The place of food: A relational analysis of the food environment and sense of place in Khayelitsha.

By:

Hilton Rhodes

3516831

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the

Department of Geography, Environmental Studies, and Tourism

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

University of the Western Cape

Supervisor: Associate Professor Bradley Rink

November 2023

Declaration

I, Hilton Michael Rhodes, declare this thesis, *The place of food: A relational analysis of the food environment and sense of place in Khayelitsha* is my own work, it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

This thesis was conducted from 2019 to 2023. The study was conducted under the supervision of Associate Professor Bradley Rink of the Department of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism at the University of the Western Cape.

Signed:  Date: 10/11/2023

Abstract

Amongst the numerous changes in contemporary (post-apartheid) South Africa are those related to reorganisation and globalisation of the food environment. Changes in the food environment are evident across the world through the global food system which has witnessed shifts in routine experiences of food procurement and types of food eaten. In South Africa, these shifts—termed the nutrition transition—coincided with the transition to democratic government in 1994. As South Africa merged back into the global food system, global food patterns began to appear in South Africa's food environment resulting in changes in food consumption patterns and the increasing prevalence of supermarkets in low-income communities. Within this setting, there is limited research focusing on the contemporary South African food environment and how people interact with it to access food. This study seeks to fill this research gap by explore meanings of place and sense of place in connection to individuals' interactions with their food environments in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. Adopting a qualitative research design and constructivist grounded theory, the study employed qualitative methods including photovoice and semi-structured photo elicitation interviews. These methods allowed for an in-depth exploration of the relationships between place, sense of place, and the food environment, often with a range of place-and-food relationships ranging from a sense of belonging, a sense of alienation and a sense of agency related to food sources. Findings revealed important understandings of food places within the food environment linked to the familiarity of food place, and the social interactions at the places where food is accessed. Furthermore, findings pointed toward the high level of resourcefulness by making use of social capital related to food resources to alleviate food insecure periods.

Keywords: Place, sense of place, food environments, belonging, agency, food places, informality, shared cooking

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisor, Associate Professor Bradley Rink, for your patience, guidance, wisdom, motivation, and the constructive criticism.

Thank you to the National Research Foundation (NRF) for granting me the necessary financial assistance between 2020 and 2021, to complete this degree.

Thank you to all the participants, I appreciate all the time you sacrificed to participate in this study, your openness and willingness to share your time and thoughts with me on issues related to my study. I appreciate all information and insight that was given.

Thank you for all the invaluable support I received from my friends who made my academic journey quite memorable.

Table of Contents

List of figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Placing food in contemporary South Africa

Following the end of apartheid government rule in South Africa, South Africans experienced large-scale changes in their daily lives. One of the areas experiencing change and transformation was the food environment. The food environment, as the setting where food is accessed, is both a tool and a product of the global food system for people around the world (Turner et al., 2018). Changes in the global food system have been evidenced in the production-, transportation-, and storage of food from global to residential scales (Ronquest-Ross et al., 2015; FAO, 2016; Turner et al., 2018). This transformation in the food environment was partly due to the democratically elected government moving South Africa back into the world market after the end of apartheid and the lifting of international trade sanctions (Battersby, 2017). The result of such shifts was that South Africa began to experience the impacts of changing global food patterns (Senekal et al., 2003; Hawkes et al., 2015; Ronquest-Ross et al., 2015). Owing to changing global food patterns, the South African food environment has transformed in the last two decades, resulting in adjustments in South African food consumption patterns and the increasing prevalence of supermarkets in low-income communities and their residential food environments (Battersby, 2017).

Changes in global food patterns have been termed the 'Nutrition Transition' (Popkin et al., 2012; Shisana et al., 2014). The term nutrition transition is mostly used to explain the changes in dietary behaviour of populations around the world, featuring the transition of individuals from traditional food choices towards western–orientated food choices (Popkin, 2006). As a result of this change unhealthy food options were pushed into more people's hands through the combination of increased urbanisation and improved access to supermarkets around the world including South Africa (Planting, 2010; cited in Battersby, 2017). With increased levels of urbanisation in South Africa, supermarkets have become an important part of the food retail sector (Battersby, 2017). The domination of supermarkets is evidenced by the fact that the five largest food retail supermarkets together capture approximately 80 per cent of the formal food retail market in South Africa (Competition Commission of South Africa, 2019: 12). The explosion of the supermarket industry after the end of apartheid resulted in food services—which was previously restricted to cities and to middle- and high-income households—being bought into low-income areas such as townships (Battersby, 2013). This

created competition for smaller more traditional retailers in low-income areas, affecting the food environment of such residential areas.

As food places, supermarkets helped to shape new food environments in South Africa, at the same time ideas of the food environment itself were expanding. According to Hawkes (2009), in the early 2000s ideas about the food environment expanded and began to refer to aspects of the built environment in human societies as part of the food environment. What resulted was an increased emphasis placed on the characteristics of neighbourhoods and the people-centred practices within these such as a greater focus on what is happening in workplace and at schools (Hawkes, 2009). Around this time ideas and research around the food environment became more prevalent (Hawkes, 2009; Anderson Steeves et al., 2014). However, the widening of food environment research mostly occurred in high-income countries within the global North (Hawkes et al., 2015). With this, the concept of 'food environments' began to be applied to research that showed links between the built food environment, chronic disease, and diets in high income countries. This led to a greater focus on food environments and new researchers embracing socio-ecological models. These models examined how complex the factors that affect food environments are, and the influence they have on human behaviour related to food choices within residential food environment (Story et al, 2008). Eventually food environment research was conducted in low to middle-income countries and settings within the global South, in addition to research in high income countries (FAO, 2016; Turner et al., 2018).

Local food environments are context-specific (Chen and Kwan, 2015) where different geographical settings impact on food. With an emphasis on food environments in South Africa, Battersby (2012: 4) writes that there are "major differences in relation to access and affordability" from one residential food environment to the other. These disparities can be linked to the legacy of apartheid, and poor service delivery today, in addition to the development and expansion of supermarkets into low-income urban areas as the central food acquisition point for many individuals, especially with increasing numbers of individuals in a low-income bracket using supermarkets as a main food source (Battersby, 2012). According to Minaker et al (2016), South African food provision and preparation does not compare well against other African nations where a higher percentage of residents prepare food at home as opposed to South Africa where residents buy prepared foods to a higher degree compared

to other African nations (Minaker et al., 2016). There is a comparable situation with nations in the global North such as Canada, who have distinctly different food environments compared to that which has developed in South Africa (Minaker et al., 2016).

To both combat the negative effects of the nutrition transition, and to better understand the food environment of South Africa, the government had taken a range of steps to encourage a more healthier eating lifestyle (RSA, 2014). However, these interventions have limited acknowledgement of the complex influences local food environments are under (Larson and Story, 2009). These complex influences, according to Larson and Story (2009), can range from the type of food outlets, the location of these food outlets, community perception of the food environment, and the experiences of residents that interact with the people who own or work at food outlets within their community.

To understand the food environments of people living in a country such as South Africa, interventions will need to first deal with what is unique about that area and provide solutions which are situational in their scope. South Africa has a distinct history, from colonialism, to formation of the country, to apartheid to now under democratic rule, which today struggles with service delivery in an ever increasingly urbanised country (Humphrey, 2007). The unique situation South Africa finds itself in affects the food environment in multiple ways, for example, urbanization has been accompanied by an increase in poverty and a rising population of urban poor (Humphrey, 2007). According to Battersby (2012: 148), possibly "50 – 60 per cent of South Africa's population is urbanized", the increasing levels of urbanisation in South Africa has resulted in deteriorating food security in the country's poorest areas. In addition, O'Neill (2022) points to South Africa's population reaching urbanisation levels of 68% in 2022. These patterns of urbanisation have relegated the poorest in townships far from economic hubs (e.g., city centres) where most jobs opportunities would be located (Battersby, 2012). There is a need for a more in depth look at the food environment in South Africa to understand the unique situation residents find themselves in.

Food environment research bridges different research disciplines to bring together the interests of agriculturalists, economists, geographers, nutritionists, epidemiologists, public health researchers, amongst other research disciplines (Viljoen, 2009; Swinburn et al., 2013; Feng et al., 2010; Cannuscio et al., 2010; Battersby et al., 2012). The food environment research field is united by the understanding that food purchasing related behaviours are

determined by inter-related personal and environmental factors (Williams et al, 2011; Swinburn et al., 2013). Food environments have received increasing attention from scholars and policy makers both nationally and internationally (Feng et al., 2010). As a result of this, researchers are looking to gain a greater understanding of food eating choices, as they can offer an important insight into population-level determinants of socio-economic disparities (Swinburn et al, 2013).

Research that has focussed on food environments and eating choices have discovered there is a link between the food environment and place, which they referred to as an individual's "place-based food environment" (Cobb et al., 2011). In individuals place-based food environment, interactions are central to food environment research seeking to address questions pertaining to the, who, what, why and how of food acquisition and consumption takes place. There is a link between food acquisition and the places people choose to purchase food within the wider food environment (Swinburn et al., 2013; Yan et al., 2015). With previous food environments research indicating local food environments are context specific (Swinburn et al., 1999; Ballard, 2004; Cobb et al., 2011; Yan et al., 2015), and the local South African food landscape may present information that is distinct compared to other nations within the global South, or the better researched global North (Cobb et al., 2011).

'Place' is critical to understanding relationships between people and the relationship between people and objects in the social world (Tuan, 1977). 'Place' in the food environment can be expressed subjectively, objectively, or geographically and each of these form elements or parts of place (Sack, 1992; Desjardins, 2010; Caspi et al., 2012). To the discipline of geography, 'place' is central to understanding the world which people live in (Sack, 1992; Johnston, 2000). Subjective elements, objective, or societal elements and spatial (geographical) elements of place in the local food environment are definable in terms of the meanings that arise from an individual's connections, exchanges and/or communications which occur at the food places they regularly visit to buy food within their residential food environment (Larson and Story, 2009; Desjardins, 2010; Caspi et al., 2012; Turner et al., 2018; Turner et al., 2020).

There is consensus amongst scholars that research around 'place' is important to understanding how people relate to their food environment and the food places which they procure food from in these environments (Sack, 1992; Fonte, 2008), with a limited number of studies which focus specifically on how members of low-income communities in the global

south or within unique peri-urban settings in countries like South Africa, relate to and interact with their food environment daily (Igumbor et al, 2012). Literature and debates around the food environments and how people relate to food place, have been missing an examination of the factors of 'place,' which affects individuals local food environment. Little is known about how members of marginalised communities relate to or engage with, their food environments, how their perceptions of the food environment affect or impacts on their food choices, what the spatial elements are which affect the food choices (especially in South Africa, whose spatial structure is still largely influenced by apartheid spatial planning), and what are the specific social elements which affect food procurement in marginalised communities. The literature on food environments in South Africa focuses on urbanisation, and the nutrition transition (Battersby, 2017), lacking the research angle that 'place', within the food environment would bring to debates and the prevailing literature.

Against this backdrop, this study shifts focus by exploring the relationships between residents, place, food places, and the creation of a 'sense of place' related to the purveying local food environment in a township (Khayelitsha, Cape Town, South Africa) within the global South. This research is in line with theories by Sack (1992) and Fonte (2008), who have argued for the need to understand and acknowledge the importance of 'place' within the food environments of residents in an urban setting in South Africa. Moreover, to the researcher's knowledge, the study is the first of its kind to attempt to qualitatively explore residents understanding of 'place' and 'food places' within their proximal food environment, from the point of view of residents in an historically disadvantaged urban community with unique spatial and social history such as Khayelitsha. I adopted a constructivist lens to explore how residents in Khayelitsha create knowledge of their food environment through their interactions with the food places where they procure food, leading towards the creation of a 'sense of place' related to their prevailing food environment. The constructivist theory considers the thoughts and opinions of residents, which enabled the researcher to define the multidimensional interactions which influence elements of 'place' and the creation of a 'sense of place' related to food places in the study area.

1.2 Problem Statement

The existing food environment in South Africa today is inimitable and difficult to understand due to current research foci, and market-related effects (Throw et al., 2015; van der Berg et

al, 2022). Empirical research exploring the food environment and how people relate to food places within their local food environment is limited to research conducted outside of Africa or the global South (Cobb et al., 2011; Swinburn et al, 2013). Another area of issue for food environment research and place is the creation of 'sense of place' related to food environments– which is the accumulation of individuals feelings and thoughts when interacting with food places within their local food environment. 'Sense of place is complex concept to understand (Ardoin, 2006), due to its potential to understand the motivations behind human behaviour, here importantly the motivations behind individuals' decisions to purchase food at certain locations within their food environment is under researched in the global South and South Africa. These issues compelled me to investigate the food environment and its complexities which exist on the ground, but through resident understanding of 'place' in the township of Khayelitsha, Cape Town. Considering how intricate the food environment can be, and the numerous stakeholders (businesses – informal and formal traders, residents, policy developers, non-governmental organisations, etc.) involved in the food environment, expanding the understanding of the food environment and the influence of different interactions between stakeholders within the food environment, is crucial for both the improvement of policy development (United Nations, 2015) and gaining insight into how members of communities in South Africa relate to and interact with their food environment (Turner et al., 2018). Explicitly, it is important to examine the relationships between people, food acquisition, food places and their local food environment. Therefore, I conducted the research using a constructivist grounded theory approach, which considers the thoughts and opinions of residents of Khayelitsha, Cape Town. This enabled the researcher to define the multidimensional interactions which influence elements of 'place' and therefore the creation of a 'sense of place' related to food places in the food environment understudy. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no investigation has been conducted which attempts to examine the relationship between 'place,' 'sense of place' and food places within the local food environment of Khayelitsha, Cape Town from the point of view of individuals from the local community.

Previous studies on food environment have been conducted focusing on the nutrition transition, food security and urbanisation (Smit et al, 2016; Battersby, 2017; van der Berg et al., 2022). However, these studies do not place emphasis on the importance of place within

the food environment. This presents a weakness in the analysis of the food environment, lacking recognition of the vital and multifaceted role of 'place' in food environments and the role of 'place' in the relationship between individuals and food places within their local food environment. Understanding of food environments are thus missing a critical component (Turner et al., 2020). Keeping this in mind, this study seeks to add to the literature which analyses the food environment and food acquisition in a South Africa context through individuals' understandings of place that can lead to the creation of sense of place. Against this backdrop, the purpose of this thesis is to investigate and report back people's meanings of 'place' and 'sense of place' through interactions with their food environment.

1.3 Rationale

Despite the growing interest in food environments, researchers have focussed on the global North with few in-depth investigations of food environments of the global South and Africa specifically (Cobb et al., 2011; Penney et al, 2014; van der Berg et al., 2022). Within food environments research, scholars have expanded the literature of food security (Crush and Frayne, 2011; Battersby et al, 2016, van der Berg et al., 2022), the nutrition transition (Senekal et al, 2003; Shisana et al., 2014) and urbanisation (Smit et al, 2016; Battersby, 2017). There remains a lack of evidence on place-based food environments, especially research exploring place, sense of place and food acquisition (van der Berg et al., 2022) in the global South and South Africa. The link between place, sense of place and food acquisition can impact on peoples understanding of food within their food environments (Wegerif and Hebinck, 2016). Research focused on the food environment has shown the link between food acquisition and the places where people choose to purchase food within their local food environment (Sinclair-Smith and Turok, 2012; Swinburn et al., 2013; Wegerif and Hebinck, 2016; Zhong et al, 2019). There are also indications that food environments are context specific, and the South African food environment may present information that is distinct compared to other nations or settings within the global South or the better researched global North (Cobb et al., 2011). Thus there is an opportunity for studies which delve into individuals' interactions and the meanings of these interactions within their food environment from a place-based perspective. Therefore, this study seeks to gain a greater understanding of 'place' and 'sense of place' related to the meanings people attach to these within their local food environment,

to add to the literature focussing on place- based food environmental research within a low-income area of Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

Another area of research in which this study makes a contribution is within the literatures focusing on the urban informal food sector in South Africa. Food environments in South Africa are characterised by informality and a mix of formal and informal food outlets (Battersby et al, 2017). The dynamics of the informal food sector in urban South Africa are poorly understood. This results in a limited understanding of the role urban informal food sectors plays in the urban development process (Young and Crush, 2013), the creation of place and in food environments.

As stated before, food environments are context specific, this study takes place in South Africa but more specifically the township of Khayelitsha, therefore the emergence, the structure and operation of the urban informal food sector will be specific to Khayelitsha. However, the study will allow for a greater understanding into the food sector within South Africa, and through this a greater understanding of place and food environments, because Khayelitsha is regarded as one of the main study locales in South Africa, to understand food consumption due to the history of the township, the inhabitants, and the location of the township in respect to the city of Cape Town (Philips, 2010).

In-order to gain a greater understanding of the local place-based food environment of Khayelitsha, the study features the use of photovoice method, with a focus on the attached quotations of the photovoice research from participants, which will form part of a semi – structured interview process with individuals about their experiences and the meanings they attach to these related to food acquisition in the local food environment. In addition to this, the study will investigate the relational layers of meaning that individuals experience at places in their local food environment, and how individuals express a "sense of place" through their collective interactions with, and understandings of, food places that they regularly visit. It also explores the differences among these meanings of "place" and "sense of place," through a grounded theory analysis of participants contributions. The ten participants of this study originally took part in a research study conducted by the School of Public Health (SoPH) in connection with the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in 2018 in a research project called "Researching the obesogenic food environment, its drivers and potential policy levers in South Africa and Ghana" (BM17/8/20). A total of ten participants took part in this study and

provided information about their local food environment through a photovoice activity and accompanying photo elicitation semi – structured interview process. This study also examines how a focus on the meanings of 'place' can help elucidate food places and help reveal how people think about 'place.' This study will also look to add to the literature of, the way 'place' is individually conceptualized and how place-making in an informal food setting can lead to the creation of a sense of place related to food places, with the local food environment of Khayelitsha.

This research does not intend to discredit or overthrow notions of place or food environments, as other research and empirical frameworks already exist, and certain understandings of place and food environments are accepted by researchers. Rather, this research explores how place and food can be interrelated. This research seeks to contribute to analysis of place, people, and food acquisition within geography by applying methods and concepts from this discipline.

1.4 Research Aim

The aim of this study is to explore meanings of place and sense of place in connection with individuals' interactions with their food environments.

1.5 Objectives of research

Related to this aim are several objectives. They include:

- To explore the relational meanings that are rooted within individuals' interactions with the food places routinely visited.
- To explore the role of food acquisition in shaping participants sense of place; and
- To explore the relationship between food places and sense of place amongst participants.

To fulfil the objectives above, this study uses a qualitative research design to maximize the possibility of obtaining data that could suggest meaningful associations, through the views and opinions expressed by participants. The three objectives look to address identified gaps in the literature that the ensuing research with a group of residents in Khayelitsha will help to address. The research is qualitative in nature and is positioned within the perspective that sense of place, place and food are connected through individuals' interactions with their food environment.

1.6 Study area

The study area is situated in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. Khayelitsha is a peri-urban township settlement with a predominant population of Black Africans. It is located approximately 35 km from Cape Town's central business district (Stats SA, 2014). IsiXhosa is the most commonly spoken language in Khayelitsha, with 90% of the population having isiXhosa as a home language (Stats SA, 2014). According to Sikhula-Sonke (2022), Khayelitsha is the fastest growing and the second largest township in South Africa. Khayelitsha extends across an area of 40-42 km^2 on the Cape Flats between False Bay to the south and the N2 highway to the north (Sikhula-Sonke, 2022). According to Nqadini (2000), the Apartheid regime established Khayelitsha in 1983 for two reasons: Firstly, as a response to a shortage of homes and what the Apartheid regime saw as an encroachment of black urban populations moving towards the city of Cape Town, which was demarcated as a whites-only residential area; and second for the creation of a housing project to secure cheap labour to the city of Cape Town, while re-enforcing the racial segregation laws of South Africa at the time. After less than two years the housing project was completed and Khayelitsha was established. With this, 30 000 residents from Crossroads were relocated to the settlement, which was closer to the city while still maintaining racial segregation (Nqadini, 2000).

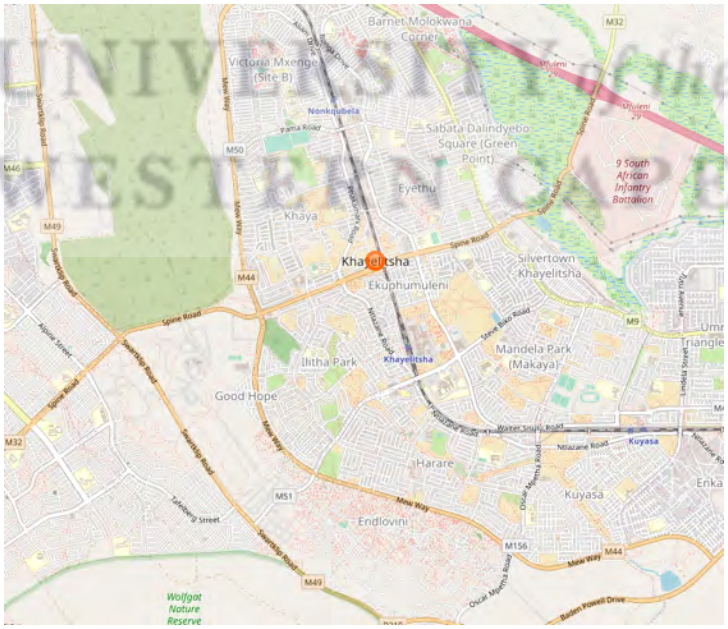

Figure 1. 1: Location of Khayelitsha Source: Open Streets maps, 2023

According to Sikhula-Sonke (2022), Khayelitsha was originally proposed to be 1070 hectares and only house 200 000 people but was subsequently increased to 500 000 people.

Eventually, Khayelitsha exceeded the state built infrastructural base. As result, today Khayelitsha consists of old formal housing and areas combined with newer informal and formal areas. The area currently has twenty-two settlements (CoCT, 2013) with many of these being shacks that are located on land that is not suitable for housing as it is at risk of flooding (Sikhula-Sonke, 2022).

The spatial mismatch of residents within Khayelitsha relative to economic and other opportunities is a legacy of apartheid-era spatial planning and reinforces a poverty trap, keeping the urban poor far away from job opportunities (Willemse and Donaldson, 2012; Battersby, 2013). While basic service delivery has improved since the end of apartheid (CoCT, 2013), households in Khayelitsha are harshly affected by poverty with approximately 70% of households earning a monthly salary that is below R3200 or less than R800 per week with approximately 19% of households generating no income of any kind (CoCT, 2013). A minimum of 10% of the population live below the national lower-bound income poverty line of R544 per month (Stats SA, 2014). As a result, there are elevated levels of food insecurity in Khayelitsha.

The poor socio-economic conditions (informal urbanisation, food insecurity, disadvantaged people due to apartheid spatial planning, high rates of unemployment and poverty, and poor service delivery) in Khayelitsha, share many similarities with other communities across South Africa, therefore it is a relevant research location. According to Battersby et al. (2017) one of the main characteristics of food environments in South Africa, but also in Khayelitsha as a focus (Battersby, 2013), is that of informality and a mix of formal and informal food outlets. As stated before, food environments are context specific, this study takes place in South Africa but more specifically the township of Khayelitsha, therefore the emergence, the structure and operation of the urban informal food sector will be specific to Khayelitsha. However, the study will allow for a greater understanding into the food sector within South Africa, and through this a greater understanding of place and food environments, because Khayelitsha is regarded as one of the main study locales in South Africa, to understand food consumption due to the history of the township, the inhabitants, and the location of the township in respect to the city of Cape Town (Philips, 2010).

1.7 Structure of Thesis

The thesis is divided into six chapters as outlined below:

Chapter 1: Placing food in contemporary South Africa. This chapter provided the background and rationale for this study and conveyed the research question, aims and objectives of the study.

Chapter 2: Situating the place of food. The purpose of this chapter is to review the relevant available literature pertaining to the food environment, place, and sense of place. The chapter provides an overview of the changing food environment and how researchers from different disciplines have come to understand the food environment. A discussion of the place, how ideas around 'place' was formed in relation to the food environment, is included. I also review 'sense of place,' its history and formation. Then, I look at the urban informal food sector, and how ideas around the informal sector can help to understand the food environment.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology. A qualitative research method was used which featured a constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approach. This chapter is dedicated to a comprehensive discussion of the research methodology and looks at the CGT research approach which was used to conduct the study, the research design, and the measures which were followed to collect and analyse the data. It includes a discussion of the ethical standards which were upheld during the conducting of the study. The ten participants of this study were recruited over a two-week period.

Chapter 4: Perceptions and feelings about the food environment. The fourth chapter will present and analyse the relational meanings that emerged from participants' interactions with their food environments, through a photovoice activity with an accompanying semi-structured photo-elicitation interview. The ten participants of this study were recruited over a two-week period, these individuals took part in a photovoice study which was conducted with an accompanying online interview discussion, which also took place over a two-week period.

Chapter 5: Sense of place and food. The fifth chapter presents a discussion on 'sense of place' in relation to participants' interactions with their local food environment in Khayelitsha, Cape Town

Chapter 6: Meaning making through food and place. The purpose of the concluding chapter is to provide a conclusion to the study. This chapter will summarise the findings and the

research project. Recommendations in terms of advancing future research on the subject under study.

Chapter 2: Situating the Place of food

2.1. Introduction

Place and sense of place are important concepts to study to gain an understanding of the food environments people interact with. This chapter aims to situate the study within the literature on food environments, place, and the related sense of place. For this chapter, an overview of the literature and empirical studies on the following three distinct fields of research: (1) **food environments**, (2) **place**, and (3) **sense of place** is provided. 'Place, sense of place and the food environment' are defined to improve understanding of these three concepts that relate to each other within this research. Place, sense of place and food environments are interrelated. An overview of theories and concepts commonly used to study an individual's sense of place is covered. Food environments offer a unique lens to place-based research. Focus will be put on defining place and the different meanings of place. Overall, this chapter will present arguments in the literature, indicating ways this study can contribute to the broader stock of knowledge on place and the related sense of place in a local South African food environment context. The focus of this research study is on the food places where residents can buy food, either for immediate consumption (e.g., fast-food), or sit-down or to prepare at home (e.g., supermarkets, spaza shops). Keeping this in mind, this research looks to explore meanings of place and sense of place in connection to individuals' interactions with their food environments, within a South African context. In the next section we focus on 'food environments, different definitions and understandings of food environments are discussed, followed by a short look at examples of food environments in the global North and South.

2.2. Food environments

The food environment is defined as the "link or component that enables food acquisition and food consumption within the wider food system present in an area it is where people interact with the wider food system to buy and or eat food" (Turner et al., 2018: 3). Swinburn et al. (2013: 7) build on this definition to explain how the food environment sets the context within which food acquisition takes place by providing "opportunities and constraints that influence individuals' decision about what to eat and buy, and what not to". For example, if only unhealthy food options (such as from fast-food chains) are available within a shopping mall that an individual visits regularly, then options for healthy food choices would be limited. Glanz et al. (2007: 3) also express how the food environment is "about people and their daily

lives". The food environment combines the daily interactions of individuals with the focus on 'interactions' to help place the food environment regarding people's daily lives and activities (Glanz et al., 2007). Glanz et al. (2007: 3) continue to build on this as they describe food environments at a local neighbourhood scale, referring to the "community food environment" when speaking about local neighbourhood food environments. In addition to this Glanz et al. (2007: 3) discuss the "consumer food environment" when referring to interactions between "individuals and their smaller scale interactions" in their local food environment (Glanz et al. 2007: 3).

The understanding of food environments through community- and consumer-based concepts (Glanz et al., 2012) has partly directed research into food environments (Gittelsohn et al., 2007; Swinburn et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2018; Swinburn et al., 2019). Beyond community- and consumer-based concepts (Swinburn et al., 2011), defining the food environment and its components has proven to be more challenging for researchers (Gittelsohn et al., 2007). A feature in the existing definitions of the food environment is the conceptualization of the food environment in terms of the spaces within which food acquisition occurs; these can be spaces as large as continents or global areas (the global North or South), or smaller communities food environments in a specific country (such as Khayelitsha, Cape Town) (Swinburn et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2018; Swinburn et al., 2019).

While defining the food environment is critical, so too is understanding the impact and influences of the food environment. Food environments in the global North have been influenced significantly by two events (Gittelsohn et al., 2007). These two events changed the international food environment: First was the arrival and development of the 'obesogenic' food environment (Swinburn et al., 2019), due to the resultant 'nutrition transition' (Popkin et al, 2012). The obesogenic environment is defined by Swinburn et al. (2011) as an environment which helps to encourage the consumption of unhealthy foods and the practice of living an unhealthy lifestyle that can result in gaining weight (Swinburn et al., 2011). Secondly, the international food environment was impacted by improved accessibility of locally produced foods, including seasonal produce and other foods throughout the year through technological advancements (Gittelsohn et al., 2007). Internationally research on food environments has been focused on the challenges affecting the global North and has focussed on researching the influence of the food environment on dietary quality and health

outcomes amongst children (Engler-Stringer et al., 2014) and adults (Caspi et al., 2012). However, it has been acknowledged by researchers (Engler-Stringer et al., 2014; Martins et al., 2013) that there is a dearth of food environments research focusing on challenges affecting individuals in the global South (Caspi et al., 2012). Similar research focusing on the global North has also resulted in a lack of consistent evidence related to food environments. Recent food environment research across the globe has resulted in a range of definitions for food environments within diverse research fields (Caspi et al., 2012). Such heterogeneity is not always useful or effective when attempting to study food environmental challenges specific to individuals in a different geographical location, since definitions and understandings of food environments in the global North may at times not be very useful for research with a focus on individuals in the global South. This links to the work of Martins et al. (2013) who highlight the limits and strengths of secondary and primary data resources in food environment research, links to the range of methodological approaches used, the multifariousness of food retailers, and individuals' engagement with their local food environment (Caspi et al., 2012; Martins et al., 2013; Engler-Stringer et al., 2014).

Gustafson et al. (2012) reviewed fifty-six consumer food environment research papers (Gustafson et al., 2012). These research papers were quantitative studies that were published over a period of 10 years between 2000 and 2011, they were all set within countries in the global North (focusing on the USA, Canada, and Australia). Comparisons between these studies were problematic due to the lack of consistent food store audit methods used (Gustafson et al., 2012). In their review, Gustafson et al. (2012) highlight how intricate various settings and store types affect the resulting data. Things like the characteristics of an area (distance to food stores, level of safety, crime, is there a supermarket present, etc.), in combination with other variables such as income, location, perceptions of the food environment, relationships with different food sources, etc., help contribute to a better understanding of people and how they relate to their food environment (Gustafson et al., 2012).

The food environment in the global South, including countries such as Egypt and Namibia that have been the focus of Turner et al. (2017), has been impacted by increased urbanization (Reardon et al., 2021) in addition to the increased prevalence of the obesogenic food environment. The obesogenic food environment also resulted in part from rapid urbanisation

and industrialisation in settings within the African continent (Steyn and Mchiza, 2014). In the global South, the food environment is constantly changing (Turner et al., 2017). Global food system changes remain different between the countries in the global North and the global South, regardless of common occurrences within food environments across certain contexts, such as super-marketisation around the world (Reardon et al., 2021).

Countries in the global South, are characterised by multiple types of food sources, where individuals can access food from different community sources, in combination with non-market related food sources at food places such as food transfers through social capital (Ahmad, 1991). However, a similarity between the global north and south is the prevailing nutrition transition and obesogenic environment (Popkin et al, 2012). In African countries, for example, the dietary changes from traditional, foods to highly processed foods have created health issues, such as the increased prevalence of non-communicable diseases like diabetes (Popkin and Gordon-Larsen, 2004). Also, linked to the ever-increasing urbanisation throughout Africa is the extensive spread of supermarkets and fast-food restaurants which results in increased consumption of meals away from home (Reardon et al., 2021). The interactions between people in their present food environment, with its influence on food acquisition and food consumption are not clearly explained or defined in various African contexts (Penney et al., 2014). Penney et al. (2014) express that research focusing on the food environment should seek to complement research relating to external environmental factors, such as the understanding of place, with personal level dimensions of the food environment. The importance of individual factors, including bias, appealability, or suitability of food products, is regarded as relatively understudied, especially in Africa (Penney et al., 2014). In the next section, we continue our discussion on food environments in Africa but look at South Africa with a focus on Cape Town, including a look at informality in Cape Town and how these effects on the food environment present.

2.3. Focusing on Cape Town, the South African food environment

Like the rest of Africa and the world, South Africa is currently impacted by rapid urbanisation and the nutritional transition (Battersby, 2013). Comparable to the rest of Africa, South Africa has one of the fastest urbanisation rates in the world and currently 60% of the population is urbanised (World Bank, 2016). Due to apartheid's segregationist legacy, South African cities have seen Coloured and Black African population groups living spatially and economically on

the fringe of cities and certain job opportunities (Rogerson, 2003). Food in Cape Town is typically accessed through the retail food environment by way of supermarkets (Battersby, 2013), which makes the urban poor exceedingly reliant on food in their proximity to food retailers and very vulnerable to food price shocks (Battersby et al. 2015). When food is purchased by the urban poor, they tend to make monthly bulk purchases at supermarkets (Battersby, 2013). However, the urban informal food sector is used to access and alleviate nearby daily/weekly food needs (Crush and Frayne, 2011). For cities like Cape Town, urbanisation has carried with it social, economic, and environmental challenges (Pieterse, 2011). Pieterse (2011) continues by discussing how urbanisation has brought with it increased levels of exclusion and inequality linking to spatial inequalities. In addition to how urbanisation in its current form has helped to generate high levels of unemployment, with unequal access to services to the urban poor (Pieterse, 2011), resulting in informality being "highly prevalent and a norm in Cape Town" (Pieterse, 2011: 14).

2.3.1. Informality in the local food environment

The locally-built food environment in South Africa and Cape Town is poorly understood, especially concerning informality (Young and Crush, 2019). Polese, Kovács, and Jancsics (2018) define informality as an activity, done by individuals or groups (families, organisations, etc.), that ultimately bypasses an overarching regulatory entity that regulates some part of life for that individual or group. Polese, Kovács, and Jancsics (2018) continue by explaining that informality may result when "informal practises emerge in areas the state cannot regulate" - things that occur beyond the state or informality emerges through practises that "replaces what is regarded as ineffective state mechanisms", i.e. things that occur in spite of the state interventions and actions, but are regarded as more effective in certain instances by those conducting these actions (2018: 5). Understanding the links between individuals or group action in relation to informality is important for understanding the greater global food environment, especially in the informal food sector in the global South. Battersby (2013) argues, that the understanding of the informal food sector is often expressed through a lens from the global North. However, urban informal food environments are beginning to receive more attention and focus from scholars and policymakers. In spite of this, detailed engagements with the development, structure, and reasons people choose to buy food in these places are absent (Young and Crush, 2019). This has limited the understanding of the

role urban informal food environments serve in the wider food system (Young and Crush, 2019). Combined with this is the reality that there has also been a widespread failure to engage in researching informal food economies (Young and Crush, 2019), there are questions about the reasons behind food choices related to human behaviour in these places (Story et al., 2008).

Informal economic activities in South African cities can only be understood through a historically-rooted approach which emphasises the "role of the government in the continuation and the production of informal economic activity" (Skinner, 2018: 105). Informal economies are complex and embedded in the specific environments in which they exist, for example, areas such as Khayelitsha, Cape Town, which was created by the apartheid government, partly as a response to housing shortages for black South Africans (Nqadini, 2000). With the influx of residents the informal economy grew, partly because of the restricted economic opportunities and zoning laws during the apartheid era, and the challenges with job creation which still exist today (Young and Crush, 2019).

2.3.2. Informality, Spatiality and Supermarketisation

There is also a spatial element to informal food resources due to the apartheid spatial planning and segregated history of South Africa. This has resulted in fears around resolving problems, like food justice in spatially disadvantaged areas (Battersby, 2011). In their study on food access, Moore and Diez Roux (2006) emphasise how food poverty can be an element of social exclusion, meaning that low-income populations are regarded as spatially disadvantaged relating to their access to food. Linking this to Cape Town we can see that low-income consumers usually do not have access to private transportation, and as a result make use of public transportation (minibus taxis, Metrorail, walking or Golden Arrow buses) to access food sources. Additionally, low-income individuals usually live further away from Cape Town's central business district (CBD), and thus spend large percentages of their monthly income on public transportation (Moore and Diez-Roux, 2006). Low-income individuals lack the financial capability to spend high percentages of their monthly salaries on public transportation to food sources. This leads to low-income households becoming under-serviced by the more formal larger food economy, consequently, more informal food economy food sources will develop due to the need for more food procurement places as options for the low-income consumers and urban poor to meet food access needs. Therefore,

more studies are needed that explore food choices and buying behaviours of disadvantaged consumers to explore how these groups access food and food places regardless of the constraints (Fonte, 2008).

The food environment in urban areas near previously disadvantaged groups within South Africa (Black African and Coloured neighbourhoods) in Cape Town and South Africa have been experiencing a transition, recently, through the increasing prevalence of supermarketisation (Battersby, 2013). According to Smith et al (2016) and Battersby (2013), supermarketisation is a process, driven by profit-making motives, whereby property developers intend to seize the increasing consumer market within previously disadvantaged areas, such as townships. The increase in income of some township residents, combined with better access to transportation and electricity - for certain households since the end of Apartheid, has contributed towards the improved capability of a limited number of previously disadvantaged urban residents to shop in supermarkets as opposed to smaller local retailers, which according to Reardon et al (2003) has resulted in the success in supermarketisation.

A study which looked at the success of supermarkets in servicing the local community by D'Haese and Huylenbroeck (2005) highlighted the reason supermarkets achieve success. Initially, this was because supermarkets could provide a large variety of foods at an affordable price due to their management ability and economies of scale, where those that managed the supermarkets could buy products at high volumes and sell products at a cheaper price than the more local smaller stores (D'Haese and Huylenbroeck, 2005). However, a study by Tustin and Strydom (2006) found that travelling to supermarkets is often at odds with the financial capabilities of low-income consumers due to supermarkets' location which is centralised and difficult to access for those without private transportation, getting to a supermarket is costly. This is in addition to the work done by Battersby (2011) who found the smallest packaged unit supermarkets tend to stock is sometimes larger than what poorer communities can afford. Therefore, the benefits of supermarkets where they offer greater food variety and at lower prices, are made mute for low-income consumers. In addition to the previously mentioned challenges with informality in Cape Town and South Africa, there is also the acknowledgement of the possible key role informal traders could have in food acquisition and food choices within urban communities, this relates to food acquisition strategies revolving

around communities making use of social capital as a household food asset (Battersby, 2013; Young and Crush, 2019).

2.3.3. Social capital: food as an asset and importance of informal traders

Social capital, according to Moser (1997), is the level to which communities can be measured as an asset that reduces vulnerability or increases opportunities (Moser, 1997). Social capital is critical when considering household 'coping strategies' or 'household survival strategies,' where food is concerned. An example of these strategies can be 'shared cooking' which Ahmad (1991: 20) describes as a family that lives in separate houses, while close by, who practice "combining and sharing food resources regularly, to meet food needs". 'Shared cooking' occurs when one main house is used multiple times a week to cook food for a group, which can consist of the backyard dweller and the member of the main house (Ahmad, 1991). When individuals experience food shortages, people depend on each other for food resources, affecting food procurement strategies and community relations, in addition to human behaviour when accessing food (Putnam, 1993). This is a food risk avoidance strategy for households living under threat of running out of food or money, during the month. Households combine resources with other households in order to mitigate income shocks or food budget constraints (Putnam, 1993). Food risk avoidance strategies within the social economy include combining food budgets to purchase specials at food stores (e.g., at shopping malls with bulk purchases at the end of the month). Such a strategy may be enacted by low-income residents who only access supermarkets and shopping malls once a month, near to paydays, to take advantage of deals offered by these larger food stores (Battersby, 2013).

Other examples of food risk avoidance strategies can be sharing meals with neighbours and/or other households, a community outreach operating a soup kitchen, or simply borrowing money or food from other community members (Crush and Frayne, 2010). The level of difficulty that households experience when accessing food, can impact how strong the household is against food shortages (Moser,1997; Dangerfield et al., 2021). If a household is under threat by food shortages, then it can make use of the social capital within their wider community. Moser (1997: 23) explains that members of communities would "help to provide food for others with the expectation that in the future, they can make claims on others to help them and transfer food". This exchange or economy is embedded within the moral and

social fabric present within communities, and according to Ahmad (1991) through this a social economy of the community is developed with a system of protection for those with elevated levels of food insecurity and affecting how low-income groups procure food and food accessing behaviours which needs more focussed research (Battersby, 2013).

Another example of informality but also the use of social capital within food environments in Cape Town and South Africa, is through informal traders and the credit systems which they avail for the low-income households and groups within their community (Dangerfield et al., 2021). This also relates to an important aspect of Informality, being that of the key role the informal traders themselves play as food places within their local communities as easing access to food for community members. This is done through a credit system that informal traders offer within their local food economy to those with whom they are familiar. This links to Moser's (1997) view of social capital being an asset which reduces weakness and improves opportunities in local communities. The work of Granovetter (1985) shows that positive social relations with local informal vendors within the community can help in making the credit system more reasonable and beneficial for both local retailers and community members. Granovetter (1985) continues by explaining how there is a preference among venders for transacting with known individuals, due to a positive reputation or relationship with the customer, and how past experiences when dealings with a customer are valued in decreasing the risk of wrongdoing by the customer or the vender themselves, such as not repaying the loan of credit. As a result, customers and vendors are incentivised to have working relationships. For the customer not to conduct wrongdoing (e.g., through stealing products), as the penalty would negatively impact the customer's standing with the vendor thus resulting in the unwillingness of local informal or formal retailers to extend the offer of credit again (Granovetter, 1985). Hence, the more familiar the shop worker or owner is with the customer, and vice-a-versa, the more likely a credit agreement can be reached and honoured, as the shop owner's social relations within the community offer assurances of payment, in the form of trust and access to consumers (Granovetter, 1985). This partially links to the continued survival of informal traders regardless of the expansion of supermarkets within low-income areas in Cape Town (Battersby, 2013; Young and Crush, 2019).

According to Young and Crush (2019), the informal sector is a site of considerable innovation and entrepreneurial agency, not just a shelter for the marginalized. In Cape Town, barriers to

entry into the informal sector are extremely low, because resourceful individuals can survive and build businesses, even though the competition is severe, and there are limited formal sources of financing (Dolan and Rajak, 2016). Schipmann and Qiam (2011) explain that this is because of "cohabitation," a process in which informal food vendors co-exist with, and sometimes benefit from, other informal traders and larger supermarkets. This can occur in two ways: firstly, by gaining business from customers and employees of supermarkets and other informal traders; and secondly, by using supermarkets as a source of produce and taking advantage of competition between supermarkets to acquire goods for resale (Young and Crush, 2019).

In this section, the food environments in South Africa, with a focus on Cape Town, were highlighted. Challenges related to informality are discussed in relating to food access and food environments. In the next section, 'place' as a concept is defined historically (through ideas of space) and how food and place can be interrelatedness is mentioned. This is followed by a discussion on the important related concept of place, being a 'sense of place,' which in terms of this research relates place to the food environments.

2.4. Place

In this study, place is subjective and meanings of place result from individuals' interactions at food places they regularly visit to access food. As a result of this place in this study is personal and a "human construct" (Cresswell, 2008: 7). Place is space given meaning (Cresswell, 2004) and made meaningful by a coming together of personal perceptions, senses, and spatial attributes with social interactions (Cresswell, 2008). Place, however, as a geographic concept has been debated for decades (Tuan, 1977; Cresswell, 2004; Withers, 2009). According to Cresswell (2004: 15), place can be both an "act of defining what exists" and a specific way in which to "understand and know the world" (Cresswell, 2004: 15). In addition to this Whitney (2001: 18) considers place as a "juncture of bodied, memorised time and space, which is contoured by narratives relationally embedded in cultural and physical landscapes". 'Place' is the coming together of related ideas or viewpoints. Different models of place have emerged over time, with certain models attempting to compromise between different viewpoints, all looking to define what exactly place is (Tuan, 1977; Cresswell, 2008; Withers, 2009). Place originates from space (Tuan, 1977). In human geography, Cresswell (2004) defines 'place' as being 'space' that has meaning (Cresswell, 2004). However, Johnson et al. (2000: 3) go further

when they describe a place as a geographical location (space), initially without meaning or understanding, which attributed meaning through a "combination of social interactions, personal sense or perceptions and spatial attributes" (Johnson et al.,2000: 3).

Cresswell (2004) understood 'space' as being a more abstract concept than place. Tuan (1977) also speaks about space when he compares spaces to the movement of individuals and places to the pauses or stops on a journey to a destination, seeing space as the area people travel through to get to a specific place of interest, essentially Tuan (1977: 6) believes that space contrasts place, through "space allowing for movement" and the pauses in movement allowing for "locations to be explored, which allows for meaning to develop and for the creation of place". Cresswell (2004) adds to this by explaining that space becomes a place when people give it some form of significance (for example, meaning can be given as a location to buy things, or as a location to interact with family members, etc.) and through this significance people start to develop some sort of attachment to this space, making it into a place. Therefore Johnson et al. (2000) see place as being a location given meaning, in addition to Cresswell (2004: 7) defining place in a short and simplistic manner as "a meaningful location".

The recognition of place as a concept made considerable progress in the 1970s through developments in human geography which started reflecting a "more complex understanding of geographical imaginations" (Claval and Entrikin, 2004: 46). Originally, geographers' understanding of place focused on the physical attributes of place. Hubbard et al (2002: 3) note that the understanding of place as a concept before the 1970s was very simplistically determined as a meeting or gathering of individuals in an "enclosed locale", which was located on or occupying a "physical portion of geographic space" (Hubbard et al, 2002: 3). However, during the 1970s a geographers observed a 'spatial turn' in the geographical imaginations of geography (Casey, 1997). This led to an expansion in methods used to examine the concept of place and the meaning of place (Tuan, 1975; Casey, 1997). Geographers at the time such as Tuan (1975) did not believe that the theoretical explanation of place to a location in space could by itself effectively capture place as a component of everyday life therefore they added on to the concept of place and expanded the research around place (Caspi et al., 2012).

In the 1980s human geography became more influenced by social theory (Mansvelt, 2008). However, this managed to side-line the concept of place, replacing discussions around place "with discourse around space and social processes" (Mansvelt, 2008: 8). Since the 1970s, the geographical definition of place has focused on a combination of location (a point in space that is definable) and the meanings of place, expressed through relationships with an aspect of place (Tuan, 1977; Cresswell, 2004). Place, as explained by Johnson et al. (2000), is relational and not one-dimensional is a geographical location given meaning through a combination of" social interactions, personal senses or perceptions and spatial attributes" (Johnston et al., 2000: 3). In addition to this Tuan (1977: 7) expressed the view that place was both the "central or main point giving meaning" to and part of the "external context of peoples actions", and that place was the foundation for subjective and objective actions by individuals.

Agnew (1987) contributed to the further development of place by highlighting three components of meaningful places: location, locale, and sense of place. Agnew (1987) believed that place was relational as a construct. Firstly, the location offers a simple idea of where the place is located and provides objective meaning to place (Agnew, 1987). To know where a place is immediately means that you can locate it relative to places around it which helps define the place and changes the meaning of a place. Location affects the other two components of the meaning of place. Secondly, locale or layout is the material (built or natural) context of a place that allows for social interactions to occur (Agnew, 1987). The locale also provides objective meaning to place (Agnew, 1987). Agnew (1987) exclaims that the physical layout of a place, can affect the "relationships between people and how they interact with the place". There is also no limitation to the physical layout of the material setting for a place. Finally, sense of place forms when "people develop an emotional attachment to a place" (Agnew, 1987: 5) usually after having visited or lived in a place (Sack, 1992). Sense of place provides subjective meaning to place (Agnew, 1987). However, as Tuan (1975) explains, our sense of a place is not only limited to the physical, but it can be a particular feeling when returning to a hometown which may have similar components (such as the same buildings) as every other town within a geographical area but if it is where you grew up then it may have a special sense of place. Likely, the same will result for a person or group routinely visited food store.

If we apply Agnew's (1987) understanding of the basic components of meanings of place (location, locale, and sense of place) any individual could walk into a place and begin to develop meaning to or of the place. If an individual walks into a shopping mall in South Africa, the location would consist of a parking area, near a main road, there would be a large anchoring retailer, with smaller fast–food shops, clothing stores, mobile cell phone stores, a cinema, amongst other stores. The locale, and material setting, would be simplistic as well, near to the entrance there would be fast food shops, then clothing stores, with electronic stores further along in the shopping mall. Employees would also be present adding to the sense of place that the individual is developing. Hubbard et al. (2002), write that since the sense of place was a phenomenon unique to a locale, after the change in geography after the 1970s, the focus of human geographers altered to ideas that had a sense of place as a main idea. Therefore, as mentioned earlier geographical definitions and understandings of place, since the 1970s have focused on the combination of location (a point in space that is definable) and the meanings of place, expressed through relationships with an aspect of place (Tuan, 1977; Cresswell, 2004).

Since the turn of geography in the 1970s, human geographers have focussed more critically on the relationship between people, places, and place-making in a more globalised world. Through this critical approach, researchers sought to understand the effect human agency had on place (Sack, 1992; Massey, 1997; Massey, 2005; Harvey, 2006; Withers, 2009). As people define and redefine places through their interactions with a place, a more globalised world would affect people's understanding and relationships with various places, showing a relationship between people and place-making. Sack (1992) demonstrated his view on human agency and relationality between people and places, through the combined influence of personal meaning and social interactions, with place (Sack 1992: 97). For Sack (1992) meanings of place ranged from the subjective to the objective (a universal view), where these meanings where related viewpoints that presented different geographical experiences. Sack (1992) applied this model by examining place through the lens of food consumption, which he argued is a "place-creating" and "place-altering" experience and act (Sack 1992: 97). Massey (2005) also discussed the importance of people and their actions when creating place and sense of place, through the view of place as an event (Massey, 2005), that results in the

intersection of a “exceptional coming together” (Massey, 2005: 140), of place creation and sense of place.

Massey (2005) sees place as a relational space with the global and local being mutually constitutive conceptually which creates a set of connections that Massey (1997) referred to as a “global sense of place” (Massey, 1997: 4). Massey (2005) continues to point towards the relationship between people and place-making through human agency by referring to sense of place within place-making actions. Massey (2005) likens sense of place to being “frank and extroverted” as it includes the “awareness of what links the local and the wider world” (Massey, 1997: 322). Pointing towards the relationship between people and place at a more local and international level. This can be seen play out with multinational food brands, where a McDonald's (large American brand) may be eating in a local community in the United Kingdom, Australia, or South Africa, connecting people and food choices around the world and intersecting food cultures, creating certain connected food places, and changing place.

Place is valuable for research in that it adds an important dimension to questions of human behaviour (Cresswell, 2008; Swinburn et al., 2019). Deconstructing place as individuals describe it becomes an important research tool to explore different meanings of place expressed. According to Sack (1992) place making, in relation to human behaviour, develops through relationships, as it “connects social relations, human agency, and the environment” (Sack 1992: 207). This section defined, analysed, and discussed the concept of place historically, and various relevant understandings of place associated with the food environment. The next section continues from place with a focus on the related concept of ‘sense of place.’ I discuss a sense of place in relation to its meaning and how individuals’ identity relates to their sense of place. In addition, I explain different components of the sense of place including a sense of agency, sense of belonging and alienation related to food places and food acquisition.

2.5. Sense of place

As expressed by Cresswell (2008), place is characterised by layers of meaning. Here, Cresswell (2008) understands that sense of place is constantly transforming, and these considerations can transform into something new overtime as certain aspects of the built environment change and as people’s knowledge of their built environment changes to become more aware of changing social environments. With greater understanding and expanded knowledge

coupled with improved awareness, people start to develop a "concept of place" also referred to as a "sense of place where emotional attachment and personal meanings" come together to further the concept and understanding of place (Relph, 1976: 8). This links to the work of Tuan (1974: 4) where he discusses the sense of place and the attachment felt to places, which he terms as a sense of place defining it as the "emotional bond between people and specific places". For Tuan (1974) and other researchers (Relph, 1976; Feagan, 2007; Ardoin, 2009), through emotional connections, place ends up becoming more than a physical feature of land. People's experiences combined with their imaginations become entangled with physical features and the definition of place becomes "relative to these human constructs and other people's places" (Feagan, 2007). Bonds with a place or sense of place can both be physical or imaginative and at different scales, varying and having both the physical presence and imaginative presence (with a community, city, town, country, or just with a small store) (Tuan, 1974).

What is clear is that the 'sense of place,' is a concept which is complex due to its potential of it to understand and motivate human behaviour (Cresswell, 2008; Swinburn et al., 2019). Sense of place is conceptualised in a manner that differentiates place from the built environment, as Cresswell (2008) explains through sense of place the built environment and place are different but not oppositional. An example of this can be a first visit to a geographical location which is likely to be random, but sometimes intentional. However, if individual visits the place again, the location can acquire meaning over time through a variety of interactions which through a process of place-making, transforms the location into a place for an individual. This place-making process usually involves a combination of emotions, spatial challenges, material needs, social interactions, personal values, and emotions (Swinburn et al., 2019).

According to Stedman (2006), the process of establishing the meaning of place for an individual is active, as it involves the constant interactions between 'places' in the built environment and influences the ongoing experiences people have at these places. The relationship between the built physical environment and place towards a sense of place is mutually reinforcing (Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2014). Routine human behaviour and the meaning of repeated visits to particular 'places' only becomes part of an individual's routinely visited locations when people assign enough meaning to these 'places. The meaning to these

'places' is reinforced by repeated, continuous exposure to a particular 'place' (Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2014). As far as the food environment is concerned, Manzo and Devine-Wright (2014: 12) state that "in neighbourhoods, there may be a few nearby food stores that no one visits", this could be because these stores do not have a deeper meaning to these individuals or because they deliberately avoided these stores because they have a negative connotation or people feel out of place at these stores. To understand the sense of place and the meanings of the sense of place first, we need to understand the two main components of the sense of place as defined by Trentelman (2009); these being 'place meaning' and 'place attachment'. In addition to this, 'sense of place' could seem like an umbrella term encompassing bringing multiple concepts that describe interactions between people and the built environment (Shamai, 1991). These terms mentioned by Jorgensen and Stedman (2001), are place attachment (emotive), place identity (cognitive) and place dependence (conative), with overlapping amongst these separate components of the sense of place (Shamai, 1991).

The concept of place meaning is defined as the representational meaning given to places by people (Relph, 1976; Semken and Butler Freeman, 2008). Place, as a concept, has meaning through people's memory, "people create place meaning and then connect it to themselves" (Scannell and Gifford, 2010: 3). Soul (1988) continues from this by expressing that the emotional experiences and memories of place from people, helps to produce understanding and values which connect to specific places. Place meanings are a result of human interactions and experiences at a specific place (Relph, 1976). Essentially place meanings develop from pre-existing values attached to a place from an individual, and place meanings develop and change through learning behaviours (Fonte, 2008).

According to Jorgensen and Stedman (2001), explain that place identity is the mental or intellectual (cognitive) association between a person and their surrounding physical environment. Place identity can be the level to which a 'place' becomes part of the person's identity. Then, the prescribed place identity begins to define the expectations of a place. However, place identity does not refer to the identity of the place itself, instead, referring to the relationship that a person has with the place. Place identity is part of a greater holistic self-identification (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). Similarly, Lockie (2001) shows how food helped to create a place identity for residents from Rockhampton (Australia) where place and identity is developed concurrently through food which is locally produced - Rockhampton has

a place identity as the 'beef capital' of Australia (Lockie, 2001). Lockie (2001: 253) pointed out how participants in his study revealed an array of "geographical knowledge which was embedded in food practises, such as food preparation, purchasing and food industry related activities", which brought together opposing responses, historical meanings, and significance, in combination with a "locally constructed symbolic sense of identity" that overlapped with the greater declining cattle industry of Rockhampton (Lockie, 2001). In addition to the work of Lockie (2001), Cook and Craig (1996) write about how food can have the potential to highlight meaning. Cook and Craig (1996: 140) believe that "foods make places symbolic constructs, used in the broad construction of numerous geographies, foods do not just come from places", food helps to characterise places. Therefore, according to the work of Cook and Craig (1996) and Lockie (2001) food adds meaning to place.

According to Altman and Low (1992: 5) 'place attachment' is the physical, psychological, and emotional, connection to a place. Here, place helps to serve various meanings from a site of psychological or emotional comfort and support, it can be safe and secure, to a place of constancy and familiarity (Shumaker and Taylor, 1983). Another definition of place attachment is from Scannell and Gifford (2010: 1) who define place attachment as the "bonding which results between individuals and their meaningful environments", it is the "bond between an individual or group and a place this can vary terms of how specific the place is, the spatial-level of the place, and the social or physical features of the place", and is manifested through emotional, intellectual, and social psychological processes (Scannell and Gifford, 2010: 5). Place attachment by Scannell and Gifford (2010) is considered a measurable subset of sense of place. Place attachment can serve the function of supporting groups or individual goals, where place then becomes valued based on the specific activities that it can support, such as a small store which stocks food products which are used and needed daily which is located near to your home, this store will be valued as a result of the products available and the location relative to where you live, the same with a shopping mall which has more options and activities (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). Place can help you achieve certain goals, like shopping for food, but it does not only help achieve certain goals, place, and the attachment to it can have continuity or familiarity and stability properties (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). Where returning to previously visited stores or locations having short

conversations with acquaintances, or meeting family members and friends can become familiar and relaxing giving the place a certain identity and attachment.

Place can help "create continuity over time by reminding individuals of previous occurrences" at certain locations, which helps to attach individuals to environments that they "feel match their values or their past" (Scannell and Gifford, 2010: 6). These past attachments can range from things like a person's favourite store which sells their favourite food, or a childhood home, all have strong forms of place attachment and are examples of continuity and familiarity that place can provide. A combined, sense of place and place identity, and place attachment can lead an individual to develop a sophisticated and more multifaceted relationship with place (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). In addition to place attachment, Johnson et al (2000: 731) explain that individuals can experience place detachment, where "humans express different levels of place attachment and place detachment based on their experiences and relationships to specific places". Place detachment can be seen in the work of Feagan (2007) where local food products were displaced by multinational food products which were negatively associated with certain food stores, resulting in participants losing interest and attachment to these places, becoming detached, Feagan (2007) mapped this in his study.

Place dependence is another subset of the sense of place (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). In combination with place identity, place dependence is recognised and related to certain characteristics of why and how people link with places. Place dependence includes how a place can fulfil the social, emotional, and psychological, social needs of people (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) understand place dependence as how strong the level of association between a person and a particular place is. However, the dependence relation between people and place is not one-dimensional. The influence of a person over a place is related to the understanding that how the person views a particular place is an extension of yourself (Droseltis and Vignoles, 2010), a sense of possession, ownership, or rights to the place (identity-related symbolic meaning), or investment in place (repeated visits). For example, exchange students might prefer to congregate in areas in their new surroundings that possess familiar qualities with their home, things which could link back to their homes may provide comfort against the negative effects of moving. Keeping this in mind, multiple place attachments can co-exist related to a specific place, Stokols and Shumaker (1981: 3) referred to this as a "generic place dependence".

Sense of place is a concept which is understood as place meanings and place attachments (Trentelman, 2009). Place meanings and place attachments can vary amongst different individuals, resulting in potentially unique understandings of place and sense of place (Stedman, 2007). It is important to understand the factors which affect the development of the sense of place concerning food environments, to gain a greater understanding of sense of place, these factors could be social, economic, political, historical, or physical factors which affect the development of sense of place. These factors play out through two important indicators of sense of place within a food environment: a sense of agency and a sense of belonging (Cobb et al., 2011; Caspi et al., 2012; Desjardins, 2010).

2.5.1. Sense of agency: through a sense of place

Agency, as defined by Giddens (1984: 14), is about the "ability to intervene in a certain situation or just to make a difference". Agency involves the determination to make a change, the information to do so and the capability to conduct this change (Giddens, 1984). A sense of agency related to place-making is an indicator of a sense of place, it relates directly to people's interactions with the wider food environment (Desjardins, 2010). Sense of agency builds on the understanding that individuals' and groups interactions with the food environment (or just the present built environment) is "mutually reinforcing, and an example of a shared relationship" (Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2014: 6). Individuals or groups that interact with their food environment create meaning with the environment and as a result can shape it in certain ways, thus taking part in a sense of place-making activity (Desjardins, 2010). A sense of agency is about the notion of action (which is purposeful), to create or affect aspects of your own or other daily lives, Desjardins (2010) regards this as part of a process to produce a place identity for individuals. Concerning place and sense of place, agency or a sense of agency would relate to how individuals or members of communities intentionally act within their environments to create or impact their food environments, resulting in a sense of agency. Examples of greater involvement in a social context which could be part of a sense of agency are things such as organising cooking groups, buying from certain food places and not others, such as buying from a certain large food retail store (ShopRite), as opposed to another - because the prices may be cheaper, or the shop is closer. These are examples which would indicate a robust commitment to place or sense of place. Planning food buying, such as creating shopping lists after consulting a newspaper to look for cheaper prices, would

concurrently arise from and add towards a sense of place. A sense of agency links to Manzo (2005: 84), where he explains that a sense of agency can originate from the "different ways people use places, occasionally in ways that they were not originally intended to", this relates to the creative ways people can use places to suit their needs, "people are constantly, actively, and can be intentionally shaping their environment".

A sense of agency also comes with a sense of connection, which (as part of an indicator for the sense of place) can reflect connectedness to other places, locally or internationally. Massey (1997) writes that with a more globalised world a 'global sense of place' is an appropriate way to discuss how connected the world is, through branding of products, such as similar food products becoming widely available internationally due to globalisation, in addition to technology like the internet connecting food cultures around the world. Massey (1997) highlighted how certain parts of urban neighbourhoods appeared unified, she argued for a global sense of place which arose from a combination of broader and local relations, she suggested that "an understanding of the characteristics of these places can only be understood by linking many different places in different locations" (Massey, 1997: 323). Massey (2005: 172) discussed and contrasted "eating any food available" with local food "local is good because it is from here". Here food is connected to place and sense of place.

The sense of agency is also impacted by the amount of access and the availability individuals or groups have to food. The availability of food places and the price of the food products at these places will affect how well food needs are met within communities. Food availability can differ depending on the type of stores. Home 'tuck shops' or 'spaza shops' are small informal convenience shops that are often operated from a home or informal structure (Skinner and Haysom, 2016). Such shops often have limited shelf space; therefore they stock a limited range of food products for their customers. This limited range of foods can result in limited food options. The affordability and the willingness of people to pay combined with perceptions of worth relating to a certain food product or store will impact the sense of agency of those looking to procure food from these places (Caspi et al., 2012). Sometimes individuals or groups base their food choices not only on the price of the product but also on the cost of other requirements, such as transport, or time, this can be the case when decisions are made by individuals to purchase products at a mall once a month, where individuals make one large purchase of food products (Battersby, 2011) in one trip as opposed to multiple

purchases of smaller groups of products at a smaller store that is closer to their home, this leads us to accessibility.

Accessibility refers to the ease of access or a person's ability to reach a local food setting (Caspi et al., 2012). The accessibility of a food location involves the distance between the store and the individual requiring the product, how is accessibility affected by the options of travelling to a shopping mall (where products would be cheaper) versus buying at a closer home or Spaza shop, which would be more (Battersby, 2011). This is where transportation comes into play, but what is the availability of public transport to and from a food outlet? The money required to reach the shopping mall would also be important. Here a taxi fare, to reach the location could be too costly for the products which are being purchased, also the possible time to reach the location all come together to affect people's decisions (Caspi et al., 2012). The quality and price of a product can guide the accessibility of a product to an individual. All of these challenges work together to diminish a person or group's sense of agency, as some of these challenges are 'non-negotiable issues' if you do not have access to private transportation then you would have to buy large purchases of different food products would have to be made using public transport, and if you cannot afford the cost of public transportation then you could mitigate that by walking or only doing large shopping hauls near to your pay week as that is individuals would have more finances available to meet additional costs like transportation, this is largely linked to the spatial history of South Africa and the food environment.

Challenges which relate to food procurement can also link towards a sense of agency, where individuals come together and look to improve their access to food, altering their perception of the sense of place. These relate to mitigation strategies which people employ within their food environment to procure food, such as making use of their social capacity within their community. Social capacity, as defined by Moser (1997: 20) is the degree that "communities themselves can be considered as an asset that decreases vulnerability or increases opportunities". This community asset is part of household 'coping strategies,' according to an AFSUN survey these can include things such as sharing meals, shared cooking, community soup kitchens, borrowing food or money to buy food, amongst other strategies (Crush and Frayne, 2010). The extension of households, within the larger community, to embrace multi–generational family subsets permit for a greater pool together of resources such as food

resources, income or childcare, all work together to decrease the overall vulnerability of the community (Moser, 1997). Depending on households and individuals' ability to adapt to changes in food availability will impact how resilient a household or individual is to mitigate food shortages. Community members who make use of the social capital that is available to them within their wider community are creating a sense of agency to acquire food, through the social relationships which they have developed within their community. Here as Moser (1997: 23) explains members of communities would "help to provide food for others with the expectation that in the future, they can make claims on others to help them and transfer food". This economy is embedded within the moral and social fabric present within communities. Adding on to this Ahmad (1991) highlights that through this a social economy of the community is developed with a system of protection for those with elevated levels of food insecurity. Those who take part in this social economy are using their agency to intervene in a food scarcity situation and making a positive difference in improving their food availability.

2.5.2. Sense of belonging

Sense of belonging is an indicator of a sense of place (Caspi et al., 2012; Desjardins, 2010). Shared experience amongst groups and individuals forms the foundation for a sense of belonging within a place. Riley (2017) explains belonging as a sense of being where a person can be confident, fit in, feel safe, or simply experience a feeling of being valued. A sense of belonging links to the method of people imagining their bonds to the communities where they live or work (Tuan, 1977: 141). Ardoin, Schuh, and Gould (2012: 586) wrote that the emotional dimension of a sense of place can include "a feeling of 'belonging somewhere'. An individual's sense of belonging could be personal because of positive and negative experiences from places they regard as meaningful. Related to a sense of belonging is a sense of community. A sense of community is defined by Perkins and Long (2002), as the feeling of belonging or membership to a group, which contains possible emotional connections on shared interests or concerns. Compared to place attachment and place dependence, the sense of belonging is different from these two, due to the focus it has on belonging, the sense of belonging is not as geographically bound (Perkins and Long, 2002).

Food purchasing can also relate to a sense of belonging. As expressed by de Certeau and Giard (2008), food buying always has meaning but it is regarded as an ordinary activity which

only occasionally involves interacting with workers, owners, or neighbours within your community. In contrast to this Perkins and Long (2002: 3) point out that when buying food individuals could experience a “community feeling” which would be related to the worth of social interactions this individual felt when buying or consuming food, this could have been with a shop owner, worker, or just someone whom they knew. Sense of belonging helps to create a sense of place, which Agnew (2007: 19), defines in general as “a sense of belonging to the wider area and the relationships which people have concerning multiple things in an area, rather than a specific location or issue”.

Then there is the work of Putnam (1993) which built on the work of Granovetter (1985), where he discovered that large social ties enabled social processes (focussing on gossiping with workers participants in this study knew or had met multiple times) to establish reputations of local food retailers. Putnam's (1993) work showed that a relationally close customer base can produce a standard of behaviour that can easily police the quick spread of information about wrongdoing, such as poor services at a local store. Putnam’s work also showed that food places, such as food retail stores could be a place of social connection (Putnam, 2000), helping to create a sense of community. Putnam (2000) also showed how food retail places can become places of familiarity and comfort through repeated visits, or meeting friends and family at these places. Buying food at places that also served as meeting places for groups or individuals helps to create opportunities for social interaction. These type of connections of ‘community’ with the context of places where food is bought and consumed helps to establish the aspects of the urban food environment and contribute to a sense of community.

The sense of community is also affected by the appearance of food stores. Semenza and March (2009) write that the physical properties of a place can help increase the place's identity, thus increasing the sense of place. Properties, such as the colour or name associated with a store or product, may function as an influencing factor when buying from a specific store or product (Gidlöf et al., 2017). According to Spence and Velasco (2018), there is evidence showing a connection between the use and preferences of colours and behaviour when buying products. This can impact the social patterns of individuals or groups resulting in changes to a sense of belonging. There are other actions which could result in altering or

negatively impacting the sense of belonging and sense of community these would be classified as a sense of alienation.

2.5.3. Sense of alienation

A sense of alienation can also arise from food places. Manzo (2005) revealed that an array of experiences can create meaning in place, ranging from exclusion, loneliness, and abuse, amongst other undesirable experiences at a place. A study by Cresswell (2004) proved how communities that were defined by certain restrictions can be made to feel like they do not belong. Williams and Hubbard (2001) conducted a study in Coventry (United Kingdom), focusing on retail stores and social exclusion. They argued that the divisions in retail highlighted exclusions because they emphasised "those who were disadvantaged mainly for their social marginalization" and that "spatial marginalization offered limited understanding of the interaction of society and space" (Williams and Hubbard, 2001: 270), mainly their study provided evidence of a "multifaceted geography of exclusion and inclusion", which involved social factors political factors, economic and cultural factors (Williams and Hubbard, 2001: 284). In the Coventry study, the results showed how low-income groups chose to buy products at the older more traditional shopping facilities, nearby, staying away from newer stores (Williams and Hubbard, 2001). But more affluent residents chose to shop at the newer stores and stayed away from the shopping centres, the low-income groups, and more affluent groups both chose 'self-alienation or exclusion' from certain stores (Williams and Hubbard, 2001). Those travelling on public transport would also travel from far-off places to buy products because they were comfortable at these stores, and the cost of public transportation was not an issue. Here participants of this study, went to the local farmers market, because of the low prices but were not impressed with the quality of food. The Coventry study shows how feelings of inclusion or exclusion for were based on factors beyond price and proximity, social affinity was a big reason, and a perceived value of goods, amongst additional reasons. The Williams and Hubbard (2001) study characterises an interesting investigation of different meanings of place and sense of place as demonstrated by purchasing habits.

Sense of place is a complex concept to understand (Ardoin, 2006). Sense of place can be defined in several ways but understanding relates to the attachment an individual has with a certain place. In this section, the sense of place was discussed, sense of place and its development was explained to create a greater understanding of the concept.

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter literatures focusing on food environments, place, and the related concept of sense of place that frame this research into the food environment were reviewed. The interrelatedness of place, sense of place and food was highlighted to help frame the meanings of place and individuals' sense of place with respect to their interactions in food environments. The debates within different disciplines around the conceptualisation of place and sense of place were presented with key arguments in the literature indicating ways through which this study can contribute to the broader stock of knowledge on food environments, place, and the related sense of place in a South African local food environment context. Building upon this framing, the next chapter will present the research methodology employed in this study.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This study is qualitative in nature, employing a constructivist grounded theory analysis to investigate participants perception and feelings about their food environment. The following chapter outlines the underlying philosophy and research methods informing the research and the practical aspects of the research which were employed relative to the aim and objectives of the research. This study made use of a semi-structured photo-elicited interview method as a data collection tool. This is chapter outlines the process involved with the data collection of this study. Finally, the limitations of the research and the ethical standards which were adhered to during the research are covered.

3.2. Research aim and objectives

As noted in Chapter 1, the aim of this study is to explore meanings of place and sense of place in connection with individuals' interactions with their food environments. Related to this aim are several objectives. They include:

- To explore the relational meanings that are rooted within individuals' interactions with the food places routinely visited.
- To explore the role of food acquisition in shaping participants sense of place; and
- To explore the relationship between food places and sense of place amongst participants.

To fulfil the objectives above, this study uses a qualitative research methodology design to maximize the possibility of obtaining data which could suggest meaningful associations, through the views and opinions expressed by participants. The three objectives above look to address identified gaps in the literature that the ensuing research with a group of residents in Khayelitsha will help to address. The research is qualitative in nature and is positioned within the perspective that sense of place, place and food are connected through individuals' interactions with their food environment. The food environment and how individuals interact in this space is characterised by connectedness and complexity (Giddens, 1984: as cited in Burns et al, 2022, 9). However, there are specific interactions which occur within a South African setting which is unique compared to a Western setting, such as the United States of America or Canada, these being interactions between people, informal food retailers and

formal food retailers. In Western societies, like the previously mention United States of America, there is more of a separation between food retail outlets and where people live. Whereas in South Africa there are more clear and direct connections, simply looking at informal food retailers (such as spaza shops or home tuckshops) and how they tend to be located within neighbourhoods close to homes, this is rarely seen to this extend within Western societies (Crush and Young, 2019). The links between individuals, the food environment, place, and the creation of a sense of place is "non-linear and subject to feedback loops" (Giddens, 1984: 8 as cited in Burns et al, 2022: 9).

The three objectives above were addressed through the use of a semi – structured photo elicitation interview process. These semi-structured interviews were conducted in English, with questions translated into isiZulu and isiXhosa upon the request of participants. Semi-structured interviews were guided by the SHOWeD photovoice analysis method, which presents six questions (expanded on in section 3.8. Data Analysis) that were used to in order to help participants explain the pictures which they took in relation to this study. The photovoice and the SHOWeD method analysis are explained and expanded upon further below in the chapter.

3.3. Research Philosophical Influence

According to Bhandari (2020: 13), qualitative research involves gathering and analysing non-numerical data (such as, video, audio, text, photographs) to understand experiences, concepts, and opinions. Data collected from qualitative research can be used to generate innovative ideas for research or to gather in-depth insights into a problem. According to Guba and Lincoln (1994: 106) qualitative research methods are a means to finding answers, it "enables researchers to collect detailed descriptive data concerning research topics". Qualitative research allows for more in-depth analyses of attitudes, emotions, and behaviour to be performed than what would usually be impossible if quantitative methods are used (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011).

Ontologically this research adopts a constructivist approach, which has resulted in an epistemology that looks at and accepts both the existence of a physical realty (built environment of Khayelitsha) and it recognises that participants exist in a socially constructed food environment (Charmaz, 2017). This food environment is influenced by participants

interactions with food places within the proximal environment, while the food environment also influences participants opinion of this environment in return.

This research makes use of an inductive reasoning. Here we drew general conclusions about participants food environment based on a set of specific observations by participants, e.g., if a participant explains the importance of a certain informal trader to their daily food access, then the research can look at this observation and then speak about the importance of informal traders to the community, in a more general sense while being informed by the comments of the participant. There are four main types of reasoning, being the deductive reasoning, inductive reasoning, abductive reasoning, and retrodictive reasoning (MasterClass, 2021). Inductive reasoning is considered as being a 'bottom – up' approach to logical research as it involves the widening of specific premises out into broader generalisations (MasterClass, 2021). A benefit of this research is that it takes place over an extended period, to enable prolonged engagement with participants, which afforded more time and space to explore different challenges and themes.

From a constructivist point of view, participants in this study create knowledge of their food environments through their interactions with food places they frequent or with each other when they visit these food places within their community, all towards the creation of a 'sense of place'. Moreover, the philosophical underpinning of constructivism is linked to pragmatism and symbolic interactionalism (Charmaz, 2017). According to Siegfried (2000, 3) pragmatism, "is the theoretical position where what is considered practical or useful is advantaged over the theoretical". With pragmatism, knowledge that is developed is measured in terms of its usefulness to help understand a phenomenon (Siegfried, 2000). Continuing, Siegfried (2000) clarifies that the, the day-to-day real-world circumstances and situations cannot be understood through deductions from theory. Instead, knowledge arises inductively when investigating human experiences with the method of "constant empirical verification" (Siegfried, 2000: 4). This research is making use of an inductive process and looks to understand the setting and context of participants food environment and how they relate to this environment towards the creation of a sense of place related to the food places with their food environment which they regularly visit.

Symbolic interactionism, loosely, forms part of the philosophical framework of this study. Burns et al, (2022) explains symbolic interactionism is an approach to the study of individuals'

daily lives that usually assumes three things, these are, (1) “the way individuals act towards things is founded on the meanings that things have for them”, (2) “the meanings of these things result from social interaction with others”, and (3) “these meanings are changed through, an interpretive process that people use to deal with things that he or she encounters daily”. The interactions participants have with the food places within their food environment has symbolic meanings, which can be both shaped and active in response to social interaction and different contexts within their local residential food environment.

3.4. Research Approach

The overarching methodological approach in this research, used within the qualitative research method, is that of a constructivist grounded theory (CGT) which is philosophically influenced by constructivism. Grounded theory provides a systematic way of producing explanations for participants actions; it involves being open to what participants will reveal about an area of interest, being food places within their food environment. The data collection and analysis within grounded theory is open and transparent and can lead to the development of a theoretical understanding of critical areas of interest. It revolves around the systematic process of simultaneous data collection where the researcher discusses the opinions raised by the participants and links it to the opinions of other participants. While at the same time making sure the results are grounded (representative of the thoughts and opinions of participants and reflects their daily interactions with food places within their food environment) through constant reconsideration of results and testing to develop a theory from the information provided by participants (Charmaz and Bryant, 2010).

The research of exploring individuals’ sense of food places within the food environment made use of a constructivist grounded theory (CGT) research approach. A principal motivation behind this goal was to address the gap in understanding about of the meanings of place in individuals routine experience of purchasing or consuming food at places away from home. To see what the ideas people have about their food environment and to analyse these ideas. Another reason for the use of this approach was to investigate the types of places that people usually use to purchase food and how this links to the meanings which they attach to these places. By using this constructivist grounded theory approach, we could look more closely at the descriptions, feelings and ideas participants have about place and sense of place related to food places within the food environment.

CGT is effective as a research approach as it includes the notion of multiple constructed realities, which helps to situate the research in the social conditions of the participants. CGT also acknowledges both the past and present social conditions which may have been present within the study area, and how these could affect the results of the study (Charmaz, 2017). A practical example of this is acknowledging the apartheid laws and how it could have affected the built environment of Khayelitsha which in turn today would affect how participants interact with and relate to food places within their community. In addition, the constructed realities can include the researchers' position (e.g., their "situation, actions, background or values"), these should not be pushed aside, according to Charmaz (2017, 299). Linking this with Farragher and Coogan (2018, 6) idea is that a researcher can be connected to and can "understand the meanings that the research participants make of their experiences, can result in realistic or pragmatic concepts that are widely applicable when moved across different contexts", although these would still be relevant and relate to a specific subject or issue raised by participants. Practically, here we investigated participants interactions with the food environment and how this process through their knowledge of and experiences with the food environment helped to create a sense of place and help define certain food outlets as places.

3.5. Research design

This study employed a qualitative design which was informed by a constructivist grounded theory approach, with an ethnographic research design. Ethnography is the study of people in their own environment, making use of individual interviews, focus group discussions, amongst other research tools. According to Babbie and Mouton (2008), an ethnographic research design makes use of standard research methods such as semi – structured and structured interviews, observations, focus group discussions and document analysis to collect data. Ethnographic research designs are developed to conduct field-based research studies in the settings in which people work, or live, as opposed to laboratories, where researchers control the elements of behaviour that researchers try to observe (Babbie and Mouton, 2008). An ethnographic approach allows for flexibility, as a research design which does not need extensive pre-fieldwork preparation and allow for changes which may become necessary during the field work of the study (Babbie and Mouton, 2008).

Ethnographic field studies reflect cultural groups and systems of meanings which the members of groups ascribe to, such as celebratory events, occurrences, and phenomena in the world around them (Burns et al; 2022). Linking this to this research study an ethnographic approach fits well as this study focuses on people and how they relate to their food environment, through their interactions with places in the food environment helping construct place and linking to the participants overall construction of 'sense of place' related to food.

3.6. Data collection

Methods of data collection depend on a range of factors, including the type of research, time available, budget, and scope. This study made use of qualitative methods to collect data, these include a photovoice component, and a semi-structured photo-elicitation interview process which related to the photovoice. These methods can provide an openness for discussions, and encourage participants to develop upon their responses, which contributes to the richness of the data (Swanepoel et al., 2017). Part of the epistemological foundations of CGT manifest during the interview and data collection process where the "participant and the researcher give and take from each other by sharing information, this helps to explain, understand, and create meaning of data" (Burns et al., 2022; 8). The qualitative components, semi – structed interviews and photovoice, were incorporated into this research study to help to allow for the relevant information to be obtained concerning the social phenomenon that this research attempted to investigate. Which helped to gain greater insight into individuals' interactions with places in their food environment and thus how their understandings of place and sense of place is affected. Allowing for a closer understanding, from the point of view of the participants to be gained.

3.6.1. Photovoice

Photovoice is a qualitative research method where participants are asked to take and describe photographs. It provides a unique way to engage with residents around topics within their food environment (Wang and Burris, 1997). According to Wang and Burris (1994) photovoice can be defined as a practise which enables people to represent and identify their communities using a specific photographic technique. The use of photovoice can allow for a deeper understanding to be gained of the experiences of participants than what would not be possible using quantitative research methods. The community participatory research tool

represented an ideal opportunity of enabling residents in Khayelitsha to raise their opinions of the food environment in Khayelitsha, though photographs and the resultant interview process after the picture had been taken.

The photovoice study was completed over a two-week period. Originally the intention was to have a photovoice study over a six-week period, this would have allowed for the multiple meetings between myself and participants, both online and in person. However due to the COVID–19 pandemic, stay-at-home orders were enforced. This resulted in the plans around the research being changed. All meeting with participants were online, through a WhatsApp message group. The original face to face meeting between the researcher and participants (at a community centre – library), was cancelled and instead moved online. At these meetings, the photovoice was discussed in detail, including the concepts of the photovoice study itself, the food environment, the value of the research for the participants and the roles of the participant and the researcher. Any questions and concerns from the participants related to the study were answered here. I made his contact details available to participants to answer any questions by email or mobile, after the meetings if participants had any concerns after.

After the initial meeting, optional meetings were scheduled between myself and participants in order to deal with any concerns by participants about the research related too or separate from the communications from participants by mobile or email, in -between the meetings. This meeting presented an additional opportunity for the researcher to communicate concerns expressed by other participants with participants in a one-on-one setting to see how they felt about these concerns and how they would approach these concerns, the researcher communicated these strategies with other participants via mobile. No names of participants were shared with others only the specific concern was shared.

Thereafter participants were requested to voluntarily take pictures of their food environment, and the places they regularly access food at within their community. Participants originally took pictures of food products at their home. This was an effective way of mediating the pandemic, as participants took pictures of the food that they already had. Some of the pictures may have been of food products, however, participants described the places they regularly access food from within their community in relation to the pictures of the products, further some participants took pictures on their way to and from work during this period and some even made use of google earth to take street view pictures if they had

stable enough mobile internet using their cell phones. Participants could save these pictures and send them to myself at a later stage or immediately, via WhatsApp or email. Participants were also able to keep pictures on them, until a scheduled meeting.

After all participants had collected pictures, during a two-week period (recruiting participants also took place over a two-week period), and where confident that these pictures could explain or represented something within their food environment, the pictures were then discussed during a third meeting between participants and the researcher. In this meeting participants were queried on the pictures they have taken, in relation to the meanings they ascribe to these pictures, why have they taken these pictures and how do they relate these pictures to their food environment, the creation of 'place' and 'sense of place', using the SHOWeD method. The SHOWeD method is broken-down and explained below under the 3.8. Data Analysis section of this Chapter (refer to Appendix D for semi-structured interview schedule and prompts). The meetings schedules and explanation of what occurred in these meetings can be seen below in the Photovoice workshop schedule (figure 3.1).

Figure 3. 1: Photovoice workshop schedule

Photovoice workshop schedule		
Meeting	**Main Topics to be discussed and explained**	**Planned activities**
1 (1 – 2 hrs)	Complete informed consent. Introduction and Overview: What is photovoice? Stages and Process of Photovoice Ethics of Photovoice: Who and what can we take pictures of? Ideas and Problems around buying food Who is our audience? Practice writing a sample using SHOWeD What is a food environment? Review of Guidelines for Consent Forms Photo Taking Tips; Brainstorm ideas for pictures Ideas to discuss-What does live in the Khayelitsha food environment mean to you? What does it look like? How can we 'picture' it? What do we see?	Fill out consent forms Review Syllabus Learn about Photovoice Learn about Photovoice and Ethics Brainstorming ideas Practicing writing Sharing feedback Practice getting consent
2 (optional meeting, usually 1 -3 hours)	Any concerns around approval Ideas discussed again Discuss concerns of participants one on one Focus on who the audience is again Re-review of guidelines and consent forms	Learn about Photovoice Learn about Photovoice and Ethics Brainstorming ideas Practicing writing Sharing feedback
3 (1 -3 hrs)	How did photography go? Review photo images. Discussion on Writing	Distribute and review pictures Group discussion Give and receive feedback Start writing
4 (1 – 3 hrs)	Sharing and Storytelling Final Editing Give thanks	Group discussion Finishing writing

Narrative prompts emerging from the discussions were used to help understand participants photographs in terms of their food environment, place, and sense of place. Knowledge from literature relating to the food environment, place, food places and sense of place will be used to develop themes which will be explored and enquired on to participants related to their photos and the meanings participants attach to them.

3.6.2. Photo-elicitation process (semi – structured interview)

Semi-structured interviews are discussions between the interviewer (myself) and interviewee (participants) which is steered by the interviewer, to produce information about a specific phenomenon (Symon and Cassell, 2004), in this case the exploration of the meanings of 'place' and 'sense of place' in connection to individuals' interactions with their food environments. The interviews were guided by the SHOWeD method (Appendix D) of data collection linked to photovoice studies, Wang and Burris (1997) developed the SHOWeD method of photovoice analysis. It is a method of structuring photovoice discussions by posing a series of questions about participants' photographs (more on the SHOWeD method in the analysis of data). To ensure participants were sufficiently informed concerning the purpose of the study and aware their participation was voluntary, they were provided with a consent form (Appendix C) and information sheet (Appendix B), which participants were required to read and sign a consent form.

One participant was interviewed at a time in order to respect confidentiality and anonymity. Moreover, we also benefited from the one-on-one meeting as it was simpler to manage the meeting, in terms of availability of participants, having participants explain photographs to the researcher. Through the one-on-one meetings we were able to explain the SHOWeD method of the photovoice in – depth, combined with the three overall objectives of inquiry for this research, to participants. Having the researcher there as participants explain their pictures in relation to the SHOWeD method helped alleviate the problem of participants having to answer questions about the pictures they took with minimal understanding of the purpose of these questions.

A total of twenty-seven interviews were conducted all on WhatsApp—each 20 to 60 minutes long. Participants expressed that WhatsApp was the application they were most comfortable with, compared to Zoom and Google Meet, therefore WhatsApp was used. All interviews were held in a private one on one discussions. After completing the first ten interviews with

individual participants, we went about transcribing the audio and text data, after this, themes began to develop. With these themes we colligated photographs together to help portray these themes. Here the different ideas of participants, in relation to their food environment, were expressed. With these themes a second interview was conducted with participants, and again the SHOWeD method was used to probe participants opinions and ideas around these pictures, in accordance with constructivist grounded theory and the need to create constant comparisons. This allowed for participants to express their opinions around their portrayal of the local food environment, while commenting on the portrayal of the food environment by their peers, which added to the themes and the understanding of the food environment. As discussions continued certain topics were identified and used to probe the participants' responses, here the third meeting with participants took place. These participants had expressed unique understanding or ideas about the food environment which need to be further understood and compared, therefore a third meeting was scheduled. The aim was to understand the reasons for certain food choices, which led to food purchases at certain food places, and to get information about their food purchasing behaviour within the context of their local food environment.

3.6.3. Secondary data analysis

Secondary data related to the School of Public Health (SoPH) study through the University of the Western Cape, called the "Researching the obesogenic food environment, its drivers and potential policy levers in South Africa and Ghana" (BM17/8/20) study, was used the help recruit participants for this study as the SoPH study included information (geographical spatial data on food sources within the community of Khayelitsha, which could have been used for mapping of food places) about the food environment of Khayelitsha and had 320 participants which was used an as initial pool of possible study subjects to sample from, because these were all residents of Khayelitsha. Participants engagement with the SoPH study made them familiar with academic research which I believed would make recruitment for this study more easier. This study recruited ten participants from the pool of respondents from the SoPH study. The other secondary data which contributed to the analysis within this study, came in the form of government documents, journals with peer-reviewed articles, the internet, non-governmental organisations, and books all proved important sources of secondary data. The secondary data was mostly obtained online, for instance, from online journals such as African

Journals Online (AJOL). Broadly, the secondary literature helps to gain an understanding of sense of place (how it is formed) and the informal retail industry, and the role these play in the lives of different communities.

3.7. Study Sample Recruitment

According to Boddy (2016: 4), sampling in qualitative research is "usually done purposefully and not randomly". In other words, individuals or a research sample is selected because they are regarded as well informed or experts on a certain issue or field of study. Selecting a research sample involved the researchers labelling and finding a group of people that were of interest and then a subset of this population was determined from the possible participants. This subset should sufficiently represent the population from which it has been drawn from and the researcher had to ensure the information generated provided meaningful insights (Boddy, 2016). This study targeted ten individuals for a photovoice related to their food environment. We were notified by a fellow researcher about a study conducted by the SoPH at the University of the Western Cape, called the "Researching the obesogenic food environment, its drivers and potential policy levers in South Africa and Ghana" (BM17/8/20). This project extracted data relating to 320 participants from Khayelitsha and used to recruit participants for the photovoice activity within this study, in combination with data relating to the GPS location and the specific type of food outlets in Khayelitsha, was also extracted from the data availed by the SoPH study.

Of interest was the fact that the participants of the SoPH study had already expressed interest in taking part in studies of an investigative nature related to their food environment. A purposive sampling technique was then used relating to those who had expressed their openness to taking part in other studies. The SoPH study had a partial photovoice component, therefore participants were already familiar with studies featuring photovoice. The SoPH study, partially, looked to understand Africans (Ghana) and Southern Africans (South Africa) consumption patterns and obesogenic food environments with a focus on individuals in Khayelitsha; this linked well to one of the identified gaps that this study looks to address being the lack of understanding currently with how individuals in Southern Africa and South Africa relate to their food environment.

Purposive sampling was used because it had the possibility to increase the chance of approved interviews (Babbie and Mouton, 2008). The purposive sampling method permitted

for the identification of a key group of respondents who were deemed most appropriate for participating in this research (Babbie and Mouton, 2008), these being individuals who were responsible for purchasing food within their households. The nature of the research was specific to a geographic area and the associated stakeholders within the geographic area of Khayelitsha. With the purposive sampling method, the study was able to answer questions that are linked to the study area and the participants food environment.

In total this study had ten participants. Participants were renamed and each given a pseudonym that identified them within the study, to maintain anonymity. The use of pseudonyms is a recognised ethical practice for maintaining the privacy of participants in qualitative research (Brear, 2018). All ten participants self-identified as Black African females and had their place of residence in Khayelitsha. Due to this all participants were renamed with a feminine name. Allen and Wiles (2016: 149) write that the use of pseudonyms in qualitative research, is not only a methodological practice but also has an important psychological meaning to both the components of and the development of the research and to participants themselves. Allen and Wiles (2016: 149) believe that it is important to consider the how to "respectfully rename people". Keeping this in mind we renamed all ten participants with feminine isiXhosa names, as all participants self-identified Black African females and isiXhosa is the main home language used within the study area of Khayelitsha.

The sample of 10 participant was a purposeful target for the researcher, as we deemed that 10 participants would be able to provide sufficient information about their food environment in Khayelitsha, the study included a photovoice and a semi structured interview having a lower number of participants was more manageable and allowed myself to be available to address any concerns of the participants. Theoretically, this research approach and sampling was common to studies of constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2017).

Fieldwork began in January 2021 in Khayelitsha by speaking to participants and explaining photovoice and semi structured interviews. Multiple other discussions were had with participants after this, during the data collection phase. We took note of observations participants had made about their food environment during the data collection phase, as participants were in constant contact. Participants took photographs of points of interest in their food environment, these photographs had quotations attached to them explained the

phenomena the pictures were capturing through the opinions of the participants, these where further discussed during the semi structured interviews.

3.8. Data Analysis

The data analysis process for this study involved dealing with copious quantities of data in form of words, photographs, messages, specific language used by participants, and their implied meanings. the aim of the analysis was to reduce and organise the data and sampling each part into theme with similar asset. The analysis of the data within this study made use of a coding process. To correctly apply coding we engaged with, contemplated, and reflected on the data set. Coding allowed for large data set to be condensed into smaller more manageable units, which reflect the categories (themes and subthemes) obtained from the data set (Lockyer, 2004).

In relation to the semi-structured photo-elicitation interview process we made use of the SHOWeD method to analyse the photographs taken by participants, the SHOWeD method was used to guide the interview questions that looked to understand the photographs taken by the participants. The SHOWeD method was used to help discuss and frame the meanings of the photographs taken by participants. The SHOWeD method of analysing photovoice made up the semi – structured interviews. The use of the SHOWeD method provides a simplistic or structured method of engaging in discussions around picture taken during a photovoice activity. The SHOWeD method provides a succession of questions or steps to engage with participants about their photographs. Each letter in SHOWeD links to a step or questions to help engagement, SHOWeD stands for:

- (1) “What do you **S**ee here? .....S
- (2) What is really **H**appening? .....H
- (3) How does this relate to **O**ur lives? .....O
- (4) **W**hy does this problem, condition, or strength exist? .....W
- (5) What can you do to **E**ducate others about the problem, condition, or strength?.....E
- (6) What can we **D**o about it?” (Wang and Burris, 1997: 370) .....D

These steps functioned as the starting point of analysis, which then led into the coding of the data into themes and subthemes that were drawn from the related captions participants

attach to these pictures and how they relate to food places within their food environment. To fully analyse the photographs, we looked through the pictures' multiple times with the participants, meeting every participant over a WhatsApp meeting at least twice to discuss. During the photo-by-photo analysis with participants, notes, or memos of what the participants were saying were taken. This helped with sorting through data more thoroughly as each picture and captions to each picture from participants had an accompanying short memo from the researcher, which helped with separating the data into categories quickly and the management of data.

Moving on to the analysis of the semi-structured photo elucidated interviews (SHOWeD method data), this was also done using a coding process. Key points were used to emphasise important data, which would be looked at later for comparison with other data from the interviews including the photographs. Grounded theorists typically analyse and collect data simultaneously, as the understanding of the data increases. Having all the data available for the analysis was a benefit for the researcher, improving the comparisons being made with the research, and other research, into food environment discussed in the literature review. We checked, rechecked, and compared data to ensure there were relationships between the data and data saturation was reached. We originally planned only two meetings (interviews) with participants, instead another seven meetings took place over WhatsApp to continue probing the data, for data saturation to be realised.

To fully analyse the interview data, the interview transcripts were read multiple times. Then categories were created surrounding specific topics that were related to the study, the topics identified through the literature review and topics that were clearly expressed by participants that were more loosely related to the literature (or had arisen separate of the literature but only in discussion with the participants. The data from these interviews were organised into groupings or clusters of data, which was collected and identified, these groupings had data grouped which seemed to be related, these were assigned a code. Then these codes were grouped, and colour coded to identify corresponding categories, this allowed for patterns to be identified. These patterns (organised codes) were identified into subthemes, where the initial codes became the overarching or main themes. Certain subthemes through further analysis became main themes, while other subthemes were deleted as the data from the participants, under further analysis or consultation, did not show support for these. For these

to be eliminated we consulted the data set first and re-read the data, consulted with participants, and looked at the literature, this assisted with accurately judging whether the themes agreed with the data or not, those that did not were removed. However, re-reading the transcribed text, recordings, and looking at the photographs again was helpful, to ensure that the data was coded properly, and with the constant comparison moving from theme to theme.

A detailed analysis of each theme followed. Here, we attempted to define the important aspects of each theme, developed from the data. The theme was evaluated against the data to see of it corresponded with a certain aspect of the data set, and to see if there was an amount of consistency between themes, in relation to how they could be understood and their relation to the research study. After this each theme was named and analysed with supporting evidence.

3.9. Limitations of study

While the research methodology provided a solid foundation to address the research aim and objectives, it is still important to highlight the limitations of this study. Two limitations were identified and are discussed below.

The first important limitation of the study is related to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and lockdown regulations which limited the time spent in the field by the researcher. This shorted to process data on participants food environment, for comparison. Moreover, this resulted in one-on-one face-to-face meetings that were planned to be, were cancelled and instead all meetings took place online via WhatsApp messenger. However, as mentioned previously the participants in this study were selected after a purposive sampling process (having taken part in a SoPH study (BM17/8/20) and were familiar with academic research. Participants were very understating of the restrictions COVID-19 had on the research and their own movement. To comply with COVID-19 regulations, certain participants took pictures of food items only and when explaining the photograph, they referred to the stores which they would buy these products from. As a result, the data (photographs) may be limited in visually representing what participants were hoping to bring across, however the captions related to these pictures and the SHOWeD analysis after helped to present participants ideas.

Secondly, this study was conducted using ten participants, within Khayelitsha. The study attempted to explore the relational meaning within participants interactions in their food environment and the creation of 'place' and 'sense of place'. However, to gain a greater understanding and produce a sounder picture of the wider South Africa, requires a sample of more areas in South Africa. This is because of how large and diverse South Africa is, different areas may relate to their food environment in other ways compared to the ten participants who took part in this study. Even so, this study is important as it presents preliminary findings of the phenomenon under investigation from which future studies could build on. With care, this study could be used for comparative purposes for future studies, which are conducted in Khayelitsha, with similar limitations. Additionally, Khayelitsha is like other residential areas in South Africa, being negatively impacted by poor service delivery, apartheid socio-spatial planning, and a lack of job opportunities, these are problems townships and residential areas must deal with daily, some of the findings are likely to resonate with other residential areas or townships in South Africa.

3.10. Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance for the primary data was obtained from the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) of the University of the Western Cape (Reference Number: HS20/1/2, see Appendix A). Following the principles of informed consent; my identification was verified with respondents by way of a student card. Respondents received an information sheet (Appendix B) which explained in clear terms the purpose of the research and the respondents' role in it. Additionally, the information sheet was made available in isiXhosa or isiZulu upon request. Confidentiality and anonymity were adhered to throughout the study. We attempted to always answer the questions of respondents as quickly and comprehensively as possible. We ensured that the respondents understood the information, such as the aims and objectives of the study, the reason for the offer to take part in the research, risks when taking part in the study, and provided my contact details for additional information among other things. Interviews were only conducted after the consent form was signed, by the respondent, and it was made clear to the respondents that their participation was voluntary. Respondents were reminded of their right to choose not to participate in the study or to withdraw their participation at any time, without penalties of any sort. The safety of respondents was always kept in mind; thus, respondents were encouraged to take pictures

of food products already in their homes as a posed to leaving their houses. Separate from informing respondents that we would be taking notes during the SHOWeD analysis, respondents were made aware that interviews would only be recorded after their consent was given. All respondents were given a pseudonym, such as 'Thembeka' or 'Babalwa', respondents names were not requested and if given these were not used, participants were all renamed. It was made clear to respondents that no people should be within their pictures and if names of other individuals were mentioned by respondent during the SHOWeD analysis, these were replaced by pseudo names. All data that was collected was stored in a password protected location, which was only accessible by myself and my supervisor.

3.11. Summary of Chapter

Chapter 3 provided an overview of the procedures which were followed to ensure that the study had a comprehensive scientific basis. The research design was conceived to ensure that all the data obtained was appropriate to enable practical interpretations to be drawn in relation to the aim and objectives of the study. The research approach, research design, setting, sample and the research procedures that were followed to collect and analyse the data have been covered in detail. The ethical standards, which were always upheld, have been expressed and the limitations of the study have been evaluated. The empirical results based on the constructivist grounded theory research philosophy and methodology are presented and discussed in the next two chapters.

Chapter 4: Perceptions and feelings about the food environment

4.1. Introduction

The following chapter presents the relational meanings which emerged from participants' interactions with their food environments. This chapter presents and discusses the qualitative data collected through a photovoice study with an accompanying discussion with participants. The ten participants of this study were recruited over two weeks, these individuals took part in a photovoice study which was conducted with a semi- structured photo-elicitation interview discussion. These research tools were used to understand the places participants visited regularly to buy and consume food, within their food environment. Furthermore, they become a vital source of information about the meaning's participants ascribed to places, concerning their sense of place related to these food places within their food environment.

The objective of the data analysis was to explore the relational meanings that are embedded within individuals' interactions with the food places they routinely visit. Moreover, this chapter looks at participants' food environments, the scope and the aspects which comprise the environment, such as the spatial, social, and subjective aspects or dimensions through the opinions of participants. Together, these make up the participant's food environment. From the understanding of participants' experiences within their food environment, the creation of participants' sense of place is formed, however, this will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Using a constructivist grounded theory analysis to investigate participants perception and feelings about their food environment, the investigation results were separated into three different themes, namely, (1) **Familiarity related to food places, purchases, and people**; (2) **Routes and routines;** and (3) **the Place of Informality**. The themes of this study stem from the opinion's participants expressed during the photovoice study, and the accompanying semi- structured photo-elicitation interviews. These activities revealed commonality amongst participants experiences within their food environment. The data will help frame the food environment which participants reside in, setting the stage for further understanding of the presentation and analysis of the qualitative study and explanation of participants sense of place related to their food environment which follows in Chapter 5. In this chapter three points have been considered, these being participants own analysis of what are the significant

differences and shared experiences of their local food environment, the subjective opinions, and experiences of the participants, in addition to applicable topics from the literature which help to deliver context from the broader geographical perspectives of research related to the food environment.

Place can have multiple meanings because place takes from various aspects of daily life in the past and present, which helps to create meaning for place. The creation of participants food environment is a unique way to look at place, furthermore, through looking at place we can look at sense of place. Place is comprised of a set of habitually visited places which are specific to an individual. Place is a subcategory of the built (physical) environment – these places are chosen, for visits, based on the relational meanings allocated to it by individuals. Food has the potential to highlight meaning, this can be seen through the work of Cook and Craig (1996: 140) who believe that "foods make places symbolic constructs, used in the broad construction of numerous geographies, foods do not just come from places", food helps to characterise places (Lockie: 2001). Therefore, food, adds meaning to place, furthermore, helping with the creation of sense of place. Place as a construct, created through meanings and memories of individuals, can be represented through the buying, (Goodman, 2009). A location such as a fast-food place in a community, might have little meaning for a person unless made meaningful with multiple visits. In the next section we will illustrate the themes and subthemes which emerged from discussions and a photovoice study with the ten participants. Starting with a short demographic description of my participants.

4.1.1. Demographic profile of participants

All participant who took part in this study, originally took part in the SoPH study (BM17/8/20). Therefore, purposeful sampling was used to recruit all participants, who had expressed their interest in participating in other studies situated within their residential area, being Khayelitsha. All participants described themselves as female and Black African, in total there were ten participants for the photovoice study and the proceeding semi-structured photo elicitation interview discussion which occurred after. The ages of participants were between 18 up to 65 years old, with six participants being employed. All six participants in the youngest age groups of 18-25 and 26-35 where employed, while all the participants in the other age groups were unemployed or stay at home mothers. It was not the intention of the researcher for all participants to be female or Black African, instead participants were all recruited from

the SoPH study having already indicated their interest in other studies. All ten participants were given pseudonyms to identify them in this study, these being Babalwa, Buhle, Cebisa, Fundiswa, Khanyiswa, Lindelwa, Mncedisi, Nomble, Thembeka and Sisipho, respectfully.

The first of three main themes to develop during the grounded theory analysis of results, being **'Familiarity: food places, purchases, and people',** will be explained next**.** Here, participants spoke about the familiarity of visiting certain food places, where they purchase goods or met people who usually own the food stores or simply work at the stores they purchase from.

4.2. Familiarity: food places, purchases, and people

During the discussions, participants were asked about their regular food places they visit to buy or access food. Participants shared their thoughts about the meaning and value that these food places hold for them. Participants expressed strong feelings towards certain food places, which were reinforced positively by repeated visits. They quoted these positive feelings as reasons for recurring visits. Conversely, negative sentiments were associated with participants not returning to certain food places. Participants familiarity with food places, people, and the food they purchase at these places form a part of their subjective understanding of their food environments. Therefore, the opinions and ideas expressed by participants are personal, and a result of their experiences and relationships with the people who work at these food places.

Although food places appeal to potential consumers in numerous ways, people themselves find diverse individual meanings and motivations to buy from these stores, depending on their own experiences there. During conversations, participants shared photographs they took, and similarities between the photographs taken by different participants at the same food places were highlighted. The conversations moved from the photographs to other subjects, such as participants' experiences while at the food places in the photographs. Thus, themes that developed may seem separate from the photographs or unrelated to the explanation of the photographs provided by participants. These themes, however, started from participants' explanation of what is happening in the photographs, and led to a mutual understanding of participants' food environment. As a result, three sub-themes developed within the main theme of 'Familiarity: food places, purchases, and people'. These sub-themes are (4.2.1) Ease or Comfort, (4.2.2) Social interactions, and (4.2.3) Branding and Image. Firstly, we will discuss the sub-theme related to participants' feelings of Ease or Comfort.

4.2.1. Ease or Comfort

All participants in the study spoke about and took photographs of multiple places, in their food environment, due to feelings of familiarity with these food places. Feelings of familiarity related to the enjoyment, ease, or safety which participants felt at these food places. These places would be familiar to participants through repeated visits. Helping to create a sense of place through a sense of belonging, which according to Agnew (2007: 19), as previously mentioned in Chapter 2, in general as "a sense of belonging to a wider area and relationships which people have concerning multiple things in an area, rather than a specific location or an issue itself". When participants spoke about individual places, they were familiar with, they were clear about the qualities that made these places either interesting or unpleasant to them, in addition to what the experience of visiting these places felt like. Participants simply voiced feelings of ease or comfort or a lack thereof related to individual food places within their residential food environment.

> Babalwa: "*At Khayelitsha mall, you can just walk around a lot and see what there is. It feels different from the spaza shops, you can get away and see some stuff, see some entertainment, if you have the money, you can do other things, it's like going away from your home and going to somewhere else, on the weekend."*

Figure 4. 1: Shoprite (Image: Fundiswa)

> Fundiswa: "*At the mall, it can feel commercial, there is too much stuff going on, you must walk through all those stuffs just to go buy food, then you must carry all your bags to the taxi rank and wait for the taxi to get full before you leave. There are too many people all of us looking to do the same thing, everyone can get irritable, and they push if the lines are long at the till, I don't like it, maybe if I had a car and could go during the week it would be better, even though the spaza shop is smaller it's closer to home".*

With the quote above, Babalwa expressed her enjoyment with visiting the Khayelitsha mall. Comparing her experience at a spaza shop with the mall. She enjoys the freedom and variety

of activities available at the mall compared to the more simplistic spaza shop were the experience of purchasing food is very direct with minimal other activities to engage with unlike the mall where Babalwa exclaims that shopping malls feel different from spaza shops due to the different stores available to shop, this could relate to differing responsibilities between participants. Fundiswa had a dissimilar experience with shopping malls and points out how difficult it can be to move her purchased food items from the mall to her home, comparing it unfavourably to spaza shops where the travelling would only be a short walk from her home. Once food is purchased participants, such as Fundiswa, then need to transport their goods to their homes. However, with the difficulty related to carrying and keeping track of all your bags and taking public transportation. Fundiswa challenges are contrasted against Babalwa, who unlike Fundiswa expresses her experiences of visiting a shopping mall in a positive manner. This could be related to different participants having different responsibilities within their homes were Fundiswa would shoulder more of the food procurement responsibilities in her home compared Babalwa and other participants.

Moreover, participants expressed that they regularly visited certain places because they provide relaxation, or stress relief, for example:

Figure 4. 2: Food vendors in the taxi rank (Image: Mncedisi)

> Mncedisi: "*Sometimes I go for coffee at this place just outside my work near the taxi rank, there is coffee at work, but I just need time away from all of it to think and not have so many voices saying things at once, so I go outside. I can also smoke there; one or two colleagues join me. Sometimes we buy vetkoek and polony with the coffee, and we just relax for 20 minutes before we go back to work".*

Mncedisi expressed how she enjoys being able to go for coffee at the taxi rank, away from her work, during a break. Where she enjoyed the company of one or two of her colleagues.

The taxi rank acts as a place of stress relieve and comfort. Allowing her to enjoy her break a short walk away from her work environment. Participants, such as Khanyiswa below, described their attachment to certain places by reflecting on their own patterns of behaviour:

Figure 4. 3: Meat to be cooked at informal braai stall In front of shopping centre (Image: Khanyiswa)

> Khanyiswa: "*I go there, because it is what I know, I'm comfortable at Site C [Site C Plaza]. I go there all the to shop, I like the braai just outside and I know the taxis there, sometimes I can get a lift if the taxi is empty, they know me."*
>
> Lindelwa: "*There by Kwanwando's it is just right, as I walk in, I go there every Friday. It's just familiar I get paid weekly so I go on Fridays I get a parcel for home."*

The meanings attached to food places by participants can at times be special personal meanings, according to the work of Turner et al. (2017) food can be linked to familiar relaxing experiences. With Mncedisi a specific food place within their food environment was linked with the benefits that they offered in relation to stress relieve or relaxation. Mncedisi explaining how the coffee that she gets outside of her work helps with relieving the pressure that comes with her job and Lindelwa explaining how visiting Kwanwando's helps lifts her mood on Fridays. Food for these participants represented a way to escape and relax. Becoming part of a comforting experience, just as Turner et al. (2017) writes. Food giving meaning and identity to place also links to the work of Lockie (2001), where he recognises Rockhampton as the 'beef capital of Australia, showing how food and place can come together to create unique meaning to individuals once they become comfortable and familiar with the food place. Forming a sense of place, as explained by Agnew (1987) where he concludes that people, such as Mncedisi, develop a sense of place once they develop an emotional attachment to a place, after having visited and interacted with those present at

this place multiple times. In addition to, Lindelwa who through buying food on Fridays by Kwanwando's were through multiple visits and social interactions her demeanour is improved, is another example of the work of Turner et al (2017) and Agnew (1987). Moving on from the Ease or Comfort sub-theme towards the second sub-theme of Social interactions related to food, which builds on from participants experiences of ease or comfort related to familiarity at food places they regularly visit and interact with others.

4.2.2. Social interactions

The second sub-theme of '**Familiarity: food places, purchases, and people'** is Social interaction, which relates to the social aspects of food places that participants encounter. Participants had social interactions with shop owners and retail workers at certain food places. These interactions included encounters with those participants considered to be friends, family, or colleagues whom they met at food places or people whom participants spoke to after visiting a food place. Results showed that participants and the owners, operators, and workers of small urban informal retailers, such as spaza shops, have been able to build new sets of contacts, associations, and relationships in the food sector. These contacts draw participants more intimately to the food environments of the food places they regularly visit to buy food. All ten participants experience a range of social interactions at large retailers however none of them mentioned regular social interaction with a person employed at large retailers, unlike the experiences with the smaller informal stores. Still, participants bought and ate food at places where they did have meaningful social connections with staff members or the owner. For participants, frequent interactions with a shop owner or worker gave meaning to a place by giving it a human face or human identity. Participants even mixed up the names of shop owners with the title of the store by referring to the place by the owner's name, even though that was not the places name.

Figure 4. 4: Sikhonas Take-Away, informal food store focussed on selling fast food goods (Image: Cebisa)

Cebisa: "*I go to Sikhonas* (fast food take-away store). *I like going there, I know the owner. I know them and the people who work there, there always friendly. I go there we have good discussions, and we talk every Friday.*"

For Mncedisi stalls, such as fruit stalls, became a common place that link people buying fresh food with those who grow and sell the fruit produce. Showing the different social interactions between participants with those who work at the food places and the daily activities that occur in the local food environment. There were multiple fruit stalls in the area, seven of the ten participants went to these stalls "often" to buy vegetables in smaller affordable packages and to speak to the stall owner as they knew one another. These stalls were mentioned positively by participants, showing a positive link with the social interactions between participants and other residents, which helps with repeated visits.

Figure 4. 5: Fruit and vegetable stall outside shopping centre (Image: Mncedisi)

Mncedisi:" I *have a good relationship Robert (Fruit and Vegetable stall), so I enjoy going there. Their new, moved here the last three years from the Eastern Cape. They have fruit, potatoes,*

and veggies. My son talks to him about sport, he plays soccer and cricket, he plays with Robert's son on the field sometimes. Their just familiar now, I see them every day."

Figure 4. 6: Fruit and vegetable stall outside shopping centre along the way to the entrance of shopping centre (Image: Sisipho)

Sisipho: "*many of the people (vendors) talk a lot, you see them every day, so they become use to seeing you. If I don't make a turn the next day I get asked where I was If I was sick. It's happened over the years where vendors have become chatty. Especially outside of Xolani's since I usually get a bread or a milk daily, they see me often. I talk to them… sometimes I buy some fruit, singles like a banana. I do not know if there is a connection, but we talk and are very social."*

Participants such as Sisipho appreciated talking to people at the informal traders they regularly visited. The employers and employees working at these food places were often one of the reasons for repeated visits in addition to shopping for food. An aspect of the interactions between participants and local food traders, usually informal traders, was the communication between participants and shop owners, to whom participants have direct access to. Therefore, participants as a benefit of the relationship and interactions between themselves and small business owners, can demand refunds from small business owners when the produce is regarded as being of inferior quality. Even though these shop owners do not have a large customer base, they would still develop a rapport with their regular customers. Therefore, they would have a sense of duty to ensure customer satisfaction and loyalty, resulting in repeated visits. Thus, the willingness of these smaller stalls to exchange inadequate fresh produce for better quality items provides a guarantee for participants which they do not have when shopping at the better-stocked supermarkets. This is important for low-income consumers, who can be assured that they can buy the food they need with the

money they have. Not because of the high quality of goods available instead because of a small shop owner, usually an informal trader, who is willing to discuss and make deals with the participant, which can benefit both groups.

> Lindelwa: "if *it is bad stuff, they do not take it back at the bigger shops, but I know Luis. His stall I'll take my things back if it's not right. I'm there every day, they see me. I buy maybe something today, on my way, back from work I will buy something, so they won't argue with me, they know I will be back."*

There were examples like the above from Lindelwa where social interactions were related to trust in the food products available at these stalls. This was seen at other types of stores, such as the more formal examples of sections of supermarkets, such as a butcher in Shoprite. Here formal urban food places can become part of participants food environments, because of the social connection's participants have at urban food locations when they regularly visit these places or stop visiting these places when bonds are broken for multiple reasons.

> Babalwa: "*looking at how long I have been shopping at Shoprite, maybe 20 years, I shopped there even before I lived in Khayelitsha, their everywhere. But I have been going to the one in Site C. I like the butchery there's always good deals and the braai packs are always priced correctly for my budget. I talk to the people that work at the butcher I am quite good with Nana. She knows my name, and regularly asks about my children, we all speak isiXhosa, so it helps. Its good I feel like they are my friends, that I see once and a while. When we see each other, we have something to talk about since it's been so long. It makes me feel better about purchasing there, the shops are everywhere, and I like the people that work there it makes me come back."*

Figure 4. 7: Informal food store along main road, sells grilled chicken amongst other fast food prepared at shop owners' home, not on site (Image: Cebisa)

Cebisa: "*if I go to a store like say Pie City, or one of the smaller fast-food stores, If I do not know anyone there then I just won't buy unless I'm specifically going for something that the place has, like pies, or a streetwise at a KFC, you know. With the smaller stores like a fishery, you know why I would just go buy there if I do not know anyone. That is what happened at Kwa-Mfundisi* (Grilled chicken shop*), same guy everyday - Joseph, then the guy just was not there we use to talk while he cooked, the new guy I do not relate to very well, so I go less."*

Small informal food stores have a greater degree of communicability between participants and employees of these smaller stores compared to larger formal food stores. Communication between participants and employees at food stores was a key component of repeated visits. Being able to communicate between these two groups helped increase the familiarity of the food store through social interactions resulting in social connection. With these interactions participants became more comfortable with those working at the food stores, resulting in more interaction between the food store employee and the participant. When this connection was not offered participants would be less likely to return, which is what Cebisa mentions above, these were some of the reasons for choosing certain places participants regularly visited for food. Although these are expressions of the social aspects of participants food environments, the choice of these places represents a sense of connectedness to the community.

Buhle: "*Nhinhi's Fisheries. I've been going there, usually for the hake fillet. It's run by a family, very relaxed, their very kind. I can walk near closing, and they still make a package for me to take home, I like that kind of touch. At a bigger place, the doors would have been closed in my face."*

Khanyiswa: "*it's a small place but I like the donuts at Sister Afriyie bakery, the owners and the people that work there they already know who I am and greet me whenever I walk in."*

Participants such as Buhle and Khanyiswa developed social connections which helped give a particular meaning place, like the work of Turner et al. (2017) and Agnew (1987). A link with a specific person at a certain food place, can contribute to a unique sense of place which cannot be replicated elsewhere at another food place. The familiarity of seeing someone you know at a place you usually visit helped create a sense of place at these stores and it resulted in social connections being established with participants and workers or owners at these places. However, social connections do not simply play out with the relationships of owners

and workers, instead the play out through the social interactions with friends or family, as expressed by participants.

The social interactions which occur with family and or friends, develop into reasons for repeated visits to food places. Visits to certain shops; spaza shops, restaurants, and supermarkets, had different attractions for families and children. The meaning of these places has become a 'social event', were participants take part in to meet and discuss certain events, to have children spend time together, for families to spend time together shopping, etc.

> Babalwa: "*On Fridays I go to Hungry Lion (Site B), with friends after work to get the weekend off. Sometimes we take the food home, have a drink, and eat. We don't work together so it's time to catch up about the week's happenings in person, not on WhatsApp or Facebook."*
>
> Khanyiswa: "*Before church on Friday* (prayer meeting) *I always go to Asiyolise* (Braai stall) *... Usually, we don't go home until after the service, so its work, some chicken, prayer, then only I go home. I get to talk to a lot of my friends from church here, and some family members they meet me there and bring drinks. Sometimes it is a group thing … I get to see a couple of people standing around there that I know."*
>
> Nomble: *"I go to Zintosh* (fast food shop*). It is on my way home, I walk there with a couple of ladies, we all end up buying something for our families, if we have some extra money, we end up buying some chips rolls and we share them… we just talk about our children or husbands then, sometimes work, and other things."*

Social interactions at shops expanded in more personal interactions between participants and the experiences which they had at certain food places. These were expressed through the social ties between the local community and the places at which they buy food. A certain store can have positive social interaction between workers and owners, negative interactions can similarly take place which may hinder probable future visits. For example, gossiping about places (criticism about stores within their food environment amongst residents) and people at food places took place and formed part of the perception of the place as a decent destination or a poor destination.

> Buhle: "*Bongani's is terrible* (Cash Store), *the service is bad, and the airtime machine is always charging. If there is load shedding, they are always closed other places will stay opening with candles and sell, you never know what you will need."*

Mncedisi: "*Yes, people do talk about places. Sometimes it is good, but not always. I am a fan of Pick 'n pay (site B), but the service at the tills is slow, it is very big so it's different from a smaller store so a little negative stuff will not affect it, it's also sometimes a very personal thing."*

Gossip (or criticism) can help to establish a negative reputation for a local food store, which can militate participants decision to shop at a food store and thus influence the local food environment. However, even though participants complained about food places, none of them expressed a desire to not shop at places with a perceived inferior quality of service. The work of Putnam (1993) built on the work of Granovetter (1985), where he discovered large social ties which enabled social processes, such as gossiping, to establish reputations of residential food retailers. Putnam's (1993) work showed a close customer base can produce a standard of behaviour which can easily police the quick spread of information of wrongdoing, such as poor services at a local store.

Participants highlighted going out shopping and spending time together with family was an event, especially for children. Having children walk around with parents while shopping at supermarkets and help carry shopping bags was seen as a family activity.

Babalwa: "*I work from Monday to Friday; I can spend some time with my children and husband when we go out on Saturdays to do some shopping. The children come with to help with the bags, having them there means that one bag per child is taken care of, I cannot afford to lose some groceries... Sometimes children will try and help you carry your bags for R1, but that is a waste of time when we have our children with us, if I go … wait for me with the kids at the taxi rank then they help us carry the bags home from there".*

Buying and eating food is social in nature. To characterise the food environment of participants we considered the relationships between people when they eat food and where they eat food, due to the social nature of eating food with others. Instead, there are other social interactions at food places, such as spending time with family and friends – or expressions of community engagement, involvement, and the role food places play to facilitate this. For example, spaza shops which play a role in the community as being a place for community members to meet and discuss events.

4.2.3. Branding and Image

A specific colour or name associated with a store or product may function as an influencing factor when making purchasing decisions (Gidlöf et al., 2017). Spence and Velasco (2018) in their study explain that there is evidence showing a connection between the use and preferences of colours and behaviour when choosing products to purchase. Spence and Velasco (2018) have further argued about how colour affects consumers overall perception, which might affect consumer behaviour. However, the amount of this varies for distinct locations and products.

With participants experiences within their own food environment, what can be seen is that participants have become familiar or accustomed to certain colours, or figures of products appearing along small built structures, such as houses, shacks, or containers. These figures usually depict a loaf of bread, or the colour painted on the side of the store - red or blue – colour associated with a specific cellular data provider (Telkom or Cell C) or with a bread product (Blue ribbon or Sasko). These can be seen below, from the contributions by Babalwa, Fundiswa, and Nomble.

Figure 4. 8: Spaza shop selling coffee, airtime, bread, and milk, painted red to be recognisable to passers-by (image: Babalwa)

> Babalwa: "*I look at the houses, things like red or blue, Telkom and Cell C, stand out. But that was when I started living here now, I see these shops everyday but that was how I identified them."*

Figure 4. 9: Spaza shop located in a shipping container, with Blue Ribbon painted on the side over white paint, making the blue more visible (Image: Fundiswa)

Fundiswa: "*The picture shows how a blue ribbon sign on it. … I think for myself and others here in the road we mostly buy bread, milk, maybe sugar from the spaza shops every day. It is the best-selling products, we all need bread for work and school, that is why I took this picture."*

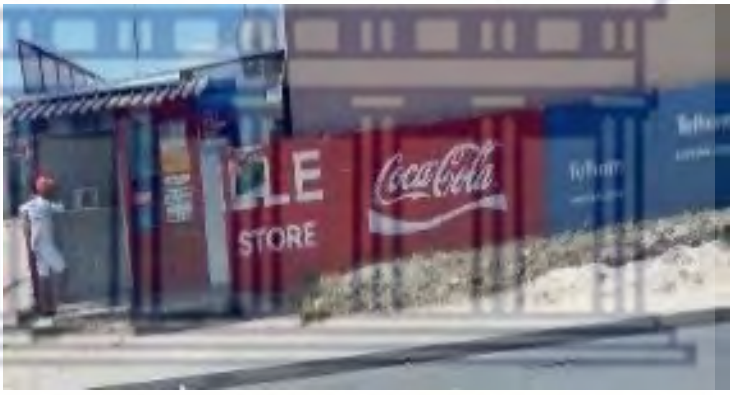

Figure 4. 10: Spaza shop/home shop found next to home, painted blue with Telkom (mobile data and airtime) painted along the site, with red and white for the Coca Cola sign (Image: Nomble)

Nomble: "*Of the pictures that I took, one has a blue painted shop, and the other is red. They stand out from the houses. It makes it easier to find shops. It immediately attracts you to the spaza shop. Sometimes the colours are also yellow for MTN or blue for Vodacom not just Telkom."*

What can be seen here by participants is the colours and figures painted on the walls of stores helps to identify shops (especially informal shops) participants can buy from. Babalwa, Nomble, and Fundiswa pointed out the specific colours (like red and blue) which helps or had initially helped them identify informal shops from which to buy products. When a participant sees the colour red or blue painted on a house they think of a shop, here showing familiarity with the colours and figures. Moreover, this can be seen when figures are painted along the side of the store, these figures being a bread product painted on the wall of the store. The colours and figures together build a sense of familiarity for the customers however the

colours are not the only or main reason for participants buying products at the shop. Instead, the colours and figures were a representation of a product which participants usually buy at these stores, additionally, this is what these colours or figures remind participants of when they walk past these shops.

> Nomble: "*No, I do not think that the colour completely attracts people to the store I think they can see the store ... If you need airtime, then you know that this is a shop … If the shop has blue painted on its side, people will know they sell airtime, all data bundles not just say Telkom or Vodacom. … The colours tell people that here is a place to buy the stuff you usually buy.*"

How advertisements and promotions are used to influence individuals buying behaviour is an indication of familiarity and informality within the food environment, concerning how individuals connect with the urban retail food environment. Informal food traders (usually spaza shops or home shops) promote on a limited scale to the people who live close to these stores as they have high penetration in neighbourhoods. The level of advertisement of the larger formal retailers, like supermarkets, is at an enormous scale- where adverts show up in papers and television commercials. The informal food traders, like the formal food traders, promote (but a various scales) hoping to impact residents' buying behaviours and how they connect with their food environment. Here, informal traders use colours to advertise their stores.

The colours are used to advertise not just the products, which are available at the store, but the store itself. Nomble confirms this when she explains how the "*colours tell people that here is a place to buy the stuff you usually buy*." Informal shop owners are aware of this using it to advertise their stores, in a highly competitive informal trading industry. Colour can play a significant role in shaping the attitudes of customers and their buying decisions, reminding potential customers about products which are for sale at certain stores.

4.2.4. Summary of Familiarity: food places, purchases, and people

Participants, focusing on the different food places they regularly visit to buy food, often expressed how significant these places were to them and food procurement. These meanings were reinforced through repeated visits to these places. Positive feelings were quoted as reasons for recurring visits, conversely negative sentiments were connected to participants no longer returning. Participants found diverse individual meanings (subjective), relating to food places, which were dependent on their own experiences at these places. Three sub-

themes developing within the main theme of '**familiarity: food places, purchases, and people,'** these sub-themes that were discussed were the (4.2.1) Ease or Comfort, (4.2.2.) Social interactions, and (4.2.3.) Branding and image. Following is the second main theme of the study, which became apparent during the analysis of results, this being '**Routes and routines**.

4.3. Routes and routines

When discussing travelling and food products participants, regularly, gave insight into food places within their food environment by referring to the 'distance' of the food places to their homes. Real distances between shops and participants' homes were not taken during the study. Therefore, distances given by participants were used, but these were subjective. Furthermore, participants related the routes they took to work, outings to food places, and other spatial aspects of the environment to these distances. As opposed to their emotions or social interactions at food places. Thus, the spatial aspects of participants' food environments emphasise how participants perceived distance in their physical environment and how it became meaningful in their everyday lives. All ten of the participants in this study frequented food places that were close to their homes. Due to limitations in participants' mobility, income, the negative social interactions, or simply feeling they could do their food purchases close to their homes.

All participants considered the food places they normally visit, to be 'close' or 'nearby', therefore participants considered these food places to be within a "walkable" distance from their homes. For participants what 'walkable' meant differed greatly. This related to the fact that certain participants had the financial means to take public transport, such as a minibus taxi, to go shopping on weekends or near paydays, whereas others had a lift to work and simply bought food on their way to or from work. Apart from this, participants had to walk everywhere as they had no other means of transportation. As a consequence, participants had different perceptions of what was 'close by' or 'distant', when participants referred to the places that they bought food from. In the analysis of participants' food environments and how they created the distinct food places, the word 'proximity' worked well to summarise participants' feelings around distance. None the participants used the word proximity when describing the location of food places, in relation to their homes. However, this helps to make 'proximity' a neutral term for the investigation of participants' perception of distance. I used

the term ‘proximity’ to evaluate the series of travelling participants took part in when trying to buy food within their food environment. The specific routines in addition to the daily travel routines which participants took to food places or related places, formed part of the spatial aspects, in addition to the dimensions of place within participants' food environment. The opinions and ideas expressed by participants were related to the ‘distance’ travelled to food places, therefore this theme deals with the spatial information provided by participants.

Making use of a constructivist grounded theory analysis, on discussions I had with participants after a photovoice activity, sub-themes emerged. These subthemes are discussed and demonstrated with quotations from participants in the sections that follow. In relation to terms such as walkability, proximity, and routines, the themes which emerged are (4.3.1.) **Walkability**, and (4.3.2.) **Routines**. These themes share, the interrelated issues of distance, time, use of transportation, routes, and routines. I begin with (4.3.1.) **Walkability**.

4.3.1. Walkability

Participants spoke about their mobility as well as the distance they travelled, as being aspects of place, with meaning. This was increasingly prevalent for those who walked to food places. In relation to some of the place’s participants visited, participants included a signifying word or words that related to how they felt about the distance travelled or needed to travel to get to the destination. This was at times distinct and unrelated to the actual distance or time spent traveling to the food destination. Therefore, when participants mentioned a destination was “close-by” this could refer to an hour-long drive in a taxi to a supermarket 5 km away, while in the same conversation participants could refer to a specific destination as being “far-away and can take long to get there”, instead it would be the same store another participant described as being “close-by”. The difference between these participants would be that one would walk to the destination while the other could afford to take a minibus taxi or another form of public transportation. All ten participants in the photovoice study do not own their own car. Participants either walked, took public transport, or got a lift from neighbours, friends or family when buying food.

> Babalwa:” If *I go to Shoprite to buy rice, I take a taxi it’s not far away, I do it on the weekends, most of the places I go during the week are spaza shops along the road to the college* [CPUT Khayelitsha campus] *by the bus stop. I walk down this same road to get to the taxis. If I’m*

going to the mall, then I make a shopping list beforehand so that I can just walk in and buy what I need and then walkout afterwards and get back into the taxi and go home.

Figure 4. 11: Site C Taxi rank, highlighting public transportation in Khayelitsha (Image: Buhle)

Buhle: "*My husband and myself don't own a car, there is this car sharing thing that we use to use with the spaza shop owner who use to give us a lift. Now we just take a taxi, and then we walk home afterwards with the bags. Having so many shops around me is good as we can just walk to buy some stuff."*

Nomble: "*We don't have a car. I get a lift from my work friend ... Mostly I just walk to the stalls for potatoes and stuff. I save money by doing this … But when I walk it seems its far away and can take long to get there, but I can get smaller things from here that I can carry and it's just a little down the road from where I buy bread and milk and where the bus drops off my children. I just walk further out to buy, then pick up the children then they help me carry."*

Participants such as Buhle expressed the importance of having shops that are a walkable distance from their homes. Babalwa expresses how she does make use of public transport; however, she mostly goes to spaza shops during the week. The walk to the stores near to her forms part of her commutes to her college classes. Nomble expressed similar opinions to the previous two participants, however, she had access to a car through her neighbour offering a lift club option for some food shopping. Nomble's neighbour drops her off after shopping. She then walks down the road to then buy food products from spaza shops. The importance of spaza shops and the role they play in neighbourhood food procurement can be seen here through the lens of walkability. Going to food stores was a problem for three respondents with young children or babies, this increased their need for food shopping, while being a constraint on their mobility.

Lindelwa: "*I go to the spaza shop daily, but I keep the kids at home. It can be dangerous here walking along the road. I could go to one store for one thing then walk to another for another thing because it is cheaper … It can take longer to walk from store to store, if something is out of my way to go buy then I just skip buying and buy at the end of the week. I take a taxi on Saturdays to go to the bigger stores to buy a lot of the bigger things that I need, like meat, chicken, bigger packets of sugar, and other things."*

How participants saw places spatially differed in terms of the amount of time spent to get to these food places. Participants professed places as a good destination if it were a short walk or travelling to this specific place resulted in a specific deal at the store. On the other hand, participants saw food destinations as being negative if it was 'out of the way' due to a lack of public transport or just the distance to walk being too far away from participants homes. Signifying words, such as "far" or "close" apply to perceived distances, however they provide meaning to a place, as well as contributing to the likelihood of frequent visits.

Cebisa: "*I work on Saturdays for half a day, so when I come home after, I go to the fruit and veg stall to get some small stuff I love walking to the stall, it's not long maybe 25 minutes, but it's a Saturday so it's not a problem".*

Mncedisi: "*At the stall some of the potatoes are not good, the quality is not ideal, therefore I wait for a deal then I go buy 10 kg potatoes from the mall by ShopRite. But I cannot do it all month because I need to pay for the travel and the food, so I just wait till around pay week, they also have things on sale around then. That is why is worthwhile to go to the mall, its far and out of my way, but if I wait for a sale then it becomes more affordable, and I can get offers on a couple of things."*

Thembeka: "*Hassan's Take Aways & Fisheries is not far, but I need to take a taxi and I usually only get that Fridays every now and then, it makes it look like its further away. If I walk it is maybe 20 minutes away. But it's down the main road, I cannot cut through roads to get there."*

Sisipho: "*I prefer sticking to places that are close to my home, I don't have a car, I won't go very far down the road for something that I can just go buy weekends and take a taxi to. Also, with the whole virus thing I prefer just staying at home."*

What is observed here from participants is they spoke about distance in a manner that can considered both relative and personal. Participants used their own personal criteria to make decisions about places they choose to visit within their food environments. Another reason for this is time-related, participants regularly connected distance with the value they tributed

to and spent their time. With Sisipho there was a strong interest with visiting places they considered near to their homes.

According to Pearce et al. (2008, 7), in spatial analyses it is assumed that since "people prefer to lessen the workload of the daily task of buying food", the proximity of food retail outlets is therefore seen as a leading determinant for food place choices. Proximity is a critical spatial determinant which can influence food purchasing behaviour (Lang et al. 2009). However, related to purchasing behaviours the proximity of a food outlets did not influence all participants in this study but was a factor in the purchasing behaviour of other participants, for example.

> Lindelwa: "*If I'm at a mall, I might go into one store because it is having a sale. I might walk down the road away from the taxi rank to get something that is off where I'm going because something is overpriced by one place or there is bad service then I just get it somewhere else."*

The built environment of Khayelitsha, shaped by apartheid spatial planning, has created spatial inequality in food retail. Resulting in the food retail that is close and more widely available to participants not always being what is needed. In addition to this reality, laws can also dictate the distribution of specified types of food retail, showing the tension between competing demands such as the need for all residents to have access to a wide variety of food retail and the need to provide large food retail outlets for residents in Khayelitsha to buy food in bulk (Battersby, 2012). These needs could be fulfilled by spaza shops and home shops, however, even these shops procure food from the large stores, reselling their products to customers (Battersby, 2012). Larger stores such as supermarkets are located near or on main roads to improve their access, however, larger stores are still situated away from many residents in Khayelitsha to travel to. According to Mansvelt (2008) a spatially uneven food environment, represents an uneven hierarchy of power, as the food environment remains mostly accessible to those with good mobility. Which most participants did not have, in this study did not have.

A primary factor mentioned by most participants with visiting at least one place in their food environment was 'proximity'. This was represented with different signifying words. This can suggest a "place effect" where participants would regularly go to a certain store because of its closeness to an important location in their daily lives such as a school (Mansvelt, 2008). The closeness of these locations was the essential factor for repeated visits. The place is

chosen because it provides cost-effective food close by, furthermore, for participants it is difficult to broaden the possible places to visit for food due to their mobility or time constraints. Related to first needing to visit the important location, such as dropping their children off near their schools, and then going shopping. Moreover, this can be related to mobility, as none of the participants own a vehicle, equally important here is that not all participants can afford daily use of public transportation.

> Babalwa: "*I walk down the road, 10 to 20 minutes to get to the shop. It's the little shop on a corner, with the Coca-Cola on the side, it's always busy the people are slow, sometimes I don't want to go all the way back their but sometimes I walk past it and I just go in and sometimes I just go to it all the time from home. Sometimes I need a bread or something, and I just get it"*
>
> Fundiswa: *"I walk to all the shops I go to, I like to group a lot of stuff together, it's close to other things we do, you just group a lot of stuff and do them all in one go. That is why I prefer to walk to Shoprite, its longer."*

What is notable is how 'closeness' or what is considered proximal by participants is expressed differently by participants. When proximity is analysed for its meaning to people, a multifaceted understanding of this term develops. The use of food places in proximity can begin with convenience, if the experience is effective, it can then develop in frequency until it becomes typical to consistently visit specific food places (a habitual activity). However, these are facilitated through factors, such as the type of food stores available, or the income of participants.

> Buhle: "*The Fisheries* [O & T Fisheries] *has R15 hot chips, it's a walk from home, one street away. I think I have gotten two since Friday, usually I do this. It's easy and cheap to get. At work mostly, I would pick up food when I was lazy to plan a lunch with leftovers."*

Figure 4. 12: Spaza shop participant buys soup from in the morning (Image: Nomble)

> Nomble: *"Some mornings, before waiting for the bus, I get two cups of soup for myself and my husband. Its only three minutes away and a quick walk, it's simply better to get a cup and my husband likes it."*

Buhle is a part – time student with a job. She was not inclined to cook for herself, instead twice a week she got hot chips from a local fishery which was only one street away or close to her work environment, she walks to on both occasions. Frequent trips to the fishery, helped the student to acquire food to eat at home, or at work. This helped her to adjust from the tediousness of preparing food for herself. Buhle chose to go to the fisheries because it provided a needed meal which was close by her home, similarly she walked to the fisheries near to her work. In these cases, a place in proximity to a home added meaning to their daily lives in ways they might not otherwise have sought out. With Nomble, the task of getting the cups of soup was not time saving, the participant could make cups of soup or coffee when at home before leaving to the bus stop. Nomble's decision meant she had to make a short morning walk for herself and her husband. This was desirable for the participant to do this walk but, additionally, inconvenient as it took away from Nomble walking directly to the bus stop.

The factor of proximity differs in cases where food choice is limited in an area for people who have restricted mobility. Access to food within an urban setting involves more than just income or price of the food, it can refer to both geographical and or spatial access (Battersby, 2011). According to Battersby (2011: 5), "geographical access refers to the spatial formation of the city", in terms of the location of households in relation to food retail outlets and economic opportunities (Battersby, 2011). Therefore, Battersby et al. (2016: 15), argue that

food insecurity is not just an issue related to household poverty, instead it is a matter of "structural inequality with spatial characteristics". The proximity of participants to food retail outlets contributes to the food environment, in two ways. Firstly, household location can influence access to income opportunities (Battersby, 2011), limiting the buying power of residents. Secondly, household food security can be influenced by the location of food retailers. Therefore, proximity can help decide if households have adequate resources or if households might be food insecure due to their relative location to accessible and affordable foods (Battersby, 2011). Whelan et al. (2002) conducted a study in the United Kingdom (UK), which explored "life in a food desert" (an area with poor access to food retail), here they found that families with elderly were particularly vulnerable to having a lack of food resources near to their homes. However, according to Battersby and Crush (2014) the food desert concept cannot be simply overlaid to the African context, because of the importance of the informal food economy (Battersby and Peyton, 2014). This importance can be seen with the following comments from participants.

Khanyiswa: *"I can't always get to Shoprite, so I just use the shops around for small stuff everyday spaza shop is okay."*

Figure 4. 13: Fruit and vegetable stall Lindelwa buys food from, the packages are smaller compared to larger retail outlet offerings. The image features different vegetables and fruit in small plastic packets (Image: Lindelwa)

Lindelwa: "*I am old I cannot eat a lot of sugar [sugary] things, that why I have this picture of the fruit and veg stall, I go there and talk to the guy I know him, I buy some fruit as well. I can get a deal because I see him every day."*

Thembeka: "*There are shops all around here, I just go here I do not have the money to always go to the mall, twice a month, but you must pay for the taxi, then you have the children, it's simply better here and closer. Some of the spaza shops have deals to cut down on the size of the thing you are buying for daily stuff. You can also make loans."*

Khanyiswa points out, that she cannot go to a large food retail store often, therefore she uses the spaza shops around her to get food. In the second case, with Lindelwa, she is an older woman with a certain limitation in her mobility due to her age and health. Therefore, she walks to the fruit and vegetable stall near to her home. Similarly, Thembeka is rewarded the opportunity to broker a deal to get fruit and vegetables for less due to her being a dependable or regular customer as she knows the worker at the stall, being a daily visitor. Thembeka regularly visits shops around her home affording her the opportunity to skip having to pay to travel to the mall or larger shops, with a taxi. She visits the mall twice a month with her mobility limited due to the cost associated with travelling, the distance of larger stores away from her home, having to take care of her children and the proximity of small alternative food retail near to her home providing her with the option to buy food from a shop within a walkable distance from her home.

What is apparent from the responses of participants is they visit smaller shops more regularly than larger stores. The results of the study show respondents accessed informal traders more frequently than formal traders. Participants choose food places that are close by their homes, repeatedly shopping from these stores, due to multiple reasons, however these consistent or regular visits to food places create routine travel routes to food places.

4.3.2. Routines

What became apparent from discussions with participants about their food environment, was the idea of “routes” or the “routine” trips to food places participants visited. In this study, routine would refer to the actions taken by participants to visit food stores, constantly for multiple reasons. Routine travel routes bring a sequential feature to the meaning of place (Doherty and Miller, 2000). Routine trips to a food venue can help to position a food venue as planned for a certain time of the day or week. Similarly, it can place these food venues in the spatial context of other places for example, as stops in between two places (such as leaving work, going to the mall for lunch and then going home) or as part of a set of places that are visited in order. During the discussion groups, participants used a spatial reference to refer to the food places they regularly visited, to buy food. Using discussions participants saw these places as part of routine or planned trips to buy food or other trips to stores which sold food. The amount of time that participants associated with these activities depended on

the mode of transportation used, this could vary from taking a taxi, a bus, walking, or simply getting a life to the store from a neighbour.

> Babalwa: "*After payday, we take a taxi from home to ShopRite* (site B), *then we go get Hungry Lion. Then we go to the deli to get chicken necks, most of the meat we got a Shoprite like 5 – 10 kg, we walk home with the bags, to save money".*
>
> Buhle: "*I go to work Monday to Friday's, on Friday during lunch time, me and some friends at work go to Hassan's Fisheries (Hassan's Take Aways & Fisheries), for their hake parcel and a chip roll. We share the hake, but I keep it for home. They have a lift club here I just ask on Fridays to drop me off down the street then I buy a Fanta from the spaza shop."*

Figure 4. 14: Zamokuhle Cash Store, informal trader that is used in combination with a formal trader to procure food (Image: Fundiswa)

> Fundiswa: "*I go to Bongani* (Zamokuhle Cash Store), *to buy bread, sometimes they have some nice fruit, this happens every week, 4 or 5 days a week. In the morning I take my children to the taxi rank, then I walk to Bongani's, on Friday's I do the same thing but then I add Pick 'n pay (Site B), in the morning before Bongani's, … I still go to Bongani's after Pick n Pay to see what they have."*

Figure 4. 15: Addis Ababa spaza shop, frequented Thembeka (Image: Thembeka)

Thembeka: "*I just go to the spaza shop, Addis Ababa, I think. Maybe 4 days a week, after work. On Thursdays for prayer services (Church meetings), I go to church first, its closer to the taxi. Then I go to the shop, the meeting ends at 8 but the shop is open until 9, I can also get there with other women from Church so were all fine".*

Figure 4. 16: Fruit and vegetable stalls frequently used by participant (Image: Sisipho)

Sisipho: "*I have this routine where I go to places once every two days during the week and then maybe one other place on weekends, sperate from the normal everyday stuff, here at Nokuphiwo's stall and Mabhabhela Fruit and Vegetables, I can walk there its 10 minutes. I sometimes go to Sisipho's restaurant on the weekends. But every day I buy a bread at the spaza shop, then I will go to Noku and the fruit and veg stall, on weekends I will first head to the spaza shop".*

Participants such as Thembeka above provided examples of food places they often visit en-route to another food place or destination as part of a routine. These quotes from participants helped to link their travel experiences with the meanings they attach to place. These travelling activities are repeated, and as a result, this can lead to a process which produces a sense of place (discussed further in chapter 5). Participants' food environment becomes a daily

experience of place, through constantly travelling in and through the food environment specifically for food or other reasons. Moreover, what is notable about the routes travelled by participants, which include food purchases, is how different these are from each other. Some food routes are close to participants' homes, which helps to create a sense of familiarity and belonging. Nevertheless, other routes related to the school (responsibilities linked to children), work or other activities (such as religious services, and family visits). What is significant here is how participants moved around inside of their immediate food environment (places participants can walk to), as well as, how participants extend their food environment by travelling around using public transport, such as a minibus taxi.

Minibus taxis play a role in participants' food environment as a linking mechanism, through which the mobility of participants is improved. The availability of minibus taxis acts as a connector between residential areas and supermarkets. All participants in the study did not have access to their car limiting their mobility. All participants made use of a minibus taxi to access a supermarket in Khayelitsha. One example of this is from Nomble, referring to how she visits supermarkets and what attracts her to purchasing at the supermarket.

> Nomble: "*if I go to ShopRite or pick n pay, I take a taxi, it's a 5-minute walk. I usually go there once or twice a month. They have good deals for large things, potatoes, sugar, rice, chicken, etc. but in 10kg packs."*

Participants expressed both positive and negative opinions on minibus taxi transportation. Participants had limited financial means available to afford transportation when procuring food. The cost of transport was a chief consideration for all participants when planning the frequency with which they shop at certain food outlets. The importance of this issue can be seen with the quote from Nomble below, where she explains why only shops at supermarkets once or twice a month.

> Nomble: "*Yes, the stuff is cheaper there and they have more stuff then the spaza shop, but you must have the money for a taxi to go there, I don't have a car. Usually, I go just after pay day when I have more money. I need to plan the trips to the mall."*

The location of supermarkets is usually at a distance to residential areas, in addition to the unique creation of residential areas, such as Khayelitsha, which has seen a lack of investment since the end of apartheid, making the cost of transportation a limiting force on the poor in Khayelitsha. A limitation which results in residents being unable to buy food in bulk, without

it being a planned trip to buy food. Relating to the experience of routine travel routes, which can bring a temporal aspect to the meaning of place. Which for participants situates a certain food venue (those at supermarkets) as usually scheduled at a certain time, for supermarkets this would be once or twice a month, a loop which would occur monthly just after the time participants are paid.

> Fundiswa: "*I go to the mall twice a month. Plan out what I want to buy and how much I must spend then I buy a lot of big stuff, sugar, rice, stuff like that. I make a list of things with the paper. When I go to the mall its around pay day, I have more money then and the also have a sale at the end of the month."*

Creating a shopping list is a common occurrence when planning food purchases, as can be seen by Fundiswa's quote above. It allows food managers to save money for their families, resulting in better budgets for food purchases amongst other household purchases. When planning food purchases participant consider the negative aspects when using certain services to help them with food purchases. Minibus taxis, usually moves along main roads and according to no-time schedules. However, they are sufficiently available to make them a convenient transport option. For low-income urban residents there is no alternative for public transport apart from walking (Skinner 2018).

The cost involved with using minibus taxis as a mode of transport is not the only factor affecting the purchasing patterns of customers. There are other inconveniences associated with using taxis to access supermarkets. These according to Cannuscio et al (2010), are stresses inherent with using public transport to do monthly shopping. Participants described how cramped minibus taxis can at times be, as drivers want to transport as many people as possible in a single trip, to increase total fares from each trip. Participants complained about the long waiting times which can sometimes occur when they climb into a taxi, especially when it is not rush hour. These static periods are made worse by the fact that participants had been shopping, other commuters have been shopping too, meaning the taxi was full of shopping bags with groceries. Participants, complained about the possibility of losing one of their bags amongst the confusion when climbing out of the taxi. Considering that these trips to the supermarket are planned, budgeted, this would result in an overwhelming loss for participants.

Cebisa: "*you can lose stuff in the taxi when you got a lot of stuff, I go there because if there is a sale like on a Saturday morning everybody who's going to Khayelitsha Shopping Centre is going for shopping. You have four or six bags, then it is all the same bags. It is easy for a mix up with the bags and you will lose one of your bags, if its potatoes or sugar, they come in their own big bag so you can keep track of them easily, but not a meat bag and that is always the most expensive bag*"

Participants reported they only have a short walk from where they get off the taxi along the Main Road to their houses, usually taking 5 to 10 minutes of walking to get home. Participants bought attention to the difficulty of carrying heavy packets full of groceries, after shopping, on and off the minibus taxis. Participants would call household members to meet them on the main road to help with the bags. This empathises the constraints on participants mobility, moreover, it helps to understand the importance of having access to a variety of food retailers within one specific location, such as a shopping mall. It helps participants take advantage of sales offered at each of the retailers, at a specific shopping centre, without having to spend more money travelling to another centre.

Participants engaged in food purchases from both formal and informal traders mixing their interactions with traders in the urban food environment. Routine visits to informal traders, spaza shops, adds another manner of understand of the food environment of participants. Participants shopped at; ShopRite, Checkers or Pick n Pay, monthly, only to buy "basic" foods items in bulk and then purchase the remainder of their food requirements on a more regular basis from local tuck shops. Participants engaging in food purchasing trips in both the formal and informal economies is part of increasing prevalence of 'outshopping' in poorer areas around the world (Alwitt and Donley, 1997), where participants would obtain goods and services outside of their neighbourhood, which additional costs would be incurred in both money and time. Participants had a monthly 'outshopping' presence within their local neighbourhood. All participants within the study did 'outshop' monthly, at a supermarket, doing their household food requirements at these supermarkets. However, all participants regularly purchased food products from their local spaza shop or other stores within a walking distance from their homes, conversely, if participants were to buy food items from a supermarket it would be once a month, then participants purchased the remainder of their food requirements on a more consistent basis from spaza shops.

Participants who would go to supermarkets to buy food products would only buy basic food items in bulk, eventually purchasing the remainder of their food requirements on a more regular basis from spaza shop, 'basics' according to participants where products such as sugar, rice, butter, fish oil, chicken.

> Mncedisi: *"When we go to ShopRite, we are usually the basics like sugar, fish oil, butter, rice, 10 kg potatoes, and chicken 5kg or so".*

Participants visited spaza shops more often than supermarkets, reasons for this range from; a lack of mobility, to convenience of spaza shop location, quantity of spaza shops and cost involved with travelling versus walking, amongst other reasons. Participants spread their purchasing patterns amongst both the formal and informal food economies. Households buy basic foods in bulk at supermarkets and then buying the food required for their daily meals from informal traders, such as spaza shops. This highlights a mixed strategy (or flexibility) by participants when buying food. Participants food budgets experience incessant assessment, allowing for suitable purchasing decisions to be made daily. Partially relieving the pressure of correctly judging the amount of money needed over a period for food and other purchases when available funds decrease after payday.

> Mncedisi: *"if we run out of potatoes or sugar, rice, and stuff then we just go buy that from the spaza shop, we can just walk there, and we don't have to go to the mall to buy more"*
>
> Thembeka: *"I go to the supermarket for big stuff that we need like rice a 10 kg if the price is good, in the papers they get given to use every month or so we see specials or deals, when we have money, we go buy there, if we run out then I walk, or my husband and we buy from the corner spaza shop".*

Going to different shops helps protect households from overspending on food purchases, in addition to gaining the benefits of buying household basics in bulk, taking advantage of specials and deals offered by supermarkets. Moreover, buying the 'basics' in bulk offers some food security to households, because it mitigates against food shortages when food budgets run out, this is an effective shopping strategy for participants whose budgets for food purchases may be unpredictable. Other constraints such as mobility, have negative effect on food budgets, as mentioned before.

Mobility constraints will affect decisions by participants to spread their purchases between supermarkets and other retailers closer to their homes. All households responded that they

go to supermarkets monthly. All participants buy only the most basic food items at the supermarket, such as sugar, rice, and potatoes, taking advantage of promotion deals, specials, and cheaper bulk prices. Due to the inability of participants to transport many small food items from the supermarket to their homes, no participants owned a car. Participants would thus buy the rest of their household food items at the local food shops, such as spaza shops, avoiding the travel costs of additional trips to the supermarket. Additionally, participants would visit spaza shops daily as opposed to monthly visits to the supermarkets. Thus, participants prefer to keep their options open with where they shop, relative to both money and time spent. In addition to taking advantage of special promotions at supermarkets near monthly paydays. There is a high incentive for supermarkets to offer specials to attract low-income consumers who are looking to do monthly shopping. According to Skinner (2018), food items made available by supermarkets at a reduced price will ensure a significant response from low-income consumers looking for specials or deals on food products to extend the reach of their food budgets.

Although participants made food purchases from both formal and informal retailers, findings related to purchasing patterns highlight the key role of informal urban retailers in food procurement. Participants buy food more frequently at informal urban food retailers since they are located within a short walking distance. Participants use informal food retailers to fulfil daily food needs. In doing so, informal food retailers help mitigate participants' mobility constraints as they function as a buffer for food insecurity. Furthermore, they offer opportunities for participants to purchase products in smaller quantities on a daily basis. The food budgets households use change daily, additionally, these budgets are required to consistently meet their household food requirements through regular trips to spaza shops to buy food products. However, some of these products are offered at affordable prices for financially constrained households. Offering smaller quantity products through informal traders better serves the needs of the community. An example of this can be seen through Buhle buying R5 packets of rice and Cebisa buying a half-bread instead of a whole bread.

> Buhle: "*We don't have a lot of money, if we don't have enough things, we just buy R5 packs of sugar, potatoes, or rice or something, because we can't get back to the supermarket unless my husband walks all the way there and back with bags. But if we need it just for a couple of days then we go and buy the small packs from the shop they make it there, usually we run out*

a couple of days before my husband pays then there are no sales, taking a taxi then is wasted money for food that will be less when we have more money"

Cebisa: "*sometimes I cannot afford a whole bread, then I just buy a half for R9 and then we make bread for the children to take to school. My husband and I just go to work"*

Cebisa was financially constrained during certain periods of the month, therefore she chose not to take food to work and so priorities her children taking bread to school instead. Spaza shops within their neighbourhood bulk-break bread, cutting loaves in half and selling half breads as a strategy to make them more affordable to residents in the area. Buhle similarly made use of this process where the spaza shop owners will open a larger bag or packet of food products and then cut them down into small sizes, to sell these smaller packets for a certain amount of money which is affordable to residents, this is called "bulk breaking". Households in low-income areas will prefer to make food purchases in smaller quantities from spaza shops within their community, which break down bulk food products into smaller unit sizes, rather than make bulk purchases from supermarkets (Battersby, 2011; Dangerfield et al., 2021).

The engagement of participants with their routine visits to their local spaza shop helps shape the food environment of their neighbourhood through the creation of circumstances were spaza shop owners need meet the food needs of residents through bulk breaking to make food more affordable to more residents in the community. This creates a financial benefit for shop owners as more residents can now afford products. With higher sales shop owners need not impose large fees on top of the normal cost of the product, which they paid for originally. Through this practise of 'bulk breaking' spaza shops offer a significant means of food access for participants and the wider community. Nevertheless, through participating in the creation of this system residents within the community impacted on the food environment influencing it can shop owners to offer these services. These services encourage routine purchases from residents and participants within the surrounding area of the spaza shop encouraging the continual use of the spaza shop.

What is evident is that spaza shops are responsive to the nature and extent of food budgets within their surrounding area. Together creating an environment where residents in the area routinely visits the food shops in the area. Additionally, the proximity of the informal urban stores, such as spaza shops, to the community negates the need for access to transportation.

Therefore, spaza shops fill a vital role in providing access to food for food insecure households.

4.3.3. Summary of Routes and routines

Participants spoke about the spatial aspects of the food environment, specifically; how they got to their food destinations, the reasons behind journeys, how they got to the location of food places with respect to other food places, and how near or far away participants felt the stores were. Without measuring how far people travel, we can only get a sense of participants perceived distance of a food place, however, this is still meaningful to a participant who visits the place. Theoretically, a journey to a routinely visited place is part of its overall meaning, placing it in the context of the wider food environment. Another feature of this main theme was the idea of proximity. The term 'proximity' was used to estimate the array of travel patterns which existed amongst the participants, and as a constraint to explore the tendency that participants showed for buying or consuming in relative proximity to their homes. Routine travels bring a sequential aspect to the meaning of place, participants can position food venues as scheduled to visit for a certain time of day or for certain days of the week. Therefore, these different food places can be situated in the spatial context of other places or as part of a set of places visited together by participants. Minibus taxis play a role in participants food environment as a linking mechanism, through which the mobility of participants is improved, and the size of their walkable food environment (food places within a walking distance) is increased. Informal urban retailers, especially spaza shops, help to fulfil the daily buying needs of participants. Related to this and following is the third main theme of the study, which was revealed itself during the analysis of results, this being **'the place of informality**.'

4.4. The place of informality

Informal retail traders can help to reduce the vulnerable to food insecurity (Battersby et al., 2016). Participants in this study at times had irregular or insufficient income, however they could mitigate these challenges for themselves or others through the pooling together of resources. These mitigation strategies are part of the social capital of the community, where "resources that can decrease vulnerability and increase opportunities within the food environment of communities, are added together better to meet the needs of the community" (Moser, 1997: 20). The pooling together of resources is not the only example of

social capital or importance of informal traders within the community, instead there is the availability of credit systems offered spaza shop owners. These credit systems help participants mitigate food insecure periods of the month. The use of a credit system, available at spaza shops, also fits within the concept of social capital being an asset which can decrease the vulnerability and increase opportunities within the food environment of communities. Moreover, showing the importance of informal traders as a food insecurity mitigation strategy used by participants during trying times.

The main reason participants travel from their homes to the shopping centres is to access the larger shops within these centres, however this does not stop participants from browsing what is on offer from informal traders located at the shopping centre or along the way to the shopping centres. The roles of informal and formal traders may be different, in relation to participants shopping habits. However, these traders are at times crossed by members of the community at the same time when making food purchases. Helping to create a distinct place within participants food environment. The key role of informal food retailers in the daily lives of participants forms part of the social and wider societal aspects and dimensions of participants food environment, as the role of informal traders in the community relates to the overall society and social aspects of food procurement.

Making use of a constructivist grounded theory analysis of data from the photovoice activity, sub-themes underneath the main theme of '**place of informality'** emerged. These subthemes are discussed and demonstrated with quotations from participants in the sections that follow. Discussions with participants showed that informal traders, such as spaza shops, where an important entity within the dynamics of the communities' food environment and within the procurement of food. Informal traders have the benefit of being located within participants community which helps to eliminate mobility constraints, helping to make food more affordable. However, there are other benefits which participants have shown. In relation to terms such as social capital, social economy, and credit systems the themes which emerged are the **(4.4.1.) Social capital** and the (4.4.2.) **Informality and Credit systems.** In numerous ways these sub-themes illustrate the importance of informal traders, specifically spaza shops and home shops, in the procurement of food for participants in the Khayelitsha community.

4.4.1. Social Capital

As previously mentioned in Chapter 2, social capital refers to the "degree to which a community can be measured as an asset that decreases vulnerability or increases opportunity" for those within the community (Moser, 1997: 25). In terms of social interactions and food networks, social capital refers to the degree to which households access food through social networks (Moser, 1997). Food is exchanged between members of the community through a social economy. According to Moser (1979: 23) members of communities would "help to provide food for others with the expectation that in the future, they can make claims on others to help them and transfer food". Here this economy is embedded within the moral and social fabric present within communities, and according to Ahmad (1991) through this, the social economy of the community is developed with a system of insurance for those with elevated levels of food insecurity. Participants had accessed food through social capital or knew of others who had accessed food through the social economy. Individuals engaged at least once a month in food raising based on the exchange of social capital. Those who engaged in these social networks based their procurement of food through neighbourhood networks.

There was one example of food relationships between households which saw food being shared amongst a family. This house is comprised of multiple generations, for example, a grandmother sharing with her daughter and grandchildren that live in the same community, instead of not living in the same home. Food can become dynamic within a community, with family units reshaping themselves around food. This is an example of 'shared cooking', as described by Ahmad (1991: 20) as a family which lives in separate houses, while close by, "combining and sharing food resources regularly, to meet food needs". Lindelwa manages food shortages by combining food resources with her daughter and grandchild who live close by, they buy their food separately still cooking together regularly.

> Lindelwa: "*My daughter moved out a couple of years ago, she lives a couple of roads down, in someone's yard, with her little one. I can she her every day and if I am not working, I look after the child. We put the food together if she is short, she can get from me.*"

'Shared cooking' is common with backyarders dwellers, where the main house is used multiple times a week to cook food for a group consisting of the backyard dweller and the member of the main house (Ahmad, 1991). However, with Lindelwa, her daughter is a

backyard dweller on another property, but still they shared food. They help each other with the cooking, mostly making one large pot of food to feed both households. When the mother or daughter was experiencing food shortages, they relied on each other for food resources. This allowed for risk avoidance with households living under threat of running out of food or money. Households combined resources with other households as a form of consumption smoothing, which is vital for low-income households to mitigate income shocks or food budget constraints. Another benefit of shared cooking, and present the social economy is that, with combined food budgets, there is the possibility of specials or deals at stores (such as shopping malls where more bulk purchases are made) being taken advantage of to a greater degree, this could take place with monthly bulk buying at supermarkets or with deal making at the smaller spaza shop. One-sided food relationships exist in the more food secure households. Households who were 'better off' and are food secure sometimes shared meals with extended families or friends. Occasionally these families extended their food assistance, with other members of the community, here channels of food exchange can take the form of the transfer of food items, meal sharing, or money transfers intended for food purchases.

Discussions with participants showed that food transfer channels were practised with those whom participants both knew, and that food was purposefully transferred from one individual to another through the social economy. Food transfers were planned purposeful actions by participants to others or from others to participants. Food transfers were rooted in the social relationship's participants had with each other and the food environment. With these actions being an expression of social capital in the community, manifesting itself as community participation. The transfer of food, which was one-sided is the usual form of a vertical food relationships. Here food or money intended for food purchases was transferred from one household to another, as opposed to sharing together. With participants, this type of transfer usually occurred between people who were further removed or not as close to each other, for example, food transfers between friends as opposed to family members. Charitable acts, such as this, occurred with participants, however with some residents taking part as recipients of these acts, receiving, or providing food for the community beyond their own household. Motivations behind these exchanges demonstrated by participants was linked to feelings related to moral obligations to extended family, or the surrounding community.

Buhle: "*I sometimes have extra. I give to my neighbour when they need. Its normal for this to happen. The reason I do it is because, it is not right that people do not have for themselves here, and when I have, I give to those around me. People do not always have for themselves, so those that have sometimes help.*"

Food transfers are representations of informal social food networks, which have an important effect on the nature of a community, and how participants would organize around food. Communities, such as Khayelitsha, where it is possible for many to become in danger of going hungry, 'charity' related to food forms an important part of community life and social aspects of participants food environment. Food is embedded within the social economy. Food can help to reduce the vulnerable to food insecurity. Participants in this study are of a low-income base, however they can mitigate their issues with food procurement for themselves or others with the merging together of resources. However, what has been shown is residents themselves are not the only individuals within the community embedded in the social networks and transfer of food. Instead, the credit system available at spaza shops similarly fits within the notion of social capital being an asset which can decrease the vulnerability and increase opportunities within the food environment of communities.

4.4.2. Informality and credit systems

Discussions with participants showed there are credit systems operating in the residential informal food retailing sector, creating networks of social capital. Here spaza shops, and tuck shops move food along channels of social capital, like the households in the area participating in the social economy. The credit system available to participants, as well as the larger community, provides an important means of accessing food for those whom food is inaccessible due to lacking monetary resources. Spaza shop owners allow regular customers, those who they have a strong relationship with or those they know well, to purchase certain food items on credit for a brief period. Therefore, participants or those who rely on or use credit from time to time, benefit from building social capital with owners, as it is a significant asset providing food access, showing the importance of spaza shops in a social context.

The credit system is beneficial for consumers in terms of making food more accessible at an affordable price. According to participants spaza shops did not charge mark-up costs on food products which they sold on credit, which is the case in more formal food economic activities.

Babalwa: "*Sometimes at shops like fisheries, butchers, take-aways and others that I buy from usually, they offer things on credit to get us to buy more. But they charge more in total, because you are paying them maybe a couple of months after, this does not happen a lot and even then, they want to know that you come back. They obviously want more money. But with spaza shops they don't charge you more, after, just the normal cost. I go there regularly the guy knows me, so he is fine with me paying the next morning or later in the week."*

Babalwa mentions the use of credit within the residential spaza shop food economy was not founded in profit-making motives. Knowing the reasons behind the credit systems is imperative in learning how members of the food economy respond to the food access needs of the community, besides to how community members respond to their food access needs within their food environment. Moreover, showing the importance of spaza shops (informal traders) as food places within the food environment of participants, spaza shops function as a mechanism which helps provide a proximal food procurement source, in addition to improving access to food overall within the community through social networks.

Informal traders help alleviate food access needs of their surrounding communities with the use of the credit system, where they operate as a means of consumption easing for the food insecure (Gittelsohn et al., 2007). Of the ten participants seven acknowledged that they had made use of the credit system in place at spaza shops within the last year.

Nomble: "*sometimes we do not have money to buy food, bread and rice, stuff we use daily. I ask the guy at the shop if I can get a bread and pay him back later in the week or the month, he knows me and that I will pay him back. I buy there all the time when I have money* "

It could be argued these findings can point to a large amount of food being bought or given out by spaza shops on credit. It is possible, households within the study area buy food on credit regularly, being used to smooth food consumption needs, not just as a means for survival. What is imperative here is that informal food retailers were responsive to the nature of the wider communities (which they serve) food needs. This was done through the provision of credit and the previously mentioned bulk breaking (Routes and Routines related to spatiality section). Spaza shops being in and around community members homes removes the need for transportation as community members can walk to their local spaza shop, the location of spaza shops relates positively to the distance needed to travel to them when compared to supermarkets or shopping centres. This can relate to the history of South Africa

and its former apartheid rule. Where certain services and infrastructure investment lacked in areas including, Khayelitsha which was created during apartheid. Spaza shops help to allow residents, who are unable to shop at the larger better resourced shopping centres or supermarkets to have easier access to food and immediate access to food when money becomes available to them. Therefore, informal food retailers, such as spaza shops, fill this key role in the food environment of the community by providing access to food for the most vulnerable households. There is the issue of higher prices of certain food items at the spaza shops compared to the more formal shopping centres and supermarkets who can buy food in bulk, offering items at lower prices because they sell so many of these items. However, these households are not restricted in terms of finances as they would normally be because of the options provided by spaza shops, in addition to other informal traders, options such as bulk breaking and credit systems.

What has become more apparent from participants is that there has been a transition to a more integrated food economy where residents make use of both formal and informal traders based on their own financial capabilities. Residents mostly buy food at their nearest residential informal trader, then combine this with monthly purchases at the larger supermarkets, once a month usually a couple of days after getting paid, making use of specials or sales by the supermarket chains (e.g., ShopRite Checkers, Pick 'n Pay, or Spar). The informal economic activity occurs around informal traders, namely spaza shops, plays a key role in urban food systems in Khayelitsha even under ever increasing conditions of urbanization (Crush and Battersby 2016; Young and Crush 2019).

> Babalwa: "*I buy from both ShopRite and the shop on the corner as a go home, sometimes you run out of things and then you just need to get something that's better to go to both"*
>
> Buhle*: "Mostly I buy from Spaza shops, their closer. It is the usuals like bread and milk, the things you use every day, sometimes it is more things, like potatoes, sugar, but the small R5 or R2 packets"*

Supermarkets in Khayelitsha are spatially and economically distant from many residents. A general informal food retail sector is present and operating nearer to residential area. Regardless of there being supermarkets or shopping centres. For residents' informal traders, such as spaza shops, had a defined role within their food purchase timetables happening mostly weekly, on the other hand trips to formal traders takes place usually only once a

month. Both trades have separate and defined roles within participants food environment. What can be seen in this study is the informal and formal retailers coming together to sell food in formal trading areas, such as shopping centres.

4.4.3. Summary of the place of informality

Making use of the constructivist grounded theory analysis, participants spoke about the social aspects and dimension of their food environment related to the importance of informal food retailers within their community and the role that they play in food procurement. The two subthemes which emerged within "**the place of informality**" were the (4.4.1.**) Social capital** and the (**4.4.2.) Informality and Credit systems,** these subthemes were discussed and demonstrated with quotations from participants**.** In certain ways these sub-themes illustrate the importance of informal traders, specifically spaza shops and home shops, in the procurement of food for participants in the Khayelitsha community.

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter focused on the relational meanings which emerged when participants interacted with food places within their food environment. These meanings featured subjective, spatial, and social aspects and dimensions of participants food environment. The chapter discussed and presented data collected through a photovoice study and an accompanying discussion with participants, photographs appeared and quotations coded underneath themes and subthemes where discussed. A constructivist grounded theory analysis was used to investigate participants perception and feelings about their food environment. The results were separated into three different main themes, namely, (1) **familiarity: food places, purchases, and people**, (2) **Routes and routines** and (3) **the place of informality**.

The theme of **familiarity: food places, purchases, and people** featured the personal aspects and dimensions of participants food environment and had three subthemes which were the (4.2.1) Ease or Comfort, (4.2.2.) Social interactions, and (4.2.3.) Branding and image. Where 4.2.1) Ease or Comfort addressed how participants visited multiple places within their food environment, due to the positives feelings and thoughts participants associated with these places, such as enjoyment and/or safety. These places became familiar to participants through multiple visits. The (4.2.2.) Social interactions looked at the social interactions or relationships participants had with shop owners or employees at certain food places. These

relationships tie consumers more intimately to the environments of the food places they regularly visit to buy food. The (4.2.3.) Branding and image related to the representation of colours and advertisement subtheme looked at the colours and figures painted on the walls of stores which helped participants to identify stores and the products sold there. The colours and figures together build a sense of familiarity for the customers, reminding participants of products due to the colours and figures which represented products which participants were familiar with.

The theme of **routes and routines** featured the spatial aspects and dimensions of participants food environment and was comprised of three subthemes which were the (4.3.1.) Walkability and (4.3.2.) Routines**.** (4.3.1) Walkability, related to the participants mobility and the distance which they travelled to access food stores within their community. Here, participants used signifying words or terms which related to how participants felt about the distance they had travelled to get to a food destination, which was separate to the real distance or time spend travelling, instead these were based on how participants described this distance through signifying words or terms. Walkability also related to the proximity of participants to food places, proximity of food retail outlets was the leading determinant for some food place choices. However, related to purchasing behaviours the proximity of a food outlets did not influence all participant in this study, instead it was a factor in the purchasing behaviour of other participants. (4.3.2.) Routines focussed on the routine trips to food destinations by participants, which helped to position this destination as planned for both a certain time of the day or week, by the participants. Participants linked their travel experiences with the meanings they attach to a place. These travelling activities are repeated and can lead to a process that can produce a sense of place.

The theme related to the **Place of informality** featured the wider societal aspects and dimensions of participants food environment, this theme had two subthemes which results from the discussion with participants being the (4.4.1.) Social capital and the (4.4.2.) Informality and Credit systems. (4.4.1.). Social capital is all about the food that is shared between people in the community because it is part of the community's social economy. Participants had accessed food through social capital or knew of others who had accessed food through the social economy. engaging at least once a month in food raising based on the exchange of social capital. Those who engaged in these social networks based their

procurement of food through community or family networks. The (4.4.2.) Informality and Credit system's sub-theme revolved around how participants showed there are credit systems operating in the local residential informal food retailing sector, creating networks of social capital. Here local informal food retailers provide, participants and the larger community, an important means of accessing food for those whom food is inaccessible due to lacking monetary resources, showing the importance of informal retailers within participants community.

This chapter has outlined the food environment which participants reside in, setting the stage for further understanding of the presentation and analysis of the qualitative study and explanation of participant sense of place related to their food environment which follows in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Sense of place and food

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion on 'sense of place' in relation to participants' interactions with their residential food environment in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. This discussion will focus on how interactions between participants and their food environment can create a sense of place, through a sense of agency, and a sense of belonging and alienation.

5.2. Sense of place

As previously mentioned, sense of place is the "emotional bonds between people and specific places" (Tuan, 1974: 8). Bonds with a place, or people's sense of place, can both be physical or imaginative and at different scales, varying and having both a physical presence and an imaginative presence (with a community, city, town, country, or just with a small store) (Tuan, 1974). Looking at the ties between participants and food places within the community food environment of Khayelitsha, using a grounded theory-based analysis of the photovoice activity, and accompanying semi-structured interviews (photo-elicitation) two understandings of the sense of place concerning food, were revealed, these being a (1) Sense of agency: actions taken to access food and a (2) Sense of belonging and Sense of Alienation.

The first insight was participants' sense of place was associated with the purposeful actions which participants took to access food at food places within the local food environment. For example, some participants chose to walk towards food sources and plan shopping routes around their mobility limitations (a lack of access to private transportation, participants made use of public transportation instead). This insight also linked to participants making active use of the social capital, related to accessing food, availed to them within their community. The second insight assumed that participants' interactions with their food environment were deliberate, with a level of decision-making and prior knowledge or information of their neighbouring-built environment, which would relate to a sense of belonging and alienation. The sense of belonging and alienation depended on the experiences at the food places participants regularly interacted with. Sense of belonging and alienation were subjective experiences, such as the familiarity of food stores or the familiarity of the people working at these stores, linked to a sense of belonging. However, participants did not express a sense of alienation as described in the literature, I discuss why this was the case. These and other

examples within the two understandings are elaborated on below, starting with a sense of agency.

5.2.1. Sense of Agency: actions taken to access food

Sense of agency relates to the sense of place through direct interactions with the food environment. As Manzo (2005: 84) explains, a sense of agency can originate from the "diverse ways people use places, and occasionally in ways that places were not originally meant to be". This relates to the imaginative or creative ways people can use places to suit their needs, "people are constantly, actively, and intentionally shaping their environment." Sense of agency builds on the understanding that individuals and groups interactions with the food environment (or just the present built environment) are "mutually reinforcing, and an example of a shared relationship between people and place" (Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2014: 6). As opposed to interactions with the physical environment which is regarded as separate and not related (Dyck and Kearns, 2006). Here, participants purposefully interacted with their food environment to create meaning as a result, they shaped certain aspects of their food environment to meet their daily, weekly, or monthly food needs. This process is linked to a sense of place.

More involvement by participants in their food environment, such as planning food purchases, planning which routes and routines to follow when buying food, using the social capital available within the community as a food coping or a food access survival strategy, developing social-economic relationships with informal shop owners or workers, using shared cooking and other community or group activities with family or friends to alleviate food needs, all purposeful actions from participants can stem from or help create a specific sense of place for participants related to their interactions with the food environment. Participants could alter their food availability in the proximal environment, improving access to food for others in their community or themselves, showing agency concerning the procurement of food. Purposeful or intentional actions are a feature of human agency this includes consideration and planning and can lead to individual or joint actions to construct alternate answers to questions posed around food access and procurement by participants. These types of purposeful actions were apparent in the descriptions of aspects of the participant's food environment.

A sense of agency was shown by participants through their purposeful planning around food purchases. This can be seen by participants walking to certain food places during the week and buying food from other food stores during the weekend or near-to-monthly salary pay dates. How participants viewed the walkability of food stores (mostly informal food stores compared to formal food stores) showed the planning which went into food purchases overall from participants. Participants, through signifying words or terms, viewed stores that were close by as positive and saw food destinations as being 'out of the way' due to a lack of public transport or just the distance to walk being too far away from participants' homes. Signifying words, such as "far" or "close" apply to perceived distances, however, they provide meaning to a place, as well as contributing to the likelihood of frequent visits. The closer a food store was the more likely participants would visit these stores. This was also reinforced by the fact that participants did not have access to private transportation. As a result, when they purchased food from the larger food stores, it was decidedly planned. Participants created food shopping lists to purchase the foods they needed when they were at these larger shopping centres.

The planning by participants to reach food destinations is partially due to them alleviating their mobility constraints, resorting to walking or planning out large parts of their journeys to food places. The mobility constraints that participants are dealing with are related to the apartheid history of South Africa. As expressed previously (in section 2.3. Focusing on Cape Town, the South African food environment), due to the apartheid regime and its lasting spatial legacy, people have been left off the fringes of economic opportunities (Rogerson, 2003), this will relate to food purchasing opportunities and constraints. Participants are reliant on food in their proximal food environment, which would be informal food traders, these traders are used to access nearby daily/weekly food needs (Crush and Frayne, 2010). Participants who purchase food from supermarkets must do so after having walked, taken public transportation, gotten a lift, and planned a list of products to purchase, this all taking place mostly during the end of the month or weekends when participants have more financial capability to do so.

This also shows how participants plan around supermarkets and the role these supermarkets play as food places in food acquisition and a sense of agency. The importance of supermarkets in food procurement can be seen by participants' interactions with them as food places which

they usually visit to buy food in bulk, making use of sales near the end of the month, where participants would get paid. The success of supermarketisation has been linked in part to their ability to provide a large variety of food at a cheaper price than other traders (D'Haese and Huylenbroeck, 2005), such as informal traders. However, we can also see through another study that travelling to supermarkets was an issue which put the financial capabilities of those in low-income areas at odds with procuring food from supermarkets (Tustin and Strydom, 2006). This can be seen with participants who had to deal with challenges relating to access to supermarkets due to their location, if participants did not walk then getting to these supermarkets would be costly. In addition to work done by Battersby (2011), which links the sizes of packaged products with a limitation of buying food at a supermarket, as these packaged products are sometimes too large for low-income residents who might want smaller packaged goods to purchase which are more affordable, which links to participants purposefully buying larger more bulk purchases at these supermarkets. Thus, highlighting participants' sense of agency, as they navigate food purchases throughout the month to meet daily food needs.

Accessing a supermarket is not a daily occurrence but a planned and purposeful food-buying activity by participants displaying their sense of agency related to the food environment. However, this differs from how they relate to informal food traders who are more proximal to their homes. Focusing on the participants themselves, they procure food from both formal and informal food sources, highlighting a specific sense of agency related to the informality of the food environment present and how participants link food places with their community through food procurement. In addition, to the previously mentioned challenges with informality in Cape Town and South Africa (in Chapter 2), there is also the acknowledgement of the possible important role informal traders could have concerning food acquisition and food choices within urban communities, such as Khayelitsha, relating to food acquisition strategies or food risk avoidance strategies revolving around communities making use of social capital as a household food asset. These are food risk avoidance strategies, an example of this can be buying from both informal and formal traders looking for the best possible deal. Participants have shown these food risk avoidance strategies to link to the social capital available to them in their communities which they purposefully made use of to avoid food shortages.

When participants experienced food shortages, individuals would depend on each other for food resources, affecting food procurement strategies and community relations, an example of this can be seen by the participant making use of shared cooking or pooling together food resources, with her daughter to meet food needs, linking to a sense of agency when procuring food. Here, in agreement with literature on social capital and shared cooking, individuals combined food resources with other households as a form of food consumption smoothing, which was important to mitigate income shocks or food budget constraints (Putnam, 1993). In addition to this another benefit of food risk avoidance strategy like shared cooking or making use of social capital to alleviate food needs with a combined food budget, deals, and specials at supermarkets could be taken better advantage of.

Another example of a sense of agency related to food procurement and social capital was how participants would make use of informal traders, specifically spaza shops, to alleviate their food needs using credit systems at these informal traders. Here, informal traders proximal to participants in their community are helping to reduce participants or the vulnerable to food insecurity, like the work done by Battersby et al. (2016) on informal retailers. Participants in this study at times had irregular or insufficient food resources, however, they could mitigate these challenges for themselves or others through the pooling together of resources, and the available credit systems at informal traders, showing intentional purposeful action on behalf of the participants to meet food needs, linking to a sense of agency. This also links to the work of Sack (1992) where they link human agency and relationships between people and places, focusing on how people can alter these relationships over time through combining personal meaning and social interactions at places. The relationships participants have with informal food traders have altered due to this additional service which they offer which is related to the social capital of their community, becoming a place-altering experience (Sack, 1997).

5.2.2. Sense of belonging and Sense of Alienation

Agnew (2007: 19) defines a sense of place as a general “sense of belonging related to the norms of a broad range of topics in or of an area, rather than specific locations”. As previously mentioned, in Chapter 2, a sense of belonging is an indicator of a sense of place (Caspi et al., 2012; Desjardins, 2010). Participants shared how their experiences helped to form a sense of belonging within the food environment. De Certeau and Giard (2008) discuss how food

purchasing can relate to a sense of belonging, as food purchasing always has meaning and is not a mundane activity even though it is regarded as such. Perkins and Long (2002: 3) argue that when buying food people could experience a "community feeling" which relates to how individuals valued their social interaction when they are buying food. The interactions between participants and local food traders did surpass regular interactions between participants, shop employees, or shop owners at times when they visited specific food places. This can be used to suggest a broader understanding of community belonging which originates and is improved over time through an accumulation of visits or experiences at a certain food place, which can be seen by the feelings of familiarity (previously mentioned in Chapter 4 Ease and Comfort) participants had with some employees and shop owners and the social interactions (previously mentioned in chapter 4 Social interactions) between these individuals and participants at certain food places.

Participants expressed feelings of familiarity related to specific food places with their local food environment, after multiple visits, linking well with the work of de Certeau and Giard (2008) and Perkins and Long (2002). This also relates to the work of Putnam (1993), who added to Granovetter (1985), who both argue that social ties between people can help enable social processes at food places to establish a reputation over time, after multiple visits and having become acquainted with those around you. The work of Putnam (1993, 2000) linked to how a close customer base could produce a standard of behaviour, where positive behaviours towards a food place could result in more customer involvement, but negative behaviours or feelings could spread information of wrongdoing. This links to the social connection which is established between the participants and the employees or employers at food places within their local food environment, it creates a community amongst those who act alike and is a shared connection. Another way a connection is created is through participants' use of both informal and formal food traders within their local Khayelitsha community, by using both these retailers' participants create a connection that is expressed through informality within the built food environment of their community. Relating to the food stores availability against participants mobility and fiscal constraints. These type of connections in the 'community' with the context of places where food is bought and consumed, helps to establish the aspects of the local food environment, and contribute to a sense of community (Putnam, 2000).

Another example of a sense of belonging or familiarity with participants and their food environment in Khayelitsha is through the appearance of food places around the neighbourhood. Semenza and March (2009) focus on how the physical properties of a place can help establish its place identity. This relates to how participants became familiar with certain informal traders and the products which they sold, creating a connection. The colours painted along the sides of food stores were a signifier for participants with red or blue easily being linked with bread or milk products or cellular companies, things participants would look to buy from food stores daily. This also links to the work done by Spencer and Velasco (2018) where they argue that there is evidence for connections being made between the use of and preferences of colours and behaviour when buying products.

A sense of alienation is linked to social exclusion or altering and negatively impacting a sense of belonging. According to Manzo (2005), negative experiences which could link to a sense of alienation range from exclusion, loneliness, and abuse, amongst other undesirable experiences at a place. Cresswell (2004) looked at how communities which were defined by certain restrictions, can be made to feel like they do not belong. Participants themselves did not directly express feelings of exclusion within the food environment or interaction within it. However, participants do look for ways to alleviate their mobility and financial constraints through the use of the social capital availed to them. Such practices evidence alienation to certain food sources within the built urban food environment, as participants look to counter their constraints with the availed social capital – therefore pushing against something they have been restricted from. What can also be taken from this based on participants' opinions related to their food environment, is that participants do experience episodes of exclusion or alienation to food within their community. These episodes can be related to things such as the difficulty (costliness) related to getting to supermarkets to buy food, which can be linked to a "spatial marginalisation" (Williams and Hubbard, 2001: 270). This marginalisation would link to the apartheid legacy of South Africa and the associated negative impact this would have on the built physical environment, leaving residents further away from opportunities, such as food purchasing opportunities or job opportunities. Participants walked or countered this constrain--all ten participants did not own a car or have no constant access to private transportation--by using public transportation which would cost a lot of money. This is in part the reasons why participants would buy at formal food places like supermarkets near their

pay weeks when they had more money available for food purchases. This was also usually the period of the month where formal retailers would have sales on products. Participants also alleviated this alienation by shopping at both informal and formal traders. Using informal traders daily, in contrast participants used formal traders significantly less. This also explains why participants did not speak about alienation and exclusion as they had developed strategies that lessened some of the negative aspects of the associated challenges related to food acquisition. It also highlights the informality present in urban South African residential environments, as expressed by Young and Crush (2019), where local urban residents in African settings' daily lives feature the movement and navigation of urban settings which have both informal and formal food sources.

5.3. Conclusion and Summary

This chapter presented a brief discussion on 'sense of place' in relation to participants' interactions with their local food environment in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. The discussion focussed on how interactions between participants and their food environment created a sense of place, through a sense of agency, and a sense of belonging and alienation. The following chapter is the concluding chapter of this study bringing together and highlighting the main points of the research.

Chapter 6: Meaning making through food and place

6.1. Introduction

This study explored meanings of place and sense of place in connection to participants' interactions with their food environments. Three objectives guided this assessment: (1) to explore the relational meanings that are rooted within participants' interactions with the food places routinely visited, (2) to explore the role of food acquisition in shaping participants' sense of place, and (3) to explore the relationship between food places and sense of place amongst participants. The study adopted a qualitative research methodological approach using the constructivist grounded theory approach. The qualitative methods used were a photovoice activity with an accompanying semi-structured photo-elicitation interview. These methods allowed for an in-depth exploration of the meanings that participants associated with their food environment concerning both place and sense of place through their interactions with said food environment. Overall, the study sought to fill the research gap in understanding the relationship between place, sense of place and the food environments related to the meanings people attach to these within their local food environment of Khayelitsha, Cape Town. This concluding chapter summarizes the findings related to the research objectives and research findings.

6.2. Research objectives: Summary of findings

Important findings emerged from the analysis of the photovoice activity and the accompanying semi–structured photo-elicitation interviews relating to the food environment, place, and sense of place. Importantly the findings of the study derive from a particular sample of participants (10 people) from Khayelitsha, Cape Town an area with informal and formal food places. The participants in the study are all females and Black Africans. The findings of this study are not necessarily applicable to other population groups, the findings represent an exploratory analysis.

Firstly, the relational meanings were entrenched within individuals' interactions with the food places routinely visited were linked to how participants spoke about the significance of these places for themselves and their food procurement. Participants quoted positive feelings related to the familiarity of certain food places, linked to their ease or comfort. Here, ease or comfort was associated with due to the positive feelings and thoughts participants associated

with these places, such as enjoyment and/or safety. These places became familiar to participants through multiple visits, highlighting those personal meanings were rooted within participants' interactions with these regularly frequented food places. Another example is the social interactions that participants experienced and took part in at these food places. These interactions focussed on the relationships that participants had with shop owners or employees at certain food places. These relationships tie consumers more intimately to the environments of the food places they regularly visit to buy food. Another area which highlighted the relational meanings related to participants' interactions with the food places they routinely visited, was the recognition of the importance of branding and image. Individuals could simply look at the colours and figures painted on the walls of stores which helped participants to identify stores and the products sold there, they were familiar with these food places and could recognize the products sold there The colours and figures together build a sense of familiarity, reminding participants of products due to the colours and figures which represented products which participants were familiar with. These were related to a larger sense of place that reflects a sense of belonging.

There were also spatial elements related to the relational meanings which were entrenched within individuals' interactions with the food places they routinely visited, such as walkability and the routine nature of buying food especially when travelling. Related to walkability is proximity to food places, which has spatial meaning. Participants expressed the proximity of a food place being nearby, or close as a good thing, and as an issue when it was out of their way with only a costly public transport system or walking as their mobility options to buy food, as none of the participants posed their private transportation, proximally participants purchased food from informal traders such as spaza shops. Therefore, exploring the relational meanings that were entrenched within individuals' interactions with routinely visited food places has revealed important points concerning social and personal attitudes to food places linked to the spatiality of buying food in Khayelitsha, showing participants' agency. It also showed good support for informal food places and traders within the community, through the social capital made available and used within the community. Participants did speak about the social aspects and dimensions of their food environment related to the importance of informal food retailers within their community and the role that they play in food procurement.

The second objective, to explore the role of food acquisition in shaping participants' sense of place, can be seen through participants expressing their sense of place, with food place, as a sense of place defined their general understandings or interactions with food places, in Khayelitsha. When analysing the data provided by participants through the photovoice activity and semi-structured photo elicitation interview information on food places produced distinct aspects of a sense of place related to food acquisition. Here, I expanded on this through a sense of belonging and a sense of agency. Both these concepts have been well documented in the literature on the sense of place (Sack, 1992; Putnam, 1993; Cresswell, 2004; Putnam, 2000; Manzo, 2005). These concepts were rebounded in this thesis concerning food. A clear sense of agency was present, which shaped participants' sense of place, through food acquisition. Participants looked at different ways to acquire food to meet food needs, they bought food from both formal and informal sources, used the social capital made available to them, pooled together food resources, planned out food purchasing trips and bought in bulk near their pay weeks, they made use of credit systems at informal traders, showing how participants proactively and purposefully went about acquiring food, this was done to achieve a certain level of control over their food environment to alleviate possible food shocks.

The third objective was to explore the relationship between food places and sense of place amongst participants, links to participants' sense of belonging and sense of alienation which I deduced from participants' contributions using the constructivist grounded theory (CGT). As discussed in Chapter 5, a sense of belonging is an indicator of a sense of place (Caspi et al., 2012; Desjardins, 2010), this was consistent with the experiences of participants. Participants' experiences formed the foundation of a sense of belonging within a place. Food purchasing at food places is related to a sense of community. Participants shared how their experiences, at food places, help shape their sense of belonging within the food environment. Interactions between participants and food traders suggested a broader understanding of the sense of belonging through an accumulation of visits or experiences at a certain food place, which can be seen by the familiarity participants had with employees and shop owners and the social interactions between these individuals and participants at certain food places. Relationships between food places and sense of place were also expressed through informality within the built food environment and the proximal food sources which participants accessed. By making

use of both formal and informal food places participants created a connection that is expressed through informality within the built food environment of their community, relating to the availability of food places, this relationship continues to exist regardless of participants' mobility and fiscal constraints. These type of connections in the 'community' with the context of food places, helps to establish aspects of the local food environment, as a place where participants navigate through both informal and formal food places whenever it suits them best.

Related to the third objective of this study, participants do experience negative relationships between food places and their sense of place as a result of feelings of exclusion. However, in relation to participants' mobility and financial constraints when acquiring food, participants apply strategies to alleviate such challenges through the social capital availed to them. Then it can be deduced that participants do experience occurrences of exclusion or alienation to food places within their community. These incidents can be things like the difficulty (costliness) related to getting to supermarkets to buy food, which can be linked to "spatial marginalisation" (Williams and Hubbard, 2001: 270). As previously mentioned in Chapter 5, this marginalisation would link to the apartheid legacy of South Africa and the related impact this would have on the built physical environment, leaving residents further away from opportunities. Participants also alleviated this alienation by shopping at both informal and formal traders, using informal traders daily whereas they used formal traders significantly less. This may also explain why participants did not speak about alienation or exclusion as they had developed strategies that lessened some of the negative aspects of the associated challenges related to food acquisition. A sense of alienation is linked to social exclusion impacting a sense of belonging, and therefore negatively impacting participants' sense of place.

6.3. Placing food

From a broad perspective, the findings of this study have implications for understanding the food environment, place, and sense of place in urban areas within Khayelitsha, Cape Town, South Africa. This research presents a contribution to the understanding of how people relate to place and the connected sense of place within a food environment in a South African township and for the urban poor in previously disadvantaged communities, which still

struggle with food access today. As highlighted within the summary, the results of this study show participants related to their proximal food environment in a variety of ways.

One of the concluding takeaways from the study is the importance of informality in food purchasing for participants in the previously disadvantaged community of Khayelitsha, Cape Town, South Africa. Informality is visible throughout South Africa's urban built environment, examples of informality in the urban built environment can be spaza shops and home shops located within urban areas, they can be fruit and vegetable stalls located next to shopping centers, amongst other examples. How people relate to these places or areas and interact with them is unique. Participants showcased their movement from the informal trader to the formal trader was through the separation of planned purchases for the end of the month, the use of food sources both proximal and distant to their homes, planning and making food buying lists based on their finances available--therefore shopping at the nearby informal traders or the formal traders on weekends or close to the pay week. These highlighted how participants navigate and influence the present food environment with purposeful mapped-out engagement that participants assumed to alleviate food security risks and meet food needs. This also links to participants' use of social relationships as a beneficial practice related to food risk avoidance and food survival strategies, displaying how resourceful urban residents can be when mitigating food challenges.

The use of advertisements is a sign of informality concerning how people relate to the urban retail food environment. Informal urban traders (usually spaza shops or home shops) advertise on a small scale to those who walk past or live near these stores as they have high penetration in residential areas the penetration of these informal traders is much higher than the penetration of supermarkets (Battersby, 2013). The scale of advertisement of the larger urban retailers, such as supermarkets, is at a large scale and appears in newspapers, and television commercials, amongst other advertisements, they then keep the same products in their stores. The informal urban traders just like the formal urban traders, both advertise but at different scales looking to influence consumers' purchasing behavior and how they relate to their food environment. However, informal urban retailers look to use distinct colours to advertise their stores to proximal residents.

One of the ways participants and the present informality with food places cross each other is through participants' use of public transportation versus their lack of access to private

transportation. This, in part, is related to the segregated history of South Africa. These opportunities were related to the built physical structure of urban areas and not only jobs. Community resources within the urban built environment like large shopping malls, was kept away from the urban poor, resources such as jobs, better service delivery, and better more accessible public transportation, amongst other community resources. But the modern supermarketisation is changing this. Supermarkets offer a large variety of food sources for participants, however getting access to these food sources is exceedingly difficult. Due to supermarkets' central location usually away from residential homes, resulting in residents walking, only taking public transportation during certain days of the month, and trying to find ways to get access to private transportation. Supermarkets do not always serve communities well and are therefore one of the reasons participants looked to have combined purchasing patterns between the formal and informal food sources in their local community, linking to informality within the physical environment, food places proximal to participants and informality with how participants buy food. Showing the normality of informality in the daily lives of participants when attempting to access food. Informality is also present in the food survival or food coping strategies that participants employed to access food. The pooling of food resources and the use of informal credit systems availed at informal traders, spaza shops or home shops were examples of informality related to meeting food security needs during risk periods of the month. Participants expressed the importance Informal traders in this study, as food places help to navigate the informal to formal food trader divide, through being a mitigation strategy; as these informal traders are frequently used, provide credit to help with food access, and proximal to participants homes only a walking distance away. Informal traders serve the community at large as important food places within the urban area of Khayelitsha, Cape Town, South Africa.

Food is both consumed and bought at places - giving meaning to those places. As a result, food connects people theoretically to places even when those places are far away. In this way, connections to place can give meaning to food. Similarly, the experience of buying and eating food in the community contributes to a sense of place. Therefore, the place of food in Khayelitsha, Cape Town according to the results of this study is a combination of informal and formal food stores frequented by participants making use of social capital, developing positive relationships with those they know, walkability and making use of public transportation, and

monthly sales at the larger food stores in combination with the daily frequents of smaller informal food stores with high importance to food procurement for participants.

References

Agnew, J. (1987). *Place and Politics: the geographical mediation of state and society*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Agnew, J. (2007). Remaking Italy: place configurations and electoral politics under the Second Republic**.** *Modern Italy*, 12, 17-38.

Ahmad, E. (1991). Social Security and the Poor: Choices for Developing Countries. *The World Bank Research Observer*, 6 (1): 105-127.

Allen, R. & Wiles, J. (2016). A rose by any other name: Participants choosing research pseudonyms. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 13(2), 149–165.

Alwitt, L. & Donley, T. (1997). Retail stores in poor urban neighbourhoods. *The Journal of Consumer Affairs*, 31, 139-164.

Altman, I. & Low, S. eds. (1992). *Place Attachment*. New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Anderson-Steeves, E. Martins, & P. Gittelsohn, J. (2014). Changing the food environment for obesity prevention: Key gaps and future directions*. Current Obesity Rep.* 2014;3(4):451–458.

Ardoin, N. (2006). Toward an interdisciplinary understanding of place: Lessons for environmental education. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*, 11, 112-126.

Ardoin, N. (2009). *Sense of place and environmental behaviour at an ecoregional scale*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest.

Ardoin, N. Schuh, J. & Gould, R. (2012). *Exploring the dimensions of place: a confirmatory factor analysis of data from three ecoregional sites*. Environmental Education Research, 18(5), 583–607

Ballard, R. (2004). When in Rome: Claiming the right to define neighbourhood character in South Africa's suburbs. *Transformation,* 57: 64-87.

Babbie, E. & Mouton, J. 2008. *The practice of social research* (South African ed.). Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Battersby, J. (2012). Beyond the food desert: Finding ways to speak about urban food security in South Africa. Geografiska Annaler, Series B: *Human Geography,* 94, 141–159.

Battersby, J. (2011). Urban food insecurity in Cape Town, South Africa: An alternative approach to food access. *Development Southern Africa*, 28, 545–561.

Battersby, J. (2011). The State of Urban Food Insecurity in Cape Town. Urban Food Security Series No. 11. Queen's University and AFSUN: Kingston and Cape Town. Available, Accessed 13 April 2022. Online source: http://queensu.ca/samp/afsun/files/AFSUN_11.pdf

Battersby, J. (2013). Urban agriculture and race in South Africa, in Slocum, R. & Saldanha, A. (eds.) Geographies of Race and Food: Fields, Bodies and Markets, Ashgate Press, Farnham, pp. 117-136.

Battersby, J. (2013). Hungry Cities: A critical review of urban food security research in sub-Saharan Africa, *Geography Compass,* 7(7): 452-463.

Battersby, J. (2017). Food System transformation in the Absence of Food System Planning: The Case of Supermarket and Shopping Mall Retail Expansion in Cape Town, South Africa. Built Environment 43 (3): 417 – 430.

Battersby, J., Marshak, M., & Mngqibisa, N. (2016). Mapping the invisible: The informal food economy of Cape Town, South Africa. In J. Crush (Ed.), Cape Town: African food security urban network. *Urban food security series*, 24.

Battersby, J. & McLachlan, M. (2013). Urban food insecurity: A neglected public health challenge. *South African Medical Journal*;103 (10): 716-717.

Battersby, J. & Marshak, M. (2013). Growing communities: Integrating the social and economic benefits of urban agriculture in Cape Town, *Urban Forum*

Battersby, J. & Peyton, S. (2014). The geography of supermarkets in Cape Town: Supermarket expansion and food access. *Urban Forum,* 25: 153–164.

Battersby, J. Peyton, S. & Moseley, W. (2015). Implications of supermarket expansion on urban food security in Cape Town, South Africa. *African Geographical Review,* 34(1): 36–54.

Bhandari, P. (2020). An introduction to quantitative research. Accessed 13 April 2022. Online source: https://www.scribbr.com/methodology/quantitative-research/

Boddy, C. (2016). Sample size for qualitative research. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal,* 19(4): 426-432.

Brear, M. (2018). Swazi co-researcher participants' dynamic preferences and motivations for representation with real names and (English-language) pseudonyms: An ethnography. Qualitative Research, 18(6): 722–740.

Burns, M. Bally, J. Burles, M. Holtslander, L. & Peacock, P. (2022). Constructivist Grounded Theory or Interpretive Phenomenology? Methodological Choices Within Specific Study Contexts. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 21: 1–13.

Casey, E. (1997). The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Caspi, C., Sorensen, G., Subramanian, S. Kawachi, I. (2012). The local food environment and diet: a systematic review. *Health & Place*, 18(5): 1172-1187.

Cannuscio, C. Weiss, E. & Asch, D. (2010). The contribution of urban foodways to health disparities. *Journal of Urban Health*, 87 (3): 381-393.

Charmaz, K. (2017). Constructivist grounded theory. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 12(3), 299–300.

Charmaz, K. & Bryant, A. (2010). Grounded theory. In P. Peterson, E. Baker, & B. McGaw (Eds), *International Encyclopaedia of Education*, 3: 406–412

Chen, X. & Kwan, M. (2015). Contextual uncertainties, human mobility, and perceived food environment: The uncertain geographic context problem in food access research. American Journal of Public Heath, 105 (9): 1734 – 1737.

City of Cape Town. (2013). Informal Trading Policy, no. 12664. Accessed 5 August 2023. Online source: https://www.capetown.gov.za/en/Policies/All%20Policies/Informal%20Trading,%232022%20-%20approved%20on%2026%20September%202013.pdf.

Claval, P. & Entrikin, J. (2004). Cultural geography: place and landscape between continuity and change. In Benko, G. and Strohmayer, U., (eds), *Human geography: a history for the 21st century*, London: Arnold, 25-46.

Cobb, L. Appel, L. Franco, M. Jones-Smith, JC. Nur, A. & Anderson, C. (2011). The relationship of the local food environment with obesity: A systematic review of methods, study quality, and results. *Obesity,* 23(7): 1331-1344.

Competition Commission of South Africa. (2019). Completion Act: Completion of the Grocery Retail Market inquiry. Accessed 22 August 2023. Online source: https://www.gov.za/documents/competition-act-completion-grocery-retail-market-inquiry-28-nov-2019-0000

Cook, I. & Crang, P. (1996). The world on a plate: culinary culture, displacement, and geographical knowledges. *Journal of Material Culture*, 1(2), 131-153.

Cresswell, T. (2004). *Place: A short introduction*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing

Cresswell, T. (2008). Place: encountering geography as philosophy. *Geography,* 93(3), 132-139.

Crush, J. & Frayne, B (2010). The invisible crisis: Urban food security in Southern Africa. Urban Food Security Series No. 1. African Food Security Urban Network. Accessed 28 February 2021. Online source: www.afsun.org

Crush, J. & Frayne, B. (2011). Supermarket expansion and the informal food economy in Southern African cities: implications for urban food security. *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 37(4):781-807.

Crush, J. & Young, G. (2019) Resituating Africa's urban informal food sector. *Urban Forum*, 30(4), 377-384.

Dangerfield, F. Ball, K. Dickson-Swift. V. & Thornton, L. (2021). Understanding regional food environments: A qualitative exploration of food purchasing behaviour. *Health and Place* (71).

de Certeau, M. & Giard, L. (2008). The Nourishing Arts. In C. Counihan & P. Van Esterik (Eds.), Food and Culture New York and London: Routledge. 67-77.

Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (2011). The SAGE handbook of qualitative research: London; Institute of Research. Sage.

Desjardins, E. (2010). "Place and Food: A Relational Analysis of Personal Food Environments, Meanings of Place and Diet Quality" (2010). Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive).

D'Haese, M. & Huylenbroeck, G. van. (2005). The rise of supermarkets and changing expenditure patterns of poor rural households' case study in the Transkei area, South Africa, *Food Policy*, 30: 97–113.

Droseltis, O., & Vignoles, V. L. (2010). Towards an integrative model of place identification: Dimensionality and predictors of intrapersonal-level place preferences. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 30*, 23–34.

Dyck, I. & Kearns, R. A. (2006). Structuration theory: agency, structure, and everyday life. In S. Aitken & G. Valentine (Eds.), Approaches to Human Geography (86-97). London: Sage Publications

Engler-Stringer, R. Le, H. Gerrard, A. & Muhajarine, N. (2014). The community and consumer food environment and children's diet: a systematic review. *Public Health* 14, 522.

Farragher, R., & Coogan, D. (2018). Constructivist grounded theory: Recognizing and raising the voice of young people with experience of care systems. Child Care in Practice, 1-12.

FAO. (2016), FAO Manual on Risk Based Imported Food Control, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome. Accessed 20 August 2023. Online resource: www.fao.org/3/a-i5381e.pdf .

Feagan, R. (2007). The place of food: Mapping out the 'local' in local food systems. *Progress in Human Geography,* 31 (1), 23-42.

Feng, J. Glass, T. Curriero, F. Stewart, W. & Schwartz, B. (2010). The built environment and obesity: A systematic review of the epidemiologic evidence. *Health and Place,* 16 (2): 175-190.

Fonte, M. (2008). Knowledge, food, and place. A way of producing, a way of knowing. *Sociologia Ruralis,* 48 (3): 200-222.

Giddens, A. (1984). The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. Accessed 12 August 2021. Online source: http://www.brynmawr.edu/socialwork/GSSW/schram/Giddens.pdf

Gidlöf, K. Anikin, A. Lingonblad, M. & Wallin, A. (2017). Looking is buying. How visual attention and choice are affected by consumer preferences and properties of the supermarket shelf, *Appetite*, 116, 29-38.

Gittelsohn, J. Franceschini, M. & Rasooly, I. (2007). Understanding the food environment in a low-income urban setting: implications for food store interventions. *Journal of Hunger and Environmental Nutrition,* 2(2): 33–50.

Glanz, K. Bader, M. & Iyer, S. (2012). Retail Grocery Store Marketing Strategies and Obesity. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 42(5), 503–512.

Glanz, K. Sallis, J. Saelens, B. & Frank, L. (2007). Healthy nutrition environments: Concepts and measures. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 19(5): 330

Goodman, D. (2009). Place and space in alternative food networks: Connecting production and consultation. Environment, politics, and development working paper series, Department of Geography, King's College, London (21), 1–36.

Granovetter, M. (1985). Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology*, 91 (3): 481-510.

Guba, E. & Lincoln, Y. (1994). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N.K. Denzin & Y. S Lincoln (eds). The Sage handbook of Qualitative Research: Sage Publications.

Gustafson, A. Hankins, S. & Jilcott, S. (2012). Measures of the consumer food store environment: a systematic review of the evidence 2000–2011. *Journal of Community Health*, 37(4): 897-911.

Hawkes, C. (2009). Identifying innovative interventions to promote healthy eating using consumption-oriented food supply chain analysis. *Journal of Hunger and Environmental Nutrition,* 4: 336–356

Hawkes, C. T. G. Smith, J. Jewell, J. Wardle, R. A. Hammond, S. Friel, A. M. Thow & J. Kain (2015). "Smart food policies for obesity prevention." *The Lancet,* 385 (9985): 2410-2421.

Hubbard, P. Kitchin, R. Bartley, B. & Fuller, D. (2002). Thinking geographically: space, theory and contemporary human geography. London/New York: Continuum Books, *Political Geography,* 23: 804–806.

Humphrey, J. (2007). The supermarket revolution in developing countries: Tidal wave or tough competitive struggle? *Journal of Economic Geography*, 7, 433–450

Igumbor, E. D. Sanders, T. Puoane, L. Tsolekile et al. (2012). "“Big Food,” the Consumer Food Environment, Health, and the Policy Response in South Africa." PLoS Med 9(7)

Jorgensen, B. S. & Stedman, R. C. (2001). Sense of Place as an attitude: Lakeshore owners' attitudes toward their properties. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21(3), 233–248.

Lang, T. Barling, D. & Caraher, M. (2009) Food Policy: Integrating health, environment and society. Oxford Academic. Accessed 8 October 2023. Online resource: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198567882.001.0001

Larson, N. & Story, M. (2009). A review of environmental influences on food choices. *Annals of Behavioural Medicine*, 38 (1): 56-73.

Lockie, S. (2001). Food, place, and identity: Consuming Australia's 'Beef Capital'. *Journal of Sociology*, 37(3), 239-255.

Lockyer, S. (2004*). Coding Qualitative Data*. The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods, 138-139.

Mansvelt, J. (2008). Geographies of consumption: The unmanageable consumer? *Progress in Human Geography,* 33: 264-274.

Manzo, L. (2014). Exploring the shadow side: Place attachment in the context of stigma, displacement, and social housing. In L. C. Manzo & P. Devine-Wright (Eds.), Place attachment: Advances in theory, methods, and application (178-190). New York, NY: Routledge.

Manzo, L. (2005). For better or worse: exploring multiple dimensions of place meaning. *Journal of environmental psychology*, 25 (1): 67-87

Manzo, L., & Devine-Wright, P. (Eds.) (2014). *Place attachment: Advances in theory, methods and applications*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Martins, P. Cremm, E. Leite, F. Maron, L. Scagliusi, F. & Oliveira, M. (2013). Validation of an Adapted Version of the Nutrition Environment Measurement Tool for Stores (NEMS-S) in an Urban Area of Brazil. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behaviour*, 45, 785–792.

Massey, D. (1997). *A Global Sense of Place*. In T. Barnes & D. Gregory (Eds.), Reading Human Geography (315-323). London: Arnold.

Massey, D. (2005). *For Space*. London: Sage Publications.

MasterClass. (2021). What is Inductive Reasoning? Learn the Definition of Inductive Reasoning with examples, plus, 6 types of inductive reasoning Accessed 10 December 2020. Online source: https://www.masterclass.com/articles/what-is-inductive-reasoning.

Merriam–Webster. (2023). Routine. Accessed 20 January 2023. Online source: https://www.meriam-webster.com/dictionary/routines.

Minaker, L. Shuh, A. Olstad, D. Engler-Stringer, R. Black, J. & Mah, C. (2016). Retail food environments research in Canada: A scoping review. Can J Public Health. 107: S4-S13.

Moore, L. & Diez Roux, A. (2006). Associations of Neighbourhood Characteristics with the location and type of food stores. *American Journal of Public Health*, 96 (2): 325-331.

Moser, C. (1997). Reassessing urban poverty reduction strategies: The asset vulnerability framework. *World Development,* 26 (1): 1-1.

Nqadini, M. (2000*). Development Challenges in Khayelitsha: An Analysis of Related Issues*. Unpublished MAdmin. Stellenbosch University.

O' Neill, A. (2022). *Urbanisation in South Africa 2022*. South Africa: Urbanisation from 2012 to 2022. Accessed 28 February 2024. Online source: https://www.statista.com/statistics/455931/urbanization-in-south-africa/

Penney, T. Almiron-Roig, E. Shearer, C. Mcisaac, J. & Kirk, S. (2014). Modifying the food environment for childhood obesity prevention: challenges and opportunities. *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society,* 73, 226–236.

Perkins, D. & Long, D. (2002). Neighbourhood sense of community and social capital: A multi-level analysis. In A. Fischer, C. Sonn, & B. Bishop (Eds.), Psychological sense of community: Research, applications, and implications (291–318). New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Pieterse, E. (2011). Grasping the unknowable: coming to grips with African urbanisms. *Social Dynamics,* 37(1): 5–23.

Polese, A. Kovács, B. & Jancsics, D. (2018). "Informality 'In Spite of' or 'Beyond' the State: Some Evidence from Hungary and Romania." European Societies 20 (2): 207–235.

Popkin, B. (2006). Technology, transport, globalization, and the nutrition transition food policy. *Food Policy*, 31(6): 554-569.

Popkin, B., Adair, L. & NG, S. (2012). Global nutrition transition and the pandemic of obesity in developing countries*. Nutrition Reviews,* 70 (1): 3-21.

Popkin, B. & Gordon-Larsen, P. (2004). The nutrition transition: worldwide obesity dynamics and their determinants. *International journal of obesity,* 28 (3): S2-S9.

Putnam, R. (1993). The Prosperous Community; Social Capital and Public Life. *The American Prospect,* 4(13): 35.

Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling Alone.* New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks.

Reardon, T. Tschirley, D. Liverpool-Tasie, L. Awokuse, T. Fanzo, J. Minten, B. Vos, R. Dolislager, M. Sauer, C. Dhar, R. & Vargas, C. (2021). The processed food revolution in African food systems and the double burden of malnutrition. *Global Food Security*.

Reardon, T. Timmer, C. Barrett, C. & Berdegue, J. (2003). The rise of supermarkets in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, Vol. 85 (5): 1140-1146.

Relph, E. (1976). *Place and placelessnes*. London: Pion.

Riley. K. (2017). Place, belonging and school leadership: Researching to make the difference. London: Bloomsbury

Rogerson, C. (2003). Towards 'pro-poor' urban development in South Africa: the case for urban agriculture. *Acta Academica,* 1: 130-158.

Ronquest-Ross, L. Vink, N. & Sigge, G. (2015). Food consumption changes in South Africa since 1994. *South African Journal of Science,* (9) 111.

RSA. (2014). The national policy of food and nutrition security for the Republic of South Africa. Government Gazette, August 22, No. 37915. Accessed 5 June 2023. Online source: http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/37915_gon637.pdf

Scannell, L. & Gifford, R. (2010). Defining place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 30, 1–10.

Semken, S. & Butler Freeman, C. (2008). Sense of place in the practice and assessment of place-based science teaching. *Science Education,* 92, 1042-1057.

Senekal, M. Steyn, N., & Nel, J. (2003). Factors associated with overweight/obesity in economically active South African populations. *Ethnicity & Disease.* 13(1), 109–116.

Shisana, O. Labadarios, D. Rehle, T. Simbayi, L. Zuma, K. Dhansay, A. Reddy, P. Parker, W. Hoosain, E. Naidoo, P. et al. (2014). South African National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (SANHANES-1), HSRC Press; Cape Town, South Africa.

Shumaker, S. & R. Taylor. (1983). *Toward a Clarification of People Place Relationships: A Model of Attachment to Place. In Environmental Psychology: Directions and Perspectives*, edited by N. R. Feimer and E. S. Geller, 219–251. New York, NY: Praeger.

Sikhula-Sonke. (2022). About Khayelitsha – Sikhula Sonke Early Childhood Development. [Online]. Accessed 5 June 2022. Online source: https://www.sikulasonke.org.za/about-khayelitsha.html.

Sinclair-Smith, K. &Turok, I. (2012). The changing spatial economy of cities: An exploratory analysis of Cape Town. Development South Africa. 29, 391–417.

Skinner, C. (2018). *Contributing and yet excluded? Informal food retail in African cities*. In J. Battersby & V. Watson (Eds.), Urban food systems governance and poverty in African cities (104–115). London: Routledge.

Skinner, C. & Haysom, G. (2016). The Informal Sector' Role in Food Security: A Missing Link in Policy Debates? Working Paper, Cape Town. Accessed 5 June 2022. Online source: https://www.africaportal.org/documents/16322/WP44_SkinnerHaysom.pdf

Smit, W. Lannay, A. Dover, R. Lambert, E. Levitt, N. & Watson, V. (2016). Making unhealthy places: The built environment and non-communicable diseases in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. *Health & Place.* 39, 196–203.

Soul, M. E. (1988). *Mind in the biosphere; Mind of the biosphere*. In: E. O. Wilson (Ed.), Biodiversity (465-469). Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Spence, C. & Velasco, C. (2018), On the multiple effects of packaging colour on consumer behaviour and product experience in the 'food and beverage' and 'home and personal care' categories, *Food Quality and Preference,* 68, 226-237.

Statistics of South Africa. (2011). City of Cape Town – 2011 Census Suburb Khayelitsha. Accessed 5 June 2022. Online source: https://resource.capetown.gov.za/documentcentre/Documents/Maps%20and%20statistics/2011_Census_CT_Suburb_Khayelitsha_Profile.pdf

Stedman, R. C. (2007). Toward a social psychology of place: Predicting behaviour from place-based cognitions, attitude, and identity. *Environment and Behaviour,* 34(5), 561-581.

Stedman, R. (2001). Is it Really Just a Social Construction? The Contribution of the Physical Environment to Sense of Place. *Society and Natural Resources,* 16 (8): 671–685.

Steyn, N, & Mchiza, Z. (2014). Obesity and the nutrition transition in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Annals of the New York academy of sciences,* 1311(1): 88-101.

Stokols, D. & Shumaker, S. (1981). People in places. A transactional view of settings. In J. Harvey (ed.), Cognition, social behaviour, and the environment (441–488). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Story, M. Kaphingst, K. Robinson-O'Brien, R. & Glanz, K. (2008). Creating healthy food and eating environments: Policy and environmental approaches. *Annual Review of Public Health* 29, 253–272.

Swanepoel, J. Van Niekerk, J. & D'Haese, L. (2017). The Socio-Economic Profile of Urban Farming and Non-Farming Households in The Informal Settlement Area of The Cape Town Metropole in South Africa. *South African Journal of Agricultural Extension,* 45(1): 131 –140.

Swinburn, B. Sacks, G. Hall, K. McPherson, K. Finegood, D. Moodie, M. & Gortmaker, S. (2011). The global obesity pandemic: shaped by global drivers and local environments. *The Lancet,* 378(9793): 804-14.

Swinburn, B. Sacks, G. Vandevijvere, S. Kumanyika, S. Lobstein, T. Neal, B. Barquera, S. Friel, S. Hawkes, C. Kelly, B. L'abbe, M. Lee, A. Ma, J. Macmullan, J. Mohan, S. Monteiro, C. Rayner, M. Sanders, D. Snowdon, W. & Walker, C. (2013). International network for food

and obesity/non-communicable diseases research, monitoring, and action support: overview and key principles. *INFORMAS. Obesity Review,* 14, 1–12.

Swinburn, B. Egger, G. & Raza, F. (1999. Dissecting Obesogenic Environments: The Development and Application of a Framework for Identifying and Prioritizing Environmental Interventions for Obesity. *Preventive Medicine,* 29(6), 563–570

Swinburn, B. Kraak, V. Allender, S. Atkins, V. Baker, P. Bogard, J. Brinsden, H. Calvillo, A. de Schutter, O. Devarajan, R. Ezzati, M. Friel, S. Goenka, S. et al. (2019). The Global Syndemic of Obesity, Undernutrition, and Climate Change: The Lancet Commission report. *The Lancet*, 393(10173) 791–846.

Tuan, Y. (1974*). Topophilia*: A study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Tuan, Y. (1977). *Space and Place*: The Perspective of Experience. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Turner, C., Aggarwal, A., Walls, H., Herforth, A., Drewnowski, A., Coates, J., Kalamatianou, S., & Kadiyala, S. (2018). Concepts and critical perspectives for food environment research: A global framework with implications for action in low- and middle-income countries. *Global Food Security*, 18: 93–101.

Turner, C. Kadiyala, S. Aggarwal, A. Coates, J. Drewnowski, A. Hawkes, C. Herforth, A. Kalamatianou, S. & Walls, H. (2017). Concepts and Methods for Food Environment Research in Low and Middle-Income Countries, 1 ed. *Agriculture, Nutrition and Health Academy Food Environment Working Group* (ANH-FEWG), London, UK.

Turner, C. Kalamatianou, S. Drewnowski, A. Kulkarni, B. Kinra, S. & Kadiyala, S. (2020). Food Environment Research in Low- and Middle-Income Countries: A Systematic Scoping Review. *Advances in Nutrition*. 11(2): 387-397.

Turok, I. & Borel-Saladin, J. (2014). Is urbanisation in South Africa on a sustainable trajectory? *Development South Africa*. 2014, 31, 675–691.

Tustin, D. & Strydom, J. (2006). The potential impact of formal retail chains' expansion strategies on retail township development in South Africa. *Southern African Business Review*, Vol. 10 (3): 48-62.

United Nations General Assembly. (2015). Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, A/RES/70/1. Accessed 5 June 2022. Online source: https://www.refworld.org/docid/57b6e3e44.html.

van der Berg, S., Patel, L., & Bridgman, G. (2022). Food insecurity in South Africa: Evidence from NIDS-CRAM wave 5. *Development Southern Africa*, 1-16.

Viljoen, A. (2009). The meaning of the food practices of the peoples of Mmotla, near Pretoria, South Africa: a socio-cultural and socio-psychological approach, PhD thesis, University of Pretoria, Pretoria. Accessed 25 July 2022. Online source: http://upetd.up.ac.za/thesis/available/etd-10072010-132255.

Wang, J. & Burris, M. (2006). Background to PhotoVoice and participatory Photography. A statement of Ethical Practice: Sage.

Wang C, & Burris M. Empowerment through photo novella: Portraits of participation. *Health Education Quarterly*. 1994 (21): 171–181

Wang. C. & Burris, M. (1997). Photovoice: Concept, methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment. *Health Education and Behaviour*. 24: 369–387.

Wegerif, M. & Hebinck, P. (2016). The symbiotic food system: An 'Alternative' Agri-food system already working at scale. *Agriculture*, 6(3), 40.

Willemse, L. & Donaldson, R. (2012). Community Neighbourhood Park (CNP) Use in Cape Town's Townships. *Urban Forum*, 23(2), 221–231.

Williams, P. & Hubbard, P. (2001). Who is disadvantaged? Retail change and social exclusion. *The International Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research*. 11(3):267-286

Williams, L. Thornton, L. Ball, K. & Crawford, D. (2011). Is the objective food environment associated with perceptions of the food environment? *Public health and nutrition*, 15(2): 291.

Withers, C. (2009). Place and the "Spatial Turn" in Geography and in History. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 70(4), 637–658.

Yan, R. Bastian, N. & Griffin, P. (2015). Association of food environment and food retailers with obesity in US adults. *Health & Place*, 33:19-24.

Zhong, T. Si, Z. Crush, J. Scott, S. & Huang, X. (2019). Achieving urban food security through a hybrid public-private food provisioning system: The case of Nanjing, China. *Food Security*, 11(5), 1071–1086.

Appendices

Appendix A: Ethical Clearance Letter

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

60 YEARS of hope, action & knowledge

27 March 2020

Mr H Rhodes
Geography, Environmental Studies and Tourism
Faculty of Arts

Ethics Reference Number: HS20/1/2

Project Title: The place of food: A relational analysis of the food environment and sense of place in Khayelitsha.

Approval Period: 21 February 2020 – 21 February 2023

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval.

Please remember to submit an annual progress report by 30 November each year for the duration of the project.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of the study.

Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape

Director: Research Development
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X 17
Bellville 7535
Republic of South Africa
Tel: +27 21 959 4111
Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

NHREC Registration Number: HSSREC-130416-049

FROM HOPE TO ACTION THROUGH KNOWLEDGE.

Appendix B: Research Information Sheets

English research information sheet

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Faculty of Arts

Research Information Sheet

Project Title: *The place of food: A relational analysis of the food environment and sense of place in Khayelitsha*

Description of study: The purpose of this study is to understand what people experience at places in their food environment, and how these individuals express a 'sense of place' through their shared interactions with, and their understanding, of the food places they visit. This study looks to gain insight into the lived experience of residents within their food environment. This interest stems from the fact that there is a limited understanding between the understanding of place, the food environment and 'sense of place'. This study follows a mixed – method approach, and is based on Photovoice and surveyed data collected on a sample of residents from Khayelitsha, a low income community in the Cape Flats in Cape Town, South Africa. The surveyed data is extracted from the "Researching the obesogenic food environment, its drivers and potential policy levers in South Africa and Ghana" (BM17/8/20) project. The photovoice study will focus on about 10 adult residents of Khayelitsha. The aim of this study is to explore people's meanings of 'place' and 'sense of place' in connection to interactions with their food environments, related to this aim are a number of objectives, namely: to investigate what relational meanings are embedded within individuals' interactions with the food places they routinely visit, to investigate what roles does food play in shaping facets of personal sense of place, to geo-locate all sources of food for the community, including supermarkets, spaza shops, informal food traders, fast food outlets, etc., to investigate whether possible patterns of differences exist amongst the meanings people ascribe to food places and aspects of 'sense of place' with respect to food.

Role of participants: The study will make use of a sample of 10 participants from Khayelitsha drawn from a database of residents in Khayelitsha identified through "Researching the obesogenic food environment, its drivers and potential policy levers in South Africa and Ghana" (BM17/8/20) project conducted by the School of Public Health (SoPH). A purposive sampling technique was used as the interviews will be conducted with those who were already part of the "Researching the obesogenic food environment, its drivers and potential policy levers in South Africa and Ghana" (BM17/8/20) Project. Participants will be asked to provide demographic information so that you can be contacted regarding upcoming meetings. You will be asked to join a meeting with the researcher learn about the methodology of photovoice which involves using a camera to collect photographs that reflect the ideas that you would like to convey about the food environment you live in. Approximately 3 meetings will take place within a time period of 3 months and each session will last between thirty minutes to two hours. You will be will be asked, during a time frame of one -two weeks, to take photographs that reflect the ideas and issues that you would like to convey about the food environment of Khayelitsha. With those photographs as reference, you will be asked to write narratives describing the photographs. Your participation will help to generate knowledge about the relationship between place, the food environment and 'sense of place'. With your permission, your voice will be recorded during the meetings. The recording will be done to make sure that we accurately record and interpret your views. If you do not wish your voice to be recorded, please let the researcher know and your responses will be write down on paper instead.

Confidentiality and protection of participants: In order to ensure and protect anonymity of the participants, the name and surname of participants will be changed upon request and pseudonyms will be used in all my research findings, oral presentations, the final submitted dissertation and any subsequent

Acting Dean: Prof L Clowes, lclowes@uwc.ac.za
Faculty Manager: Dr S Mcwatts, smcwatts@uwc.ac.za
Dean's Administrator: Ms JS Plusk, jplusk@uwc.ac.za
Private Bag X17 Bellville 7535 South Africa
T: +27 (0)21 959 2235 F: +27 (0)21 959 3636
www.uwc.ac.za/arts

publication. All data will be secured digitally in a password-protected drive and/or manually in a locked drawer. All your responses will be stored in password protected folders and will not be made available to anyone except the researcher.

Risk: There are no physical, psychological, social, economic, legal or loss of confidentiality risks attached to the study.

Further questions?
If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact the researcher:

Hilton Rhodes
Department of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism
University of the Western Cape
Cell: 061 742 7214
Email: 3516831@myuwc.ac.za

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant; if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study; or wish to withdraw from the study, please contact the researcher's supervisor:

Dr Bradley Rink
Department of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism
University of the Western Cape
Tel: 021 959 2626
Email: brink@uwc.ac.za

For further information or queries, you may contact the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, Research Development, Tel: 021 959 4111, Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

NB: This information sheet is also available in other languages upon request

Acting Dean: Prof L Clowes, lclowes@uwc.ac.za
Faculty Manager: Dr S Mowatts, smowatts@uwc.ac.za
Dean's Administrator: Ms JS Fluxk, jfluxk@uwc.ac.za
Private Bag X17 Bellville 7535 South Africa
T: +27 (0)21 959 2235 F: +27 (0)21 959 3636
www.uwc.ac.za/arts

IsiZulu research information sheet

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Faculty of Arts

Iphepha lolwazi

Isihloko seProjekthi:

The place of food: A relational analysis of the food environment and sense of place in Khayelitsha

Inkcazo yesifundo:

Injongo yolu phononongo kukuqonda iintsingiselo ezinxulumene noluntu ukuba kutheni abantu befumana indawo kwiindawo zabo zokutya, kunye nendlela aba bantu bayiveza ngayo 'indawo yendawo' ngokunxibelelana kwabo, kunye nokuqonda kwabo, malunga neendawo zokutya abazindwendwelayo. . Olu phononongo lujonge ukufumana ulwazi ngamava aphilayo abahlali ngaphakathi kwendawo yabo yokutya. Inzala ibangelwa sisibakala sokuba kukho ukuqonda okulinganiselweyo phakathi kokuqonda kwendawo, imeko yokutya kunye 'nemeko yendawo'. Olu phando lulandela indlela yeendlela ezixubeneyo, kwaye isekwe kwiPhotovoice kunye nophando oluqokelelweyo oluqokelelweyo kwisampula yabahlali abavela eKhayelitsha, uluntu olunemivuzo ephantsi kwiCape Flats eKapa, eMzantsi Afrika. Idatha evavanyiweyo ithatyathwe kwindawo "Researching the obesogenic food environment, its drivers and potential policy levers in South Africa and Ghana" (BM17 / 8/20) yeprojekthi. Uphononongo lwe-photosvoice luya kugxila kubemi abadala base-Khayelitsha abalishumi. Injongo yolu phononongo kukuphononongo intsingiselo yabantu 'yendawo' kunye 'nendawo yendawo' ngokunxibelelene nokunxibelelana nendawo zabo zokutya, ezinxulumene nale njongo ziinjongo ezininzi, ezizezi: ukuphanda ukuba zeziphi na iintsingiselo zobudlelane ezifakwa ngaphakathi kwabantu Unxibelelwano neendawo zokutya abasoloko bezindwendwela, ukuphanda ukuba zeziphi iindima ezidlalwa kukutya ekubumbeni imbonakalo yendawo, ukufumana indawo yonke imithombo yokutya kuluntu, kubandakanya iivenkile ezinkulu, iivenkile zepaza, abathengisi bokutya okungekho sesikweni, ukutya okukhawulezayo Iindawo ekuthengiswa kuzo, njl. njl. njl .nokuphanda ukuba ingaba iipateni ezinokubakho zomahluko zikhona phakathi kweentsingiselo abantu abazibeka kwiindawo zokutya kunye neniba 'yendawo yendawo' ngokunxulumene nokutya.

Umsebenzi wabathathi-nxaxheba:

Abathathi-nxaxheba baya kucelwa ukuba babanike ulwazi malunga ne-demographic ukuze unxibelelane nabo malunga neentlanganiso ezizayo. Uya kucelwa ukuba ujoyine intlanganiso kunye nomphandi afunde malunga nendlela yefotovoice ebandakanya ukusebenzisa ikhamera ukuqokelela iifoto ezibonisa imibono ongathanda ukuyidlulisela malunga nendawo yokutya ohlala kuyo. Phantse iintlanganiso ezi-3 ziya kwenzeka ngaphakathi ixesha leenyanga ezi-3 kwaye iseshoni nganye iya kuba phakathi kwemizuzu engamashumi amathathu ukuya kwiiyure ezimbini. Uya kucelwa, ngexesha lesithuba seeveki ezimbini, ukuba uthathe iifoto ezibonisa iingcinga kunye nemibandela ongathanda ukuyihambisa malunga nokutya eKhayelitsha. Ngale mifanekiso njengesalathiso, uya kucelwa ukuba ubhale ingxelo echaza iifoto. Uthatho-nxaxheba lwakho kuya kunceda ukuvelisa ulwazi malunga nobudlelwane bendawo, indawo yokutya kunye 'nemeko yendawo'. Ngemvume yakho, ilizwi lakho liya kurekhodwa ngexesha leentlanganiso. Ukurekhoda kuya kwenziwa ukuqinisekisa ukuba sishicilela ngokuchanekileyo kwaye sitolika iimbono zakho. Ukuba awunqweneli ukuba lirekhodwe, nceda wenze umphandi azi kwaye iimpendulo zakho ziya kubhalwa phantsi ephepheni.

Umngcipheko: Umngcipheko onokubakho wokuthatha inxaxheba kule projekthi mncinci- akukho mkhulu kunokuba unokufumana ekuziminiseleni xa uncokola nabanye abahlali. Nayiphi na imingcipheko enokubakho iya kuncitshiswa ngokusetyenziswa kwe-pseudonyms kunye nokukhuselwa kwedatha yophando.

Ubumfihlo kunye nokukhuselwa kwabathathi-nxaxheba: Impendulo zakho ziya kusetyenziselwa injongo yolu phando kwaye ulwazi lwakho aluyi kuthunyelwa. Lonke ulwazi oluqokelelweyo aluyi kubizwa kwaye akuyi kubakho nxalenye yesiphumo somsebenzi oya kuba nakho ukunxulumana nawe. Zonke iimpendulo zakho ziya kugcinwa kwifolda ekhuselweyo yephasiwedi kwaye aziyi kwenziwa zifumaneke nakubani na ngaphandle komphandi.

Minye imibuzo

ting Dean: Prof L Clowes, lclowes@uwc.ac.za
culty Manager: Dr S Mowatts, smowatts@uwc.ac.za
an's Administrator: Ms JS Flusk, jflusk@uwc.ac.za
ivate Bag X17 Bellville 7535 South Africa
+27 (0)21 959 2235 F: +27 (0)21 959 3636
w.uwc.ac.za/arts

A place of quality
a place to grow, from hope
to action through knowledge

Ukuba unayo nayiphi na imibuzo malunga nesifundo sophando uqobo, nceda uqhakamshelane noHilton Rhodes (umfundi weMasters), iSebe leJografi, iZifundo zeNdalo esingqongileyo kunye noKhenketho, iYunivesithi yaseNtshona Kapa, Robert Sobukwe Road, Bellville. Inombolo yam yeselula 061 742 7214 kunye nedilesi yam ye-imeyile yile 3516831@myuwc.ac.za. Ukuba unemibuzo malunga nolu phononongo kunye namalungelo akho njengomthathi-nxaxheba ophando okanye ukuba unqwenela ukunika ingxelo ngazo naziphi na iingxaki onazo ezinxulumene nesifundo, nceda uqhakamshelane noMphathi wam, uGqr Bradley Rink, iSebe leJografi yezeNdalo kunye noKhenketho, iYunivesithi yase iNtshona Kapa. Unokuthintwa kule nombolo yefoni 021 959 2421 okanye nge-imeyile brink@uwc.ac.za ngokwahlukeneyo.

ting Dean: Prof L Clowes, lclowes@uwc.ac.za
culty Manager: Dr S Mcwatts, smcwatts@uwc.ac.za
an's Administrator: Ms JS Flusk, jflusk@uwc.ac.za
ivate Bag X17 Bellville 7535 South Africa
+27 (0)21 959 2235 Fx +27 (0)21 959 3636
w.uwc.ac.za/arts

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Faculty of Arts

ISHIDI LEMININGWANE

Isihloko sephrojekthi:

The place of food: A relational analysis of the food environment and sense of place in Khayelitsha

Incazelo yokutadisha:

Inhloso yalolu cwaningo ukuqonda izincazelo ezihlobene ukuthi abantu kungani abantu behlangabezana nezindawo ezindaweni imvelo yokudla, nokuthi laba bantu baveza kanjani 'indawo yendawo' ngokusebenzisana kwabo nokuqonda kwabo, ngezindawo zokudla abazihambelayo . Lolu cwaningo lubheka ukuthola ulwazi ngesipiliyoni sabahlali abahlala endaweni yabo yokudla. Le ntshisekelo ibangelwa ukuthi kunokuqonda okulinganiselwe phakathi kokuqonda kwendawo, imvelo yokudla kanye 'nomuzwa wendawo'. Lolu cwaningo lulandela indlela yezindlela ezixubile, futhi lususelwa ku-Photovoice futhi luhlolisisa imininingwane eqoqwe kusampula yezakhamizi ezivela eKhayelitsha, umphakathi ohola kancane eCape Flats eKapa, eSouth Africa.

mininingwane efakiwe ikhishwe kumphrojekthi "Researching the Obesogenic food environment, its drivers and potential policy levers in South Africa and Ghana" (BM17 / 8/20). Ucwaningo lwe-photosvoice luzogxila kubantu abadala base-10 baseKhayelitsha. Inhloso yalolu cwaningo ukuthola izincazelo zabantu 'zendawo' kanye 'nomqondo wendawo' maqondana nokuxhumana nezindawo zabo zokudla, okuhlobene nale njongo izinhloso eziningi, ezilandelayo: ukuphenya ukuthi izincazelo ezinhlobonhlobo zifakwe kanjani kubantu abathile 'ukusebenzisana nezindawo zokudla abavakashela zona njalo, ukuphenya ukuthi kudlalwa yiphi indima ekudalweni okwenzelwe umuntu, ukubheka yonke imithombo yokudla yomphakathi, okubandakanya nezitolo ezinkulu, izitolo ezidayisa ukudla okungekho emthethweni, abathengisi bokudla okungekho emthethweni Izitolo, njll., ukuphenya ukuthi ngabe amaphethini angaba khona wokungafani akhona yini phakathi kwezincazelo abantu abazibeka ezindaweni zokudla kanye nezici 'zomqondo wendawo' maqondana nokudla.

Iqhaza lababambe iqhaza:

Ababambiqhaza bazocelwa ukuthi bahlinzeke ngemininingwane yabantu ukuze uthintwe maqondana nemihlangano ezayo. Uzocelwa ukuthi uhlanganyele umhlangano nomcwaningi afunde ngendlela ye-photovoice ebandakanya ukusebenzisa ikhamera ukuqoqa izithombe ezibonisa imicabango ongathanda ukuyiveza mayelana nendawo yokudla ohlala kuyo. Cishe imihlangano emi-3 izokwenzeka ngaphakathi isikhathi sezinyanga ezi-3 kanti isikhathi ngasinye sizohlala phakathi kwemizuzu engamashumi amathathu kuya emahoreni amabili. Uzocelwa, ngesikhathi sohlaka lwamasonto amabili, uthathe izithombe ezibonisa imibono nezingqinamba ongathanda ukuzidlulisa ngendawo yokudla yaseKhayelitsha. Ngalezo zithombe njengezethenjwa, uzocelwa ukuthi ubhale ukulandisa okuchaza izithombe. Ukubamba iqhaza kwakho kuzosiza ukukhiqiza ulwazi ngobudlelwano phakathi kwendawo, imvelo yokudla kanye 'nomuzwa wendawo'. Ngemvume yakho, izwi lakho lizorekhodwa phakathi nemihlangano. Ukuqoshwa kuzokwenziwa ukuqinisekisa ukuthi siqopha ngokunembile futhi sihunnisha ukubuka kwakho. Uma ungafisi ukuthi izwi lakho liqoshwe, sicela wazise umcwaningi futhi izimpendulo zakho zizobhala phansi ephepheni esikhundleni salokho

Ubungozi: Izingozi ezingaba khona zokubamba iqhaza kule phrojekthi zincane kakhulu - azidluli okukhulu kunalokho ozohlangabezana nakho ngokufaka isikhathi lapho uxoxa nabanye abahlali. Noma yiziphi izingozi ezingaba khona zizoncishiswa ngokusebenzisa ama-pseudonyms nokuvikelwa kwemininingwane yocwaningo.

Ubumfihlo nokuvikelwa kwabahlanganyeli: Izimpendulo zakho zizosetshenziselwa kuphela lolu cwaningo futhi imininingwane yakho ngeke idalulwe. Yonke imininingwane eqoqiwe izoba engaziwa futhi akukho ngxenye yomsebenzi owumphumela ozokwazi ukuxhumana nawe. Zonke izimpendulo zakho zizogcinwa kumafolda avikelwe ngephasiwedi futhi ngeke enziwe kunoma ngubani ngaphandle komcwaningi.

Eminye imibuzo

ting Dean: Prof L Clowes, lclowes@uwc.ac.za
culty Manager: Dr S Mcwatts, smcwatts@uwc.ac.za
an's Administrator: Ms JS Flusk, jflusk@uwc.ac.za
ivate Bag X17 Bellville 7535 South Africa
+27 (0)21 959 2235 F: +27 (0)21 959 3636
w.uwc.ac.za/arts

A place of quality, a place to grow, from hope to action through knowledge

Uma unemibuzo mayelana nocwaningo uqobo, sicela uthinte Hilton Rhodes (Masters student), Department of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism, University of the Western Cape, Robert Sobukwe Road, Bellville. nombolo yami yeselula 061 742 7214 kanye nekheli lami le-imeyili ku-3516831@myuwc.ac.za. Uma kwenzeka unemibuzo mayelana nalolu cwaningo namalungelo akho njengomhlanganyeli ocwaningweni noma uma ufisa ukubika noma yiziphi izinkinga ohlangabezana nazo eziphathelene nalolu cwaningo, sicela uthinte umphathi wami, Dr Bradley Rink, Department of Geography Environmental Studies & Tourism, University of the Western Cape. Angathintwa kule nombolo: 021 959 2421 noma nge-imeyili brink@uwc.ac.za ngokulandelana.

ting Dean: Prof L Clowes, lclowes@uwc.ac.za
culty Manager: Dr S Mcwatts, smcwatts@uwc.ac.za
an's Administrator: Ms JS Flusk, jflusk@uwc.ac.za
ivate Bag X17 Bellville 7535 South Africa
+27 (0)21 959 2235 F: +27 (0)21 959 3636
w.uwc.ac.za/arts

Appendix C: Consent Forms

English Consent Forms

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Faculty of Arts

Consent Form

Project Title: *The place of food: A relational analysis of the food environment and sense of place in Khayelitsha*

Researcher: **Hilton** Rhodes

Please **initial box**

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project. ☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. If I wish to withdraw I may contact the researcher or supervisor at any time. ☐
3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result for the research. ☐
4. As a participant of the discussion, I will not discuss or divulge information shared by others in the group or the researcher outside of this group. ☐
5. I give consent to audio recording ☐
6. I give consent to photography and/or video recording as a participant in the research ☐
7. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research ☐
8. I agree for to take part in the above research project ☐

Name of Participant (*or legal representative*)	Date	Signature
Researcher	Date	Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

Copies: All participants will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet for themselves. A copy of this will be filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.

Researcher: Hilton Rhodes **Student no.: 3516831 E-mail address:** 3516831@myuwc.ac.za	**Supervisor:** Dr Bradley Rink **E-mail address:** brink@uwc.ac.za	**Head of Department:** Dr Mark Boekstein **E-mail address:** mboekstein@uwc.ac.za

Acting Dean: Prof L Clowes, lclowes@uwc.ac.za
Faculty Manager: Dr S Mowatts, smowatts@uwc.ac.za
Dean's Administrator: Ms JS Flusk, jflusk@uwc.ac.za
Private Bag X17 Bellville 7535 South Africa
T: +27 (0)21 959 2235 F: +27 (0)21 959 3636
www.uwc.ac.za/arts

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Faculty of Arts

Ifomu lokuvuma

Isihloko sephrojekthi yokucwaninga:
The place of food: A relational analysis of the food environment and sense of place in Khayelitsha

Umphenyi: Hilton Rhodes

Ngicela ukhiphe ibhokisi

1. Ngiyaqinisekisa ukuthi ngiyifundile futhi ngiyayiqonda ishidi lemininingwane elichaza iphrojekthi yocwaningo engenhla futhi ngithole nethuba lokubuza imibuzo ngephrojekthi. ☐
2. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi ukubamba iqhaza kwami kungokuzithandela nokuthi ngikhululekile ukuhoxa nganoma yisiphi isikhathi ngaphandle kokunikeza isizathu futhi ngaphandle kokuba nemiphumela emibi. Ngaphezu kwalokho, uma kufanele ngingafisi ukuphendula noma imuphi umbuzo noma imibuzo ethile, ngikhululekile ukwenqaba. Uma ngifisa ukuhoxa ngingaxhumana nomcwaningi, noma umphathi noma ngasiphi isikhathi. ☐
3. Ngiyaqonda izimpendulo zami nemininingwane yomuntu uqobo izogcinwa iyimfihlo. Nginikeza imvume yokuthi amalungu eqembu lokucwaninga afinyelele izimpendulo zami ezingaziwa. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi igama lami ngeke lixhunyaniswe nezinto zokucwaninga, futhi ngeke ngikhonjwe noma ngibonakale emibikweni noma ezincwadini eziphuma ocwaningweni. ☐
4. Njengomhlanganyeli wengxoxo, ngeke ngidingide noma ngidalule imininingwane eyabiwe abanye eqenjini noma umcwaningi ongaphandle kwaleli qembu. ☐
5. Nginikeza imvume yokuqoshwa okulalelwayo. ☐
6. Ngiyavuma ukuthi imininingwane eqoqwe kimi isetshenziswe ocwaningweni oluzayo. ☐
7. Ngiyavuma ukubamba iqhaza kuphrojekthi yocwaningo engenhla. ☐

Igama Lombambiqhaza (noma omele ezomthetho) _____ Usuku _____ Isiginesha _____

Umphenyi _____ Usuku _____ Isiginesha _____

(Ukusayinwa futhi kubhalwe phansi phambi komhlanganyeli)

Amakhophi: Bonke ababambiqhaza bazothola ikhophi lenguqulo esayiniwe nosuku lwefomu lokuvuma nephepha lemininingwane ngokwabo. Ikhophi lalokhu lizogcwaliswa futhi ligcinwe endaweni ephephile ngezinhlozo zocwaningo kuphela.

Umphenyi:	**Umphathi:**	**Inhloko yomnyango:**
Hilton Rhodes	Dr Bradley Rink	Dr Mark Boekstein
Inombolo: 3516831	**E-mail address:**	**E-mail address:**
E-mail address:	brink@uwc.ac.za	mboekstein@uwc.ac.za
3516831@myuwc.ac.za		

Acting Dean: Prof L Clowes, lclowes@uwc.ac.za
Faculty Manager: Dr S Mcwatts, smcwatts@uwc.ac.za
Dean's Administrator: Ms JS Flusk, jflusk@uwc.ac.za
Private Bag X17 Bellville 7535 South Africa
T: +27 (0)21 959 2235 F: +27 (0)21 959 3636
www.uwc.ac.za/arts

A place of quali
a place to grow, from ho

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Faculty of Arts

Ifomu yemvume

Isihloko seProjekthi yoPhando:
The place of food: A relational analysis of the food environment and sense of place in Khayelitsha

Umphandi: Hilton Rhodes

1. Ndiyaqinisekisa ukuba ndiyifundile kwaye ndiyayiqonda iphepha lolwazi elichaza le projekthi ingentla yophando kwaye ndinethuba lokubuza imibuzo malunga nale projekthi. ☐
2. Ndiyaqonda ukuba ukuthatha kwam inxaxheba kungokuzithandela kwaye ndikhululekile ukurhoxa nangaliphi na ixesha ngaphandle kokunika nasiphi na isizathu ngaphandle kokufumana imiphumo emibi. Ukongeza, ukuba ndinganqweneli ukuphendula nawuphi na umbuzo okanye imibuzo ethile, ndikhululekile ukwala. Ukuba ndinqwenela ukurhoxa ndinganxibelelana nomphandi okanye isuphavayiza nangaliphi na ixesha
3. Ndiyaziqonda iimpendulo zam kunye neenkcukacha zam ziya kugcinwa ziyimfihlo ngokungqongqo. Ndinika imvume yokuba amalungu eqela lophando akwazi ukufikelela kwiimpendulo zam ezingachazwanga. Ndiyaqonda ukuba igama lam aliyi kudityaniswa nezixhobo zophando, kwaye andizukuchongwa okanye ndichazeke kwiingxelo okanye kupapasho olukhokelela kuphando. ☐
4. Njengomthathi-nxaxheba kwingxoxo, andizukuxoxa okanye ndikhuphe ulwazi olwabiweyo nabanye kwiqela okanye umphandi ongaphandle kweli qela. ☐
5. Ndinika imvume yokurekhodwa kokumamela. ☐
6. Ndivuma idatha eqokelelwe kum ukuba isetyenziswe kuphando lwamva. ☐
7. Ndiyavuma ukuthatha inxaxheba kule projekthi yophando. ☐

Igama loMthathi-nxaxheba *(or ummeli wezomthetho)*	Umhla	Utyikityo
Umphandi	Umhla	Utyikityo

(Ukutyikitywa kunye nomhla phambi komthathi-nxaxheba)

Likopi: Bonke abathathi-nxaxheba baya kufumana ikopi yefom esayiniweyo neyalelweyo yefom yemvume kunye nephepha lolwazi ngokwabo. Ikopi yoku kuyakugcwaliswa kwaye igcinwe kwindawo ekhuselekileyo ukulungiselela uphando kuphela..

Researcher:	Supervisor:	Head of Department:
Hilton Rhodes **Student no.: 3516831** **E-mail address:** 3516831@myuwc.ac.za	Dr Bradley Rink **E-mail address:** brink@uwc.ac.za	Dr Mark Boekstein **E-mail address:** mboekstein@uwc.ac.za

Acting Dean: Prof L Clowes, lclowes@uwc.ac.za
Faculty Manager: Dr S Mcwatts, smcwatts@uwc.ac.za
Dean's Administrator: Ms JS Flusk, jflusk@uwc.ac.za
Private Bag X17 Bellville 7535 South Africa
T: +27 (0)21 959 2235 F: +27 (0)21 959 3636
www.uwc.ac.za/arts

Appendix D: Interview Schedule

English Interview Schedule

Hilton Rhodes (3516831)

Semi – structured photo elicitation interviews for the study *the place of food: A relational analysis of the food environment and sense of place in Khayelitsha.*

Semi-structured interviews conducted in English, with a translation of IsiXhosa and IsiZulu (upon request), with research participants will form the principle basis of data collection for this study, alongside a photovoice activity, that this interview will be analyzing. Interviews were guided by the SHOWeD photovoice analysis method prompt questions which will follow content areas described below, these SHOWeD method analyses are a guide to getting participants to explain the pictures which they have taken. These questions are based on individual participant experiences and reflect the photographs which each participant took. Participants will be asked these questions only on the pictures which they themselves took. Below are a sample of the prompts for the SHOWeD photovoice analysis method prompt questions.

SHOWeD Method Photo-elicitation prompts guide

Each letter in SHOWeD links to a step or questions to help engagement, SHOWeD stands for:

- "(1) What do you See here?
- (2) What is really Happening?
- (3) How does this relate to Our lives?
- (4) Why does this problem, condition, or strength exist?
- (5) What can you do to Educate others about the problem, condition, or strength?
- (6) What can we Do about it?" (Wang and Carovano, 1998: 75)

IsiZulu Interview Schedule

Hilton Rhodes (3516831)

Semi – structured photo elicitation interviews for the study *the place of food: A relational analysis of the food environment and sense of place in Khayelitsha.*

Izingxoxo ezingahlelekile nezenziwe ngesiNgisi, kuhunyushwe isiXhosa nesiZulu (uma beceliwe), nababambe iqhaza ocwaningweni zizoba yisisekelo sokuqoqwa kwedatha yalolu cwaningo, kanye nomsebenzi we-photovoice, le nhlolokhono ezowuhlaziya. Izingxoxo beziqondiswa indlela ye-SHOWeD yokuhlaziya i-photovoice imibuzo ezolandela izindawo zokuqukethwe ezichazwe ngezansi, lezi zindlela ze-SHOWeD zokuhlaziya ziwumhlahlandlela wokwenza ababambiqhaza bachaze izithombe abazithathile. Le mibuzo isekelwe kokuhlangenwe nakho komhlanganyeli ngamunye futhi ibonisa izithombe ezithathwe umhlanganyeli ngamunye. Abahlanganyeli bazobuzwa le mibuzo kuphela ezithombeni abazithathile. Ngezansi kukhona amasampula emiyalo yemibuzo esheshayo yokuhlaziya indlela ye-photovoice ye-SHOWeD.

SHOWeD Method Photo-elicitation prompts guide

Uhlamvu ngalunye oluku-SHOWeD luxhuma esinyathelweni noma emibuzweni yokusiza ukubandakanyeka, i-SHOWeD imele: "

- (1) Ubonani lapha?
- (2) Kwenzekani ngempela?
- (3) Lokhu kuhlobana kanjani nempilo Yethu?
- (4) Kungani kukhona le nkinga, isimo, noma amandla?
- (5) Yini ongayenza ukuze ufundise abanye ngenkinga, isimo, noma amandla?
- (6) Yini Esingayenza ngakho?"

IsiXhosa Interview Schedule

Hilton Rhodes (3516831)

Semi – structured photo elicitation interviews for the study *the place of food: A relational analysis of the food environment and sense of place in Khayelitsha.*

Udliwano-ndlebe olulungelelanisiweyo oluqhutywe ngesiNgesi, ngokuguqulelwa kwesiXhosa nesiZulu (ngesicelo), kunye nabathathi-nxaxheba bophando luya kuba sisiseko esisisiseko sokuqokelelwa kwedatha kolu phononongo, kunye nomsebenzi we-photovoice, oluya kuhlalutywa lolu dliwano-ndlebe. Udliwano-ndlebe lukhokelwa yindlela ye-SHOWeD yokuhlalutya i-photovoice yemibuzo ekhawulezayo eya kulandela imimandla yomxholo echazwe ngezantsi, olu hlalutyo lwendlela ye-SHOWeD sisikhokelo sokwenza abathathi-nxaxheba bachaze imifanekiso abayithathileyo. Le mibuzo isekelwe kumava omthathi-nxaxheba ngamnye kwaye ibonakalisa iifoto ezithathwe ngumthathi-nxaxheba ngamnye. Abathathi-nxaxheba baya kubuzwa le mibuzo kuphela kwimifanekiso abayithathileyo ngokwabo. Apha ngezantsi kukho iisampulu yemiyalelo ye-SHOWeD yendlela yokuhlalutya i-photovoice ekhawulezileyo yemibuzo.

SHOWeD Method Photo-elicitation prompts guide

Unobumba amaqela okwi-SHOWeD othetha imibuzo emithethweni yothethathethwano, iSHOWeD imele:

- • "(1) Ubona ntoni apha?
- • (2) Yintoni kanye eyenzekayo?
- • (3) Oku kunxulumana njani nobomi Bethu?
- • (4) Kutheni kukho le ngxaki, imeko, okanye amandla?
- • (5) Yintoni onokuyenza ukuze ufundise abanye ngengxaki, imeko, okanye amandla?
- • (6) Yintoni Esinokuyenza ngaloo nto?"