

**STATE/  
SOCIETY  
SYNERGY**

*in Philippi, Cape Town*

# FOOD SECURITY:

*As a lens on the Lived Experience  
Of Poverty in Philippi*

JANE BATTERSBY

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## INTRODUCTION

A city is what it eats. Food is central to the health, culture, economy and experience of urban areas and their citizens. And yet, this vital lens to understand our cities is often neglected. This chapter draws on the data set generated from the 2008 African Food Security Urban Network's (AFSUN)<sup>1</sup> baseline survey conducted in Philippi, Khayelitsha and Ocean View to illuminate aspects of the lived experience of the urban food system and therefore, life more broadly in Philippi.

The main purpose of this chapter is to investigate food insecurity in Philippi and to demonstrate the factors from the household and individual to city scale that shape people's ability to access sufficient, affordable, nutritious food. Food is a valuable lens through which to view life in areas like Philippi for a number of reasons. Through focussing on food choices it is possible to engage with the ways in which the local economy operates, the connections between different parts of the city and the interplay between economic and cultural practices. By investigating how people access food over time it is possible to develop an understanding of the dynamic dimensions of poverty that are often unseen in conventional poverty research.

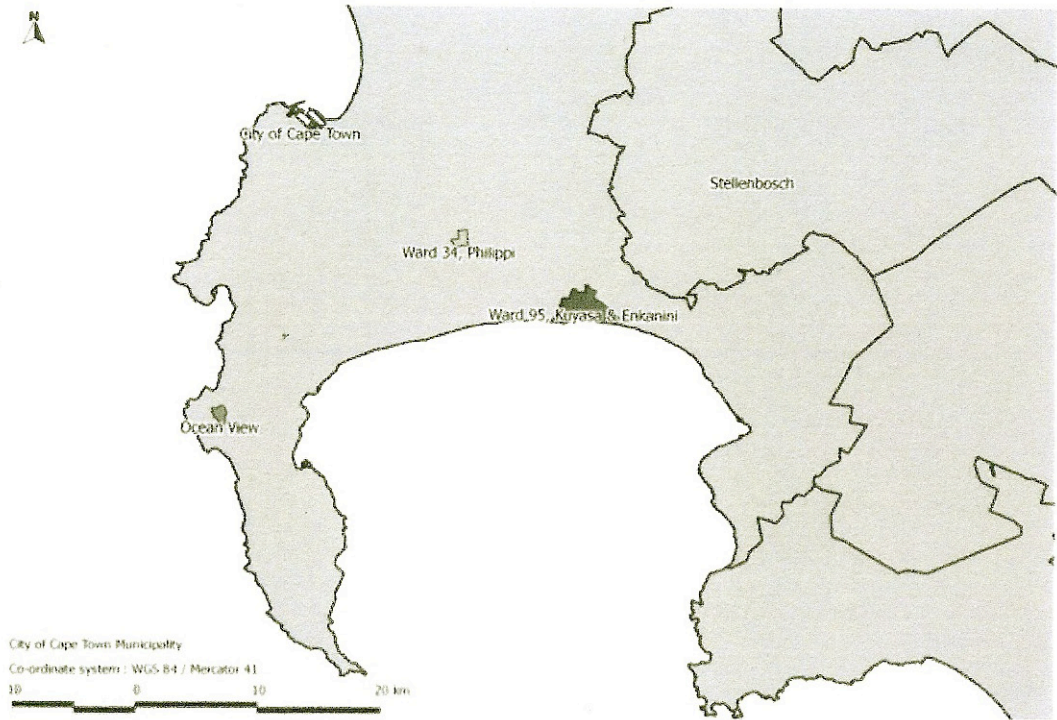
This chapter has three main sections. The first of these presents the core demographic and economic findings from the AFSUN survey. The chapter then considers the various dimensions of food insecurity, and finally addresses the factors that determine food security and food choice.

## METHODOLOGY

The African Food Security Urban Network was established in 2007 to address the challenges associated with rising poverty and food insecurity in the rapidly growing cities of Africa. Given the paucity of existing data, the first task of the programme was to conduct a baseline survey

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on urban food security in poor areas of each of AFSUN's 11 partner cities. While food insecurity is recognised to be a manifestation of income poverty in urban areas, the survey also examined the influence of gender, housing and other household variables on levels of food insecurity. The AFSUN urban food security survey was conducted simultaneously in 11 cities in nine SADC countries: Blantyre, Cape Town, Gaborone, Harare, Johannesburg, Lusaka, Maputo, Maseru, Msunduzi and Windhoek. The survey's aim was not simply to quantify the challenge, but to investigate how urban design and management impacted the extent and characteristics of food security in urban areas. It was conducted as a series of case studies of sites in low-income areas, rather than as a representative sample across the cities, to enable analysis of the interplay between households and their broader spatial and economic environment. In Cape Town the three sites were Ocean View, Ward 95 (Enkanini and Kuyasa, Khayelitsha) and Ward 34 (Brown's Farm, Philippi), in which respectively 266, 394 and 389 households were sampled. Given the



**Figure 4.1:** Location of field sites

limitations of existing datasets in these areas, the sampling strategy was developed through using recent aerial photographs provided by the City of Cape Town. The number of housing units within the study area was calculated from the aerial photographs and a sampling interval was determined from this number. Fieldworkers then visited every housing unit at this interval to ensure that the household types were representative of the area as a whole. In order to assess food insecurity, three key measures were used: the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS), Dietary Diversity (HDDS) and Months of Inadequate Household Food Provisioning (MIHFP). The HFIAS was devised by the Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance Programme (FANTA) of USAID as a universally applicable food insecurity measurement tool.<sup>2</sup> The HDDS and MIHFP measures were similarly devised by FANTA as 'two strategic objective level indicators of household food access'.<sup>3</sup> The food source data generated from the survey are

used within this chapter in conjunction with food retail characteristics of the field sites and the employment data from the survey to develop a spatial approach to food security.

## HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

The most up-to-date official statistics at the time of the survey for the City of Cape Town were from Census 2001. Given the rapidly changing nature of low-income areas in the City, these statistics provided a limited insight into the current lived experience of these areas. The AFSUN data were collected in October 2008 and therefore provided a more recent snapshot. Subsequent to drafting this chapter, Census 2011 data has been made available. As noted in the methodology, the sampling strategy was based on drawing a stratified sample from aerial photography provided by the City. This approach was believed to be the most appropriate way to

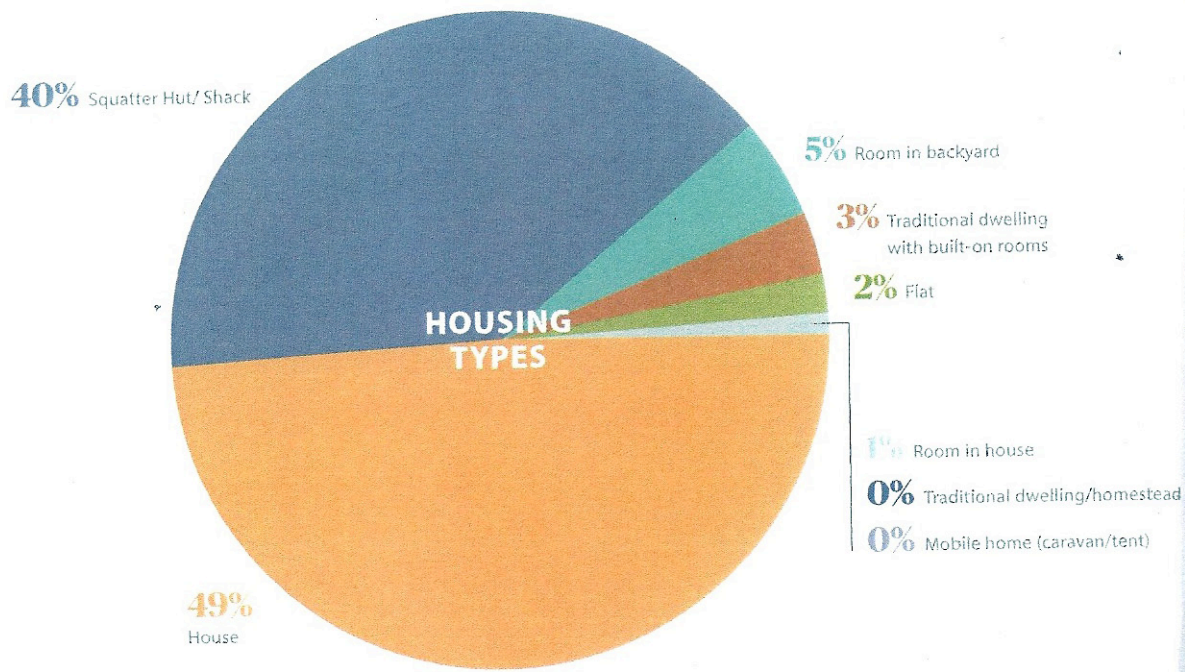


Figure 4.2: Housing types

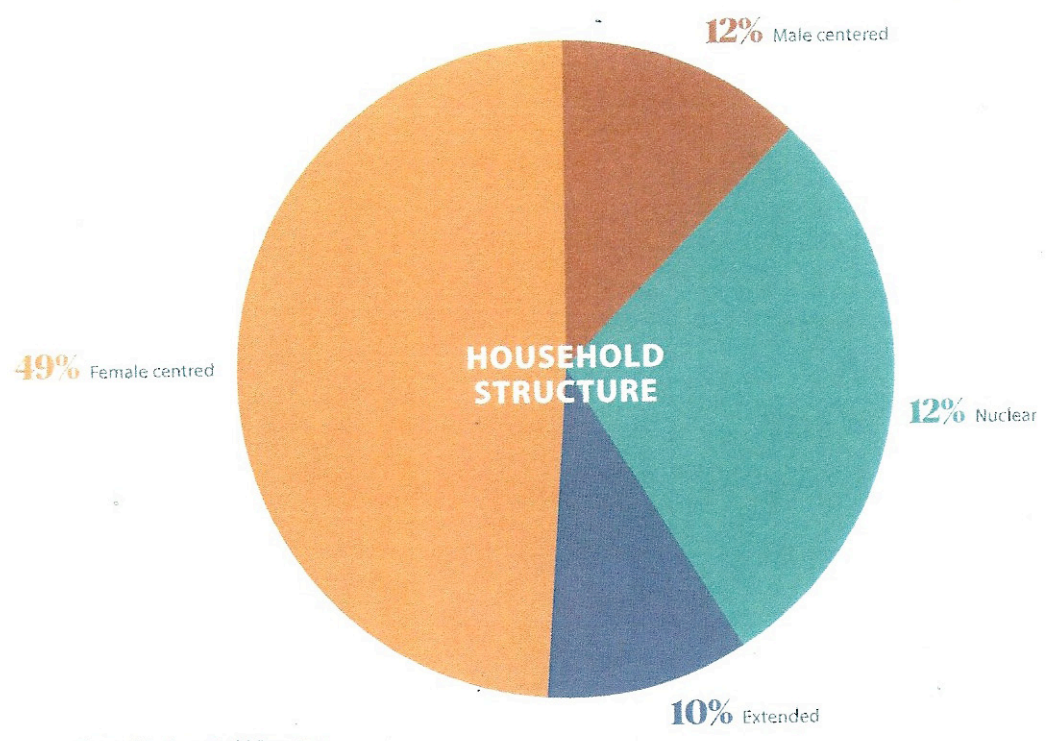


Figure 4.3: Household Structure

capture households in formal houses, shacks in informal settlements and backyard dwellings in the representative proportions.

The survey interviewed 389 households, which included 1515 people. Of this sample 49% lived in houses and 40% in shacks (see Figure 4.2). The Khayelitsha site, which will be used for comparative purposes, had a far higher proportion of households living in shacks (64% of sampled households).

As Figure 4.3 illustrates, the Philippi sample had the highest proportion of female-centred households (49%) of the three sites. In addition, a further 16 households identified a female as household head. A female-centred house is one in which the self-identified head of household is female with no adult male present. A female-headed household is one in which the self-identified head of the household is female, but an adult male is also considered to be part of the household. This places total female headship at over 53% of sampled households. It is perhaps of interest to note that while 24% of respondents over the age of 15 identified their marital status as married, only 15% of households identified a spouse or partner as one of the residents of the house.

The sampled population was young, as shown in Figure 4.4. The population was a little less youthful than that of the Khayelitsha site, with 28.1% and 71.5% of sampled individuals in the Philippi sample being under 15 or under 35 years old respectively, compared with 31.1% and 77.8% of the sample in Khayelitsha.

As expected, a high proportion of the sampled population were rural to urban migrants. In the Philippi sample, 62.0% of residents identified as rural to urban migrants, compared to 66.8% in the Khayelitsha site. Intra-city movement was also significant within the Philippi population, which 28.0% of the population reporting being born in a different part of the city, compared with 20.7% in the Khayelitsha site. In Ocean View 51.6% had experienced intra-city movement, largely due to forced removals under the Group Areas Act.

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## **EMPLOYMENT, INCOME AND EXPENDITURE**

Within the Philippi sample, over half the working age population were unemployed, with just 46.2% of the population identifying themselves as employed. Over three quarters of the employed fell into six occupational groups: Domestic work (24.2%), Service work (12.7%), Unskilled manual (11.8%), Security (10.1), Skilled manual (9.5%) and Own business (9.5%). The proportion involved in their own business was the highest of the three sampled areas. The possible reasons for this are discussed below. Given the location of the Philippi site relative to the Philippi Horticultural Area it was surprising that merely 2.9% of the working population were employed as farm workers, whereas in the Khayelitsha site, 4.8% of the population were employed in this sector. The higher proportion of farm workers in Khayelitsha may be explained by the proximity of the field site to Baden Powell Drive with easy access to the Stellenbosch agricultural area.

As expected State-provided grants and pensions

**‘Some of the most vulnerable households are not able to draw grants because they do not have the required documentation.’**

were prevalent sources of household income. Of the 389 households sampled, 42.9% reported some form of income from grants. The proportion of households reporting income from wage work was only marginally higher, at 44.2%. The only other prevalent source of income was casual labour, which was reported by 27.2% of households.<sup>4</sup> While the Philippi and Khayelitsha sites were similar in many ways, two categories of income source featured within the Philippi site which were largely absent in Khayelitsha. These are a function of the relative location of the sites. In Philippi 9.8% of households were generating some income from rent, compared to merely 0.3% of Khayelitsha households. The Philippi site did have a higher proportion of formal houses, and so had the capacity for more backyard rentals, but this does not fully account for this difference. With 31.8% of the Khayelitsha sample living in formal houses, one could expect significant income from rental here too. The difference is possibly due to the fact that the Philippi site is well located with regard to major transport routes and potential sites of employment, such as the Airport Industrial Area and Epping, which make it a more attractive location for job seekers.<sup>5</sup> This places a premium on space and allows a rental market to develop. The second difference was that 8.5% of sampled households derived income from an informal business, compared to just 2.3% of the Khayelitsha households. This again may be a

function of the geography of the sites. The role of Philippi as a transit hub may provide greater opportunity for informal traders.<sup>6</sup>

The differences in income source profile between the Philippi and Khayelitsha sites does raise questions though, about the role of location and infrastructure in shaping income generation opportunities. This has further resonance when alternative livelihoods are considered, as will be discussed later in this section.

Although grants were a common source of income, the median income from these grants was just R440 per month (the equivalent of two child grants at the 2008 rate), whereas the median income from wage work was R2000. 15.9% of households were receiving income from both grants and wage work. It is interesting to note that the proportion of households drawing grants in Ocean View, a site with more than half of the all households sampled within the high income tercile,<sup>7</sup> was higher than in both Philippi and Khayelitsha (54.2% of households). In addition, the median income from grants in Ocean View was R940, over double that of Philippi and Khayelitsha. This is perhaps the outcome of there being more households drawing old age pensions in Ocean View than the other sites due to their different demographic profile. This discrepancy highlights the concern that some of the most vulnerable households are not able to draw grants because they do not have the required documentation. This is a problem acknowledged by NGOs active in the area, such as The Warehouse, which target their food distribution at households unable to draw child care grants even though there are children who do qualify.

The median household income in the Philippi sample was R1540 per month, which falls below the poverty line of R1600 per month used in Census 2001. In the Khayelitsha sample, the median income was R1600 per month, compared to R3000 in the Ocean View sample.

The survey also asked households about the use

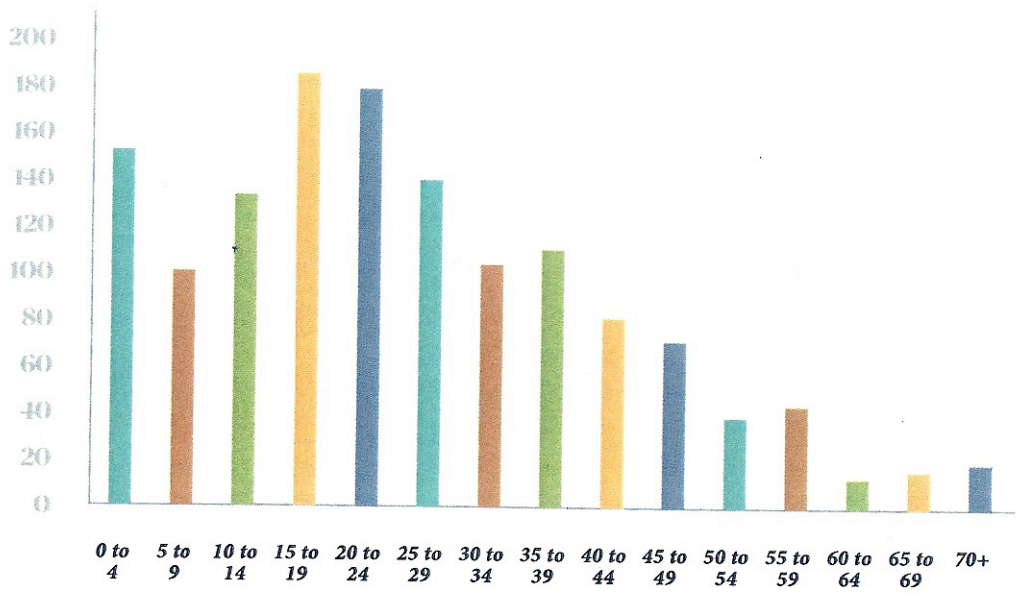


Figure 4.4: Age of sampled population

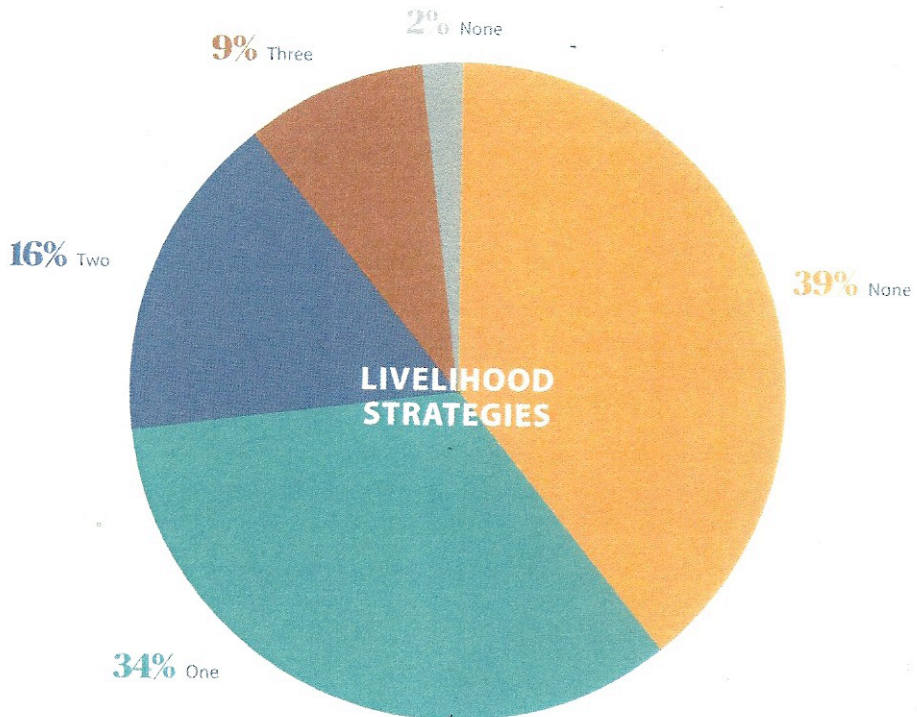
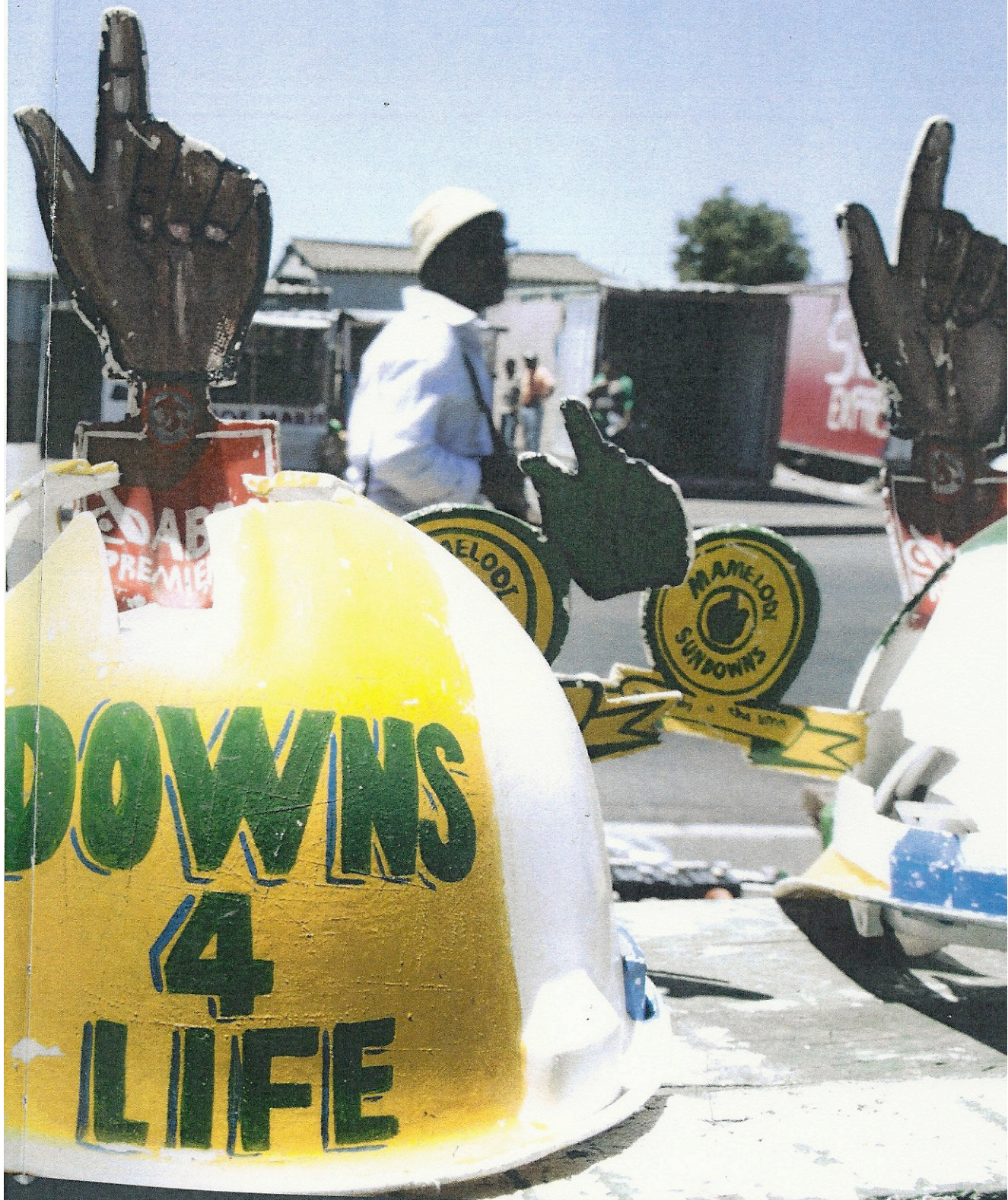


Figure 4.5: Number of alternative livelihood strategies in Phillippi







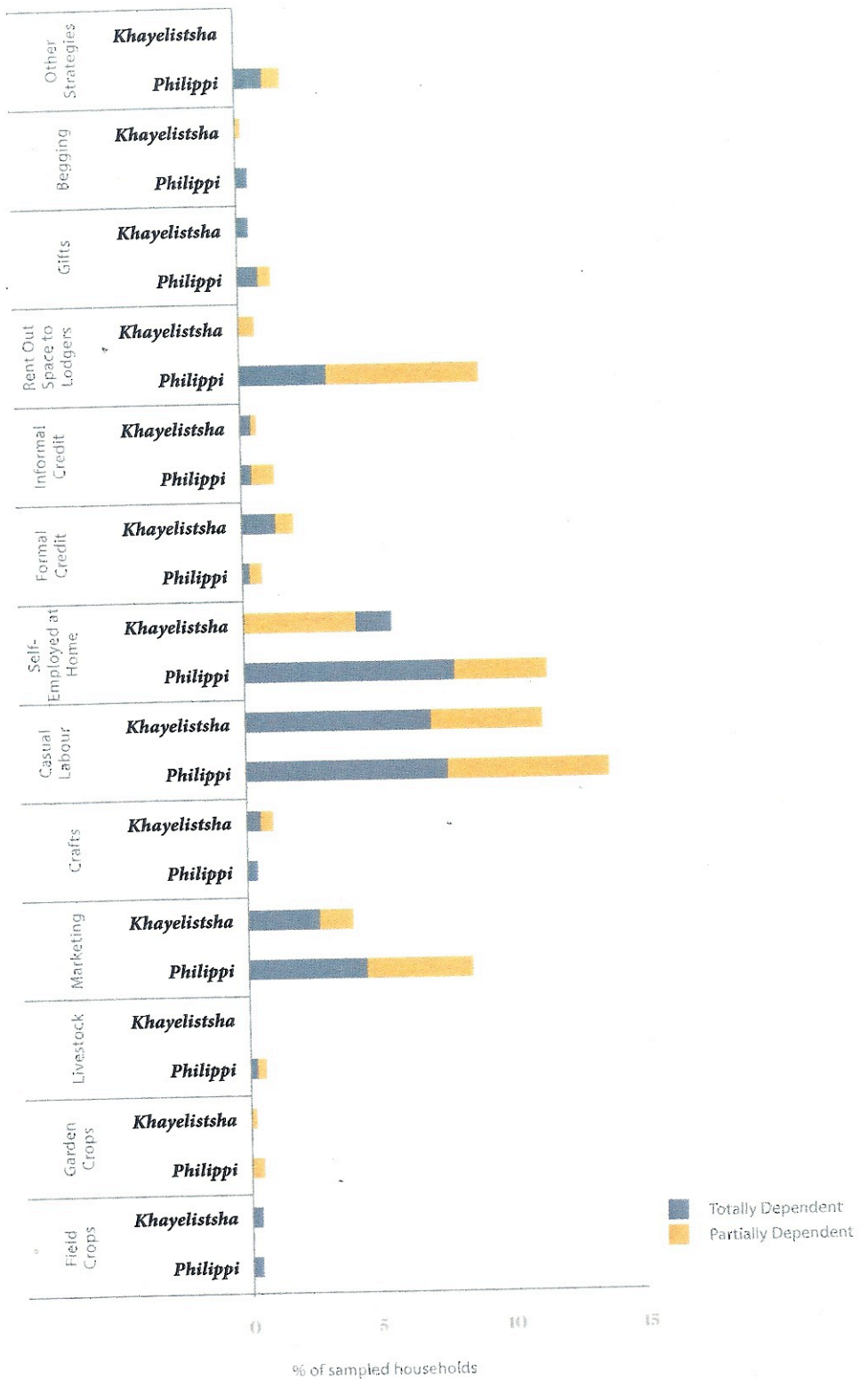


Figure 4.6: Comparison of livelihood strategies employed in sampled Philippi and Khayelistsha households

of strategies other than jobs to make a living. It was striking that across the 11-city survey as a whole, the South African city profiles for this question were quite different to those outside of South Africa. Within the other cities households had multiple alternative livelihood strategies. Across the three Cape Town sites, on the other hand, half of the households had no alternative strategies and 31% had only one. While the popular perception is that social grants make households less likely to diversify their livelihood strategies, there was no significant relationship between grant receiving households and numbers of livelihood strategies. There was one clear connection between grant receipt and livelihood strategies, though: virtually all the households engaged in urban food production did also receive old age pensions. While this may be attributable to the fact that it is the older generation who wish to grow food, it may also indicate that a certain degree of financial stability is required to invest in inputs for urban agriculture. Targeted grants may, indeed, have the potential to increase diversification of livelihood strategies.

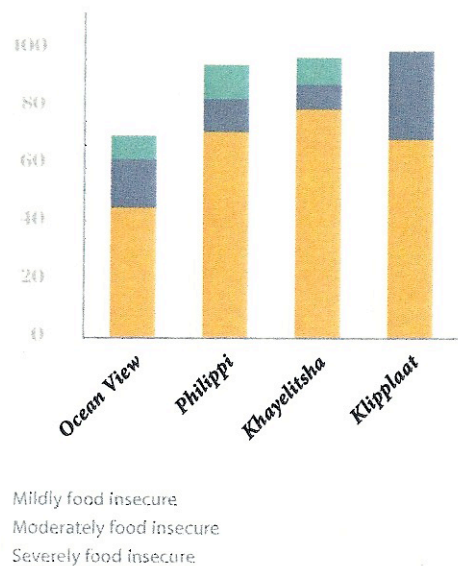
The Philippi sample had the smallest proportion of households with no alternative strategies, at 39.2%, and had an additional 33.8% of households with only one alternative strategy (see Figure 4.5).

As Figure 4.6 illustrates, renting of space, marketing and self-employment were all more prevalent as alternative strategies in Philippi than in Khayelitsha, reinforcing the point made earlier about the impact of geography on the kinds of survival strategies available to low income households in the city. The extreme peripheral position of Khayelitsha may limit opportunities for income generation and diversification of livelihood strategies, relative to Philippi. This may in part explain the lower number of alternative strategies reported in the South African city samples.

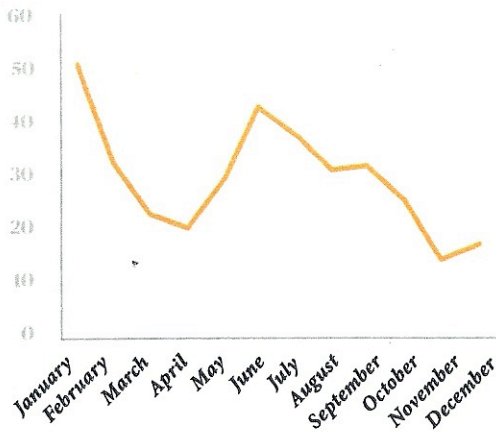
## FOOD INSECURITY

The data presented above provide some insights into the demographics of the Philippi site and some of the dimensions of income generation in the area. This section examines the food security data generated by the AFSUN survey. While the kinds of data presented above provide a snapshot of poverty in Philippi, they do not necessarily capture the dynamism of everyday life. This chapter argues that food is an important lens through which to develop an understanding of the lived experience of poverty. The remainder of this chapter, then, examines various dimensions of food insecurity recorded in the AFSUN survey and draws conclusions on the lived experience of poverty in Philippi through these findings.

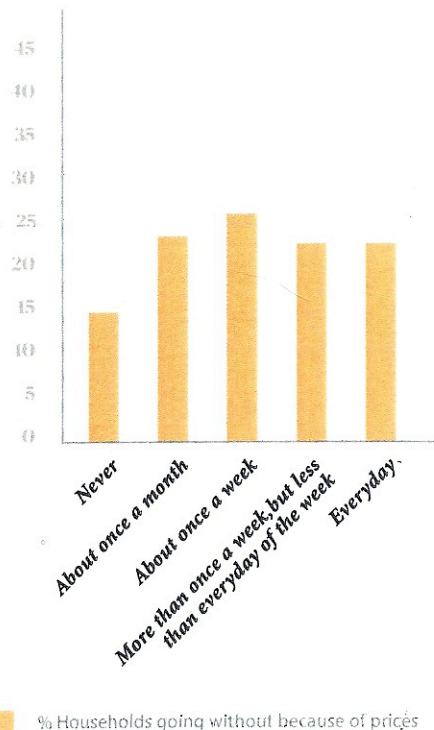
Using the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale, very high levels of food insecurity were found in Philippi and the other Cape Town sites. For the AFSUN research households are deemed to be food insecure if they fall into



**Figure 4.7:** Levels of food insecurity in Cape Town sites and Klipplaat, Eastern Cape (Source: AFSUN data and Ballantine et al, P 6)



**Figure 4.8:** Months of adequate food access



**Figure 4.9:** Periodicity of going without

the Moderately or Severely food insecure category.<sup>6</sup> In Philippi, 83% of households fell into this category. This site was just slightly less food insecure than the Khayelitsha site (89%). Ballantine et al. used the same tool to assess food insecurity in Klipplaat in the rural Eastern Cape.<sup>9</sup> They found 100% of their sampled population to be food insecure. However, it is worth noting that although all sampled households there were food insecure, a smaller proportion fell into the severely food insecure category (69% compared to 80% in Khayelitsha and 71% in Philippi). It seems that should a household fall into food insecurity in an urban area, they are more likely to experience severe food insecurity. This may be the result of the dependence on the cash economy to secure food and the limited livelihood strategies available to the urban poor. There is never a shortage of food in Philippi and yet 83% of sampled households were either moderately or severely food insecure. The problem is therefore one of access, which has both asset-based and spatial factors. Across the Cape Town survey as a whole, the lowest income tercile households spent on average 53% of their income on food. These households are extremely vulnerable to food price increases and to any other factors that either reduce household income or increase household expenditure. Within the survey, households were asked about temporal dimensions of food insecurity. Households were asked to think back over the last twelve months and identify months in which the household did not have enough to eat. As is illustrated in Figure 4.8, there are distinct 'hungry seasons'. The mean percentage of households reporting going without food across all months is 29%, but this percentage was as high as 50% for January and 42% for June. These peaks correspond with periods of reduced income and increased expenditure on other items, such as energy costs. The survey also asked respondents whether they or their households had during the previous six months gone without certain types of food due

to the price of food. This begins to capture some of the lived experience of navigating food in a context of resource scarcity. As is evident from Figure 4.9, a large proportion (87%) had periods during the month when they did without types of food because of food prices. Many households (43%) stated that they experienced this once a month or more, but less than once a week. Households simply found there was too much month for the money they had. Going hungry therefore became a survival strategy in and of itself. Resource constrained households make daily choices around food. These households will reduce the range of foods consumed, reduce the size of meals and ultimately the number of meals in an effort to meet all household financial obligations. While this may be a logical short term strategy, the long term health and development implications of this strategy are serious, particularly for health compromised individuals – such as those with HIV/AIDS and on anti-retroviral treatment.

Households in Philippi have limited dietary diversity. Interviewees were asked to identify what foods they or any one in their household had consumed in the previous 24 hours. These foods were then categorised into 12 core food types, as indicated in Figure 3.10. The mean households dietary diversity score was 6 out of 12. Although the measure used does not provide data on the amounts of each food eaten, or the means of preparation, it is clear from Figure 4.10 that dietary diversity is limited, with three of the most commonly consumed food groups being largely non-nutritive (Other foods – usually tea and coffee; Sugar or Honey; and Foods made with oil, fat or butter). What was particularly surprising was the low reported intake of foods made from beans, peas, lentils or nuts. Not only is samp and beans a traditional staple meal, but these are relatively low cost, long lasting, nutritious foods. This raises questions about what shapes food choice and the decisions households make regarding food in Philippi and similar areas in the city.

This chapter argues that it is only by examining food security and poverty beyond the household scale alone that the lived experience of these conditions can be understood. Figure 4.11 illustrates where sampled households sourced food. The most frequently used source of food was the small shop/restaurant/takeaway, followed by informal markets/street food. However, 94% of households reported sourcing food from supermarkets at least once in the last six months. This interplay between the formal and informal markets as a source of food is a key element of food security in Philippi. Given that the food sold through the informal markets is often more expensive per unit, lower in quality and diversity, and more highly processed than food from supermarkets, why do households make these seemingly illogical food decisions? It is important to note that the market – formal and informal – is not fully meeting the food needs of the sampled households. Borrowing food from others, sharing food with others and getting food provided by others are all important sources of food. This was particularly important for the less food secure households. This highlights two issues: firstly, the current urban food system is not sufficiently accessible to address the food security needs of low-income residents of Cape Town; secondly, social networks within Philippi play an important role in ensuring food access for these households. It is also worth noting that informal social safety nets play a far more important role in sourcing food than formal social safety nets, such as community food kitchens. It is however possible that many of the interviewees may have neglected to include school feeding programmes as a source of food for the household.

## FOOD CHOICE DETERMINANTS

In order to understand what shapes households' food consumption patterns it is essential to go beyond a simple household scale analysis and consider the wider geography of the city and the neighbourhood. This section focuses on four issues: the macro-geography of the city, the local food geography, the household asset base and, finally, how these connect through household 'foodways'.

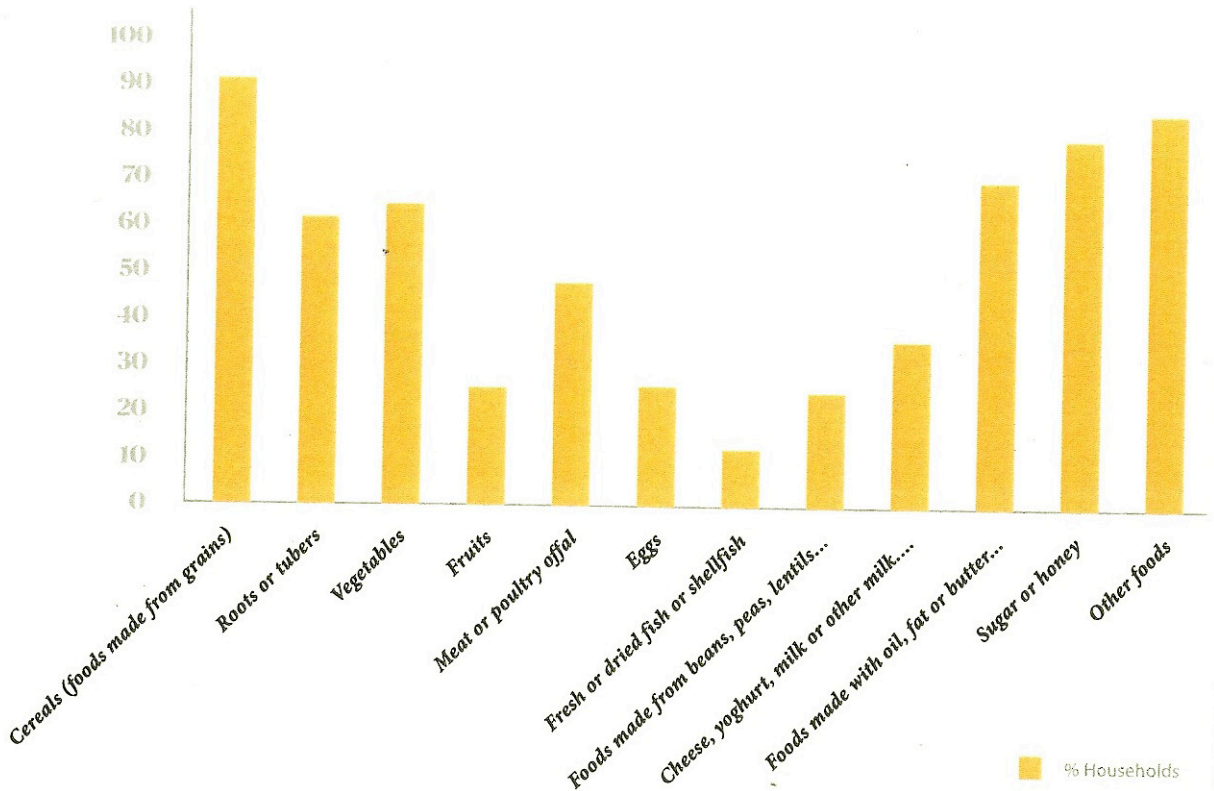
### *Macro-Geography*

As discussed earlier in the context of alternative livelihood strategies, the geography of the city in part shapes the economic opportunities available for residents. Given the connection between income and the ability to access food via market sources, this macro-economic geography of the city is important in shaping food security. The interplay between the geographies of employment and those of food are important determinants of food choice. The design of the South African city and the limitations of the public transport system mean that many low-income workers in Cape Town have long commutes. In a 2011 study of cleaning staff working at the University of Cape Town, two workers travelling from Gugulethu to Rondebosch – a distance of around 15km - had travelling times of one hour and one and three quarter hours. These workers used either two trains or a taxi and a bus to reach their place of employment.<sup>11</sup> These kinds of commuting times were not unusual for the cohort of cleaning staff sampled – with an average commuting time to work of one hour and fifteen minutes. The distance from home, combined with travel time and the fact that most workers depend on public transport necessitating at least one change all shape food choice.

It is clear that when transit times are long, the time available for cooking at home is reduced. Drewnowski and Popkin point to the mismatch between the 'time intensity' of preparing

traditional foods and the shift towards foods that take less time and less skill to prepare.<sup>12</sup> Caballero suggests that the change may be a combination of the availability of cheap, energy-dense foods in urban areas (from street traders) and the higher participation of women in the urban workforce which limits their time for food preparation.<sup>13</sup> Household food providers therefore choose to cook less time-intensive meals, preferring to buy and/or cook more pre-processed food types. This may explain the relatively low consumption of beans and other low cost, high nutrition food types. The time cost of cooking time-intensive meals makes these foods less viable. When this time cost is combined with the rapidly increasing price of cooking fuels, which add to the cost of the meal, the logic of eating pre-prepared foods bought en route becomes clearer. The foods sold at these locations are often energy dense, but nutritionally deficient.<sup>14</sup>

The transport route and the transit hubs are central to how households access food. Informal traders often locate at transit hubs, like taxi ranks, and these become key sources of food for workers and school children. The role of these transit hubs as sources of food for those with long commutes is increasingly recognised in South Africa. A good example of this is the informal trader market and small eateries established by the City of Johannesburg at the Breë Street Taxi Rank in central Johannesburg. There is also extensive 'out-shopping' within the formal sector. Both Zager's work and the findings of a UCT second year class exercise on food purchasing patterns of UCT cleaning staff indicated that workers use supermarkets close to places of work and their first public transport connection to purchase foods.<sup>15</sup> This was at times because of the lack of supermarkets near to their homes, but more generally because it was believed that the quality, variety and prices were better in the wealthier parts of the city. This practice of out-shopping is acknowledged by the major supermarkets who



**Figure 4.10:** Foods consumed by households in previous 24 hours

choose to locate stores close to transit hubs, such as Mowbray and Wynberg (where Pick n Pay have just opened a new branch).

While out-shopping is regularly practiced, it is not a frequent source of food for households, as Figure 3.11 indicates. Not only is travelling with large volumes of shopping difficult, particularly when most journeys involve at least one change of vehicle and a long walk home. In addition, taxis will often charge passengers for an additional seat if they have too much shopping.<sup>16</sup> The realities of negotiating the transport system make the 'obvious' economic benefits of this practice of out-shopping less apparent and therefore a less frequent source of food for those who work outside of the immediate Philippi environment.

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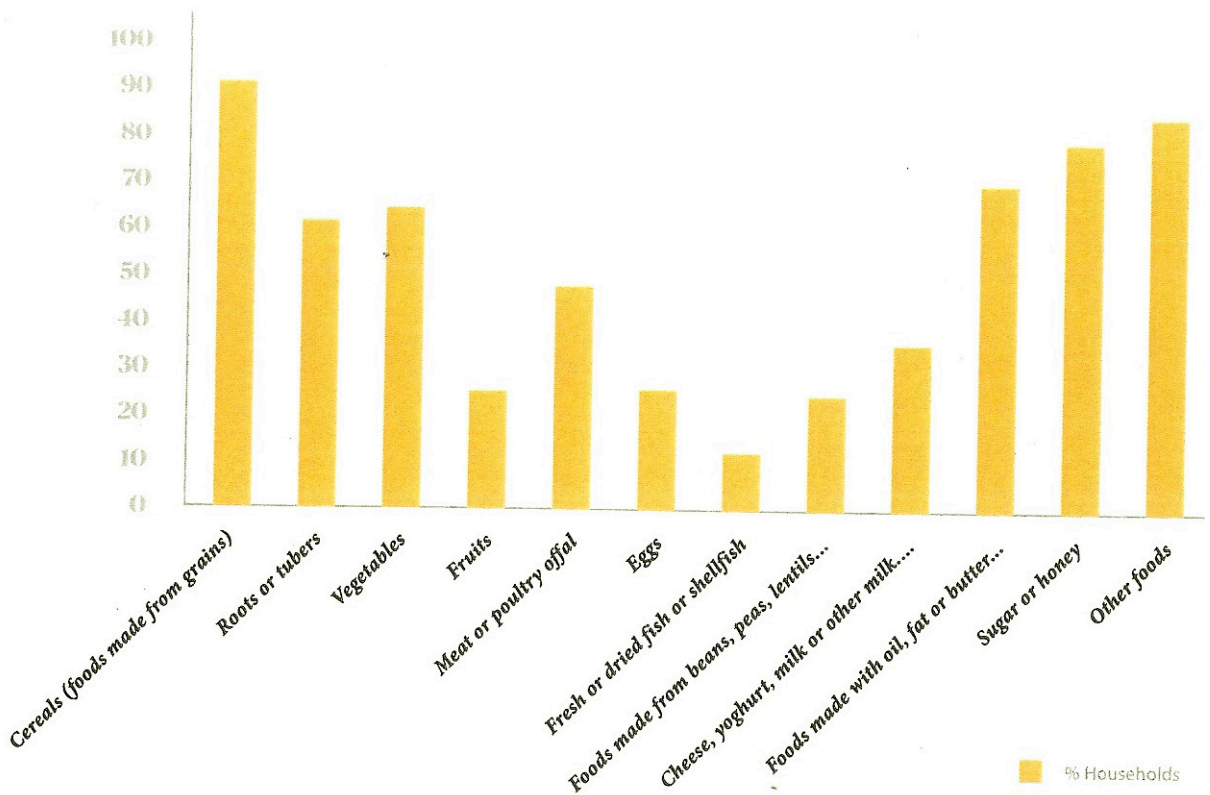
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**‘Informal social safety nets play a far more important role in sourcing food than formal social safety nets, such as community food kitchens.’**

### ***Local Food Geographies***

Although I have argued that it is not possible to understand the lived experience of Philippi by simply focussing at the neighbourhood and household scales, it is vitally important to develop a deeper understanding of the local geographies of food. This is important because, as the employment data in Figure 4.6 illustrate, many residents of Philippi do not have the kind of daily mobility described above. By examining the local geography, it is possible to engage with the ways in which the local economy connects to the lived experience of residents.

There has been considerable focus in North America and the United Kingdom on local food geographies through work on ‘food deserts’, which have been defined as ‘those areas of inner cities where nutritious food is virtually unobtainable. Car-less residents, unable to reach out-of-town supermarkets, depend on the corner shop where prices are high, products are processed and fresh fruit and vegetables are poor or non-existent.’<sup>17</sup> The assumption within the food desert work is that inequality in food retail is a further manifestation of spatial and social inequality in the city.

The reality of out-shopping would appear to support the assertion that there is inadequate access to nutritious, affordable food within areas like Philippi. However, there is a branch of a major national supermarket on one of the roads

bounding the study site and it is on a major transport route. Yet, despite this, the sampled households were more likely to conduct their day-to-day food shopping within the informal sector (see Figure 4.11). Finer grained analysis of purchasing patterns showed that more food insecure households were more dependent on the informal sector traders than the food secure households. It appears that the supermarkets, despite being generally cheaper per unit than the informal traders and offering a greater range of produce, were not the obvious choice for food insecure households.

Research on the supermarketisation phenomenon elsewhere has found that when supermarkets enter areas previously un-served by the formal sector, households continue to use the traditional market systems for certain categories of product – most notably fresh produce – whilst transferring to the supermarkets for others, such as dried staples.<sup>18</sup> Within Cape Town, many low-income households buy their vegetables from informal traders. In research conducted by a UCT student, it was found that much of the produce sold by these traders was from the Philippi Horticultural Area and that it was generally fresher and often cheaper than the same produce from the same farms sold through the supermarkets.<sup>19</sup> This challenges the assumptions that formalisation of the food market will necessarily bring better, low cost food to poor communities. However, it is important to note that food other than fruit and vegetables sold at informal markets is often more expensive per unit and of lower quality.

So, why then do the most food insecure households use supermarkets less? The first reason has to do with household economies (and perhaps even the household asset base, as will be discussed in the next section). Although cheaper per unit, supermarkets often sell in bulk, which makes their goods unaffordable for low-income households. Although households may save up to do a bulk purchase once a month, for day-to-day purchases they are more likely to go to a spaza shop where

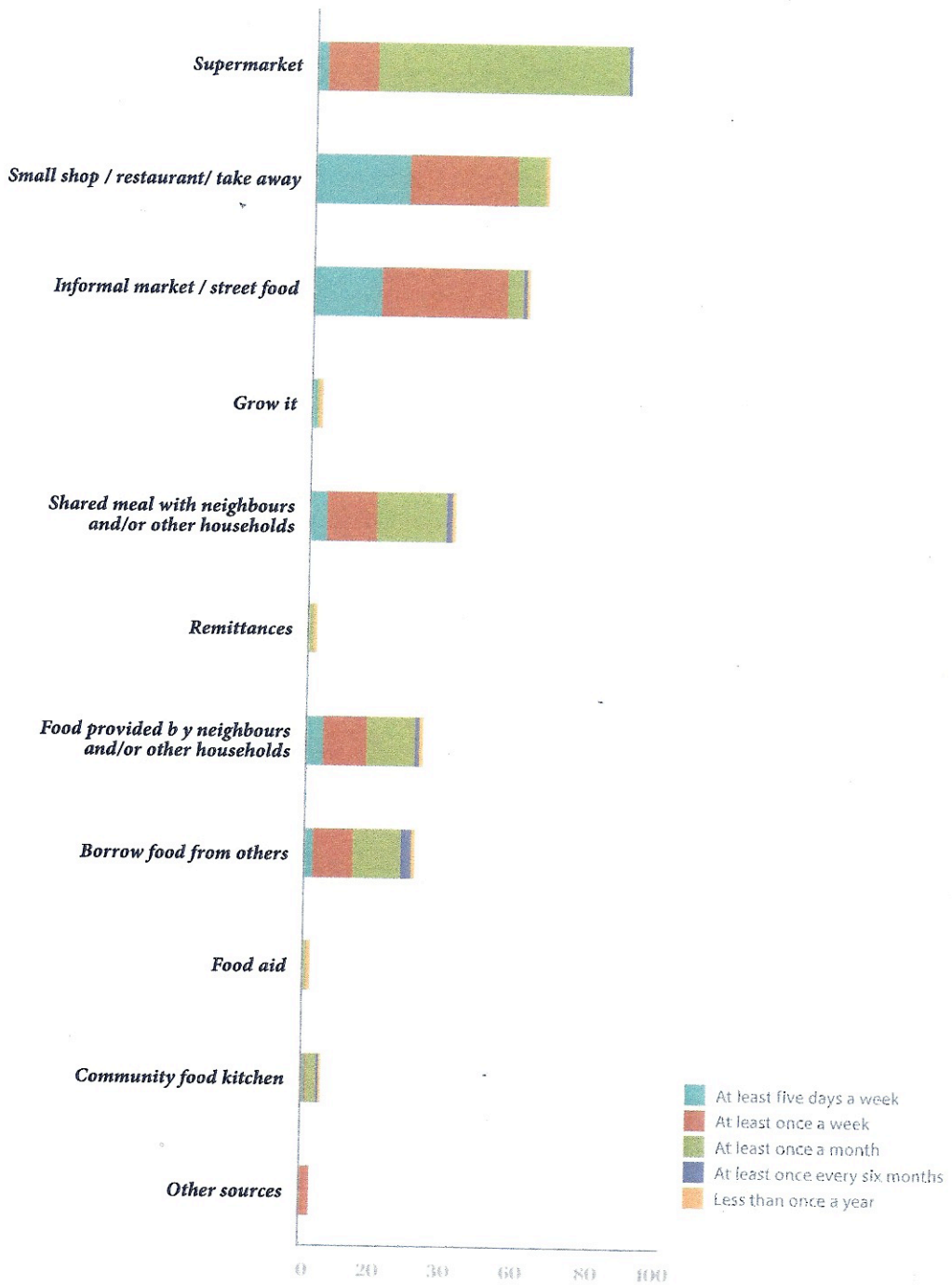


Figure 4.11: Sources of food

products bought wholesale are resold in smaller units. This kind of purchasing pattern meets the financial means of low-income households better than buying in larger units at the supermarket.<sup>20</sup> When ARG Design were doing mapping work in Philippi, it was found that some households identified shopping at the supermarket as a dangerous activity. Given that people tend to shop in bulk at the supermarket, it could be assumed that they carried large amounts of cash which put them at risk of mugging. This was particularly problematic in Philippi, where the supermarket is located on a busy transport intersection to maximise passing trade, but this also provided the means for quick getaways. The necessity of buying in bulk at the supermarket therefore makes it less economically viable and less attractive for poorer households. Secondly, many of the working population of Philippi have long journeys to and from work. This means that the supermarket hours are not convenient for many households, who will instead top up household food supplies at the spaza shops that stay open late. Finally, as discussed with reference to Figure 4.9, many households do not have cash on hand throughout the whole month. The informal sector traders often offer food on credit to these households, which makes them a more viable source of food for low-income households than the supermarket.<sup>21</sup>

### ***Household Asset Base***

The food choices that households make are informed by the interplay between household and extra-household factors. I have shown that the income base of a household as well as access to transport determine where food is purchased and which markets are used. Beyond these factors, the house itself and the assets within it play a role in food choice. Within the survey, households living in formal houses were more food secure than households living in shacks,

**‘With the increasing prices of electricity, gas and paraffin, these households are more likely to buy more processed foods, which may be more expensive, but quicker to cook.’**

even when income levels were comparable. Although the survey did not capture data on household assets, anecdotal evidence suggests that the shack dwelling households may have more limited food storage and refrigeration facilities. In their work in the Eastern Cape, Ballantine et al. found a correlation between access to refrigeration and food security.<sup>22</sup> Limited food storage capacity and refrigeration shapes food choice by necessitating small and frequent purchases. In combination with the increasing prices of electricity, gas and paraffin, these households are more likely to buy more processed foods, which may be more expensive, but quicker to cook. These households therefore consume more street foods and processed foods, such as canned fish, that are easy to store.

### ***Food Knowledge and Culture***

The final factor that shapes food choice is what Shaw terms ‘attitude’.<sup>23</sup> He identifies this attitude as ‘any state of mind that prevents the consumer from accessing foods they can otherwise physically bring into their home and have the necessary assets to procure’.<sup>24</sup> This term captures personal preferences, cultural aspects and knowledge of food preparation and nutrition. Within the survey, female-centred households were found to be more food secure than

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male-centred or nuclear households with similar incomes.<sup>25</sup> This was not because these households were spending a significantly higher proportion of household income on food. More research is necessary to understand why these households are more food secure, but perhaps it is that these households prioritise lower cost, less-processed foods and are therefore able to ensure higher food security. Food choice is shaped by cultural practices, by personal desires and how these intersect. Anecdotal evidence suggests that some 'traditional' foods are viewed as being less desirable in urban areas as residents wish to distinguish themselves as being 'modern'. For example, residents express a preference for fried meat and argue that boiling meat is a marker of being 'rural' and 'traditional'. The differences between rural and urban diets have been extensively researched by Popkin and colleagues.<sup>26</sup> They note that although there is a general trend in the developing world towards diets higher in fats and caloric sweeteners (sugar, honey, corn syrup), this trend is more marked in urban areas. This general trend correlates strongly with Gross National Product, but in urban areas the correlation is far weaker.<sup>27</sup>

## CONCLUSION

This chapter argues that the lived experience of food insecurity in Philippi are shaped by personal choice, cultural norms, the household asset base, the local food system, the macro-geography of the city and other factors. Writing from the US context, Cannuscio et al. have argued that food practices and the wider social life of a place are shaped by both the food environment and foodways.<sup>28</sup> The food environment is the mappable geography of food in the neighbourhood or city. Foodways are 'the processes involved in the growth, purchase, preparation, consumption, sharing – or absence – of food within communities'.<sup>29</sup> This multiscale,

objective and subjective perspective is essential if policies and programmes are to be developed to address food insecurity in Philippi.

The challenge of food insecurity in Philippi is in many ways representative of many of the challenges of the post-Apartheid city. The work presented highlights the continued role of spatial inequality in the city shaping access to employment and other income generating strategies. It also demonstrates the impact that the city's geography and transport infrastructure have on one of the most basic of household functions – the provision of food. Policy makers would do well to take note of the ways in which residents, within Philippi as elsewhere, negotiate the formal and informal food supply system and derive benefit from both; and hence, to engage with both sectors as part of the same system. It is also essential to note that the ways in which people eat are not simply a result of structural issues, nor of personal choice, but are the product of the interaction of both.

While many of the issues highlighted in this chapter could be applied to many other areas in Cape Town or other cities, the comparisons made to the Khayelitsha site illustrate that geography and urban form do influence employment and other income generation potential. This chapter therefore concludes by noting that policies and NGO engagements need to be designed in such a way that they can be modified to address local conditions. In order to enable this kind of response, far more local scale research is necessary and this work needs to be consolidated. As such, this book is a useful contribution to the literature.

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