

INFORMAL COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT, PARTICULARLY SPAZA SHOPS, IN  
FUTURE PLANNING OF LOW INCOME AREAS: THE CASE STUDY OF  
CLERMONT-KWADABEKA.

BY

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## CHAPTER 1

### RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

#### 1.1 Introduction

The focus of this dissertation is on exploring the concept of incorporating the provision or allowance for informal commercial development, particularly "Spaza shops", in future planning of low income areas. Concern and need to delve into this concept derives from the fact that low income areas for Blacks, often called "townships", were originally planned as temporary residences, or dormitory towns. This means that the Black townships were meant as residences for migrant workers, most of whom were employed in the nearby towns and cities. Such a planning design was largely characterised by lot sizes of relatively small sizes as well as lack of most urban facilities such as shopping.)

One of the regulations that informed such a Town Planning design during the Apartheid period was on commercial activities, which stipulated that only a minimal amount of formal commercial operations were allowed in a single residential cluster (Kahn, 1984),. This meant that provision for informal commercial development was not considered. An attempt to overcome inadequate shopping facilities in Black townships was illustrated by a trend of introducing Neighbourhood centres as was the case in such areas as Chatsworth and Umlazi townships in Durban. Such a gesture failed to achieve the purpose for which it was intended. This is largely because of failure to take cognisance of such aspects as good location and the existence of a potential threshold to support such a commercial activity. This, therefore, means that commercial activities were only considered at a larger scale.

Nevertheless, informal commercial activities or small - scale businesses, are at present, a common phenomena defining land use



activities in most low income areas of South Africa. "Spaza shops" are therefore, a response to failure for planning to recognise the need for the local convenience level of commercial outlets by low income communities and accommodate their existence.

It was against this background that some shortcomings on "Spaza shop" operations were established, more specifically those pertaining to their location and the space they utilize. This is aimed to enable future planning intervention to either facilitate or induce their successful operation in future development of low income areas. Planning as a concept in this study can therefore, be defined as a technical and social tool informing the organisation of space through land-use regulation, zoning control and administration.

## 1.2 Research Problems

The following research problems associated with operation of small-scale commercial activities, particularly "Spaza shops", were identified for the purpose of this study:

Firstly, the planning design of Black townships in South Africa did not allow or plan for small-scale formal and informal commercial activities. This resulted in the phenomena of the "Spaza shop" as an informal response to lack of local level of commercial facilities in Black townships. They were also considered as illegal by the planning authorities of the time. "Spaza shops" also went against the planning principle of the time, that all land-uses should be determined and identified on the plan.

Secondly, that in most instances, the existing available space from which "Spaza shops" operate is restrictive for their further expansion, considering whether the space is shared with another household, rented or owned.

Finally, that planning administration was ill-equipped to conceptually, technically and administratively, respond to such sporadic land-use changes within Black townships.

### 1.3 Research questions

This study therefore, attempted to find answers to the following research questions as a mechanism in best incorporating small scale informal, as formal activities in future planning:

- What is the impact of "Spaza shops" on the immediate neighbours on site and on neighbours in the general neighbourhood?

-What impact does both the operation of "Spaza shops" and their expansion have on the family life of both renters and/or owners, of dwellings from which they operate?

-What planning strategies should inform planning policies and design for informal commercial development?

-What other participatory inputs should inform the formalizing of "Spaza shops" in future planning of low income areas.

### 1.4 Hypothesis.

From the identified research problems, the following hypothesis was formulated, to which discussion in this dissertation has constantly alluded:

- It is possible to accommodate "Spaza shops" in formal planning of commercial activities with adjustment in planning design and administration that are location specific.

### 1.5 Research Methodology

The pilot survey was conducted in the Clermont-Kwadabeka study

area. Clermont-Kwadabeka is one of the Black townships in the Western Substructure of the Durban Metropolitan Area (DMA). Its location at accessible distance to the Western development corridor and the Central Substructure makes it more advantageous to other Black townships in the DMA.

The following data sources were used in the pilot survey, namely: interviews, questionnaires and observation.

Two types of questionnaires were developed. One type of questionnaire formulated was administered to a sample of 30 "Spaza shop" operators. This was largely to determine problems encountered in "Spaza shop" operation and possible solutions to such problems. Furthermore, this was meant to investigate the impact that location of "Spaza shops" and space available impact on the operation of the businesses. Finally, and most importantly, this type of questionnaire was also aimed at investigating the exposure or knowledge that "Spaza shop" operators have of planning requirements and procedures.

The second type of questionnaire was administered to a sample of 10 neighbours. This was aimed to investigate the neighbours' perception of "Spaza shops", whether they are beneficial or not, and in what way. The impact of "Spaza shop" operation on the neighbours' lives was also investigated.

Additionally, interviews were conducted with Town Planning officials on land-use regulations and zoning control. This was aimed to uncover the impact of changes in planning regulations after incorporation of Black townships into the substructures of the DMA.

Further interviews were conducted with Township Managers in investigating contributory factors to inefficiencies in planning regulations within their jurisdiction. Solutions to such situations were uncovered.

Interviews were also conducted with community leaders as representatives of Clermont-kwadabeka community. This was to establish their perception of "Spaza shop" operation and suggestions on what future formalisation of "Spaza shop" operation should entail.

Newspapers and planning journals were used to familiarise the researcher on contemporary debates of the subject matter. This is largely because such data sources provide recent debates and information on particular topics.

Literature review was used as a basis supporting the issues or discussion in the research study. This is because much literature present findings on extensive research and practical experience in particular fields of study, and they are therefore, informative in that regard.

Finally, observation was used as a data source by the researcher. This was aimed at determining some aspects of socio-economic characteristics such as economic class, and sex of respondents. Aspects on location and size of the "Spaza shop" were also noted through observation. Most questions used in this data source were presented in the addendum of the questionnaire (See Appendix). Finally, the researcher also used observation to determine the physical structure and physical condition of the "Spaza shops". This data source was also of assistance in analyzing some of the responses by "Spaza shop" operators and their neighbours.

#### 1.6 Limitations and Scope

The focus of this study was only on exploring location and space as a strategy enabling facilitation of "Spaza shops" for future planning. (This means that other forms of informal home-based activities such as backyard mechanics were not considered in this study.) Furthermore, aspects pertaining to the viability and feasibility of promoting or facilitating "Spaza shops" were

not within the scope of this study. However recommendations that will be drawn at the end of this dissertation, will assist in further research of these limitations.

### 1.7 Structure of the Study

The first chapter which comprises the research framework as already outlined above, provided an introduction of the content of this dissertation. Main questions and problems defining this research study were outlined and a brief introduction of the research methodology provided.

The second chapter comprises the methodology. Details on different sources of data was made known as well as specific stakeholders who played a role as sources of data. Finally, mechanisms used in data analysis and interpretation were specified in this section.

The third chapter which comprises of the conceptual framework provides research background on the research topic. It therefore, served as the information backbone of this dissertation with which all aspects or sections of this research study was linked. In essence, the conceptual background insists on coherence and consistency within the research study.

The fourth chapter comprises the case study presentation. This chapter was basically aimed at familiarising the reader with the study area and the details of analysis. A series of maps were used to indicate the location of the study area to the Durban Metropolitan Area, as well as different socio-economic aspects relevant to the research topic.

The fifth chapter comprises the data findings and interpretation. This chapter presented a pool of selected information gathered from data collection. Interpretation of these findings was also fed from ideas presented in the conceptual framework. A series of tables were used to maximise

clarity and understanding for the reader.

The sixth chapter comprises of recommendations of the research study. These were largely informed by ideas from the conceptual framework as well as data collected from different role players in the methodology.

The final chapter which is the conclusion, provided the evaluation of what was set to be achieved. The brief findings and implications at local, national and global level was made known. A summary of recommendations was outlined as well as suggestions of focus on further research study.

## CHAPTER 2

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A pilot survey of "Spaza shop" operation in Clermont-Kwadabeka was initially conducted to determine possible methods of gathering information. This chapter therefore, outlines some of the data sources of information gathering found to be significant in informing Goals and Objectives in the research study.

The following assumptions were drawn for the purpose of this study:

- Application of the Modernist Town Planning Design adopted in South Africa is universal, and ignores and fails to accommodate existence of peculiarities within places.

- Lack of funds in traditionally Black homelands and Black local authorities resulted in handicaps in the effectiveness of planning administration.

- Future planning policies have considerable potential in supporting the existence and operation of "Spaza shops" as a follow-up of the financial support they are getting from manufacturers and wholesalers.

When collecting data, both secondary and primary sources of data were used in the research study. The following secondary sources were used:

#### 2.1 Land-use plan from Terraplan and Associates (1995) . Town Planners in Westville.

The land-use map was used to determine the location of existing formal commercial activities within Clermont-Kwadabeka study area.

The preliminary or pilot survey of the study area brought to attention the existing different sizes of "Spaza shops" and how their expansion and growth were significantly impacted on by their location. As an example, there appeared more formal shops on most of the major roads than acknowledged on the land-use plan. This implied the illegality of more established informal shops which resemble the formal shops, both in structure and economic success, because of their location advantage. The land-use map was therefore, used to assist in identifying such informal or illegal shops along major routes.

#### 2.2 Structure plan from T.M.L Consultants (1985) prepared for the Department of Development Aid.

Information on the site analysis was obtained from this data source. This included information characterising the socio-economic and political aspects of Clermont-Kwadabeka. Such information was useful and informative in analysis and interpretation of the data findings in the research study.

#### 2.3 Newspapers and Journals.

Newspapers and planning journals often provided arguments pertaining to contemporary issues, such as the informal sector or "Spaza shops", to be specific. They often represented wider views in society on specific issues that often affect everyday living. Some of these expressed views, which were frequently informed by different individual experiences, were used to make recommendations in the research study.

Primary sources of information which were used in the research study include the following:

#### 2.4 Questionnaires

Two types of questionnaires were administered. One type of questionnaire was for the "Spaza shop" operators and the other for determining the impact of "Spaza shop" operation on immediate neighbours on either side or adjacent, and in the general neighbourhood.



#### 2.4.1 Questionnaire for "Spaza Shop" Operators (See Appendix).

The former questionnaire was administered to a sample of 30 "Spaza shop" operators. The sample of 30 "Spaza shop" operators was largely chosen in Clermont and Unit I of KwaDabeka. Unit I of Kwadabeka largely comprises informal housing clusters with the most occurrence of "Spaza shop" operation. However, specific areas in Clermont providing some diversity and difference in "Spaza shop" location were also considered.

The principle underlying choice of the sample was largely informed by the recognition of different "Spaza shops" existing in the study area during the pilot survey. It was found that there appeared differences in "Spaza shop" success in Clermont-Kwadabeka because of such aspects as the location of the spaza shops, their sizes, and the age and economic status of the operators.

Although a sample of 30 "Spaza shop" operators is not fully representative, time constraints were restrictive for a fully representative sample. The questionnaire attempted to establish difficulty in "Spaza shop" operation, and some of the challenges that operators were confronted with. The possibility of land-use regulation as a restricting factor in "Spaza shop" operation was established. Finally, suggestions on how "Spaza shop" operation can be improved was incorporated in the questionnaire.

#### 2.4.2 Questionnaire for Neighbours (See Appendix).

The second questionnaire comprised 10 questionnaires, 5 of which were administered to each type of "Spaza shop" neighbours. One type of neighbours was sharing premises with the "Spaza shop" and the other was from the wider community. This questionnaire attempted to establish some of the impacts the spaza shop operation had on the immediate neighbours on site and those neighbours around the township. An example, was on investigating how the immediate neighbours of "Spaza shops"

residing on the rented premises, coped with high demands for space. This was with regards to the fact that most of the dwelling units are meant for the occupation of a nuclear family, therefore sharing space might result in sacrificing space for the children to play.

In addition, the questionnaire also attempted to discover whether "Spaza shop" operation increases the neighbours' vulnerability to crime and violence associated with such economic activities. Finally, the neighbours' perception on whether "Spaza shop" operation was found to be convenient and helpful, and should be encouraged and/or improved, was established.

Mechanisms in facilitating "Spaza shop" operation were established. In essence, the advantages and disadvantages of "Spaza shop" operation as experienced by both kinds of neighbours were explored. Suggestions on solutions to undesirables pertaining to "Spaza shops" were also established.

Questions on both kinds of questionnaires were both open-ended and close-ended in nature. This was largely due to the fact that open-ended questions are likely to elicit more information. In addition, open-ended questions could be used to gain the confidence of respondents. Although all the questions were asked, the linear sequence of asking questions was not adhered to since it is more formal and can be restrictive in acquiring information.

## 2.5 Interviews

Various interviews were conducted with other stakeholders such as:

### 2.5.1 Township Managers from Clermont-Kwadabeka

Interviews with the Township Managers attempted to establish problems associated with facilitation of "Spaza shop" operation, which they experienced in the past. Furthermore, processes in planning administration which failed to facilitate the growth of

the "Spaza" industry were determined.

Pressures experienced by the Township Managers with regards to "consent use" or rezoning land uses were explored. Finally, suggestions on attempts to incorporate "Spaza shops" in future planning were established.

#### 2.5.2 Mr Dlamini from the Civic Association.

Mr Dlamini is a representative of the wider Clermont-Kwadabeka community. Questions on the desirability of "Spaza shops" were posed as well as obstacles pertaining to their operation. Suggestions on solutions were encouraged.

#### 2.5.3 Jabulani Khumalo-Chairperson of Masakhane Informal Business Association.

An interview with Jabulani Khumalo focused on how the problem of location disadvantage and restrictive space for "Spaza shops" could be confronted.

Benefits or advantages of formalizing informal commercial development were explored.

Means on how costs involved in formalizing "Spaza shops" could be minimized, were also established.

Finally, the potential future of "Spaza shop" operation in Clermont-Kwadabeka was discussed.

#### 2.5.4 Mr Mbili- Representative of Greater KwaDabeka Business Association.

An interview with Mr Mbili was aimed at establishing the perception of informal commercial development by a formal business structure. The future and the potential of informal commercial development was discussed as well as solutions to problems experienced in the "Spaza" industry.

2.5.5 Amanda Nair and Soobs Moonsammy (Department of Town Planning and Development Control, Central Substructure).

Interviews with Amanda Nair and Soobs Moonsammy were aimed at establishing the resulting outcome in zoning control and land-use regulation within traditionally Black townships, after they have been incorporated into the substructures of the Durban Metropolitan Area (DMA). The changes resulting from such an incorporation were noted and the future of Spaza shops determined in that light.

2.5.6 Peter Neeve (Town Planner from Pinetown City Council, Western Substructure).

It became necessary to interview Peter Neeve since it was brought to the researcher's attention that some of the application for mixed-use activities on residential sites of Clermont-Kwadabeka, were made to the Pinetown City council. The researcher probed on the consistency of such applications, as well as suggestions of management procedures to facilitate the "Spaza shops" in the study area.

Responses from the abovementioned stakeholders in the research study were largely analyzed and interpreted in Chapter 4. Such an analysis, largely informed by questionnaires in Appendix, was aimed at seeking to establish the significance of advantageous location and availability of usable space to succeed in "Spaza shop" operation. Interviews with planning officials and community leaders contributed to possible procedures in formalisation of "Spaza shops", which will be outlined later in the research study.

The following chapter will highlight the significance of the informal sector, and therefore, "Spaza shops" in low income areas through case studies done in specific countries such as Bolivia. The relevance and impact of planning policies and regulations on the successful operation of informal activities for the livelihood of low income population will also be illustrated. This will be done through planning paradigms such

as Modernism and Postmodernism. Information on the next chapter is therefore significant in further recommendations later in the study.

## CHAPTER 3

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

#### 3.1 Introduction

The conceptual framework provides the informing information pertaining to the subject of study, that enabled the researcher to set up the questions, evaluate or interpret findings and make recommendations.

Discussion on the significance of the informal sector within low income areas provides a background on the concept of home-based economic activities and more specifically, "Spaza shops". A working definition of "Spaza shops" is provided and the chosen focus on concepts of location and space pertaining to such commercial activities, further explored. This is based on the theoretical context to verify its relevance to planning practice.

#### 3.2 Modernist and Postmodernist approaches to Town Planning design in South Africa

##### 3.2.1 Modernist Town Planning

The inadequacies pertaining to space and location of "Spaza shops" can be associated with Modernist Town Planning adopted in South Africa. South African Town Planning is a mixture of both the American and the British Town Planning illustrated by such concepts as the Garden City and New Towns (Coleman, 1985). Such a Town Planning approach insisted on clear, separate and distinct landuses, and did not make any allowance for mixed-use activities. This Modernist perspective to Town Planning placed emphasis on land-use control and zoning regulations in the built environment.

Kahn (1984) adopted a hierarchy of shopping facilities from American Town Planning, with local Convenience shops at local level, to Neighbourhood or Community centres and Town centres.

A local Convenience shop is meant for provision of basic convenience goods at local level. A Community or Neighbourhood centre further provides high order goods to a cluster of neighbourhoods. Whereas a Town centre provides services to the entire development (Kahn, 1984). However, although the hierarchy of shopping facilities was adopted in South Africa, local Convenience shops were not accommodated in the Black townships.

Organisation and control through regulation and supervision in maintaining rationality and order within the urban fabric constituted as a major fundamental principle in South African Town Planning. This was often achieved through zoning regulation and development control in preventing incompatible landuses that might impinge on each other, for example, noxious industrial use with residential land use (Cooke, 1990).

In addition, such a Modernist design in South Africa's urban fabric was illustrated by the layout design which insisted on sites designated for Neighbourhood or Community shopping centres, in most residential areas. The sites designated for shopping in Black areas ended up as indeterminate spaces which posed as security threats to the residents in low income areas.

The outcome of this layout design was largely due to failure to recognise lack of threshold for such a Neighbourhood shopping centres in low income areas. In addition, the high costs imposed by planning regulations on maintenance of such landuses by low income population made it almost impossible to apply for commercial businesses. Modernist Town Planning is therefore universal in this regard, and ignores the particular or peculiarities within places (Cooke, 1990).

Modernist Town Planning is more concerned with maintaining coherence and progress. Residential areas at low densities were also a characteristic feature of Modernist Town Planning, and

this was often accompanied by uniformity in housing design and layout. Most road networks were designed for private car ownership and are therefore inappropriate or restrictive within low income areas. This is largely because in low income areas, public transport networks provided thresholds to small businesses. According to Modernist Town Planning, the better good of cities devoid of chaos is achievable (Gibson and Watson, 1995).

Yiftachel (cited in Gibson and Watson, 1995) identified three specific dimensions pertaining to planning as an instrument of control and repression in post-colonial cities, namely: procedural, territorial and socio-economic dimensions. The territorial dimension includes planning policies which spatially contain minorities. The procedural dimension covers the formulation and implementation of processes of planning where minorities were denied access to decision-making. The socio-economic dimension is where planning acts to maintain and widen socio-economic groups through the location of development costs and benefits which privilege dominant groups" (Gibson and Watson, 1995, page 258). These resemble the kind of South African planning practice adopted in planning Black townships in the Apartheid era.

Recognition of such flaws in past planning approaches adopted in South Africa such as application of New Towns concepts throughout the country, and land-use zoning are important to future planning. This is because these should serve as a starting point to more location specific and participatory planning in future.

Modernist Town Planning is therefore technical in practice and ignores the social and political aspects within different communities. According to Gibson and Watson (1995), the modernist approach has been criticised for its masculinist assumptions. It is totalitarian and prescriptive in approach. Its universal perspective is suppressive since it ignores the



needs and priorities of the particular. There is therefore a need for planning policies which are location specific and which respond to the needs of different urban communities.

### 3.2.2 Postmodernist Town Planning

Postmodernism on the other hand, provided an alternative to Modernism rather than a state after it. It is a new way of seeing the interaction of past and present (Leontidou, 1996). Its fundamental is based on the deconstruction of the assumptions embedded in the discourse of modernity. It is through deconstruction that Postmodernism is critical of the general, centralised, purposive and distanced characteristics of Modern thinking. It seeks to uncover hidden modes of domination and local exclusions of, for example, geography, ethnicity etcetera.

According to Leontidou(1996), deconstruction seeks to challenge value-laden binary thinking by exploring in-between spaces between the theoretical/non-theoretical, and rational/irrational. It argues for the sensitivity and relevance of theory to particular situations and localities. In essence what Leontidou (1996) argues for in deconstruction is theories rather than a theory and abandoning of theory.

Postmodernism asserts the significance of political, economic and cultural phenomena in planning. It critiques uniformity in planning practice advocated by Modernists as stifling opportunities and innovation (Cooke, 1990; Trey, 1989).

Postmodernism advocates pluralism and diversity, as well as the importance of recognising social differences. It further maintains the need for a planning approach that is more integrative instead of paternalistic and prescriptive. Community participation is therefore one aspect of development that can be associated with postmodernism since it seeks to define communities' priorities and needs, and implements them in practice.

In addition, the Intergrated Development Framework was identified as one mechanism in achieving integrative planning in the post-Apartheid South Africa. It comprise an interactive process between government officials (Planners) and community representative structures, on identification of development issues and problem solving. In this interactive process, the planners would furnish their expertise in problem-solving and identification, which would inform decision-making on appropriate solutions by community representative structures.

The community representative structure which often comprise the civic association, local development fora, and local councils will form an organised voice for the community. It would identify priority issues confronting the communities, and would propose solutions, taking cognisance of expert advice from planners.

The Integrated Development Framework is therefore informative for both planners and communities. It provides planners with information on communities' needs and not what they assume them to be. Additionally, the Integrated Development Framework is a mechanism of best bringing information and education on planning to the communities. Finally the Integrated Development Framework is therefore, a potential mechanism for improving past strains between government officials and communities, as well as best selling planning to the public.

Decisions on implementation should be informed by priorities of particular communities. In essence, postmodernism envisions the distance between dominant thinking and the hegemony of rules. It also wishes to replace the monolithic, homogenous universality of Modernist discourse with a more heterogenous, locally sensitive and inclusive perspective to development (Cooke, 1990).

However, Jameson (cited in Cooke, 1990), found Postmodernism to be depthless and eclectic. In addition, incorporation of

different localities into global technology accentuates a more universal and therefore, Modernist perspective to future development. This means that globalisation promotes the paternalistic and prescriptive perspectives of Modernist thinking. Furthermore, how does one reconcile the perception of building different spaces by Postmodern thinking without reproducing just different patterns of segregation and exclusion?

Despite this critique, Postmodern thinking recognises differences in interests and acknowledges the challenge of responding to changes in interests. It refutes or challenges the effectiveness of applying a single defined solution to different localities and circumstances. In this regard, postmodern thinking allows for possibility and optimism, and is thereby equipped and capable of dealing with fast-changing circumstances of cities (Gibson and Watson, 1995).

### 3.3 International perspective on informal sector shopping.

According to Dewar (1987), the term informal "conjures up an image of less stable, more oppressed and sometimes impermanent economic activities" (Dewar, 1987; page, 11). The difference between formal and informal business sectors occur mainly with respect to size, location and legality (Hesketh, 1989).

The informal sector is characterised largely by highly unregulated and labour intensive economic activities. This is consistent with the fact that until recently, in the late 1980s, informal commercial activities were perceived as illegal (Strassman, 1987). Often times, the small-scale enterprises are family-owned and rely on non-formal sources of education and skills. One significant feature that distinguishes the informal sector from the formal sector, is its motivation to create employment and derive income whilst the formal sector is primarily concerned with profit maximisation. It is further characterised by high competition particularly due to its ease

on entry (Strassman, 1987; Sethuraman, 1981).

The informal sector is generally known to meet the socio-economic aspiration of most economically disadvantaged people including the young, old and the uneducated, who for various reasons are not accommodated by the formal sector (Dewar, 1987; May and Stavrou, 1990). Some enter this sector as a result of pull forces which are essentially demand-led, but most enter as a result of push forces which are affected by economic growth rates, unemployment, in-migration and population growth. In addition, according to May and Stavrou (1990), the informal sector is found to alleviate the employment crisis and reduce the burden on the state, as the household heads provide welfare employment to their relatives (Harper, 1984).

This displays its significant role in employment generation. However this does not necessarily mean that the informal sector provides employment to the poor since most of the middle-income population complement their income from the formal sector through informal activities. Most importantly is its flexibility of space from one use to another, for example, from market production to tending children. Its easy potential to shift labour, funds, equipment and materials were found to be advantageous for the low income population (Strassman, 1987).

Furthermore, small businesses are part of the local environment, and they tend to employ and serve the needs of poorer people in the communities. They are therefore, some form of local economic development initiative. According to Harper (1984) economic development is inevitably accompanied by increases in the size of the communities and the growth of large institutional customers.

One significant constraint that the informal sector businesses were confronted with was the non-availability of capital (Harper, 1984). This often results in the informal businesses choosing poor and remote physical locations restricting their

access to the markets. Poor physical location by the informal sector businesses can also be associated with problems in improving the premises and business expansion (Du Plessis and Levin, 1988; Sethuraman, 1981). This shortcoming pertaining to lack of capital and poor physical location of enterprises is further associated with hostile policy environment within a particular country (Sethuraman, 1981).

According to Harper (1984), official neglect and opposition through restrictions is another major problem confronting the small businesses. This is further exacerbated by the fact that many governments pay lip service to the need to make allowance for mixed-use activities but yet fail to translate this awareness into action (Harper, 1984).

Since most informal businesses have their origin in small economic units such as villages, they often have no links with other informal businesses in the region. This often retards their ability to grow and expand beyond their place of origin (Harper, 1984).

Informal forms of production and distribution were seen as part of capital's search for flexibility in labour, as well as an attempt to escape the labour costs such as personal insurance involved in formal sector operation. However, according to Castells and Portes (cited in Meagher, 1995), the potential of the informal sector to restructure the labour economy depends on the historical circumstances in which the informal economy has emerged in a particular country, as well as its location in the global economy.

Maasdorp (1983) identified government policy as the crucial determinant of the present environment and future prospects of the informal sector. Restrictive licensing was found to be militating against innovation in the informal sector through increasing the vulnerability of the sector to withstand losses,

thereby increasing their risk and uncertainty in operation. Maasdorp (1983) further maintains that supportive policy measures as well as relaxation of regulations and licenses might raise the sector's income and employment generating ability. In addition, such supportive measures would exploit its potential for developing a vitally important indigenous, capital-goods industry.

In a study conducted in Latin America on determining the costs and barriers involved in formalising micro-enterprises, it was found that legalisation costs were highly variable with respective countries. Furthermore, labour costs were found to constitute the highest financial burden for micro-enterprises. This was largely because of the complexities involved in maintaining minimum labour standards for the entire population including such aspects as the human rights of the workers (Lagos, 1995).

Administrative barriers obstructing formalising of micro-enterprises were found to be determined by the nature of the government. Countries such as Chile, renowned for its good governance were rated as best in providing a conducive environment for micro-enterprises. Whereas countries such as Guatemala and Ecuador, with their historically weak governance, were found to impose significant barriers for micro-scale operation (Lagos, 1995).

However, administrative reforms in Bolivia, Chile and Brazil were found to be effective. The effectiveness of these reforms was found to be significant if they could be implemented under favourable government context. These case studies provide good lessons which South Africa could learn from in an attempt to formalise the informal sector in general, or promote its production and growth (Lagos, 1995).

In essence, although the informal sector has employment potential, stringent regulations by policy makers stunt its

growth. This was largely because the standards imposed by legislation were too high, often making it impossible for the informal sector operators to comply. In cases where enforcement of such regulations was not feasible, corruption increased and a growing disrespect for the law resulted (May and Stavrou, 1990). In addition, groups from the formal sector perpetuated its sub-ordinate role through maximising profits at the expense of labour exploitation. Policies aimed at improving the access of the informal sector to markets and credit will contribute to a reduction in uncertainty and risk. These included promotion of input-output linkages between formal and informal in improving location specific housing design and building specifications by subcontracting (Maasdorp, 1993; Sethuraman, 1981).

Some of the further suggestions in improving conditions in the informal sector included revision of health and housing standards, and licensing policies as well as the provision of loans and technical assistance (Maasdorp, 1983). Furthermore, provision of kiosks for informal sector units as was experienced in Ghana. In addition, availability of credit through special programmes for the weaker sections of the population was found to be fruitful in India. These recommendations can serve to be of assistance in alleviating conditions in the informal sector through suitable changes in the master plans for cities, and a strong and supportive institutional policy framework (Sethuraman, 1981).

#### 3.4 Background on home-based businesses.

One component of the informal sector shopping which gained attention in recent years is the home-based businesses. This can be defined for the purpose of this study, as those economic activities ranging from retail, manufacturing, to small-scale industrial activities which largely operate from a residential site (Benjamin and McCallum, 1984).

According to Hesketh (1989), home-based businesses were typically small and often remain small. They were operated by one person and regularly employ capital in excess of R1500. Because most home-based businesses were usually untaxed and unlicensed, they therefore operated outside the legal institutional framework of businesses (Hesketh, 1989). The predicted inability of the formal sector in most third world countries to absorb the new labour entrants derived some exploration into the economic role of low income housing (Benjamin and McCallum, 1984).

In addition to representing some form of shelter, a dwelling unit could be a source of income through rental space or as a shop. The income generated from such use was found to contribute to the improvement and finance of the dwelling unit (Strassman, 1987). It is the dynamics around the concept of utilising part of a dwelling unit as a "shop" which is the focus of this dissertation.

In a research survey conducted by Watson (1993) on home-businesses in six Cape Town areas, it was found that some of the most significant impediments to operation of home-businesses included locational factors, crime and violence within those areas, and laws and regulations pertaining to home-businesses. Some of the regulations included restrictions on the alterations of buildings as well as restrictions on the type of building that can be operated from a residential site (Hesketh, 1989). The prime constraints for retailing and other business activities operated from home were identified as insufficient space within the home as well as poor physical location of the businesses which exacerbated lack of access to customers. Past city planning approaches and the isolation of residential areas from major routes, and hence concentrations of people and traffic, were identified as significant contributors to the location disadvantage of home-businesses (Watson, 1993).

Crime and violence were identified as additional constraints to



home businesses in low income areas. This was particularly the case in areas prone with violence, for example, disputes in the taxi industry. Such instability within the area impacted negatively on the promotion and preference of the home business. Furthermore, home-businesses in low income areas were constantly plagued by burglaries who were attracted both by the goods sold and the money made from the business (Watson, 1993).

The third potential constraint was that of landuse regulations or control which specifically prohibited business operation on property initially zoned as residential. In most areas surveyed, it was found that the majority of the respondents were unaware of the existing regulations. Most other respondents who were aware of the existing land-use regulations and zoning control responded that they were discouraged to applying for consent use from the municipality since they were convinced that the application would be refused.

According to Watson (1993), amendments to the zoning scheme which took place in certain local authorities introduced flexibility in terms of land use which proved to be generally unenforceable and brought uneven changes across local authorities.

One solution proposed by Watson (1993) in confronting location disadvantage and constraints in landuse regulations and zoning controls challenging home-businesses, is an approach based on the principle of "minimum critical action". According to this principle, the most serious externalities of mixed land-use activities which could and should be controlled, for example, noise and air pollution, and crime, should be identified. A management control such as the performance criteria should be devised to control negative impacts of such externalities. The performance criteria for different landuses should be clearly specified, for example, noise level and safety hazards of home businesses. This would create standards and consistency in application throughout the city (Watson, 1993).

A distinguished advantage characterising a system of performance control was that it could be applied to a wide range of land-use issues besides mixed land-use control ,for example, building standards. This system was further argued to have significance in eliminating uncertainties pertaining to application in land-use or zoning changes because conforming to a specifically defined criteria would automatically grant permission for the applications. The system was claimed to be quicker in terms of administrative requirements, simple to implement and allows land-use to respond more directly to the dictates of the market. In essence, the underlying fundamental of performance control is that criteria should be enforced if and when externalities arose and not on the control of the type of business or land use (Watson, 1993).

Since this system could best be administered by a professional staff, this was envisaged to pose as a shortcoming in its effectiveness in most cities of South Africa. This was because of the costs incurred as well as the shortage of professionals. According to Boer(1990), relevant staff should be trained to understand the socio-economic implications of their regulations.

There was therefore a need to retrain the Township Managers in the Black townships as well as other community organisations for this purpose. Furthermore, it was recommended that local authorities rely on a dual enforcement method of both responding to complaints and actively seeking out infringements. Since the complaints system might prove ineffective in low income areas for fear of being victimised, officials from the office of the Township Manager might enforce the efficiency of the system through constant patrolling within the areas. This might be feasible if done in conjunction with lobby groups representing communities' interests (Watson, 1993).

### 3.5 Spaza shops in low income areas (W)

According to Rogerson (Rogerson and Preston-Whyte, 1991), a

"Spaza shop" is "essentially a small neighbourhood convenience shop serving the community in its immediate vicinity " (page, 337). Convenience retailing as defined by Brown (1992) involves merchandise that is relatively inexpensive, frequently purchased and which shoppers are not prepared to go very far out of their way, for example, tobacco, cigarettes, newspapers, etc.

As shown on Figure 1 local Convenience shops sell low order goods in a hierarchy of shopping. Such a hierarchy of shopping proposed by Kahn (1984), emerged from American Town Planning and was adopted by South African Town Planning. The shopping hierarchy adopted by South African Town Planning did not allow for any kind of local Convenience shops from areas zoned for residential purposes. It therefore, did not allow for any mixed-use activities except that formalised by the Town Planning Scheme in Neighbourhood centres. This is illustrative of "Spaza shops" as a informal reaction to lack of planning for local Convenience shops in Black townships.

"Spaza shops" are therefore often attached to the residential properties (Van Zuydam-Reynolds, 1990). They often operated from a garage or an outbuilding sometimes meant for commercial purposes, a room in the house which was often a kitchen, and a backyard room. The physical structure of the "Spaza shop" ranges from temporary constructions bearing little resemblance to the western shop, to solid buildings (Preston-Whyte and Rogerson, 1991).

A "Spaza shop" was locally oriented and therefore sold basic goods in response to the local needs. Among some of the goods sold in most "Spaza shops" include non-perishable goods such as cigarettes, liquor, toiletries, and health and beauty products. Perishable goods such as fruits, vegetables, confectionary and other cooked food are also sold.

In a research study conducted in Kampung Padasuka, Bandung, it was found that in times of hardship, the household would eat

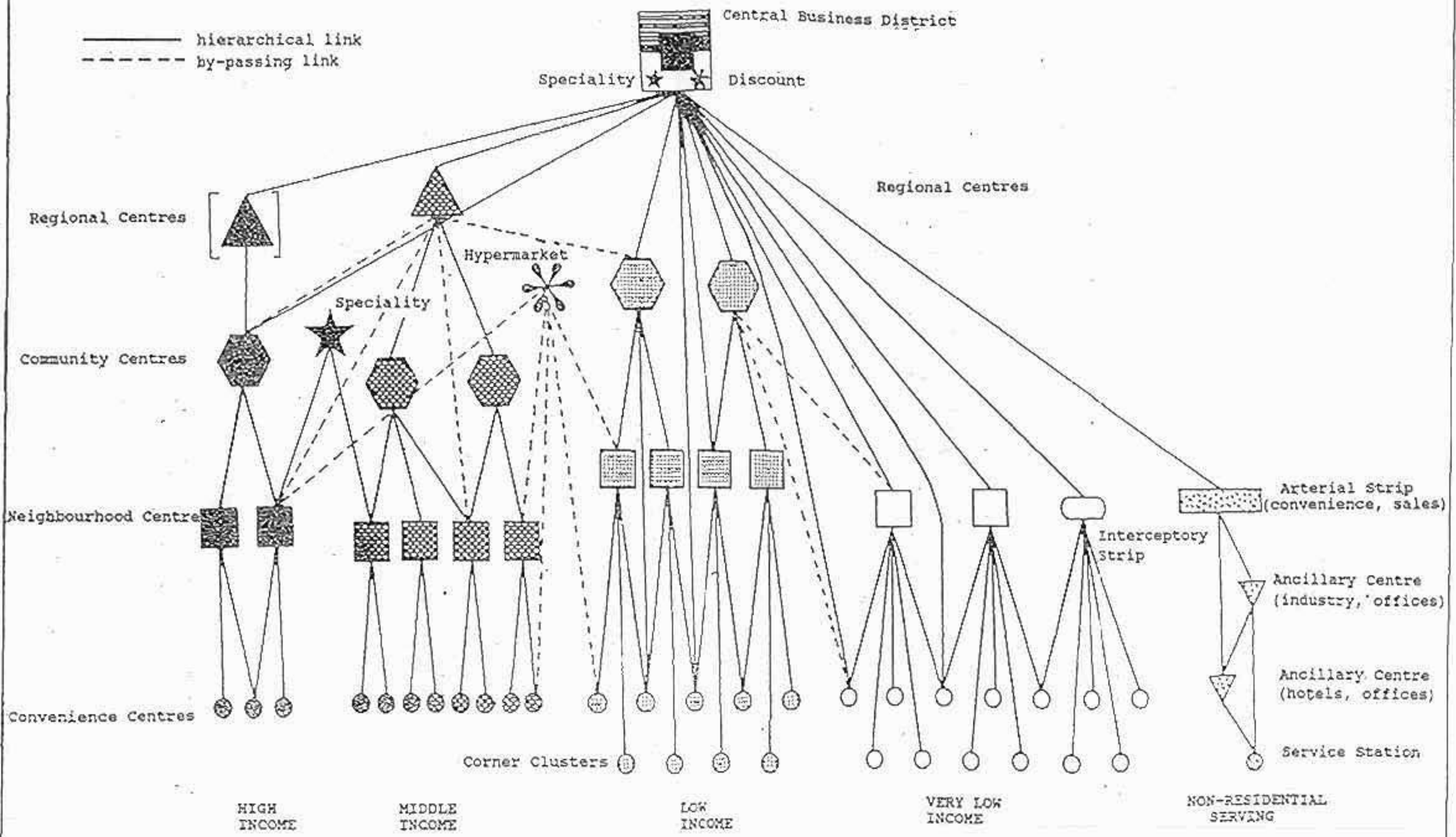


Figure 1: Hierarchy Of Shopping Facilities  
 Source : Kahn (1984)

from the shelf. A "Spaza shop" could in essence, represent a direct attack on poverty in this regard (Benjamin and McCallum, 1985; van Zuydam-Reynolds, 1990). Among the people who operated the "Spaza shops" are women, pensioners, the unemployed and uneducated people who have faced retrenchment and those needing to supplement their income from the formal sector.

Although "Spaza shops" are fifty percent, or more expensive than the formal sector, they provided easy access to the community and saved the community trips to the local markets. They are thus convenient to local needs, in this regard. Furthermore, although their range of goods is limited, they provide personalised service to the community, and this derives great support from the neighbourhood (Benjamin and McCallum, 1985; van Zuydam-Reynolds, 1990).

However, some of the identified constraints confronting the "Spaza shop" operators included unreliable thresholds which were exacerbated by competition. High competition in the "Spaza" industry could be associated with the mushrooming of "Spaza shops" which pointed to the inefficiencies in planning administration and land-use control. However, the concept of competition in the "Spaza" industry did not form part of the focus of this research study.

In a study conducted by Dass (1985) on small-scale enterprises, crime was identified as one of the constraining factors associated with their operation. Lack of location opportunities as well as limitations on the amount of space available, impacted negatively on the potential of individual Spaza shops to further expand and grow (Harrison, Todes and Watson, 1995; Strassman, 1987). It was therefore the purpose of this study to investigate possible solutions in improving the latter constraints of limited space and disadvantage in location, posing as challenges to "Spaza shop" operation. These recommendations served to inform appropriate future planning intervention for the successful operation of "Spaza shops".

### 3.6 Rezoning and Consent-use procedures in KwaZulu-Natal.

It is important to note that until recently, the Town Planning Scheme was not applied to the Black Townships. Application or requests for the mixed-use activities were directed to the office of the Township Manager. The Township Manager would then visit the site and assess possible impacts of the proposed mixed-use activity before permission is granted. However, this ad hoc approach failed to be effective for various reasons including political violence in most townships and lack of planning knowledge by the general public.

Application for mixed-use activities on the Town Planning Scheme requires procedures for special consent-use to be followed. However, the consent-use procedure is at the moment not used for shopping facilities. Rezoning is the only route for shopping facilities in residential clusters. But if shopping is interpreted as ancillary to residential use, consent-use is a possibility.

Application of change in land-use involved a lengthy procedure which was not only costly but which might take a period of over three years to be finalised. The time and costs involved in such applications were often unaffordable by the majority of the poor.

According to Section 47 (bis) on rezoning of land and Section 67 (bis) on special consent, change of use from that designated on the Town Planning Scheme involved a fee of R200 to the Local Government. The application would furnish motivation for need and desirability of change in use. After the application has been considered by the Local Government, the applicant would publish at his/her own expense in the local newspaper for two weeks, particulars of his application and call upon any objections to be directed to the local authority.

Objections were often allowed to be lodged in not earlier than

twenty-one days from the date of publication of such notice. The publication would also state where the particulars, plans and other documents relating to the application may be inspected (Natal Ordinance 27, 1949).

The local authority would consider all objections lodged before the date fixed in the advertisement and would come to a decision upon the application within a period of two months of the appearance of the advertisement. The application would then be sent to the Private Township Board for enquiry and report.

Upon conclusion of the enquiry the Private Township Board would submit to the local authority or administrator a report and recommendations pertaining to the application. On receipt of the report from the Private Township Board the local authority or the administrator would after consideration of the application, inform the applicant of the outcome of the application within fourteen days (Natal Ordinance, 27, 1949).

The aforementioned procedures pertaining to consent use of land were more effective in traditionally White, Indian and Coloured areas under the jurisdiction of a particular local authority. Rezoning procedures in traditionally African townships that used to fall under the KwaZulu homeland were as cumbersome. Applications for consent-use were submitted to the Town council or Township Manager who advanced them to the Kwazulu government for enquiry. Most of these applications were then referred to Pretoria to be assessed and approved.

This procedure was in most cases taking two-to-three years, sometimes longer, to be finalised. Such a procedure was also applicable to the allocation of business sites in Black townships, which was informed by the regulation J2 of Black Urban Areas Act of 1945. It was because of this cumbersome procedure that people took the initiatives of operating "Spaza shops" without obtaining the need and desirability consent prescribed by Town Planning Ordinance number 27 of 1949 on Town

Planning Schemes and Rezoning (Dewar, 1987).

However, incorporation of traditionally Black townships within the substructures making up the Durban Metropolitan Area (DMA), would display alterations with regards to land-use zoning, and regulations within those areas.

The goal of this research study is to determine adjustments in planning design and administration that are location specific in order to accommodate "Spaza shops" in formal planning of commercial activities.

The following objectives pertaining to "Spaza shop" operation were identified, presenting significant insight to the issues posing challenges to future planning policies:

- Establishing whether "Spaza shop" operation is found to be desirable by immediate neighbours sharing the site and by the community in general.

- Determining the impact of "Spaza shops" on family life, considering that some space initially meant for curtilage has to be sacrificed for commercial use, and that some of the rented premises have to be used for dual purposes.

- Investigating location strategies that can complement successful "Spaza shop" operation, and that should inform future policies pertaining to informal commercial development.

- Establishing some of the community participation contributing in decision-making on formalising the "Spaza shop" operation.

### 3.7 Conclusion

In summary, it is apparent from the aforementioned discussion that Town Planning approaches adopted in South Africa during the apartheid period were Modernist in perspective. Such Town



Planning approaches to development incorporated such concepts as the New Towns and Garden City which did not promote mixed land-use activities.

Strict land-use zoning comprised the order of the day and did not allow for any mixed-use activities except that formalised by the Town Planning Scheme. This resulted in lack of local Convenience shops in the Black townships, and the resultant Spaza shops which were considered illegal by planning of the time. Mixed use activities were therefore, not promoted.

Neighbourhood centres, a characteristic of American hierarchy of shopping facilities, were built to compensate the lack of shopping facilities in Black townships. However the purpose of such shopping facilities was not achieved due to failure to recognise such aspect as location advantage and availability of usable space, among other things. Most importantly in such a failure was uniform application of imported planning concepts such as the New Towns throughout the country without recognising particular needs of the community.

The mushrooming of the "Spaza shop" industry is therefore, a response to the Modernist Town Planning approach advocating land-use planning, and zoning control. Such a Town Planning approach ignores the needs of particular communities and insisted on regulations and control as development measures.

Regulations were inefficient in ensuring coherence and harmony in the urban environment because of the lack of funds by planning administration and ineffective planning officials. This finally resulted in the communities being apathetic towards planning officials and planning regulations (Watson, 1993)

As a solution, it is therefore necessary to implement a planning approach which replaces the dictatorial and paternalistic perspective, with the one that seeks to satisfy particular needs and priorities of different communities.

The approach of performance control to mixed uses is also asserted as a possible solution in attempting to rationalise negative externalities induced by mixed land-use activities.

A conducive policy environment was found to be of importance in initiating any positive developmental change. Such a policy environment include encouraging mixed land-use activities through modification of the Town Planning schemes. It also entails availability of credit schemes to potential businesses. The following chapter will give details on the nature of the case study, and further examine concerns pertaining to Goal and Objectives.

## CHAPTER 4

### CASE STUDY PRESENTATION

Clermont-Kwadabeka was chosen as a study area because of its incorporation into the Western Substructure of the DMA. It would be interesting to note the resulting outcome that such a change will have on planning regulations in the traditionally Black townships which used to be under former Kwazulu homeland. The existence of a variety of location patterns by "Spaza shops" and the space they utilise also contributed enormously to the choice of the study area. Finally, the existence of planning administration, which for various reasons failed to enforce regulations and control in the "Spaza" industry, was also a source of interest in the study area. Although Clermont-Kwadabeka is not fully representative of other Black townships in South Africa, lessons learned from this research study might hopefully be of assistance in future development of other Black townships.

#### 4.1 Introduction

Clermont-Kwadabeka is one of the traditionally Black townships under the administration of the previous Kwazulu homeland. As shown on Map 1, it is incorporated and located in the Western Substructure of the DMA. The location of Clermont-Kwadabeka enables it to enjoy distinct advantages over other Black townships, associated with employment opportunities (T.M.L Consultants, 1985). Its easy access to the Durban Central Business District (CBD) and other major nodes in the metropolitan jurisdiction such as New Germany (an industrial town), and Pinetown, has in recent decades, attracted an influx of migrants seeking job opportunities.

#### 4.2 Historical Background of Clermont-Kwadabeka

Clermont, unlike Kwadabeka, is one of the Black townships which

were built in the early 1930s in South Africa before the Apartheid period. Unlike other townships which were established after that period, Clermont enjoys larger lot sizes. It is only in the 1950s when Apartheid planning was rife, that residents of Clermont became affected by this legacy.

Initially, Clermont township was administered by the central government. After physical jurisdiction of Black homeland governments by the central government, administration of Clermont was transferred to Ulundi. During that time, Township Managers were responsible for enforcing planning regulations in Black townships and would refer applications for mixed-use licenses to Ulundi. However, because of lack of planning expertise and planning staff, with most officials accustomed to clerical and rigid bureaucratic approaches to development, the administration of townships proved both inefficient and ineffective.

Kwadabeka on the other hand, is a result of Apartheid planning in which small lots were allocated to the Black population. Like other Black townships in the country during this time, Kwadabeka was designed as a dormitory town. Urban facilities such as roads, and shopping facilities in this area were poorly provided compared to Clermont. In addition Kwadabeka comprise the majority of informal settlements because of lack of housing opportunities. It is in this area that most migrant workers seeking job opportunities in New Germany and Pinetown reside. The attraction is largely because of the affordable rents. It is for this reason that more migrant workers will be attracted to this area in future.

#### 4.3 Population Estimates

In 1985, the total population estimates for Clermont was between 57 000 and 63 000 persons, whereas the Kwadabeka population was between 18 600 and 19 000 persons. Approximately 10 800 of the total population in Kwadabeka were hostel dwellers, while the

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balance resided in medium-density housing such as lodging rooms and semi-detached housing.. It was estimated by aerial photo count, that there were 127 shacks in Umgeni River valley. After a decade of population count, the population in Clermont-Kwadabeka has obviously grown by hundreds if not by thousands (T.M.L Consultants).

#### 4.4 Land Tenure System and Housing type

According to T.M.L Consultants (1985), two types of land tenure existed in Clermont-Kwadabeka, namely: Freehold and Deeds of Grant. The vast majority of sites in Clermont are held under the Freehold tenure. The title deeds of properties held under Freehold tenure are lodged with the department of Development Aid. This was found to be advantageous and economical since it did not involve lawyers' fees and transfer duties in the transfers and registration of properties (T.M.L Consultants, 1985).

Three types of housing types were identified in the study area namely, authorized housing, lodging rooms and informal settlements or shacks. According to T.M.L Consultants (1985), the majority of occupants in authorised housing live with extended members of the families, and often accommodate lodgers. The utility of this housing type added emphasis on the dire need for a diverse range of housing type to satisfy differing demands.

The lodging rooms were occupied by a substantial proportion of the population. Most of these occupants represent the first generation of migrants who were attracted to Clermont-Kwadabeka because of its close proximity to the employment opportunities. However, as more and more occupants of the lodging rooms become economically empowered, and move to better residences, new migrants continue to occupy the lodging rooms. Clermont-Kwadabeka will therefore continue to attract influx of migrants because of its location relative to the DMA.

According to T.M.L Consultants (1985), occupants in shacks were more economically empowered than occupants of other housing types. The most challenging setback confronted by these occupants is lack of opportunities to obtain security of tenure. The informal sector activities play a significant role in their livelihood.

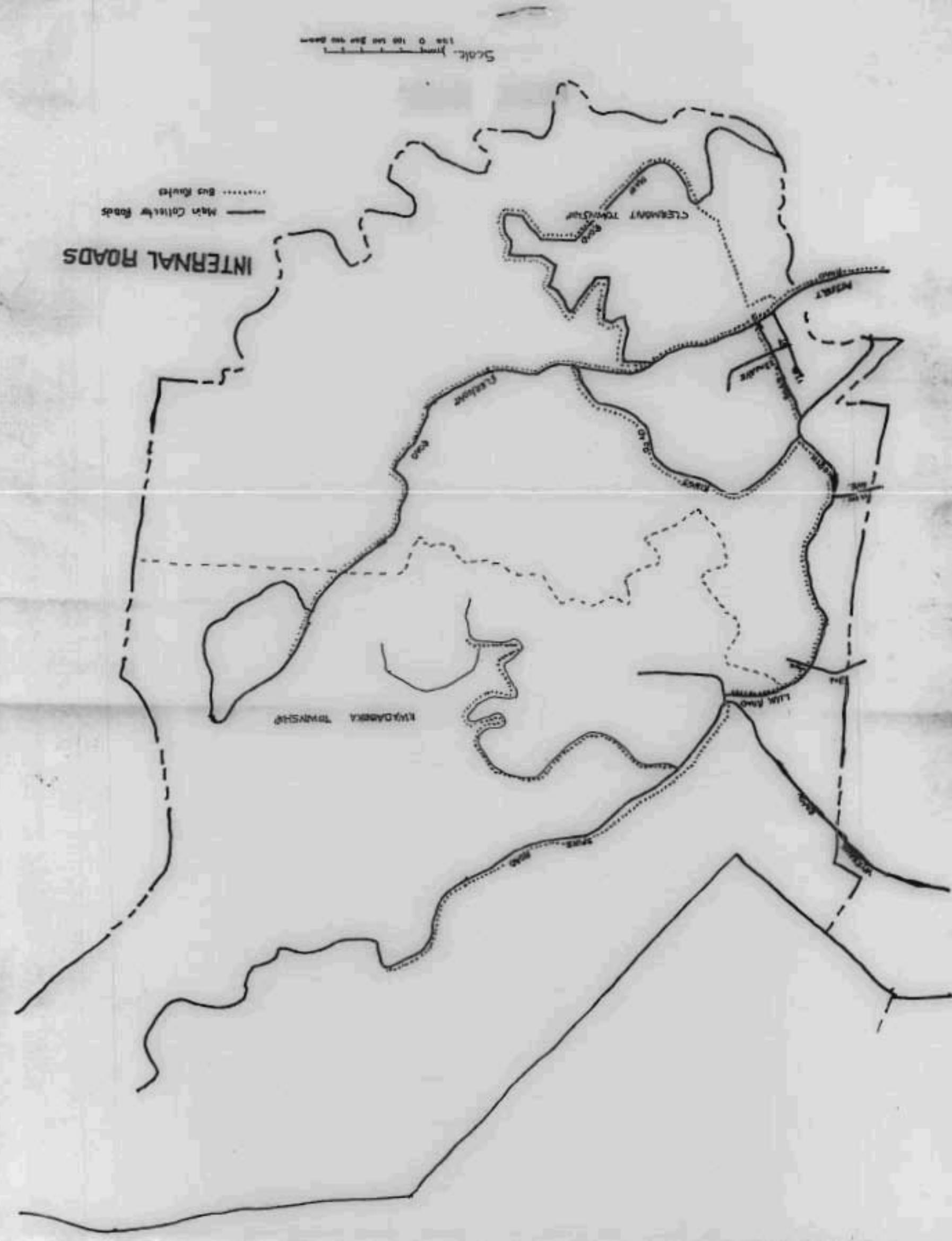
#### 4.5 Shopping facilities (S)

Four categories of shopping were identified in Clermont-Kwadabeka, namely: licensed or legal shopping premises; licensed or legal hawkers; the informal shopping sector comprising unlicensed or illegal hawkers; and unlicensed or illegal shopping facilities which are mainly located on residential premises ("Spaza shops").

Legal shopping premises as shown on Map 2, and the land-use map in the Appendix, comprise 27 commercial clusters in Clermont, with a total floor area of approximately 14 000m<sup>2</sup>. The Town Centre located at the intersection of all routes out of the area, comprise of 50% of the shops within the area occupying a floor area of 7 155m<sup>2</sup>. The majority of the 27 clusters are General Dealers and sell convenience goods. Most formal or legal shops in Clermont, as shown on Map 2 and the land-use map in Appendix, are located within a range of not more than 500m from individual dwelling units. In addition, most shops are within 250m from each other, and are located on major bus routes and major pedestrian routes. In Kwadabeka, 6 commercial clusters were identified as consuming a gross floor area of 3 500m<sup>2</sup>, of which the hostel complex outlet amount for 2 340m<sup>2</sup> (See Landuse map in Appendix).

#### 4.6 Informal shopping.

As shown on the overlay of Map 2, most of the informal shops in



INTERNAL ROADS

— Main Collector Roads  
..... Bus Routes

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CLEMONT TOWNSHIP

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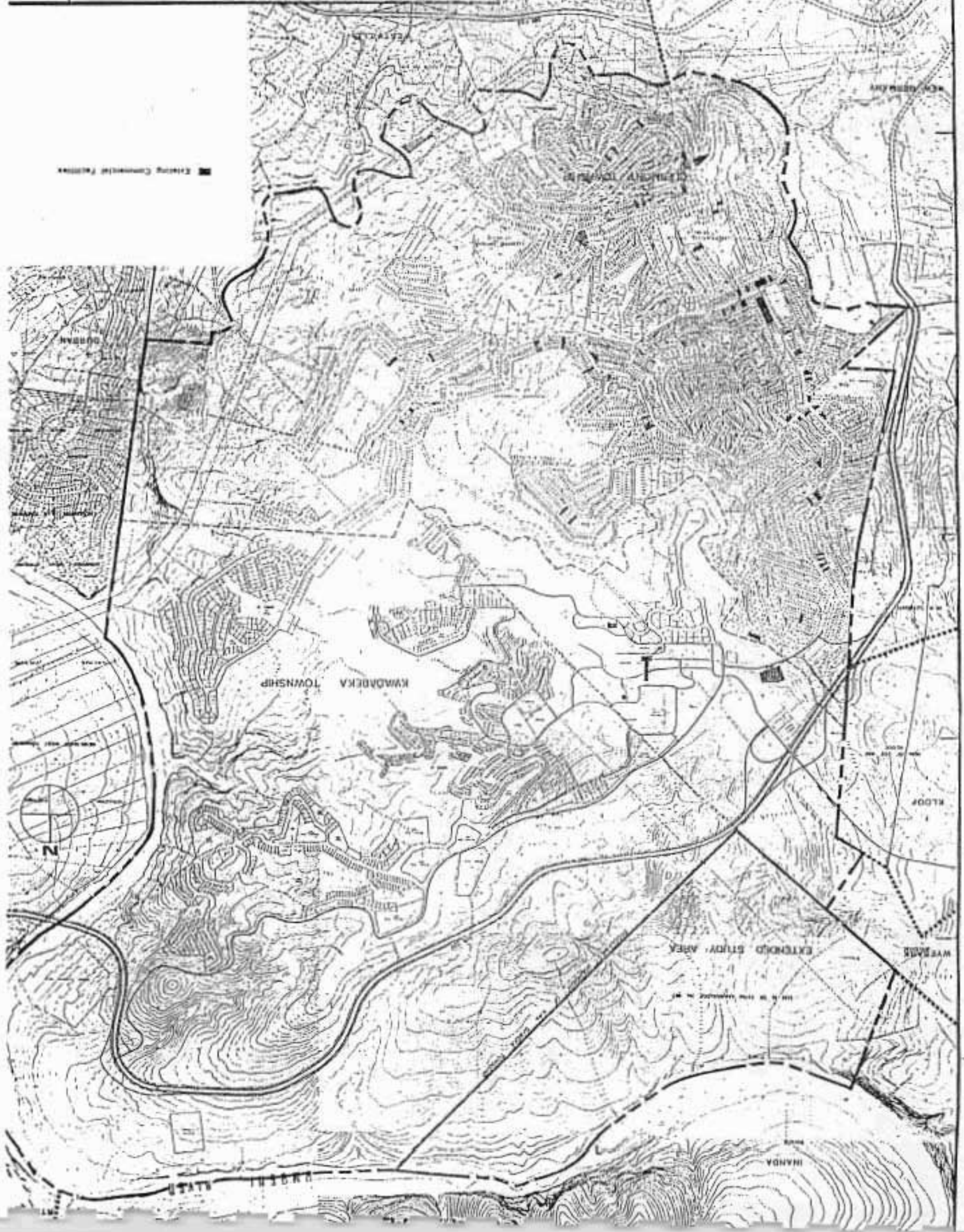
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# SHOPPING FACILITIES



Existing Commercial Facilities



N

Clermont are located along the major collector route close to the shopping complex. Most such shops occupy a single site meant for commercial purposes, or/and share premises with a household. The majority of these shops resemble a formal shop in structure, although they are unlicensed. Like other licensed shops along the bus routes, these informal or illegal shops provide convenience goods to the general public.

In Kwadabeka, about 80% of the informal shops are located in the informal settlement like Unit I (See Land-use map in Appendix). Most such commercial activities are often conducted from an informal building structure used for dual purposes. Other informal shops or "Spaza shops" are operated on a separate site while others share premises with a household. It was the informal shopping in Clermont-Kwadabeka which formed the focus of this study.

#### 4.7 Sample Frame.

In addition to various interviews which were conducted with community leaders and planning officials, two types of questionnaires were formulated. One type of questionnaire was administered to a sample of 30 "Spaza shop" operators. This was aimed to uncover challenges that "Spaza shop" operators are confronted with regards to location of their businesses and usable space available. Solutions to such problems were also investigated.

Operators from both Clermont and Unit I of Kwadabeka (an informal settlement) made up the sample of 30. This was found to be necessary since operators in both areas had differential business success because of differences in the location of their businesses, usable space and size of their dwelling units as well as the economic status.

The second type of questionnaire was administered to a sample of 10 neighbours of "Spaza shops". This was aimed to uncover their

perception about "Spaza shop" operation, whether it was found to be desirable or not.

The Table 1 below elicits the breakdown comprising the sample frame of the 30 questionnaires administered to "Spaza shop" operators. Three types of "Spaza shops" were identified in the research study, namely:

- i) those operated from a subsidiary building;
- ii) those operated from a room in the dwelling unit;
- iii) those operated from a specially-built structure.

<u>LOCATION</u> <u>TYPES OF</u> <u>SPAZA</u> <u>SHOPS</u>				
	SUBSIDIAR Y BUILDING	A ROOM IN THE MAIN DWELLING UNIT	SPECIALLY BUILT- STRUCTURE	‡
CLERMONT	27% (8)	17% (5)	23% (7)	67% (20)
KWADABEKA	-	33% (10)	-	33% (10)
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	27% (8)	50% (15)	23% (7)	100% (30)

Table 1: Sample Frame for Spaza shop operators.

The sample frame was drawn after a pilot survey of the study area was conducted. In essence, the sample frame resembles the most occurrence of each type of "Spaza shop" in the designated Clermont-Kwadabeka jurisdiction. Details on findings from each type of "Spaza shop" and what it means in relation to the hypothesis drawn in the study, will be discussed in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 5

### ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

#### 5.1 Introduction

The following chapter attempts to unpack the findings of the study from the questionnaires as well as attach their relevance to the research study. A number of tables were used to maximise clarity, more especially for close-ended questions. As for the open-ended questions, their interpretation was largely influenced by comparison of suggestions from the conceptual framework with responses by "Spaza shop" operators. The latter form of data interpretation is therefore quantitative in nature. Subheadings were also used under each type of "Spaza shop" to maintain consistency in the discussion.

Socio-economic aspects under each type of "Spaza shop" were discussed. Furthermore, aspects impacting on the operation of "Spaza shops", more specifically those pertaining to space and location were further explored. Finally problems encountered when conducting the survey were made known. A synthesis of this chapter was outlined, with incorporation of conclusion of findings. Such a synthesis of data findings and interpretation, also served as an introduction to recommendation which were later made in the research study.

#### 5.2 Spaza shop operated from a subsidiary building.

The majority of this type of "Spaza shop" were found in Clermont. They were largely operated from the garage or an extension of the garage located along the minor and major collector routes. Such a garage or extension of a garage was used solely for commercial purposes. The Spaza shops were not part of the main dwelling unit because they were located more like outbuilding, in response to the steep topography on most part of Clermont (See Figure 2 below).



Plate 1: Goods sold from Spaza shop operated from A subsidiary building

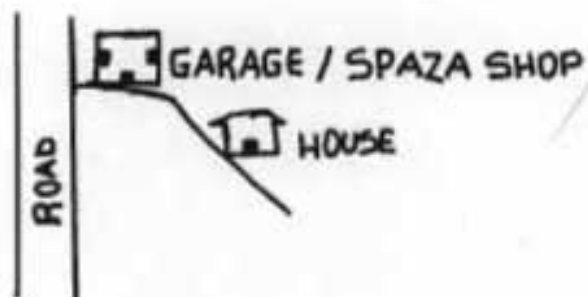


Figure 2: Location of Spaza shop along the major collector.

27(8) of "Spaza shops" operated from a subsidiary building were identified in Clermont, all of which were located along the

major routes. This type of "Spaza shop" was not found in the informal settlements of Kwadabeka, which formed part of the study area. Unit I of Kwadabeka was meant to indicate and further emphasise how different location patterns and space available can impact on the operation of the informal businesses. This was largely because of the absence of clearly developed collector routes in most informal settlements, except for Unit I in Kwadabeka in which construction of roads and houses was under way by Stocks and Stocks. Information of upgrading in Unit I by Stocks and Stocks became available through responses to open-ended questions as well as through observation.

The type of "Spaza shop" operated from a subsidiary building was not found in the informal settlement largely because of lack of available space. In addition, there was also a need to secure and monitor goods closely because of the general lack of security in the neighbourhood.

#### 5.2.1 Socio-economic characteristics

It is apparent from the Table 2 below that the majority of respondents (75%) under this type of "Spaza shop" are over 40 years of age. This has various implications on the success of their informal business.

Firstly, this is consistent with the fact that most such operators belong to the middle income population. This came to the researcher's attention during the observation exercise, taking note of such aspects as the location, size, and cleanliness of "Spaza shops" (See Addendum of questionnaire in Appendix). It became evident through the good condition of their household as well as the size of their residential sites in comparison to the rest of the township.

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
less than 21 years	-	-
between 21 and 30 years	-	-
between 30 and 40 years.	2	25%
Over 40 years	6	75%
Total	8	100%

Table 2: Age group of Spaza shop operators

Furthermore, the success of their informal businesses exhibit an injection of reliable capital in the business. It is assumed that such capital was largely acquired as pension benefits from the formal sector employment. Furthermore, in response to the relevant question from the questionnaire, 100% of the respondents decided to operate their own "Spaza shop" after facing retrenchment from the formal sector. For these operators, "Spaza shops" represent a reliable source of income, and therefore full-time employment for them, with their spouses (most of whom were employed in the informal sector), assisting in the financial responsibilities of the household. This came as a response from the operators to the enquiry of the reason to decide owning a small business.

#### 5.2.2 Factors which contributed to spaza shop success.

Through further observation, it was found that operators interviewed under this type of "Spaza shop" shared commonalities which were advantageous to their informal businesses. Their \*Spaza shops\* were well located on well maintained tarred \*collector routes which were also used as bus routes.\*

In response to the question of how long the "Spaza shop" has been operated, all of the operators seemed to have been

operating for less than 5 years. After operating the spaza shop for less than five years, the operators claimed considerable progress in their businesses to date.

When asked how they can improve their businesses, the operators claimed that further expansion and growth of their businesses is possible if one had the ability to identify consumer goods and fulfil consumer demands. This often meant selling a variety of durable goods such as candles, toiletries, tinned goods and sometimes (although more seldom) cooked food, in abundance. This was hoped to ultimately attract more customers to the informal businesses.

Although 100%(8) of the "Spaza shops" operated from a subsidiary building were visibly located along the bus routes, about 75%(6) found relocation to a more strategic location, desirable (See Table 3 below). This was only on the condition that the new location will derive more profits, even if it involved renting premises for commercial purposes. However, it was regrettable to discover that even though the "Spaza shop" operators desired relocation, they failed to suggest a desirable location that would suit them best.

	<u>Number of Spaza</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Desires relocation	6	75%
Do not desire relocation	2	25%
Total	8	100%

Table 3: Relocation to a desirable and Strategic location

The only specific aspect that they identified as important in determining this desirable location was its ability to attract customers and therefore, derive more profits. Furthermore, only 25%(2) of the "Spaza shop" operators did not wish to relocate their businesses. This was largely because they claimed that



providing increased choice of abundant goods to customers was the ultimate success. In addition, they found it convenient to operate "Spaza shops" within a visible distance from the main dwelling unit, to maximise surveillance on their businesses. It is apparent that location advantage, and therefore easy access by customers were found to be of significant importance in business success.

### 5.2.3 Problems confronted by Spaza shop operators

Although land-use regulations and zoning control were identified in Chapter 3 as major obstacles in operation of informal businesses, the contrary was found to be the case in "Spaza shops" operated from a subsidiary building. This was confirmed from responses by operators when asked if they experienced any laws or regulations posing restrictions to their businesses.

100% (8) of the "Spaza shops" operators did not experience any harassment from the authorities which regards to operating a commercial activity on a site zoned for residential purposes. Interestingly, is the fact that none of the operators were aware, of the need to obtain a license or special permission from authorities for operating their "Spaza shops". On exception was that, one of the 8 "Spaza shop" operators acknowledged the need to apply for a license after the "Spaza shop" has expanded. Such findings illustrate lack of knowledge and awareness by the public on Town Planning regulations and control.

Furthermore, crime is at present a major plaque contributing to the discomfort of most businesses in the country. All of the 8 "Spaza shop" operators acknowledged the alarming crime rate in the country. However, they did not identify crime as a major inhibition for growth in their businesses. They all relied on normal locking-up procedures to secure their businesses, as well as their watchful eye from the main dwelling unit. In conclusion, crime cannot be identified as one of the main

restrictive factors in success of "Spaza shops" operated from a subsidiary building.

### 5.3 Spaza shop operated from the main dwelling unit.

#### 5.3.1 Socio-economic characteristics

As shown on Table 4 below, 50%(15) of the total number of "Spaza shops" interviewed were operated from the main dwelling unit. The majority (67%) of this type of "Spaza shops" were found in Unit I of Kwadabeka which is an informal settlement. One of the reasons for operating a "Spaza shop" from a room in the main dwelling unit was because of the small size of the site, and therefore, lack of space to have a subsidiary building. This was a response to the enquiry on how high demands for space available to the household were confronted.

	<u>Number from the main dwelling unit</u>	<u>Total Percentage</u>
<u>Clermont</u>	5	33%
<u>Kwadabeka</u>	10	67%
<u>Total</u>	15	100%

Table 4: Spaza shops operated from a main dwelling unit.

The age group of the operators was discovered through one of the questions asked in the questionnaire (See Appendix).

As is evident from Table 5 below, the majority (73%) of the "Spaza shop" operators were between the ages 30 and 40. Most of these "Spaza shop" operators live in the informal settlement (Unit I). They are largely young couples who moved out of their parents' homes mostly in Clermont, to start their own families.

The majority of the 24%(4) operators over 40 years of age largely reside in Clermont, which generally has better facilities than much of Kwadabeka. The older "Spaza shop"

operators largely supplement the income of another spouse who is often employed in the formal sector.

Age	Number	Percentage
less than 21 years	-	-
between 21 and 30 years	-	-
between 30 and 40 years	11	73%
Over 40 years	4	27%
Total	15	100%

Table 5: Age group of Spaza shop operators



Plate 2: Built Structure of Spaza shop operated From a Main Dwelling Unit



Plate 3: Built Structure Of Spaza shop operated from a Main Dwelling Unit



Plate 4: Goods sold by Spaza shop Operated from a Main Dwelling Unit

As shown on Table 6 below, 47% (7) of the "Spaza shops" operated from the main dwelling unit were operated from the kitchen. Among the 47% (7), only 33% (5) of the "Spaza shops" were located

in Clermont whereas the remaining 14%(2) were located in Kwadabeka.

<u>Room in the main dwelling unit</u>	<u>Number of Spaza shops</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
living room	-	-
bedroom	-	-
kitchen and bedroom	8	53%
kitchen	7	47%
Total	15	100%

Table 6: The room from which the Spaza shop is operated

The 14%(2) of "Spaza shops" from Kwadabeka operated from the kitchen were largely owned by young couples who still have enough space to accommodate their small families. This often involved accommodating an extended member of the family.

The remaining 53%(8) of the "Spaza shops" operated from a room (used for dual purposes) in the house were all located in Kwadabeka. The room from which the "Spaza shop" was operated was also used as a kitchen during the day as well as bedroom at night. This definitely illustrates the high demand for space experienced by these operators.

In response to the question of how high demands for space is confronted, all of the 53%(8) operators wished for a bigger lot size for their family. However their wish is possibly not to come true soon considering the -35m<sup>2</sup> houses that Stocks and Stocks is building for the community as a form of upgrading their neighbourhood.

### 5.3.2 Factors contributing to Spaza shop success

Like other "Spaza shops" operated from subsidiary building, most of the 33%(5) "Spaza shops" operated from the main dwelling unit in Clermont, enjoy the location advantage along minor and major access routes. The remaining 67%(10) located in Kwadabeka, although not strategically located on access routes, survive through the neighbourliness that exists in the community. Often the customers look for different things in most "Spaza shops". Therefore if the operator could sell most goods that are in demand in the community, there is bound to be regular customers. Furthermore knowledge of wide variety and availability of goods in the spaza shop will spread. In addition, allowing the neighbours to buy on credit often attracts more reliable customers, although this often pose financial problems for the operators.

According to Table 7, 40%(6) of the operators who wished to relocate to a more strategically located site were all located in Kwadabeka. They would only move to a site that was within the vicinity of Unit I. One of the reasons for such a condition was that the operator feared loosing the reliable customers from the neighbours.

	Number	Percentage
Desires relocation	6	40%
Do not desire relocation	9	60%
Total	15	100%

Table 7: Relocation to a desirable and strategic location

Among the 60%(9) who did not wish to relocate, 33%(5) were located in Clermont, and were contented with their dwelling unit location. In addition, after having lived in the area for more than five years, relocating to another suitable site was considered undesirable.

The remaining 27%(4) resided in Unit I of Kwadabeka. One of the operators was reluctant to relocate and claimed the matter should be discussed with his wife. The other operators claimed that finding a strategy to attract customers was of utmost importance. This was proposed to be achieved through advertising boards along the major routes as a marketing strategy. However, although such a marketing strategy is necessary, the "Spaza shop" operator found it costly and time consuming. The remaining 2 operators in Kwadabeka who did not wish to relocate, failed to expatiate their answers.

As a response to the enquiry about the effectiveness of planning regulations (See Appendix), operators from the main dwelling unit also claimed to be unaware of any need to apply for a license when operating a commercial activity on a residential site. However, this had interesting overtones for Spaza shops located in Unit I of Kwadabeka. This is largely because the existence of Unit I is considered illegal, since normal procedures of layout and subdivision were not carried out in the area.

### 5.3.3 Problems confronted by Spaza shop operators of Clermont-Kwadabeka.

One significant shortcoming which confronted 53%(8) (refer to Table 6) operators of this type of "Spaza shop" residing in Unit I of Kwadabeka was lack of space because of small dwelling units. This is illustrated by the need to use the "Spaza shop" for dual purposes such as income generation and as a kitchen during the day and bedroom at night.

Relocation was rejected by the majority of "Spaza shops" for fear of losing sight of their dwelling units as well as losing reliable customers. Achieving increased space within the household will not take place in the foreseeable future considering the meagre income they were generating. Such a shortcoming required planning intervention informed by community

needs and priorities.

Furthermore, progress in the success of the "Spaza shop" operation was found to be inhibited by the tendency to live off the goods sold in the "Spaza shop". Although this was convenient in times of need, it somewhat retards progress in the success of the "Spaza shop". This is particularly the case for those households relying solely on the "Spaza shop" for survival. Furthermore, because of the neighbourliness among the residents which was noticed through observation, the "Spaza shop" operators particularly in Kwadabeka, often sold goods on credit. This often pose problems when the debtors are reluctant to pay.

Crime on the other hand, was not regarded as a major concern by all "Spaza shop" operators under this category. This was a response to an enquiry on further problems experienced in "Spaza shop" operation (See questionnaire in Appendix). All of the operators relied on padlocks for security in addition to their presence in the dwelling unit. However, none of them has ever experienced any burglaries, therefore, crime is a perception for them. The environment is particularly favourable in Unit I of Kwadabeka, because of the organic nature of the layout design, which encourages neighbourliness and social cohesion within the community.

#### 5.4 Spaza shops operated from a specially built structure

As shown on Table 1, 23%(7) of "Spaza shops" operated from a specially built structure were identified in Clermont only. The existence of this type of "Spaza shop" in Clermont was however, minimal. Most of these "Spaza shops" resemble a western type Convenience shop in both structure and economic success, although they are zoned for residential purposes. The entire household was often converted into a convenience shop with the owner (and operator) residing on the site adjacent to the "Spaza shop".





Plate 5: Built Structure of the Spaza shop Operated from A Specially-Built Structure

It was observed that in Kwadabeka, more especially in Unit I which is an informal settlement, informal businesses operated from a structure which resemble a specially built structure, were often shack shops. The building structure of the shack shop was often made of available materials with the exception of bricks. This means that their built form lacked permanence. Such shack shops were often located on the major access routes but only sold one type of goods in comparison to the "Spaza shops". They were operating as shebeens, vegetable markets, and only operated during the day. The goods sold were taken home after sunset. This illustrates the impermanence of the building structure and the shop, which could easily relocate to other places with demand. However, shack shops were not incorporated as part of this research study.

#### 5.4.1 Socio-economic characteristics

It is apparent from the Table below that the majority(86%) of the operators were between ages 30 and 40 years. In an attempt to discover how they achieved their success, none of the operators were eager to divulge their secret. It was therefore assumed that most of the young "Spaza shop" operators might possibly have inherited one or both houses from their families. This is often the case when the younger member of the family is male as is the case with all the "Spaza shop" operators under this type. In addition, the possibility of the "Spaza shop" being a joint venture with one of the siblings would not be ignored. This is however, controversial.

It was found through the questionnaire(See Appendix), that most of the operators were once employed in the formal sector although none of them attempted to obtain a matriculation certificate.

Age	Number	Percentage
less than 21 years	-	-
between 21 and 30 years	-	-
between 30 and 40 years	6	86%
Over 40 years	1	14%
Total	7	100%

Table 8: Age group of Spaza shop operators

#### 5.4.2 Factors contributing to Spaza shop success.

None of the "Spaza shop" operators claimed to be aware of the need to apply for special consent for using a zoned residential

structure for commercial purposes. Furthermore, none of the "Spaza shop" operators had any intention to go through the normal application procedures, since, as most argued, it was not regarded as necessary by most operators. There was also no authority pressure on them. This was a response to the inquiry on possible restrictions or regulations imposed on "Spaza shop" operation (See Appendix).

With regards to location, all of the "Spaza shop" operators could not comprehend the existence of a better location. They were all located along major collector routes which are also used as bus routes. In addition, all of the "Spaza shops" are located at a distance less than a kilometre away from the shopping centre, which is a major node in Clermont. The "Spaza shops" therefore enjoy customer support from their location along the bus routes as well as the taxi rank. Their location is therefore ideal and like other "Spaza shop" operators, they also agreed on the importance of selling a variety of goods demanded by customers. This was in response to the inquiry on possible suggestion for reliable location as a mechanism in gaining customer support (See questionnaire in Appendix).

#### 5.4.3 Factors confronted by Spaza shop operators

Unlike "Spaza shop" operators from the main dwelling unit and subsidiary building, operators from specially built structures seemed to have enough room for household purposes and used "Spaza shops" for commercial purposes only. This was in response to how the demand for space by the household was overcome (See questionnaire in Appendix).

In response to the enquiry on existing problems that operators were confronted with, a major shortcoming identified by the "Spaza shop" operators was the taxi violence. This was identified as affecting their businesses drastically as people opted for other forms of transportation and avoided the shopping centre for fear of being victimised. During such times, the

"Spaza shops" and other businesses often close their business, sometimes for days, to avoid looting by the perpetrators of violence.

#### 5.5 Structure and facilities offered by spaza shops

In response to the relevant question from the questionnaire (See Appendix) all the "Spaza shop" operators, including those residing in Unit I of Kwadabeka had electricity installed on their premises. With the exception of one operator who was using the neighbour's connection with the agreement of sharing the monthly bill. This enabled the operators to sell a variety of perishable goods which need to be kept refrigerated such as meat, cold drinks and ice cream.

<u>The kind of goods sold</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Soft drinks	-	-
basic goods such as candles, toiletries, tinstuff etc.	19	63%
basic goods, generally durables and cooked food	11	37%
Total	30	100%

Table 9: The Kinds of goods sold

Although the majority of the operators were selling basic goods and durables (See Table 9), only 37% were offering cooked food. The 37% of the "Spaza shop" operators who offered cooked food comprised of 23% (See Table 10 below) who were women, most of whom were residing in Unit I, Kwadabeka.

<u>Sex of the spaza shop operators</u>	<u>Number of spaza shop operators</u>	<u>Total Percentage</u>
Male	23	77%
Female	7	23%
Total	30	100%

Table 10: Sex of Spaza shop operators

### 5.6 Interpretation of Interviews with other Stakeholders.

As already mentioned in Chapter 3 of the Research Methodology, interviews were conducted with various stakeholders including community representatives, neighbours of "Spaza shops", and government officials. The following section would provide an analysis and interpretation of their responses to consolidate the basic argument in the research study.

However, it should be made known that although interviews with community representatives failed to elicit as much as was anticipated, their contribution was considered important. They generally found spaza shops convenient because of their easy access. They further considered "Spaza shop" operation advantageous only if it did not conflict with the interest of formal businesses. This they found to be possible through operation of such informal commercial activities in high density areas such as the taxi rank around the Kwadabeka hostel.

Peter Neeve, from the Western Substructure was interviewed since it came to the researcher's attention, through snowballing, of such a need. This largely stems from the fact that some of the application for changes on the Town Planning Scheme in Clermont-Kwadabeka, were made to the Pinetown City Council.

According to Peter Neeve (1996) from the Western Substructure, the Town Planning scheme for Clermont-Kwadabeka allowed operation of home-businesses not greater than 10m<sup>2</sup> on special

residential 3 units. However, as shown on Table 11 below, the majority of the "Spaza shops" were found to be more than 10m<sup>2</sup> in size.

Size	Number	Percentage
Large (Greater than 14m <sup>2</sup> )	13	43%
Medium (Between 14m <sup>2</sup> and 10m <sup>2</sup> )	17	57%
Small (Less than 10m <sup>2</sup> )	-	-
Total	30	100%

Table 11: Size of the Spaza shops

In addition to the larger size which were inconsistent with the regulations set out by Peter Neeve(1996), most of the "Spaza shops", more especially those in Unit I, were not located at a range of more than 10m. This illustrates the number of existing "Spaza shops" in operation. Such a situation is bound to induce some irritation or negative impact, either on the livelihood of the small businesses themselves or on the neighbours. The rapid mushrooming of "Spaza shops" demand some kind of management tool to be implemented to facilitate control in the industry.

In response to the enquiry of suggestions on management procedure for facilitation of "Spaza shops", Peter Neeve (1996) of Western Substructure, recommended that some form of management control should be agreed upon by both the authorities and the community at large. He maintained that such a management control would be used as a guideline outlining acceptable norms and standards on particular landuses. He further asserted that decision on the norms and standards would be shared by both authorities and community's participation. This meant that people would be expected to conform to the outlined standards and norms, failure of which might result in

heavy penalty being imposed.

As was found to be the case with the approach of "minimum critical action" proposed by Watson (1993), implementing such a management control would require participation of government officials within the study area. Such officials would be responsible for ensuring that the norms and standards are adhered to. This might mean involving and retraining Township Managers in the process. This is particularly necessary since the researcher found out through interviews that the Township Managers were not enlightened about the procedures to be followed for consent-use application or rezoning.

Through interviews with the Township Managers in determining public pressures and administrative problems which failed to facilitate "Spaza shops" in the past, the following findings were uncovered. One of the Township Managers indicated that most of the residents wishing to apply for consent-use or rezoning of landuses were given application forms and referred to Pinetown city council, which was responsible for dealing with approvals.

One of the officials from the Township Manager's office claimed that the Township Managers lost their authority and influence in the communities. This, he claimed, was because of their involvement or affiliation with particular political groups, resulting in their perceived loss of objectivity. The official further claimed that attempts to monitor licenses for the existing "Spaza shops" was problematic in the 1980s. This was because it was feared to induce violent outbursts from the community and result in the officials being victimised. This was largely because of the political situation at the time.

However, as already mentioned earlier in the chapter, lack of public knowledge on planning regulations was a major challenge for the authority officials to carry out their duties. In addition the prescriptive role that planning has played in Black

townships resulted in the perception that most communities held of planning as a controlling and suppressing tool by the Apartheid government. However, some form of developmental progress needs to be initiated to counter inadequacies and failures of the past.

Interviews with Soobs Moonsammy and Amanda Nair from Central Substructure were conducted. This was aimed to determine the future of Black townships after their incorporation into the substructure of the DMA. In response to the enquiry on mechanisms to facilitate "Spaza shops", Soobs Moonsammy maintained that the local government should, outline planning principles that should be applied uniformly throughout the built environment. This was however, expected to derive local specific responses from different communities.

Community participation is therefore essential (Amanda Nair and Soobs Moonsammy, 1996). Soobs Moonsammy (1996) further maintained that community participation is not only necessary in Black townships but throughout the built environment. This is because of its potential to respond to adjustment in changes brought by the government of the day. According to Soobs Moonsammy (1996), community participation is possible through maximising the potential of community lobby groups such as civic association, local councils and local development fora. Lobby groups are important in that they represent a unified and organised voice by the community.

Furthermore, Soobs Moonsammy identified an interactive relationship between the stakeholders in the form of an Integrated Development Framework plan as a wheel to future development of urban communities (See Figure 3). She further asserted that local government would share their expertise and information with other stakeholders. Whereas the lobby groups representing communities would identify needs and priorities as well as suggestions on achieving them.



In essence, the Local Government needs to vigorously sell planning to the communities by furnishing information ensuring the communities' safety and health (Amanda Nair and Soobs Moonsammy, 1996). This, they argued, should not only be applicable to health and safety standards that "Spaza shops" should adhere to in terms of cooked food they offer. But also ascertaining that less negative impact was inflicted on the communities by the "Spaza shop". This could include ascertaining that the particular location of the "Spaza shops" would not impact negatively on the wider community through increase in accidents by for example, delivery cars. Furthermore, also ensuring adequate access during emergencies, particularly by ambulances (Amanda Nair and Soobs Moonsammy, 1996).

Soobs Moonsammy (1996) further explained that the Integrated Development Framework would also serve to maximise the learning process between different stakeholders. However, since it was noted to be impossible to appease everybody's interests, people would always be given a fair hearing to appeal to the Integrated Development Framework (Soobs Moonsammy, 1996).

Although Soobs Moonsammy and Amanda Nair emphasised the need for planning awareness by the public, they however, failed to recognise the need to modify the Town Planning scheme. This would serve as a mechanism for the Town Planning Scheme to reflect communities' needs, instead of discarding it.

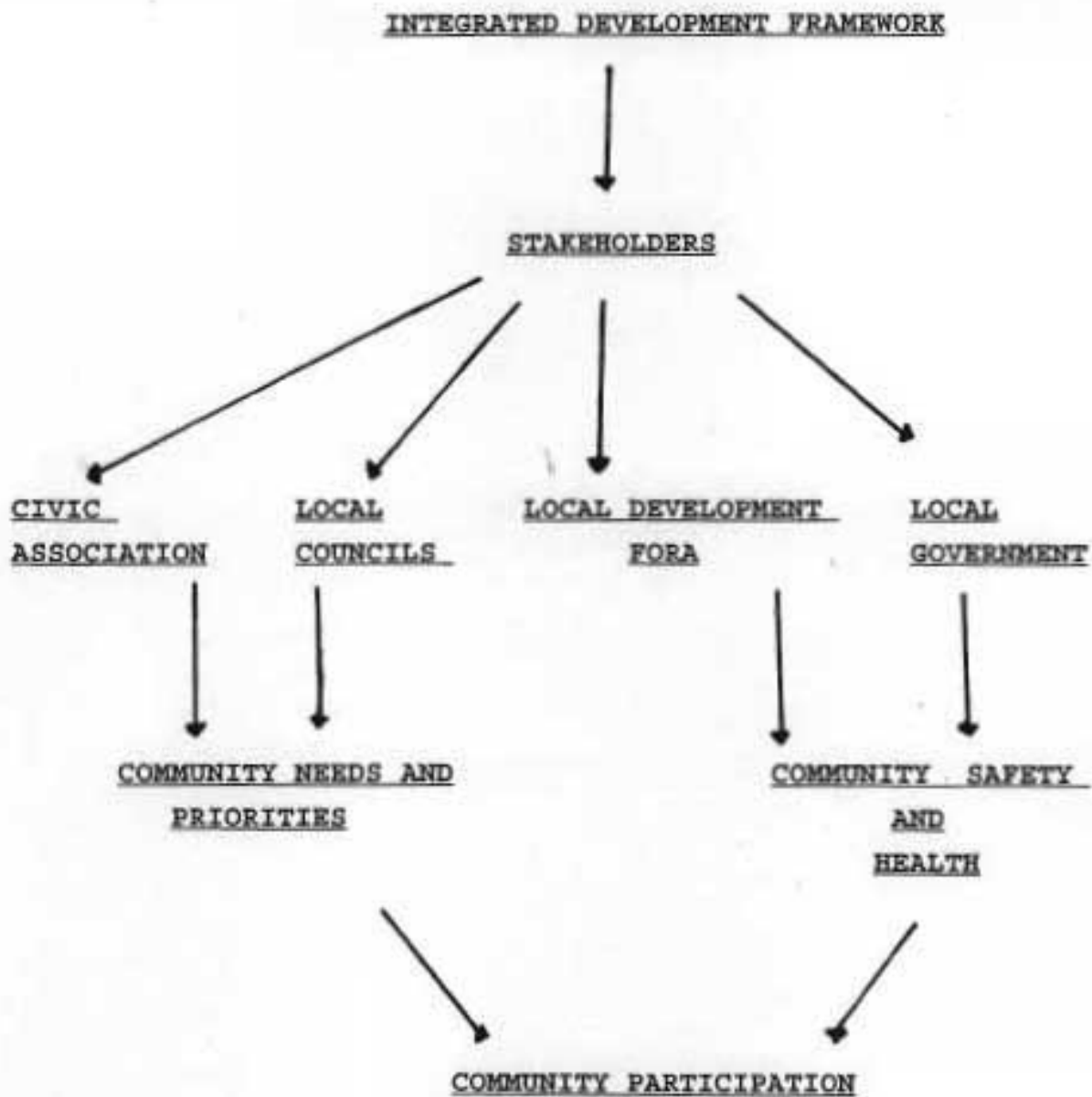


Figure 3: Integrated Development Framework

### 5.7 Problems experienced in data collection.

Most of the 30 "Spaza shop" operators interviewed in the research study were practically operating their own small business. Sometimes the operators were assisted by their children or a member of the extended family. All the operators were co-operative with the exception of 3 who regarded the researcher with suspicion and seemed reluctant to respond to the questionnaires.

A problem arose when attempting to interview employees of the "Spaza shop" operators. They all did not even wish to attempt responding to the questionnaire, and claimed innocence about the operator's whereabouts. Generally data collection went well with most operators concerned about the importance of their responses. Most of the operators wished to know about the extend in influence of their responses to their everyday living.

Although the researcher's response did not fulfil their expectations, the researcher had to be honest about her intentions.

Ten questionnaires were administered to neighbours of "Spaza shop" operators in an attempt to determine their perception about "Spaza shop" operation. None of the respondents claimed to have problems with "Spaza shop" operation. They all claimed to appreciate the convenience offered by the close location of "Spaza shops", which saved them trips to the nearby shops.

One of the respondents further attempted to illustrate the neighbourliness and attachment to "Spaza shop" operation by claiming that he often collected dirt around the "Spaza shops". This he claimed, was to maintain cleanliness in the neighbourhood. The researcher assured the respondents of anonymity and confidentiality of their responses. However, the researcher had the perception that some of the respondents felt obliged to promote their neighbours or feared being victimised.

## 5.8 Conclusion

Although the sample was not fully representative, one could still make conclusions with regards to "Spaza shop" operation. It was evident from interpretation of data findings that "Spaza shop" operation seemed to be a significant form of income generation. This is particularly the case for the unskilled and uneducated who faced retrenchment from the informal sector.

"Spaza shops" can be viewed as a direct attack on poverty particularly for the poor who live from the shelves in times of need (Benjamin and McCallum, 1985; van Zuydam-Reynolds, 1990).

"Spaza shops" provide a very lenient and convenient way of survival by the community. This is particularly through accessible distance (Jabulani Khumalo, Mr Mbili, and Mr Dlamini, 1996). Mr Mbili further asserted that the prosperity in "Spaza shop" operation is highly likely in high density locations, for example the taxi rank near the Kwadabeka hostel.

Considering that poor people often do not have the financial nor transportation means to commute to major nodes for shopping for household goods in bulk (Peter Neeve, 1996). Such an urban design largely conforms to the concept of the "Apartheid city". In the "Apartheid city" the majority of the poor population were located in the outskirts of the city, where urban facilities and services were lacking. In addition the location of Black townships in the outskirts imposed high transportation costs on the majority of the poor population.

"Spaza shops" were further convenient in that some of the poor members of the community were allowed to buy on credit although this pose certain disadvantages for the operators. It is therefore apparent from the above facts that "Spaza shop" operation was regarded as contributing to the improvement in the community's way of life.

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It was however apparent from the different types of "Spaza shops" reviewed that location and space play a significant role in the success of the businesses. All of the "Spaza shop" operators of different types interviewed in Clermont enjoyed advantageous location. Their location along the bus routes and at close range to the transport interchange was the source of their economic progress. Their bigger residential sites allowed adequate space for commercial activities. These operators, therefore did not experience great competition for space with their households. However, their dependence on the "Spaza shops" as source of income was further illustrated by the eagerness to locate to more strategically located sites. Such a strategic location was hoped to attract more customers and derive more profits.

Although "Spaza shop" operators from Clermont seemed to have adequate space and location advantage for their businesses, the contrary seemed to be the case in Unit E of Kwadabeka. The housing structures were arranged in an organic form, without any clearly developed access routes. The majority of the "Spaza shops" were only accessible through footpaths. Footpaths were often inconvenient for motor cars considering the undulating topography within the area.

The housing structures in Unit I of Kwadabeka were at higher densities. This was advantageous for Spaza shop operators because it provides reliable thresholds to their businesses.. This was illustrated by the -35m2 houses which often accommodate between 5 and 6 dependants, sometimes with the addition of the member of the extended family. In addition, the possibility of extending the main dwelling unit was often limited considering the meagre income derived from the Spaza shops. The situation was worsened by the fact that some of the households lived off the shelves in desperate times.

Furthermore, there is often less room for extending the main dwelling unit because of the organic nature of the layout in the

area. Some form of planning intervention is therefore necessary.

As a management strategy, Soobs Moonsammy (1996) proposed a set of principles outlining values and norms pertaining to the "Spaza shop" which should be implemented by the Integrated Development Framework. The local government was expected to ensure and furnish information protecting the security and health of the wider community, as informed by their expertise.

Representatives of the community would assist in identifying areas of need and discussion on development solution would take place with the local governments. As a result, the local government would therefore, be presented with the opportunity to sell planning to the communities. Although it was not considered by the planning officials during the interviews, alterations in the Town Planning scheme to adjust to changes in society is important in implementation of communities' priorities.

Since planning is a dynamic process, such an interaction of Local Government with community lobby groups would assist in defining the role of planning in the changing society. Furthermore, such an interaction would assist in restructuring some of the shortcoming by apartheid planning. Community participation is therefore, a means to achieving development in the changing city (Amanda Nair, Soobs Moonsammy, Peter Neeve, 1996).

## CHAPTER 6

### RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.1 Introduction

After reviewing data findings and interpretation in the previous chapter, this chapter would provide some recommendations of the study. Much reference is made to Chapter 3 on Conceptual Framework, which provided the background on concepts discussed in the research study. Such reference is also made to provide the context of recommendations which would be made in this chapter.

Recommendations made in this chapter are in essence, a response or solution to the following research problems outlined earlier in the research study:

-that planning design of Black townships in South Africa did not allow or plan for small-scale formal, and informal commercial activities.

-that in most instances, the existing available space from which "Spaza shops" operate is restrictive for their further expansion, considering whether the space is shared with another household, rented or owned.

-that planning administration was ill-equipped to conceptually, technically and administratively respond to sporadic land-use changes in Black townships.

#### 6.2 Summation of Town Planning Design and Zoning regulations adopted in South Africa.

As already mentioned earlier in the study, the Town Planning perspective adopted in South Africa was imported from British and American approaches. It was based on such concepts as the British

New Towns and the Garden City. Kahn (1984) adopted a hierarchy of shopping facilities advocated by American Town Planning. The hierarchy of shopping ranged from local Convenience centres, to Neighbourhood villages or Community centres, and Town Centre. (A local Convenience shop is meant for provision of basic convenience goods at local level.) A Neighbourhood or Community centre on the other hand, provides high order goods and is meant for servicing a cluster of neighbourhoods. Finally a Town centre provides services to the entire urban development (Coleman, 1985; Cooke, 1990; Kahn, 1984).

In South Africa, the basic shopping hierarchy was adopted when designing Black townships with the exception that local Convenience shops were not planned for.

This Modernist perspective to planning was also top-down in approach. It advocated strict and separate land-use control, and zoning regulations as a means of maintaining order and coherence in the urban fabric. This means that mixed-use activities were not supported, planned or encouraged by planning authorities.

In essence, Neighbourhood Centres which were planned in Black townships to provide shopping facilities to the residents failed to achieve their intended purpose. This is largely because of failure to consider such aspects as the availability of potential threshold to support the commercial activities. Furthermore, the importance of location in accessing the business to the public was undermined. This is illustrated by failure to recognise the need to plan for local level shopping such as Convenience shops. The outcome of such lack of planning was inadequate local shopping facilities in most Black townships.

Even though the mushrooming existence of "Spaza shops" could not be ignored, their existence was not approved since they were not incorporated into the Town Planning Scheme. It should be borne in



mind that before incorporation of Black townships into the substructures of the DMA, their planning was done using the layout plan only. This means that the Town Planning Scheme was not applied to Black townships during the Apartheid era. However, the need or requests for mixed-use activities in Black townships were monitored by the Township Manager. The Township Manager would visit the site and assess the impact of the desired land-use change or mixed use activities on the community, for approval to be granted. Although the ad hoc approach was flexible in nature, it was not strictly adhered to by the communities, nor monitored by Township Manager. This resulted in its lack of ability to effectively facilitate mixed-use activities in Black townships.

Furthermore, it is only recently that the Town Planning Scheme allowed changes in land-use activities. Such land-use changes demanded as a prerequisite, that procedures for special consent-use application be followed. These planning procedures were largely unknown and found to be costly by the majority of Black population. This is consistent with the research findings of the case study, in which none of the "Spaza shop" operators were aware of existing consent-use procedures. The situation was further exacerbated by lack of planning knowledge by the Township Managers who were also found to be unaware of their expected responsibilities of enforcing planning regulations within communities.

The planning procedures often extended over a long period of time, sometimes 2-3 years, before being finalised. These shortcomings in enforcement of consent-use procedures made it unlikely for the public to adhere to them voluntarily.

There is, therefore, a need for a planning approach that would accommodate local shopping needs and therefore "Spaza shops", in already existing townships and future low income areas. Such a change should also bring changes in the Town Planning Scheme which is a stronghold used in control of land-use activities in the urban

fabric. A conducive environment for change should be created and promoted by government structures through policy making. In essence, procedures to allow such changes, involving community participation, should also be instituted and details on such procedures will be discussed later in this chapter.

Postmodernism is therefore an alternative to modernism. It is argued to be a new way of seeing the interaction between past and present (Leontidou, 1996). It is based on the deconstruction of assumptions embedded in the discourse of Modernity. Deconstruction seeks for the sensitivity and relevance of theory to particular situations. This presents a challenge of applying a single defined solution to different localities and circumstances, as advocated by Modernist approach in South Africa.

Postmodernism, therefore, proposes a more integrative approach to development instead of the top-down and prescriptive perspective by modernism. Community participation can be identified as one aspect of such a process. Postmodernism attempts to replace the monolithic, and homogenous universality of Modernist discourse with a more heterogenous, locally sensitive and inclusive perspective to development (Cooke, 1990). It advocates pluralism and diversity and recognises social differences as of significance in informing development approaches in different localities. Postmodernism is therefore equipped and capable of dealing with fast-changing circumstances of cities (Gibson and Watson, 1996).

### 6.3 Recommendations in the study.

It should serve as a reminder that it is a deliberate choice for the study area to constitute of an old and established Clermont, and a recent and more informal Unit I in Kwakabeka. Such a choice was meant to illustrate various important facts pertaining to location and size of "Spaza shops".

Firstly it should be borne in mind that because of the existence of Clermont during the 1930s, its lot sizes are largely bigger than the average lots in townships planned during the Apartheid South Africa. This implies that the allowance for expansion is much more possible. Furthermore, Clermont has clearly defined infrastructure facilities, particularly access routes, which were found to be of significance in determining the success of "Spaza shop" operation in that area.

MS  
According to research findings in Clermont, location of "Spaza shops" along the access routes which were also used as bus routes, made them more accessible to the public and thereby increased their threshold. The bigger lot sizes also made it possible to erect spacious subsidiary buildings or outbuildings for commercial purposes. Most importantly, the bigger lot sizes along transport routes were conducive for the "Spaza shops" to expand and become more successful.

"Spaza shop" operators in Unit I of Kwadabeka, on the other hand experienced location disadvantage and lack of usable space for business operation on a single lot. Possibility for expansion was impossible because of the small dwelling units at higher densities.

From the discussion of "Spaza shop" operation in both Clermont and Kwadabeka, one can conclude that in future planning of low income areas, the following should be taken into cognisance.

N3  
-Location of "Spaza shops" or businesses along public transport routes or/and at intersections is important in increasing their threshold as well as making them more accessible to the public.

-In addition since available usable space was found to be a significant determinant in "Spaza shop" expansion and success, future planning should incorporate bigger lot sizes along public transport routes and intersections to make allowance for such

purposes.

It also became evident from the case study findings that "Spaza shops" were an important form of income generation for the low income population. In already existing low income areas such as Unit I of Kwadabeka, promotion and support of "Spaza shops" by Town Planners should be reinforced in the following ways:

-Through upgrading of informal settlements, bigger lot sizes should be provided to make allowance of business operation. Although this has cost implications, through communication with the communities, there is bound to be some agreement.

-Furthermore, planning should make provision of legible areas in the Town Planning Scheme, which are located at intersections or public routes as advantageous for "Spaza shop" operation.

-As an institutional framework to implement the afore-mentioned recommendations, the Town Planning Scheme should incorporate reasonably bigger lot sizes along the major transport routes and important intersections, meant for mixed-use purposes. As an alternative, future planning can provide bigger lot sizes in low income residential areas to accommodate mixed-use activities. This would entail application for consent-use procedures. Because of the existing lack of planning knowledge by the public, public education on planning regulations, norms, standards and procedures is necessary. Procedures by the Integrated Development Framework on public education will be discussed later in this chapter.

Such recommendations can also be applied to other forms of mixed use activities besides "Spaza shop" operation, and should form part of the Town Planning Schemes for future planning of low income areas. In essence, appropriate changes in the Town Planning Scheme are necessary as an institutional initiative for change. This should incorporate location specific housing design and building

specification, and thereby particular communities' needs and priorities (Sethuraman, 1981).

#### 6.4 Planning Procedures

It is evident that due to lack of adequate planning in Black townships in respect of local shopping, "Spaza shops" experienced location disadvantage and inadequate space for their businesses to succeed. One planning procedure which is a reactive approach to accommodating mixed-use activities is an approach based on the principle of "minimum critical action".

The principle of "minimum critical action", attempts to identify and minimise negative externalities of mixed-use activities, if and when they arise. This should not be used on the control of the type of landuse. A management control such as the Performance Criteria should then be devised to control negative impacts of such externalities on communities. A clear and distinct specification for the Performance Criteria applicable to "Spaza shops" such as noise level and safety hazards should be identified. This would create standards and consistency in application throughout the city (Watson, 1993).

Decision-making on the accepted Performance Criteria should be made by both the authorities and the communities through for example, the Integrated Development Framework (Soobs Moonsammy, 1996). The Integrated Development Framework would an interaction between planning officials and community lobby groups who represent a common, and unified voice for the community. Such lobby groups often comprise of, for example, the local councils and the civic association and largely interact with officials on development issues within communities.

The Integrated Development Forum would therefore, assist in responding to complaints on impacts of mixed-use externalities, as

well as actively seeding out infringements. Such a participatory body does not only have the potential to effectively enforce the principle of "minimum critical action". It is also bound to derive some interest from the community as its representative, and enlighten or bring to the communities, awareness the potential of planning in development.

Since it was found from the case study findings that none of the "Spaza shop" operators were aware of planning regulations pertaining to home-businesses, it is therefore necessary to engage in some public education. The Integrated Development Framework is therefore a possible opportunity of informing the communities on what planning entails. This is a possibility since the community representatives could feed-back to the communities what they have learnt through liaising with authority officials. This is in essence a mechanism to rigorously market planning to the communities for further development of low income areas.

In conclusion, it is apparent that participatory planning advocated by Postmodernism is important as a response to rapid changes in cities. The authorities will bring their expertise to the communities, and ensure that the safety and health of all residents are protected. The communities on the other hand would act together through representatives, in identifying their needs and priorities, as well as discussing their solutions with the authorities. In addition, a strong and supportive institutional policy environment for mixed-uses should be created in which loans and technical assistance are provided to potential businesses. This will not only facilitate change at grassroots level, but will serve as a mechanism in best selling planning to the public.

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION

This final chapter would evaluate what was set out to be achieved by the Goal and Objectives for the study. The relationship of the research findings with the Goal and Objectives will be highlighted. A summary of recommendations for the study will be provided, and finally suggestions of what further study need to be done.

The Goal of this research study was to determine adjustment in planning design and administration that are location specific in order to accommodate "Spaza shops" in formal planning of commercial activities.

The following objectives pertaining to "Spaza shop" operation were identified:

-Establishing whether "Spaza shop" operation is found to be desirable by immediate neighbours sharing the site and by the neighbours in the general neighbourhood.

-Determining the impact of "Spaza shops on family life, considering that some space initially meant for curtilage has to be sacrificed for commercial use, and that some of the rented premises have to be used for dual purposes.

-Investigating location strategies that can complement successful "Spaza" operation, and that should inform future policies pertaining to informal commercial development.

-Establishing some of the community participation contributing in decision-making on formalising the "Spaza shop" operation.

Two types of questionnaires were conducted in the case study area,

one to a sample of 30 "Spaza shop" operators, and the other to a sample of 10 neighbours. Further interviews were conducted with planning officials and community leaders (See Chapter 2).

It was evident from responses from community leaders, neighbours and operators, that "Spaza shops" were representing some form of income for the majority of low income population. It was found to be convenient for low income communities considering lack of planned commercial facilities in their residential areas. Furthermore, the location of Black townships in the outskirts of the city make "Spaza shops" more accessible to the communities, who are less mobile and often lack financial means to buy in bulk. "Spaza shops" are in this regard desirable and convenient for the low income population.

From case study findings, it was found that small sites seemed to be a major concern for those operators from informal settlement of Kwadabeka. This is because such families were utilising the "Spaza shop" for dual purposes such as kitchen and commercial use during the day, as well as for sleeping at night. This clearly illustrates the high demand for space confronted by such households which is further exacerbated by their meagre incomes.

The possibility for expansion of such "Spaza shops" is only possible if they could derive more profits from their businesses. This was found to be possible through strategic location of the "Spaza shop" as well as satisfaction of the reliable customers through provision of high consumer demands. The importance of location in business success was also noted through observation.

"Spaza shops" observed in Clermont were all located along the minor and major collector access routes and seemed to be better off than the ones located in the informal settlement of Kwadabeka, far from any routes. Their location was further complemented by the fact that they were located on bus routes, at a reasonable distance from



the transport interchange. They enjoyed adequate space in the dwelling units and have the potential of deriving more profits.

Although it is not possible to improve and support all the "Spaza shops" with location disadvantage, the situation still needs to be rationalised. Future provision of business sites along transport routes and major intersections is one recommendation to promote mixed-use activities in future planning of low income areas. Furthermore, provision of bigger lot sizes to allow informal businesses form a reliable income generation for the low income population. Such recommendations should be incorporated into the Town Planning Scheme which is an institutional framework promoting change in planning.

*Rec.*  
The importance of community participation in decision-making was identified from interviews with planning officials as the way to go. Planning officials further maintained that a common voice by the community such as the Integrated Development Framework should liaise with the local authorities in decision-making. Such decision-making should involve modification of the Town Planning Scheme to accommodate local needs and interest. Furthermore, norms and standards pertaining to mixed uses should be identified by both local authorities and communities with the aim of initiating development, and ensuring that public safety and health are not infringed upon.)

However, it should be borne in mind that although promotion of "Spaza shop" operation is found to be necessary, their viability and feasibility is debatable. Furthermore, only "Spaza shops" formed the focus of this research study, other forms of mixed use activities or home-based activities such as mechanics were not incorporated in this study. Application of recommendations made in this research study to other types of informal home-based activities still has to be researched.

Furthermore, it is important to remember that Clermont is one of the few Black townships prior to Apartheid legacy, planned with freehold tenure and larger lot sizes. It is therefore not representative of most Black townships in South Africa. Further research study needs to be conducted in other townships such as Chesterville and Umlazi, in determining or comparison to findings from Clermont on adequate space and location advantage of "Spaza shops".

*Intro.*  
(In conclusion, "Spaza shop" operation in Black townships is a reaction to Apartheid Town Planning informed by strict land-use control and racial zoning. It is an informal response to lack of commercial facilities in Black townships. It is significant in low income communities because of lack of personal mobility by the poor.)

*NB: see*  
Furthermore, "Spaza shop" operation is not only a form of income generation, but is also some form of local economic development initiative, circulating money in the neighbourhood. It is only through changes from prescriptive and paternalistic land-use planning that is not location-specific that desirable planning can ensue. This will incorporate community participation in all decision-making processes of development. This should also include incorporation of communities priorities and needs in modification of the Town Planning Scheme. In addition to communities involvement in development initiatives, a strong and supportive institutional policy framework is a prerequisite in responding to rapid and continuous change defining contemporary cities.

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APPENDIX 1



Questionnaire Administered to Spaza Shop Operators

1. How long have you been operating the Spaza shop?

less than 5 years	
between 5 and 10 years	
between 10 and 20 years	
Over 20 years	

2. Why have you decided to operate a Spaza shop?

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

3. If the Spaza shop is operated from the main dwelling unit, is it

rented	
owned	

3.1 From which room is the Spaza shop operated ?

kitchen	
bedroom	
living room	

3.2 How many family members reside with the Spaza shop operator?

.....

3.3 How many of the family members are dependants?

.....

3.4 How does operating a Spaza shop from a dwelling unit impact on great demands for space by the family?

Explain further

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

3.5 What can be done to overcome the high demands for space in the dwelling unit?

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

3.6 Are there any laws or regulations posing restrictions to Spaza shop operation?

Yes	
No	

If Yes, specify how these have affected you

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

3.7 How can restrictions in Q.3.6 be overcome?

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

3.8 What other problems make it difficult to operate a Spaza shop.

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

3.9 How can problems in Q 3.8 be overcome?

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

--	--

Is there electricity installed in the Spaza shop?

Yes	
No	

3.11 What kinds of goods are sold in the Spaza shop?

soft drinks	
basic goods such as candles, toiletries, tin stuff, etc.	
basic goods, generally durables and cooked food	

3.12 If the people using your Spaza shop are from around the neighbourhood only, what do you suggest can be done in attracting people from outside the neighbourhood?

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

.....

3.13 Would you consider renting premises from the informal shopping centre to maximise access to customers, e.g affiliating with Masakhane informal association?

Yes	
No	

If No, why

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

4.1 Is the subsidiary building from which the Spaza shop is operated a

garage	
backyard room	
other (specify)	

4.3 Does the operator of the Spaza shop from a subsidiary building live in the

subsidiary building	
Main dwelling unit	
In the vicinity	

4.4 If the operator of the Spaza shop lives in the vicinity of the neighbourhood, how is surveillance on the Spaza shop ensured?

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

4.5 How many family members reside with the Spaza shop operator?

.....

4.6 How many of the family members are dependants?

.....

4.7 If the operator resides on the premises, how are the demands for space confronted?

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

4.8 How can problems in Q 4.6 be overcome?

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

4.9 Are there any laws or regulations posing restrictions to Spaza shop operation?

Yes	
No	

If Yes, specify how these have affected you

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



4.14 What kinds of goods are sold in the Spaza shop?

soft drinks	
basic goods such as candles, toiletries, tin stuff, etc.	
basic goods, generally durables and cooked food	

4.15 If the people using your Spaza shop are from around the neighbourhood only, what do you suggest can be done in attracting people from outside the neighbourhood?

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

4.16 Would you consider renting premises from the informal shopping centre to maximise access to customers, e.g. affiliating with Masakhane informal association?

Yes	
No	

If No, why,

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

5. If a Spaza shop is operated from a specially built s

structure, is it

rented	
owned	

5.1 If the Spaza shop operator reside on the premises, how many family members reside with him/her?

.....

5.2 How many of the family members are dependants?

.....

5.3 Is there electricity installed in the Spaza shop?

Yes	
No	

5.4 What kinds of goods are sold in the Spaza shop?

soft drinks	
basic goods such as candles, toiletries, tin stuff etc.	
basic goods, generally durables and cooked food	

5.5 Have you made any further alterations or additions to the initial structure of the Spaza shop?

Yes	
No	

If Yes, explain further

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



.....  
.....

5.6 Is the Spaza shop operated from a specially built structure located along an access road?

Yes	
No	

5.7 If the people using your Spaza shop are from around the neighbourhood only, what do you suggest can be done in attracting people from outside the neighbourhood?

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

5.8 Would you consider renting premises from the informal shopping centre to maximise access to customers, e.g affiliating with Masakhane informal association?

Yes	
No	

If No, why

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

5.9 Are there any laws or regulations posing restrictions to Spaza shop operation?

Yes	
No	

If Yes, specify how these have affected you

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

5.10 How can restrictions in Q 5.9 be overcome?

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

5.11 What other problems make it difficult to operate a Spaza shop, for example, violence and crime?

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

5.12 How can problems in Q 5.11 be overcome?

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

6. Age of the Spaza shop operator

less than 21 years	
between 21 and 30 years	
between 30 and 40 years	
Over 40 years	

7. Sex of the Spaza shop operator

Male	
Female	

8. What level of education has the Spaza shop operator obtained?

Std 2	
Std 5	
Between Std 6 and Std 8	
Std 10	
Tertiary Education	

ADDENDUM

1. Size of the Spaza shop

Large (Greater than 14m <sup>2</sup> )	
Medium (Between 14m <sup>2</sup> and 10m <sup>2</sup> )	
Small (Less than 10m <sup>2</sup> )	

2. Location of the Spaza shop

On the front setback, close to the road	
Deep into the rear setback	

3. Is the site from which the Spaza shop is operated

Very tidy	
Moderately clean	
Untidy	

APPENDIX 2

Questionnaire Administered to Neighbours of Spaza shop Operators.

1. How long have you been staying at your present residence

less than 5 years	
between 5 and 10 years	
between 10 and 15 years	
between 15 and 20 years	

2. What is your perception of Spaza shop operation, as a neighbour from the wide community?

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

2.1 If the Spaza shop is found to be disadvantageous, specify in what way that is so.

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

2.2 How can the problem in Q.2.1 be overcome?

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

2.3 If the Spaza shop is found to be a beneficial convenience to the community, explain further how this is so?

.....  
.....

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

2.4 Would you personally consider operating a Spaza shop?

Yes	
No	

Why?.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

3. As a neighbour sharing premises with a Spaza shop, do you

a. Rent	
b. Own	
c. None of the Above	

3.1 If the answer to Q.3 is c., how is the shortcoming of limited space confronted by the neighbour and Spaza shop operator?

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3.2 What do you propose as a solution that could best challenge high demands for space with the Spaza shop operator?

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4. What other problems are perceived to be brought by the Spaza shop operation?

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5. How can problems in Q.4 be overcome?

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APPENDIX 3