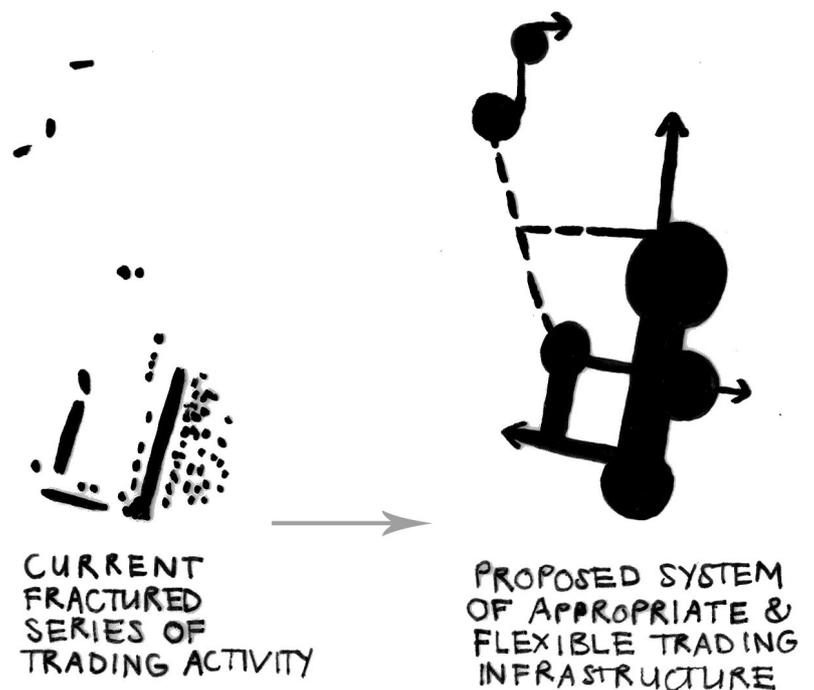


Figure 58: Concept Diagram (Author, 2017)

## 4. Towards Food Sensitive Planning

This plan is aligned with the Food Security Strategy of the Western Cape which outlines Food Sensitive Planning as one of its key pillars (Battersby, 2017; Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2016). This strategy aims to;

ensure that the Provincial Spatial Development Framework (PSDF) takes food security into account in order to influence municipal spatial development frameworks; include and adapt the principles of food sensitive planning and design into the model zoning scheme bylaw; develop food sensitive planning and design guidelines for provincial land use management; and, include food sensitivity principles into current municipal assessment criteria. (Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2016)



Figure 59: Saturday morning fresh produce trading at the BSP (Source: Author, 2017)

## 5. Conditions for Success

It's important to outline that there are three important conditions that are essential for the success of this proposal

- Long-term political commitment will be fostered through wide-scale policy recognition for the imperative for the municipality and spatial planning specifically to tackle the issue of food security
- This proposal provides the basis for a clear, unambiguous and transparent plan and management framework that does not leave room for conflict or confusion
- The regular and consistent flow of funds to support consistent application of the development of the plan as well as the management framework will be outlined in the implementation framework (Dewar & Watson, 1990)

## 6. Proposal

The most important reality to outline in presenting a proposal for the improved future for the Bellville Station Precinct is that this is a complex space and that there is no one intervention or solution that can address the current situation. What the proposal outlines is a system of interventions at various scales that are needed to open the way for a different reality to unfold.

### 6.1. Acknowledging and Valuing the Contribution of Informal Food Trade to Urban Food Access

As stated in the previous section, fostering long-term political understanding and commitment is a prerequisite for the success of the proposal. This involves city-wide legal and institutional interventions that create a paradigm shift towards an understanding of urban food security. The

acknowledgement and valuing of the contribution made by informal food trade to urban food security are fundamental to this proposal. This shift in understanding must be holistic and must permeate spatial planning practice and policy.

- **Food security needs to be added to the mandate of the municipality.** This allows municipalities to assess what role they are inadvertently and currently playing in the urban food system, and establish how to ensure that they transition to supporting urban food security (Battersby et al, 2015).
- **The establishment of an interdisciplinary Urban Food Security Council for Cape Town which generates a holistic Food Security Policy** that takes a food systems approach and centres on the role of informal food trade (Battersby et al, 2014; Battersby et al, 2015; Pulker, 2016: 129-130).
- **Amendment to current CoCT Informal Trading Policy to include the importance of the role of informal food trade in food security.** The policy should outline that based on this contribution, food traders have priority status that allows them to get priority access to centrally located trading spaces, permit subsidies and streamlined processes, on a context-specific basis. This approach does not undermine the importance of other forms of trade but rather identifies that food trade is performing a crucial role to urban food security that must be acknowledged and leveraged through special priority status. . There should also be spatial considerations for this special status. For example, the three major interchanges in the city: Cape Town, Bellville and Khayelitsha Site C, should all be subject to an overlay zone that defines these areas of lighter restriction for informal food traders. This is based on the recognition that these major sites of mobility are crucial in ensuring greater access to food (Turok, Scheba & Visagie, 2017: 49).

## 6.2. Conceptual Design Proposal: Towards Food Sensitive Urban Design

This spatial concept provides a guiding vision for the way in which the space should develop. The concept is also subject to adjustments through a meaningful public participation process in which users of the space, and specifically traders must be involved in the design process, and consulted throughout the process (Tracey-White, 1999: i). This proposed design spatially prioritises informal trade in anticipation of private sector-led development of this land. It will guide future development and ensure that informal traders (especially of food) are spatially prioritized in development of the immediate area as a means of protecting economically stressed citizens' access to food.

The design approach was based on thinking about trading as one of the structuring elements of the site, rather than something to be fitted in plans as an afterthought. The approach is also based on the principles of urban acupuncture, in which smaller strategic interventions with big impacts are prioritized over large-scale resource and time intensive solutions. Based on this approach the proposal aims to maintain and improve on aspects that are functioning in the space, using this as a foundation for the proposed interventions. In line with this, Integrating the market infrastructure into the urban fabric is an important element of this proposal, rather than allowing for its separation especially from street level (as indicated through interviews as a potential direction for the interchange). Through urban design strategies, this should not be aesthetically disruptive or disruptive of pedestrians in order to maintain street style and flow continuity (Dewar & Watson, 1990: 29). The proposal aims to make the best use of space in order to spatially prioritise informal food trade (Tracey-White, 1999: 35)

This conceptual design proposal is to guide the development but requires a finer grain analysis of demand for facilities, review of market conditions and financial assessment in order to transition from concept to detailed plan.

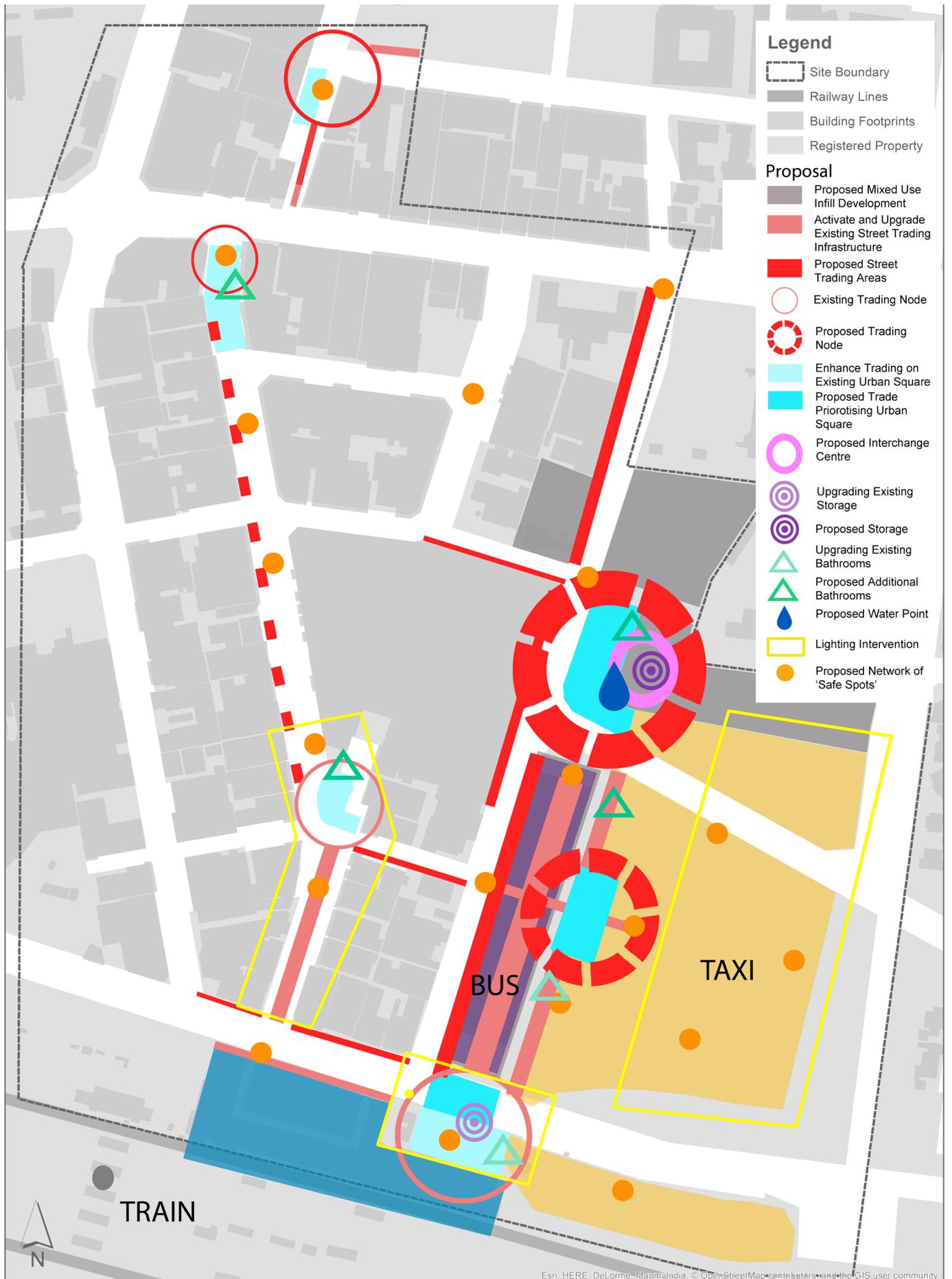


Figure 60 Concept Design Proposal  
 (Source: Author, 2017: GIS Technical Library UCT and CoCT Data)



### 6.2.1. Positive Engagement with the Traders: Participatory Urban Design Approach

Nothing about us, without us (ATA Chairperson, 30 October 2017).

This proposal takes an inclusionary and participatory urban design approach. This involves actively seeking out, listening to and incorporating the local knowledge, opinions, issues and needs of the users of the space to inform all interventions. The more responsive that the plans of the City are to these informal enterprises, the more effective these enterprises can be in supporting food access to economically stressed urban residents (Turok, Scheba & Visagie, 2017: 49).

Sustained participation is central to this proposal. This is necessary in order to ensure that the provision of infrastructure directly responds to a range of trader needs. It is also important to establish a sense among the traders, especially the food traders, that their right to the city is being protected and supported by the City. This is an important prerequisite for facilitating involvement and collaboration from traders (Dobson, Skinner & Nicholson, 2009, 127).

- **Overcoming the current deep-seated lack of trust** that many of the traders feel towards the authorities, in terms of both the City officials and law enforcement, is only possible through these entities earning back the trust of the traders through actions that display a commitment to improving the precinct. This must be done through the catalytic phase of this proposal which involves management and operational changes that show that the City is responding to the complaints of the traders as well as. Facilitating this gradual increase of trust between the parties will, in turn, allow for stronger organisation and collaboration for collective gains
- **Engaging traders and trader associations to co-develop responsive systems and plans for supporting safe and convenient food access** (Battersby et al, 2015). While traders and associations in the BSP are being engaged in participatory processes, there are many flaws and frustrations that emerged in the research that needs to be addressed through an assessment and redesign of participatory practice.
- **Move all public participation and information sessions and meetings** from the Bellville Convention Centre to the proposed Interchange Centre. This minimises the inconvenience and financial disadvantage when meetings have to be held during business hours, in turn reducing tension when some traders need further explanation or translation.
- **Including professional translators in meetings where necessary** to standardise translations as part of participation meetings in order to diffuse tensions between traders.

### 6.2.2. The Provision of Supportive Infrastructure

Markets must be treated as an essential form of infrastructure - as essential as roads, schools, or other urban elements (Dewar & Watson, 1990: 23)

The proposal aims to provide a physical system of infrastructure which supports the widest possible range of options for traders and customers. This proposal suggests a strong hierarchy which makes clear provision for a full range of trading opportunities that cater to enterprises of all sizes and degrees of formality. While much of the basic infrastructure is in place in the precinct, the proposal focuses on the increased provision of adaptable trading infrastructure in a system of locations (Dewar & Watson, 1990). This is done to insure a full range of trading bay or kiosk options that accommodate the largest to the smallest enterprise is essential in supporting the role of informal trade as well as ensuring that the smallest traders, who are often the most dependant on informal trade in terms of survivalist economic strategies, are supported and giving an opportunity to fulfill their contribution to urban food security.

- **Construction of a new ‘Interchange Centre’.** This provides an important symbolic gesture that the City is dedicated to investing in and supporting these traders, as well as establishing spaces for engagement with the traders. This will be the base for the market management operations and will provide a venue for traders to meet with each other, for the City to meet with traders and for workshops and many other activities to happen.

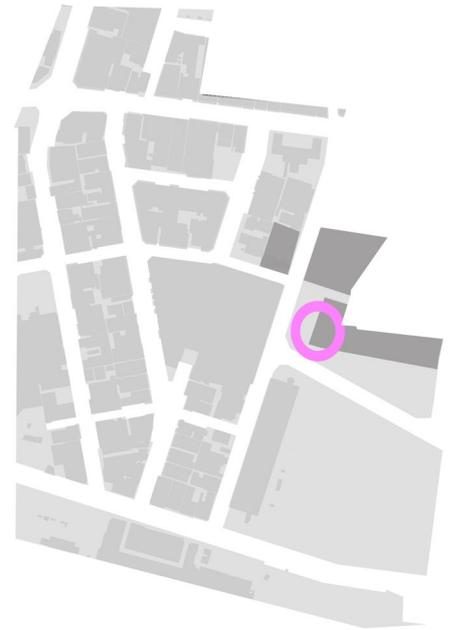


Figure 61: Proposed Interchange Centre diagram (Author, 2017)



**Redesign of the taxi rank layout including an extension to the Paint City site.** This redesign must improve the circulation, and provide appropriate disembarking, alighting and staging areas (Duval, 2017). Diagram 62 shows that the Cape Town Taxi rank is not larger than the Bellville rank. This illustrates that the redesign of the rank to a tighter, more geometric layout (based on the CT rank layout as precedent) will go a long way in addressing the current issues. The redesign in combination with expansion will deal with the transport issues of the current rank. The fact that the City owns the open sites, part of which is currently being utilised as a parking lot and leased to the VRCID, provides an opportunity that is rare in a CBD setting. It provides the opportunity for the informal trade to largely fall under City ownership. This redesign should also include the provision of simple trading spaces between the rows of taxis in response to the way that people are trading there already in a way that minimises conflict with vehicular traffic.

Figure 62: Comparative diagram of Cape Town and Bellville taxi rank sizes and layout design

- **Channelling of pedestrian movement more directly between the modes of transport to increase commuter convenience.**

This involves the addition of a subway from the rail platforms directly to the closest square, located at the edge of the bus terminus. Subject to further investigation, the extension or moving of the rail platform 50m eastward along the track would also greatly improve the distance between modes. Based on the reality that the City has secured a large amount of funding for the upgrading of the interchange and is currently , this is a possibility but not essential to the success of this proposal.

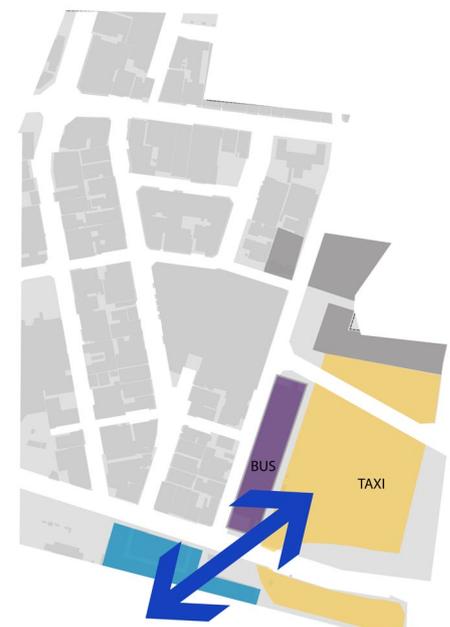


Figure 63: Intermodal Interchange diagram (Author, 2017)

- **Ensure consistent lighting in identified problem areas for safety purposes.**

“Social norms that degrade the integrity of human life need to be changed and replaced with moral norms that honour and respect human life. Meeting urban violence with stricter penalties will not work. Law and order do not interiorize new values, but community processes do” (Cruz and Forman, 2015: 223).

While increasing the presence of police in the space is clearly a large element of the solution (indicated later on in the proposal), this proposal takes a more holistic approach that focuses on ensuring a safe urban environment through positive activation through using the traders as eyes on the street and through urban design considerations. In the case of the BSP lighting interventions are the most pressing safety interventions needed. The widening of pavements is another important consideration as reducing congestion can reduce the opportunity for petty crime such as pickpocketing.



Figure 64: Lighting Intervention diagram (Author, 2017)

- **Mixed-use high-density infill development prioritising ground floor small-scale retail.** The release of City-owned land for infill development is recommended for the ability to provide positive activation and ‘eyes on the street’ to an area currently experiencing high levels of crime (especially in the street outside of Middestad Mall). This is also provides an opportunity for well-located, mixed-income student housing.

### 6.2.2.1. The provision of well-located and appropriate range of trading spaces

The provision of new street and square trading spaces aims to prioritise responding to where people are already trading, and to disrupt this as little as possible. This is based on the understanding of the acute sensitivity of these enterprises to foot traffic as well as the understanding that there are important social networks between traders that assist in the functioning of their enterprises. This includes neighbours watching each others stands and economic arrangements such as one trader providing a produce washing service to the traders around him. In order to truly leverage the contribution of informal food trade these networks must be preserved to the greatest degree possible.

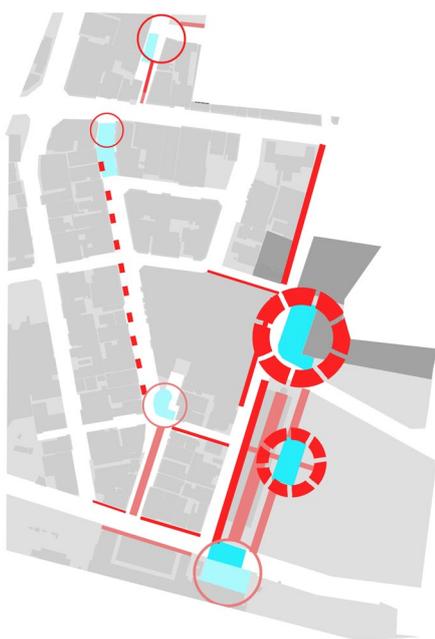


Figure 65: System of street and urban square informal trading areas diagram

- **The strategic provision of trading spaces along the sidewalks of key streets** (Tracey-White, 1995: 37). This provision should be rolled out in stages in order to allow for responsiveness to what areas are successful. In some areas, such as along Middestad Mall, this will involve widening the pavement to allow for minimal disruption to pedestrian flows

- **The activation of existing and the provision of new informal trade prioritising urban squares.** Existing squares should be upgraded on an individual basis, depending on the current conditions. The new trading squares established (indicated in bright blue) should be designed to maximise the space available for trading activity while still allowing for pedestrian movement. These squares should provide a range of trading space options, from painted bays and simple

structures to a formal kiosks.

- **Leveraging the land use system to protect informal trade to protect trading areas.** The amendment to the current Land Use Scheme could include establishing a land use category for predominantly informal trade orientated public spaces. This could be an important tool for spatially prioritising trade and ensuring that other forms of urban development do not encroach on this important use of land.

#### 6.2.2.2. Appropriate, Safe and Affordable Storage

- **The upgrading of the doors on the existing storage and provision of additional storage at the Interchange Centre.** This storage space should be subsidised. . The management proposal is also an important component of ensuring appropriate, safe and affordable storage. The new storage should be designed in consultation with traders to ensure that it overcomes previous issues and responds directly to trader requirements.

#### 6.2.2.3. Appropriate and Sufficient Sanitation Facilities

- **Upgrading of existing bathrooms with simple, durable and easy to clean fittings and the provision of an additional two bathroom blocks.** The current issues with the bathrooms are to do with cleaning and maintenance, to be dealt with in the management framework but additional bathrooms should be provided anticipation of increasing use.

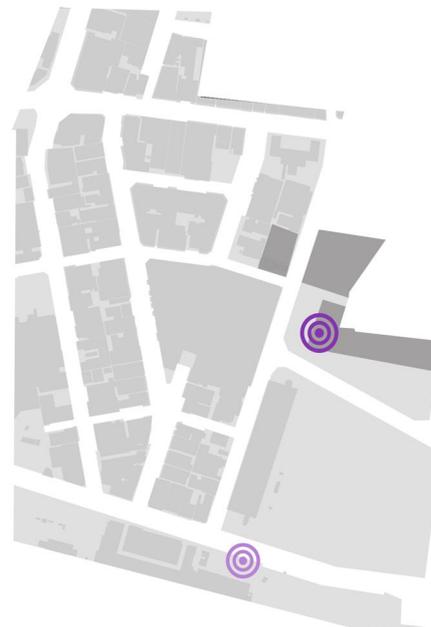


Figure 66: Storage Intervention diagram (Author, 2017) in



Figure 67: Sanitation and water diagram (Author, 2017)

#### 6.2.2.4. Accessible Water Points

The establishment of one tightly managed water point facility at the Interchange Centre. This is done with recognition that Cape Town is moving into a severely water scarce future and for that reason will be carefully managed, creating a livelihood opportunity. Food traders will have water allowance to ensure to sale of healthy and clean foods, which will be based on the food type sold. Strict guidelines for food type water allowance must be drawn up. The management of the water point will be subject to monitoring by the area team, outlined further on in the proposal.

### 6.3. Facilitative Management Proposal: Towards Collaboration

Rather than constituting merely an inferior, incomplete version of a proper system of market-based economic exchange, the commons of informal markets- performatively produced out of adverse circumstances- yield unique scope to re-work market protocols and effect a different form of sociality” (Mörtenböck & Mooshammer, 2015: 394-5)

Urban management paves the way for a common vision for development. It encompasses activities, instruments and strategies that make urban spaces function. Urban management can

unify the expectations and visions of the array of stakeholders at the BSP. This can be used to support the contribution of informal trade through making the space more efficient, safer and cleaner which in turn is positive for the functioning of these enterprises. It also makes economic sense for traders to be invested in the management of the space as it has a direct bearing on the functioning of their business, providing an opportunity for encouraging trader involvement and collaboration in the management of the space (Mattingly, 1995).

Based on this understanding of the vital importance of the management and governance of the space, alongside this conceptual spatial proposal, I provide a collaborative management framework for the Bellville Station Precinct. This is based on the understanding of the importance of management, especially in terms of maintenance and cleaning in determining whether these elements are actually functioning usable to the traders.

The severity of the poor performance of the current management model, outlined in chapter 6, indicates the need for a drastic rethinking of roles and responsibilities in order to change the trajectory of the space. This means a review of what should be left in the hands of local authorities, and what should be delegated (Tracey-White, 1999). In this case, the aim will be to establish to what degree traders and associations are interested in getting involved in management and daily operations and monitoring how this changes over time, as they see positive change in the space. Importantly this gives rise to the need for effective monitoring of outsourced functions, to ensure maintenance of standards. The proposed transition away from a centralised system is depicted below in figure 68.

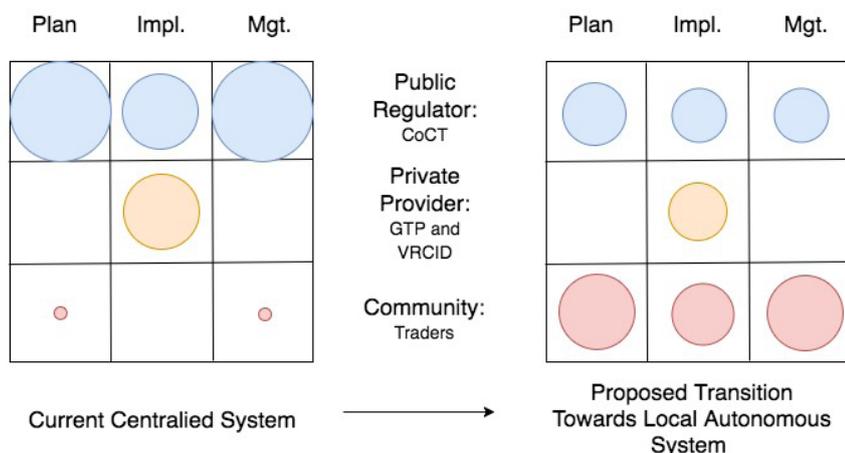


Figure 68: Diagram of Proposed Centralised to Collaborative Transition (Author, 2017 Adapted from Turner, 1976)

The proposed management model is based on the principle of facilitation. It moves away from the current punitive approach towards a constructively supportive one in which the City is committed to problem-solving and working with traders in order to maximize opportunities for business start-up and success (Dewar & Watson, 1990).

**Precedent:  
Warwick Junction**

In the case of Warwick Junction there are some water points managed by traders and the operations of bathroom facilities by the taxi associations. This provides an indication that this may be something that traders and other users of the space are interested in getting involved in after a degree of trust has been rebuilt. This needs to be subject to consistent monitoring to ensure it is benefitting the space (Dobson, Skinner & Nicholson, 2009, 127).

- **Drafting of the Norms and Standards for Trading Infrastructure and Services**

The research revealed that the only leverage traders have to hold the City accountable is to withhold their monthly payments in protest, but that this is currently being treated punitively. Traders in the space have attempted to use this tactic to put pressure on the City to improve the current situation but instead, have ended up in arrears afraid that they will not have their leases renewed for the next 3-year lease cycle. The issue identified here is that there is no mechanism for the traders to hold the City accountable for infrastructure and service provision.

We want [the City] to see to our problems on time, just like they want us to pay on time (ATA Chairperson, 30 October 2017)

In order to support the leverage that the traders have to hold the City accountable, the current management systems must be adjusted to ensure effective checks and balances to occur. The norms and standards contract will provide the tool of accountability, protecting the trader's leverage of withholding monthly payments and providing a clear basis against which the traders can check the delivery from the City. This contract should be tailored to this specific setting and should be collaboratively drafted by the City and traders. Listed here are initial guidelines for the norms and standards for the Bellville Station Precinct as established in collaboration with the ATA chairperson;

- Must outline a minimum % of bathrooms to be functioning at all times (suggested standard is 80%)
- Must outline safety standards including amount of police and security personnel and hours for them to be on site
- Must outline minimum business support services
- Must embed a greater degree of security of tenureship
- Must outline standards for each trading space option (including sizes and structure for simple bays, more structured bays and kiosks)
- Must outline a maximum response time for maintenance issues

In the case of the norms and standards being met, the contract embeds the right of traders to withhold monthly payments until such a time as the norms and standards are met. This contract is intended to deal with a large degree of the maintenance, cleaning and policing issues of the space.

**Precedent:**

**Minimum Norms and Standards for Public School Infrastructure, 2013**

The Minister of Basic Education promulgated these legally binding national norms and standards after years of campaigning by Equal Education. This included that every school must have water, electricity, internet, functional toilets, safe classrooms, maximum 40 learners per classroom, security and thereafter sports facilities, laboratories and libraries. The norms and standards provide a basis for which citizens can hold the state accountable where the provision of school infrastructure is not meeting these standards. This shows the importance of looking to civil society and social movement in order to learn and transfer established and tested ways in which citizens are able to hold the state accountable. (Equal Education, n.d.)

- **An area-based team must be established based on an Inter-departmental approach to include a range of skills and knowledge based in the management of the space.** Higher level City officials should be appointed as coordinators of the management, to ensure that the team has weight in dealing with other departments and to symbolise to the traders that

this is a priority of the City (Dobson, Skinner & Nicholson, 2009, 127). It is important that this team includes members from the various line departments included in the management of the space. This team should be based in the Interchange Centre and should be visibly interacting with the space and most importantly easy to contact and meet with (through the trader's self-organising structures).

- **Establishment of sub-committees to this area based team.** These sub-committees should cover safety, cleaning and other management areas. Each sub-community should be comprised of the relevant area based team member, traders who are willing to run on the committees for a one year term (with optional re-application for multiple terms). This will ensure the area based team is interfacing directly with traders as equal members of a committee, to ensure greater responsiveness when issues are raised.

#### Precedent:

##### Musika Market in Harare, Zimbabwe

In 1990 Dewar and Watson outlined how this market was not controlled by a market master and a supporting administrative staff but rather by a system of small internal committees. These committees consulted all affected parties and made decisions on all operational topics including policing, rubbish removal, fees and entrance charges (Dewar & Watson, 1990)

### 6.3.1. Regulatory Reform that Reflects an Attitude of Facilitation

This proposal includes a transition away from harsh punitive penalties for non-compliance towards incentivising compliance and abiding by regulations (Turok, Scheba & Visagie, 2017: 49). This regulatory reform is necessary to ensure a supportive trading landscape. This reform should deal with confiscation, verification and documentation but listed here are a few preliminary reform ideas, to be refined based on trader input

- **Use of priority status outlined in Informal Trading Policy, to ensure benefits for these traders.** This includes simplification of regulations for enterprises trading in food, subsidies permits and other benefits (Turok, Scheba & Visagie, 2017: 49). This involves de-linking food trader rentals from the property market in order to ensure an affordable trading fee.
- **Incentivising permits through the provision of supportive services and benefits.** This is proposed in order to ensure that traders feel it is beneficial, not just legally required, for them to hold a permit (SERI, Turok, Scheba & Visagie, 2017: 49). The benefits could include access to all workshops (including but not limited to business support services). An example of this incentive is to include a subsidised shuttle that runs every morning between Epping Market and BSP at certain times. In this way holding a permit becomes more appealing as it means access to a cheaper everyday transportation option.
- **Amendment to the Informal Trading Policy that eradicates the current anti-immigrant bias present** (Crush et al, 2015: 18; Haysom & Skinner: 2016). Having policy that allows for and facilitates foreign nationals accessing permits, as well as ensuring that the system as a whole (including the attitudes of officials) is consistent with this, is a non-negotiable prerequisite for dealing with the social tension at the BSP. This is also related to the creation of many more appropriately located trading spaces in the precinct, creating the opportunity for more traders to enter into the market space legally. Once foreign nationals have the same access to being permitted traders, there can be a drastic reduction in a number of people trading illegally,

which is the cause of much of the tension. In this way it is beneficial for all parties, including the City, to have a supportive permitting system that facilitates and encourages people, including foreign nationals trading through the official channels.

- **The provision of computer access and regulation and permit support at the Interchange Centre.** This supports new entry into the market by dealing with the issue of the current online-only permit application process, which disadvantages many potential traders who don't have access to the internet or a computer.

### 6.3.2. Security of Tenureship

- **Revision of three-year lease cycle for trading space in order to ensure security of tenure.** This is an important precondition for traders to feel invested enough in the space to want to work towards collective gains.

### 6.3.3. Provision of Supportive Services

Supportive services are an essential part of leveraging the contribution of informal food traders to urban food security. The provision of services that support the functioning and profitability of traders is important for their contribution to be sustained and grow a successful business. Listed here are the supportive service interventions proposed for the BSP.



Figure 69: Safety network diagram (Author, 2017)

#### 6.3.3.1. Ensuring Safety through Policing

- **Establishment of a 'safety network' throughout the precinct of visibility of security or police,** as seen in figure 69. This network is made up 'safety spots' at distances of roughly 100 meters apart. This distance is chosen as a walking distance of roughly 1 minute but also high visibility between these spots. Stationed at these safety spots a safety personal should be visible at all times. This includes private security guards, VRCID security guards, law enforcement or police. This responds to the challenge of lack of visible policing, slow response time to criminal activity and the difficulty some traders expressed, in finding some form of security when they felt they needed it. This network builds on existing visibility spots but creates a system of safety that responds to areas of high activation or criminal activity.

#### 6.3.3.2. Consistent Maintenance

The Norms and Standards agreement, outlined above is the suggested tool for dealing with the current lack of maintenance, as it provides a mechanism through which the traders are able to hold the City accountable when there are issues with maintenance.

#### 6.3.3.3. Cleansing and Waste Removal

- **The establishment of a recycling initiative,** based at the Interchange Centre will serve multiple functions. First of all, it provides a monetary incentive for users of the space to get involved in keeping the area clean and free from litter. Secondly, it provides an opportunity for additional income for traders or a livelihood opportunity for potential collectors. Thirdly, the initiative provides the opportunity for addressing the deep level of tension between the traders and the homeless people of the area, as the opportunity will be directed mainly to the

homeless people as a way of pulling them into to cleaning of the area. The homeless people are currently resented due to traders identifying them as a key source of cleanliness issues in the area. Incorporating the homeless people in a small way into the management of the space in the form of cleaning provides an opportunity for them to be included in the community of the space, rather than being seen as an outside issue by the traders. This initiative will include the buying back of recyclable materials by weight with the main focus on cardboard and plastic.

Precedent:  
Warwick Junction

The establishment of a buy back centre for cardboard collectors was established that involved mainly the allocation of land and purchasing of a scale but lead to collector incomes increasing by 250% (Dobson, Skinner & Nicholson, 2009, 127).

#### 6.3.3.4. Business Support Services

- **Regular business support and business skill-sharing workshops tailored to issues put forward by traders.** These workshops would be based at the Interchange Centre and could include skills transfers between South African and migrant entrepreneurs as part of diffusing the high levels of tension currently present. The Somali community in Cape Town has displayed a willingness to share knowledge, skills and practices (Crush et al, 2015: 18-19). This is also done with the understanding that the success of food traders business is desirable for urban food security.

#### 6.3.3.5. Dispute Resolution

- **Professionally mediated conflict resolution sessions by appropriate intermediary between the permitted traders, non-permitted traders and taxi drivers and associations.** The social tension has been allowed to reach a point of severity that necessitates a form of conflict resolution. This is necessary in order for trust to be incrementally built between users of the space, which is essential for increasing cooperation into the future that will lead to collective gains for those involved. These sessions should focus on the tension between the South African retailers and the migrant retailers, the permitted and unpermitted traders and the gatekeeping role of the taxi associations

## 7. Implementation Framework

Having outlined the proposal, this section will delineate the implementation framework necessary to bring the proposal into reality. First, it will provide a phasing overview for the proposal as a whole indicated in table 3 and 4. This overall phasing identifies the time frames of each strategy, providing an indication of what strategies are essential in the initial phase of the project (first three years) to catalyse the entire proposal. These key projects, identified through the overall implementation phasing are then further unpacked in table 5 in terms of funding sources, implementing agents and responsibilities, time frames and priority level.

### 7.1. Trader Prioritising Approach

The implementation approach is centred on inclusivity, participation and collaboration. This approach is understood as essential for implementation that is appropriate, flexible and responsive to the users of the space. This responsiveness is essential in fully leveraging the contribution of informal trade to food security.

In line with the implementation approach that prioritises informal trade, this proposal aims to

minimise the disruption to the traders while still putting forward strategic interventions. This includes the use of tactics such as phased development, which is already being used in the Kruskal Avenue Upgrading Project. With this approach, the intervention areas should be divided into clear sub-sections, with implementation occurring in sequence along these sections. This allows traders to be clear on the exact time frame that their business will be disrupted and will enable traders to be moved into an adjacent section for the period of intervention. This minimises the time that trading in each section is disrupted, avoiding the situation of a large-scale displacement of traders from their area of business for the length of the entire intervention. This strategy will be especially important in the case of the redesign of the taxi rank, as an area with the highest concentration of traders.

## 7.2. Integrated, Co-ordinated and Collaborative Implementation

The realisation of this proposal requires a high level of integration and coordination across the public sector, the private sector and civil society organisations. This coordination involves a higher degree of cohesion and consistency between different departments and spheres of government. The area-based management team and sub-committees outlined in the proposal are a key element in this integrated multi-disciplinary approach.

The Greater Tygerberg Partnership (GTP) will be a key role player in facilitating “partnerships and collaborative efforts between the private sector, civil society, academic institutions and all spheres of government” through the established network of stakeholders and localised knowledge (GTP, n.d.). The GTP will also be involved in a supportive capacity in overseeing implementation of the proposal and will be represented on the area based management team.

## 7.3. Leveraging Funding to Support Food Security

Markets must be treated as an essential form of infrastructure - as essential as roads, schools, or other urban elements - and confidence will not be engendered adequately until local- authority investment patterns reflect this (Dewar & Watson, 1990: 23).

The implementation of approach is based on the understanding that the provision of urban food markets that contribute to food security should be considered as a public service, to be run as a public good. The understanding of the urban market as an essential urban infrastructure, critical to food access in the city should open up sufficient funding from the state as well as opportunities for subsidised or not for profit funding models for the precinct (Dewar & Watson, 1990: 99).

An crucial contextual reality that brings substance to this proposal is that the City has already committed to upgrading the interchange in the coming years. This commitment comes with an initial R5 million fund allocation from the City, with a further R345 million allocated for infrastructure projects in the Voortrekker Corridor. The political commitment to upgrading the area, which has been stated publicly, in combination with the monetary commitment made by the City provides a solid foundation for the implementation of this proposal (Duval, 2017). As initial funds have already been secured by the City for the upgrade, many interventions can begin immediately.

The implementation of this proposal is centred on resourcefulness, based on the idea of maximising resources for maximum gains. In this way, the proposal aims to maximise impact based on available resources and will go beyond the state to leverage resources of various stakeholders to maximise available funds, skills and knowledge necessary for the realisation of this proposal. The Greater Tygerberg Partnership will be a crucial role player

Principle/ objective	Strategy	2017- 2020 <i>Catalytic Phase</i>	2021- 2025	2026- 2030	2031- 2035	2036- 2040
Acknowledging and Valuing the Contribution of Informal Food Trade to Urban Food Access	Food security added to the mandate of the municipality					
	The establishment of an interdisciplinary Urban Food Security Council for Cape Town					
	Creation of a holistic Food Security Policy					
	Amendment to current CoCT Informal Trading Policy to include the importance of role of informal food trade in food security					
Positive Engagement with the Traders: Facilitating Participation and Collaboration	Overcoming the current deep-seated lack of trust					
	Engaging traders and trader associations to co-develop responsive systems and plans					
	Move all public participation and information sessions and meetings to the proposed Interchange Centre					
	Including professional translators in meetings					
The Provision of Supportive Infrastructure	Construction of a new 'Interchange Centre'					
	Redesign of the taxi rank layout including an extension to the Paint City site					
	Channeling of pedestrian movement more directly between the modes of transport to increase commuter convenience					
	The strategic provision of trading spaces along the sidewalks of key streets					
	The activation of existing and the provision of new informal trade prioritising urban squares					
	Mixed-use high-density infill development prioritising ground floor small-scale retail					
	The upgrading of the doors on the existing storage					
	Provision of additional storage at the Interchange Centre					
	Upgrading of existing bathrooms with simple, durable and easy to clean fittings					
	Provision of an additional two bathroom blocks					
	The establishment of one tightly managed water point facility at the Interchange Centre					
Ensure consistent lighting in identified problem areas for safety purposes						

Table 3: Implementation Phasing Table 1

Objective	Strategy	2017-2020 <i>Catalytic Phase</i>	2021-2025	2026-2030	2031-2035	2036-2040
Facilitative Management that Fosters Collaboration	Drafting of the Norms and Standards for Trading Infrastructure and Services					
	Establishment of area-based team based on an Inter-departmental approach with sub-committees					
Facilitative Regulation	Use of priority status outlined in Informal Trading Policy, to ensure benefits for food traders					
	Incentivising permits					
	Amendment to the Informal Trading Policy that eradicates the current anti-immigrant bias and ensuring this filters down to attitude and actions of officials					
	Revision of three-year lease cycle					
The Provision of Supportive Services	Establishment of a 'safety network' throughout the precinct of visibility of security or police					
	The establishment of a recycling initiative, based at the Interchange Centre					
	Regular business support and business skill-sharing workshops tailored to issues put forward by traders					
	The provision of computer access and regulation and permit support at the Interchange Centre					
	Professionally mediated conflict resolution sessions by appropriate intermediary between the permitted traders, non-permitted traders and taxi drivers and associations					

Table 4: Implementation Phasing Table 2

## 8. Key Projects

The catalytic projects identified below, are the projects that are key to 'launching' the plan. The implementing agents, funding sources and time frames of each of these key projects are identified in the table below.

Objective	Strategy	Government Implementing Agents	Partnerships and non-state implementing agents	Funding Sources	Three Year Catalytic Phase		
					2018	2019	2020
Acknowledging and Valuing the Contribution of Informal Food Trade to Urban Food Access	The establishment of an interdisciplinary Urban Food Security Council for Cape Town (CTUFSC)	Dept. of City Health Dept. TDA Development Management Dept. City Manager Economic Development Dept. Environmental Management Dept. Social Development and Early Childhood Development Dept. Appropriate Mayoral Committee members	PHA AFSUN Academics Cape Town Partnership Public Health NGOs City-wide traders Associations  (Pulker, 2016)	CoCT Western Cape Government			
	Establishment of a holistic Food Security Policy	CT Urban Food Security Council	(Committee includes non-state actors)	CoCT Western Cape Government			
	Amendment to current CoCT Informal Trading Policy to include the importance of role of informal food trade in food security	CT Urban Food Security Council Economic Development Dept.	(Committee includes non-state actors)	CT Urban Food Security Council			
Positive Engagement with the Traders	Overcoming the current deep-seated lack of trust through financial and human resource investment and responsiveness	Area based management team (includes representatives from various departments)	Greater Tygerberg Partnership Trader Associations	CoCT Western Cape Government Greater Tygerberg Partnership			
	Engaging traders and trader associations to co-develop responsive systems and plans	Area based management team Mayoral Urban Regeneration Programme (MURP)	Greater Tygerberg Partnership Trader Associations	CoCT Greater Tygerberg Partnership			
The Provision of Supportive Infrastructure	Construction of a new 'Interchange Centre'	Area based management team TDA	Greater Tygerberg Partnership Trader Associations	CT Urban Food Security Council MURP Western Cape Government Greater Tygerberg Partnership Local private businesses			
	Redesign of the taxi rank layout including an extension to the Paint City site	Area based management team TDA	Greater Tygerberg Partnership Trader Associations Taxi Associations Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading (VPUU)	MURP TDA Greater Tygerberg Partnership Local private businesses			
	Channeling of pedestrian movement more directly between the modes of transport to increase commuter convenience	Area based management team TDA	Greater Tygerberg Partnership Trader Associations VPUU	MURP TDA Greater Tygerberg Partnership Local private businesses			
	The strategic provision of trading spaces along the sidewalks of key streets	Area based management team TDA Economic Development Dept.	Greater Tygerberg Partnership Trader Associations VPUU	MURP CT Urban Food Security Council MURP Western Cape Government Greater Tygerberg Partnership Local private businesses			
	The activation of existing and the provision of new informal trade prioritising urban squares	Area based management team TDA Economic Development Dept.	Greater Tygerberg Partnership Trader Associations VPUU	MURP CT Urban Food Security Council MURP Western Cape Government Greater Tygerberg Partnership Local private businesses			
	Mixed-use high-density infill development prioritising ground floor small-scale retail	Area based management team	Private Developers	Private Developers			
	Upgrading of existing bathrooms with simple, durable and easy to clean fittings	Area based management team	Trader Associations	CoCT			
Facilitative Management that Fosters Collaboration	Establishment of area-based team based on an Inter-departmental approach with sub-committees	Law Enforcement and Security Dept. Metro Police Dept. Solid Waste Management Dept. TDA (spatial planner, urban designer, transport expert) MURP committee member Area based management team	Greater Tygerberg Partnership Trader Associations	CoCT			
	Drafting of the Norms and Standards for Trading Infrastructure and Services	Area based management team	Trader Associations Conflict Resolution Consultant	Area based management team			
Facilitative Regulation	Revision of three-year lease cycle to ensure security of tenureship	Area based management team Economic Development Dept.	Trader Associations	CoCT			
The Provision of Supportive Services	Establishment of a 'safety network' throughout the precinct of visibility of security or police	Area based management team	Greater Tygerberg Partnership Trader Associations VPUU	CoCT VRCID Greater Tygerberg Partnership			
	Professionally mediated conflict resolution	Area based management team	Trader Associations Conflict Resolution Consultant	CoCT			

Table 5: Key Projects (Author, 2017).

## 9. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the proposal for the Bellville Station Precinct. It has demonstrated how spatial planning could play an important role in protecting and leveraging the contribution of informal trade to urban food security through the application of the framework for a supportive spatial planning role, developed through this dissertation. In response to the contextualities of the BSP and the framework itself, the proposal took a three-pronged approach. Firstly, institutional and legal shifts necessary for a transition towards the acknowledgement of the contribution of informal trade were outlined. Secondly, the concept design proposal illustrated how food traders could be spatially prioritized and provided with the necessary supportive infrastructure. Lastly, the facilitative management proposal was outlined. This proposal should be understood as a holistic recommendation that necessitates the implementation of all three aspects for the informal trade contribution to be truly leveraged. Following the proposal, this chapter has also outlined the implementation framework for realising the proposal. The implementation framework included both overall phasing as well as key projects.

# Chapter 8

## Conclusion

### 1. Introduction

The literature review has outlined that there is a high prevalence of urban food insecurity in cities of the global south, including Cape Town, and that this affects economically stressed urban residents disproportionately. Despite the fact that this issue is expected to increase into the future, it remains largely invisible to planners and policymakers. The invisibility of this issue can be attributed to the persistence of the rural and productionist framing of the issue with a strong focus on availability, which has led to the neglect of the dimensions of access to food. Included in this invisibility of urban food access has been the lack of recognition for the important role of informal food trade in supporting access to food for economically stressed residents.

To confront this previous neglect of such a wide-scale, pressing and fundamental issue, a shift towards spatial planning that values and supports the contribution of informal food trade is essential. This research has aimed to respond to the need for this shift towards a practice of spatial planning that leverages the contribution of informal trade to urban food security. This is done through exploring the role of informal trade in the Bellville Station Precinct, understanding the role that spatial planning is currently playing and how this role could be improved in this setting.

This chapter will provide an overview of the key findings in relation to the two main research questions, points of interest that emerged from the research and suggested future areas of research.

### 2. The Role Played by the BSP Informal Food Traders in Urban Food Security

The findings of this research revealed that informal food traders in the precinct are supporting food access to users of the space. This is based on the way in which all entitlement enhancing informal trader strategies identified through the literature review, are being applied by traders in the precinct. While the degree of application of these strategies varies, it can be said that food traders at the BSP are making an crucial contribution to urban food security through supporting physical, economic and preferential access to food through the application of various strategies.

### 3. Leveraging the Contribution of Informal Trade Through Spatial Planning: Towards Food Sensitive Planning

The research revealed that the in fulfilling this role, food traders of the BSP face a myriad of challenges and obstacles. These difficulties experienced are a combination of systemic issues and more site-specific managerial and operational issues. Xenophobia, gender discrimination and the prevalence of criminal activity emerged as the significant systemic issues that hinder these enterprises.

The findings revealed that many of the site-specific issues are related to or are exacerbated by the current role of City. The current role was analysed against the framework for a supportive spatial planning role, established through this dissertation, which revealed that the contribution of BSP

food traders is currently being undermined by the role of the City. This analysis revealed that lack of appropriately located trading spaces, inconsistent and insufficient maintenance of infrastructure (especially toilets), lack of policing and a putative regulatory environment are key challenges hindering the traders in fulfilling their potential food security contribution. Another key issue is that lack of regulation on the taxi rank which has led to many unpermitted traders capturing commuter business before the permitted traders can, leading to high degrees of frustration and social tension. In addition, traders feel they are not involved in meaningful participatory processes, and they experience a complete lack of action from the communication channels with the City that are available to them. As a result, this deep frustration and participation fatigue have set in, and in turn, self-organisation structures have broken down.

#### 4. Points of Interest

There are three surprising points of interest highlighted in this section that emerged through the research. Firstly, contradictory to previous research, the findings of this research indicate that informal food retail is cheaper than the most used formal retail option in the area (Shoprite) per unit for fresh produce.

Secondly, while previous research indicates that formal food retail and supermarkets may push out informal retailers, the informal retailers of the BSP indicated to having a relatively symbiotic relationship with formal retail in the BSP. This is indicated in the way that traders insist on locating outside of Middestad Mall (which contains Shoprite) despite the fact that it increased their vulnerability to law enforcement as there are currently no legal bays in this area. The traders who expressed this stated that their business comes from the customers to the mall in general, and Shoprite specifically. Some fresh produce traders insisted they needed to locate as close as possible to the formal butcheries, as people buying meat would need vegetables for their cooking. This symbiosis with formal retail indicates that a more inclusive and mutually beneficial form of development that accommodates informal retail in formal retail developments is possible and potentially beneficial to both traders and customers. Further research into the development of this specific mall and the conditions that make it a source of business, rather than undermining the business of these traders is required to understand how this symbiotic relationship could be replicated in the development of shopping malls elsewhere.

Lastly, despite the prevalence of crime and the high degree of social tension and indeed hostility of South African traders towards foreign national traders, especially Somali traders, foreign national traders still consider this a safer space to trade than the majority of other areas in the city. This highlights the severity of the experience of xenophobia in other parts of the city.

#### 5. Areas for Future Research

The research was conducted at a time when the Bellville Station Precinct is facing many potential changes, both in terms of the proposed upgrades, the implementation of a safety strategy from the MURP as well as the potential for the introduction of a new management plan. Due to this, I suggest that further research should be carried out as these changes unfold, to track and understand the effect of these changes in this vital space in the mobility of the city. Continued research on the precinct over time could create a robust case study providing invaluable insight into the way in which City and specifically spatial planning decisions and interventions, both in terms of physical interventions as well as governance interventions, are able to support (or undermine) the current role of informal trade.

Another area for potential research is a detailed look at the role of land use planning specifically in leveraging the contribution of informal food trade to urban food security. In relation to a food systems approach, another area for further research that was noted during this study relates to wholesale markets. The majority of both fresh produce and prepared food traders source their

produce from Epping Market, which is privately managed. The research indicated that this is having an adverse effect on both the traders who source there and the small-scale farmers (many from Philippi Horticultural Area) who provide the produce. The private market agents maximise their own profit, having negative implications for what farmers earn for their produce as well as raising the prices of what traders have to pay. Further research is important in understanding the full value chain of the food traders to ensure the protection and enhancing of this contribution. This research should focus on the implications of the private for-profit management model and could generate suggestions for how the wholesale market model could be adjusted in order to support urban food security.

The support of the food access contribution made by informal food trade is one aspect of food sensitive planning and urban design. This points to the need for further context-specific research that addressed the other aspects of food sensitive planning and urban design to develop a robust, holistic and comprehensive framework for food sensitive planning and urban design in the South African setting. Within this, the framework for a supportive spatial planning role in relation to informal food trade, developed through this dissertation, provides a foundation for further improvement and refining through future research.

## 5. Conclusion

This research has made an attempt, proportionate to the limited time and scope of this dissertation, to understand how informal food trade at the Bellville Station Precinct is currently supporting the food security of economically stressed urban residents of Cape Town, and the role that spatial planning can play in leveraging this contribution.

Based on the research, a proposal for the way in which informal food trade could be supported in the precinct has been outlined. This proposal was based on the framework for a supportive spatial planning role, developed through this dissertation. In applying this framework in order to respond to the contextualities of the Bellville Station Precinct, a three-pronged proposal emerged. This proposal included a proposal for necessary legislative, institutional and legal changes, a conceptual design framework for how this trade could be spatially prioritised as the precinct develops, and a collaborative management framework. The proposal was accompanied by an implementation framework to outline the overall phasing of the proposal as well as detailing the implementation of key projects.

This research was conducted based on the hope that through both research and practical application over time that a responsive, effective and multifaceted food sensitive planning practice will be established in South Africa and elsewhere, to ensure greater food security as we move into an uncertain future.

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# Annexure 1 Ethics Approval

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

## APPLICATION FORM

**Please Note:**

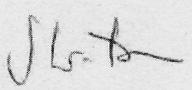
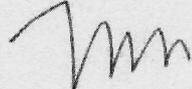
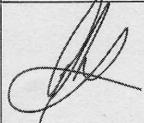
Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form **before** collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application *prior* to embarking on research is to ensure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

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant	Robyn Park-Ross	
Department	Architecture, Planning and Geomatics	
Preferred email address of applicant:	rparkross@gmail.com	
If a Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.,	MCRP
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	Prof Vanessa Watson
If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship	N/A	
Project Title	The role of Spatial Planning in enabling informal trade's contribution to urban food security	

**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	Robyn Park-Ross		23/06/2017

APPLICATION APPROVED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	Professor Vanessa Watson		23/6/2017
HOD (or delegated nominee) Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section 1; and for all Undergraduate research (Including Honours).	IAN LOW		23/6/17
Chair : Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.	G SITHOLE		26/7/2017

# Annexure 2

## Interview Questionnaires

### 1. Informal Trade Unions and Organisations:

Mrs Fredericks

Chairperson

African Traders Association

Aim: establish organisational/ management structures and their governance experience

Firstly can you describe the African Traders Association, a little bit of background and how many traders you represent

IF NOT COVERED: how did the association start and how and when did it come to Bellville

1. What type of traders do you represent
2. Are you linked to other organisations, unions, branches of your association or markets in Cape Town or otherwise
3. What are the other main organisations or associations active in this area, what kind of traders do they represent and what are your relationships with these associations?
4. For my dissertation I am specifically looking at food traders and I am wondering if there are any specific organisations for them or sub committees? In other words do food traders organise in a specific way?
5. What is your experience of your relationship with the city and what are the difficulties faced in this relationship
6. Do you feel like there is sufficient engagement with the traders (so I know you have meetings with the city regularly but do you feel like this is enough)
7. What is your experience of the relationship between law enforcement and the traders and you as the association
8. What is your experience of the relationship between vrcid and the traders and you as the association
9. How do you think that management and regulation of the space could be different so that it was more supportive and responsive to traders
10. What are the main challenges traders face
11. Are there any issue that get raised that are specific to any of the food traders
12. What are the main challenges you have faced in representing these traders
13. How do you think these challenges could be addressed
14. What are the crime hotspot areas (BLUE) and what do you think is the best way to address crime in the area
15. Through some of other interviews it seems to be coming across that there is quite a lot of tension between those trading in the taxi rank and other areas, could you explain the dynamic to me and how you think it could maybe be resolved
16. The City is saying that it is going to put a lot of money into this area in the near future, how do you think that traders should be incorporated into the future developments/ upgrades?
17. If more space were to be allocated to traders, where do you think it should be (RED)
18. Do you think there are specific services and infrastructure that is currently missing from the space that would help traders business be more successful? (eg taps, toilets, storage etc) and

if so where are the issues and where could there be extra provision (ORANGE)

19. In your experience does it appear that the traders operating at Bellville Station are experiencing similar difficulties to other traders across Cape Town and if so what are these difficulties
20. What do you foresee as the biggest future challenges for the traders in this space
21. What information are you as an organisation or traders in general lacking that would be helpful for traders (specifically around rules, regulations and rights to trade)
22. What is the relationship between the food traders and the other traders
23. What nationalities of traders do you represent

## 2. Informal Traders

Aim: establish their experience of trading in the space and how they can be supported

1. How long have you been trading at Bellville Station
2. Why have you decided to trade here
3. How did you secure a stall here
4. How often and what times do you trade here?
5. What are the main unions/ organisations here and contact details?
6. Do you belong to any union or organisation?
7. What type of food products do you sell
8. Why do you choose to sell these products
9. Where do you source your products from
10. Do you offer any deals to help your customers (such as deals, discounts or credit systems)
11. If yes, do you find these methods effective
12. Have you experienced any difficulties in trading in this space (with other traders, the city, customers or any difficulty)
13. What are the biggest obstacles for your business
14. Where do you store your produce
15. Do you have any other comments about your experience of trading at this station
16. What would you like to see differently, what do you need in the space that would help your business but is currently missing
17. MAPPING: If the market was to expand where do you think it should expand to (please indicate in red), can you specify other things that you would like to see in the space in blue (taps, ATMs, etc), indicate unsafe areas in

## 3. Customers

Aim: establish why they chose informal food trade

1. How often do you buy food at this market
2. How often do you pass through this station
3. Which part of the interchange are you coming from and which part are you heading to (eg. came from the taxis and going to the train)
4. How often do you buy food from other markets
5. Do you prefer to shop at markets or supermarkets and why?
6. What type of food do you buy at this market and why
7. What type of food do you buy at supermarkets and why
8. What are your staple food items
9. Where do you get these staple food items
10. What are the advantages of shopping here
11. What is your main issue with this area
12. The City is saying that they are going to upgrade these areas, what do you think would make the space better for you as a customer do you think (it could be anything like the layout

## 4. Market Management

Liesl Ann Kenny

District Area Coordinator – Area 3

Area Based Service Delivery

Informal Trading, CoCT

1. What is your role as district area coordinator for area 3 (I'm assuming that is the Bellville area) What department do you fall under since the reshuffling and what is the overarching aim of this department
2. What would you say is your position as well as your department's position on informal trade around stations (eg. supportive/ encouraging or think it's a bad idea)
3. Around the issue of permits could you explain the process and details to me, specifically: how much does it cost for the permits, how often does the process take to acquire a permit, how often does it have to be renewed and what does it entitle the trader to and how do bays get allocated?
4. What is your experience of how people respond to the allocated bays and spaces
5. I've noticed from being in the space that many of these bays remain empty while traders prefer to trade in other areas that they identify as better for their business, first is this something that is on your radar and secondly are there any plans or ideas on how to be more responsive to where people want to trade?
6. What are the management tactics in place/ how are informal traders in the space managed?
7. What are the kinds of regulations in place
8. Are there extra regulation for food trade
9. Role of VRCID in management/ regulation of the area
10. What do you perceive their attitude towards traders to be?
11. What are the services and infrastructure provided from your side?
12. Is there any consideration for extra requirements that food traders may have of the space in service and infrastructure provision
13. What are the issues and challenges faced in the management and regulation of the space
14. How do you deal with issues of crime and safety
15. What is the current participation process for management (i.e. how included are traders in the management of the area?)
16. Do you meet regularly with the traders and if so how often?
17. Are there specific trader organisations/ unions that represent groups of traders? If so what are their names and contact details
18. What are the main comments/ issues/ challenges that are raised by the traders or other stakeholders involved in the process
19. How are these addressed?
20. What is the long and short term thinking or plans for the informal markets in this area (is there talk of expansion especially in the context of
21. What do you think is the role of informal food traders in the city
22. Lastly, do you have any other comments on your experience in this area
23. Thanks for your time, Would it be possible to join for a trader meeting?

## 5. Project Manager for Upgrading of Kruskal Avenue

Sonette Smit

Landscape Architect

TDA, CoCT

Note: interviewed in her personal capacity, not as a City employee but rather based on her experience and understanding

Aim: establish perceptions of and plans for the site and specifically the informal traders

1. First of all can you explain to me your role as Project Manager
2. Why was this space chosen as the catalyst of the area
3. I see that inclusivity is a key principle in the proposed design which includes economic diversity, can you tell me how this principle is enacted in the design
4. What was the response to the public display and what kind of comments did you receive from stakeholders in the comments phase
5. What are the major changes you have or are making since these comments
6. Can you walk me through the public participation process for the entire project for including stakeholders, I am especially interested in how the voice of the traders has been included in the plans and how it will be included going forward?
7. What do you identify as the key issues of the space
8. How does the proposal change things for traders (for example is there more/ less/ the same amount of trading bays and do the bays change at all)
9. What kind of time frames are being looked at for this upgrading
10. Can you speak at all to the upgrade of the PTI which has been indicated by the City and how that might look, what the aim of that upgrade is and how the traders will be considered and included
11. What else is being planned for the area, for example what is the thinking around the Belcon site to the South of the Station?
12. Any other plans in the works?
13. Can you give me a brief idea of what it is about this corridor that makes the city think its so important and leads them to focus so much investment in the area?
14. The City is committing a lot of investment into the area so what do they see the current role of this node (like the broader Bellville PTI area) in the city currently and what are they hoping the role will be through all the investment and upgrading
15. What does the City see the role of informal traders in this future (Considering the need for infill development and densification (as per city policy) and the rate of development, do you think there is space in the city for these traders?)

## 6. VRCID Urban Manager

Jean Beukman

Urban Manager

Bellville CBD Precinct

VRCID

1. What is your role as precinct manager for Bellville CBD
2. What is the role of the VRCID in management and regulation of the area, including what is the relationship between the VRCID and the city in terms of how responsibilities are shared
3. What would you say the as well as your department's position on informal trade around station is, for example into the future do you think there should be more/ less/ the same amount of informal trade
4. How long has the VRCID been operating in the area and do you think it has made a difference to the general state of the area?
5. How much interaction does the VRCID have with informal traders
6. What are the management tactics in place/ how are informal traders in the space managed?
7. What is your experience of how people respond to the allocated bays and spaces
8. Is there any difference in how you deal with food traders than other traders
9. I've seen the VRCID portable kiosks and security people in the area, what power does the VRCID have to interact with people (so for eg not being the police would you call the police if you see illegal activity or would they try and intervene)
10. You mentioned something in your email about fake permits could you explain that to me
11. You also mentioned that people are trading in places other than where they were allocated,

- could you expand on this and explain why you think this is and
12. What could/ do you think should be done about this
  13. What are the issues and challenges faced in the management and regulation of the space both generally and in relation to traders
  14. How do you deal with issues of crime and safety
  15. I know there are various participation meetings which include the traders in order to establish what their main challenges and issues are and I was wondering how involved the VRCID is in these types of meetings? Are there any that you or other VRCID members attend regularly or are involved and if so do you find this helpful?
  16. Lastly, do you have any other comments on your experience in this area