

THE IMPLICATIONS RESULTING FROM THE ARRIVAL OF
PLANNED SHOPPING CENTRES: THE CASE OF BEREA
SOUTH

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CHAPTER

ONE

CHAPTER ONE: THE NEED FOR THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Retailing has undergone changes over the past years that have had impacts on the nature, structure and form of retail systems as a whole. Recently the study of retailing has gained some recognition as a 'fruitful field of study' (Brown, 1992; 3). It is however the researcher's view that research on retailing has mainly focused on large-scale shopping centres and the CBD, and neglected the small local convenience clusters. The study of retailing is important because it gives direction and reflects on the economy of the country.

In Kahn's (1984) report it is evident that Durban suburban shoppers in the 70's chose from a vast selection of small shops in a large number of centres offering a range of goods. They were spaced along main streets and one could find 'Bakers, Grocers, Chemists, hairdressers, hardware and tools etc. - each was separate from the other, and acted as a focus for community life at different levels. Until the late 1960's the small shops acted as a meeting place, the shopkeeper would know the customers and the shop played a social meeting place role. In both urban and rural environments, the local small shopping cluster was frequently the focus of community life and point of contact, the shopkeeper acting as transmitter of information, confidant, and frequently as social welfare officer caring, particularly, for the well being of the aged and infirm (www.net-cymru.co.uk, 12/02/2002).

Valuable as these facilities may sound, there has been a drastic loss of many small shops throughout the world (Smith and Sparks, 2001; www.net-cymru.co.uk, 12/02/2002.). Further loss of small shops will reduce local provisions of these services, adding to the problems for less mobile consumers. As retailing has become increasingly geared to the car-borne consumer, disadvantaged consumers who lack access to cars are left with little choice other than local shops. Because consumers are increasingly becoming concerned about variety and choice in everything they buy, it seems the very people who claim to value and love small shops do not support them.

This dissertation seeks to answer some questions in regard to the changing nature of suburban shopping clusters. It sets out to address the simplistic assumption that the new large planned shopping centres lead to blight. Vacant shops in the smaller clusters can become susceptible to vandalism. The dissertation sets out to look at retail changes and the changing perceptions of consumers. It seeks to explain the reason behind the trend that sees the decline of small shops in our suburbs and it looks at the issue of change and how shopping structure evolves overtime. It will look at what may be the problems and disadvantages resulting from the changing nature of the shopping system, and how it evolves towards a 'new equilibrium'. It will also address how the space in local shopping clusters gets used for other kinds of retail activities and how blight is prevented. In the process of change some people will lose the opportunity to have accessible small and personalised outlets, but will gain from the additional choice of the larger shopping centres, although they may be a bit further away. It will also seek to find out what can be done to assist the shopping clusters that have a potential to resist change and how to plan with those that will fade away with change in order to prevent blight.

Brown (1992) argues that different types of shops normally serve a mixture of goods, depending on their location and sizes within the conventional hierarchy system. Thus, retail services are not seen as competing rather as complementary. This paper will look at how the presence of three large planned shopping centres in a suburban area has changed the social way of life in terms of benefits and problems, and how it has impacted on the local economy, especially local shopping clusters. This chapter will introduce the aims of the study, research question, hypothesis, and reasons for choosing this topic.

1.2 Research Topic

The local socio-economic impact of the arrival of planned large-scale suburban shopping centres: the case of Berea South.

1.2 Research problem

Retailing is always changing and adapting to new forms of living. "The shopping activity is never static, it is always adjusting to most efficient methods of operation and its structures and functions are always a reflection of economic, social, demographical and technological factors" (Kahn, 1984). As a result of traffic congestion in the CBD, lack of parking, and poor environments, and the rising demand and expectations of consumers, large scale planned shopping centres in suburban areas provided consumers with an alternative way to escape unpleasant conditions of the town centre and to replace it with more convenient and easier to use centres. The planned suburban shopping centre with its environmentally controlled mall, its accessible parking is not only criticized for drawing people away from the CBD, but for drawing customers away from the local shopping clusters and small shops

resulting in a loss of support for them, and these small clusters tend to become vacant and susceptible to crime and vandalism.

1.4 Reason for choosing the topic

Planned shopping centres are now a noticeable phenomenon within the retail structure of most suburban areas. Although they provide maximum parking for car users, it is the simplistic view that their presence exert pressure on the traditional retail system. Retail change results from the introduction of new and more efficient ways of producing or distributing goods. This is done with a belief that new efficient ways of doing things increase investment opportunities and lead to socio-economic development of the area. Bearing the economic and social development reasons in mind, there is still a need to find answers to questions such as who will benefit and what disruptions might there be? Therefore, the purpose of this study is to look at how the retail change affects the retail structure by looking at the negative and positive effects of change and more importantly what happens to the numerous, older, smaller shopping clusters

1.5 Research question

Does the arrival of large-scale planned suburban shopping centres impact on the small local shopping clusters and small shops? To what extent has the change led to the new equilibrium?

1.6 Sub-questions

1. How many local shopping clusters were there? Where were they located?
2. What kinds of shops are there now?
3. Are any of the shops vacant?
4. How many have been converted into non-retail use?
5. How many different types of business either formal or informal has arrived in the area after the shopping centre?
6. How do residents utilize the small shops?
7. To what extent has the initial fears been proven to be unfounded?
8. In terms of land use change, what is beneficial/problematic?

1.7 Hypothesis

While the arrival of large planned suburban shopping centres is often perceived as a threat to local convenience clusters, the shopping system as a whole evolves and results in a new equilibrium.

1.8 Aims and goals of the study

The aim is to investigate how the retail structure evolves in a suburban area over time, what effects do change exert on the traditional retail structures, and how the retail system copes with change towards a 'new equilibrium'.

1.9 My research position

The aim of this research is to assess the impact of change associated with the location of planned suburban shopping centres in Berea South in Durban area. The aim is to reflect on how the

retailing system has evolved over time. It will address the simplistic assumption that the new large planned shopping centers lead to blight, vacant buildings and the small shopping outlets become susceptible to vandalism. This study seeks to contribute to the understanding of how retail change impacts on the traditional type shops, and how it evolves to meet the changing needs of the society.

CHAPTER

TWO

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the means of data collection used in this research. Both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods were used. Primary and secondary sources of information were used. The study area used is that part of Berea South from Berea Road; down to Umbilo Road; to Francois Road in the south, and up to South Ridge Road in the west. The tasks carried out were as follows:

- (i) The current zoning map from the City engineers was collected and used to compare the shops zoned for commercial use and those that no longer appear on the zoning map, but that exist as Existing Use Rights (refer to map No.2).
- (ii) The existing shops were marked from the map through walking in the area. The data gathered here was used to construct a map of existing shops called the Commercial Areas Map No.1.
- (iii) All shops were classified using Kahn's (1984) classification.
- (iv) The map and data of shopping areas made by Kahn in 1975 was used to compare how the structure of shopping of 1975 has changed when compared to that of 2002 (on the overlay of map1).
- (v) Questionnaires and semi-structured interviews were formulated and they served as tool for data collection purposes.
- (vi) The questionnaires were administered using a church on Manning Road (Methodist) to distribute questionnaires

to the people living in the vicinity of shops who attended that church.

- (vii) An observation study was carried out to observe the activities that happened around, outside and inside the local shopping clusters. The aim was to identify the nature of customers patronizing the shopping clusters at different times of the day and what they did in and around the shopping cluster.

- (viii) Interviews were conducted with two groups of shop owners. The first group interviewed were owners of six outlets whose shops have been in the area and have not changed their use for more than five years. These were identified from the 1975 commercial activities map, and from walking and talking to owners. In selecting the sample an attempt was made to select the shops that were common in the shopping clusters of 1975, and they included corner café/convenience/ superette, butcher, antiques and bakery. The second group of six shops consisted of the new types of outlets that were not common in the clusters of 1975.

The second group is made of the more contemporary outlets that are common in current shopping clusters and they include fast food outlets such as a pizza shop, a pub, a café, pawnshops, and two video shops of different kinds. The second group was identified through walking through the area and talking to owners. The owners were then interviewed using the semi-structured interviews as a guide.

- (ix) Photos were taken to show different effects in the area.

2.2 Land use survey map

The land use survey was mapped prior to the interviews and questionnaire administration. The aims of the land use survey map was to map out the location of every shop in the study area in order to have a general understanding of the types of shopping clusters in the study area from which and around the respondents were selected.

Secondary sources, used were:

- Zoning map
- 1996 socio-economic profile of the area,
- Map of commercial uses of 1975 and the data on shopping clusters of Durban (Kahn, 1984).

These secondary sources were collected from the Durban City Engineers Department and the socio-economic profile from the Urban Strategy section of Unicity. The information on 1975 was from the study by Kahn carried out in Durban and it covers the area used here.

2.3 Questionnaires of Users of the clusters/ centres

No particular age or sex was a specified target for the sample, but the sample came from the residents and church members in the study area. The respondents surveyed were only those living near the cluster of shops. Questionnaires were administered personally to the respondents found either outside their gates, at the shops and on the road. Respondents were divided into two groups consisting of 20 people per group. The first group was made up of people that have been in the area for 15 years or more and the second group comprised of relatively new residents who have only been there for five years or less.

The aim of the questionnaire was to find out:

The advantages and disadvantages of the activities that are in a shopping cluster

How they used the shopping cluster near them?

What is missing in the shopping cluster?

What should be added?

2.4 Retailers: Semi-structured interviews

The shops were selected based on the kinds of shops common in the shopping clusters of 1975 and of 2002. The common kinds of shops in 1975 are convenience shops; in 2002 the common shops are service outlets such as video shops and fast foods restaurants.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with six shop managers for the shops that have remained over the years. The original shop owners/managers (shops appearing in the 1975 shop clusters map) were asked about their customer profile and if it has changed over the years. Other interviews were with the new shop managers (shops not appearing in the 1975 clusters map) and they were asked about the changes, their customer profile and busy times. From these interviews an analysis was made to see if change has a negative or positive impact. The clusters and independent shops were selected based on their common core such as a grocer/cafe. An attempt was made to find the old and the new types of shops within each cluster. The interviews were conducted on the day that suited the different shopkeepers.

The aim of the semi-structured interview was to find out:

- The problems (in terms of performance and pressure) met by the retailers
- Their current customers
- Whether they have changed over the years
- How the business is doing now (slow/improved)

- Their busy times
- The kinds of goods and services they supply

2.5 Observation study

The observation study was set to find out the activities that occur around, outside and inside the clusters. The clusters to be observed included some of those clusters whose owners were not included in the sample for being interviewed in order to try and get responses for almost all the clusters in the area. The clusters observed were those that were expected to have some kind of impact such as those that open till late, those without parking on site, those that attracted a certain kind of clientele like pubs/bars. To observe the impact of change the researcher has to observe the same clusters in the morning, midday and evening. The shopping clusters that occur along the main routes were excluded in the observation. Thus, only the shopping clusters occurring in the middle of the area and not on major routes form part of the study. Out of twelve clusters, only three were selected which presented unique cases that are important or on the basis of their perceived impacts or benefits.

2.6 Definition of Concepts

2.6.1 Socio-economic Status: this refers to the socio-economic status individual fall into, as this has a bearing on shopping behavior. It can be high, low or medium income. This is measured by the assets the person owns or by the level of income

* 2.6.2 Shopping Hierarchy

The unplanned retail structure found in the urban areas consist of clusters of retail activities at easily accessible street positions .The hierarchy of centers consist of five levels:

- * 2.6.2.1 Regional Shopping Centre. This is the highest order of the retail system and it provides goods and services for a region consisting of different community areas allowing for the full purchase of all goods except for the most specialized commodities normally found in the CBD. This is usually found in good interceptory locations.
- x 2.6.2.2 Community Shopping Centre; contains a group of retail and service facilities that serve neighborhoods and allow for the purchase of less specialized and less frequently demanded comparison-shopping goods. It comprises a departmental store and chain supermarket.
- * 2.6.2.3. Neighbourhood Centres consist of a group of retail and service facilities that serve several neighbourhoods and allow purchase of major necessities within locations that are immediately convenient to the consumer. These services are typical of a neighbourhood level such; small supermarkets, chemists, dry cleaners, beauty salons, banks, basic clothing shops and hardware stores.
- x 2.6.2.4. Local convenience centres serve convenience goods within an acceptable walking distance. This includes small shopping clusters of individual stores. This type varies from a single corner shop, to a cluster usually made of two to four complementary business types found in the residential areas to ensure that all residents have access to convenience goods.
- 2.6.2.5. CBD offers full range of merchandise (Urban Land Institute (1977)).

The above explanations describe the hierarchy while the issues that influence the formation of a hierarchy are explained below.

(i) Convenience shopping is a form of retailing mainly dealing with goods that are relatively inexpensive, frequently bought and are mainly regarded as daily necessities for which shoppers are willing

to travel a walking distance. These include goods such as milk, bread etc.

(ii) Comparison-shopping is about expensive goods not frequently purchased which are relatively durable. These encourage consumers to browse through the shops. These include clothes, shoes and furniture.

(iii) Specialty shopping deals with expensive goods that are durable and infrequently purchased for which customers are willing to travel. These include jewellery and other commodities of the same nature.

(iv) Suburbanizing this refers to any uses locating in suburbs.

(v) A planned shopping centre refers to an integrated retailing centre developed and managed as a single unit. They are usually found in suburban areas with good access and plenty of parking facilities and therefore cater mostly for the mobile community. The planned shopping centre is different because there is control over land because one developer owns it and the centre is designed as a harmonious unit (Urban Land Institute (1977)).

6. Impact this refers to positive and negative consequences of change. Disadvantages of change are negative consequences of the location of a suburban shopping center. Advantages of change are the positive impacts the good things that have resulted due to the arrival of the shopping centers.

2.7 Conclusion

An attempt was made to gather information in a way that ensures maximum representation of all people. However there may be limitations to the results due to the fact that some potential respondents could not give information. The land use survey map made it possible to select clusters that were to be surveyed. The demographic data of the area made socio-economic profile of the

area easily understandable. The concepts outlined here are as they apply to this study. The next chapter will give an account of the theoretical and conceptual framework informing this study.

CHAPTER

THREE

CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

There are many different kinds of urban theories relating to retailing. Kahn, (1984), maintains that there are two broad kinds of retailing approaches, the marketing and the geographical or spatial approach. The former refers to a non-spatial approach concerned with internal economic operation of retailing and its marketing techniques, while the latter is about the spatial location of retail facilities. For the purpose of this study, this chapter presents approaches to retailing that are spatially concerned; namely, the neo-classical, structuralist, humanist, behaviouralist, and the principle of minimum differentiation. Because the focus of this study is on change and location, theories dealing with spatial patterns will come useful in understanding this process of change. The change of consumer behaviour comes with change in consumers' perception of a facility, thus behavioural theory is utilized towards a better understanding of the internal and external causes. Change may have to do with government' control and regulations pertaining land uses and that is where structuralists approaches will come in. An example of government's control pertaining to land use is zoning, which is one of the tools used to designate the location of commercial areas.

3.2 Neo-classical approaches

3.2.1 Classical central place theory

Christaller, the German geographer developed this theory. The theory of central place is that of a normative spatial economic formulation and it assumes a spatial equilibrium approach. Places that performed many functions were seen as central places. Christaller adopted a number of assumptions, that there was a homogenous plain with a uniform population, and a uniform demand by all consumers at a uniform price. Central goods were offered at central points so that they could be purchased at different scattered points. For any good at a central point the price paid by the consumer increases with distance of location from the center as a result of transport fee. The far away the good is located the less the demand of the good becomes, in this case it would be expected that people will patronize the local shops to minimize the costs. Essentially, his work resulted in the recognition of a hierarchy of central places.

3.2.2 Theory of tertiary activity

This is a modified Central Place Theory, according to Berry and Garrison (1958) cited in Potter (1982), There was a need to form a hierarchy of tertiary centers which will occur without the isotropic plain being assumed at first. They maintained that higher order centers may not be located homogeneously but with increasing distance gaps from the city centre. Markets will not take the form of hexagons but will be spatially transformed so that the range may reflect the purchasing power and demand. The hierarchy of centers recognizes the differences in population density and demand. It has been argued that no matter how the purchasing power is distributed there will be a hierarchical structure of central places supplying

central goods. This has led Berry's net typology, which has five levels of shopping centers.

(a) The convenience center offers goods and serves the walking distance threshold.

(b) The neighborhood center that serves convenience goods and has clothing stores

(c) The community centre that offers convenience center and some comparison shopping

(d) The regional center that specializes in comparison goods

(e) The CBD, which offers the full range of merchandise

Each center's catchment's area is limited to its limited threshold size. The local population serving centers tend to be convenience goods oriented; while regional population serving centers tend to be durable goods oriented. The structure of the shopping system changes in line with the developments in the locality and wider environment. The occurrence of new shopping centers occurs as a part of the complementary hierarchy of shopping opportunities being available to the consumers (Erwee, 1977). The hierarchy is distributed spatially so that they do not compete but complement each other in a step -like of service.

The hierarchy of centers aids in the understanding of the retail system in the metropolitan area. Because most retail outlets are expected to require central location in relation to their potential consumers, the hierarchy concept provides a useful tool for planning of retail land uses. It gives the distinctive geometrical-hierarchical patterns of retail centers. The important concepts are range, which refers to the market area of a central place, and threshold, which are a measure of population numbers and its level

of expenditure. This approach assessed the development of the retail structure overtime linking it to the growth of the city.

Further evolution of the five-tier hierarchy has added other centres. According to Kahn (1984), the Specialty and Focused centers are located in the higher relatively income areas because of higher levels of mobility and expenditure. Higher income areas tend to require few lower order centers and they purchase more in the community and regional centres. The facilities availability depends on the density of the residential areas. The middle-income areas normally possess the full range of retailing facilities. The lower the income the limited the hierarchical structure of shopping center due to low levels of mobility and low thresholds. Many lower order centers with a few neighborhood centers and less or no facilities in the higher order levels are located in low income area. Thus they are forced to travel to access facilities for any comparison type shopping.

3.2.3 The classical economic theory of Losch

Losch adopted the similar assumption as Christaller. The cost of the good is expected to rise with the distance due to transport fee. The quantity of a good demanded will fall with its increasing price; demand will increase with distance for the point of supply. Losch developed hexagons as a way of explaining the market area that was reduced in size to cover the threshold purchasing volume. Losch developed the separate networks of market areas for goods with different thresholds (Potter, 1982).

3.3.The Structuralist perspective

For many structuralists, the development of the global economy brought into being a set of large-scale structures, the concentration of wealth in certain areas, unequal relations among places that make it very difficult for poorer regions to improve their situation. So, structuralists believe it is misleading to assume that all areas will go through the same process of development (Potter 1982).

From the structuralist point of view the significant aspect of a planned shopping center is the fact that it is a controlled environment in which everything is ordered by the developers and designers and nothing is left to chance .The structure includes, car parking, size, shape, and accessibility are all designed and situated to maximize customer expenditure. The flow of pedestrians is structured to ensure that consumers pass as many as possible outlets. This flow of pedestrians is controlled successfully through the tenant mix policy also referred to as the merchandising the center.

The tenant mix policy consists of two questions that it tries to address; the number and nature of outlets in the center and the location of those outlets relative to each other and the exit and entry points. The question of the number and nature of outlets addresses the balance that occurs between the multiple retailers with their unnoticeable appeal to customers and the need to bring an element of individuality to the shopping center.

3.3.1 Environmental models

These theories perceive the evolution of the urban retailing system as a reflection of the economic and demographic changes as well as

developments in transportation technology. These theories are important for this study since they explain change. The change in ecological terms occurs by adopting a biotic analogy between the retailing organisms and their environmental milieu leading to the process of natural selection in retailing and the utilization of ecological concepts like symbiosis, competition, commensalisms, parasitism, succession and the emergence of the dominant species.

The suburban retail system will evolve through four stages of invasion, when new outlets emerge in outlying locations, and successions, where the independent small-scale retailers were superseded by multiple organizations.

- (i) The first stage of colonization was characterized by shop creation and low rates of survival.
- (ii) The second, establishment had lower levels of business failure and settling down of the system.
- (iii) The third, saturation stage, was characterized by the oversupply of outlets and high failure rates.
- (iv) The fourth stage, decline, saw the incidence of shop failure and low levels of shop creation. However, it has been argued that shops form a step-like hierarchy, they do not compete but complement each other. Furthermore this theory ignores the importance of individual's decision making (Brown 1992).

3.3.2. Cyclic models

This theory maintains that change occurs in a recurrent fashion. It involves the repetition of earlier trends. Kirby's principle (in Brown, 1992) maintains that the growth of large scale and geographically dispersed retailing formats is counterbalanced by a renaissance of small-scale local stores. The best know cyclical interpretation comes

from the 'wheel of retail theory', the 'retail accordion' and the retail 'life cycle'. The 'wheel' states that new forms of retail emerge as cut price, low cost narrow margin operations, which gradually trade up. They become mature as high cost, conservative institutions and change the policy from that which prioritizes price to that of quality goods. This provides an opportunity for new forms of cut-price operations, which in the future will also go through the same maturation stage. The accordion model describe the evolution of retail as characterized by periods of specialization, the occurrence of outlets selling a narrow range of goods, and diversification, where the retailing is dominated by wide range of selling a variety of wares.

The life cycle model states that the retail innovation is similar to products, people, philosophical fashions, which pass through stages of birth, growth, maturity and decline. However, the theory seems to be inflexible focusing on the patterns and not on the process of retail change.

3.3.3 The Conflict Based models

This theory focuses on the rivalry between the old and the new retailing locations. The main theories are the dialectical theory and crisis-response model. The former theory maintains that an institutional thesis is challenged by the antithesis and the synthesis results from the melding of the two. When interpreted spatially, the towns centre with its retailers and poor environment that include lack of parking may be regarded as thesis; the well controlled and maintained, easily accessible out of town shopping centres may be regarded as the antithesis; and, the revitalized city centre with an improved environment may be called the synthesis.

The latter model has four stages in the crisis response sequence that is 'shock', 'defensive retreat', 'acknowledgement' and 'adaptation'. In spatial terms, when a shopping cluster is challenged by a suburban shopping centre, its occupants enter into a shock stage that is characterized by denial to recognize the threat. The defensive retreat involves attempts to resist the challenger. The acknowledgement marks the stage where the occupants of the challenged cluster recognize that the challenger is there to stay and start applying positive countermeasures such as revitalizing the cluster and changing use of certain shops to attract more consumers. This is seen as a resolution of the conflict and the creation of a short-lived power balance. Because the outcome is preordained, the wider environmental context has been ignored (Brown, 1992).

3.3.4 Influence of government policies

Brown (1992), and Potter (1982) argue that the location of shopping facilities is not solely because of agglomeration of commercial activities but a reflection of the unforeseen party. Structuralists further say that the spatial patterns of economic activities cannot be studied on their own, there is a need to look beneath the surface at the underpinning social and economic processes which lead to them. Retail location is attributable to the locational policies of governments and other authorities. The policy controls range from the price setting regulations, permitted products, to the necessity for shop keeping qualifications. Most of these policies have locational implications, usually the competition policy requires a definition of the spatial extent of the market where anti competitive practices are intended to occur. Brown (1992) says shopping centre development is a reflection of deeply seated social, political as well as cultural forces that may not be apparent to the ordinary person. Essentially, this is important for this study

because retail location of use or rezoning are all managed by government authorities.

With the aid of the zoning, the municipality regulates building size, land usage and the density of the population. Zoning recognizes the changing demographic and economic conditions of the city and is a key tool for carrying out planning policy. Therefore, it is apparent that zoning shapes the city. The zoning map shows the land uses that are allowed in the particular area. Shows land uses allowed in this particular area. Zoning has an impact on how facilities are located spatially.

According to Kahn (1984), zoning designates the location of commercial areas in terms of bulk, coverage, floor area ratios and building heights and parking requirements. The scheme contains shopping sites of different sizes. Shops that are not currently zoned for commercial use exist on "Existing use Rights" of smaller shopping clusters that the zoning scheme allows to continue exist as long as they are in use. The Town Planning Scheme for the area studied permits three types of shopping zones.

- (i) General Business: permits full spectrum of shopping and related commercial uses.
- (ii) General commercial/shopping: allows institutions such as offices and residential buildings in addition to shops and associated with increased height and bulk allowance.
- (iii) Special shopping/commercial: which allows offices, residential buildings and restrictions of types of shops usually restricted as above.

3.4 Behavioral Perspective

According to Brown, (1992) the behaviourist approaches to retailing are based on inductive reasoning. They shift the focus from the world, as it exists. The emphasis on behavioural perspective came as a result to try and find the best possible ways to locate retailing where it would meet the changing preferences of the consumers. The behavioural perspective is divided into empirical behavioural, cognitive behavioural and consumer behaviour.

3.4.1 Empirical- Behavior

The empirical, like other behavioural perspectives is positivist, and mainly relies on quantitative data to form generalizations. There is an argument that different kinds of shops attract differently from different environments, but the supermarket is seen to attract more consumers. Customers tend to use shops of similar kind interchangeably and this allows retail of similar trade type to agglomerate. The provision of transport is perceived as an important factor as Brown (1992) maintains that a shopping trip starts and ends with a car, thus shopping facilities with enough parking and transportation are likely to succeed. Shoppers are mostly determined to maximize the expenditure of effort in purchasing activity. The frictional effect of distance is not limited and is found at all scales of the shopping milieu.

3.4.2 Consumer- Behaviour

Consumer behaviour concerns mental and physical acts including their motives and causes of individuals and groups regarding orientation, purchase, use, maintenance and disposal of goods and services from the market and public sector leading to functionality

and the achievement of consumer goals and values and thus to satisfaction and well-being taking into account short term and long term effects and individual and societal consequences (Brown, 1992).

An approach to Consumer behaviour includes normative, prescriptive, predictive, and descriptive approaches. Consumers learn how to decide, but not necessarily what to decide. These approaches state that consumers are highly rational when looking for best decisions.

There are four fundamental assumptions about Consumer behaviour

- Consumers are not strictly rational
- Consumers do not behave in random manner
- Consumer behaviour stems from innate and acquired needs and involves a complex combination of conscious and unconscious processes as well as rational and emotional factors.

Consumer behaviour believes that whether behaviour is impulsive or the result of long decision making, it is an expression of a conscious or unconscious search for satisfaction of physiological, economic or socio-psychological needs. Consumers make imperfect choices; they do not choose the best option. They use an entire range of subjective reactions that result from their (conscious or unconscious) rejection of what reason would dictate. They are willing to be guided by impulses and personal impressions, or desire to reduce unnecessary stress (Engel, et al, 1986).

Consumers make imperfect choices when information is incomplete; consumers are not always capable or motivated to draw rigorous inferences. Intuition or information gathered during

conversations may well suffice. This explains why people are so influenced by advertising. When a decision is judged important, consumer attempts to be as rational as possible.

Satisficing behaviour is a term used by Simon (1957). He investigated decision-making at work and found that executives tend to accept first option, which is good enough to solve problem so that better solutions may be missed.

3.4.3 The Cognitive-Behavioural Approach

The cognitive approach maintains that when an important purchase is made for the first time people may investigate options, discuss advantages and disadvantages, and reflect on alternatives. The action is preceded by decision-making or planning designed to seek particular benefits and to avoid particular costs, but it was noted however that for many purchases a decision never occurs, not even on the first purchase even when purchase behaviour is preceded by a choice process, it is likely to be very limited. It typically involves the evaluation of few alternatives, little external search, few evaluative criteria, and simple evaluation process models. Traditional approach in consumer behaviour texts have used active consumer decision-making as prime explanation of consumer choice e.g. Engel et al (1986) in their Decision Process Continuum.

Here the emphasis is on internal processes of the consumer, in contrast to reinforcement and habit paradigms that emphasize features of consumer's situation. Although this model is widely supported it is difficult to identify behaviour that approximates to

the coherent and elaborate sequences of extended problem solving (Brown, 1992). Research by Brown (1992) indicted that full decision-making is most relevant for very first purchases. This is important as first purchase may determine the brand or the store chosen in latter purchases.

3.5 The Principle of Minimum Differentiation

While the Bid Rent Theory is about the city centre and its accessibility in terms of location, the Principle of Minimum Differentiation maintains that not all activity requires access to the entire market or to the city centre. Proximity to complementary activities is of outmost significance. Accessibility is more important than location. Harold Hotelling developed this theory in the 1926. When dealing with two profit maximising firms that are selling the same products from fixed location in a bounded linear market where transport costs are constant and the demand is inelastic, utility maximising consumers are evenly distributed. Hotelling believes that equilibrium exists where neither outlet could increase the profit by changing its prices. He further added that if one shop could relocate it could maximise its profit by setting up a shop near the other on the long side of the market (Brown, 1992,p68).

The principle of minimum differentiation contended that the clustering phenomena are discernable on a plane and bounded linear market and holds good when two or more retailers are involved. This is a theory of utmost generality which helps to explain why certain cities attract same kind of firms and why Methodists, Baptists are so much alike and are getting more alike (Boulding, 1966,p.484 cited in Brown, 1992).

The location pattern of an industry or other "activity" changes partly as the result of deliberate moves or choice of new locations, but also as the result of the competitive survival and growth of well-located units and the disappearance or shrinkage of badly located ones.

In the case of Berea South this theory implies that those shopping clusters that are located along the main routes and the intersection will survive the effects of change, but those badly located will not. Therefore, locational decisions play a vital role in determining whether the retail activity will be successful or not.

3.6 Conclusion

It is concluded that the different theories mentioned above contribute a lot in understanding the retail environment, however it is unrealistic to expect any one formulation of these theories to match every fact of reality but they all have so strengths and neglect some important facets. Therefore, they will all be used to wards a better understanding of this study. The theoretical perspectives on retailing bear some common features on how the locational patterns affect the performance of retail facilities. However decision-making is not always based on the location of the facility but on how consumers view the facility, the information they have and other internal forces. Even if the centrality of facilities is important, the power to even locate there lies with how the policies of the municipalities react towards that. The agglomeration of facilities is considered to be an advantage but how much agglomeration is needed, how much is detrimental; this becomes difficult to understand, as consumers do not respond similar to the

same conditions. It is therefore considered that bits and pieces of each theory when put together have something to contribute towards a better understanding of the changing situation in retailing.

CHAPTER

FOUR

CHAPTER FOUR: LESSONS FROM INTERNATIONAL PRECEDENT

4.1 Introduction

Retailing as an activity is diverse and changes over time, thus it is important to look at the historical background of its development in order to understand the process of change as well as to be able to predict how the changes in society will alter retail industry (Kahn, 1984). Because of the impact of globalization, retailing in South Africa bears some similarities with that of the developed countries (Europe and North America) and this would apply to the study area. The effect of change strikes all types of countries similarly. Currently retail outlets are locating together in multiples thus eliminating the old independent small-scale retailers. In Durban suburbs the trend is similar to that of developed countries. To understand how the retail system operates it is important to look at how retailing has evolved over time. Because the aim of the study is look at the impact resulting form shopping centre development, it is important to understand the retail activities that took place before and after the shopping centre arrival.

4.2 Evolution of Retail activity

The first evolution of retailing occurred in Europe during the Second World War during the initiatives tried out in the developed countries to redevelop in the 40's. This period marks the emergence of the self-service shops and supermarkets in town centres and major highways. The occurrence of these shops necessitated the need to plan for these shops thoroughly. Thus the local authorities started providing shops along pedestrian routes. Due to the huge increase of outlets of this nature, there was a

demand to provide a large space for such shops. This was a time when the income levels were high in America and Europe and was also related to the rise in car ownership. Retailers saw an opportunity to leave the expensive city sites centre and relocate where people lived in suburbs. This marked the retail development that was characterised by major planned shopping centres. The first of its kind was built in 1956 in Southdale, a Minnesota suburb (Gillette, 1985). It was designed by the legend in shopping centre design, Victor Gruen. In Europe, the first to decentralise were warehouses in the 1970's, which were supporting the town centre retail, and it is only in the 1980's that shopping centres started locating in the suburbs. This idea was taken in other European cities as well. It was backed by the idea to attain a safe and comfortable environment with adequate parking and access without the congestion found in city.

Although the decentralization was perceived as good, its negative effects were felt in the city centre and in the low order suburban convenience stores. Most city centres showed commercial decline, which was indicated by vacant sites, lower status stores replacing market leaders, the emergence of charity shops (Thomas and Bromley, 1996 in Kgara 1998). In the late 1980s retailing experienced a rapid change, the results of which are still having profound effects on the pattern of shopping in cities. Growth led to the emergence of large retail combines that are tending to dominate along main routes. Where these developments have occurred in, or close to existing shopping centres, they have generally been absorbed satisfactorily and have improved the range and quality of shopping. There is, however, pressure for major shopping developments to compete with existing centres. (Glassglow.gov.uk 11/2002)

Retail activity has gone through several change steps in its development.

(i) Cluster service

Retail activities of different types gathered together to attract dispersed customers. This was desirable to the consumer who wanted to minimize transport costs by having shopping at a single destination. In suburban areas where public transport was scarce and people relied on the use of private motorcar, the sparsely occurrence of shops meant longer journeys to shops, making the one stop shopping and shopping center trips being more needed (Kahn, 1984).

(ii) Enlarged scale of service

The development of discount stores came when independent storeowners came together to form buying groups and trading associations so that they could operate under the same advantages as the major retailers but still remain financially dependent (Kahn, 1984).

(iii) Self Service

The concept of self-service has been incorporated into all kinds of retail organizations. Its characteristics include displaying of goods and a large space to allow the movement of customers with computerized pay points. Consumers are offered a much wider range of goods grouped together in a convenient location. Now in addition to travelling further to visit and return from the point of sale, consumers also had the service advantage that they could pick and pack the items from the counters or shelves themselves. Then they could stand in a queue to pay a checkout operator. As consumers became increasingly mobile with the use of the private car, smaller specialist retailers found it increasingly difficult to compete with the major retailers on volume buying power (and

hence pricing), and on property costs in the new retailing environments. <http://www.gdtl.net/evolution.htm> 2002

(iv) New convenience service

Convenience has taken a different definition, what is convenience is no longer what is close to the consumer but what is available when the consumer requires it (Bangkok Post, 2002) Convenience shops are now also found at petrol filling stations. They sell convenience goods for twenty-four hours a day.

4.3 The changing nature of shopping and lifestyle

The shopping system is continually changing and change results from a variety of reasons.

- (a) Changes in the spatial composition of consumers, changes in population growth.
- (b) Changes in shopping habits and tastes along with changes in life-styles and technology have changed the traditional patterns of shopping.
- (c) Changes in the business scale due to changes in chain groups and in floor space requirements have led to change in locational requirements to take advantage of accessibility and visibility.
- (d) Changes in business interaction. There has been a decline in dependency to wholesaling facilities.
- (e) The increase in mobility has increased the choice of shopping facilities that people visit.
- (f) Legislative changes in regard to ownership.
- (g) Increased mobility among people ensures maximum accessibility of shopping facilities (Kahn, 1984).
- (h) Technological changes, people are living in an information age where everything is computerized even retailing is bound to change as a result of this.

The South African way of life, in particular, has changed dramatically over a relatively short period. The pattern of consumer shopping is radically different. The local stores where the customer was served by shop assistants, where foodstuffs were handled and placed in paper bags or wrapped in paper and tied with string, have long since disappeared. In its place is the modern concept of self-service supermarkets. Personal service is the exception rather than the rule and carries a high price premium. These modern social and economic trends can be ascribed to the role of women in society. Their primary "place" is now less focused on the home as they meet an increasingly important need in the country's business and cultural life. The working wife or single person has less time for domestic work and seeks the optimum in labour saving convenience products <http://www.packagingsa.co.za>, 2000.

Population distribution patterns have also changed. Forty years ago, South Africa had a large rural population. Since then, large-scale urbanization has taken place and will continue to do so. This has resulted in high density and widely spread population patterns in South African cities and towns. Consumers look for products that are readily accessible throughout the urban spread and can be easily carried and transported from point of sale to home <http://www.packagingsa.co.za>, 2000.

4.4 International experiences

4.4.1 Introduction

Across Europe and other countries, independent retailers have been under the threat from competitive impacts of larger retail formats. The decline of independent shops has been common. In Scotland, Washington, Thailand and England there has been a decline in small stores due to competitive impacts of large retail formats. This has its advantages and disadvantages and underlying socio-economic trends driving the changes. Most changes are associated with the change in consumer preferences to which corporate retailers have responded. The trends in needs and wants and the desire to travel and consume as well as other competing activities have led to the change in retail demands and responses.

Applebaum (1961) cited in Erwee, (1977) maintains that the impact on existing older facilities vary considerably because of;

- (a) Growth of population and the need for additional retail facilities
- (b) The kind of the new retail facilities found in the planned centers and
- (c) Response adopted by the retailers.

He further argues that the planned shopping centre may only spoil the equilibrium as it competes with older facilities, but can also force retailers to specialise in new facilities rather than to spread them uniformly. However, Simmons (1964) cited in Erwee (1977) argued that the development of a planned shopping centre is dependent on the growth for total demand for retailing facilities. Thus, the new centre does not replace the existing stores.

Thailand present a different case because small shops are not competing with large shops but with convenience shops mainly found at petrol filling stations. These are doing well due to their good location and around the clock operation. Britain and Washington have seen many small locally owned shops going down in recent years (Seattle Times, July 1999). Scotland has experienced the same trend as well.

4.5 Conclusion

What suffices is that all over Europe there is a common theme of the reduction of some local convenience caused by supermarkets and new convenience outlets. In South Africa however the trend is rather difficult to understand since it consist a bit of what happens in Western countries. It appears as if in the developed countries the provision of large planned shopping centre has been overdone and therefore threatens the survival of small shops. In South Africa the provision of shopping centre is based on density and affluence, because it is assumed that the more affluent the society is the better it will be able to support large shopping facilities

(Kahn, 1984). This explains why in some South African areas where people with low income live, there are a lesser number of shopping centres. It is therefore assumed that the trend, which is taking place in South African suburbs, is different than that happening in western countries.

CHAPTER

FIVE

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CASE STUDY: BEREASOUTH

5.1 Introduction

Durban was formed by the British Settlers who came to Natal. It was originally founded in the mid nineteenth century as a port of trade. By the end of the nineteenth century, Durban had hardened roads and a growing population. Like other South African cities, Durban followed the decentralisation trend that became popular in the 1970's and 1980's in the USA and Europe (<http://www.durban.gov.za/visitors/about/history>, 2004/02/16).

In Durban many shopping centres located in the former white suburbs pulling suburban people away from the city centre and also away from the local convenience shops. Post apartheid spatial transformation in Durban should be seen as part of an ongoing process of change that has been taking place since the city was founded as a British colonial port and mercantile centre in the mid-nineteenth century.

5.2 Historical background of the Berea

The area was a result of settlement by the early pioneers of Port Natal, who came and established their settlement in the vicinity of Gardner Street. The heat, mosquitoes and wind driven sand chased them away, and they moved to the Berea. The first to come were merchants and important officials and they built their homes and commuted to work in the commercial centre. As public transport became available, the area became ideal for the less wealthy people, and by the turn of the century Berea south had a wide cross-section of society and a range of housing types in terms of price and type and this situation has prevailed to present (Berea South District Scheme Review, 1984).

The pattern of growth has had a significant effect on the development of what exists today. The demand for residential accommodation led to the flats being built in areas such as Bulwer.

5.3 Report on studies

5.3.1 Observation Study

The observation study was carried out at different shopping clusters at different times of the day during the week and it focused on three different clusters out of twelve clusters.

The first observation was at the shopping cluster on the corner of Brand and Cromwell Roads (Cluster No4.), this cluster has been chosen because it has been there in 1975 and it has not changed much and has on site parking, the second one was on Manning Road (cluster No.1), this cluster was chosen because it is on a major route and has changed its outlets but has no on site parking, and the final observation was on the shopping cluster on the corner of Bulwer and Cleaver Roads (Cluster No.5), this cluster has revamped and has on site parking. It must be noted that this was a partial observation study as it was done in three clusters each at a different location and at a different time of the day. None of the clusters were observed all day.

Observation was undertaken to identify the nature of customers patronizing the clusters at different times of the day and the kinds of goods they bought. Observation was done outside each cluster, which showed signs of possible impacts.

Observation was set to find out

1. What kinds of goods were sold in the clusters?

2. How do people behave inside and around the shop?
3. What did people mainly buy?
4. The movement of people
5. The traffic outside the shops
6. The parking availability
7. Street furniture availability outside clusters and litter

The report on the observation study is presented by time and by cluster.

5.3.2 Observation in the morning (9-11 am)

Cluster No.4

1. What kinds of goods were sold in the shopping clusters?
 - The convenience outlets offered small quantity goods e.g. small tins of fish, beans, smallest packets of rice (500g). It seems as if they are serving their immediate surroundings. The types of goods are mainly topping up goods and videotapes.
2. How do people behave inside and around the shop?
 - People would come and buy some goods and go quickly.
3. What did people mainly buy?
 - Most people bought basic goods such as bread, newspapers, cigarettes etc. Some came to drop videocassettes.
4. Movement of people.
 - In the morning it was not busy, people came and went and would spend much time around the stores.
5. Traffic outside the shop.
 - There was not much traffic as people came and left quickly.
6. Parking availability.

- There were enough parking spaces on site but they were not properly demarcated and there was also some off street parking spaces.

7. Street furniture availability and litter?

- Most clusters have no benches outside. There was litter but not much. It was just a few empty packets.

5.3.3 Observation at midday 11- 2pm

Cluster No.1

1.What kinds of goods sold in shopping clusters?

- Take aways, videocassettes and topping up goods in small packets.

2.How did people behave?

- They bought ready made foods and left, but some ate outside. Some left the empty packets where they had been seated, mainly on the pavement.

3. What did people mainly buy?

- They dropped videocassettes off, bought lunch, snacks and cold drinks.

4.Movement of people.

- People moving to the shops increased. The groups of people visiting the shops were between five and ten.

5. Traffic outside shops.

- Traffic was busy during lunchtime and slowed down after lunch.

6.Parking availability.

- Parking appeared to be a problem because it was soon full. Patrons were then compelled to park on street.

7.Street furniture and Litter

- Where there was a bench outside the cluster, it did not have a shelter and garbage bins were very few.

5.3.4 Observation in the evening 5:30-9 pm

Cluster No5

- 1.What kinds of goods sold in the clusters?
 - Take aways, convenience and pub.
- 2.How people behaved inside and around the shops
 - People would park their cars and get into restaurants and eat, and then leave.
- 3.What did people mainly buy?
 - People came to hire videocassettes and to buy some top up goods such as cigarettes and bread and had some drinks inside and outside the pub.
- 4.The movement of people
 - The movement was not very busy in the middle of the neighbourhood, but the main roads next to and around the clusters were busy.
- 5.Traffic outside the Shops.
 - Traffic increases as people come from work. It was more than it was at lunchtime.
- 6.Parking availability.
 - People parked on the street though the cluster had its own parking.
7. Street furniture availability outside shopping clusters and litter.
 - The pub had its own chairs just outside where people sat and drank. There was one garbage bin and there was no shelter.

5.4 Detail comparison of the 1975 and 2002 structure of shopping

The study area comprised of 21 shopping clusters in 1975. These exclude the three neighbourhood shopping centres. Shopping Centres were included in the shopping cluster because they are a response to what the study looks at. They were located along main routes such as Berea and Umbilo roads. They varied from small clusters with only two outlets to a neighbourhood level with many outlets together there were a total of 84 outlets. In 2002, the study area comprises of three neighbourhood shopping centres, which are Davenport Square, located on Brand, Cleaver and Davenport Roads; the Village Shopping Mall which is located on Hunt and Moore Roads; and Berea Centre, which is on Berea Road. Davenport and Berea shopping centres are in excess of 8000m² and the Village Mall is about 5000 m². Each of these neighbourhood shopping centres has a large chain supermarket and a number of line shops, some have as many as twenty additional outlets.

There are a number of local convenience shopping centres and they vary from a small cluster of only a single outlet to clusters comprising as many as ten outlets. Map No.1 indicates the locations of all these shopping centres. The Zoning Map No.2 shows that some of the shopping clusters occur in areas zoned for shopping, while four of them exist as "Existing Use Rights", having previously been local shopping clusters.

12 Outlets are local convenience clusters that have changed over time and are located on major routes. They do not serve the immediate area. Nine other small clusters are located within the

area and are changing from being locally oriented towards serving the broader area.

The clusters that existed in 1975 have either disappeared or changed. Those occurring along the major road such as Berea, Umbilo / Gale Road were ignored because they essentially served as interceptory service shopping areas, rather than serving the immediate residential areas. The clusters that were used as part of the study are in the middle of the area and one cluster is on Berea Road.

Cluster No.7 located at the corner of Bulwer and Berea Road

This shopping cluster in 2002 has double the number of outlets than in 1975. Most new outlets are used as offices, while 3 of the outlets are vacant. There has been a decrease in convenience outlets and an increase in speciality, furniture, catering and apparel.

	1975	2002
Multiples	1	0
Convenience	2	0
Catering	1	3
Apparel	1	3
Speciality	1	2
Furniture	1	3
Services	2	1
Retail subtotal	9	12
Non-retail subtotal	0	3
Vacant	0	3
Grand Total	9	18

TABLE1

Cluster No.6 located on Brand Road

The cluster is no longer in existence and houses are now in place.

	1975	2002
Services	1	0
Business demand	1	0
Convenience	2	0
Catering	1	0
H/h equip	1	0
Speciality	1	0
Retail subtotal	7	0
Non-retail subtotal	2	0
Vacant	0	0
Grand total	9	0

Table 2

Cluster No.5 located at the corner of Bulwer and Clark Road

This cluster had 10 retail outlets in 1975, of which 6 were convenience outlets. By 2002, only 3 shops were in place and it was essentially conveniences that were replaced. This cluster has been restructured and focused its business, and provided with proper on site parking. It targets local people mostly, and it is located on the main routes within the residential area, thus it is highly accessible.

	1975	2002
Multiple	1	0
Convenience	6	1
Catering	1	1
Apparel	2	0
Speciality	0	1
Retail subtotal	10	3
Non retail	0	0
Vacant	0	0
Grand Total	10	3

Table 3

Cluster No.4 located at the corner of Brand and Cromwell Road

The outlets in this cluster have changed from those that existed in 1975. Only two outlets remained in 2002 that were there, in 1975, and that is the convenience outlet and the hairdresser. The chemist has been replaced by more contemporary outlet such as a video shop. A pet shop replaced the butcher; a dry cleaning depot has become a laundry shop. Household equipment tools shop has become a clothing shop. The service in this cluster is not locally orientated. The convenience shop is locally orientated while the video shops located there to be in close proximity with the other shops of complementary uses. The video shops have located close to each other because of the main road and are targeting the customers living near and far using the transport routes.

	1975	2002
Convenience	3	2
Household equip	2	0
Services	2	3
Speciality	0	1
Apparel	0	1
Retail sub-total	7	7
Non-retail subtotal	0	0
Vacant	0	0
Grand total	7	7

Table 4

Cluster No.3 located on McDonald Road

This cluster has lost its household equipment outlet, which now serves as a grocer selling a limited number of low order goods. This cluster is likely to disappear completely with change. It is not zoned for commercial use now, it only exists as "Existing Use Rights".

	1975	2002
Convenience	1	1
Household equipment	1	0
Retail subtotal	2	1
Non-retail subtotal	0	0
Vacant	0	0
Grand Total	2	1

Table 5

Cluster No.2 located on Frere Road

This cluster has maintained its butcher outlet over the years. More offices have moved in, service has been replaced. There is still one vacant shop as there was in 1975. This cluster is likely to convert into offices with change. It is not located on main route, thus it is likely to change completely.

	1975	2002
Convenience	1	1
Furniture	1	0
Retail Subtotal	2	1
Non-retail subtotal	1	2
Vacant	1	1
Grand Total	4	4

Table 6

Cluster No.1 located on Manning Road

This cluster has had a lot of change and new types of retail have arrived such as an Internet cafe, and a pizza shop, which have replaced the service outlets. A bakery with some convenience goods is still there. Though service has been replaced and one is vacant there is no blight or vandalism. The cluster looks renewed and busy and retail subtotal has increased from three shops in 1975 to four shops in 2002.

	1975	2002
Convenience	1	1
Services	1	0
Catering	0	2
Retail subtotal	2	3
Non-retail	0	0
Vacant	1	1
Grand total	3	4

Table 7

In conclusion, all clusters reflect the effects of change but the question is, are these changes positive or negative. What has emerged is that there has been a lot of restructuring in the arrangements in this area. The planned shopping centre has brought the need for certain shops to agglomerate. The clusters have changed their focus. Some have become very locally orientated, while others especially along transport routes, have broadened their services. The decrease in clusters may not be overlooked because it has some implications for the residents. For some it means distances to their local convenience shops has increased and for others it means pure convenience since they can access things like videotapes closer to home.

The analysis of what change really means for the residents will be dealt with in the analysis of findings in chapter eight. To understand what change in shopping cluster formation mean, one has to find out from the people affected by it, the next chapter deals with the findings of an observation study, interviews and questionnaires.

CHAPTER

SIX

CHAPTER SIX CHANGE EFFECTS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings from the observation study, questionnaires and interviews that were conducted in the study area. The chapter explores the feelings of retailers pertaining the future of their business and their fears. The consumers' perceptions about the shops they use, how they use them, how the use of the shops has changed over the years is also outlined below. The aim is to investigate the effects of change in the retail system and how it affects or benefits the residents.

6.2 Report on land use surveys

The limited land use survey shows that number of shops that are still currently in existence are not shown as zoned commercial areas but they have a right to exist under Existing Use Rights. They are therefore not seen on the zoning map and are only discovered through walking. What was noticed was that most of the shops that do not appear on the land use map are either vacant or closed down especially those located on their own or not on main routes.

6.3 Report on retailer interviews

Two kinds of structured interviews were used in this study; firstly with those retailers who have been in business for more than five years; and secondly with those that are relatively new. The shops were identified in the map of commercial

activities and the accompanying data of 1975. Six "old" outlets were then selected, because they presented the common kinds of shops that were found in the shopping clusters in 1975. Most of the shops selected for interview were convenience type shops selling basic convenience goods. The other three, were a bakery, a butcher and an antiques shop. The owners or shopkeepers of these shops were then interviewed. In some of the shopping clusters an old and a new outlet were selected, in some clusters only one kind was selected. The six old outlets were:

- A bakery on Manning Road
- A Butcher on Frere road,
- A bakery/ convenience shop and an antiques shop on Bulwer Road,
- A grocer (tea/delic) on Mc Donald Road,
- And a general dealer on the corner of Brand and Cromwell Road.

To find the second group of new retailers, the new shop that are most common in current clusters were identified and it was noticed that the type of outlets that appeared mostly were video shops and fast food outlets. The outlets selected represented the contemporary outlets that have replaced the old outlets. They represent the difference between the needs of people who lived in this area in 1975 and those currently living there. These are the kinds of shops that the people who lived in 1975 did not see as missing in the area, while the people living in that area now can not imagine their lives without it, they have become part of their everyday lives.

The new outlets group were:

- A fast food outlet on Manning Road
- A tavern/Pub on Bulwer

- Two video shops on Brand road
- Internet café on Manning Road
- And a pawnshop on Umbilo Road

6.4 Report on interview with retailers

This report gives an account of the findings from the retailer interviews that were conducted with certain retailers in the Berea south area. Twelve shops were identified from the clusters. They were chosen based on the 1975 data, six were those that have not changed their use from that of 1975 and another six were those that have changed into other kinds of shops. The results are presented in terms of questions asked and they are presented together for comparison

(I) Length of time in the shop

The first group: the old owners

The owners reported that they have not been running the businesses themselves and did not know the length of time it has been running as it is. Out of six, three businesses are reported to have been running for more than 15 years. Those are the self-service convenience shop on McDonald Road, the butcher on Frere Road, and the bakery on Manning Road. The remaining two outlets which are the antiques and the general dealer/ self service were run by shop managers who had no idea as to how long the shop had been in existence.

The second group: the new owners

The new owners ranged from three months to five years. The newest shop was the pawnshop, which had just arrived three months ago. The rest were between one and three years old.

(ii) Nature of customers in terms of race/income group/ and age

The first group: the old owners

All retailers in this group reported that people of all income levels, and all races use the shops.

New outlets

The Africans, Indians and a few middle class whites, mostly used the pawnshops, while video shops are utilised by middle to higher income young couples and youth. The other video shop was strictly for adults and was used by people of all races normally of middle-income status.

The grocer is utilised by white elderly people and Africans of middle or average income. One may assume in a car oriented city that the only reason the elderly are using those shops is because they do not want to drive far and are trying to escape the congestion in the centres and perhaps they cannot drive. There were also maids who needed goods of smaller quantity for their own use after hours. Workers use the small restaurants during lunch times and after hours.

(iii) Consistency of the goods

The majority of the shopkeepers of convenience stores said they have been selling the same kinds of goods, but they have adjusted their services. They now include more topping up goods. The butcher and the antique shop are still selling the same types of goods

(iv) Changing customers

The customers' profiles have changed for both new and old shops. There has been an increase in black people in the area. Thus, there have been new black customers.

(v) Busy times

The first group: the old owners

The grocer shops vary on their working hours but they all open early and close very late. The earliest open at 5am and the latest to close closes at 9pm during the week.

The convenience shops reported their busy times to be the early hours of the morning before 6 and 7 am. During this time they get plenty of customers requiring basic goods such as bread, milk, cigarettes, newspapers and so on. Weekends and evenings are also very busy. The butcher is said to be busy on weekends, evenings and month ends. The antiques shop is busy on weekends only.

New outlets

The majority of them open very late and close late, the video shops open between 10 and 11 am and close between 8 and 9pm. The video shops are busy in the afternoon after 5pm, and on weekends. The pawnshops are only busy after 5 pm in the afternoon and on weekends, the café/superette open as early as 6-7: 30 and it is busy early in the morning, at lunchtime, late afternoon and weekends. The fast food outlet and the Pub open at 8 and close late at 9pm and their busy times are mainly in the evenings between 5 and 9pm.

(vi) Goods targeted at certain kinds of people

The first group: the old owners

The grocer shops, bakery and butcher owners said their goods are not directed at any certain type of people but they are small in quantity and come in handy as top-up goods rather than as bulk purchases. The antiques owner reported that their goods are targeted at anyone but it is mainly White people who visit this outlet.

New outlets

Most retailers said their goods are not target specific. Video shops said their goods are suitable for middle to higher incomers, who own either DVD's or video machines. Thus most customers are middle to higher incomes. The other video shop targets adults only.

(vii) How the business has done over the past years and the best selling products

The first group: the old owners

(a) Half of them said their businesses are doing very well, while the other two said they are doing okay, and only one said his business is doing worse. In grocer/convenience stores the best selling goods are bread, cigarettes, cool drinks, and newspapers.

(b) New retailers

All retailers were very happy about the way their businesses were doing. For new outlets it is hard to isolate the best

selling goods because the pawn shop does not sell the same kind of goods all the time, the video tapes are normally hired than sold.

Table 8. Business performance for all businesses

Business	Assessment
Excellent	4
Good	5
Fair	2
Poor	1
Total	12

(viii) Optimism about the future

The new retailers were very optimistic about the future. The old owners were not asked this question.

6.5 Report on the Survey of Consumers

The survey was carried out around the study area, Berea South. People who lived in the vicinity of shopping clusters were surveyed. The respondents were found outside their homes, at the shops and on the roads. Forty people were surveyed.

6.5.1 Perceptions and feelings of consumers who have been in the area for five years or less.

To gain knowledge about the feelings and perceptions of consumers in the area, they were divided into two categories those who have been in the area for 15- 20 years and those that are fairly new between 0-5 years.

The questions asked were almost the same for both groups with minor differences. Among the questions they were asked was

6.5.2 The use of the shopping cluster facilities provided.

The questionnaire was administered to household or consumers who resided near shopping cluster in the area. It was set to find out about their shopping behaviour and attitudes pertaining their local clusters and their shopping behaviour in general.

Twenty percent reported that they do not use the shopping clusters and eighty percent said they use the shopping clusters.

When asked why they were not using the shopping cluster, the respondents said the reason is that the food is not fresh in the clusters near them. The other one added that bread and rolls are always hard and old. It was also said that the reason they were not using these clusters was because they lacked variety of goods and were not attractive. The facilities that people reported to be using were mainly convenience shops.

6.5.3 Frequency of using cluster/corner shop, car ownership and the kinds of goods people buy.

Table 9. Frequency of use

Frequency	%
Daily	30%
2-3 times a week	30%
On week ends/ evenings	30%
Never	10%
Total	100%

There was an even distribution of use of these clusters some are using it daily, twice a week, and on week ends.

6.5.4 Things that should be added in the shopping clusters

Most people had no idea on what should be added on the clusters. They were happy about what they had currently. One customer interviewed coming out of the cluster with a tin of cool drink even said " I'm quite happy about the way things are, but I think they should remove the people asking for money cause they are chasing customers away." It appears as though the residents like the way things are and would not like anything to be added. One respondent complained that the small local convenience did not stock toiletries and the respondent thought it would be nice to get some.

6.5.5 Problems related to the cluster near their homes

The shopping clusters' problems reported were mainly that of parking on the street. Those without parking on site are causing problems for the people living near by as they block their entrances. The Berea area has many off street garages

and some cannot come in or out because the entrances have been blocked. When cars have parked on the road, this leads to the slowing down of traffic. The other problems of the clusters are the unavailability of fresh foods, lack of variety on certain goods, lack of street furniture outside some shops and the presence of people asking for money.

6.6 Perceptions of consumers who have been in the area for 15 years and above.

6.6.1 The use of the corner cluster of shops and the kinds of good purchased.

Response	%	Reason
Never use	60	Expensive goods
Use	10	Emergencies only
Use	30	Topping up
	100	

Table 10 .Use of Shopping Cluster

Out of twenty residents who have been in the area for 15 years or more, it appears that they use the corner shops two or three times a week. They all have reported to use these shops for basics only. Corner shops have been said to be convenient for topping up purposes. Sixty percent of the consumers said they do not use the small shops because they find them too expensive. Ten percent said they use them only in emergencies.

6.6.2 Change of use

Sixty percent said they have changed their use of the shopping cluster. They reported that they used to buy bulk groceries and now all they buy is topping up goods only. They are currently using the Berea Shopping Centre and the Davenport Square for their bulk shopping. Forty percent of the respondents said they have not changed the use of the cluster near them. They have always used it for topping up and are still using it now for the same purpose. All respondents reported not to be missing any of the shops that are either not there or have been there but moved to other areas. They are satisfied about the services available nearby.

Table 11 Change of use of the shopping clusters

No.	%	Use	Shop Now using
8	40%	Not changed	The same
12	60%	Changed	Shopping centres
Total	100%		

6.6.3 Problems of having suburban shopping centres within the area

Sixty percent reported the problem of having too many people in the area due to the shopping centres. 20% thought traffic was the main problem of having a shopping centre. 20% saw no problem associated with the shopping centre

location. Only old residents were asked because they would understand the difference that has occurred overtime.

Table 12. Problems of the centre

No	%	Problems
12	60%	Overcrowding
4	20%	Traffic
4	20%	None
20	100%	

6.6.4 Advantages of new stores

What was found was that people feel the place is still the same. The new outlets did not bring about any significant changes in their lives. However, ninety percent feel the new or changed outlets bring more people to the area. Ten percent said they have not noticed the difference.

6.6.5 The goods normally bought at the local shops

Forty percent of the respondents are now buying the goods they used to buy at their local shops at the nearby supermarkets. Sixty percent either go to town or to any of the nearest shopping centres.

6.6.6 Transport modes used to get to shops

Table 13 transport modes

No.	%	Mode of Transport
8	40	Walk
12	60	Car
20	100	

Sixty percent are mobile while forty percent walk to shops. This gives people choice because those who are mobile can shop anywhere and it is easy for these people to bypass the nearby shops and go to those with a good parking. Forty percent that are not mobile are constrained by transport and cannot walk back and forth to far away shops. Thus they end up settling for those nearer for basic goods but travel to shopping centres for bulk groceries. Therefore, those without cars shop more in local shops than those with cars.

Table 14 Bulk shopping

No.	%	Shopping place
12	60%	Town/ shopping centres
8	40%	Local supermarkets

What has emerged in this survey is that most people in the area do not rely on the facilities in the cluster and that they enjoy walking a longer distance to the centre while passing two or more small local shops with an aim of getting the same product available locally but with the belief that it is more

fresh and a bit cheaper. Another reason may be the entertainment that people get when visiting the centre. People enjoy variety of goods of which is what the local shops are missing.

6. Conclusion

What has come out of this chapter is people mainly patronize the small shops for limited convenience goods for top-up purposes. Parking is the main problem for most shopping clusters. The service shops bring a certain kind of clientele at different times. Therefore the support given by these people seems to be limited. Most people do their shopping in large shops and buy only basics in local shops. In conclusion, the use of small shops decreases with the rise of car ownership and affluence. However, a balance is formed as the small shops sell basic goods while the shopping centres provide bulk groceries. Thus, they are not competing but complement each other. They both have important roles to play and will continue to co-exist.

CHAPTER

SEVEN

CHAPTER SEVEN: ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

7.1 Introduction

The chapter dealing with findings of the study provided answers to most of the questions and it uncovers the benefits and problems of change as identified through surveys, interviews and observation. The analysis looks specifically at how change affects the area, this analysis is presented in terms of what people perceive as advantages and disadvantages of change, and what the researcher observed as beneficial and problematic. The advantages and disadvantages identified will be used in the making of the recommendations of the area.

Berea is not a homogenous area, it mainly consists of middle to upper middle-income residents, with a few lower income people residing including the elderly, housekeepers, childminders and students. The survey results indicate that overcrowding and traffic are perceived as the main problems at and near the large Neighbourhood level shopping clusters. However these problems do not cause the residents to desire to flee the area, nor to do their shopping in the CBD or elsewhere. Evidence from the survey shows that relatively high prices create a resistance of people to use the local convenience shops, except for emergencies or topping up. Another problem with small shops is that they lack variety or choice of goods.

Respondents stated that they enjoy buying where there are a variety of goods to choose from. In this respect, the local shops have a very limited choice. Car ownership has made it

easy for people to shop anywhere they want. When asked how they reach the shops, the majority of respondents revealed that they use their cars. Thus it is easy for many residents to bypass their local shops and to buy at the large Neighbourhood level shopping centres. This is not surprising because it has been said that availability of car ownership has led to people doing their shopping in large shopping centres (Potter, 1982).

7.2 The amount to which shopping clusters are needed

What has emerged from the findings is that there is some ambiguity, because the residents reported the value that these shopping clusters have for them, while they also reported not to be using them as much as they could. Even those who use them are not reporting to be buying lots of goods; they only buy "topping-up" goods. Some users only use them in emergencies, if they forgot to buy something at a Neighbourhood Shopping Centre, and when it is late, then the clusters are used. Most people either use the clusters once a week or in the evenings only. This says a lot about the relevance of small shops in this community. Firstly, it shows that it is a service with a declining need for most people. Secondly, it shows that people have changed their use of shops, and they now prefer large planned shopping centres instead of clusters of small shops. Thirdly, it also tells us that this kind of business is diminishing as some of the shop owners reported that business is not too good, this trend is likely to continue.

What was interesting was to see that not only do people who are mobile bypass their local cluster of shops, but people who are not mobile, also do the same most of the time, as they reported that

they do their bulk shopping in town, or at the Shopping Centres. This contradicts with what Goss, (1993) said when he said shopping centres were for high-income people, mainly whites and Indians. This study shows that people of all incomes i.e. mobile and immobile enjoy patronising the Neighbourhood level shopping centres. Probably the attitudes have changed since Goss last wrote. The retailers of most convenience type shops reported to be busy on weekends, evenings and early mornings. When looking at the business hours of the shopping centres, it shows that the shopping clusters get most customers when the Neighbourhood shopping centres are closed, and it becomes quiet once the neighbourhood shopping centres have opened. The residents are happy with the shopping facilities that are currently provided and they said they did not miss any of the shops that have left or changed. This was found to be in agreement with what Kahn, (1984) said, when he stated that small shops in affluent areas tend to decrease, because these people can afford to shop in large shopping centres. This however is in contrast with the central place theory, which states that people are likely to visit the shops closer to them.

7.3 Changing use

When looking at the comparison of the shops existing in 1975, and those existing in 2002, it is clear that many small shops have ceased to offer convenience goods. They have either changed into more contemporary outlets providing entertainment services such as video shops, fast food outlets or into offices. This is inline with what the cyclic models have stated that retail forms start as cut price, low cost narrow margin operation and gradually trade up into conservative institutions providing quality goods and services.

Accessibility was found to be important for consumers, a shop without parking inconveniences mobile drivers and discourages them from shopping there. The consumers considered shopping outlets that have no proper on site parking problematic. This is no surprise as Empirical-Behaviourists stated that shopping facilities with enough parking are likely to succeed. Therefore, shopping clusters that are doing well but located on main routes must be provided with enough parking spaces to ensure their success.

In the findings, it was found that shopping in large shopping centres was preferred over other shopping options because, when all the aspects of shopping were considered, it was the most convenient which offers variety and fresh goods at a relatively low price exactly what the people need.

As expected, distance to the store was less decisive to those shopping in large centres. However, although not patronising the store closest to them all the time, the respondents reported to be patronising the shopping centres closest to them if it could fulfil their requirements. It was assumed that they did this to minimise the time and effort used for shopping. Most residents usually shop by car even if they live close to the shopping centres. Nevertheless, it is very hard to explain people's behaviour related to shopping because many of them are related to such complicated cognitive structures of the mind that even the consumers themselves are unable to analyse them in detail.

7.4. Another evolution

From this study it is clear that what is happening is another shopping evolution in suburbs. It is evident from the 1975 and 2002 comparison that the shopping clusters located in the middle of the residential area and not on major roads are disappearing while

those on the major routes survive, but tend to be replaced to serve a much broader area with services such as videos and fast food. This was expected from the life cycle model, which states that retail facilities pass through the same stages of birth, growth, maturity and decline and it seems as if the shopping cluster has reached the stage of decline.

The dialectical theory maintains that an institutional thesis is challenged by the antithesis and the synthesis results from the melding of the two. The small shop and its problems of not enough parking, lack of variety, poor quality goods may be called the thesis; and a well controlled and maintained, easily accessible out of town planned shopping centres may be regarded as the antithesis. The renewed/ change of use of the shop may be seen as synthesis. This model maintains that competition is healthy as it encourages the old retail forms to keep on improving or changing their environments as well as service to cater for the ever changing needs of the community. When looking at the study area most shops have changed into video shops/ book shops/charity shops/pawn shops, as the "synthesis", and are doing well so far. The shopping cluster on the corner of Bulwer and Clark Road has been revitalised and it now has adequate parking and from the findings it was reported to be doing well.

The "crisis response sequence" model states that retail forms undergo four stages; shock, defensive treat, acknowledgement and adaptation. Thus, when a small shop was challenged by the arrival of the planned shopping centre in the 1970's most shopkeepers did not recognize the problem they were still in shock, they then tried to resist the challenger when their shops became supermarkets; when they did not succeed to resist the challenger they began accepting its presence. Some decided to change the use and found

complementary uses and some revitalized the existing shops. The new "synthesis" establishes a new equilibrium with different locations/ shopping clusters offering complimentary goods and services.

7.5 Disadvantages and advantages

Different kinds of people experience different kinds of problems and benefits due to the changes that have occurred in the Berea South area. Residents who settled in the area fifteen to twenty years ago have been affected by change differently than those who have settled five years ago or less.

Residents who have been in the area for longer enjoy extremely convenient access to shopping. It is most likely that they were attracted to the area by different characteristics such as quietness and sadly, for those people all that has slowly changed.

On the other hand the recent residents settled after most retail changes, thus for these people nothing in terms of retail change affects them in a negative way.

Traffic was mentioned by people as one of the problems that the large Neighbourhood Shopping Centre brought in the area. The areas that are mainly affected by traffic are Davenport, Brand and Clark Roads near Davenport Square. Although the Neighbourhood Shopping Centre has parking provided on site, it was observed that this parking is not sufficient because it is now being utilised by people not visiting the shopping centre only, but it is also used by users of offices located opposite the centre. Thus cars end up being parked on the sides of the nearby roads and this has problems for the people living in the vicinity as well as for the people passing by, as the traffic slows down (Figure No.2). With the arrival of the

Neighbourhood Shopping Centre, many offices have located nearby, such as banks located across Davenport Square, the customers for these banks park on the street and this causes traffic congestion on this road.

It was expected that people would note street trading as problematic; amazingly it did not seem to be causing problems. Perhaps it is because it was limited in scale, size and location (Figure No.3).

Traffic congestion appears to be a problem in both Local Level Clusters and Neighbourhood Shopping Centres, but it was not mentioned as the biggest problem. It becomes difficult to cross busy roads, especially for the elderly. Traffic congestion normally occurs in the evenings, when people are coming off work, and in the morning. In the Berea Centre the trucks that deliver goods have no parking space left for them at the back. As a result, they park on the roadside. The shopping cluster e.g. on the corner of Brand and Cromwell road has on site parking but it is not demarcated by parking lines, thus customers park as they please therefore the parking ends up being under-utilised because it is not clear whether all parking spaces have been taken or not (Figure No5). Most customers for this cluster park on the sides of the road. The very same cluster lacks proper street furniture such as benches. Despite the problems mentioned above, one cannot turn a blind eye towards the benefits that came along with retail changes.

The residents (or the users) enjoy extremely convenient access to a number of amenities and shopping areas that they use almost daily. The three neighbourhood shopping centres, Davenport Square, Berea Centre and the Village Mall are located within acceptable walking distance away from each other, thus people in the area can walk to a range of activities such as banks etc. There is also a

convenient access to entertainment services such as video stores, fast foods outlets, Bed & Breakfasts, restaurants, professional offices such as doctors, attorneys, etc. The distribution of facilities is convenient both for the immobile and mobile people, children, housemaids and elderly. Residents working in the area also enjoy close proximity to areas of work. It is an area that has the entire residential amenities and even more. Therefore, in spite of the disadvantages that have resulted, change has led to a better life and has enriched the residential environment of this area.

7.6 Problems encountered

Certain problems were encountered during data collection. The collection of data was time consuming and tiresome because the researcher initially intended to visit every house in the study area. This was impossible because most houses have high fences and intercoms at the gates. The owner would just ask what you want and would not open. Where there were no high fences, there were dogs and it was hard to get access. The prevalence of high crime in the country has made people suspicious and they would not even stop when asked to answer the questionnaires.

The final resort was to visit the local churches, with the most local people, and ask them after church service, to answer the questionnaires. In church people felt they could trust the researcher as she was seen as one of them and felt comfortable to answer all questions as they could. Some retailers were uncomfortable with questions about their performance and did not like to reveal their real names. Time was very limited, had there been more of it, this research could have been more representative of the entire community and could have taken some important aspects into

considerations (i.e. gender, age and class of subjects and how it affects their choices).

7.7 Conclusion

The larger shopping centres found in the study area reflect on Kahn's concept that higher income areas require few lower order centres and purchase a lot at Regional, Community and Neighbourhood level shopping centres, and the hierarchal structure of shopping centres is not limited due to incomes. The middle-income people possess the full range of retail facilities. Thus, based on the findings, Berea South is changing from becoming a middle-income area in terms of retail facilities into a higher-income area. With change there will be less lower order centres and residents will be left with shopping centres to purchase from.

CHAPTER

EIGHT

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE WAY FORWARD

8.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out what needs to be done in response to the changes that have taken place. Once change has been recognised, there has to be some measures that must be taken towards a new equilibrium. Thus, it would be recommended that the officials take these into consideration.

The location of retail facilities has significant effects on shopping patterns. Whilst large shopping centres have a role to play in the provision of a wider choice, variety as well as entertainment, it is important to plan for the shops that are no longer in use as to prevent blight and vacant shops in order to ensure that the vitality and viability of the suburb is maintained.

8.2 Recommendations

(a) Generic Policy Recommendations

To ensure that change is recognized, accepted, managed and planned for, it is important to adopt these policies.

- (i) There is no need to panic about change leading to blight and vacant spaces
- (ii) Provision of facilities (bins, seating) where it is appropriate.
- (iii) Parking should be encouraged where there are no major complications
- (iv) Rezoning should be encouraged where there are vacant spaces or where business is not doing well.

(b) Site Specific Recommendations

(i) Parking

The lack of parking was observed and also mentioned as a problem for local shopping clusters. It restricts access during the day, thus the following recommendations were made based on the problems encountered by the residents in the area.

Shopping Cluster No.1, on Manning Road, lacks adequate parking and as a result cars are parked on the side of the road, and this slows down traffic. This cluster is very busy as it offers fast foods, bakery/ convenience, cyber café and a video outlet. It is located on one of the distributor roads, thus the provision of adequate parking is recommended. Therefore, half of the site that is currently zoned for public open space could be rezoned to become a parking space for the shopping cluster.

The other half would be left as a public space, so that people could sit there while enjoying their lunches. A few benches and bins could also be added since there is none at the moment outside the cluster. This cluster is busy and occurs in the middle of the neighbourhood, it is likely to survive based on the comparison of 1975 and 2002. It is currently doing better, because it has many more outlets now that it had in 1975 and they are doing well. Therefore, it is important to allocate a parking area for it.

Shopping Cluster No.5, is on Bulwer and Cleaver Road, this cluster needs no parking space to be added, but it requires some street furniture such as bins, because it has a pub/restaurant outlet. It has much potential as it is located on one of the major roads in the area and it will not fade away with change. Therefore it requires bins to keep it clean.

Shopping Cluster No.3, on McDonald Road, consist of only one small convenience outlet, which has remained since 1975. It is not doing very badly at the moment, however with change it is likely to fade or convert. It has no parking space, but it does not bring much traffic to the area. Therefore, no parking space should be given to this shopping cluster. It should be left as it is.

Shopping Cluster No.4, on Brand and Cromwell Road, is well located on the corner. It has enough visibility and it is very accessible with enough on site and on street parking, but its parking space is not demarcated and there are holes on the pavement near the public phones and there is not enough litter bins outside. Most clientele are mobile, thus parking lines need to be identified. The municipality needs to fix the pavement, provide shelter, seats and bins outside the shopping cluster.

Cluster No.2, on Frere Road, needs to be allowed to convert into preferable residential apartments, which will not require parking provision. It has convenience outlets that are not performing well according to owners and it is located very close to the shopping centre. Residents find its food not fresh; therefore conversion is what this cluster needs. This shopping cluster is not zoned for commercial, thus it should just convert to any use compatible with the area.

The nature of most offices in the area, do not require much parking because they are mainly professional offices.

Parking can be provided at the back of the existing shops where possible only for the few shopping clusters, which have a potential and are located along the major routes.

(ii) Vacant buildings

Though there are not many vacant retail outlets, it is important to make a recommendation to prevent them from becoming susceptible to vandalism, blight and crime. The municipality should allow the use of vacant spaces as offices without prior application for rezoning. But such offices should not require much parking spaces and should not cause significant harm to residential amenity, or the urban environment in scale, design, materials, traffic generation and parking provision.

This can ensure that vacant sites do not remain vacant for a long period and do not end up being vandalised but are utilised efficiently to maintain the vitality of the area. If an outlet has been vacant for longer than a period of three months, it should be allowed to convert its use into non-retail as long as it

- (i) does not generate much traffic
- (ii) does not require a large space for parking
- (iii) is compatible with the land uses in the area
- (iv) does not compromise the residential amenity.

(iii) Street furniture

Most shopping clusters have fast food outlets and the lack of bins lead into papers lying around. The provision of street furniture such as bins and chairs outside shops is important as it may enable the shopping clusters to have clean surroundings.

8.3 Summary of the findings

In order to manage and respond to change in the structure of shopping facilities, it is important to provide the facilities that will enable the new "equilibrium" to occur. The provision of adequate parking, rezoning to ensure less vacant spaces, and provision of facilities will ensure that change is accepted and does not compromise the residential amenity.

8.3.1 Hypothesis

Therefore, it is safe to say that the hypothesis which says ' while the arrival of large planned shopping centres is often perceived as a threat to local convenience clusters, the shopping system as a whole evolves and results in a new equilibrium', has been proven. It appears that the shopping system has evolved and has led to two kinds of shopping, which is bulk shopping at the large shopping centres, and topping up in the large shopping clusters nearby. Also, new outlets serving peoples new needs take up the space, e.g. videos and take aways. Perhaps take aways need more careful consideration because of parking and litter problems.

8.3.2 Evaluation of the degree to which sub questions have been answered

(a) How many local shopping clusters were in Berea south in 1975, and where were they located?

In 1975, Berea South consisted of many local shopping clusters, which were distributed evenly along the roads. Each cluster had one or more convenience outlets. There were twenty-three shopping clusters in the study area. Some shopping clusters were bigger than others, especially those on major routes formed a ribbon development on Umbilo and

Berea Roads. The local shopping clusters were located in close proximity to each other.

(b) The types of shops in 2002

At present the shops available in shopping clusters are those serving the changing needs of the community such as video shops, takeaways, restaurants, and pawnshops have replaced the old types of convenience shops. Most convenience type shops found in 1975 shopping clusters such as chemist and butcher are now in shopping centres. The number of convenience outlets has decreased in shopping clusters and the service outlets have increased. Most convenience outlets have been replaced by catering outlets such as fast foods restaurants and video shops. The new kinds of shops bring different kinds of clientele at different times. The entertainment services are patronized by the mobile and immobile. For example, fast foods outlets are normally busy at lunch hours and after hours bringing traffic in the neighbourhood. The furniture, household equipment, apparel shops have drastically decreased in shopping clusters. In 1975 almost all clusters had one or more apparel outlets, which have been replaced, by contemporary shops such as fast foods or video shops. Currently catering outlets are found in almost all the clusters followed by speciality, services, and convenience type outlets.

(c) The number of shops vacant in 2002

There are very few vacant shops especially it is those that are located far from the major routes. Most of the shops have become offices. Even the clusters that are reportedly not doing well are not vacant, although it is clear when you get inside that they are going out of business.

(d) The outlets converted into non-retail use

Not many shops have been converted into non-retail use when compared to what it was in 1975. However outlets seem to convert into other kinds of retail that meet the needs of the people using it. Some shops have converted into offices that were not there before such as security offices. These offices also cater for the changing needs of the society. There has been an increase in shops converting into funeral parlours.

(e) Informal and formal business

Informal trading follows people thus the study area has had the same history as the CBD. The area has many financial institutions and professional offices. Some were located here before the shopping centres arrival. There has been some formal business moving into the area. There have been some restaurants, video shops, and pawnshops etc. that have moved into the area.

The informal trading is not a common feature in shopping centres located in suburban areas, but some informal trading has started outside Davenport Square and Berea Centre (figure No.3). It must be noted though that informal trading around Davenport Square and Berea Centre does not impinge on retailers within the protected mall and it is very minimal in scale. This differs from the impact in the CBD, which is blocking entry and views. When asked about the problems in the area none of the respondents mentioned the impact of informal trading. It must also be noted that the retailers of the shopping centres involved were not part of the sample, thus their opinions are not included. However, this comes as a surprise because it was expected that the impact of informal trading would be perceived as detrimental to the

social and economical aspects of the area. Thus the arrival of informal trading effects appears to be minimal.

(f) The way shopping clusters are used

What came out of the survey was that people utilize the small convenience outlets for topping up purposes and do their bulk grocery in larger shopping centers and in other parts of town. They use shopping clusters mainly when the big shopping centres are closed, e.g. in the evening and on weekends. They also use the service and catering outlets found in the shopping clusters. The convenience outlets are used for emergency shops only.

(g) Benefits and problems resulting from change

Because the aim of this study is to assess the impact of change in the area, it is important to look at what can be called negative effects of change and the positive effects of change. The negative effects are made from what came out of the survey, observation and interviews. Unfortunately with change there are winners and losers in different ways.

One disadvantage of change has been the decrease in shopping clusters and outlets providing convenience goods. The residents in this area have lost the opportunity to have a corner cluster with personalised outlets. This has meant the distance to get convenience goods has increased, but not that much, since all facilities are within a reasonable walking distance.

The disadvantages in this area are that this area consists of many kinds of land uses and mainly shopping, thus traffic and overcrowding appears to be the main problem and a negative effect of change. The amount of traffic is exacerbated when there are parking problems and most small

shops have no on site parking. As a result, during peak hours, the cars parked on the side off the roads slow down the traffic and also inconvenience the residents. Thus, provision of on site parking for shopping clusters is required.

Another negative effect observed was the lack of bins outside shopping clusters. The absence of bins leads to littering. This impacts on the appearance of the environment.

The absence of street furniture outside shops on major transport routes such as Bulwer Road does not encourage people using public transport to patronise these shops. People willing to stay outside the shops have no benches or shelter to sit on. The addition of street furniture could encourage the support of shopping clusters.

Nevertheless, the effects of change have resulted in many benefits, which are enjoyed by the residents. The people in this area enjoy plenty of amenities in close proximity. They may have lost the accessibility to a corner cluster but have gained a lot from the additional choice at the larger shopping centres, although further away. There are three shopping centres of different levels and are all located within a walking distance. The number of shopping facilities ensures that people enjoy great amount of choice and variety of goods available to them. Besides the availability of many shopping clusters and shopping centres, there are also professional offices such as doctors, physiotherapists and attorneys etc. The close proximity to many services is another advantage brought by change. With the location of shopping centres, other non-retail offices such as banks, insurance and state agencies were attracted to locate in this area.

The converting of other shops into service outlets has meant that people enjoy close proximity to many amenities. The availability of entertainment services such as video shops, cinema and fast foods restaurants has made this area a leisure destination for many even

those not residing in the area. Overcrowding has led to job opportunities for both low and middle classes. The occurrence of informal trading has enabled the less affluent to benefit in the neighbourhood's economy.

The residents who own outlets in the shopping clusters are fortunate as they can sell or convert their buildings into offices.

8.4 Conclusion

Retail activity is constantly changing due to either technological inventions or socio-economical trends. The change in consumer demands leads to change in supply. The availability of cars is one example. Mobile people easily bypass the nearest centres because physical distance is shortened by the use of a car to a desired shopping facility, and where a person can buy a desired good at a price that satisfies them. The survey results have shown that majority of the respondents are mobile which means that they are either high or middle income people and as the economic data on income reveals that this area has middle income earners it is easy to understand why they bypass the local small shops to buy at the shopping centres. High-income people are also health conscious (one of the twentieth century trend), they insist on getting fresh foods, unfortunately the local shops do not have those.

The arrival of shopping centres has impacted on the shops in the local area. It has led to small local shops having a reduced threshold and they have to adapt to such changes. However, the arrival of larger shopping centres came as an answer to people's changing needs and its arrival has led to many benefits and upliftment of the area.

The hierarchical structure of Berea South is not limited due to high levels of mobility and thresholds. Thus, residents do not have to travel long distances to acquire comparison type goods. The previously local population centres have changed their target they are now serving a

broader population including people passing by. Therefore, it is important to provide them with infrastructural support to enable them to continue thriving in order to adapt in an ever-changing environment. Evidently, entrepreneurs of all economic powers adapt to change. Some either convert into different kinds of business while others think of new ways to regain their customers.

Small clusters have changed roles from serving people with basic convenience goods for the local area to

- (i) New services, e.g. video shops which also serve a wider area
- (ii) Fast foods which are often serving a wider area
- (iii) Speciality shops such as antiques also serving a wider area

Therefore, those small clusters on major routes and with visibility will survive by change. The same in convenient locations will retain a more limited convenience role. Some services such as fast foods outlets, pubs and restaurants create a major parking/traffic impact. Those in poor locations should be permitted or encouraged to change to low impact uses such as low-key offices, or be redeveloped into residential uses. Those in good positions should be given infrastructural support such as street furniture, bins, seating, shelters and parking.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire for residents who have been in the area for five years or less.

1. Do you use any of the facilities in the shopping cluster near you?

If yes, which ones? -----

If not, why not? -----

2. How frequently do you use the cluster/corner shop?

- a. 2-3 times a week
- b. Daily
- c. On weekends
- d. Other
- e. Evenings only
- f. Emergencies only

3. What kinds of goods do you buy from the corner shop?

- a. Basics
- b. Bulk grocery
- c. Other..... Please specify

4. Why do you use the local small stores?

- a. Convenient
- b. Topping up
- c. Variety of goods
- d. Nowhere else to shop
- e. Other----- please specify

5. What do you think are advantages of a corner/ cluster of shops near you?

6. What do you think are the problems caused by having a cluster of small shops near you?

7. What do you think is missing in the cluster near you?

8. How do you get to the shops?

- a. Car
- b. Walk
- c. Cycle
- d. Taxi/bus
- e. Other.....

9. Where do you buy your bulk groceries?

10. Why are you buying your bulk there?

Thank you for your time!

Appendix 2

Residents who have been in the area for 15-20 years

1. Do you use any of the facilities in the shopping cluster near you?

If yes, which ones? -----

If not, why not? -----

2. How frequently do you use the cluster/corner shop?

- a. 2-3 times a week
- b. Daily
- c. On weekends
- d. Evenings only
- e. Emergencies only
- f. Other-----

3. What kinds of goods do you buy from the corner shop?

- d. Basics (bread/milk)
- e. Bulk grocery
- f. Other..... Please specify

4. Why do you use the local small stores?

- a. Convenient
- b. Topping up
- c. Variety of goods
- d. Nowhere else to shop
- e. Other----- please specify

5. Where do you buy your bulk groceries?

6. Has your use of the local small shops changed over the years (If yes, in what way?)

7. Since some shops have changed, do you miss anything?

8. What problems do you encounter that resulted from the new stores?

- a. More traffic
- b. Noisier
- c. Overcrowding
- d. Same
- e. Other

9. What advantages, if any have resulted from the new stores?

- a. Quieter
- b. Safer
- c. Same
- d. Noisier
- e. Less safe

10. Do the new outlets bring more or less people to the area?

11. Where do you now get the goods you used to get from your nearby shop?

12. What effect does not having some of the shops have on you?

13. How do you get to the shops?

- a. Car
- b. Walk
- c. Cycle
- d. Taxi/bus

Thank you for your time!

Appendix 3

Outlet that has changed

Goods sold -----

Shop name-----

1. Is this shop still under the same owner as before?

2. What is your customer profile?

3. Who are your frequent customers?

4. When are your busy times?

a . Morning

b. Afternoon

b. Weekends

c. Month ends

d. Other

5. What are your working hours?

6. What else has changed with the type of shop?

a. Service is broader

b. Working hours

c. Customers

d. Other

7. What kinds of problems do you encounter?

8. How has the business done so far?

a .Excellent

b. Good

c. Fair

d. Poor

9. Has your store changed in what and how it sells its products?

10. What are your biggest selling products?

11. Are you optimistic about the future of your business?

Thank you for your time!

Appendix 4

University Of Natal
Department of Town and Regional Planning

Semi structured Interview with the shop manager/shopkeeper

1. Outlet that has not changed over the years)

Goods sold-----

Shop name-----

1.How long have you been running this shop?

0- 5 years

6- 15 years

2.could you indicate to me the nature of your customers? In terms of race, income group and age.

3.Have you been selling the same types of goods since you first started?

4. Have your customers changed over the years?

5. When are your busy times?

a. Morning

b. Afternoon

d. Weekends

e. Month ends

f. Other

6. Are your goods/products targeted to a certain kind of people in terms of income, race and age?

7. How has your business done over the last few years?

a. Excellent

b. Good

c. Fair

d. Poor

8. How does your shop differ from the rest of the stores in a cluster?

9. What are your working hours?

10. What are your biggest selling products?



Fig. NO 1



Fig. No2



Fig. N03

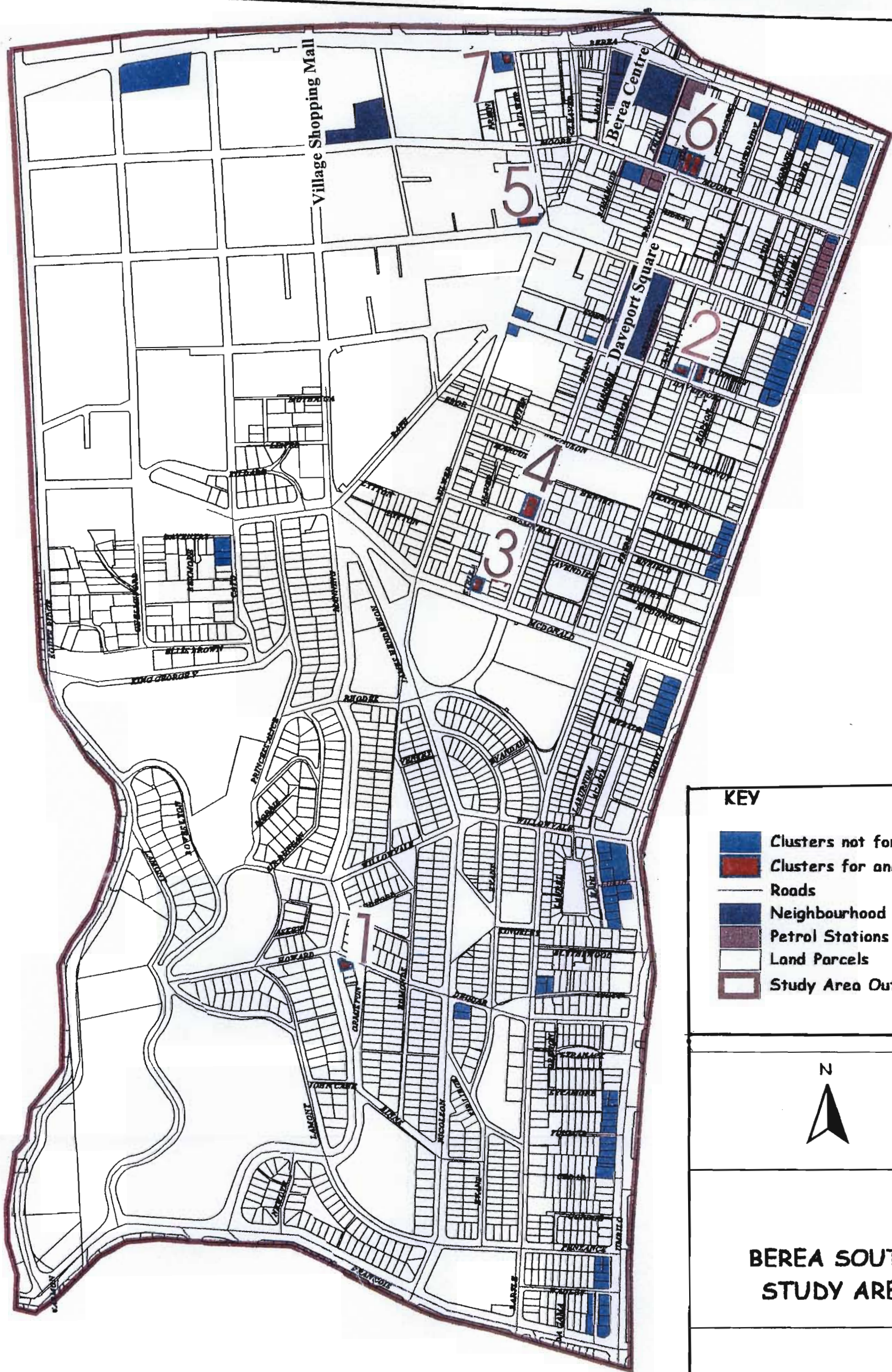


Fig N04



Fig. NO5

1/1/2000



- KEY**
- Clusters not for analysis
 - Clusters for analysis
 - Roads
 - Neighbourhood Centers.
 - Petrol Stations & Convenience Shops
 - Land Parcels
 - Study Area Outline

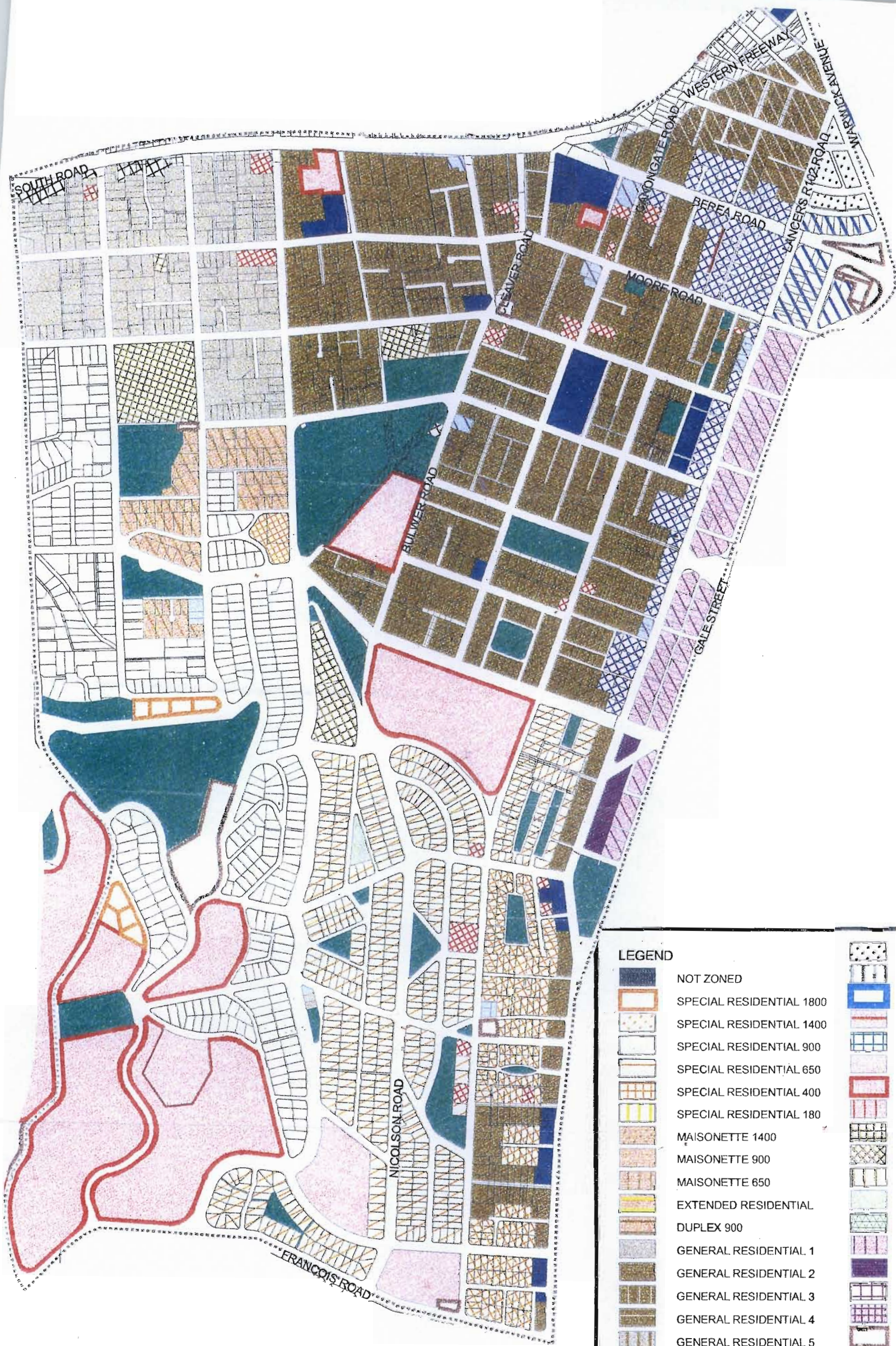


**BEREA SOUTH
STUDY AREA**

**BY:
BRIGHTNESS HADEBE**

**COMMERCIAL AREAS
MAP NO. 1**



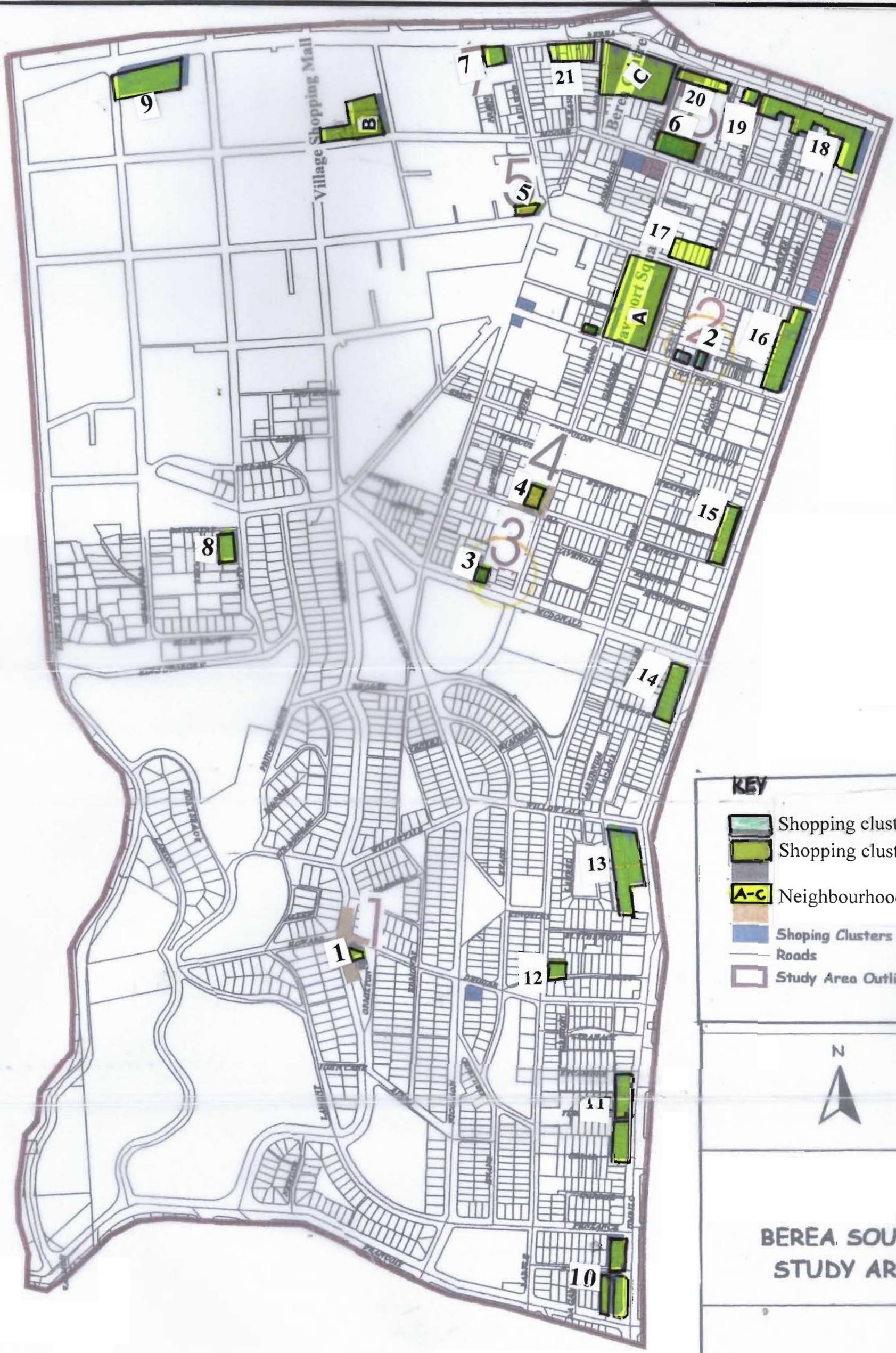


BEREA SOUTH STUDY AREA

BRIGHTNESS HADEBE

ZONING MAP NO2

LEGEND	
[Dark Blue Box]	NOT ZONED
[Orange Box]	SPECIAL RESIDENTIAL 1800
[Light Orange Box]	SPECIAL RESIDENTIAL 1400
[Light Yellow Box]	SPECIAL RESIDENTIAL 900
[Yellow Box]	SPECIAL RESIDENTIAL 650
[Light Green Box]	SPECIAL RESIDENTIAL 400
[Green Box]	SPECIAL RESIDENTIAL 180
[Light Blue Box]	MAISONETTE 1400
[Blue Box]	MAISONETTE 900
[Dark Blue Box]	MAISONETTE 650
[Light Blue Box]	EXTENDED RESIDENTIAL
[Blue Box]	DUPLEX 900
[Light Blue Box]	GENERAL RESIDENTIAL 1
[Blue Box]	GENERAL RESIDENTIAL 2
[Dark Blue Box]	GENERAL RESIDENTIAL 3
[Light Blue Box]	GENERAL RESIDENTIAL 4
[Blue Box]	GENERAL RESIDENTIAL 5
[Light Blue Box]	CRECHE
[Dark Blue Box]	PLACE OF WORSHIP
[Light Blue Box]	SPECIAL SHOPPING
[Blue Box]	GENERAL SHOPPING
[Dark Blue Box]	MINOR SHOPPING
[Light Blue Box]	PETROL SERVICE STATION
[Blue Box]	GENERAL BUSINESS
[Dark Blue Box]	GENERAL BUSINESS 2
[Light Blue Box]	GENERAL BUSINESS 3
[Blue Box]	GENERAL BUSINESS 4
[Dotted Box]	INDETERMINATE
[Blue Box]	AIRPORT
[Blue Box]	HARBOUR
[Blue Box]	CULTURAL & ENTERTAINMENT
[Blue Box]	CEMETERY
[Light Blue Box]	EDUCATIONAL 1
[Dark Blue Box]	EDUCATIONAL 2
[Light Blue Box]	EDUCATIONAL 3
[Light Blue Box]	INSTITUTIONAL 1
[Light Blue Box]	INSTITUTIONAL 2
[Light Blue Box]	INSTITUTIONAL 3
[Light Blue Box]	PRIVATE OPEN SPACE
[Light Blue Box]	BEACH
[Light Blue Box]	GENERAL INDUSTRIAL
[Light Blue Box]	LIGHT INDUSTRIAL
[Light Blue Box]	EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIAL
[Light Blue Box]	NOXIOUS INDUSTRIAL
[Light Blue Box]	GOVERNMENT & MUNICIPAL
[Light Blue Box]	TRANSPORT
[Light Blue Box]	PUBLIC OPEN SPACE
[Light Blue Box]	CONTROLLED AREA
[Light Blue Box]	AGRICULTURE
[Light Blue Box]	EXISTING STREET
[Light Blue Box]	STREET CLOSED
[Light Blue Box]	NEW STREET
[Light Blue Box]	NEW STREET TO BE DONATED
[Light Blue Box]	SPECIAL



KEY

- Shopping clusters not zoned for commercial
- Shopping clusters in 1975
- A-C Neighbourhood shopping centres
- Shopping Clusters
- Roads
- Study Area Outline



**BEREA SOUTH
STUDY AREA**

BY:
BRIGHTNESS HADERE



Commercial Areas Map Of 1975