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DISSERTATION TOPIC:

THE SUCCESS OF SHOPPING CENTRES PLANNED IN THE
APARTHEID ERA IN BLACK TOWNSHIPS: THE CASE OF THE
KWAMASHU SHOPPING CENTRE

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**THE SUCCESS OF SHOPPING CENTRES PLANNED IN THE
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KWA MASHU SHOPPING CENTRE**

By

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**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Masters in Town and Regional Planning, in the Department of Town
and Regional Planning at the University of Natal, Durban**

December 1999

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR M. KAHN

Acknowledgements

I feel indebted to all the people who made selfless contributions towards this research project. Without these individuals, this work was doomed to fail.

- To my supervisor, Professor Mike Kahn: thank you for guidance, constructive criticism and supportive material to my research.
- To the professionals who worked on Kwa Mashu shopping centre: Professor Harber, Mr. Andre Duvenage, Frank Emmett, and Paul Custers; thank you very much for putting me in the picture on shopping centre development and sharing ideas and telling me about more other relevant people to talk to about my research and helping in data collection process of this research.
- To Ithala Bank staff: Neville Warring, Bongekile Nxumalo, Robert Mzobe; thank you for sharing ideas, insight and providing me with some documentary information on shopper survey you did in Kwa Mashu. Your assistance is highly appreciated.
- To people of Kwa Mashu: Mr Stanley Mnyandu, the shopping centre manager, Mr, Dladla, manager of Shopwrite, thank you for providing me with current and factual information regarding the shopping centre.

I would also like to express my sincere indebtedness to the people who assisted me in copying with the stressful circumstances during my two-year stay at the University of Natal.

- The entire staff in the Department of Town and Regional Planning (Mike Khan, Peter Robinson, Phillip Harrison and Alison Todes); thank you for the understanding and support you gave me when I needed it most.
- To my family (especially my mother, Clarice), thanks for emotional support.
- To Oliver's Caterers, Data World; your support is hereby acknowledged and highly appreciated, may you keep up the good spirit.
- To Damon Mathfield and Bheki Masondo: hey thanks a million brothers, you are true friends, I owe you one.
- To the 1998/1999 MTRP class: thank you guys for everything. Without your moral support, I would not have made it.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Until comparatively recently, development of retail facilities has largely been concentrated in the city centres or in white suburban areas. This was, reportedly, due to both the government policies and sheer economic imperatives. For those reasons, Black townships¹ remained, for a considerably long period of time, largely underdeveloped and poorly serviced, in terms of retail facilities. This did not only induce dependence of township¹ residents on well established urban centres outside of their residential area to meet their own needs, but also shifted investment potential from township to already established urban centres.

The advent of an organization like Kwa Zulu Development Corporation (KDC), later called Kwa Zulu Finance Corporation (KFC) and now known as Ithala Development Finance Corporation Limited, which acted as the Government's agent performing any development related tasks, marked the emergence of planned shopping places in Black townships. These developments were intended to somehow counteract the 'eldorado' concept associated with major urban centre by creating a focus in townships. The shopping centres were, however, not really successful in economic terms. Nor were they contributing much to township life. Questions were raised at the early stages of these centres about the viability of such developments in Black townships as empirical evidence proved that there are a number of location-specific elements that work against these centres.

This dissertation is broadly concerned with the success of shopping centres in Black townships, and focuses on the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre. Essentially, an analysis of the factors that limit success and performance is done in this study because of the need to gain an understanding of the nature of these limiting elements.

¹ Townships are urban settlement areas, characterised by being large dormitories, mostly for people removed from their original settlements or for the migrant labour from the Bantustans or Nature Reserves and some permitted city dwellers. Townships have one common element in that they are sprawling environments and are remotely located from the city centre and most economic opportunities. The term 'township' is sometimes used to refer to almost similar Indian and Coloured areas equivalent to Black townships, but in this study the concept is used in reference to African townships in general and Kwa Mashu in particular.

1.2 Chapter outline

1.2.1 Chapter 1

This chapter begins with an introductory comment about the study and the study area. The chapter also outlines the general background of Kwa Mashu as well as Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre. The descriptive details of the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre in terms of location, design, size, tenant mix etc. is done in this chapter as well as the outline of other chapters.

✓ 1.2.2 Chapter 2

This is a theoretical chapter. It outlines the theoretical and conceptual framework that the study used. This chapter also attempts to contextualise the study in terms of research topic, research problem, research question and hypothesis.

✓ 1.2.3 Chapter 3

This chapter outlines the methodology that was used in assembling data. The methodology also outlines the sources of data that were used as well as a brief description of interviews that were done.

1.2.4 Chapter 4

In this chapter a detailed presentation of research results is made. These results were obtained from three research methods that were used, i.e. questionnaire, structured interviews and participant observation. The chapter begins by setting the context to itself, and then follows with an adumbration of the data collection processes that were used to arrive at the results. It later moves to the presentation of the results.

1.2.5 Chapter 5

This chapter is purely about the discussion and analysis of research results. Key problems that were identified through research results are analyzed and linkages between these results and secondary support material are done in this chapter. Also issues raised as part of the pre-formulated hypothesis and the theoretical framework will be discussed in this chapter.

1.2.6 Chapter 6

This chapter is essentially about the conclusions as well as the recommendations that the study makes.

1.3 Background to the study area

Kwa Mashu is a Black Township in a suburban residential area exclusively for Africans. It is a sprawling dormitory Township situated approximately 17 kilometers to the northeast of the Durban City centre. The township was established in 1965 to house people removed from the informal settlement at Cator Manor (Stewart, 1991). Finance for township establishment was provided by the state while the planning, infrastructure and housing was provided by the Durban Corporation (*ibid.*).

Initially Kwa Mashu was administered by Durban City Council and later by Port Natal Administration Board (Moller *et al.*: 1978). It is reported that in 1977 Kwa Mashu was incorporated into KwaZulu homeland with the KwaZulu Government taking over the administrative function (*ibid.*). Today, Kwa Mashu is administered collaboratively by the Durban Metropolitan Council as well as KwaZulu-Natal provincial Government. Administrative roles of these structures in the area will be discussed later on in this chapter.

The reflection on the historical background of Kwa Mashu indicates that there is no doubt that residents in the area were deprived of a 'sense of place' and therefore had the inability to identify with the area. This trend is still manifested even today. The reported lack of cohesion within the community bears testimony to this. People do not perceive themselves as belonging to the area and that precludes them from participating in the local activities with enthusiasm.

Kwa Mashu resembles a depressed, disadvantaged community which was only placed there subsequent to political imperatives other than economic forces (Urban Renewal Report: 1998). This is due to the nature of its creation. The area is also characterized by poor development and lack of essential facilities and this is certainly not due to a lack of political goodwill but it is rather attributable to bureaucratic uncertainty (*ibid.*). While these political factors were recognized as being part of urbanization in South Africa, they were seen as playing a secondary role in communities and were not necessarily accepted by urban South Africans.

The Kwa Mashu area shows the characteristics of a displaced community. In relation to the notion of displaced community, one would certainly concur with authors like Murray (1986), Watson (1986) and Hindson (1987) that displaced urbanisation in South Africa has occurred through the imposition of political barrier. It could be argued that the overriding political factors have to a large extent overshadowed and concealed many other processes which may have been occurring simultaneously. One such factor would be the need of a household to secure adequate space for reproduction, one where they have some chance of meeting generally subsistence living. The strong

need to secure an adequate reproductive space was apparent in the study, given the overcrowding in many households.

The above discussion has attempted to demonstrate that political factors played a role in the development of places such as Kwa Mashu. It cannot be denied that political imperatives originally gave rise to the settlement of Kwa Mashu. However, in many instances they failed to go beyond an Apartheid-centric analysis in terms of ensuring that the resultant environments are, in the least, self-sufficient. While Apartheid factors have created specific spatial settlement patterns, many such artificially determined settlements have over time failed to adapt to their own specific history, character and dynamics. This is reinforced by realisation that the conditions under which people are living do not sufficiently meet to their daily needs. For certain places these factors have tended to demoralise communities as the level of satisfaction was gradually destroyed.

The Kwa Mashu Township might, in most respects, be easily compared to similar public housing projects that are aimed at catering for the working class population elsewhere in the world. However, there is one notable exception. The residential composition of Kwa Mashu resembles a less homogeneous structure that might be expected in a typical public housing estate. This relates to the lack of sense of community that is characterising this place.

As alluded to earlier on in this section, Kwa Mashu, like other South African townships, was designed in terms of influx control and the racial zoning, rather than appropriate town planning and land use organization principles. This feature on its own makes Kwa Mashu very distinct from similar projects elsewhere in the world. Together with Inanda and Ntuzuma on its northern and western boundaries respectively, the three areas constitute a total massive area that was earmarked for 'urban renewal' as part of government's plans to control settlement patterns of certain racial groups (*see map 1*).

Kwa Mashu, Ntuzuma and Inanda, together display a number of common characteristics and have the greatest population in the Durban Metropolitan Area (DMA). These characteristics include social (poor social standards), economic (low incomes and unemployment) and spatial arrangement aspects that are not similar to other areas elsewhere in the metropolitan area. The 1998 Kwa Mashu Integrated Development Framework (IDF) report indicates that given that context, Kwa Mashu appears to have more potential than many other Townships in the metropolitan area.

The Township is considered to be affluent, though still poor (Urban Renewal Report: 1998). It is also relatively well located in relation to the city centre, having good and efficient public transport

links. As seen in map 2 and 3 below, Kwa Mashu is made up of seven precincts, each comprising several units. The Kwa Mashu shopping centre (which is what this study revolves around) is in precinct 6 which is basically a mixed use zone and the other six precincts are primarily residential.

In terms of the demographic characteristics of the area, the 1991 census estimated the Kwa Mashu population to be 160 000, of whom, 57% were male. The high percentage of male population is attributable to the existence of hostel housing in the area. The area has a functional literacy rate of only 48%, much lower in comparison to some of the other areas (IDE: 1998).

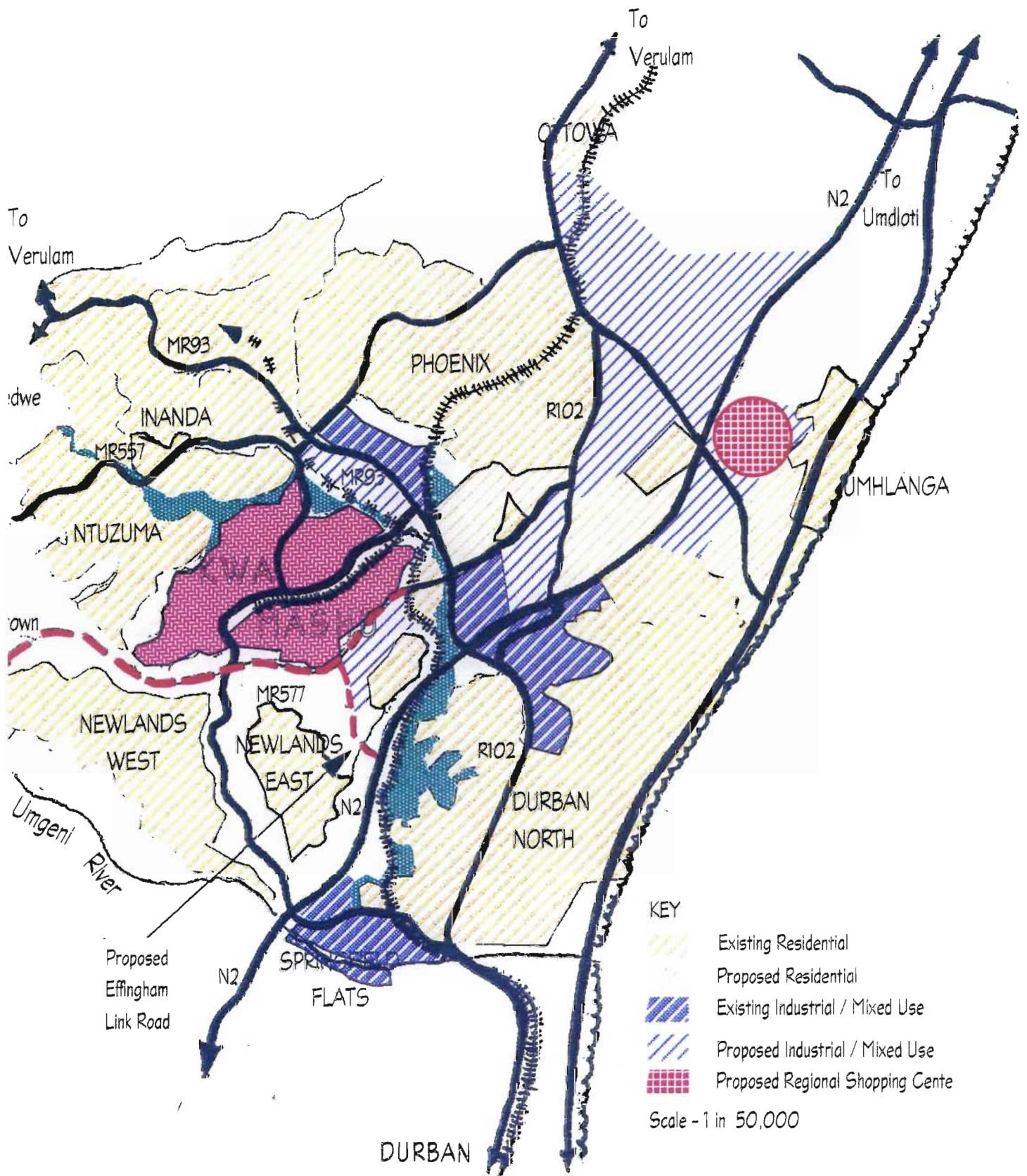
1.4 Introduction to Kwa Mashu

Kwa Mashu cover an area of approximately 15 square kilometres on a hilly terrain and is divided into a number of neighbourhood units/sections. The area was named after Sir Marshall Campbell who was the former owner of the land and was known as 'Mashu' by the Africans living in the area (Moller *et al*: 1978). The Township was proposed in 1948, but building only began in 1957 and the first people moved in, mostly from Cato Manor, in 1958.

As stated before, Kwa Mashu had been successfully administered by Durban City, the Port-Natal Administration Board and after April 1 1977 it was transferred to the KwaZulu Government. By the time of writing, Kwa Mashu was jointly administered by Durban Metropolitan Council (DMC) and KwaZulu-Natal provincial Government (Interview with the Centre Manager). The Durban Metropolitan Council is responsible for infrastructure and services (e.g. roads, water, electricity etc.) while the provincial government focuses on housing (e.g. hostel management).

By as early as 1978 Kwa Mashu already had a population of 126 129 and 15 400 family dwelling units, giving an average of 8.2 persons per unit. The recent study in the area reflected that the average household size is now 9 persons per unit (Urban Renewal Report: 1998).

Kwa Mashu can be considered typical of many other Black Townships which have come into existence by official decree during the ongoing decentralisation process occurring in South African cities. Despite the fact that the majority of its inhabitants work in the Greater Durban Metropolitan Area (GDMA), Kwa Mashu has been arguably conceived as a reasonably self-sufficient residential settlement and not a mere dormitory suburb of Durban (Urban Renewal Report: 1998).



Map 1: Kwa Mashu: Sub-Regional Locality
 Source: Kwa Mashu IDE (1998)

From the survey conducted in the area (and shown in chapter 4) it will be interesting to look at the issue of self-sufficiency in comparison with what the respondents in the area feel. However, as in many other parts of the world, people tend to look to the dominant centre which provides them with employment and a wide range of facilities and services they require, and this blurs certain levels of self-sufficiency in working class environments. This is particularly true for Kwa Mashu. Despite its old establishment, Kwa Mashu is still ill equipped to meet social, economic, recreational and consumer needs for the fast growing community. Among the perennial problems that the area has had since the onset is high rate of crime, inadequacy of facilities and services (RDP: 1998). It will be quite interesting to see the results of the sample in relation to these problems.

1.5 The Colonial City

The location of commercial land uses in South African City is influenced by the colonial factors. As South Africa has a long history of colonial rule, many aspects of Colonial City appear to have influenced the organisation of land uses and urban settlement patterns. The adoption of aspects of the colonial city model as a framework for examination of South African city would appear to be important in this study in attempting to understand the structure of the South African city in general and retail activity in particular.

According to Kahn (1984), the structure of the colonial city exhibits the similar kinds of social space arranged in zonal and sectoral patterns as for the Western City, but with the geographic patterns of some social areas inverted.

Ethnic (stranger) groups in cases of Colonial and Western Cities occupy particular cells close to the urban core, but generally of lower socio-economic status. The opposite is seen in Western City. In this particular case, lower income families live much closer to the core, where as in the colonial city the poorest residents and migrants to the city filter into the inner zone around the periphery of the city (Kahn 1984). It is also stated that the young and relatively affluent groups are not only less numerous in the colonial city, but occur in a cell in the mid-zones.

The African City is said to be complex, in the sense that it houses the colonizing group, the indigenous group and in many cases a stranger group. In a colonial city, the poorest groups reside on the periphery with the dominant group located in enclaves close to commercial and other employment areas.



- LAND USE KEY**
- Residential
 - Hostels/Informal Residential
 - Commercial
 - Industrial
 - Community
 - Government
 - Lower Primary School
 - Higher Primary School
 - Secondary School
 - Vacant Land
 - Playlots & Sportsfields
 - Cemetery
 - Religious
 - Canal Reserve
 - Informal Trading Nodes

Map 2: Land-use plan of Kwa Mashu
 Source: Kwa Mashu IDF (1998)

Scale 1 in 15,000

Kwa Mashu more or less reflects the above assertion. Kwa Mashu originated as an alien settlement established in territory without an indigenous urban tradition. For the dominant White colonial settler groups this served as an urban host society into which indigenous African population was drawn as labour. They became host to small, urbanising stranger groups like India.

According to Davies (1980, *cited in* Kahn: 1984), the structure of the colonial city is characterized by the following:

- a) a dominant White Central Business District with a CBD frame
- b) subordinate and peripheral Indian Central Business Districts
- c) industrial sectors in White ownership but constituting a common employment space
- d) a White residential core with suburban extensions in sectors of durable environment strongly differentiated by socio-economic status.
- e) centrally located Indian, Coloured and Chinese residential enclaves in older inner residential areas.
- f) African working zone single quarters in barracks and compounds
- g) African, Indian and Coloured peripheral settlements in small townships, small patches and larger concentration or zones of informal housing and privately developed housing of highly mixed quality.
- h) African domestic quarters, widely distributed
- i) Mixing zones that represented Black diffusion into White residential areas.

The retail activity in the South African City reflects the historical nature of the social, economic, and political systems as well as residential structure of the colonial city. It can thus be seen to be loosely stratified and differentiated along social and economic lines to those operating in the other spheres of the colonial city (*ibid.*). Retail activity in the South African city presents an insight into the structure and function of a retail system in an environment where the operation of the free enterprise system is not only constrained by economic forces, but also by various political, social and cultural forces. As a result of this, retail activity does not operate according to market forces or respond to market change, created by economic conditions but is rather forced to 'operate largely within the confines of and according to the dictates of, the political economy' (Kahn; 1984: p. 64). The above immediately puts the retail debate in line with the structuralist approach that helps in understanding location of these activities (discussed in Chapter 2).

1.6 The Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre

The Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre is also known as the Kwa Mashu Town Centre or Kwa Mashu City. This centre was developed in the late 1970s and started operating in 1980 (some 19 years ago). The developer was the then KwaZulu Development Corporation (KDC) and later known as KwaZulu Finance Corporation (KFC). Today, KFC, which used to be a separate division of the Ithala Finance Services, has been incorporated under this financial institution.

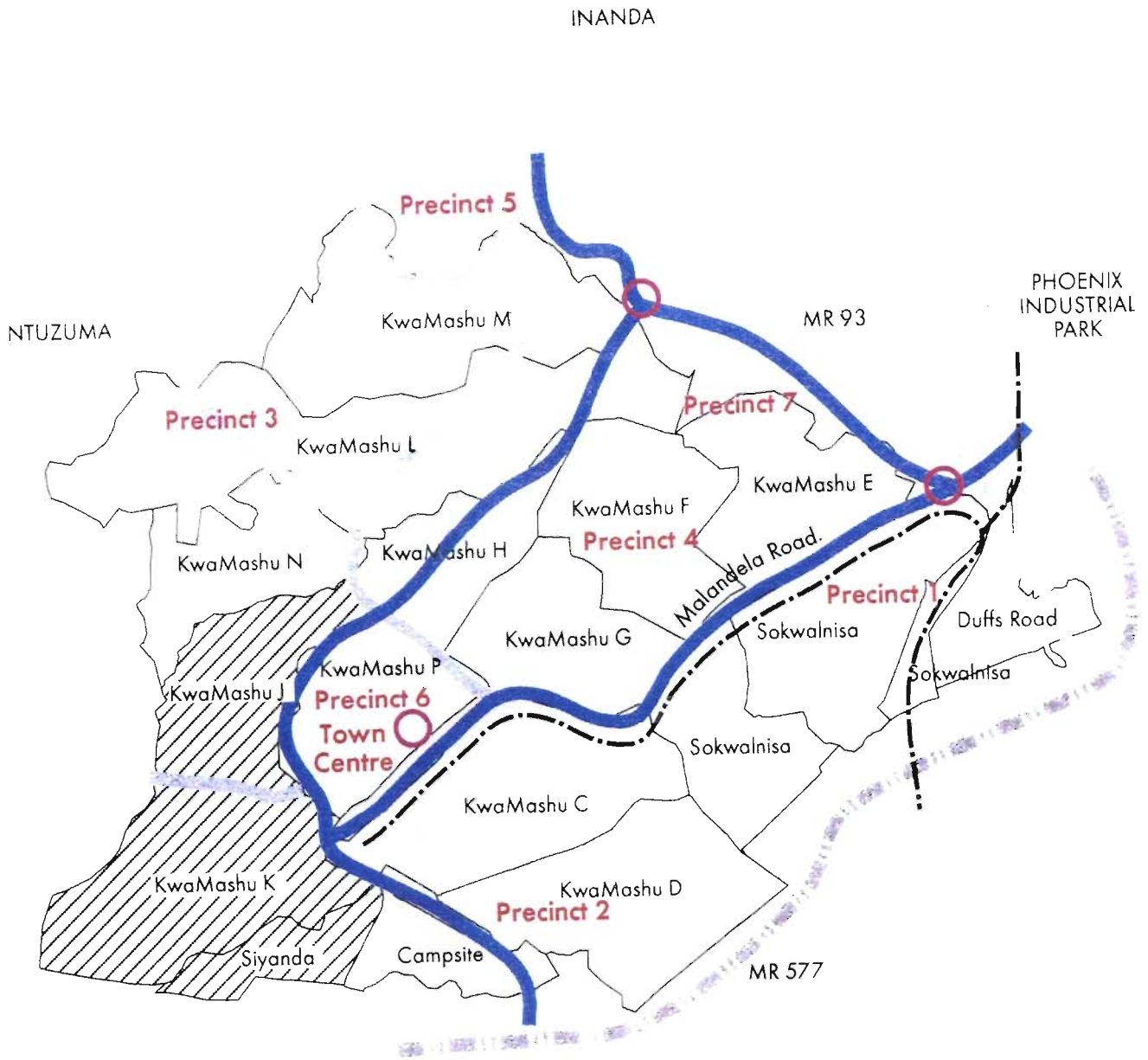
By the time the centre was planned (1977) it was estimated that it was to serve up to 237 000 people from Kwa Mashu and Ntuzuma alone and additional 23 200 people from Inanda (Hallen *et al*: 1979).

In planning the Kwa Mashu Shopping centre the developer intended to achieve the following prerequisites (Hallen *et al*: 1979):

- to ensure that there is essentially an absolute confidence in the centre
- to achieve this through allowing a succession of community involvement from a school level through to the eventual realisation of a hall, meeting place and developed market.
- To make the centre truly competitive
- To ensure that the traditional element of market buying be incorporated and linked into the new shopping facility in a manner that stimulate both functions
- To allow for this competition on three levels: -
 - Price
 - Choice
 - Services

1.6.1 Locality

Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre is a linear building on two levels and is situated on site P Mandela Road, Kwa Mashu Township, in the heart of one of the biggest townships in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (*see map2*). The site for the shopping centre is that portion of the central area bounded on three sides by Mandela Road and the two T-junctions. It slopes steeply from Mandela Road on the northeast side to the rear (southwest). It also slopes down from both the north and south ends to a point approximately halfway along the length of the site, forming a shallow valley in this area. The centre was planned to service people of Kwa Mashu, Ntuzuma and Inanda, excluding Phoenix in the initial planning estimates. A pedestrian bridge across Mandela Road links the train station and taxi rank with the shopping centre.



LEGEND

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---|--------------------------|
|  | Settlement Boundaries |  | Primary Activity Spine |
|  | Existing / Potential Node |  | Secondary Activity Spine |
|  | Informal Housing Upgrade |  | Proposed MR 577 |
| | |  | Rail |

Map 3: Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre: Location in Kwa Mashu
 Source: RDP, Urban Renewal Report: 1998)

The centre is unusual in planning terms. It was not a geographic centre. It was located at the edge of a very busy road (Malandela Road). The centre is also situated at an interceptory location — that is, on one of the only two exit/entrance to Kwa Mashu between the main road and railway line. It is also located adjacent to the railway station and a taxi rank. While the centre is located on an important area that is regarded as existing commercial node, there is also another potential node at the eastern exit point from Kwa Mashu. For many people, this was the most suitable location on which the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre had to be located so as to influence the viability of this centre and increase the thresholds.

1.6.2 Description

The centre comprises land and buildings, providing a one-stop shopping centre, and opened for trading in 1980. The centre has been upgraded and extended once since its inception, and that was in 1994. The property belongs to the KEG (now part of Ithala Development Finance Corporation). The facade and appearance is done in bright blue and green turquoise ranges in a super graphic fashion (Urban Renewal Report: 1998).

1.6.3 Access

Major access points to the centre are from Malandela Road, however considerable amounts of people are using the two minor side streets as access points. As seen in map 4 the major entrance is situated at the pedestrian crossing point from the station, with a second major entrance next to the main magnet or anchor tenant (Shopwrite). Other minor pedestrian access points into the complex are from the area at the rear, from the northwestern side of the site. All access points are controlled by security guards.

1.6.4 Design

The KwaMashu Shopping Centre is a strip shopping centre with most shops facing the main road. The centre is secured and fenced has two entry and exit points. According to Hallen, Theron and Partners (1979), the following were the design requirements for entrances:

- the entrance/s must appear to be very open
- they must appear to lead to open and interesting areas
- the entrance must give some indication that they will lead on to other areas that will be desirable
- the major entrance should be located at the predominant traffic flow point
- the entrances must be capable of surveillance and security
- they should be capable of being closed off

The above requirements appear to have been met in the centre.

In terms of the centre size the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre was intended to achieve a balance between two elements. The first one being a mixed approach to the mall with some shops opening to the outside and a proportion being related to an inner mall. The second is a case for a less forced, more natural, open ended shopping system, supportive of certain types of shops like cafes, tearooms and vendors (Hallen, Theron and Partners: 1979). The balance in the above two extremes was followed in planning the Kwa Mashu Shopping centre.

This correct balance that was followed in Kwa Mashu shopping centre is shown below:

- a central, diverse and rich mall
- which is also known and seen to be a route to various destinations, i.e. train, administration, sports stadium etc.
- the vendors and small traders can be situated at entrances or related to the routes to the station or bus terminus which offers an open location
- possibility for an indoor mall and outdoor trading
- allow for amenity in the centre

1.6.5 Size

The centre offers approximately 9 500m² trading area to 34 individual shops, that offers a complete one-stop shopping experience. Initially, the centre was planned to be 15 000m² with expansion area of up to 30 000m².

1.6.6 Parking

The centre management representative reports that more than 100 parking bays have been constructed in the front part of the centre for easy access and convenience of shoppers (Urban Renewal Report: 1998). Asphalt-surfaced parking is also available at the rear of the centre and provides for more than thirty vehicles. While the plan of the centre made parking provisions for a taxi rank accommodating forty taxis and a bus station for ten buses, taxis and buses use a much larger amount of parking space. This is more pronounced for the taxi rank just next to the main entrance, which clearly have taken land up to two times more than the initially proposed size.

1.6.7 Tenant Mix

The location of retailing functions within the centre were determined by the selection of tenant types based on the following criteria (Hallen, Theron: 1979):

1.6.7.1 Primary Attractors

There are the most important tenants that will attract customers to the centre. Therefore they are regarded as key tenants, magnets or anchor tenants. Shops under this category are those shops that are capable of not only attracting customers to the centre, but also of acting as primary traffic generators and they include shops like OK Bazaars, Edgars, Frazers etc.

1.6.7.2 Secondary Attractors

Secondary Attractors are those shops that would generate and distribute traffic attracted by primary generators and are planned to create intra - centre movements. These shops include restaurants, banks or building societies, post office etc.

Plate I: Some of the activities in the Kwa Mashu shopping centre



The centre offers a wide range of shops, which make it a complete one-stop shopping place. The only 2 banks are seen above. Others closed down and most of them took flight due to high crime in the area.

The existing tenant mix comprises some of the major national retail chain store groups (e.g. Shoprite, Telkom, Price and Pride, Pep Stores etc.) as well as private owners (e.g. Mafuze furnitures) (see plate 1). This mix attempts to cater for the needs of the whole community includes

fast food, clothing, furniture, supermarket, bottle store, banks, specialty outlets, post office and doctors' consulting rooms. Sizes range from 10m² to 24875m².

Compartmentalization (locating shops with similar uses like merchandise) increases the attraction of each member within the group of shops in the centre. In the case of Kwa Mashu shopping centre this applied especially to the location and grouping of furniture, restaurants/fast foods and clothing store.

1.6.8 Management

The centre is managed by KFC (part of Ithala Development Finance Corporation) in terms of a Management Agreement. Upgrading of the centre in 1994 included the new security tower office, equipped with closed circuit television cameras (CCTV), the provision of a mobile police station as well as armed police guards. This was aimed at improving the security in the centre. There is a mobile police station located in the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre, but on the whole 'the police do not appear to have strong presence within the centre' (Urban Layout Design Report: 1998; p7).

1.6.9 Upgrading

The centre has undergone upgrading changes on one occasion, that is, in 1994 whereby up to R2 million was spent on the upgrading process. This involved the changing the roof structure, building the new security tower and general revamping of the image of the centre through painting in more appealing colours (*ibid.*).

It is important to note that while Mandela Road and the railway line enhance accessibility to the area, these two fragment the area into two, thus creating juxtaposition in the area. The implications of this will be dealt with in chapter 5.

1.7 The Kwa Mashu Station

The station is located in the commercial heart of Kwa Mashu on Mandela Road. The access system is 'overhead double-sided' consisting of a raised deck with two banks of barrier controls with a pedestrian walkway in between, extending out as a bridge to Mandela Road. The station has recently undergone upgrading to improve the rail facilities. The main thrust of the design for upgrading the station focused on the central 7 part of the station and the following objectives were intended to achieve:

- To create a facility that is imageable, user-friendly and would process the mass movement of people efficiently and quickly.
- To create a unique and identifiable rail aesthetic
- To ensure the station responds to the uniqueness of its environment both physically and socially.
- To accommodate the needs of both handicapped and elderly people

Although the station has been designed for specific character, the stairs before the bridge are considered to lengthy and tiring to walk up especially to elderly people.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will deal with the theoretical and conceptual strands of retail planning and development. The chapter will also outline the research topic, research problem, research question and hypothesis. This chapter is considered significant to the study, as the line of argument in the entire study will be almost completely informed by it.

Shops, shopping centres and shopping as a spatial activity, all constitute vital ingredients of day-to-day life existence (Potter: 1985). Retailing, as an economic activity has, until recently, had an unhappy history. Not only has it shed its ugly duckling image but also has been regarded as, manifestly, an academic neglect. In fact during the early 1940's some have even clearly stated that 'retailing is a sterile unproductive activity, which is only suitable for those unfit for any other work, the inquiry into which will be a waste of time' (Buckling: 1972; 5). However, recently, some proponents on this field have argued quite convincingly that 'the study of retailing is now possibly academics' most maturing cycle, rapidly acquiring the accoutrements of academic respectability and proving a fruitful field of study' (Brown: 1992; 3).

Although there has been few new shopping centre developments in South Africa for the past decade particularly in Black areas, various pension funds and insurers (e.g. Old Mutual & Sanlam Properties) have been actively involved in shopping centres (SAPOA NEWS: 1998). Until recently, there has been enormous capital investment in the modelling of certain centres to ensure maximum returns. However, by their nature, shopping centres require ongoing maintenance and periodic major refurbishment (so as to maintain their economic usefulness), the lack of which results, almost directly, in the retarding of shopping centre performance. This has major impacts on the side of retailers, investors as well as shoppers, in terms of shortfalls created by failure to maintain attractiveness within the centre to the users (e.g. negative perceptions of the centre itself and less use thereof). To date, shopping centres that were built in Black areas are faced with a number of chronic drawbacks that work against them (SAPOA NEWS (a): 1998). This study will be an academic attempt to arrive at an understanding of the nature of those drawbacks described above.

With the shopping centres in Black townships, problems experienced vary from inappropriate and unfortunate location, poor design and management principles, crime, to poor tenants mix and limited range of goods. This clearly has an impact on the use of these centres, as to date some of them are deemed to be not viable or sustainable. It will be interesting to investigate the real causes

of this limited success in shopping centres in Black township areas. This study will focus on a description and analysis of the existing shopping system, in Kwa Mashu, as a prelude to diagnosing its use, success and its relative strengths and deficiencies. The scope has been narrowed down to focus on the consumer behaviour patterns, management, locational aspects and the availability and the range of goods offered to consumers, which are normally the aspects that have implications for the use or less use of shopping centres.

2.2 Research topic

The success of shopping centres planned in the apartheid era in Black townships: The case of the Kwa Mashu shopping centre.

2.3 Research Problem

Due to the growing need to provide services to the people in Black townships, it has been argued that shopping centres can assist in alleviating problems associated with accessing essential household services. The process associated with the planning of the Kwa Mashu shopping centre in the early 1980's for example, to many, seemed to be the commercial project that would not only ensure that services are provided but also serve as a source of ~ employment to number of desperate people. To the investors (KFC), planning centres like the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre was perceived as an important investment opportunity or a project to inject funds into for future returns. However, many shopping centres in Black townships (Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre inclusive) have been less successful and therefore not yielding desired outcomes e.g. providing continuous employment for local people.

2.4 Reasons for choosing the topic: Setting the context

As stated in the introductory chapter, development of retail facilities, for a long period, occurred predominantly in city centres and in white suburban areas. Despite its economic importance, retail development has also remained, until recently, a comparatively neglected field of academic enquiry. This is most probably because scholars feel that such study is trivial, perhaps obvious or even less honourable. This is coupled to the fact that professional planners have rarely treated the distribution system of retail outlets in a holistic way in the past, preferring instead to formulate separate plans of retailing activities, and to deal with services in the context of recreational provisions (Davies: 1984).

Retailing is manifestly an important and worthy topic for study (Potter: 1985). Due to lack of any formal inquiry on this field, a study on retailing might therefore be regarded as the cinderella of the field of planning and development economics. Retailing is a relatively complex topic which has

considerable theoretical underpinnings and a great deal of applied relevance, both in connection with commercial decision-making and formulation of planning policy (Brown: 1992).

This study was concerned with success of shopping centres in Black townships, their spatial cognition and the overt shopping behaviour of consumers in a township environment. The topic was found really appealing as it touches on issues that can be explained from economic and, as in this case, planning point of view. It was found thought provoking that while a few shopping centres in Black townships have been built, the existing ones tend to be of limited success and reasons for this need a thorough investigation. From observation, very limited research studies have been carried out in the retailing field.

The above assertion is more pronounced in the case shopping centres particularly within the Black township locations (with the exception of Kgara: 1998, The emergence of major retail centres in the townships: the case of Daveyton and Dobsonville, which is not entirely relevant to this study) and therefore research like this was thought to be useful. Despite being an area that matches the researcher's interests, the research on retailing was seen to be very important, as there is an obvious need for such a formal inquiry into the issue. The research was thought to be likely to yield (and has actually yielded) a symmetry of potential outcomes from which informed recommendations would be made.

2.5 Research Question

What causes shopping centres in Black townships to be less successful? Why are they not utilised, and therefore why do they make a limited contribution to township life?

2.5.1 Subsidiary Questions

1. Are they well located so as to obtain maximum benefit from major access route systems?
2. Are they well designed to attract shops and buyers?
3. Do they offer maximum choice to the shoppers in terms of goods and services offered? i.e. size and tenant mix.
4. What are consumers' responses towards them?
5. Are they well managed to retain attractiveness?
6. Are they affected by some external factors like low-income levels and crime.

2.6 Hypothesis

The failure of shopping centres in Black townships has been caused largely by factors relating to locational consideration, poor management design, limited product range, all of which affect consumer choice or behaviour.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

2.7.1 Introduction

Until comparatively recently, there has been a considerable growth of literature and associated theories, models and generalisations concerning the overall pattern of location and distributional characteristics of tertiary activities in urban areas (Potter: 1985, Brown: 1992). The spatial placement of such activities (e.g. retail centres - which is the focus of this study) has been the main variable affecting retail facility development. Planning for shopping facilities, then, was seen to be the process that aims (or that should aim) at satisfying the three involved stakeholders, namely, the developer, the retailer and the consumer. Location of these facilities (in relation to the existing and efficient transport system and the proximity to other facilities and land-uses) is of critical importance. This allows goods and services to travel to and from the retail outlets with less difficulty.

Two broad theoretical models inform decisions regarding the location of retail facilities. The first one is Normative Decision Theory, which is concerned with the way a rational decision maker analyses a problem, and reach an optimum solution given a particular situation and specified information (Guy: 1980). In choosing suitable location for shopping facilities the, a Normative Theorist would wish to seek a zone that will maximise utility (satisfaction - in monetary terms as well as non financial form), derived from those activities about which decisions are made. The second theory is Descriptive Decision Theory, which is concerned with how decisions are made in practice and also with what decision-making structures operate. This theory does not consist of a clear-cut set of postulates leading to considerations which can be put into operation as with Normative Theory. It looks at a wealth of empirical material describing evidence to be made. However, the two theoretical models form part of the decision-making process on retail facilities.

The analytical rationale on retailing has been developed as early as the 1950's and emerged in the form of substitution of one form of theoretical perspective by another. For example, the 1950's and 1960's were dominated by the neo-classical thinking. This theoretical perspective focused on the key role players on the land-use patterns on space. It also looked at the preferences, needs and actions of consumers of goods and services. It emerged as a land-use distribution model and can be

divided into Central Place Theory, Bid Rent Theory and the Principle of Minimum Differentiation. The second theory, which became dominant in the 1970's, is the Behavioural Perspective and was soon followed by the Structuralist Approach in the late 1970's and early 1980's. The 1990's saw the emergence of the so-called the New Retailing Geography, dominated by analysts like Neil Wrigley and Michelle Lowe. These theories will be discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.

2.7.2 Importance of shopping centre location

The spatial rationale regarding location of commercial facilities is not new. It can be traced back in the Greek and Roman times. In Greece and Rome it was customary for a section of people to move off and found a new city when the population exceeded a certain number (Johnstone: 1973). They located around a certain point of concentrated activities, where all essential facilities were located. The implication of this shifting and settling of people ensured that the population never overreached its food supply, which also meant that buying and selling was always in the central place, at a walking distance for everyone. This notion of centrality of commercial facilities retained its form for many years and has proven significant to the developer, the retailer and the consumer. To the developer it means advantage associated with agglomeration, that is, when all facilities are located together they tend to draw a larger number of people. To the retailer and consumer advantage associated with centrality relate to easy accessibility both in assembling and distributing goods.

2.7.2 (a) The developer

Whether decisions are normative or descriptive, the most important aspect in commercial development is location (Guy: 1980). While it appears more difficult to identify good location in advance of development, it is important/necessary to consider the general nature of opportunities that are made available to the developer.

In considering any possible site for retail development, the developer must have regard to the potential that the shopping centre has for growth in retail provision and to the location of the site itself with respect to other shopping centres and major access routes (i.e. access by private transport, public transport and pedestrian) (*ibid.*). A common developers account on shopping centre is to give a centre maximum or near maximum points for levels of representation (e.g. a durable goods shop, convenience goods shop etc.), accessibility (i.e. transport) and amenities (diversity of retailing). This will enhance the index of retail attraction, which will result in a centre being judged excellent.

2.7.2 (b) The retailer

It is important for a retailer to judge whether a town centre or suburban location is most appropriate. This will help assess/measure the catchment area of a shopping centre and the strength of the existing competition within that catchment area. One of the key uncertainties to the developer, which are of serious concern to the retailer, is whether the demand will be sufficient for all the retail space occupied. While location in this regard is the overall key issue to all stakeholders, diversity of retailing (in terms of ensuring wide choice of goods and services) is the central concern and expectation from the consumer, which the retailer must address.

2.7.2 (c) The consumer

Aspects relating to consumers and the importance of retail location will also be dealt with under the section titled Behavioural Perspective of this theoretical framework. Theoretical perspective regarding the consumers choice of goods and services points out that the choice of a product often determines the choice of a shop over space. Therefore, the process involved in choosing goods to buy may well be similar in part to those involved in choosing a shop to visit (Guy: 1980).

{ Purchasing decisions are said to be the result of largely rational and conscious economic calculations, based on human needs. Therefore, the individual buyer seeks to spend his or her income on those goods that will deliver most utility (satisfaction) according to tastes and relative prices. In consumers' choice of goods, the conceptual models come from other fields of social science like Sociology and Psychology. For instance, the Pavlovian Learning Model sees interaction of consumers as a result of strong stimuli within an individual which impel action and eventually determine when, where or how the subject responds (Guy: 1980).

The Veblenian Social Psychological Model sees man as a social animal that conforms to general norms of his larger culture and specific standards of the subculture. The Freudian Psychoanalytic Model on the other hand argues that man feels guilty about some of his basic urges and tries to repress these from his consciousness. These urges are denied or become transmuted into socially approved expressions (*ibid.*). These models will not be extensively used in the study but they form important part of the theoretical perspectives on consumer behaviour.

2.8 A definitional Discord

The origins of the term retailing lie in the Old French *retailer* - a piece cut off. Retailing is a commercial activity that engages in sales, usually to the ultimate consumer, but also involves a host of other functions like bulk breaking, stockholding, risk taking and the provision of information, and several other services such as goods delivery, locational convenience etc. (Brown: 1992). It is a

single commercial sector that operates as an intermediary between consumers and producers and/or wholesalers in the distribution and consumption of goods and services provided through the shopping centres and outlets.

There is a general consensus in the literature that retailing tends to manifest a spatial hierarchy of some sort due to the different forms of retail organisation. These are convenience retailing, comparison retailing, and speciality retailing.

Convenience retailing - is a form of retailing that deals with goods that are relatively inexpensive, frequently bought and are generally regarded as daily necessities for which shoppers will not travel far to obtain. These include newspapers, food/beverages etc.

Comparison retailing - deals with goods that are infrequently purchased, relatively durable, usually inducing a tendency of browsing amongst the stores. These are more expensive (e.g. high order goods) and include goods like shoes, clothing, furniture etc.

Speciality retailing - involves goods that are expensive, durable and rarely purchased. Customers are prepared to travel further distance to access these goods. They include things like antiques, jewellery etc. Brown (1992) argues that there is no cut and dried distinction between the above categories. This is due to the fact that retailing outlets generally serve a mixture of types of goods and services depending on their location and sizes within the conventional hierarchical system (see figure 1):

- Town Centre
- Regional Shopping Centre
- Community Shopping Centre
- Neighbourhood Shopping Centre
- Convenience Store

Due to the hierarchical nature of retail facilities and goods, they are seen to be more complementary rather than competitive

2.9 On Shopping Centre Location, scale and design

2.9.1 Micro-spatial location

The micro-spatial location describes the real and local scale occurrence of retail facilities. Therefore grappling with retail at the local level includes the surrounding retail facilities, the ambience around the shopping centre and the intra-centre configuration itself (Brown: 1992). This is applicable to any kind of shopping centre discussed at the micro-spatial level.

2.9.2 Intermediary Shopping Centre

These are shopping centres that are designed to include a blend of the mainly low order community shopping centres and the high order regional shopping centres. Such design applies in their shop mix, size, location and trade area.

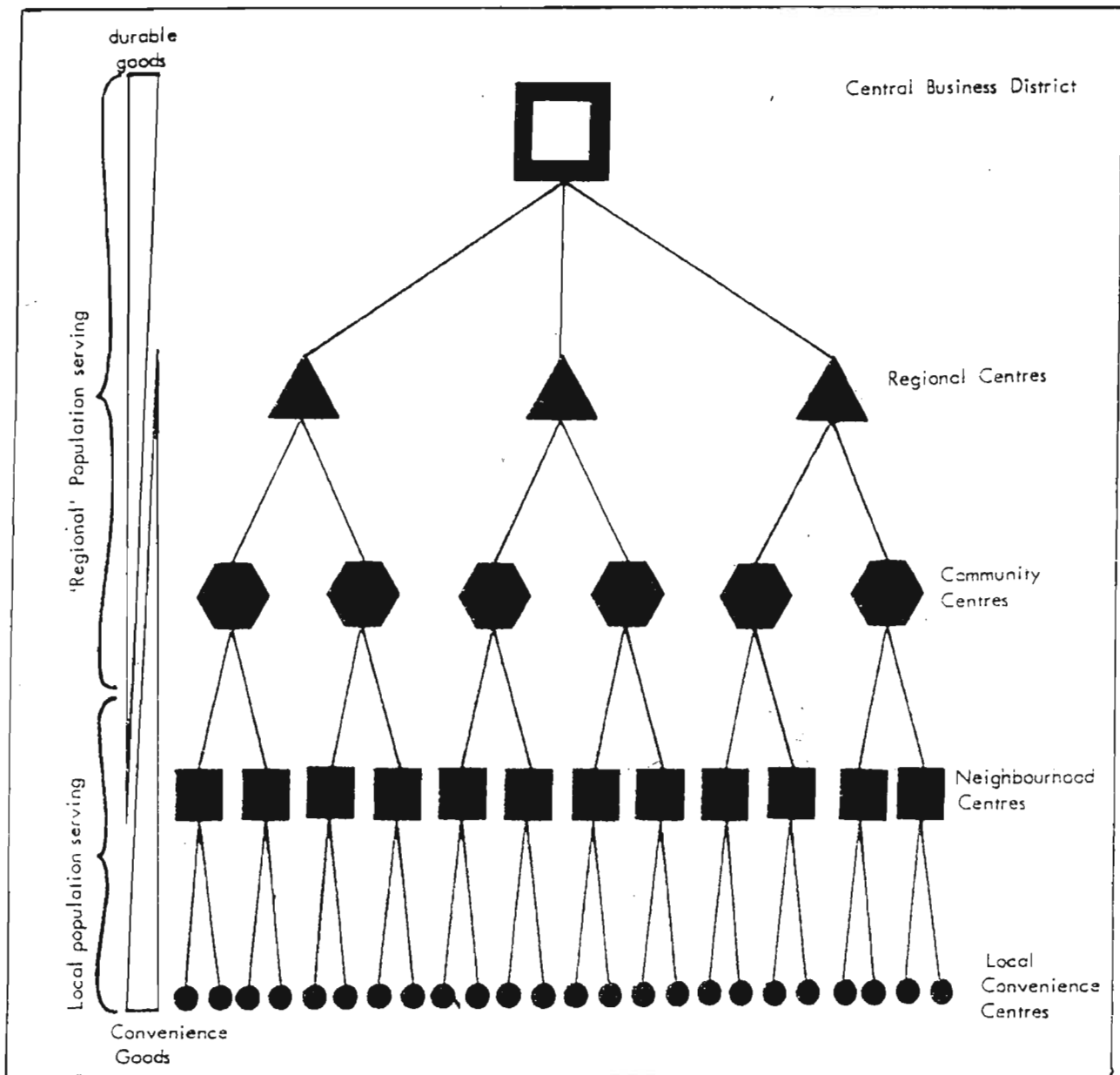


Figure 1: Theoretical Model of Hierarchical system of Shopping Centres
 (Source: Kahn :1984)

2.10 Theories and concepts on Retailing

There is a wide range of theories and conceptual explanations that inform our understanding of retail location. According to Kahn (1984), there are two broad approaches to retailing:

- (i) The marketing approach which is non-spatial and is concerned with internal economic operation of a retail firm and its marketing techniques.
- (ii) The geographical and planning (spatial) approach which emphasises location of retail activity.

For the purpose of this study the focus will be on this approach, which can be further divided into two, that is.

- (a) The structural approach, which looks at the activity and its location, patterning and functions as a whole.
- (b) The behavioural approach which concerns itself with the individuals decisions within a particular (spatial) context.

The theories of retail facility location and arrangement have one thing in common in that they assume a degree of order in spatial behaviour and according to Garner (1967) these theories are founded on six premises:

- (i) The spatial distribution of human activity reflects an ordered adjustment to the factor of distance.
- (ii) Location decisions are taken, in general, so as to minimize the frictional effects of distance
- (iii) All locations are endowed with a degree of accessibility but some locations are more accessible than others.
- (iv) There is a tendency for human activities to agglomerate to take advantage of scale economies
- (v) The organisation of human activity is essentially hierarchical in character
- (vi) Human occupation is focal in character.

This study will focus on a number of groups of theories, that is, the Neo-classical Theory, Behavioural Perspective, Structuralist perspective and the New Retail Geography. These theories

were originally formulated at a macro (regional) scale, but, as in the case of this study, were later adapted to the micro scale.

2.11 The Neo-classical Theories

The Neo-classical Theoretical Perspective is the theory of location of urban land-uses and argues that transportation networks play an important role in the spatial organisation of activities over space. According to McCarthy & Smit (1984) the neo-classical approaches revolved around five assumptions:

- (i) The area in question is a circular, isolated state with no trade occurring across its borders
- (ii) There is one central market at which all produce is bought and sold. The market terrain is competitive and free
- (iii) The state is a homogeneous, isotropic plain in that all places are alike in soil quality, the climate etc.
- (iv) The costs of transportation in the state are a simple function of the mass to be carried and the distance travelled.
- (v) All retailers are economically rational in the sense that they have both the information and the motivation to make the most profitable use of resources.
- (vi) The actions of people reflect a pursuit or desire to procure maximum utility, out of minimum costs.

The neo-classical theory can be well understood in the light of the three subsets discussed below. These include The Central Place Theory, Bid Rent Theory and the Principle of Minimum Differentiation.

Since the 1960's this theory has been dominant in understanding the notion of retail development and planning. Texts in this subject include Garner (1967), Alonso (1970), Davies (1976), McCarthy and Smith (1984), Kahn (1984) and so forth.

2.11.1 Central Place Theory and Hierarchies Concept

Central Place Theory is the basic theoretical framework for understanding the nature of the retailing system (Kahn: 1984). It was formulated by Walter Christaller and August Losch, a German Geographer, 'concerned with identifying the pure principles of location for all tertiary activities' (Potter: 1985; p.27). This theory assumes the existence of a hierarchy of shopping centres and that behaviour and the attitudes of consumers have shown that consumers tend to shop for different

goods in such a way that this hierarchy of centres is perpetually reinforced. The Central Place Theory describes the number of location, functional composition, nature and spacing of retail centres (Kahn: 1984, Brown: 1992). The theory argues that the demand for any particular good declines in direct proportion to increasing distance from the source of supply.

The Theory of Central Place is said to be based on three assumptions:

- (i) The existence of a homogeneous plain
- (ii) A freely accessible transportation network
- (iii) Well distributed and economically rational population

The economic forces (supply and demand) are assumed by the Central Place Theory to be operating over space to produce even distribution of activities. An activity will not occur unless there is some minimum level of demand for its service or sufficient area support to make the operation profitable. In analysing the shopping patterns Davis (1976) states that they reflect the following factors:

(1) The nature of consumers who seek to optimize choice in purchasing commodities within minimum expenditure of time, effort and money, and consequently to establish a framework of maximum distance they are prepared to travel before being attracted elsewhere. This is called the range of goods and is defined in terms of time and distance parameters in relation to the customers desire to maximise (or rather optimise) purchasing choice.

(2) There should be a sufficient or minimum amount of population and purchasing power necessary to support supply of goods from a market in order for any good type or service to be provided. This phenomenon is then called the population threshold. The central place theory puts the concept of threshold at the centre of intra-urban retail system organisation and location decision-making. In other words there must be that minimum level of demand for the operation of a shopping centre to make profits.

The threshold then becomes best understood as a measure of population size and its level of average income, which ultimately make the establishment of particular retailing facilities readily sustainable. Therefore the threshold, together with the range of goods described above, together will determine the trade area. The size of the trade area will vary at in most cases will depend on the maximum distance consumers are prepared to travel to the retailing facility or the shopping centre before being drawn up and attracted elsewhere.

(3) The interaction between range and threshold will determine the trade area, depending on the frequency of purchase, cost and comparison opportunity. This latter concept describes the **catchment area**. This is not the case for all goods; the comparison and the speciality goods require large ranges to secure their thresholds (*ibid.*). It follows that frequently bought goods like convenience goods will tend to have a large number of outlets hence a smaller range for threshold. Goods that are less frequently purchased, that is, high order goods have large range for their threshold as they draw on a larger population number. The manifestations of this are even more pronounced in low income and sprawling settlements like the townships.

August Losch brought about the modification of the Christallers original theory. As a point of departure, this new version introduced a more dynamic system of understanding economic regions. This version argued that the cost of commodities increased with the Distance from the supplier, whilst the quantity decreased with the decreasing price (Brown: 1992). This will in turn create a situation where the demand increases with distance from the point of supply, producing a circular trade area and demand cone. These combined produce some hexagonal market areas (Potter: 1985).

2.11.2 Theory of Tertiary Activity

After a series of empirical observation on some United States cities, Berry and Garrison found that Christallers Central Place Theory (hierarchical system) on retailing is part of the Theory of Tertiary Activity. They sought to produce a reformulated version of Central Place Theory. It was felt that certain problems were to be faced if classical Central Place Theory was to be applied in an unmodified form. The assumption of an isotropic surface, associated with the Central Place Theory, was therefore rejected and it was stated that a hierarchy of tertiary centres would occur even if an isotropic surface is not assumed beforehand. This theory argued that there is a step-like hierarchical system of retailing in the market.

This theory sets out to account for the size, type, location and patterning of tertiary activities at the intra-urban level. While this theory acknowledges the discerning structural regularities postulated in the Christaller's Central Place Theory, it sees the occasional existence of heterogeneous market conditions. It further argues that market areas will no longer take the form of perfect hexagons, but will be spatially transformed, in such a way that the range is no longer a fixed areal measure but is influenced by and reflect relative densities, demand of goods and purchasing power of consumers (Potter: 1985; 40). Davies (1984) further states that 'no one really expects to be able to identify a

system of equal-sized hexagons in the real world landscape, however, without recourse to serious distortions or complex transformation of the data itself (p. 203).

A complete hierarchy is therefore developed free of the original Christaller assumption that population density and effective demand are or need to be uniformly distributed. In this case it is argued that whatever the distribution of purchasing power, a hierarchical spatial structure of central places that supply central goods will automatically emerge, even if the perfect hexagon does not exist. This, however, does not mean that the Theory of Tertiary Activity rejects the Neo-classical assumption of conceiving a consumer as a rational, choice and utility maximising agent. In fact the Theory of Tertiary Activity, however, still assumes a uniform-stereotyped behaviour on the part of a consumer, which is also echoed throughout the Central Place Theory.

2.11.3 Bid Rent Theory

Although this theory will not be extensively used in this study, it is important to mention in understanding the notion of retail planning and development, since this research exercise holds a significant learning opportunity in retail planning. The Bid Rent Theory of land use followed the work of Johann Heinrich von Thunen's book *The Isolated State* in which he, in conceptualising urban land use economics, attempted to work out patterns of agricultural land use on areas of uniform land surrounding a single market for land produce (McCarthy *et al*: 1984). The main variable factor in his analysis was transport costs, which were related to distance travelled and the nature of the commodity transported. To simplify this then, increased distance from the city would increase transport costs, hence for a given crop or produce net returns would decrease.

According to this theory the interaction between the forces of supply and demand give rise to a rationally ordered land use pattern in which the city centre is the focal point because of its highest accessibility and maximum utility. Hence, in the underlying relationships between the land uses, location and rent, the urban area shows a gradation in the optimality of the various land uses the further away from the city centre.

Such locational factors of von Thunen's model did not only affect the cost of transportation but also the key determinant of different uses of land in the isolated state. According to McCarthy & Smit (1984) the locational factors affecting the costs are given in a particular formula, which will lead to the assumption that the bid for location and land use is then based on bid rent curves. These curves can be used in understanding the location of other urban land-uses (e.g. residential, commercial and industrial).

In the retail location context, the spatial structure of urban retailing illustrates a circular pattern with high bid rent functions such as the department and speciality stores in the heart of the city. This is the opposite when one looks at the low order activities, especially the convenience level activities, which are located on the fringes.

2.11.4 The Principle of Minimum Differentiation

This theory was first mooted by Harold Hotelling's seminar in the early 1940s as a response to von Thünen's Bid Rent Theory (Brown: 1992). Unlike the Bid Rent Theory which puts forward the city centre or other most accessible locations as preferred by economic activities, the Principle of Minimum Differentiation argues that not all the activities are necessarily dependent on general accessibility.

Hotelling admits that retail facilities (especially high order ones) have the tendency to agglomerate in a particular district. But the effects of transport costs on the location are not seen as problematic in this regard as transport costs are invariable hence utility maximising consumers are evenly distributed and bear the cost of distribution. Therefore shoppers patronise outlets on the basis of the prices, as the demand is completely inelastic (*ibid.*). In this theory retail location is particularly conceptualised at the micro-spatial and intra-centre level, accounting for the tendency of the agglomerations or the 'economics of concentration'. This even more so in respect of high order retail facilities such as department stores than low order convenience level shops.

This theory argues that not all the activities are necessarily dependent on general accessibility, rather proximity to the complementary activities or 'special' accessibility is the more critical element.

The Theory of Minimum Differentiation is premised on four assumptions:

- the transport costs are constant
- the demand is completely inelastic
- identical and utility maximising consumers are evenly distributed and bear the cost of distribution
- Shoppers patronise outlets solely on the basis of the prices.

In circumstances like these there is an equilibrium and neither outlet can increase profits by a mere change in prices. In case shopping outlet is relocating, it could maximise its catchment area by setting up the shop adjacent to the other. This is believed to can produce mutual 'leapfrogging' producing a back-to-back agglomeration in the centre of a particular market area.

2.12 Behavioral Perspective

The disillusionment with the shopping centre centred Neo-classical theories, particularly their assumption of a well informed, totally rational, utility maximising consumers that are evenly distributed, economically rational and homogeneous and have common shopping behaviour, gave rise to the emergence of the behavioural perspectives in the retail literature (Potter: 1982). These perspectives, according to Brown (1992) are based on inductive reasoning in their general thrust. The focus tends to shift from the world, as it should be, to the world as it exists (*ibid.*).

One of the major differing point between the Neo-classical Theory and Behavioural Perspectives is the micro-spatial orientation of the Behavioural Perspectives, rather than macro, intra-urban, which is the starting point of the Neo-classical approaches.

Literature on the behavioural perspectives became dominant in the 1970's with the growing attention given to the factors that changed the consumer perceptions and behaviour towards retail outlets. This was important as it influenced the location of shops according to consumer tastes and needs.

The Behavioural Perspectives can be divided into Empirical-behavioural, Cognitive behavioural and humanistic perspective and can only be distinguished from one another by their methodological bases.

2.12.1 Consumer Behaviour: the basic concept

Spatial consumer behaviour may simply be defined as the aggregate manner in which individual consumers act in the process of acquiring the goods and services that they need or want (Assael: 1987). *Spatial aspects of overt consumer behaviour* on the other hand looks at the distance, direction and frequency of the trips made by consumers in accessing goods and services. According to Potter (1985), this depends on the amount of knowledge that consumers have regarding retailing facilities as well as how individuals feel about shops and centres comprising what may be termed cognitive images of the environment or mental maps. The study of consumer behaviour has been an increasingly popular theme in planning studies over the past ten years (Gamer, 1967, Potter: 1985).

Potter's Behaviouralist perspective indicates that the structural configuration of the urban retail system is itself the direct outcome of consumer demand and overt behaviour in space and that retail locational patterns and consumer behaviour traits are closely interrelated.

The neo-classical approach to retail location provided a significant theoretical perspective for generations of geographers, economists, regional scientists and, to a lesser extent, students. Despite this significant contribution to the subject, the neo-classical perspective is said to be far from perfect (Brown: 1992; 90). Some critics of the neo-classical theory (like Brown: 1992) argue that the theory is predicated upon manifestly unrealistic assumptions concerning consumer and retailer behaviour. These unrealistic and seemingly unsubstantiated assumptions of the neo-classical theory, coupled with growing concern about its apparent lack of progress, gave rise in the early 1970s to the behavioural perspective.

The behavioural perspective assumes that 'an understanding of the spatial distribution of [man made] phenomena rest upon knowledge of the decisions and behaviours which influence the arrangement of the phenomena rather than on knowledge of the positional relations of the phenomena themselves' (Brown: 1992: 93). Here the retailing fabric is itself in great part a reflection of consumers' effective demand and associated travel and purchasing patterns (Potter: 1985). This theory can be further divided into three major categories: empirical-behavioural, cognitive-behavioural, and humanistic perspectives.

2.12.2 **Empirical-behavioural**

The Empirical-behavioural perspective, like the cognitive-behavioural, is essentially positivist in outlook, in that it relies upon data sets, quantitative analysis and search for meaningful generalisations. It consists largely of analyses of shopper behaviour within a wide variety of retailing environments. The principal argument of this perspective is that although the nature of the magnet or attractor stores may vary from environment to environment, the typical supermarket attracts approximately five times as many customers as a run-of-the-mill department (Brown: 1992).

x The theory further argues that the customer interchange tends to occur between shops of a similar or compatible trade type making it advantageous for retail facilities to agglomerate within a single spatial locality. The majority of inter-outlet linkages comprise movements from one outfitter (shop) to another outfitter. On the other hand the theory states that as most shopping trips commence and conclude at a car park or bus/taxi terminus, the precise location of the facilities has a major influence on the nuances of micro-spatial shopper movement as indeed do alterations in the provision of transportation termini (Brown: 1992).

The empirical-behavioural perspective also looks at the intra-centre consumer behaviour against the frictional effects of distance. Shoppers generally appear to be determined to maximise the expenditure of effort in the purchasing activity, despite the fact that the distance involved are often comparatively short. The frictional effect of distance is not limited to large and medium sized shopping milieux, but is apparently at the smallest spatial scale as well. There is, however a methodological disputation regarding this perspective. The bulk of this body of literature is based upon the face-to-face interviewing procedure, which is predicated upon the assumption that respondents can recall their shopping experience. There is, however, evidence on the literature on human memory attesting to individuals market inability to remember prior events with a degree of accuracy (*ibid.*).

2.12.3 Cognitive-behavioural perspective

The cognitive-behavioural perspective focuses on two basic aspects, that is, the conceptualisation of consumer cognition and the buying process as well as the analysis of the mental constructs of consumers and retailers. The cognitive-behavioural perspective attempts to understand the notion of decision-making man. While there is a tendency towards the acknowledgement of the existence of habitual or routinised behaviour, this approach assumes that, faced with a range of retailing opportunities, consumers make conscious and deliberate choices between them, albeit often upon the basis of imperfect information. The approach moves from the premise that decisions are made in terms of aims, aspirations, attitudes and assessments of individual consumers, not necessarily with regard to the retailing opportunities as they are in reality, but also in respect of the opportunities as they are perceived by the decision maker (Brown: 1992).

The approach argues that many attempts have been made to isolate the factors that influence an individuals spatial schema. This emanates from the work of Kevin Lynch's (1960) seminal study of city centre images in the United States, who maintained that the city images were organised in terms of five key components: paths, nodes, edges, districts and landmarks. These show that the city is determined by certain spatial elements occurring over a particular landscape. It follows that other factors that influence individuals' actions are home location, shopping time availability, place of employment etc. The distortions inherent of manifold mental mapping exercises are paralleled by the notion of cognitive distance. The nature of the relationship between cognitive and real world distance is complicated by several other factors which, broadly speaking, include environmental characteristics.

2.12.4 Humanistic Perspective

The humanistic approach attempts to understand the intensely subjective meanings, feelings and emotions that people associate with and ascribe to their surrounding. This approach, in its various forms (e.g. phenomenology, idealism and existentialism to name but a few) rejects aggregate statistical procedures; their desire to understand rather than explain behaviour; their use of qualitative research techniques such as participant observation and in-depth interviewing. According to Brown (1992: 151), the humanistic approach is against the fragmentation of the totality of human behaviour in interests of analytical convenience as well as any attempt to reduce man to the status of a bundle of responses awaiting a stimulus. The humanistic approach argues that the emotional relationship between individuals and their surroundings has considerable relevance to the study of retail location in particular.

2.13 Structuralist Approach

In understanding the location of retail activities, the structuralist approach argues that the location of these activities does not necessarily reflect the free play of market forces, as the neo-classical model assumes, nor the unconstrained spatial choices of consumers and retailers, as behaviourists are inclined to conclude. To the structuralist, locational decisions, be they retail, industrial, residential are determined to a greater or lesser extent by a variety of underlying economic, social and political processes. This has led to the rejection of neo-classical and behavioural perspectives and the advocacy of structuralist approaches to spatial phenomena (*ibid.*).

According to the structuralist approach, agglomeration of any similar or related commercial activities is not due to the direct operation of neo-classical or behavioural laws. Rather this reflects the actions of another (unseen) party. This is said to be less apparent to the casual observer and this invisible party is by no means confined to the marketplaces. However, for the purpose of this study, this approach will be partially touched on and not in extensive detail. Proponents of the structuralist paradigm contend that spatial patterns of human activity cannot be comprehended by analysis of the patterns themselves but only by study of the underpinning socio-economic processes which give rise to them (Brown: 1992).

Further-more the structuralist account on retail location is that the location of retail activities is not simply a reflection of the tenant placement policies of shopping centre developers and demands of the funding institutions, nor an artefact of the spatial machinations of multiple retailers intent on optimising branch networks whilst confounding or colluding with their competitors. It is also attributable to the locational policies or the locational outcomes of the policies of central and local

governments and other legislative authorities (Brown: 1992). These policy controls can range from price setting regulations and constraints on permitted product assortments to employee protection legislation and the necessity for appropriate shopkeeping qualifications (*ibid.*). Most of these policies have locational implications or consequences. For example, competition policy usually necessitates a definition of the spatial extent of the market in which anti-competitive practices are purported to occur.

The development of shopping centres is not the only structuralist influences upon micro scale retail location, nor do they act in isolation. Rather, as Brown (1992) states, they are a reflection of deep-seated social, political and cultural forces that may not be apparent to non-indigenous observers. Some observers see the evolution of urban retailing system as a reflection of economic and demographic changes, and developments in transportation technology (effects on consumer mobility).

2.14 The New Retailing Geography

The birth of the new economic geography model was associated with structural/spatial transformations occurring in industrial capitalism and thus resulted in a remarkable flowering of theoretically inspired work in geography concerning uneven development and regional change and the transition from Fordism to Flexible Accumulation. This approach is a systematic account of the transformation of retail capital and its geographical expression. The focus is on the manner in which the territorial foundations of capitalism operate, are produced and transformed through time (Wrigley & Lowe: 1996).

In its view then, retailing, conceived either in terms of the traditional maxim of location, location, location, or in terms of unique position which retail capital occupies between production and consumption mirroring its struggles with productive capital in its relations with consumers, or alternatively in terms of being uniquely suited to analysis of the links between femininity, masculinity, place and consumption, is inherently a *Geographical* phenomenon (Wrigley & Lowe: 1996; p. 3).

The New Retail Geography began to take its economic geographies seriously in the early 1990's and, as already outlined, was an attempt to develop a systematic account of the transformation of retail capital and its geographical expression. This theoretical model attempted to relate retail capital to the wider changing global context. First, it argued that there had been a rise in corporate retail power, the capital logic that drives the process of retail accumulation, the competitive strategies and corporate restructuring processes that transform the industry. It also seeks to arrive at

a more sophisticated understanding of the reciprocal nature of the relations between space and corporate retail activity. Secondly, the theory attempts to identify an abstract category of retail capital (*ibid.*).

The New Retail Geography theory sees retailing as being caught in complex and often contradictory relations between retail capital and the regulatory state. The apparent rational economic forces that are culturally encoded and focuses centrally upon retail spaces as contexts where the meaning of commodities is produced and negotiated and a sense of place is created [as] a central attribute to the retail enterprise (Wrigley & Lowe: 1996; 3). As the new cultural geography more generally began to take shape and began to influence even the most hardened economic theorists, and as critical cultural geography began to envelope the large majority of contemporary human geography, the arena of this cultural logic of retailing also extended. The new cultural geographies of retailing is reflected in a number of perspectives, e.g. consumption sites and space, and new landscape consumption. However, most of the elements associated with the new retail geography are not going to be that important for the purpose of this study.

In looking at retailing restructuring, the new retailing geography focuses on six themes (Wrigley & Lowe: 1996):

1. Reconfiguration of corporate structures in retailing
2. Reconfiguration of retailer-supply chain interfaces (e.g. shifts in retailer supply power balances).
3. Organisational and technological transformations in retail distribution
4. Reconfiguration of labour practices and social relations of production within retailing
5. The spatial penetration, manipulation and switching of retail capital
6. The regulation of retail restructuring.

The above outlines the key elements of the New Retail Geography. For the purpose of this study, they form sufficient basis of the theoretical bases on retail planning.

2.15 Shopping Centre Management

From the mid 1970s, shopping centre management became an important aspect in property development (especially retail properties) as there was a growth of awareness amongst property owners of the implications of the rent review (Martin: 1982). The early 1980s then began with educational processes relating to the maintenance of physical structure of the building. The retailers lease as shopping was an activity that is not constant, fixed or enduring, but is an activity, the form

of which is determined by the society it serves. Closer to this was the attempt to protect the physical durability so as to maximise the physical life of a building (i.e. maintenance and renovations) thus enhancing prospects for extended economic life of the building.

The rationale behind shopping centre management is to (at least) preserve (or preferable) enhance the economic usefulness of a shopping centre for as long possible and to maintain the physical integrity of their buildings and equipment. These are considered to have a potential to draw more customers thus improving on the performance of the shopping centre. Management of shopping centres, according to Martin (1982) is a mechanism that fights against obsolescence as well as physical deterioration in shopping space. It is the way of maintaining the attractiveness of their centres both to the shopping public and to retailers. This section will be useful in understanding the management techniques that are used for the Kwa Mashu shopping Centre.

2.15.1 The Shopping Centre Manager

The early 1990s saw some changes in property management. These changes relate to the entire real estate industry. Property managers who once were looked upon as 'physical custodian' are now asset managers and fiscal managers (SAPOA NEWS: 1998b). It is stated that property managers are now expected to assume added responsibilities ranging from creating ways to increase the value of the property to becoming more involved in the planning of investment exit strategies. Today property managers are becoming more a strategic partner with owners than merely a manager of properties (*ibid.*).

2.16 Accessibility, transport and communication

Transport considerations are a special concern of retail and commercial planning. These considerations normally come within the compass of transport planning. The notion of accessibility in this regard can be understood from two angles, that is, it implies something about locational relationship between consumers and shop and shopping centres and it also suggests something about the spatial environment through which consumers will have to travel and opportunities available to them.

Two traditional problems emanate from the accessibility point of view. First relates to the differing degrees of ease with which suppliers and customers can visit. These relate to movements such as commuting and freight luggage. These therefore need to be addressed through comprehensive transport policies. The second set of problems relates to the difficulties that are incurred by both suppliers and customers once they have reached their destinations. Their reception facilities, in

terms of servicing bays, car park, bus stations and the like, are frequently deficient in both quality and quantity. An improvement in people's accessibility to shops and shopping centres therefore, is one of important aspect of retail and commercial planning.

The determination of new locations for individual shops and other business establishments has long been regarded as the cornerstone of retail development and marketing geography, particularly in the United States of America. Various theoretical approaches have been critical of the argument that the success of retail outlets is based on location. While it has been easy for some critics to criticise retail organisation (like the behavioural and new geography perspectives do) for the long standing consideration of retailing based in its location as the most (or only) important aspect of retail development, several facts must be borne in mind. For example, the history of retailing reveals that many decision-makers are endowed with acute spatial sensitivity and consequently, posses an uncanny, if intuitive, ability to select potentially successful locations (*ibid.*). The spatial distribution of retail and commercial activities inside urban areas, therefore, has traditionally been described in terms of physical configuration which they form (Davies: 1984). For this reason it has been traditionally inherent for shopping centres to locate in areas associated with high patterns of intra-urban consumer movement (Potter: 1985).

The notion of 'location, location, location' still plays an important role on retail development, even to date. This is, however, coupled closely with the consideration of the behavioural aspects of the potential consumers, which will in turn determine the use, success and growth of shopping facility

2.17 Poverty: the basic concept

It is argued that commercial activities in working class areas affected by the prevailing socio-economic condition. Their success is largely determined by the incomes in the area, which will, in turn determine the supporting thresholds to these activities. In most working class environments poverty is a common characteristic and has a definite impact on commercial activities. However, some authors (e.g. Moller *et al*: 1978, Lewis 1966) has argued vehemently that the poverty in working class economies is part of general culture of these environments and it is this particular situation that makes it difficult to influence it.

The concept of 'culture of poverty' gained widespread acceptance in the social sciences in the late sixties, mainly as a consequence of the descriptions by Oscar Lewis (1966) of Puerto Rican lower class life and a variety of studies of 'Negro' slums in the USA. In terms of this concept, certain poor communities are not merely poor and objectively disadvantaged; they have evolved a distinctive

pattern of cultural norms and modes of behaviour, which reinforce and perpetuate their basic poverty conditions.

According to Lewis (1966), salient characteristics of culture of poverty include: a high incidence of social 'pathologies; family disorganisation and breakdown; mother dominance and male marginality in the family; the weakness or absence of male models in child socialisation; an absence of deferred gratification and the sense that planning and self control bring no reward, leading to wasteful hedonistic lifestyles; a minimum of community organisation and a lack of interest or participation in institutional behaviour and personality characteristics that include strong feelings of dependency, helplessness, inadequacy, lack of impulse control, resignation and a restricted consciousness of personal situation.

While there is a counter argument that the above facets of 'culture of poverty' are seldom supported by empirical observation and evidence, 'the culture of poverty' is a deep-rooted problem especially within working class groups, and a dysfunctional manifestation of a less coherent community structure like Kwa Mashu. As the culture of poverty interferes with virtually all proceedings in urban settlements, community developers have to understand problems that 'the culture of poverty' can lead to. Therefore they must take into account possibilities of alleviating such constraining factors in township life. However, this will not automatically lead to a move towards middle class standards of achievement or behaviour. It will be interesting to see if this research would be able to pick up certain poverty trends in the area. The existence of these will definitely have an impact on the shopping centre.

2.18 Synthesis

For all theoretical perspectives on retailing, there is a common consensus on locational factors as a key element affecting the function and the performance of retail activities. Location is therefore considered important so that goods and services are made accessible to potential customers and what becomes clear is the fact that this also depends on how consumers respond to the market. It is hereby concluded that virtually all the different strands of retail development on retail location, have an abiding influence in contemporary retailing discourse.

Chapter 3: Toward a methodological approach

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methods that were used in collecting data for this research. The preliminary step in methodology was considered to be the identification of the sources of information before looking at the method of collecting that information. The study required the qualitative and quantitative information, hence the research method used was both quantitative and qualitative, relying on and deriving data from secondary sources as well as primary sources. These are discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs.

3.2 Methodology

The study of the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre evolved from a more narrowly defined inquiry into the success of shopping centres planned in the apartheid era in Black townships, to the identification of broader issues relating to the limited success of the centre. It was envisaged that the information uncovered in such a study would provide an ideal basis for the planning and developing shopping environments to meet local needs especially in Black areas. With this goal in mind, a number of participants in the existing shopping centres were approached and their views on this matter were obtained.

The format that this study took was 'intervention-focused academic', in that while it was primarily an academic study, it bears some resemblance to a planning report. It intended to examine the success of shopping centres in Black townships as an issue of concern to planning. It therefore used the available literature to establish a theoretical understanding of the problem, and attempted to apply such theoretical understanding to the research problem and draw conclusions from there. These conclusions included recommendations on which actions could be taken in the shopping centre development and planning in the future.

Broadly speaking, the aim of the study was to arrive at an understanding of the dynamics behind the success (or use) and failure of shopping centres in Black Townships. It also attempted to understand why shopping centres in Black Townships, in general, are making a limited contribution to township life.

Specifically, the study had five objectives:

1. to assess the suitability of shopping centre location in the township
2. to assess the types of shops in the centre and the range of goods offered and how they meet the needs of the people

3. to assess consumer behaviour towards the shopping centre and factors influencing it
4. to assess the design and management principles used to create and retain attractiveness.
5. to assess the impact of external factors on the centre e.g. crime, income levels etc.

The study will use both the secondary and primary sources of data to arrive at any conclusion or recommendation.

3.3 Secondary sources

The secondary sources involved particularly background information required to gain understanding of context and operation of the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre. These secondary sources included all the published and unpublished documents about the Kwa Mashu area, as well as the Shopping Centre, which was considered of considerable importance to the study. They included: maps of the area, the plan of the centre itself any historical documents (e.g. photos, documents about the reasons and the need for developing the centre). The secondary sources of information will also be books, journals, reports etc.

3.4 Primary sources

The primary sources were considered to be the most important sources of information, especially information on the current reality of the shopping centre and its surrounding. It was thought that this information would best be obtained through the research survey. This is because of the nature of data that is required (that is, quantitative data) to test pre-formulated ideas and try to find answers to the question. Therefore a cluster sampling technique was used whereby four clusters at a particular distance from the centre were taken for interviews and a systematic sampling method was used to choose the households that will form part of the sample. Every fifth household on the street was interviewed and this was done in all four clusters. The questionnaire details are explained below.

3.5 Questionnaire

✓ A sample of 40 people was taken systematically in four clusters mentioned above. Four clusters were taken from areas that present varying opportunities and constraints to the consumers of goods and services to make up the 40— people sample.

As stated under methodology, the four clusters of differing locations were taken and a systematic sampling method was used (i.e. every 5th household on a street). Cluster one (of 15 households) was taken from section C (particularly, the “Island section”) and was the closest to the centre, viz, within

400m. Cluster two (of 12 households) was taken from the same section but further away from the centre, i.e. at a distance of about 600 to 800m. The third cluster (of 8 households) was taken from Kwa Mashu's G section which is approximately 1000 to 1300m from the centre, while cluster 4 was taken from G section, but was located between 1500 to 2500m from the Kwa Mashu shopping centre, where five households were interviewed.

No particular age, sex or race group was targeted by the sample, but rather the sample population was selected from the residents in general. However, an attempt was made to deal with a balance of residents, that is, teenagers, adults, old-age etc. This was dependent also on who was likely to be found in the household when a survey was conducted.

The distance from the centre was considered to be one of the key elements under consideration in terms of response variations. In other words the distance was expected to have a major influence on the outcome of the survey. The study understood that the feelings towards location with respect to the centre would not be the same. It was expected that some people would complain about being located far from the centre and that they have to walk a long distance to the centre. This cannot be viewed as a great obstacle to the functioning of the centre as it is known that the centre could not be located next to everyone and some people were going to travel to the centre anyway even if the centre was located elsewhere.

However, clearly other internal factors operating in the area also seemed to have an impact on consumers' shopping patterns. For example, crime is reportedly one of the key problems that affect townships in general and Kwa Mashu in particular. Given that and the length of the distance some people have to travel to reach the Kwa Mashu shopping centre, as well as their susceptibility to crime, it will be very interesting to observe how these elements interact together in shaping the behaviour of consumers.

It is also in this section where one would be in a position to, at least tentatively, detect township problems and whether shopping centres in township environments are viable, given the existing competition from well established, safer and more viable centres.

The questionnaire was administered by the researcher with each person in a particular household, although in some cases some questionnaires were handed to the people to fill on their own. In such cases the researcher monitored the process and made sure that questionnaires were filled in properly.

It was thought that this would help to avoid delays and ensure timeous commencement of data analysis. The collected data was processed by the researcher, using the coding system, tables.

The nature of the questions that were asked in the questionnaire were trying to find out why people were using or not using the centre, where do they do their shopping and when (e.g. weekends or weekdays), how often do they use the centre (if they do) and for what purpose or purchase of goods, which other shopping options do they use (internally or externally) and why, what kind of goods they expect in the centre. Other questions asked also related to what goods do they find in the centre and are they satisfied with them, do they think the centre is well managed (physical structure, safety considerations etc.), what are their general feelings about the centre and that do they think that the centre is well located and accessible to them. These questions were particularly designed so that, when answered, they directly responded to the aims and objectives that the study intends to achieve as well as the main research question.

3.6 Interviews

The second primary source of data was the open-ended interviews with three key individuals in the centre. The kind of information that these people provided was qualitative and was based on their in-depth knowledge about the centre. The questions that were asked related to the broader problems that the centre has had since the inception and what changes (if any) have been done to improve the performance of the centre.

Three interviews were conducted, and they are outlined below.

3.6.1 Interview with an architect

The first interview was conducted with one person who was involved in the planning and design of the Kwa Mashu, Mr. Frank Emmett. The purpose of this interview conducted was in order to obtain information from someone who was involved in the planning and design processes in order to assess the basic objectives of the developing the Kwa Mashu shopping centre.

3.6.2 Interview with the Shopping Centre Manager

The second interview was with Mr. Stanley Mnyandu. Mr. Mnyandu is at present the manager of the Kwa Mashu Shopping centre. The purpose of interviewing Mr. Mnyandu was to obtain specific information from someone who plays a management role in the centre and someone who spends time looking after the problems that the centre has.

3.6.3 Interview with the tenant

The third interview was conducted with a tenant, a shop manager, Mr. Johannes Dladla. Mr Dladla is currently a General Manager of Shoprite chain stores. The purpose for interviewing Mr. Dladla was to obtain views of someone from the tenants' point of view and to get an indication of how much turnover do the biggest tenants make in the centre.

3.7 Participant observation

The purpose of a formal participant observation was to make a completely objective assessment of the situation in the Kwa Mashu shopping centre. The participant observation exercise was carried out by the researcher who played a role in assessing customer flows, surveying existing outlets and on-going activities in the centre. The observation technique was used as it allowed the researcher to examine the situation as it occurred without the participants in the research being aware. The researcher also walked around in the area analyzing the centre in terms of the current physical structure and some of the problem areas that were identified. Observation also allowed the researcher to play a role in assessing the use of the centre at different times, and whether the centre had sufficient shops and goods to make the centre a complete one-stop shopping place.

The participant observation exercise was done on two successive days; first it was done on Friday July 23 1999 on from 11h00 to 1600 in the afternoon. The second one was done on Saturday 24 July 1999.

The research specifically intended to assess the efficiency of the centre in terms of location, entrance and exit points; the on site parking, pedestrian routes etc. internal design and finishing and the upgraded services like railway station. The research also intended to assess nature and extent of the external impacts on the centre e.g. the informal sector, where litter is particularly noticeable; to locate the major shops in the centre etc. The exercise also wanted to look at the specific behaviour patterns of people who come to the centre in terms of the numbers and the activities they come to perform. Map 4 shows some of the results of the participant observation exercise results.

Chapter 4: Research Results Findings

4.1 Introduction

This section of the dissertation is essentially devoted to the presentation of the analysis of the results of the field-based research. Issues raised in the research proposal (i.e. research questions) will be thoroughly explored. It is also from this section where the pre-formulated hypothesis will be tested against the results of the survey and other forms of data collection that were used. The status quo information about the centre and the township will be discussed in this Chapter. This information will particularly be used here taken from the secondary sources e.g. books, reports etc.

4.1.1 Setting context

As indicated in the methodology section of this research, different fieldwork methods were used in pursuit of the goals and objectives of the research. These are: -

- (1) Survey questionnaire with 40 residents of Kwa Mashu,
- (2) Structured interviews with key individuals in the Kwa Mashu Shopping centre and,
- (3) Participant observation.

As the results of collected data are analyzed and interpreted in this section, they will feed into the discussion of the case study. The fundamental conclusions and recommendations that this study makes will also emanate from this section.

This section will also attempt to find answers to the research questions that were raised earlier on in this study, namely:

- The first key question pertains to the limited success of shopping centres in township environments. The reasons for them not being used are some of the factors that the research intends to identify and investigate. This issue is particularly important, seen against the background of long-term prospects of shopping centres and possibilities of future expansion.
- The second question pertains to locational aspect of the shopping centre which certainly has an important role on the centre's performance in general and the enterprises with it in particular. The question of location also correlates with the centre's viability i.e. highly accessible location means more customers. However, location cannot work on its own, other

factors need to support it. Clearly, other elements that work against the users of the shopping centre can severely affect its performance despite the suitability of its location.

- The third issue pertains to the design element within the centre. In other words, one will be looking at how good is the design of the centre, and whether it plays a role in making the centre attractive to consumers of goods and services (e.g. are there pedestrian movement system in the centre, is there a place where people can rest etc.).
- The fourth issue pertains to the variety, quality and choice within the centre. This particular issue is two-fold. Firstly, it relates to the extent of the agglomeration and a range of similar, competitive and complimentary outlets within a shopping centre. Secondly, it can be seen in relation to the product range of the volumes of stocks made available for sale in each store. The extent to which the largest possible threshold of shoppers within a particular trade area could be drawn will partially be dependent on the availability of choice, quality and variety. It is therefore in this respect that the issues of variety, quality and choice are seen as part of a range of various other factors crucial in securing customers within a particular trade area. This element will be reflected more clearly on consumers' responses towards the centre.
- The last issue pertains to management of the shopping centre. Shopping centres, by their nature require ongoing maintenance and periodic major refurbishment (normally every 5 years), so as not only to revamp its image but also to improve on the centre's economic usefulness. This has some serious repercussions on retailers and investors in terms of shortfalls created by failure to maintain attractiveness of the centre to the users (e.g. negative perceptions of the centre itself can result in less use of it). The management issue can be dovetailed with internal and external problems that affect the centre like crime, in terms of how these problems are dealt with from management point of view.

4.2 The Kwa Mashu status quo

This section provides the current information about the centre that was found particularly relevant and significant to this research. The information presented here is from secondary sources, that is, published reports and books on Kwa Mashu Township in general and the centre in particular.

Kwa Mashu, through its creation, experiences a wide range of problems. The Urban Renewal Report (1998) states that the problems of Kwa Mashu are interrelated and that Kwa Mashu is

generally 'ill-equipped to meet all health, recreational and consumer needs of a fast growing community' (p. 29). The general problems of Kwa Mashu and some key issues are outlined below.

4.2.1 Accommodation

Kwa Mashu has an accommodation problem and empirical evidence shows that this problem is a historical one that was inherited from the past (IDE: 1998). The problem of the built environment in Kwa Mashu is not merely in terms of discomfort or inconveniencing overcrowding. But evidence on literature show that it is symbolic of subjugation discrimination and vicious circles which are consequences of the structuring forces behind the South African city.

4.2.2 Informal sector

The informal sector is one of the key problems in the centre. Not only does it make the centre visually unappealing thus reinforcing negative perception of the centre, but it has taken up the centre's most important space like pedestrian precincts and sitting places in the centre. But evidence shows that informal sector informal sector is not completely a bad activity.

While informal trade might be negatively perceived in the centre, it is reported that the informal economy of Kwa Mashu is strong and this is attributable to the 20% contribution made by informal sector to the GDP (Urban Layout Design Report: 1998). Also the Urban Layout Design Report (1998) states that out of seven households, one of their members occupies an informal activity, meaning that informal sector is playing an important role in Kwa Mashu community.

4.2.3 Crime

Due to a large number of problems experienced in the township (including crime), there is a reported rapid flight of people with elevated social status to more affluent metropolitan areas (Urban Layout Design Report: 1998). Crime is one of the major problems in Kwa Mashu township and it is found particularly difficult to deal with crime as some residents are said to be reluctant to report crime for fear of fear of reprisal (*ibid.*). There is also a perception amongst the residents that some members of the police force are corrupt, and this does little to alleviate crime in the centre.

4.2.4 Employment patterns

The Urban Layout Design Report (1998) states that only 12% of the present workforce are employed in Kwa Mashu and this results in expenditure leakage to other areas in the Durban Metropolitan area. The remaining 88% of the workforce commute on a daily basis. At the same time the above mentioned report states that very few residents shop in the centre itself due to the

competitive prices offered in Durban's CBD. Neighbouring Phoenix and Inanda have also captured a large portion of the consumer demand over recent years (*ibid.*).

Kwa Mashu as a whole is characterised by low levels of education and training among the residents (IDE: 1998). This contributes to high levels of unemployment, which estimated to be 30% by the Urban Layout 'Design Report: 1998 and impeded community and personal development. It will be interesting to look at the research results in terms of unemployment rate in the area.

The above situation is compounded by the tendency of higher income groups to shop elsewhere and flight of people with elevated status from Kwa Mashu to settle in more affluent areas in the metropolitan area (Urban Renewal Report: 1998). Given that then, there is clearly no meaningful investment into the area and the centre is worse off in this situation because even those who use the centre are clearly low-income earners.

4.2.5 Poverty

According to Urban Renewal Report (1998), Kwa Mashu displays low levels of cultural activity compared to other areas of the Durban Metropolitan Area. This is perhaps related to the perceived decline in safety and the perennial lack of positive perceptions of Kwa Mashu by residents. Emanating from the above situation is the general loss of a sense of civic pride, identity and belonging. Facilities within the township, and in this case the shopping centre, are no exceptions to the general negative perception as it also has a number of problems in general and high crime-rate in particular. At the same time it is reported that poverty is at the heart of township life.

Almost a quarter of households in Kwa Mashu are reportedly living below subsistence levels and the rate of unemployment is incredibly high (Urban Renewal Report: 1998). Average household size in Kwa Mashu is reported to be 9.0 persons per unit (Urban Renewal Report: 1998). The Urban Renewal Report (1998) further states that income levels in Kwa Mashu are considered even lower than the surrounding areas of Newlands, Phoenix and Ntuzuma and this affects participation in township activities, in general and shopping centre in particular.

However, Moller *et al* (1978) states that low participation in the centre is affected by low incomes, the problem which has been there for a long time. Further, the services, the use of the centre in general as well as participation in the centre have been, from the onset, considered unsatisfactory (Moller *et al*: 1978). A number of facilities in the centre had to close down because they proved either not viable or not comfortable with the area. Among the facilities that have fallen into this

category are First National Bank, the nightclub, the cinema etc. Despite very low prices in the nightclub and cinema, Moller *et al* (1978) states that these, the nightclub and the cinema were under-utilised, partly due to the danger of nocturnal travel to an amenity which stands in splendid isolation from normal urban activities.

4.3. Findings of the Questionnaire Survey

This section is divided into social and economic aspects

4.3.1 Social Aspects

4.3.1 (a) Household and Demographic Characteristics

The average nousehold size in the sample for Kwa Mashu is 7.0. This is quite low compared to 9.0 persons per unit found by the Urban Renewal Report (1998) (*see the Kwa Mashu status quo, Chapter 1*). However, there are some observable minor spatial variations when one looks at each one of the four sample clusters. These variations are not deemed critical or necessary to pursue, given the varying numbers of people interviewed in each cluster and the varying sizes of areas from which the samples were taken. One can therefore only mention that the average household size of clusters 1, 2 and 3 are 6.5, 5.5 and 6.7 respectively, while cluster 4 has an average household size of 8.4.

4.3.1 (b) Age and Sex profile

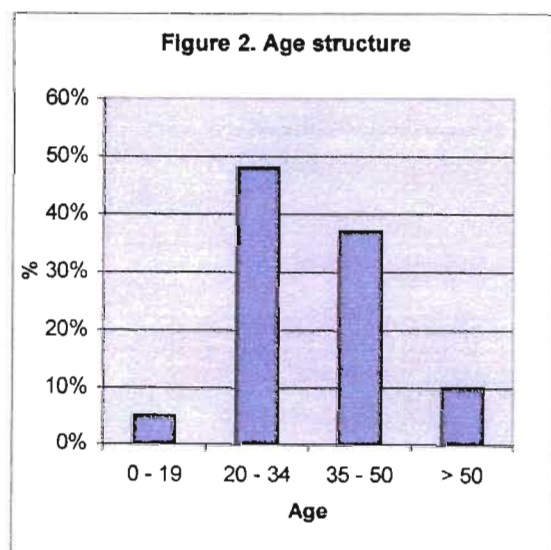
The survey indicated that there is a vast difference in gender composition or structure in Kwa Mashu. While this generalisation is dangerous to make given the size of a sample, the results of the survey can be regarded as somehow indicative of the overall Kwa Mashu age/sex structure. Table I shows that there is a significantly high percentage of women (67%) compared to men (33%). However, as these results are in no way conclusive due to the size of the sample, there is a limited value of a detailed discussion on household gender structure.

Table 1. Sex structure

Sex	No.	Percentage
Male	13	33%
Female	27	67%
Total	40	100%

The survey, unexpectedly, showed the demographic characteristic of a low proportion of young people in a household. There are only 5% of people under the age of 19 years. This came as a surprise, as the research initially expected a large number of young people due to the general plurality of people in Black Townships, reportedly high natality rates and large number of people per household (also evident in this study). However it must be understood that the results of this survey were somehow influenced by the nature of the study and the methodology used. That means that in every 5th household that was interviewed, the first person to be found in the household was likely to be interviewed. Depending on who was found first, some individuals were frequently found at the entry into the household then other and they happened to be at the same age or sex. Also, there was not specific age or gender group that the study had targeted and this influenced data in the similar manner as above.

Figure 2 shows that the highest percentage is the age group between 20 and 34 years of age which accounts for almost half (48%) of the entire sample. Only 10% of the people are above 50 years of age, half of which are pensioners. The lower percentage of pensioners has an impact on household incomes, given that fact that, as seen in following paragraphs, up to a quarter of the respondents are already unemployed.



4.3.1 (c) Household Structure

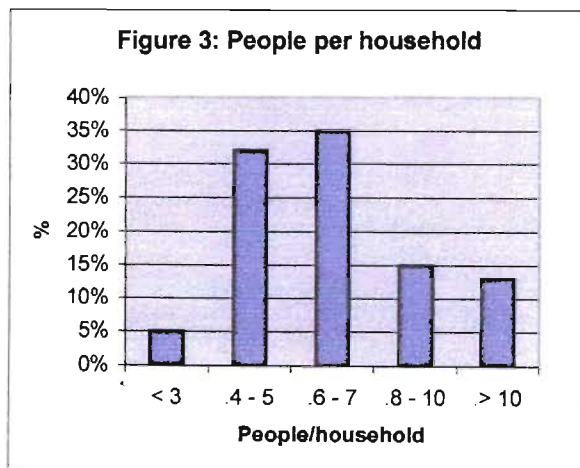
The majority of respondents are the heads of households and most of them are males, as expected. This raises some key concerns in terms of general survival and affordability of essential needs given the fact that unemployment is high in the area. The high percentage of people who describe themselves as ‘children’ in the household (35%), yet most of them are above 19 years of age (economically active), indicates high levels of dependency in the area. These people are old but most of them are unemployed and are not going to school.

Table 2 Position in Household

Position	No.	Percentage
Head	15	37%
Spouse	9	23%
Child	14	35%
Relative	2	5%
Total	40	100%

It is interesting to note that despite the high percentage of women in the sample, men head the majority of households. Most of the women who were asked the question relating to household position indicated that they were spouses, children or relatives. This raises some concerns because, given the high percentage of women (67%), the research would have expected more single women to be heads of households.

As alluded to earlier in this section, the households of Kwa Mashu in the sample have a high occupancy rate with an average of 7.0 people per household. This is further exacerbated by the fact that 13% of households have each well over 10 people living within them (*see Fig. 3*). While this pattern might seem common in a township environment, in gross quantitative terms the figure of more than 10 people per household is very high, given the average size of a township house (i.e. about 70m²). This phenomenon is quite interesting when one looks at the low number of people who are not permanent members of the households (i.e. relatives, friends etc.) in the sample. It means then that some people are or have been living in overcrowded conditions for a long time since the majority of interviewed people indicated that they have been living in the area for more than 15 years (*see Fig. 4*) and there is no indication that the situation was at some stage or will be in the future, better in terms of numbers of people per household.



4.3.2 Economic Aspects

4.3.2(a) Employment levels

There are generally low-income and employment levels in the area. This is not only because there is high unemployment that prevails in the area, but also because the majority of people in the area who are 'employed' are themselves doing jobs that pay extremely low wages (e.g. security guards). Of all the respondents, 50% of them are employed full-time. 40% either unemployed or self-employed and only 10% of them are either in school or retired or pensioners.

While unemployment figure obtained from the survey may look low (25%) when compared to national statistics and by a great margin, the unemployment in Kwa Mashu is generally high. On top of that there is evidence on literature shows that unemployment in Black townships is incredibly high (see *Chapter I*).

It might happen that the actual unemployment figure is much higher than 25% that this research found and that the study might have not been quite successful to pick up the real unemployment figure due to the size of the sample.

Table 3. Employment levels

Occupation	No.	Percentage
Student/Scholar	2	5%
Skilled	5	12%
Unemployed	10	25%
Self-employed	6	15%
Blue collar/low paid	14	35%
Higher low paid	1	3%
Pensioner	2	5%
Total	40	100%

Twenty-five of respondents were unemployed and 50 percent employed in low-income employment. The low levels of employment in the area implicitly suggest low levels of education in Kwa Mashu. This is because of there is a reported low educational levels in the area due to inadequacy of facilities and infrastructure (Urban Renewal Report: 1998).

With unemployment so high in the area, coupled with the fact that some people are either self-employed (15%) primarily in the 'shadow economy' (informal sector) or are employed in low-paying sectors, it is possible that a large proportion of people in Kwa Mashu are living virtually below adequate living standards. This suggests a high dependency rate in the area and great difficulty in affording essential needs of life. Moreover the low incomes in the sample are found

quite interesting when one looks at the consumer behavior. Low-income people might behave in a particular way that will ultimately affect the shopping centre or any other commercial activity in the area.

It is also important to note that a very small number of residents who are employed receive income from additional sources such as tenants from family household or informal work outside the main job.

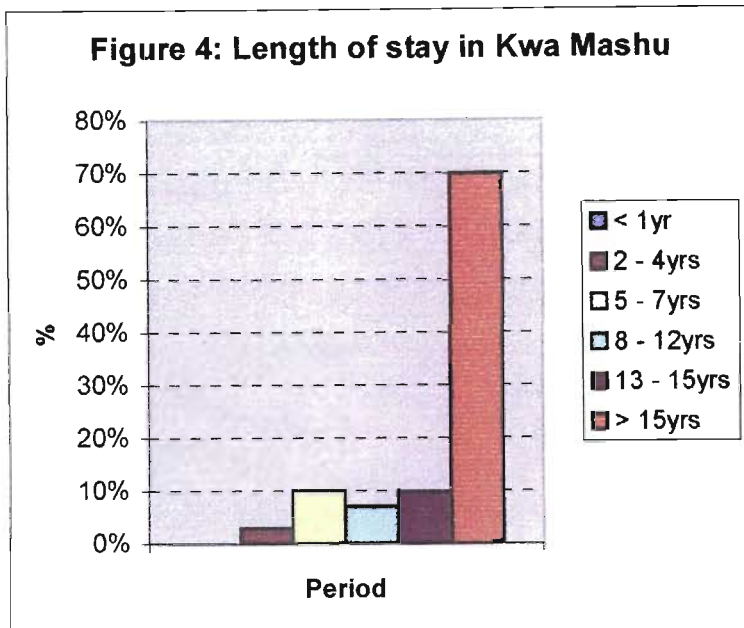
The sample also illustrates that there is a large proportion of residents in Kwa Mashu who are in economically active age group in terms of ability and willingness to do work, yet cannot find jobs for themselves due to the lack of employment opportunities. Therefore unemployment in Kwa Mashu can, at least tentatively, be considered to be cyclical or demand-deficient in nature or is resultant of such forces.

It is always difficult to define the potentially economically active population, as there are a variety of methods that can be used. However, for the purposes of this particular study, the 'potentially economically active' population was taken to mean all those people who are not at school or are not younger than school going age and all those who are not retired. There is a large number of people who fall under this category in the sample of Kwa Mashu, most of whom are not fully employed.

4.3.2 (b) Length of stay in Kwa Mashu

Figure 4 below illustrates that up to 70% of the residents of Kwa Mashu have lived in the area for over 15 years. While the majority of residents have obviously lived in Kwa Mashu for over 8 years, not a single person has lived in the area for less than a year. Only 13% of residents have lived in the area for a period of between 2 to 7 years. The length of stay in the area is an important element when one looks at the level of information required.

Most of the questions asked in the questionnaire required a person who has spent some time in the area and understands how the centre functions, for example the problems that people have experienced i.e. people who have been around and know what is available in the centre. Also, the length of stay correlates with the desire to invest in the area.



The length of stay in an area has some investment implications, that is, as people spent more time in the area they embark on attempts to improve their quality of life. For example some people might put more funds in improving the structure of their housing thus enhancing the value of their houses, as well as that of the area. However, there is a dearth of evidence to support this assertion, as some analysts argue that there is evidence of flight of people with elevated social status from Black townships to more affluent areas (*see chapter 1*). This put this issue of investment in Black townships in question.

4.3.2 (c) Time it takes to reach the centre

In terms of demographic information, for the four clusters, there has been few major differences or minor nuances in terms of responses. However, some major variations in the four clusters were clearly observable when it comes to time it takes to reach the shopping centre, as we will see in the following sections. Clearly, as expected, people in cluster 4 take much longer time to reach the centre than those in cluster 1 or 2 for example. The survey shows that in general, it takes people close to half an hour to reach the centre and the majority of the people walk to it. However, it takes a person in cluster four up to three quarters of an hour to walk to the centre and only 1 individual indicated towards this response, the rest use public transport. It is likely that this is because of the distance-related reasons that the majority of people, particularly in cluster 4, take other form of public transport to go to the centre.

The majority of people in cluster 1 (67%) and 2 (50%) take more or less 15 minutes to reach the Kwa Mashu shopping centre on foot. The majority of those who walk to the centre in cluster 3 and four indicated that it takes them from close to half an hour (50%) to around an hour (23%) to reach the centre when walking (*see Table 4.1*).

Walking can be quite a strenuous exercise especially for elderly people and under adverse weather conditions, this can be an issue under consideration in terms of difficulties people face when going to the centre.

Table 4. Time it takes to reach the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre (all 4 clusters)

Time	No.	Percentage
<5mins	5	12%
6 - 14mins	16	40%
15 - 29mins	14	35%
30 - 44mins	3	8%
45 - 1 hr	2	5%
>1hr	0	0%
Total	40	100

The sample results illustrate an implicit correlation between the time it takes to reach the Kwa Mashu shopping centre, the use of the centre as well as the mode of transport used. As seen later on in this section, 67% of the residents who do not use the centre insinuated transport costs as the cause for them not to use it. For example, some respondents indicated that at times they experience some difficulties in obtaining goods required for their household needs. This is problematic to the as it takes that half the taxi fare to Durban for them to go to Kwa Mashu shopping centre (*see table 17 below*). The reason was closely compounded by fear of crime on a long way to or from the centre if one was to walk to the centre, and resulted in choosing to use the public transport.

It therefore becomes interesting when one looks at modal split, which is the next section, to note that all residents in cluster 4 indicated that they mostly use taxis when they go to the centre (*see Table 5.1*). However, only one individual indicated that he sometimes walks to the centre and this was very rare.

Table 4.1 Time it takes to reach the centre (clusters separately)

Time	No.	Percentage
< 5mins	3	20%
6 – 14mins	7	47%
15 – 29mins	4	27%
30 – 44mins	1	7%
45 – 1hr	0	0
> 1hr	0	0
Total	15	100%

Cluster 1

Time	No.	Percentage
< 5mins	2	25%
6 – 14 mins	0	0
15 – 29mins	4	50%
30 – 44mins	1	12%
45 – 1hr	1	12%
> 1hr	0	0
Total	8	100%

Cluster 3

Time	No.	Percentage
< 5mins	0	0
6 – 14mins	6	50%
15 – 29mins	6	50%
30 – 44mins	0	0
45 – 1hr	0	0
> 1hr	0	0
Total	12	100

Cluster 2

Time	No.	Percentage
< 5mins	0	0%
6 – 14mins	3	60%
15 – 29mins	0	0%
30 – 44mins	1	20%
45 – 1hr	1	20%
> 1hr	0	0
Total	5	100%

Cluster 4

The interrelated trade-offs that are illustrated in the above section stand to have a profound impact on the performance of the centre, as some residents indicated that for the reasons relating to the above they chose not to use it. This issue will be elaborated on later in this study.

4.3.2 (d) Modal Split

It is important to mention that questions about reaching the centre are not only about how long it takes for one to reach it, but also how does one get there. Although it might seem to be taking less time to get to the centre when one looks at the time factor only, the means of getting there can be interesting to look at as they hold a significant implication of how distance affects the use of the centre. The majority of the respondents (77%) walk to the centre (*see table 5*). As alluded to in the previous paragraphs, a number of residents from cluster 3 (38%) and all residents in cluster 4 use public transport to reach the centre. These are the same individuals who indicated long distance as one of the constraining difficulties they face when trying to reach the centre (*see table 5.1*).

Table 5. Modal split (all four clusters)

Transport means	No.	Percentage
Walk	31	77%
Taxi	8	20%
Own transport	1	3%
Bus	0	0%
Total	40	100%

The generally low-income levels in the area are implicitly reflected in transportation patterns in the area, that is modal split and car ownership. Very few people are in possession of their own motor vehicles, since only 1 resident responded that he uses his own car to reach the centre.

Table 5.1 Modal split (clusters separately)

Transport modes	No.	Percentage
Walk	15	100%
Taxi	0	0
Own transport	0	0
Bus	0	0
Total	15	100%

Cluster 1

Transport modes	No.	Percentage
Walk	5	62%
Taxi	3	38%
Own transport	0	0
Bus	0	0
Total	8	100%

Cluster 3

Transport modes	No.	Percentage
Walk	11	92%
Taxi	0	0
Own transport	1	8%
Bus	0	0
Total	12	100%

Cluster 2

Transport modes	No.	Percentage
Walk	0	0
Taxi	5	100%
Own transport	0	0
Bus	0	0
Total	5	100%

Cluster 4

When looking at how people reach alternative shopping destinations, one can see that the dominant modes of transportation in Kwa Mashu are taxis (65%) and buses (17%) (see table 6). Once again the low level of car ownership is clearly reflected in the modes of transport that people use to reach alternative shopping destinations since only 10% of the sample indicated that they use their own cars as mode of transportation to reach other shopping places.

Table 6. Modal Split to other shopping areas

Transport mode	No.	Percentage
Taxi	26	65%
Own transport	4	10%
Train	3	8%
Bus	7	17%
Total	40	100%

The modal split in the area reflects national trends in terms of train usage. There is a low if not declining, rate in the use of trains in the area. This is justified by the fact that only 8% of residents indicated that they use trains to reach alternative places where they do shopping. From table 5.1 the research concludes that generally all those respondents who are close to the centre walk to it and those far away use taxis. Those in the middle to walk to the centre, although a certain portion of that cluster use taxis to the centre.

4.3.3 Difficulties when going to the centre

The Kwa Mashu shopping centre has numerous external elements that seem to be working against it. While the majority of residents (67%) admitted that they do not face any difficulty, and these are mostly young males, the existing difficulties have to be taken quite seriously as they have the potential to threaten the use of the centre in many ways. As seen in tables 7 and 7.1, among the difficulties encountered by the residents when they go to the centre included long distance to walk (25%) fear of crime (15%), crossing major arterial road or railway bridge (10%) and lengthy steps on the station bridge (8%).

Table 7. Difficulties when going to the centre (all 4 clusters)

Difficulty	No.	Percentage
Fear of crime	6	15%
Lengthy steps on station bridge	3	8%
Cross major road/railway bridge	4	10%
None	27	67%
Long Distance	10	25
Total	50	125%

Once again distance from the residents' homes to the shopping centre has been indicated as a problem especially when one looks at each individual cluster.

Table 7.1 Difficulty when going to the centre

Difficulty	No.	Percentage
Fear of crime	2	13%
Lengthy steps on station bridge	1	7%
Cross major road/railway bridge	0	0%
None	13	86%
Long distance from home	2	13%
Total	18	120%

Cluster 1

Difficulty	No.	Percentage
Fear of crime	2	25%
Lengthy steps on station bridge	0	0%
Cross major road/railway bridge	2	25%
None	4	50%
Long distance from home	4	50%
Total	12	150%

Cluster 3

Difficulty	No.	Percentage
Fear of crime	0	0%
lengthy steps on station bridge	2	17%
Cross major road/railway bridge	2	17%
None	8	67%
Long distance from home	1	8%
Total	13	109%

Cluster2

Difficulty	No.	Percentage
Fear of crime	2	40%
lengthy steps on station bridge	0	0%
Cross major road/railway bridge	0	0%
None	2	40%
Long distance from home	3	60%
Total	7	140%

Cluster 4

4.3.4 Tempo of shopping

Table 8 illustrates the tempo of shopping. More than half of respondents (55%) in Kwa Mashu do their shopping over weekends. The rest of the respondents do shopping during weekdays and do it together with a trip to/from work (15%) or do it during work hours (13%) or as a separate trip (17%).

Table 8. Tempo of shopping - time

Time	No.	Percentage
Weekdays — on a trip to/from work	6	15%
Weekdays — during work hours	5	13%
Weekdays — on a separate trip	7	17%
Weekends	22	55%
Total	40	100%

Table 9 below shows the tempo of shopping for different items. This section illustrates an implicit correlation with the employment levels. Since a quarter of residents are unemployed and a lot more others are earning relatively low wages, it makes perfect sense that residents do their shopping generally once a month (probably month-end) or whenever there is a need for that particular items. This is particularly because those employed get their wages normally at the end of the month and the dependent unemployed are likely to follow the same trend if they are rely on money they get from their employed family members. The items that are normally purchased at the end of the month include clothing (men, women and children) as well as furniture.

Since only 5% of the respondents are students/scholars, it makes sense that stationery is very seldomly purchased. The only items that are frequently purchased include food (both major and topping-up) and, to a lesser extent, household goods. It is also interesting to note that more than a quarter of respondents does not purchase musical items and gifts at all.

Table 9. Tempo of shopping item per time

Item	Once a Week	%	Once in two weeks	%	Once in a month	%	Once in a while/when needed		Not at all	%
Food - major	1	3%	8	20	31	78%	0	0	0	0
Food - topping	8	20%	11	27%	21	53%	0	0	0	0
Household goods	2	5%	2	5%	29	72%	7	18%	0	0
Clothing - men	0	0	0	0	6	15%	34	85%	0	0
Clothing - women	0	0	0	0	6	15%	34	85%	0	0
Clothing - children	1	3%	0	0	11	27%	28	70%	0	0
Furniture	0	0	0	0	2	5%	38	95%	0	0
Stationery	3	7%	6	15%	8	20%	23	58%	0	0
Gifts	0	0	3	8%	5	12%	21	52%	11	28
Music	0	0	2	5%	3	8%	25	62%	10	25
Total	15	38%	32	80%	122	305%	210	525%	21	53

The shopping patterns in the area might also be influenced by the fact that well over a quarter of residents (i.e. 33%) do not have storage facilities (i.e. fridge for perishable foods, a problem that forces people to use neighbours' or friends' facilities. Some of these residents also mentioned that they either do not buy perishable foods at all or buy them at a frequent rate for immediate consumption before they are spoilt. All these individuals confessed that this affects their shopping patterns (see questionnaire results at the end).

4.3.5 The use of the Kwa Mashu Shopping centre

Fifteen percent of the Kwa Mashu residents in the sample do not use the shopping centre. The reasons for that are tabulated in table 11 below. The leading reason is because they believe that there are too few shops (83%) and a limited range goods available in each store (83%).

It is important to note that only 6 people (15%) of the residents do not use the Kwa Mashu shopping centre at all and therefore only those 6 people were asked to give reasons for not using the centre. Since people were asked to give more than one reason, there appears to be more reasons than the number of people, hence the high total percentage. Among other reasons of not using the centre included a long distance from the centre (67%), crime (50%) and lack of entertainment facilities (33%). Some residents, most of whom do shopping during weekdays, indicated that they work in town and therefore combine shopping with trips to work (33%) (see table 11).

Table 10. The use of the Kwa Mashu shopping centre

Uses	No.	Percentage
Food/grocery — major	34	100%
Food/grocery — topping-up	34	100%
Household goods	22	65%
Clothing—men	3	9%
Clothing — women	3	9%
Clothing — children	6	18%
Furniture	10	29%
Entertainment	12	35%
Banking	20	59%
Clinic/doctors	20	59%
Video cassettes	15	44%
Post office	21	62%
Socializing	10	29%
Total	210	618%

Table 10 illustrates that residents who use the Kwa Mashu shopping centre, use it for almost everything, except for clothing and furniture. However, there is a low percentage of residents who use it particularly for clothing. Once again one has to mention that only 34 people were asked this question and therefore the calculations (i.e. percentages) were done against this figure.

Table 11 Reasons for not using the centre

Problems	No.	Percentage
Limited choice of shops	5	83%
Limited choice of goods in each shop	5	83%
no entertainment	2	33%
Fear of crime	3	50%
Work in town and shop on my way to/from work	2	33%
Its far from my place of residence	4	67%
Total	21	350%

It is also interesting to note that the various uses of the centre may be interpreted as indicators of people's needs. For example, the use of the centre by residents for video cassettes (44%) entertainment (35%) and socializing (29%) justifies the need for more entertainment facilities in the centre. This is further backed up by the fact that 25% of the respondents indicated that one of the elements that the centre has to address is to provide more entertainment facilities (*see table 21*).

4.3.6 Shopping at other locations

Looking at table 12, it becomes clear that the majority of people use Durban city centre or CBD as an alternative-shopping destination. This trend is more pronounced when one looks at the items like clothing (up to 97% of residents) and furniture (85%). One must mention that this is a question that was open to all 40 people and therefore reflects the views of all people. The sample shows that musical items and gifts are least purchased in the list and this makes sense given the fact that well over a quarter of people indicated that they do not purchase these items at all (*see table 9*). The high level of participation in other shopping places raises questions about Kwa Mashu being self-sufficient that is discussed in Chapter 1.

Table 12. Shopping at other areas

Item	Durban/City	%	Phoenix	%	Macro	%
Food—major	29	73%	5	12%	1	3%
Food—topping	28	70%	4	10%	1	3%
Household goods	29	73%	1	3%	0	0
Clothing—men	39	97%	0	0	0	0
Clothing—women	39	97%	0	0	0	0
Clothing — children	39	97%	0	0	0	0
Furniture	34	85%	0	0	0	0
Stationery	26	65%	0	0	0	0
Gifts	25	63%	0	0	0	0
Music	23	58%	0	0	0	0
Total	311	778%	10	25%	2	6%

The dominant mode of transport that is use to alternative shopping places is, by a large margin, taxis (65%) followed by bus (17%), own transport (10%) and lastly trains (8%).

4.3.7 Transport Costs

Table 13 shows that a large proportion of respondents (57%) in the sample feel that the transport costs to alternative shopping places do not affect them. This is backed up by the reason they give, that is, transport costs do not matter if they will get all the goods they require for their household needs in other places where they do their shopping e.g. Durban Centre.

Table 13. Effects of transport costs to alternative shopping places

Category	No.	Percentage
Affects me – hence I do most of my Shopping in Kwa Mashu.	14	35%
Don't affect me — because even if I pay for transport, I get everything I want.	23	57%
I use my own transport — so transport costs do not really matter to me	3	8%
Total	40	100%

Some residents (35%) however, feel that paying for transport is not necessary as they still can do shopping for their households in Kwa Mashu shopping centre.

4.4 Problems in the centre

4.4.1 Image of the centre

More than half of the respondents (52%) feel that the centre does not provide a sufficient range of goods for their household needs (see table 14). There is a correlation between how the centre fails to provide sufficient goods for residents' household needs and the reasons why respondents do not use the centre. For example, the limited number of shops, limited choice of goods in each shop, limited choice of price, problem of expired goods, lack of entertainment are given by respondents as some of the failures of the centre (see table 15) and also why they don't use they don't use the centre (see table 11).

4.4.2 Sufficiency of goods

The majority of residents feel that the centre does not have sufficient goods and therefore does not meet their needs to the fullest.

Table 14. Image of the centre –sufficiency of goods

Category	No.	Percentage
Yes	19	48%
No	21	52%
Total	40	100%

The insufficiency of goods in the centre is linked to the failures of the shopping centre in delivering the residents' expectations. These failures are outlined in table 15 below

Table 15. Failures of the centre

Problem with goods	No.	Percentage
Limited choice of shops	19	90%
Limited choice of goods in one shop	12	57%
Limited choice of price	9	43%
Problem of expired goods	4	19%
Total	44	209%

As seen in Table 15, the majority of respondents feel that the centre does not offer adequate choice, quality and competitive prices. There is also a problem with spoiled goods in the centre and that adds to the failures of the centre in meeting the varying tastes and preferences of the consumers. As a result of that, all residents who indicated that there is a limited choice of quality and price in the centre feel that there is a need for a wider range of shops with competitive prices.

The lack of entertainment facilities is echoed throughout the survey. The majority of residents (75%) felt that there is a need for the expansion of the centre and the provision of more entertainment facilities in the centre to be combined with the shopping environment (*see table 22 below*). Other residents were under the impression that there is a need for centre's expansion to provide space for more shops (31%) and improvements on the quality of products in shops. Linked closely to this is the fact that 32% of residents felt that the centre is untidy due to informal traders, despite occasional promotions (*see table 18 below*).

Table 16. Future improvements

Changes	No.	Percentage
Wider range of shops with competitive prices	26	100%
More entertainment facilities combined with shopping environment	5	19%
Expansion of the centre to give space to other types of shops	8	31%
Improvement on the quality of products in shops	7	27%
Total	46	177%

In response to the existing problems in the centre, there are a number of elements that the respondents felt that they have to be changed so as to improve on the history of the centre. These are shown in table 16 above.

Table 17. Advantages of centre's location to residents

Advantages	No.	Percentage
Close to me, can reach it easily	25	62%
Next to main road and taxi rank/railway station – so on my way to work	3	8%
No advantages – have to pay for taxi (half the fare to town) or walk a long distance	12	30%
Total	40	100%

4.4.3 Centre's location

The Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre is very well located. It is located in the middle of a neighborhood, along the major spine road (Malandela Road) on one of the only two ways into or out of the Kwa Mashu Township. Malandela road is a very important road as it provides two-entry points into the township. The centre is located adjacent to the railway station and next to a very busy taxi rank. No doubt the centre is highly accessible to pedestrians or by private and public transport. More than 60% of the resident acknowledged the fact that the centre is well located to them and they can reach

it easily. Moreover some respondents added that the centre's location is advantageous to them as it is on their way to work and they can use it either before or after work.

Table 18. Image of the centre – physical condition

Category	No.	Percentages
The centre is clean and well-maintained and there are promotions to attract people	24	60%
Its untidy due to informal traders	13	32%
The centre is very untidy, although there promotions now and then	3	8%
Total	40	100%

Table 18 shows that people are aware of the problems that the centre has and generally feel that something must be done by these elements. While the majority of respondents (60%) feel that the centre is well maintained and clean, 40% indicated that the centre is very untidy due to informal traders, despite the fact that there are occasional promotions.

4.4.4 Crime

The respondents of the sample were asked what they particularly thought to be the most important element that the centre has to address. Most of their answers to this question were quite spontaneous, although few prompts were used. The results to this question serve to indicate key priority areas that the centre must address and to indicate the strength of people's feeling towards those problems.

Table 19. Security in the centre

Response	No.	Percentage
Security guards are doing well to reduce crime in the centre	8	20%
Security guards are not doing well, crime still persists, e.g. need more trained guards	32	80%
Total	40	100%

With regard to the current status of security in the centre, there are doubts as to whether security guards will be successful in reducing crime. This is because up to 80% of the residents feel that security guards are not successful in reducing crime in the area as the area is still prone to perennial crime (*see table 19*). Therefore most respondents feel that there is need to increase the number of trained security guards. Some even stated that they couldn't even move from shop to shop because they fear crime.

Half of the respondents have experienced problems in the centre. These are outlined in table 20. As some of these problems similar to the ones in table 20 have been alluded to in the context of the above discussion and analysis, there is no need to repetitively elaborate on the same issues throughout this analysis.

The problems similar to the above can also be seen on Tables 7, 11 and 15. One can just comment that out of all these problems crime stands out to the most commonly occurring one. This closely followed by the concern about limited range of goods.

Table 20. Problems experienced in the centre

Problem	No.	Percentage
Criminal incidence	18	90%
Car accident	1	5%
Spoilt goods	8	40%
Taxi violence related problems	4	20%
Delays in shops — e.g. children in uniform not allowed in shopping centre	2	10%
Total	33	165%

4.5 Future Improvements

More than 57% of the respondents feel that the incidence of crime is too high in the area and that the centre, by virtue of being the major commercial zone in the area that is frequently visited by criminals, is the most vulnerable to crime. It makes sense then that more than half of the respondents (57%) feel that there is a need to improve security in the centre (*see table 21*). Other even hinted for the necessity to provide a 24-hour crime stop service so as to alleviate susceptibility to crime in the area.

Table 21. The most important element that the centre must address

Element	No.	Percentage
Improve security	23	57%
Expand centre — to cater for more shops and public facilities	15	38%
Provide entertainment facilities, e.g. cinema, nightclub etc.	10	25%
Clean up the centre — improve on physical condition and control informal traders	6	15%
Leave it as it is	2	5%
Improve on existing facilities e.g. post office	4	10%
Total	60	150%

Of all the problems that prevail in the area, crime is centrally defined. Half of residents of Kwa Mashu have experienced various problems particularly in the shopping centre and 90% of them indicated that one of the problems they experienced were criminal offenses e.g. robbery. The problems that people have experienced in the centre are show in table 20.

The people were asked if there is a clear entrance to the centre. What emanates from their answers is that the centre has a clearly visible entrance. From the activities undertaken by the researcher relating to participant observation (shown in the next section), it became clear that there are more than one entrance points to the centre, some of which are serviced by surveillance cameras. Up to 90% of the residents agreed that there is a clear entrance to the centre. However, this issue is not going to be dealt with in detail as it is discussed under the general context of the centre (*see Chapter 1*) and will be covered under participant observation section.

During the participant observation exercise in the centre, it became clear that there are places where people can sit and rest within the centre and 72% of the residents confirmed this. However, 28% of the people felt that there is not enough space within the centre where people can rest after shopping. The researcher is tempted to partially agree with these individuals since a large space in the centre that appeared to be designed for people to rest is now occupied by informal traders. It is also perhaps for this reason that 22% of the residents felt that there is a need to control the informal traders as part of the future improvements of the centre (*see Table 22*).

There are a number of elements that seem to be working against the Kwa Mashu shopping centre. The survey was successful in detecting these elements. Besides crime, which seems to be on top of residents' list of existing problems in the centre, residents felt that the centre is small, providing limited opportunities, choices and quality. Up to 75% of residents stated that there is a need to expand the centre and bring new types of shops that will enhance the shopping experience in the centre. There is also a call for entertainment facilities in the centre, which residents feel will be catered for by the expansion of the centre.

Table 22. Required changes

Change	No.	Percentage
Tighten security e.g. 24hrs crime stop service	21	52%
Expand the centre — put more shops, facilities and entertainment	30	75%
Put speed humps on the road to calm vehicles	4	10%
Keep the centre tidy (control informal traders)	9	22%
Leave it as it is	3	8%
Total	67	168%

There was also an indication, in the sample, that one of the difficulties that residents face when going to the centre is to cross the major arterial road (Malandela Road) where traffic speed is relatively high and the traffic lights are, for most of the time, malfunctioning. To this, 10% of the residents felt that there is a need to put speed humps on the road so as to calm the traffic near the center and to ensure safety to shoppers, especially old people and children. There was also the feeling that the problem associated with the automobiles resulted in more harm, than benefit, given the fact that some of the residents were once involved in car accident near the centre.

4.6 Interviews

4.6.1 Interview with the architect: Mr. Frank Emmett

Frank Emmett is a professional architect who was responsible for the design and planning pan of the centre. With this particular interview, there was an observable difficulty in obtaining valuable information as clearly some information had escaped the memory of the respondent, since the centre was planned and designed about 20 years ago.

The Kwa Mashu shopping centre was developed by the then Kwa Zulu Development Corporation (K.DC), later known as Kwa Zulu Finance Corporation (KFC) and now called Ithala Development Finance Corporation. While the development of the Kwa Mashu township was associated with a plethora of state mechanisms to control population movements in the early 1970's, there were economic intentions that the developer intended to achieve in developing the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre. For example, there was a general need and viability for a shopping area for people living in KwaMashu, Ntuzuma, Inanda, Newlands and Phoenix. This was in terms of supporting threshold of consumers (in terms of population numbers).

The KFC, since it was the landowner, was the key decision-maker in the development of the centre. However, tenants like OK Bazaars played a particularly important role in terms of influencing the development of the centre. The KFC was then the initial managers of the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre and the management task was outsourced to the now Ithala Development Finance Corporation.

Since then the improvements that have occurred in the centre include the reconstruction of the train station, upgrading of the taxi rank and the addition of some buildings with an increase of tenants, as well as general refurbishment of the centre buildings.

As the centre was meant to be a 'regional' centre, location was determined by the existing settlement patterns in and around the area, the road network to ensure accessibility, the already existing commercial node (e.g. Sifiso's general dealer), the taxi rank and train station to provide access to people without cars relying on public transport.

The centre has, for most of the years, been fully let; although some shops did not do well. However, due the relatively high levels of crime and violence in the area, some shops were forced to close down e.g. commercial banks.

The fact that most people who are employed work in town, has affected the centre and limited the demand for the centre's expansion. There is no doubt that the CBD is the more important choice for most people because it has more competitive prices. It is perhaps for that reason that people who work in town tend to shop there before they go home. Also with the increase in public mobility levels this trend has been enhanced.

When asked about the measures that have been taken to improve the condition of the centre or the surrounding area, Mr. Emmett indicated that no major changes have been done, save the periodic refurbishment. As far as he remembered, even phase 2 of the centre's plan has not yet commenced.

When asked about factors that are possibly contributing towards a limited use of the centre, Mr. Emmett indicated that the low-income levels and perennial unemployment have been sometimes considered as the cause for the limited use of the centre. People find that they have some difficulties in affording life essentials. This is compounded by the fact that more people work in the city centre where opportunities and choice are wider and prices are competitive. Their shopping therefore tends to be centred in the CBD.

4.6.2 Interview with the shopping centre manager: Mr. Stanley Mnyandu

Mr. Mnyandu is the permanent manager of the centre with proven human relations skills who administers the centre and is responsible to elected community representatives. Mr. Mnyandu has been the shopping center manager for over five years. As a shopping centre manager, Mr. Mnyandu's responsibility is to make announcements in the centre, look after the centre (building maintenance) and look after issues of safety and security, cleanliness etc.

When asked about the major problems that the centre has experienced so far, Mr. Mnyandu mentioned crime and the lack of facilities within the centre, like banks that were forced to leave the centre due to high crime and violence in the area. The fact that there are no banks (except for Ithala and a few ATM machines) affects existing shops, as some people have to go to town to get money and then probably shop there where the choice is wide and prices are competitive.

Mr. Mnyandu mentioned that crime, as well as violence, has particularly affected the centre in that it interfered with people's patronage to the centre. To attend to the issue of crime Mr. Mnyandu has put more security guards in the centre, more surveillance cameras and a satellite mobile police station that will keep the centre protected during operating hours. Asked about how physical deterioration affects the centre, Mr. Mnyandu indicated that the centre is refurbished every five years to improve its physical condition. In fact "the centre has just recently been painted as part of the attempts to revamp its image".

When asked about tenant mix, Mr. Mnyandu indicated that they have a plan to mix tenants. The determining criterion is that they first divide tenants into core or magnet tenants (e.g. Shopwrite), national tenants (e.g. Pep stores), individuals (e.g. doctors) and informal traders. Secondly they look at the needs of customers. While they look at customer needs first, priority is given to the core tenants, as they are capable of drawing more customers. However, issues of equity and transparency are always considered to make the process democratic and give all people a chance. That is why they try to make sure that tenants are more complementary than competitive.

Mr. Mnyandu mentioned that they also look at international tenants for letting space to at high rentals. It is quite interesting to note that the manager looks at people's needs in terms of things like access to credit and tries to provide credit lending institution e.g. Ithala Bank to assist local people. Mr. Mnyandu mentioned that they have been faced with a particular difficulty in negotiating with financial institutions to provide services to business people, the workers in the centre, and the larger

Kwa Mashu community. Seemingly, the initial institutions and societies that were providing this service to the area had a bad experience in the area. That resulted in an area gaining a very bad reputation and negative perception from the investors.

Mr. Mnyandu is the only manager of the centre, however he gets support from operations the managers of different tenants and individual shops on promotions and other events in the centre. He feels that there is a need for him to get assistance from the tenants in the centre in terms of addressing day to day problems in the centre. For this he recommended the formation of the tenants association that will work with him in identifying the problems in the centre and try to find possible solutions.

The other general problems that the centre has experienced in the past five years that have been reported to Mr. Mnyandu relate to toilet blockages, poor customer service in some shops, untidiness caused by informal traders. Mr. Mnyandu tries to attend to these concerns with immediate effect; however, with the understanding that some of them are difficult to solve for someone in his position e.g. those internal to a particular store.

Mr Mnyandu states that the advent of the local government structure (i.e. Durban Metropolitan Council) brought about great expectations that were attached to the takeover of the new township administration. However, he mentions that as far as the centre is concerned, the services of Durban Metropolitan Council (DMC) are inadequate. This is reflected in poorly serviced roads, poor infrastructural support, in term of services (i.e. water, electricity etc.). To this, Mr. Mnyandu feels that there is a need to improve the services of the council to the township, which will benefit the centre.

Lastly, when Mr. Mnyandu was asked about what needs to be done to improve the centre physically and economically, the response was that there is a need ensure safety to people coming to the centre and try to provide shops that will meet the needs of the people. There is also a need for a tenant association that will periodically give views on the daily running of the centre e.g. opening and closing time of shops.

4.6.3 Interview with the tenant: Mr. Jahannes Dladla

The tenants are aware of some of the problems in the centre. According to Mr. Dladla, who is a resident in the area and general manager of Shopwrite chain store in the centre, the problems that exist in his shop are perennial and some of them are inherited from Shoprite's predecessor, that is,

OK Bazzars. The culprits in this case are normally the public, who are involved in a number of criminal activities. At certain times the staff members are also implicated in crime incidents. He mentioned that among the most troubling problems include criminal incidences and more specifically shoplifting which 'has been there in the centre for years'.

Related to the crime that is committed by the public in the shop is crime that goes on inside the shop and is committed by the staff members. This normally includes what he called 'under ringing'; in other words an incidence where the staff member records less the amount of purchased goods than what the customer has to actually pay. This is found in instances where there is a lot of local staff employed. While this does not interfere with customers' patronage in the centre, it does affect its performance.

The general complaints that come from the customers include minor things like long queues in the tills. However, this is actually a positive element in the shop as it is an indication of high sales, Though delays can irritate some customers. The most serious complaint that has come from the customers is the one about high prices, goods that are not found in store or expired goods. Mr. Dladla confirmed that he has received this complaint on several occasions and told me that he tries to train shelf-packers to check the stock of weekly basis.

However, on the issue of catering for most of customers' needs, Mr. Dladla mentioned it is difficult to cater for a wide needs and preferences, as there is a low consumer support in the shop. He mentioned the fact that the more they try to cater for specific customer needs, the more they find themselves with goods that are not selling, which has some negative implications in terms of goods expiring on shelves

Mr. Dladla confirms crime as being high in the area and this is worsened by the delayed response of police services when a crime incident has been reported. This is worsened not only by the fact that people do not report criminal incidents that they know but also by the perception amongst the residents that some members of the police force are corrupt, unreliable and they themselves have been implicated in criminal incidents. According to Mr. Dladla 'crime in the shop is most strongly felt in the business when big crime incidents are reported. This transpires on the sales and profits that the business makes. Comparative analyses of sales for the months in which more criminal cases were reported and the previous months' becomes an indicator of how severe the impact of crime on business in that month was.

The issue of political violence is not too serious at the moment. However, when it occurs it hinders the free flow of customers to the centre, especially during the times of serious political tension. There are very few incidences of taxi violence that will affect the centre in the long term, although Mr. Dladla mentioned that when taxi violence takes place it does affect the shops, since taxis have become the dominant mode of public transport in the area.

According to Mr. Dladla, some people do not actively participate in his shop because of a number of complaints that customers have, some relating to the pricing of goods, which was, according to Mr. Dladla, not effectively implemented when he took over from his predecessor. To counteract the problem of higher prices Shopwrite has occasional promotions that will draw in customers. The other important element that tends to repel people away from the CBD is that a large proportion of people work in town and tend to do their shopping in the city. Also, mobility to the city is high, since there are various modes of transport that are available to the people at different transport costs. People in Kwa Mashu use places like Durban, Phoenix, Macro (Springfield), Newlands and even Westville as alternative shopping places.

According to Mr. Dladla, the centre is well located and is designed to be user-friendly to the people of Kwa Mashu. However since the centre was initially meant to be a regional centre servicing people as far as Phoenix, Inanda, Ntuzuma, Newlands etc., the location becomes a problem because some people have to go via a taxi interchange and take another mode of transport to Kwa Mashu.

Although Shopwrite is perhaps one of the most frequently used shops in the centre, with a monthly turnover of between R3 and R3.5 million, Mr. Dladla felt that there is a need to increase staff in the centre so as to avoid delays created by lack of staff on cash tills. He felt that the shopping center manager must try to improve services of the police force (SAPS) and security guards in the centre. Mr. Dladla also felt that the centre needs a lot of support from the local government especially in terms of services and infrastructure in and around the centre, as these elements will enhance performance of the centre.

There seems to a general consensus with three respondents in terms of the needed external intervention. They all seem to in agreement that local government has to support the centre in terms of services provision (e.g. water, roads, electricity, security and policing).

4.7 Participant observation: Results

From the formal participant observation undertaken by the researcher a number of aspects were identified and the general results of the exercise are outlined below. Before these results are discussed it should be mentioned that most of the information regarding the centre, which is directly related to the participant observation has been discussed under the general background of the centre. These will not be discussed in detail here.

There are final conclusions that the study draws, which emanate from participant observation exercise (*see plan of the centre - map 4*):

4.7.1 Location

The centre is very well located at an interceptory position on Mandela Road (see map3). It is also considered accessible both by foot and motor vehicles. This is supported by related activities like the taxi rank and railway station. A pedestrian bridge across Mandela Road links the train station and taxi rank with the shopping centre. There is a clear entrance/exit to the centre although it is not tidy due to the presence of informal traders. However, due to the location of the centre, some people who live far from the centre experience some problems in accessing the centre. These problems are worsened by high crime in the area. Crime is probably most feared when people have to travel long distances to the centre and are exposed to criminals.


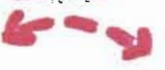

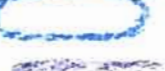


4.7.2 Internal Design

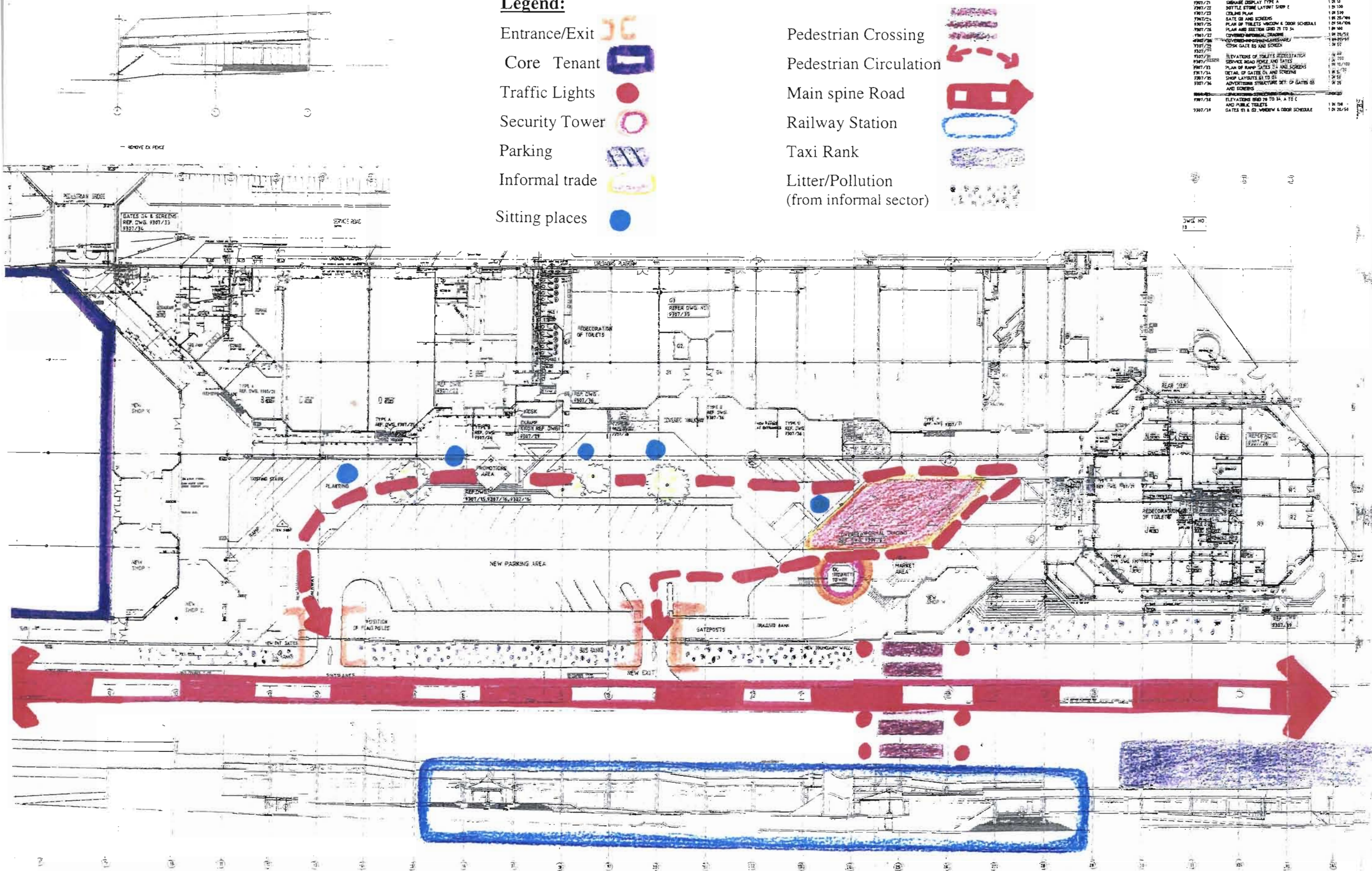
The Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre is a linear shopping centre with most shops facing the main road. The centre is secured and fenced has three entry and exit points. The main entrance appears to be wide and very open and appears to be lead to open and interesting areas.

Map 4: Plan of the centre
scale 1: 200

Legend:

- Entrance/Exit 
- Core Tenant 
- Traffic Lights 
- Security Tower 
- Parking 
- Informal trade 
- Sitting places 

- Pedestrian Crossing 
- Pedestrian Circulation 
- Main spine Road 
- Railway Station 
- Taxi Rank 
- Litter/Pollution (from informal sector) 



SCHEDULE OF DRAWINGS

1987/18	DK	SITE PLAN	1:20
1987/19	DK	ELECTRICAL SITE PLAN	1:20
1987/20		PARKING AND PAVING	1:20
1987/21		LANDSCAPING AND ROADWORKS	1:20
1987/22		COURTYARDS AND READYWORKS SECTIONS	1:20
1987/23		EAVES DETAIL	1:20
1987/24		STAIR DETAIL	1:20
1987/25		PROPOSITIONS AREA PAVING AND STAIRS	1:20
1987/26		PROPOSITIONS AREA STRUCTURE	1:20
1987/27		PROPOSITIONS AREA SHOP STRUCTURE	1:20
1987/28		GATE DETAIL PARKING AREA	1:20
1987/29		PARKING AREA ENTRANCE DETAILS	1:20
1987/30		SECURITY TOWER	1:20
1987/31		SHOPS DISPLAY TYPE A	1:20
1987/32		BOTTLE STORE LAYOUT SHOP E	1:20
1987/33		CEILING PLAN	1:20
1987/34		GATE 02 AND SCREENS	1:20
1987/35		PLAN OF TOILETS WINDOW & DOOR SCHEDULE	1:20
1987/36		PLAN AND SECTION GRID 21 TO 34	1:20
1987/37		COVERED WALKWAY	1:20
1987/38		COVERED WALKWAY (ALTERNATIVE)	1:20
1987/39		COOK GATE 03 AND SCREENS	1:20
1987/40		ELEVATIONS OF TOILETS REDEcoration	1:20
1987/41		SERVICE ROAD FENCE AND GATES	1:20
1987/42		PLAN OF BAWN GATES 04 AND SCREENS	1:20
1987/43		DETAIL OF GATES 04 AND SCREENS	1:20
1987/44		SHOP LAYOUTS B1 TO B5	1:20
1987/45		ADVERTISING STRUCTURE SET OF GATES 03 AND SCREENS	1:20
1987/46		ELEVATIONS GRID 26 TO 34, A TO C AND PUBLIC TOILETS	1:20
1987/47		GATES 01 & 02, WINDOW & DOOR SCHEDULE	1:20

There are more than 100 parking bays that have been constructed in the front part of the centre for easy access and convenience of shoppers. Asphalt-surfaced parking is also available at the rear of the centre and provides for more than thirty vehicles.

The internal part of the centre is very well designed facilitating the movement of customers while allowing them to do window-shopping. There are places for people to sit after shopping although some of this space is gradually being taken by informal traders.

Some areas in the centre however, illustrate poor design principles. For example, the toilets entrance for male and female are dark and make it difficult to move as people fear attacks from criminals 'who are all over the centre' (*see plate 2 below*).

Plate 2: Areas of potential danger



Dark and narrow toilet entrance is considered a potentially dangerous area. It is recommended that security personnel be stationed here at all times. It is also important to note that the same corridor that is seen above leads to both male and female toilets and is therefore considered a poor design feature.

4.7.3 Tenant mix

The tenant mix is discussed in chapter 1. The location of tenants within the centre is such that similar dealers are located next to each other forming an agglomeration. However, most of them are complimentary. The existing tenant mix comprises some of the major national retail chain store groups (e.g. Shoprite, Telkom, Price and Pride, Pep Stores etc.) as well as private owners (e.g. Mafuze furnitures) (*see plate 1*). The mix that attempts to cater for the needs of the whole community includes fast food, clothing, furniture, supermarket, bottle store, banks, specialty outlets, post office and doctors' consulting rooms.

4.7.4 Building Physical Structure

The building's physical structure is considered in a satisfactory condition, probably due to recent centre refurbishment (1994). However, informal traders do not only take the place that was meant for customers to sit/walk, but also make the overall structure of the centre look very untidy.

4.7.5 The Customer Patronage

The use of the centre varies with time. In the weekdays midday tends to be quiet with the number of people coming to the centre increasing as the day goes on and the number increases even more towards the afternoon, with some people not shopping but 'hanging around' and performing non-shopping related activities (e.g. 'socialising'). These were particularly young adults. There was a notable increase in the number of people on Saturday compared to Friday although some people could be observed taking public transport, mostly to town.

4.7.6 Problems in the centre

Some elements were difficult to detect and assess like crime, as there were no crime incidents that occurred during observation exercise. Mandela Road is important in terms of linking the areas with the outside world. However this road presents some difficulty to people. This is due to the fact that there is a high car speed on Mandela road and malfunctioning traffic lights (*see plate 5*) and the invasion of the pedestrian precincts by the informal traders making it difficult to go to the centre. Informal traders have also made the centre aesthetically unpleasant (*see plate 3*).

There is evidence of the shortage of financial services in the centre, particularly the banks. Ithala and Standard Bank ATM are the only two banks in the centre (*see plate 1*), the ATM and they are poorly serviced as people complain that they hardly find money machines and feel that this service does not meet their needs.

Plate 3: The Kwa Mashu City – front view

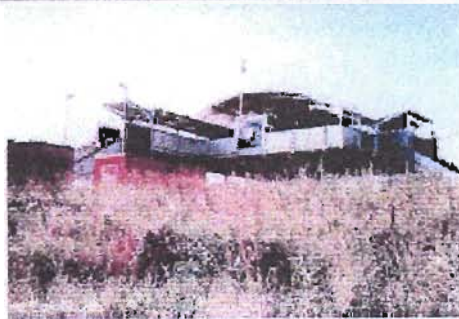


What was meant to be the pedestrian precinct of a regional shopping centre has now turned into an informal market. The informal traders have taken a large portion of the pedestrian precinct. This makes pedestrian movement very difficult and the situation is worsened by high car velocity near the centre.

4.7.7 External Design

The external design of the centre is severely affected by the informal traders who take up a lot of space in the centre, the space that initially was meant for specific purposes e.g. sitting space for customers. At the same time, the other design problem is strongly felt when one goes to the centre.

Plate 3: The Kwa Mashu Station



To move across from the station to the shopping centre is particularly difficult, given the high speed of vehicles and the malfunctioning traffic lights as well as lengthy stairs one has to walk up to reach the other side of the station.

There is a particular difficulty experienced when one is going to the centre on the railway station bridge. The stairs on the bridge are tiresome to walk up. This factor has been indicated by some respondents as one of the problems they face when crossing the bridge (see plate 3).

Plate 5: The Malfunctioning Traffic Lights



Malandela Road poses a particular difficulty when one crosses to the centre from the other side. This is made worse by high motor vehicle velocity and malfunctioning traffic lights. Motor car drivers deliberately ignore the pedestrian crossings and pedestrian do not bother using them (as seen in the above picture). This situation can be particularly problematic for elder people and mothers with many young children.

4.7.8 Parking

Parking is considered inadequate when one looks at the number of shops in the centre and the size of the centre itself. But due to the fact that most shoppers were pedestrians and that there is low car ownership reported in the area, the negative impact of this was not seen.

4.7.9 Behaviour in the centre

The behaviour of the people in the centre varies and this is possibly due to the different groups of people who come to the centre. However, what is more striking is the fact that some people use the centre for socialising and meeting with friends. While there was no observed problem associated with this one can comment that the people who use the centre for socializing are young, awe-inspiring individuals with whom a mere eye contact causes a nerve-rack.

4.7.10 Security

Security measures are taken into account by the centre. The centre has a security tower which is equipped with surveillance cameras which are believed to be making it easy to identify criminals in the centre (see plate '6). The security tower is strategically located on top of the shopping centre manager's office. However, despite these devices, crime is reported to be high in the centre, There is also a vast track of unused land around the centre which contributes to high crime levels as this land is not monitored and is not safe.

Plate 6: The Security tower (top) and the Centre Manager's office (bottom)



The security tower is equipped with CCTV cameras. Despite these attempts to combat crime, the rate of crime in the area is still high.

4.8 Synthesis

This chapter is considered extremely significant for the entire research, as information that was gleaned through data collection exercise and presented in this chapter will, in many ways, influence the discussions, recommendations and conclusions that this study makes. At the same time it should be understood that while the interpretation done in this study is considered significant in terms of the real issue and the dynamics occurring in the centre, the outcomes of this chapter are in no way final. This is due to the size of the sample, which was too small to arrive at indubitable conclusion about the centre.

However, as the sample was considered representative of the residents of Kwa Mashu, the study has reached important conclusions and made a number of informed generalisations about the factors affecting the Kwa Mashu shopping centre. These can be applicable and used in understanding and interpreting other shopping centres in similar contexts (i.e. Black Township). On top of that, the information that is presented in this chapter was found to be in line with the interviews that were conducted with key individuals and secondary material about the centre. Therefore, the results of this chapter should be considered valid to a larger extent.

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the interpretation and discussion of the research results that were presented in the preceding chapter. The interpretation will be done against the formulated hypothesis, that is, shopping centres in Black townships are of limited success due to locationally related aspects, poor shopping centre design and management, limited facilities and other external factors like crime. The results of the survey, together with information gleaned through interviews, participant observation and secondary sources will be drawn upon in this analysis. At the outset the situational context of the project will be recalled by way of background to the assessment.

5.1.1 Context

The shopping centre that is under analysis is located in a township environment and therefore it is considered necessary to broadly outline the background of this township since it will ultimately have an impact on the use pattern of the centre. Kwa Mashu, the township in which the shopping centre under assessment is situated, is situated in a poor province but in the richer part of that province. Kwa Mashu was established from 1956 to 1966 to take people who were removed from areas like Cato Manor. As Kwa Mashu Township was created to satisfy, in the main, the dictates of influx control and racial zoning, the township still suffers from legacies of these policies. For example Kwa Mashu was created as a dormitory settlement area away from areas with meaningful economic opportunities and today the impact of this still exists as people have to travel to the employment areas like the city centres to access life's essentials: The above relates to the notion of colonial city discussed in chapter 1.

It is evident from resident's responses to the questionnaire that an overwhelming majority has been living in Kwa Mashu for a very long time, mostly over 15 years (see fig.4). Therefore the people who were interviewed understood the functioning of the centre very well, in terms of its relative strengths and deficiencies (what they see as problems).

The evidence of permanency can be perceived as a sign of investment or perhaps lack of alternatives for people in the area. It is believed that some of the people are willing and trying to change their circumstances (e.g. extending their houses as families grow bigger). This, on its own, shows willingness on the part of the community to invest in the area. However, this positive notion is marred by the fact that very few people seem to be embarking in this practice and empirical evidence shows that there is a rapid flight of people with elevated social status to more affluent metropolitan areas (see chapter 1). The issue of investment therefore becomes an uncertain one in

the area and is closely counteracted by high crime and low-income levels. Lack of investment in the area is problematic as it shifts the focus of the people away from the area and commercial activities, like the shopping centre, suffer the consequences of that.

5.1.2 Composite Summary

Kwa Mashu faces an accommodation problem. The high number of individuals per household (up to 10 individuals) was a testimony to this (see Fig. 3). Despite the fact that Kwa Mashu was and is still conceived as a self-sufficient community (Chapter 1), the evident inadequacy of accommodation for its residents is not only one of the major problems facing the community but also perhaps the chief concern for the township community administrators.

In every city in the world, where there are large numbers of low income earners, the low incomes will mean low thresholds for shopping, so that these people will not always find sufficient retailing for their needs, and will have to travel, especially to the CBD for certain goods.

The research therefore reached an informed generalization that to some residents in Kwa Mashu, the problem of the built environment is not merely in terms of discomfort or inconveniencing overcrowding. But as indicated in the introduction chapter 4, is symbolic of subjugation, discrimination and vicious circles in which urban Blacks are caught up, which are consequences of forces behind the structuring of South African city. The impression that was gained from the survey was that due to the household occupancy rate, housing is one of the key elements that need to be scrutinized in terms of the existing community needs. Housing problems have an impact on the functioning of the township as well as the use of the township facilities. People do not feel comfortable with their area of residence and therefore have problems in identifying with it. The problem of housing results in people being even more susceptible to crime due to existing insecurity within the township.

The housing problem is part of the general factors affecting the community, external to the centre but which have an impact on participation of the facilities with the township, including Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre. Let us now look at those factors that are specific to the centre.

5.2 Discussion of Research Results

The survey results indicate that crime and the perception of crime is one of the biggest problems that affect the township in general and the Shopping Centre in particular. Evidence from the survey shows that not only does crime cause the feeling of insecurity within the centre, but also, most

importantly, it prevents some residents from coming into the centre freely. This is supported by the fact that all the people who confirmed that they do not use the centre indicated high crime rate in the centre as one of the reasons. Even for those who use the centre, most of them indicated fear of crime as one of the difficulties they face when trying to reach the centre.

Crime constitutes one of the most serious problems for Kwa Mashu residents. The problem of crime in the centre is a perennial one having existed in the township long before the centre was built and one which was recorded since the early stages of the Kwa Mashu. For example, during the period of twelve months from mid 1983 to mid 1984 over 1800 known assaults, rapes and robberies occurred (Stewart: 1991).

The Kwa Mashu shopping centre then, being the biggest commercial node in the township is most severely affected by crime. The centre is affected by crime in two aspects, that is, in terms of functioning of the centre, as it is directly affected by crime and also in terms of the shopping patterns of customers, as they fear crime. While there is a high rate of crime in the centre, it is reported that some residents are reluctant to report crime for fear of reprisal. There is also evidence from the research (i.e. interviews with the tenant) of an existing perception amongst the residents that some members of the police force are not only accused of attending to criminal culprits very late but are also corrupt and they themselves have been implicated in some organised criminal activities.

The above situation is worsened by a number of elements. For example, as stated in Chapter 1, there is a mobile police station located in Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre, but on the whole 'the police do not appear to have strong presence within the centre' (Urban Renewal Report: 1998: 38). Also the fact that there are at present no indications [on research interviews] of the existence of any strong community anti-crime initiatives aimed at vehemently ameliorating crime in the area adds fuel to the flames in terms of the rate of crime and attempts to combat it.

Some people have even fallen victims of criminal incidences in the centre (*see Table 20*) and some repeatedly. Despite the fact that few people in sample have personally experienced criminal offences or molestation (15%) in or around the centre, residents generally refer to crime as one of the chief community problems and feel that their physical security around the centre is threatened. Given this, the study is left with nothing but to conclude that among the factors that affect the customers patronage to the centre, their behaviour within the centre and ultimately the performance of the centre, is crime. Crime is compounded by the high rate of unemployment, which is estimated

by the Urban Layout Design Report (1998) (*Discussed in introductory part of Chapter 4*) to be 30%, contrary to 25% that this study found.

However, it appears that many of residents who still use the centre have learned to live with crime. It is clear that they have adopted certain security routines or fixed habits to ensure a maximum degree of security when travelling within or around the centre. It is therefore obvious that such precautions restrict one's freedom and movement and reduce the quality of life around the centre to a great extent. Moreover, they increase the cost and inconvenience of travelling.

It is considered significant that this study identifies widespread feeling of insecurity on the part of residents in the centre in the questionnaire results and interviews, which is also supported by secondary material. Crime is a major factor in the Shopping Centre leading not only to the flight of capital (e.g. banks), but also to a lack of investment in the area. This links to the current lack of credit facilities for existing businesses, which makes expansion of the centre and job creation difficult. This is closely compounded by the rapid growth of informal sector in the centre, which is not adequately managed. Informal traders have not only invaded the most important part of the centre like public places and pedestrian precincts on, but have also made the area around and within the centre aesthetically unpleasant.

Today, what was initially meant to be a "regional" shopping centre displays characteristics of a disorganised and messy informal market place with a wide range of uncoordinated activities taking place (*see plate 3 above*). This is made even worse when considering the fact that informal sector takes place on key areas in the centre, that is, in front of the shops, on public sitting places, and at entrance/exit points etc. The level of pollution in the centre is evidently high (from littering and dumped garbage) and this is attributable to the activities of informal traders.

While informal trade might be negatively perceived in the centre in terms of affecting consumer perception of the centre, it is important to note that the informal sector is the major source of employment for a large number of people in the township. The contribution of the informal sector to the township economy is significant and this is discussed in detail in Chapter 1.

While there is significant of crime in the area and this issue has been deliberately overemphasized in this research, it cannot be viewed as the only problem that faces the centre. The other elements that tend to work against the centre will be discussed in the following sections.

While people in the sample are predominantly unemployed (25%), self-employed (15%) or employed in low paying jobs (35%), there is a very low percentage of people who are skilled (12%) (see Table 3). This is the case despite the prevalence of social institutions within the larger metropolitan area, like schools, technikons, technical colleges, universities etc.

Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre can also be analysed in terms of the above context (i.e. problems of unemployment, low-incomes etc.) when one attempts to understand the in-depth factors that limit the success of shopping centres in Black townships. This means that problems experienced in the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre are like to be found in other townships in South Africa.

The research revealed that residents feel that there is a need for recreational facilities in the centre (see Tables 16, 21 and 22). Due to the lack of these elements, residents of Kwa Mashu tend to rely entirely on their urban environments like 'hanging out' with friends and drinking to satisfy their leisure needs. This is because they have a very limited range of alternatives from which to choose, especially within the township.

At the moment one can mention that purely recreational activities such as active and passive sports are utilised by some residents to cater for their leisure needs. There is an indication that some respondents, especially the young, use the centre for socializing and other forms of entertainment. The socialising practices used in and around the centre to attend to the personal leisure needs of residents bear testimony to the fact that entertainment is one of the required aspects in the centre.

Socialising described above (i.e. 'hanging out' with a group of friends or drinking) is a common trend in the centre, especially for young males. However, this has a potential to reinforce other problems in the centre such as misbehaving after drinking or crime related activities, for example. Due to high unemployment rate, especially for the majority of people who use the centre for socializing, the socialising tendency within the centre premises has crime implications.

While some respondents indicated that they generally feel threatened by the groups of youngsters in the centre, people who normally hang around the centre are not only unemployed and poverty stricken, but also have been indicated to be typical of criminals. These individuals are reportedly well versed about the centre and it is suspected that they might seize the opportunity of making money through illegal means like robbing the shoppers and get away with it like most of their predecessors did.

From the above discussion it is clear that there are no meaningful recreational facilities in Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre despite the great demand for them. Due to the lack of these facilities in the centre, some people even indicated that 'there is a lot of miss in life in Kwa Mashu and the centre is even worse' or 'my life is just dull and unyielding' or 'I just sit around here and drink. That's how I always relax, I think its better than getting bored at home'.

The existence of depressed and a 'problem filled' mass of the people in Kwa Mashu raises concerns on whether or not the notion of 'the culture of poverty' (discussed in Chapter 1) is applicable in this community. This notion is important to discuss because the existence of poverty in the area will impact on the performance of the centre. In term of this concept certain poor communities are not merely poor and objectively disadvantaged; they have evolved a distinctive pattern of cultural norms and modes of behaviour, which reinforce and perpetuate their basic poverty conditions.

The concept of 'the culture of poverty' is a deep-rooted problem especially within working class groups, and is a dysfunctional manifestation of a less coherent community structure like in Kwa Mashu. The 'culture of poverty' interferes with virtually all proceedings in urban settlements and therefore is considered important to discuss.

Whether 'the culture of poverty' exists in Kwa Mashu or not, it is important to mention that there are existing poverty patterns of some sort, often reinforced by low-income levels and a high unemployment rate and these affect people's ability to afford goods in the centre. There is also a feeling to intuitively assert that some of the facets of 'the culture of poverty' (discussed in Chapter 1) do exist in Kwa Mashu and they are inherent of the historical past of the area and were reinforced by state controlling mechanisms. While these would be too difficult to change as they have been there for a long period of time and been accepted to some people as part of township life, they are important to mention especially when one attempt to understand issues that affect the performance of shopping centres in Black townships.

Empirical evidence shows that Kwa Mashu is not homogeneously poor and that there are evidently segments of the population (particularly younger adults), which have relatively elevated socio-economic status. However, personal impediments, hopelessness and social frustration in daily life are some of the indicators of the consequences of poverty which has engulfed a large proportion of township residents. These are seen in the area and are considered to be of great impact on the daily functioning of the shopping centre. Given that, then it becomes quite interesting to realise the correlation between the subtle forms of poverty in the area and the limited use of the centre.

The study found out that there are a large number of other factors that disturb the customers when going to the centre. The spatial fragmentation caused by the railway line and Mandela Road that together divide the area into two constitute a major impediment to mobility, especially when accessing the centre. Mandela Road presents a particularly serious problem when one visits the centre. The velocity of cars on this road is sometimes unreasonably high, especially in the vicinity of the centre, making it very difficult to cross this road. This is worsened by malfunctioning traffic lights which since installation never functioned to a satisfactory level' as well as the fact that pedestrian crossings are deliberately ignored by motor vehicle drivers (see plate 6). This causes some serious difficulty for older people or mothers with many young children, as they obviously have to exercise extra caution before crossing the road, which can be time consuming especially during peak hours.

The upgrading of the station has brought a number of positive elements like formalising trading on the southern side of the station on a treed-and-paved trading forecourt adjoining ticket office. But, at the same time, there are complaints about the stairs before the bridge in the station as it is used by the public. It is said that the station bridge was designed to ease access across the station, but it has not resolved the difficulties created by the lengthy stairs. The length of time it takes to reach the centre can be linked to the delays on the railway stairs and Mandela Road as some respondents indicated these to be the problems they experience when going to the centre. While the station design eases for the physically challenged, it has come with design-related problems. The stairs across the railway bridge on the Kwa Mashu Station (located next to Mandela Road) are long and tiring to walk up especially for elderly people.

While the frictional effects of distance are not limited to large and medium sized shops, but is apparent at the smallest scale as well, the distance traveled to the centre cannot be viewed as a critical problem or as one of the locational defects of the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre. As it is known that the centre was not going to be located next to everyone, it is also known that people were going to travel to the centre anyway even if the centre was located elsewhere. Therefore the question with regard to location is not only how people travel to the centre, but most importantly, relates to how accessible is the centre to the majority of its users e.g. people on feet or on private or public transport. From the above Kwa Mashu proves to be very accessible. However, theoretically the demand for any particular good declines regularly with the distance from the source of supply. This is particularly true for Kwa Mashu and compounded by the high crime rate that threatens the people travelling to the centre.

The decision-making body on shopping centre location is most often the council of the local authority, but in many circumstances the ultimate decision is taken by special or higher order bodies established to adjudicate on the decision of local government.

However, the difficulties experienced by people when they go to the centre are the key concerns to this study and which concerns the location of the centre. Theoretically the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre is very well located in terms of access route system and supporting thresholds (i.e. on the major arterial road in the area of high activity concentration, next to the taxi rank and a railway station, in the middle of a neighbourhood unit with predominantly residential land uses).

While the above is the case, the research divulged that despite that, the centre is accessible only with a certain degree of difficulty to most respondents. The issue of crime is always indicated by respondents to be one of the factors they fear when going to the centre especially for those who live far away from it. Crime in that case is one of the key elements that work against the location of the centre. It is perhaps for that reason that some people prefer to use public transport to access the centre which comes with cost and inconvenience implications.

While Kwa Mashu seems to have sufficient threshold in terms of the amount of population, which is at the heart of the Central Place Theory, the purchasing power that is necessary to support the supply of goods is very low due to high unemployment and generally low incomes.

Kwa Mashu as well as the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre generally experience problems similar to those of the other disadvantaged communities — inadequate facilities, poor maintenance and lack of recreational facilities. From the survey results, it is clear that among other things, the centre is affected by the existing township community conditions, some of which have been dealt with in the above sections. The area is also characterised by poor development and lack of essential facilities and that, on its own, has some negative implications in terms of perception and the use of facilities in the area.

The shopping patterns in the area show that the majority of people do shopping once a month or whenever the item is needed. While this is probably due to low-income levels in the area, the study would like to contend that there is generally low participation in the shopping centre by Kwa Mashu residents. The sample showed that only 15% of the respondents do not use the shopping centre but in gross quantitative terms there might be quite a larger number of people in that category given that some of the people might have some difficulties with the centre that the study was not successful to pick up.

From the sample one can be able to then generalize that a larger proportion of the people in Kwa Mashu are living below normal substantial standards. This is due to unemployment, low-incomes and high dependency rate that is often reinforced by these factors. Given this, as well as the general inadequacy of facilities in the shopping centre it makes sense that a considerable proportion of people do shopping in the city centre where prices are comparatively low which suits their low income levels and they will probably find everything they are looking for. But what about the transport costs that are involved?

As alluded to earlier on in this study, a considerable amount of people work in town and do shopping as part of a trip to work. It means then that whether people buy in town or not, they still are going to pay the transport costs anyway. There is also another part of the argument that respondents do not feel the impact of the transport costs when they will shop in an area that offers maximum choice in terms of quality and price which is apparently the opposite of Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre.

Having discussed the problems and grievances of residents, let us look at their general reaction to desired future improvements in the centre. It is important to mention that very few respondents find the existing conditions in the centre to be satisfactory. This is shown in the number of people who indicated that they do not have a problem with the centre. Only 35% of the respondents felt that the centre is satisfactory in terms of choice, price and quality.

The research has been so far successful in identifying all the elements deemed necessary for future improvements of the current condition of the centre. These include expanding the centre, providing more recreational facilities as are outlined below.

5.3 The future of the centre

5.3.1 Centre Expansion

This study would like to raise questions regarding the viability and sustainability of the recommended future improvements. For example, the survey identified that residents need a wider range of shops in the centre. But at the same time there is evidence from the survey that some of them are not participating in the centre with enthusiasm. This is compounded by low-income levels and unemployment.

There is a feeling from the respondents that the centre needs to be expanded. Yet at the moment some people argue that the vacant land at the shopping centre and the fact that phases that were part of the original plan of the centre but have not yet commenced are testimony to the over-ambitious plans of the original designers of the centre.

5.3.2 Entertainment

There is also a call for more entertainment facilities, yet other kinds of related facilities have proven not viable on several occasions in the area (see plate 4). From the onset, the cinema and the nightclub had to close down due to insufficient patronage of them. These facilities were also threatened by crime in the sense that there was a danger associated with nocturnal travelling.

5.3.3 Informal Traders

The idea of removal or control of informal traders is contrasted with the fact that due to high unemployment rate in the area, informal trading has become the major source of income and a large number of people are making a living out of it. In fact the Urban Layout Design Report claims that the informal sector contributes up to 20% to the area's GDP.

5.3.4 Improving of products to widen choice

Some people recommend that there must be improvement or increase in the quality of products supplied, but at the same time retailers claim that the introduction of new products comes with more problems. The provision of new products as a response to complaints about limited products in shops results in goods being spoilt because of low sales of those products.

Although it might seem that some of the problems experienced in Kwa Mashu are very commonplace in a township or working class environment elsewhere in the world, especially with its interceptory location, this is however, no justification for the prevailing conditions in Kwa Mashu. From the results it is clear that the pre-requisites that the developer intended to achieve with the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre, discussed in Chapter 1, were not really accomplished. Clearly there is no confidence in the centre and the research has proven that the centre is not absolutely competitive.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is essentially an attempt to draw concluding remarks on the overall dissertation. The recommendations that this study reached will also be highlighted at a later stage in this chapter. Cross-reference to the preceding chapter will be done to illustrate certain elements relevant to this chapter.

6.1.1 Context

The historical reasons behind the planning and development of Kwa Mashu were ones that revolved around the issues of racial zoning and influx control. Kwa Mashu was developed, as a dormitory suburb, inhabited largely by relocated residents with consequent mono-functional residential zoning and resultant sterility. The historical features associated with the establishment of Kwa Mashu have then cascaded down to the other generations and are still manifested in the existing community structure. These have been inherited and have become accepted as pan of normal township life. For example, the overcrowding and lack privacy is one of the historical problems that Kwa Mashu has always had and this still persists even today (Urban Layout Design Report: 1998).

Retail facilities in Black townships, in general, and Kwa Mashu in particular, have suffered a major blow from the historical forces associated with the establishment of townships. These forces have resulted in almost complete dependence on the city centre for daily human needs or convenience goods as people were not provided with sufficient facilities in their settlements. The townships were dormitory settlements with little facilities, especially reasonable clusters of retail facilities. The townships were also found to be displaced from meaningful economic opportunities and this on its own reinforced dependence on the well established centre like Durban city centre for more rewarding employment benefits.

Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre is different from other shopping centres in Black townships (e.g. Umlazi Shopping Centre) in that it is in an interceptory position and at a railway node, which later was coupled with taxi terminal. So it has more advantages and was considered to provide services better than other shopping centres in Black Townships (e.g. Umlazi Shopping Centre which was between two railway stations and away from the main arterial road, in a location that was accessible with certain difficulty). However, despite the above advantages that the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre had, thresholds, especially for durable expensive goods, were still too low.

An in-depth survey on the success of shopping centres in Black Townships, with particular reference to Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre leaves no doubt that these centres are not performing to the “expected” standards. While this research does not conclude that the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre is particularly under performing by any standards, to mention the least, there is much room for improvements. However, due to its interceptory location, the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre is relatively successful, especially when one examines this centre against other centres in Black townships.

It should be clear that the investigation that brought about the research results was problem-oriented from the outset, that is, to investigate why the shopping centres are not successful in Black township areas. This study concludes that problems regarding shopping centre performance and the success of shopping centres in Black Townships are peculiar and area-specific, multi-dimensional and have complex forms of manifestation. The survey results are convincing that, notwithstanding the less unfavourable aspects in the centre, the quality of shops in the Kwa Mashu Centre leaves a great deal to be desired.

The key areas outlined for improvements (recommendations) in the centre (discussed below) are expected to enable the centre to making it fully responsive to the needs of ordinary people. However, while the current status of the centre leaves a lot to be desired in terms of meeting the needs of the people, there is still hope for future improvement, specially if recommended changes in the centre were to be correctly implemented. This is because the centre is not considered to be dismally performing, but must allow for recommendations, some of which are discussed in this chapter, to occur. The above assertion is made with an understanding that thresholds in the township are too low to support the activities of the centre. Meaning that there might be limited participation in all activities even if the recommendations that this study makes are allowed to occur.

6.2 Income levels

The research findings indicate that poverty is undoubtedly at the root of township problems. Not only is this shown through low-income levels but also high rates of unemployment. Relative poverty is probably increased in an urban plural society like Kwa Mashu and this reinforces dependency rates. The majority of the respondents have been living in the area for more than 15 years. There are very limited indications of vehement attempts to reduce unemployment in the area. The most visible strategy that has been taken by a number of unemployed people is the activities of the informal sector which themselves come with a number of drawbacks e.g. littering.

Unemployment then, can be seen as one of the basic problems that affect the socioeconomic conditions of Kwa Mashu. Since one cannot change the financial status of township residents so as to influence thresholds, issues of unemployment and low-incomes become irrelevant in this chapter for any form of recommendation that this study makes. Also, due to the fact that it will be very difficult if not impossible to influence unemployment patterns in the area, this issue will not be dealt with as part of recommendations, although it is considered important to mention it.

6.3 Crime

The Centre of Kwa Mashu is clearly an area that experiences high levels of crime. The existence of vast tracts of vacant land and unsurveilled land in the centre as well as the large number of people moving through the area on daily bases make the centre even more vulnerable to crime. As alluded to in the preceding chapter, the above assertion is worsened by the reported corruption of some of the member of the police force, which does little to alleviate the situation with regard to crime. This is also compounded by the reluctance of residents to report crime for fear of reprisals. It is recommended in this study that the vast tract of vacant land should be used for other purposes like residential, the action that will influence the thresholds around the centre.

It is a notable fact that the high levels of crime in the centre impact also on consumer patronage to the centre. Residents are also probably reluctant to bring money into the centre when shopping can be done safely elsewhere. It is also difficult to encourage investors to locate in the centre due the crime problem as crime impacts on both investors and consumers negatively. While this crime problem has clearly chased out little investment initiatives and some banks had to close down, the mobile police office located in Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre to combat crime does not appear to have strong presence within the centre. This reduces the hope of alleviating crime and possibilities for future investment in the area.

One of the conclusions that this study draws on the issue of the success of shopping centres in Black townships relates to safety and security elements within the centre in that these centre are less used due to insecurity in them. One of the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre's worst failings is that it does not provide users of the centre with sufficient security. This is aggravated by a lack of urgency in terms of dealing with crime perpetrators and also the fact that some of the police personnel are allegedly implicated in criminal events. The mobile police station as well as the recently installed CCTV is (*seen in plate 6*), as indicated by Shoprite manager, clearly are not doing well as the crime rate never ceased and continued unabated despite the advent of these recent crime combating mechanisms.

The centre therefore, should allow for a design solutions that will reduce crime in the centre. This will include making the entrance clear of shanty structures of informal traders, to clear pedestrian paths of any informal activity and, to install proper surveillance devises (e.g. cameras) on entrance points (not only on the security tower as is the case now) so that criminals can be easily identified and can also be traced in case they manage to escape after committing crime. This will help a lot as, at times, criminals tend to be known people, and they can be identified at entry into the centre through these devices.

Another design solution would be to reduce access points and close down unsurveillanced access points so that people can be channeled along particular ways and easily monitored. These factors are discussed under sub-heading “recommendations” below.

As stated in chapter 1, a limited amount of the present workforce is employed in Kwa Mashu itself. This results in expenditure leakage to other areas in the Durban Metropolitan area. The reported tendency of higher income groups to shop elsewhere and the flight of people compound the above situation with elevated status from Kwa Mashu to settle in more affluent areas in the metropolitan area (*see Chapter 1*). Given that, there is clearly no meaningful investment into the area, the centre is worse off in this situation because even those who use the centre are clearly low-income earners.

There is general consensus on empirical data that the focus of Kwa Mashu residents is not on the area itself but in the wider Durban metropolitan area. It is a fact that, compared to Kwa Mashu, the city centre has much more to offer by way of economic and occupational opportunities, facilities and services, even if these advantages are often meager to some and financially inaccessible to many. In the light of the above, it becomes apparent that for most of residents in Kwa Mashu working in town is a best alternative or a necessary evil and the general township environment acts as an amplifier of the poor conditions in which so many of urban Blacks live. The city then stands out as an ‘eldorado’ place, offering many opportunities. Similar to the unemployment problem, the above issue will be too difficult to influence or to make recommendations on. However, it is considered important to mention as one of the key elements affecting the centre. It is only considered important that because of the seemingly uncontrollable leakage of expenditure to the City Centre, and so shopping centres larger than Neighbourhood centre should not be planned in Black area. Those occurring in these areas should be in a good interceptory locations and should be reinforced with transport nodes (e.g. taxi rank), entertainment facilities, civic facilities etc.

One of the subtle or implicit areas of concern in the area is that relating to institutions within the area. There seems to be institutionally associated problems in the area that affect the centre and the

residents. Services of Durban Metropolitan Council (DMC) (e.g. road, electricity and water maintenance) are considered by respondents and centre management to be inadequate and less prompt. Seemingly there was great anticipation that was attached to the takeover of the township administration by the DMC. This was confirmed by the key respondent's feeling that there is a need for local government intervention in the current problems in Kwa Mashu that affect the general quality of life and the performance of economic activities.

The DMC is expected to play an important role in the centre and in the township in terms of providing essential services. However, due to the bureaucratic nature of this problem, problems associated with the DMC are considered too difficult to influence. Neither is it easy to make recommendations around this issue, although it is considered important to mention. However, the study concludes that there must be a good working relationship between the DMC and the township as well as the centre, in service provision in the township. This should encompass ensuring that issues of responsibility and accountability are taken care of.

Under the circumstances discussed in the above sections, it is inevitable that many township residents experience acute, subjective ambivalence with regard to their use of the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre. There are therefore pervasive perceptions that opportunities for improvement in the centre are severely limited and this causes subtle fear about the future of the centre.

From the research findings this study concludes that virtually all of Kwa Mashu's problems which have the greatest impact on the shopping centre are interrelated. For example, fear of crime is a major source of dissatisfaction in the centre. This is further aggravated by factors which increase vulnerability to crime like the design of toilet entrance/exit points (there is one entrance for males and females which is narrow, dark and dangerous) (*see plate 2*), and distance traveled when accessing the shopping centre.

It is considered that if more people were living closer to the centre, the problems associated with long distance from the centre (e.g. increased exposure to crime on the long way from the centre) would be lessened. It is for that reason that this study recommends that vast tracks of vacant land around the centre be used for residential purposes. This would also be important in terms of creating better thresholds for the centre.

6.4 Recommendations

Having highlighted major trends and problems found by the research of Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre, it is relevant to examine some possible areas of improvement raised in this study. A number of key aspects emerged from the discussion on the research subject (i.e. success of shopping centre in Black townships), which of course warrant specific attention. These are considered complex and varied yet interrelated and it is therefore not possible to generalise about what is seen as solutions to them. This section will attempt to provide the recommended elements to the centre in terms of improving its current condition.

The recommendations that this research makes link directly with the research questions discussed in Chapter 2. This means that the study was not only successful in finding answers to these questions but also in achieving its goals and objectives.

The research questions were raised in Chapter 2 as well as the goals and objectives of this research, raised in Chapter 3, related to the following elements:

- Location
- Size
- Design
- Choice, quality and prices
- Consumer behaviour
- Management
- Entertainment
- Tenant Mix
- External factors

All key concerns that were raised in Chapters 1 and 3 as part of research question were identified in this research. As these issues have been identified and discussed in this research, the following elements have been drawn-up for recommendations.

6.4.1 Location

Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre is relatively successful compared to other similar centres and, as stated before, this is due to its location i.e. in an interceptory position. This research therefore, recommends that any centre larger than neighbourhood size should be at interceptory location so as to benefit from movement systems/patterns in the area and needs clear connection to other supporting factors like taxi or bus terminals and railway stations. However, this must be done with understanding that thresholds in the townships are very low. So attempts to make the centre bigger

that neighbourhood centre, so as to divert expenditure from CBD, should be guided by and be based on that understanding.

As mentioned in chapter 1, there is an ongoing argument that Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre would have functioned even better if it was located on the potential node at the eastern end of Kwa Mashu (*see map 3*). This node is at a road intersection which has locational advantage of being at the intersection of two major roads and would have attracted customers not only from Kwa Mashu but also Phoenix, Ntuzuma and Inanda, it is recommended that centres larger than a neighbourhood size centre should consider such location so it can have larger thresholds.

6.4.2 Size

It is perhaps striking that respondents seem to be acutely aware of the lack of choice, quality and wide range of goods in the shopping centre. This issue relates particularly to the size of the centre. Shopping centres in Black townships are too small to offer a large range of goods, quality and choice to satisfy the wide needs and preferences of consumers, so people generally revert to CBD. This is the case even though township residents have insufficient threshold to support more in retail activities.

The above was evident from the research in Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre. The study concludes that while there is a strongly felt need to expand the centre from the consumers, there are perhaps limited possibilities for expansion in Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre and this is partly due to very low supporting thresholds in the township. The shopping centres in Black townships, therefore, should remain at the level of basic neighbourhood size even if they are in a right location. It is also only if the centre would be able to draw on very large population that very special sites be developed for larger centres.

While making centres in Black townships bigger is considered an important step in attempting to divert expenditure from, the advantages of the CBD, this would not work well due to evidently insufficient thresholds in township environments to support commercial activities. This would be the case even if they were to be in a right location like the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre.

The original concept of the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre being a Town Centre was not possible due to low thresholds in the township. The vacant land around the centre that was reserved for the centre's expansion is said to the over-ambitious plans of the original planner of the centre. This research therefore recommends that vacant land around the centre for the other phases of the centre

that have not yet commenced should be used for residential purposes. This change of land use will ultimately be an advantage to the centre itself in terms of the influence it will have on supporting thresholds in the centre.

6.4.3 Internal Design

(a) Position of informal traders

While the internal design of the centre made provisions for informal traders/hawkers, the activities of informal traders have invaded the most important part of the centre. The spaces that were intended for customers to sit after shopping is now used by informal traders. The informal traders tend to hamper its ease of use and make the pedestrian movement difficult and time consuming. Since informal traders, in their current numbers, attract a larger number of different people some of whom are casual youngsters who are not employed and awe-inspiring, the informal traders can be seen to be indirectly enhancing insecurity within the centre and susceptibility to crime.

From the research done in the centre, it can be mentioned that the Kwa Mashu shopping centre is not likely to achieve a significant change in appearance, given the rapid invasion of the centre premises by informal traders that is apparently amplified by the high unemployment rate in the area. Unless, of course, drastic steps and a more vigorous policy stance in terms of dealing with informal traders is adopted, the Kwa Mashu shopping centre will continue to display an anomalous structure rather the initially intended for the shopping centre (*see plate 3*). This will require active management intervention, in ensuring that while informal traders are not entirely excluded from the centre (i.e. all those that increase support to the centre must remain), they are well managed to keep the centre aesthetically appealing. This will also help to retain the confidence in the centre.

The recommended design solution for informal traders would also be to free up unused space in the centre and create an adjacent market area linked to the pedestrian route system. This will ensure that informal traders are not excluded from the centre but at the same time they benefit from the people coming to the centre. But all this should be done with the understanding of the need to create and maintain pleasant shopping environment that is appealing to potential shoppers.

(b) Seating places

The sitting places have been taken up by informal traders in the centre. As stated above there is a need to control the informal traders so as to make sure that spaces that were meant for customers, but are now used by hawkers, be released for the appropriate use. There is also a need to modify

centre design to limit pedestrian flows. This would be done through creating limited space for informal traders in front of the centre and increase seating spaces for shoppers.

(c) Condition of the centre

While the physical condition of the centre in terms of the building structure and roofing is considered to be in a satisfactory condition, the internal part of the centre is untidy due to the informal traders. However it is recommended that periodic refurbishment be done to revamp the centre's image and keep it attractive. Also relating to the image and physical condition would be the need to manage informal traders, as seen below.

(d) Refuse removal

The Kwa Mashu shopping centre has a problem of litter, most of which comes from the informal traders. There is a need to ensure that refuse is collected around the centre on regular basis. This would require ensuring active involvement of DMC in refuse collection and general service provision.

(e) Entry points

As stated in the chapter there must be a limited number of entry points into the centre and they should have proper surveillance devices so as to monitor consumer movements in the centre and be able to track down criminals.

6.4.4 External design

As stated before railway line together with Mandela Road divide the area into two thus causing a difficulty when going to the centre. It is difficult to make a recommendation that will require a physical alteration on stairs at the railway station because such an assertion might not be feasible. However, in terms of Mandela Road, this study is in favour of some of the respondents' opinion, that is, making sure that traffic lights are functioning properly at all times or installing traffic calming mechanisms in the vicinity of the centre as there clearly is a problem with crossing on Mandela road to the centre (*see plate 5*).

There is a general sentiment on data moving across on Mandela Road is becoming a stressful exercise. This is due to the fact that pedestrian precincts are either unclear or taken up by informal traders. The study recommends that the pedestrian precincts are cleared of informal trade especially on areas where they cause a particular difficulty to customers. These traders need to be put in a

separate market area where they will still feel being part of the centre and benefiting from people visiting but not causing problems to the pedestrian movements.

6.4.5 Management

Collaboration between retailers, community representatives and shopping centre management should be reinforced to ensure that meaningful management of the centre exists. This will assist in ensuring that key problem areas are identified and dealt with and solutions are found. The above assertion should include the formation of tenants' association who will, together with the shopping centre manager and community representatives to look after day to day functioning of the centre.

There is a need for the establishment of an effective shopping centre management programme that will specifically look after informal traders. This programme should be responsible for looking at upgrading options and raising funds so as to improve the structure of informal trading sites. While this kind of management should understand that informal trading is the source of income for a number of households and individuals it should seek official and community support, participation and commitment to the long-term improvement of the centre.

6.4.5.1 Entertainment

The Kwa Mashu township as well as the shopping centre offer very few recreational facilities to alleviate problems associated with leisure needs. Violence, delinquency, socialising and drinking seems to be the temporary solutions. It is particularly interesting to note that while these activities are becoming increasingly prevalent among young, it is especially the youthful respondents who are most insistent on the need for alternative and improved recreational facilities in and around the centre. The activities referred to above are used by residents because they probably think that they can afford them opportunities to cope with poor life quality and low standards in Kwa Mashu.

Due to the call for more entertainment facilities in the centre, the study strongly argues that there must be some entertainment facilities of some sort within the centre and this issue has to be addressed by management. In improving the centre then, options for more entertainment and recreational facilities should be opened. The occasional promotions and videocassette hiring services have proven insufficient in terms of meeting the leisure needs of the community. Therefore, the study recommends that the Kwa Mashu Shopping centre adopt a shopping-cum recreational centre of some sort with a number of multipurpose facilities.

Financial investment might be a constraint and a certain degree of certainty must be attained in ensuring that these facilities are viable and sustainable. But as discussed in the preceding chapter, the viability of these facilities is questionable as they normally tend to be severely threatened by crime, low affordability rates and generally low levels of participation by township residents.

It is also recommended that the centre be able to draw on the business assistance from local government, key institutions, community and key business people in wider metropolitan community in providing more entertainment facilities. However, the study understands the great impediments that the above recommendations can face: difficulties in influencing the political, bureaucratic and practical nature of government and institutions especially when seeking financial support in favour of Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre which has been not achieving its potential.

6.4.5.2 Surveillance/Security

The issue of crime has been deliberately overemphasized in this study. This is due to its magnitude in the area in general and the shopping centre in particular as well as its impact on the performance of the centre. The aspirations of shoppers centre management and retailers in terms of security are strikingly high. In the face of these aspirations, however, the performance of the centre has been dismally poor. Therefore, particular emphasis must be placed on the issues of safety and security in the centre. The mobile police station needs to be strictly monitored to ensure its efficiency. Queries regarding police members' behaviour need to be reported to the relevant bodies to ensure responsibility and accountability.

The study recommends that support should be requested in terms of alleviating crime in the centre. Areas with particularly susceptibility to crime, like areas with limited surveillance, narrow corridors, dark entrances to male/female toilets should be strictly monitored by security personnel or be redesigned to take into account issues of safety and the creation of gender friendly environment.

The existing devises to attend to crime problems in the centre e.g. the new security tower with CCTV cameras (*seen in plate 6*) and more thorough security personnel are acknowledged as good attempts to deals with high crime rate. But as crime has continued to exist at a same rate, there is a need for a more radical approach to crime reduction especially in the centre. This would include more design solutions to the problem of crime.

As alluded to earlier in this chapter, the design solutions that the centre needs to implement include clearing pedestrian paths of informal traders to free pedestrian movement and improve on

surveillance in the centre. It will also include limiting access points into the centre and strictly monitoring those that are used more frequently. This "issue has been covered extensively dealt with in the above paragraphs in term of recommendations, the discussion of which will be a repetition.

Security should also be achieved through design of the centre. This will encompass designing spaces that will enhance safety of will be defensible to the users. In the case of the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre, this would mean the need to redesign the areas that enhance susceptibility to crime like the dark and narrow toilet entrance for both males and females and ensuring that spaces within the centre are safe and secured.

6.5 Reflection on theory

There is a general consensus in the literature on retail planning that it is though location that goods and services are made available to potential customers and this 'also depends on how consumers respond to the market. This sentiment is echoed though the theoretical chapter. It is generally concluded by other authors that good locations allow ready access, attract large numbers of customers and increase the potential sales of retail outlets (Brown: 1992; 8).

The South African township presents certain situations to retail activities. Notwithstanding the conventional axioms about the configuration of planned shopping centres, it is argued that for shopping centres to be potentially successful, they should reflect features of the local context. The forces behind the development of Kwa Mashu township were political rather than economic. It is clear that people tend to have difficulty in identifying with the area that does not reflect the 'local context' or the desires of the local people.

The different theoretical strands of retail development and retail location, virtually all have a more or less abiding influence in contemporary retailing discourse. Therefore, the divergent theoretical approaches discussed in Chapter 2 are found to be holding a certain degree of relevance to the study.

The case of the Kwa Mashu shopping centre can be further explained from a number of theoretical strands. For example the Principle of Minimum Differentiation theory argues that not all the activities are necessarily dependent on general accessibility, rather proximity to the complementary activities or 'special' accessibility is the more critical element. While this study has explained the suitability of Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre's location in terms of accessibility, the above theoretical assertion helps to understand that since the centre is located some distance from other complementary activities, it is bound to be of limited success.

In addition to the above, the theory of tertiary activity argues that there is an existence of heterogeneous market conditions and that the market area is spatially transformed, in such a way that the range of goods is no longer a fixed areal measure of shopping centres. Rather it is influenced by and reflects relative demand of goods and purchasing power of consumers. The above is related to the Kwa Masha Shopping Centre case. There is evidently a low demand of goods and the purchasing power of consumers also low. From a theoretical point, this suggest some of the reasons why the centre is not performing well.

6.5.1 Consumer Behaviour

In trying to locate the consumer behaviour in a theoretical perspective, it is important to look at the Cognitive-behavioural theory. This theory argues that there normally is the existence of habitual or routinised behaviour of consumers and that faced with a range of retailing opportunities, consumers make conscious and deliberate choices between them. This theory further argues that decisions about shopping are made in respect of the opportunities as they are perceived by consumers. The above explains some of the reasons for the majority of the respondents use the city centre as an alternative or the only shopping place for a large amount of goods.

Aspects relating to consumer behaviour (discussed in Chapter 2) are found to have a great deal of relevance in terms of the findings of this study. Theoretical perspectives regarding the consumers choice of goods and services points out that the choice of a product often determines the choice of a shop over space (Guy: 1980). Therefore the process involved in choosing goods to buy may well be similar, in part, to those involved in choosing a shop to visit. This somehow explains why the majority of people in Kwa Mashu tend to shop in the City centre rather than Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre. There might be a search for particular goods that consumers need, and it is the process that determines their shopping place.

Purchasing decisions are said to be the result of largely rational and conscious economic calculations, based on human needs. Therefore, the individual buyer seeks to spend his or her income on those goods that will deliver most utility (satisfaction) according to tastes and relative prices. As the city stands out as an 'eldorado' place that offers a wide range of opportunities, it becomes a perfect area to deliver maximum utility to people.

The above is particularly true for Kwa Mashu. Since there is a clear polarization between facilities and the general quality of life between Kwa Mashu Township and the City Centre and this is considered to be one of the key factors that have an impact on the performance of any planned commercial zone. One can also add that in an environment where the discrepancy between

conditions and facilities in the township and the rest of the city is so blatant it is more than likely that the people's activities are centred in areas with more facilities and better conditions.

Like most Black residential areas in South Africa, Kwa Mashu is situated at some distance from major business and industrial centres, where most of the gainfully employed residents work. Given the fact that the area has a wide range of public transport and as is stated in Chapter 1, most of employed people work in town (up 88% - *see Chapter 1*), it is very likely that most people do their shopping in the City Centre, an environment that, as stated above, offers more choices. This is the case *albeit* general public complaints that trains (which are cheaper compared to buses and taxis) are most of the time overcrowded and buses are time consuming, dirty and uncomfortable and that taxi services are far more expensive.

It is also considered a natural reaction that expectations and aspirations are raised by the sight of better opportunities, hence people shop where choices are wider. This assertion is counteracted by the evident inadequacy of facilities in the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre which, when considered against other options available in the City Centre, becomes a major a strong repellent to the shoppers.

The Structuralist approach is considered to be one of the theoretical strands that hold a great deal of applied relevance, particularly for the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre. According to this approach the location of retail activities does not necessarily reflect the free play of market forces, nor the unconstrained spatial choices of consumers and retailers, rather locational decisions to these activities are determined to a greater or lesser extent by a variety of underlying social and political processes.

The Kwa Mashu township, the township on which the centre is located, shows that the location of settlements and essential activities like shopping centres is not simply a reflection of placement policies of township development. Rather, it is attributable to the locational policies or the locational outcomes of the policies of the government and other legislative authorities. Located in such an environment, commercial activities perform with difficulties often relating to the dissatisfaction of the township residents with the area in which they are more or less compelled to live and such dissatisfaction extends to activities within such an environment. This argument is in line with the findings of this study.

The issue of variety, quality and choice in the centre is more centrally defined in retail development. It is argued that the extent to which the largest possible threshold of shoppers within a particular

trade area could be drawn will partially be dependent on the availability of choice quality and variety. This somehow helps to understand the cause of reduced threshold for the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre. While this study concludes that there is a limited choice in Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre in terms of quality and price in the centre compared to the city centre, such assertion helps understand the low participation within it.

6.6 Hypothesis

This study has assumed that the failure of the Kwa Masu Shopping Centre is consequent on poor location, poor design and centre management, insufficient services within the centre and consumer behaviour. While location of Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre was not considered an enormous problem, the study suggests that the formulated hypothesis was proven successful. In terms of design, some of the problems found in the centre were design related e.g. toilets entrance for male and female as well as areas that offer insufficient surveillance. Management issues are reflected in the invasion of the centre by informal sector, which is uncoordinated and makes the centre untidy. The behavior of consumers can be related to the history of the area. Kwa Mashu was created as a dormitory settlement with no meaningful facilities, and therefore people had to travel to access essential life requirements. This trend has been perennial and has been self-perpetuating. This, compounded by the lack of facilities in Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre, has influenced the consumer behaviour in regard to the centre.

6.7 Conclusion

The township is a low-income, working class area and these characteristics are enough to understand that affording daily life's essentials is very difficult for township residents. A lack of financial means and the unavailability of employment hamper the improvements in personal economic situations. Low levels of income and affordability are largely due to lack of economic development and high dependency on unskilled or low paying jobs. This is further exacerbated by generally low levels of education and training among the residents, as discussed in chapter 1. The high levels of unemployment in the area, as revealed by the survey bear testimony to the above assertions. Income levels in Kwa Mashu are reportedly even lower than the surrounding areas of Newlands, Phoenix and Ntuzuma.

The low levels of affordability are compounded by a rise in the cost of living. A related issue to the above is the reported 'flight of higher income groups in Kwa Mashu to more affluent areas in the wider metropolitan area.

The research would like to contend that all shopping centres in Black townships are concentrated in very low-income areas which have problems of low thresholds of support for all goods. Purchasing of goods is limited as people tend to spend much more on food than other goods. This leaves very little that people can afford when it comes to comparison goods. Even less floor space can be supplied due to the limited success of many outlets. This argument is aggravated by 'leakage' of money that is spent out of the area (at or near places of work at change up mode). However, it is important to mention that the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre is doing better than a number of other shopping centres and this is due to its interceptory location, relating to railway line/station and taxi node.

Given the areas of contention discussed in this Chapter, the study concludes that the township environment is a very unique and a rather 'standoffish' formation, presenting situations that are hardly ever found elsewhere in an urban area. As indicated in this study, the obstacles to any form of development in Kwa Mashu in general and the shopping centres in particular are mostly spasmodic and multi-faceted and have complex forms of manifestation. Township people are evidently faced with difficulties in affording essential life requirements. This is due to high unemployment levels, low incomes, and generally deteriorating quality of life. These are the key impediments to the development of shopping centres in Black Townships.

6.8 Synthesis

It is important to mention that while the recommendations made on this section are based on the interest of the residents and data gleaned through data collection methods, certain precautions need to be applied in implementing them. This is due to the plethora of factors that tend to work against the commercial centres in Black townships. However, as stated in the preceding chapter, this study does not indubitably and conterminally conclude that shopping centres are not viable phenomena in Black townships, but draws attention to the fact that townships are incongruous environments.

There are also a number of problems and factors working against the development of commercial activities similar to Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre. The research was able to pick up most of these within the given time frames. Although time allocated for this research exercise was limited for a detailed analysis of all the problems in the centre, these problems were identified and sufficient analysis was done.

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6.10 Appendices

6.10.1 Appendix 1: Questionnaire

University of Natal-Durban

Department of Town & Regional Planning

Questionnaire Survey – KwaMashu Shopping Centre

Hi.....My name is Sabelo, I am a Masters student at the University of Natal Durban. I am working on a research about the success of shopping centres in Black townships, and I am looking at KwaMashu shopping centre as a case study. Can I have five minutes of your time to ask a few questions about this shopping centre? Please answer the following questions as required.

All information – strictly confidential!

Please can you answer some questions about yourself and your household?

1. Sex

Male	
Female	

2. Age

< 19	
20- 24	
25-29	
30- 34	
35- 39	
40-50	
> 50	

3. Position in Household

Head	
Spouse	
Child	
Relative	
Other (Specify)	

3.1. Can you tell me how many people live in your household?

< 3	
3-4	
4-6	
6-8	
> 8 people	

4. What is your occupation?

.....

5. How long have you been living in this area?

< 1 Year	
1-2 Years	
2- 5 Years	
5- 8 Years	
8- 15 Years	
> 15 Years	

6. How long does it take you to reach the Kwa Mashu shopping centre?

< 5mins	
5 -14mins	
15 - 29mins	
30 - 44mins	
45 -1hr	
> 1hr	

7. How do you reach the shopping center?

Walk	
Taxi	
Own Transport	
Bus	
Other (Specify)	

7.1 What difficulties do you face when trying to reach the centre? e.g. have to cross major road.

.....

Can you please answer some questions about your shopping habits

8. When do you normally do your shopping?

Weekdays: a) on a trip to/from work b) during work hours c) on a separate trip	
Weekends	

9. How often do you do your shopping? Please choose from below.

	Once a week	Once in two weeks	Once in a month	Other
Food (a) Major (b) Topping				
Household goods				
Clothing for: a) Men b) Women c) Children				
Furniture				
Stationery				
Gifts				
Music (CD's & Tapes)				
Other (specify)				

10. Do you have storage for your goods? e.g. fridge for perishables Y/N

10.1 **If not**, does that affect your shopping for perishable food like vegetables daily?

.....

11. Do you use the Kwa Mashu Shopping centre?

Yes	10.1
No	10.2

11.1 **If yes**, what do you use it for?

Food/Grocery (a) Major (b) Topping	
Clothing for: a) Men b) Women c) Children	
Furniture	
Entertainment	
Banking	
Clinic	
Video cassettes	
Post office	
Socializing	
Other (Specify)	

11.1 **If no**, why do you not use the centre? (Give at least 3 reasons)

.....

12 Where else do you do your shopping for:

	Town	Phoenix	Other (specify)
Food (a) Major (b) Topping			
Household goods			
Clothing for: a) Men b) Women c) Children			
Furniture			
Stationery			
Gifts			
Music (CD's & Tapes)			
Other (specify)			

12.1 How do you reach other place(s) in which you do your shopping?

Taxi	
Own Car	
Bus	
Other (Specify)	

13. How do the time and transport costs affect you choice of shopping area?

.....

14. Does the Kwa Mashu shopping centre provide sufficient goods for your household needs?

Yes/No

14.1 **If no**, in what way does it not provide sufficient goods?

.....

15. Does the centre have sufficient shops in terms of choice, quality and price?

15.1 **If no** what would you like to see? e.g. more outlets like chain stores

.....

16. What are the advantages of the centre's location to you? i.e. can you reach it easily and quickly?
e.g on a bus route or next to railway station.

.....

17. Do you think the centre is clean, well maintained to keep it attractive and in good shape? Are there promotions that attract people to the centre?

.....

17.1 Are you satisfied with the security in the centre? Are criminals kept out of it?

.....

18 What do you think is the most important element that you would like the centre to address? e.g. more security

.....

19. Is there a clear entrance to the centre? Y/N

20. Is there a place where people can rest within the centre? Y/N

20.1 Can people move with their goods from shop to shop without any inconvenience? Y/N please explain

.....

21. Have you experienced any problems in the centre? e.g. crime, taxi violence etc. Yes/No

21.1 If yes, what are they? Please state at least 3?

.....

22. If you were to change anything in the centre, so as to improve its condition, what would it be and why? e.g. more parking

.....

.....

6.10.2 Appendix 2: Questionnaire Survey Results

1. Sex

Sex	No.	Percentage
Male	13	33%
Female	27	67%
Total	40	100%

2. age

Age	No.	Percentage
< 19	2	5%
20 – 24	8	20%
25 – 29	5	13%
30 – 34	6	15%
35 – 39	9	22%
40 – 50	6	15%
> 50	4	10%
Total	40	100%

3. position in Household

Position	No.	Percentage
Head	15	37%
Spouse	9	23%
Child	14	35%
Relative	2	5%
Total	40	100%

3.1. people per household

People	No.	Percentage
< 3	2	5%
4 – 5	13	32%
6 – 7	14	35%
8 – 10	6	15%
> 10	5	13%
Total	40	100%

4. what is your occupation?

Occupation	No.	Percentage
Student/Scholar	2	5%
Skilled	5	12%
Unemployed	10	25%
Self-employed	6	15%
Blue collar/low paid	14	35%
Higher low paid	1	3%
Pensioner	2	5%
Total	40	100%

5. how long have you been living in this area?

Time	No.	Percentage
< 1yr	0	0%
2 – 4yrs	1	3%
5 – 7yrs	4	10%
8 – 12yrs	3	7%
13 – 15yrs	4	10%
> 15yrs	28	70%
Total	40	100%

6. how long does it take you to reach the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre?

Time	No.	Percentage
< 5mins	5	12%
6 – 14mins	16	40%
15 – 29mins	14	35%
30 – 44mins	3	8%
45 – 1hr	2	5%
> 1hr	0	0%
Total	40	100%

7. how do you reach the shopping centre?

Transport means	No.	Percentage
Walk	31	77%
Taxi	8	20%
Own transport	1	3%
Bus	0	0%
Total	40	100%

7.1 difficulties when trying to reach the centre?

Difficulty	No.	Percentage
Fear of crime	6	15%
Lengthy steps on station bridge	3	8%
Cross major road/railway bridge	4	10%
None	27	67%
Long distance	10	25%
Total	50	125%

8. when do you normally do your shopping?

Time	No.	Percentage
Weekdays – on a trip to/from work	6	15%
Weekdays – during work hours	5	13%
Weekdays – on a separate trip	7	17%
Weekends	22	55%
Total	40	100%

9. how often do you do shopping for the following?

Item	Once a Week	%	once in two weeks	%	Once in a month	%	once in a while/ when needed	%	Not at all	%
Food – major	1	3%	8	20	31	78%	0	0	0	0
Food – topping	8	20%	11	27%	21	53%	0	0	0	0
Household goods	2	5%	2	5%	29	72%	7	18%	0	0
Clothing – men	0	0	0	0	6	15%	34	85%	0	0
Clothing – women	0	0	0	0	6	15%	34	85%	0	0
Clothing – children	1	3%	0	0	11	27%	28	70%	0	0
Furniture	0	0	0	0	2	5%	38	95%	0	0
Stationery	3	7%	6	15%	8	20%	23	58%	0	0
Gifts	0	0	3	8%	5	12%	21	52%	11	28%
Music	0	0	2	5%	3	8%	25	62%	10	25%
Total	15	38%	32	80%	122	305%	210	525%	21	53%

10. do you have storage (fridge) for your goods?

Category	No.	Percentage
Yes	27	67%
No	13	33%
Total	40	100%

10.1 if no, does that affect your shopping for perishables?

Category	No.	Percentage
Yes	13	100%
No	0	0
Total	13	100%

11. do you use the Kwa Mashu Shopping Centre?

Category	No.	Percentage
Yes	34	85%
No	6	15%
Total	40	100

11.1 if yes, what do you use it for?

Uses	No.	Percentage
Food/grocery – major	34	100%
Food/grocery – topping	34	100%
Household goods	22	65%
Clothing – men	3	9%
Clothing – women	3	9%
Clothing – children	6	18%
Furniture	10	29%
Entertainment	12	35%
Banking	20	59%
Clinic/doctors	20	59%
Video cassettes	15	44%
Post office	21	62%
Socializing	10	29%
Total	210	618%

11.2 if no why do you not use the centre?

Problems	No.	Percentage
Limited choice of shops	5	83%
Limited choice of goods in each shop	5	83%
no entertainment	2	33%
Fear of crime	3	50%
Work in town and shop on my way to/from work	2	33%
Its far from my place of residence	4	67%
Total	21	350%

12. where else do you do your shopping for:

Item	Durban/City	%	Phoenix	%	Macro	%
Food – major	29	73%	5	12%	1	3%
Food – topping	28	70%	4	10%	1	3%
Household goods	29	73%	1	3%	0	0
Clothing – men	39	97%	0	0	0	0
Clothing – women	39	97%	0	0	0	0
Clothing – children	39	97%	0	0	0	0
Furniture	34	85%	0	0	0	0
Stationery	26	65%	0	0	0	0
Gifts	25	63%	0	0	0	0
Music	23	58%	0	0	0	0
Total	311	778%	10	25%	2	6%

12.1 how do you reach other place(s) where you do your shopping?

Transport mode	No.	Percentage
Taxi	26	65%
Own transport	4	10%
Train	3	8%
Bus	7	17%
Total	40	100%

13. how do the time and transport costs affect your shopping area?

Category	No.	Percentage
Affects me - I can't spend money on transport when I can still do shopping in Kwa Mashu	14	35%
Don't affect me – I rather pay for transport and get everything I want than not pay but still not get all I want	23	57%
I use my own transport – so it doesn't really matter to me	3	8%
Total	40	100%

14. does centre provide sufficient goods for your household needs?

Category	No.	Percentage
Yes	19	48%
No	21	52%
Total	40	100%

14.1 if no, in what way does it not provide sufficient goods?

Problem with goods	No.	Percentage
Limited choice of shops	19	90%
Limited choice of goods in one shop	12	57%
Limited choice of price	9	43%
Problem of expired goods	4	19%
Total	44	209%

15. does the centre have sufficient shops in terms of choice, quality and price?

Category	No.	Percentage
Yes	14	35%
No	26	65%
Total	40	100%

15.1. if no, what would you like to see?

Changes	No.	Percentage
Wider range of shops with competitive prices	26	100%
More entertainment facilities combined with shopping environment	5	19%
Expansion of the centre to give space to other types of shops	8	31%
Improvement on the quality of products in shops	7	27%
Total	46	177%

16. advantages of centre's location to you?

Advantages	No.	Percentage
Close to me, can reach it easily	25	62%
Next to main road and taxi rank/railway station – so on my way to work	3	8%
no advantages – have to pay for taxi (half the fare to town) or walk a long distance	12	30%
Total	40	100%

17. do you think the centre is clean, well maintained to keep it attractive?

Category	No.	Percentages
the centre is clean and well-maintained and there are promotions to attract people	24	60%
its untidy due to informal traders	13	32%
the centre is very untidy, although there promotions now and then	3	8%
Total	40	100%

17.1 what do you think about security in the centre? Are criminals kept out of it?

Category	No.	Percentage
Security guards are doing well to reduce crime in the centre	8	20%
Security guards are not doing well, crime still persists, e.g. need more trained guards	32	80%
Total	40	100%

18. what do you think is the most important element that the centre must address?

Element	No.	Percentage
Improve security	23	57%
Expand centre – to cater for more shops and public facilities	15	38%
Provide entertainment facilities, e.g. cinema, nightclub etc.	10	25%
Clean up the centre – improve on physical condition and control informal traders	6	15%
Leave it as it is	2	5%
Improve on existing facilities e.g. post office	4	10%
Total	60	150%

19. is there a clear entrance to the centre?

Entrance	No.	Percentage
Yes	36	90%
No	4	10%
Total	40	100%

20. is there a place where people can rest within the centre?

Category	No.	Percentage
Yes	29	72%
No	11	28%
Total	40	100%

20.1 can people move with their goods from shop to shop? Please explain

Category	No.	Percentage
Yes – people can move freely from shop to shop	30	75%
no – it is difficult to move from on shop to another since we cannot take trolleys out of Shopwritte	7	17%
People can not move from shop to shop, they fear criminals	3	8%
Total	40	100%

21. have you experienced any problems in the centre?

Category	No.	Percentage
Yes	20	50%
No	20	50%
Total	40	100%

21.1 if yes, what are they

Problem	No.	Percentage
Criminal incidence	18	90%
car accident	1	5%
Spoilt goods	8	40%
Taxi violence related problems	4	20%
Delays in shops – e.g. children in uniform not allowed in shopping centre	2	10%
Total	33	165%

22. what would you do if you were change in the centre so as to improve its conditions?

Changes	No.	Percentage
Tighten security e.g. 24hrs crime stop service	21	52%
Expand the centre – put more shops, facilities and entertainmen ⁺	30	75%
put speed humps on the road to calm vehicles	4	10%
Keep the centre tidy (control informal traders)	9	23%
Leave it as it is	3	8%
Total	67	167.5%

6.10.3 Appendix 3: Interview with the Architect

University of Natal-Durban

Department of Town & Regional Planning

Interview questions with the Architect (Mr. Frank Emmett)

Name:

Surname:

Position:

Employer:

Employer's..Address.....

code.....

Tel. No:

Can you please answer some questions about the Kwa Mashu shopping centre?

1. Who was the developer of the Kwa Mashu shopping centre?
.....
2. What were the reasons and basic objectives that the developer intended to achieve with this centre?
3. Were there title deeds in Kwa Mashu in 1964 when the centre was planned?.....
.....
4. Who were the key decision-makers and what were their roles in the project?
.....
5. Who were the initial managers and how did they manage the centre? i.e.what were their goals in centre management?
.....
6. What improvements have there on the centre to improve its economic performance? e.g. physical refurbishment, construction of extra access route, security improvements.
.....
.....
7. To your knowledge, what factors determined the Kwa Mashu shopping centre location? political or economical? Was access a major issue?
.....
.....
.....
8. Can you please explain any problems that people have experienced regarding access to the centre? have they been able to reach the centre with ease?
.....

.....
.....

9. Can you now please explain problems that the centre has experienced, in general, since inception?

.....
.....
.....

10. What factors seemed to limit its expansion?

.....
.....

11. How has the following factors affected the centre? crime, political and taxi violence, tenant mix, physical condition of the centre.

.....
.....
.....

12. What measures have been taken to improve the conditions of the centre or the surrounding area? What successes have been achieved so far?

.....
.....

13. Some people do not use the centre. What could be the reasons and causes of that?

.....
.....
.....

14. In what ways, if any, has the local government interfered in the area that will be of benefit to the centre?

.....
.....
.....

6.10.4 Appendix 4: Interview with the Shopping Centre Manager

University of Natal-Durban

Department of Town & Regional Planning

Interview questions with the Shopping centre Manager (Mr. Mnyandu)

Name:

Surname:

Position:

Employer:

Employer's Address.....

..code.....

Tel. No:

Can you please answer some questions about the KwaMashu shopping centre?

1. For how long have you been the manager of the KwaMashu shopping centre?

.....

2. As a manager, what are the key objectives do you want to achieve?

.....
.....

3. To your knowledge, what are the key problems that the centre has experienced so far, which have had an impact on its performance?

.....
.....
.....

4. What have you done to enhance and maintain the centre's attractiveness?

.....
.....
.....

5. What are the general kinds of shops can one find in the centre?

.....
.....

6. What key determinants or criteria do you follow on mixing tenants?

.....
.....

7. To what extent has the following affected the centre's performance: crime, violence (taxi & political), tenant mix, physical condition of the centre?

.....

.....
.....

8. What management support do you get and from whom? In what ways has it assisted you? Any achievements so far?

.....
.....
.....

9. What are the general complaints from the shoppers that you know of? Are they satisfied by the goods they find in the centre in terms of their basic household needs?

.....
.....
.....

10. Do you think the centre needs any support from state agencies to improve its economic usefulness? e.g. in terms of expansion.

.....
.....
.....

6.10.5 Appendix 5: Interview with the retailer

University of Natal-Durban

Department of Town & Regional Planning

Interview questions with the Retailer (Mr. Johannes Dladla)

Name:

Surname:

Position:

Employer:

Employer's Address.....

.....code.....

Tel. No:

Can you please answer some questions about the KwaMashu shopping centre?

1. Are you a resident in the area?
2. What is the name of your shop?
3. What kind of a shop is it? e.g. clothing, food etc.....
4. Can you please tell me about problems, in general, that affected you and your shop in the centre since you started letting?
.....
.....
.....

5. Can you please tell about the things that customers normally complain about to you or your employees? e.g. goods, prices etc.
.....
.....
.....

6. What have you done in response to them?
.....
.....

7. How has your shop been affected by general crime (shoplifting), taxi & political violence, consumers' choices and preferences?
.....
.....
.....

8. To your knowledge, why do people prefer not to use the your shop? e.g. prices, transport, personal reasons.

.....
.....
.....

9. Where else do people go to buy goods similar to yours and how do they get there?

.....
.....
.....

10. In what ways is centre's location working against the centre? can people reach it with ease?

.....
.....
.....

11. To what extent does the way the centre itself is designed influence customers? Positive or negative

.....
.....
.....

12. On average, how much is your total revenue per month?

- <19 000
- 20 000 – 39 000
- 40 000 – 79 000
- 80 000 – 119 000
- >120 000.

13. Do you think the centre needs support from external agencies to improve its economic usefulness?