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Retail Development in Ekurhuleni South: The Impact of Chris Hani Crossing on the Space Economy of Vosloorus and its Immediate Surroundings

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RETAIL DEVELOPMENT IN EKURHULENI SOUTH:
Impact of Chris Hani Crossing on the space economy of Vosloorus and its immediate surroundings.

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Science with Honours in Urban and Regional Planning.

DATE:
December 2015

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the BSc Honours degree in Urban and Regional Planning to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.

Skhumbuzo Mtshali

_____2015

Abstract

As cities continue to grow and progress the agenda and work of urban planners and economists generally overlap. In light of this, understanding microeconomic programs and problems that affect the space economy is a key stride which has the potential of providing useful insights that can help plan efficiently and ultimately devise innovative ideas, more especially for long neglected communities. Communities living in the townships, otherwise known as 'third space', of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality used to travel to former apartheid towns such as Boksburg and Germiston for economic utilities (i.e. Shopping and formal job opportunities). The growth of middle class populace together with the augmentation of economically active members in Ekurhuleni south increased the demand for retail centres that would bring goods and services similar to those afforded to their counterparts in wealthier northern regions. This has sought to reverse some of the legacies of apartheid such as the elimination of the need to travel to areas outside the township for economic needs thus making a drastic impact on the space economy of the region. Whether, by virtue of current political dispensation, this has been motivated by the goal of transforming the space economy of previously marginalised area or the capitalist need to penetrate new markets the spatial outcomes are worth analysing. Micro-spatial transformative tendencies of retail development, which have remained in the blind spot of most municipal authorities in the South African context cannot be ignored or underestimated any further as a development endeavour which has the potential to reshape and reconfigure cities of the South. In addition, part of the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality's socioeconomic and spatial goal as well as the Gauteng Provincial Government's radical economic transformation pillar is to engage in programs that help rectify the apartheid spatial patterns (Manamela, 2015; Motsaanaka, 2008).

To interrogate this Chris Hani Crossing has been selected. This research was inspired by a number critical views and debates on the role of malls and shopping centres in third spaces. The idea of third spaces, which will also be interrogated in the body of this research report, is a fairly new concept for an old occurrence which denotes a spatial realm that is exclusive and unique to South African cities. It is every so often referred to as a township or 'kasi' (colloquial expression derived from the Afrikaans word lokasi) – which is commonly understood as an underdeveloped space that is neither urban nor rural that was created as a separate monofunctional reserve for people of colour during apartheid, located on the fringes of towns (Mahajan, 2014; Pernegger and Godehart, 2007; Qabaka, 2013). Some of these debates are epitomised by this quote adapted from Urban Land Mark (2013: 2) - "These developers, they just come here, build their shopping centres and then take all the profits out of our areas." This research interrogates such statements by questioning from a planning perspective, the combination of interrelated aspatial and spatial aspects which has led to deeper research and discussions. In conjunction, the development application also considers both the impact of the shopping centre on the distorted spatial makeup of the area and secondary outcomes such

as the further provision of job opportunities for the surrounding community both during the construction and operational phases of the development (Motsaanaka, 2008). With the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods of enquiry this research has discovered a localised impact of retail development on the space economy of Vosloorus. Initially, the spatial impact was activated by the development and expansion of basic infrastructure services such as electricity and water to the area which turned the Bierman and Brickfield Road intersection into a prime location for investment. This, as per development plan, was followed by the development of Chris Hani Crossing which further attracted other economic activities thus changing the mono-functional nature of Vosloorus.

Correspondingly, retail is a key driver of city expansion and main shaper of the urban form, and infrastructure is a catalyst of development which is crucial for economic and social development, that improves the quality of people's lives (Fairgray, 2015; Gwagwa, 2014). The secondary developments which have now agglomerated around the mall are the newly established Vosloorus Crossing across the road, light industrial development in the form of automobile industries and brick-making hardware firms on different parts of the intersection, the construction of the biggest medical centre in Kathorus located a walking distance away from the mall, the concentration of informal retail stalls around the mall and the attraction of mobile real estate offices and educational institutions to the area. On the other hand aspatial impacts identified were the increased level of employment, the curtailment of travelling distance and time which has resulted to locals having more disposable time and income to spend on other things as well as the simultaneous rise of both the formal and informal property markets. Evidently, infrastructure development and the establishment of a retail centre in a previously marginalised monofunctional area operated as sequential catalysts of transformation and further development thereby responding to the objective of rectifying the apartheid spatial geography.

Acknowledgements

My earnest gratitude and utmost thanks go to my maker – God, *the beginning, the end and everything in between* - without whom I would have not had the opportunity and resources to successfully complete this research. I also extend my thanks and gratitude to my family who persevered and understood during my continuous absence as deadlines loomed. To Nokuthula Mtshali and Unathi Nia Mtshali, you have kept me going. Your constant prayers and emotional support were a great capstone to this journey.

To Nqobile Malaza, you recognised the potential in this research topic and helped me start off and finish this educational experience on a great note. There were many times where I found myself at the crossroads and each time you had truthful and ready-to-lend-a-hand answers to steer me towards the right direction. Thank you for showing me a way of telling this narrative in an unrestricted but informative way to a larger audience so it does not only add to the existing bibliotheca but has an impact of some sort outside the planning discipline. You have been an inspiring, supportive and considerate supervisor I could have not asked for, ngiyabonga mina. Thank you Solam for helping me channel my visual thinking ability and helping harness the ability to utilise it to my advantage for the rest of my academic career, you have done most of this through inspiration. If I had known you since first year my academic career would have turned out different, but nevertheless your teachings are and will remain my point of departure in every assignment and project in and outside the planning profession.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

BBBEE - Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment

BCDA - Black Communities Development Act

CHC - Chris Hani Crossing

CoJ - City of Johannesburg

DFA - Development Facilitation Act

EEA - Employment Equity Act

EGDS - Ekurhuleni Growth and Development Strategy

EMM - Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality

GCRO - Gauteng City Region Observatory

GDED - Gauteng Department of Economic Development

GLA - Gross Leasable Area

GPT - Gauteng Provincial Treasury

IDP - Integrated Development Plan

MPD -McCormick Property Development

NDP - National Development Plan

NGP - New Growth Path

NIP - National Infrastructure Plan

NSDF - National Spatial Development Framework

NSDP - National Spatial Development Perspective

NSDP - National Strategic Development Plan

SACN - South African Cities Network

SALGA - South African Local Government Association

SDF - Spatial Development Framework

SDI - Spatial Development Initiatives

SOPA - State of the Province Address

TTRI - Training for Township Renewal Initiative

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"Vosloorus has over the years continued to develop as primarily a residential area within the Ekurhuleni Metro. Many of the facilities regarded complimentary to a residential area including shopping centres have been slow to develop. This has resulted in residents still having to travel fairly long distances to shop in the CBDs and Malls. The proposed development of the site for a shopping centre [Chris Hani Crossing] provides an opportunity to rectify this spatial distortion within Vosloorus and the wider Ekurhuleni area."

(Motsaanaka, 2008: 8)



1 Introducing spatial politics of THIRD SPACES





1.1. Beyond a Retail Node: Rectifying Spatial Distortions

The space economy of South African cities is currently a key subject of interest in recent urban planning, geography, economics and governance literature, to name a few (Gotz *et al,* 2014; NSDP, 2006; SACN, 2013). This multidimensional concept embodies, among others, an economic and socio-spatial reflection of an apartheid-cum-colonial South African history; hence most contemporary research on the topic frequently couple the concept with terms such as change, transformation and impact to analyse the extent to which redress frameworks, policies and strategies have succeeded in bringing about the much needed alteration of the space economy to benefit all members of the society in order to promote goals of equity of a democratic dispensation. Of interest to this research is how this concept is discernible in 'third spaces' also known as townships sandwiched between the urban and rural. As orchestrated by modernist planners under the auspices of the apartheid polity these spaces still remain detached and separated by industries or buffer zones from former white towns which they were conditioned to furnish with labour as in the case of Kathorus (Katlehong, Thokoza and Vosloorus) and former white towns such as Alberton, Brakpan and Germiston separated by industrial Wadeville, Alrode and Dunswart (Figure 1.3). These large buffer zones consisting of degraded environment and the mining belt perpetuate an inequitable city and the spatially fragmented nature of the municipality (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2012). Due to such reasons, for a long time townships have remained spaces of geographical misery characterised by the lack of both economic and social infrastructure (Figure 1.4). Whether this has changed remains in question as literature indicates the existence of mixed views between sceptics who are critical of the unrelenting chasm between the everyday socio-economic realities faced by the society and the idealised goal of transformation, and optimists who tend to overly romanticise what has been accomplished thus far.

According to President Zuma's address of the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment inaugural meeting, the economy does not reflect the country's demographic and still remains in the hands of the minority thus reflecting the patterns which were engraved by the apartheid system (Manamela, 2015).This, in turn, impacts micro spatial outcomes such as the establishment of shopping malls, by financial monopolies, that accommodate retail giants and white-owned conglomerates, and habitually lead to the destruction of existing township retail structures (Manamela, 2015). Also from a sceptic point of view Ramphele (2013) attributes this to the unholy relationship between business and the state. Proponents of this macroeconomic policy on the other end, such as the Department of Trade and Industry, still believe that it is the best policy at this point and with incremental tweaks every now and then it can yield better results. BEE has had positive contributions through the improvement of living standards among black populations and this redress policy along with the Employment Equity Act have failed to yield desired results by adversely creating realm of politically connected black middle class or Black Diamonds who are divorced

from the rest of the society (Adelman and Earle 2012; Mangcu, 2009; Maseti, 2005; Mbeki, 2015; Southall, 2006; Zondi, 2011). Consequently, the outcome of these policies and legislature is enjoyed by relatively few individuals belonging to this upper echelon of the society while the trickledown effect barely reaches the poor who constitute the majority therefore leaving the distorted apartheid spatial geography unrectified.

Notwithstanding these debates, systematic spatial transformation efforts through economic development interventions, from both public and private sector continue to re-configure the current space economy. Correspondingly, there has been a recent trend characterised by the proliferation of retail shopping centres in previously marginalised areas. While occurring in wealthier regions this trend is prolific in previously marginalised areas such as townships. Retail centres are allured to townships by increased spending power of the emerging black middle class and the demand for goods and services similar to those made available to their white counterparts in wealthier regions (Potelwa, 2010; Zondi, 2011). As much as the proliferation of this economic activity has had a positive effect on the shopping patterns of local consumers who are now travelling shorter distances to access quality goods and services, increasing number of commuters thus benefiting the public transport industry. Additionally pedestrian traffic has also benefitted from informal or street vendors in the vicinity of these shopping centres. Their impact on the overall space economy should not be underestimated in the face of politics regarding their establishment. Shopping centres are used as an economic and spatial development endeavour to change the mono-functionality of marginalised areas and to rectify other spatial distortions that exist as a legacy of the past regime in Ekurhuleni townships such as Katlehong, Tsakane, KwaThema and Vosloorus (Bestbier 2015; Motsaanaka, 2008; Ngcobo, 2015).

1.2. A Space of Marginality and Otherness in the Gauteng City Region

Even though it is not the intent of this research to present a detailed history of the study area it is imperative to provide a brief history which gives a useful backdrop to the research question. South Africa's apartheid past left behind as lingering upshot of unevenly distributed economic activity and resources worsened by recent skewed patterns of urban development. To the detriment of this phenomenon are people living in 'third spaces' sandwiched between urban and rural areas. These areas are identified by Mahajan (2014) as a spatial realm that is exclusive and unique to South African cities. Disparate to most cities across the world, post-apartheid South African cities display a trichonomous configuration consisting of urban, rural as well as townships or third spatial realm. The idea of third spaces is a rarely used concept in literature and is appropriated for this research project from Mahajan's (2014) Economics of South African Townships where they identify townships as relics of South Africa's special past that are neither rural nor urban and differ considerably from these - socially, spatially or structurally. The township is somewhat in limbo between the two and has its own distinct character which is inadvertently kept alive by post-apartheid policy. In addition,

the third space is usually geographically distant from areas of economic opportunity, it is also characterised by the lack of affordable and time effective transport between home and often scattered places of economic and social importance (Southworth, 2003). The entrepreneurial spirit which could have been counted as one of the viable solutions to such challenges is discouraged by a number of factors such as city bylaws and the inability to secure trading space on high-end commercial centres in townships (Manamela, 2015). The concept of third spaces, also used as township space or hybrid object, was again found and adopted from Ellapen's (2006) Cinematic Representations of the Township Space in Contemporary South African Cinema where it is defined as a space of marginality and otherness where people of colour were forcefully and separately housed so they would not pose a threat to the hegemony of Afrikaner Nationalism. Nonetheless, a post-apartheid South Africa witnesses a redefined and repackaged landscape where boundaries have been dismantled thus allowing easier and unrestricted movement between the first, second and third space. Its sobriquet 'hybrid object' is owed to the fact that it contains attributes and influences of both spaces that flank it – urban and rural (Ellapen, 2006).

Prior 1994 this spatial realm was not perceived as an integral part of the urban economy, it was only deemed useful as a labour dormitory (Robbins, 2012). As attested to by Zondi (2011) South African townships were neglected by both local authorities and the government. As a result they were notorious for their character as sites of 'service delivery backlog' and violent protest (Dlamini, 2009; Robbins, 2012). Stringent measures were placed against informal black traders in townships as a result they could not conduct their businesses freely or openly, and had to hide their retail activities away from the authorities (Kunene, 1988; Zondi, 2011). The absence of both economic and social infrastructure perpetuated other socioeconomic challenges such as unemployment, poor education and also deepened poverty. Townships became areas of utter deprivation as people commuted using mini-bus taxis and trains on daily basis to labour in big cities such as Johannesburg, spending large proportions of their incomes on transport and still spend the rest of their incomes on areas outside the townships through shopping.

Twenty one years later, most townships, particularly in the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, are still faced with the highest degree of economic marginalisation and yet the trajectory of development is not clearly laid out. High profile tools of the state aimed at addressing the above mentioned issues such as the Employment Equity Act (EEA) and the recently refined Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) are at the forefront of the transformation agenda. Authors such as Adelman and Earle (2012) and Southall (2006) have showed scepticism toward these policies arguing that they have benefitted the politically connected and remarkably wealthy elite groups, and their effect has failed to trickledown to lower income communities. Others such as Marus (2014) believe that transformation is occurring on a superficial level. According to Mbeki (2012) the black political elite, who control the state not the economy, enrich

themselves through access to government revenue (corruption and high salaries). This insinuates that productive assets still remain in the hands of the beneficiaries of the previous polity.

From a spatial perspective, Gauteng houses three metros that are characterised by a vestige of skewed development patterns between and within them. Specific to this study is Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, which is peripheral by location and status to its metropolitan counterparts, and was confronted by lack economic infrastructure as a relenting heirloom of apartheid, before the establishment of shopping complexes such as Chris Hani in Vosloorus and Enoch Sontonga in Katlehong, to serve local residents in the Kathorus region. This recent phenomenon has made an attempt to reshape the spatial economy of the township. Before the establishment of these local economic nodes, residents in Ekurhuleni used to travel long distances to main towns such as Germiston and Brakpan/Benoni for shopping and other economic utilities. For marginalised black households this was a costly exercise time-wise and financially (Kunene 1988). As attested to by Gotz and Todes (2014) work seekers and workers, with particular reference to those residing in southern marginalised areas, still commute long distances to access economic opportunities. The advent of shopping malls did not annihilate the apartheid space economy but lessened its effect and has made drastic changes to the surroundings and has also changed people's social and economic behaviours. A study undertaken by the Gauteng City Region Observatory using both 2001 and 2011 StatsSA Census data showed that the space economy of the Gauteng City Region is changing at a much slower pace than envisaged (Gotz *et al,* 2014). The GCRO used three measures namely economic, demographic as well as land cover indexes to establish that Gauteng has maintained spatial inequalities with marginal changes over the years. In terms of the economic index, central areas in the core of the province have the highest mean incomes per ward and highest total share of the value of goods and services produced in a combination of industries and sectors (agriculture, finance, manufacturing and mining) (Gotz *et al,* 2014) (Figure 1.1d). This denotes that most economic activity is still centralised in affluent areas such as Kempton Park and Edenvale in Ekurhuleni, Sandton and Midrand in Johannesburg boasting secondary and tertiary sector industries such as financial institutions, offices, major transport hubs and manufacturing industries. As shown on the map (Figure 1.1f) peripheral areas (old apartheid townships) such as Kathorus in Ekurhuleni, Soweto in the City of Johannesburg and Mamelodi in the City of Tshwane are still faced with the lack of economic activity, low percentage of household income and poverty.

When looking at the Core and Periphery index map one might tend to think that townships highlighted as though they fall within the core such as Katlehong and Vosloorus are thriving, this is not true because these are only included in the core, though in the fringe, not because of the economic activity but high population densities. Therefore this map is not entirely relevant for this study since its aggregation of economic, demographic and land mass indexes depict unfitting results, at least for this study. Therefore for this

research a new Core and Periphery Index was formulated based on the dispersion of economic activity (primary, secondary and tertiary sector industries) within the Gauteng City Region in three municipalities (City of Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality and the City of Tshwane). This map depicts a clear visual of the dispersion of economic activity across the three metropolitan areas. In terms of demographics, a striking fact is that even though townships have the lowest economic and social infrastructure it has the highest population densities (Figure 1.2) reflecting a mismatch of the majority living in marginalised areas and minorities higher income households located in relatively affluent well serviced areas with surfeit economic opportunities. As shown on the map these areas have the largest built-up land mass due to development.

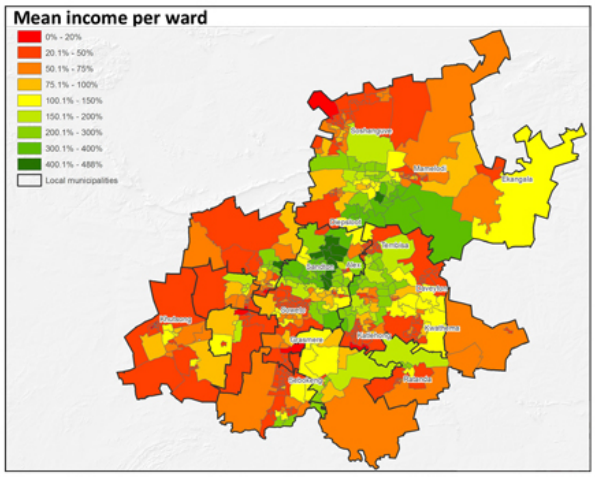


Figure1.1a: This map depicts different household income levels in different areas across the Gauteng City Region. Affluent areas shaded in dark green have the highest income levels (adapted from Gotz et al, 2014).

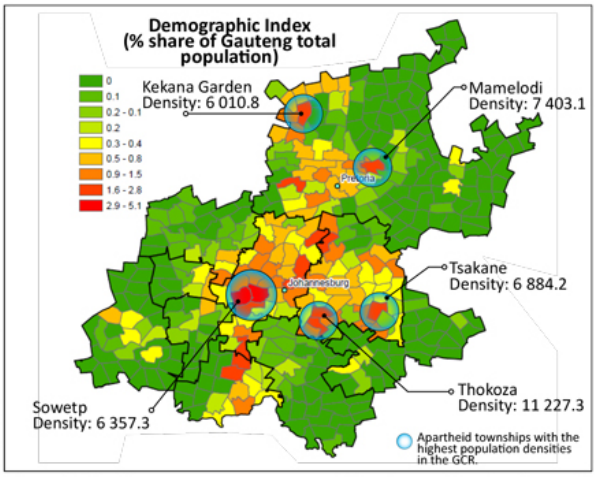


Figure 1.1b: This map creates a contrast of densely populated and sparsely populated areas across the Gauteng City Region. Apartheid townships such as Katlehong, KwaThema and Vosloorus have the highest population densities (adapted from Wray et al, 2014).

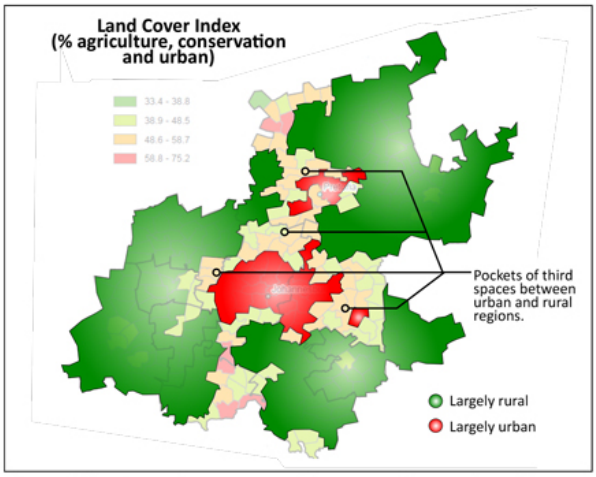


Figure 1.1c: Core urban areas as shown on this map have the most built-up land mass with no agricultural land. Agriculture contributes only 0.4% of Gauteng's total gross domestic product even though most of the region is covered by agricultural land (Dlamini, 2015). The contrast of rural and urban land shows the location of third spaces.

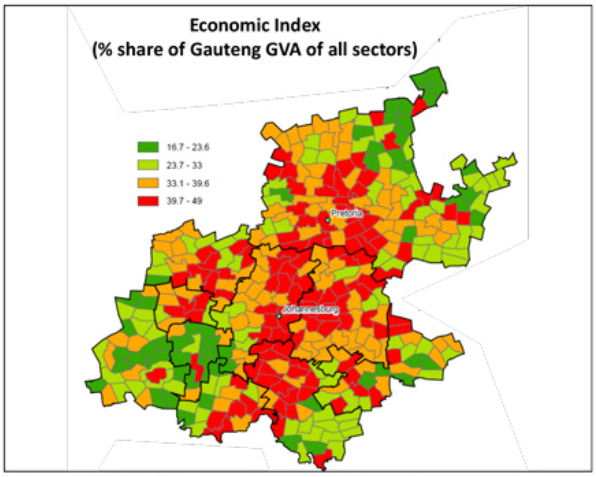


Figure 1.1d: This is also a visual illustration of how economic activity based on a percentage share of Gross Value Added product of all sectors is dispersed across the Gauteng City Region. (adapted from Wray et al, 2014)

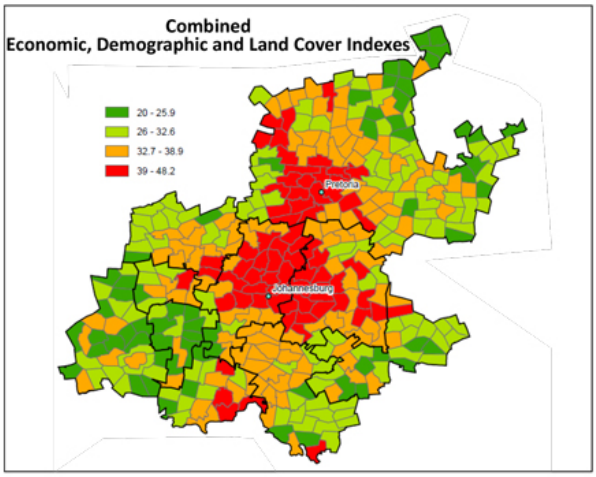


Figure 1.1e: A combination of economic, demographic and land cover indexes gives a clear visual of the space economy of the Gauteng City Region which reflects a slightly altered legacy of apartheid planning (adapted from Wray et al, 2014).

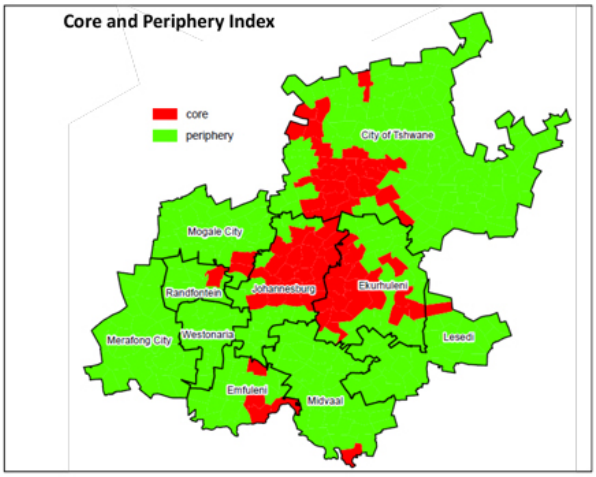


Figure 1.1f: This core and periphery index adapted from Fig.1e identifies apartheid townships such as Kathorus as part of the core due to its high population density (adapted from Wray et al, 2014). A map formulated for this study (fig 1. 2) presents a slightly different relationship which is based on economic activity (excludes demographics).

Figure 1.1: Visual presentation of *The Space Economy of the Gauteng City Region*.

Source: Mtshali, 2015 – Adapted from GCRO, 2014.

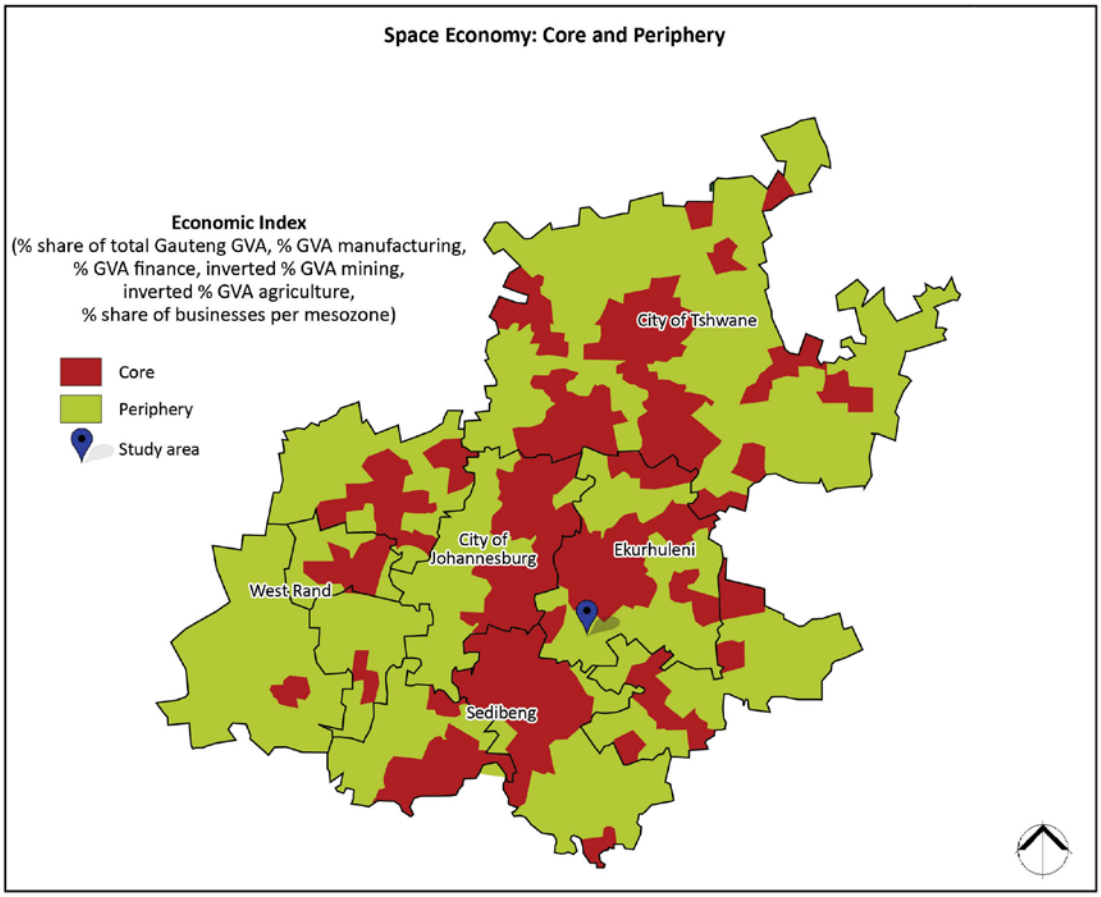


Figure 1.2: *The Space Economy of Gauteng* based on the percentage share of Gross Value Added.
Source: Mtshali, 2015.

This map reflects the currently existing space economy of the Gauteng City Region as adapted from the Wray *et al*, 2015 economic index. This spatial manifestation of economic actions, connections and decisions subsidiarily shows the concentration of capital flows, labour markets, production, infrastructure development, value-added chains and information. As attested to in the National Spatial Development Perspective (2006) this space economy which is polarized and dual in nature exists at both macro and micro scale. As noted by Schensul and Heller (2010) this reflects a compartmentalised, stark and clear spatial hierarchy of access, class and race. Even with considerable efforts from government, over the years, to change the space economy through national interventions and plans such as the National Spatial Development Framework of 1995, Spatial Development Initiatives between 1997 and 1999, National Strategic Development Plan first and second in 2003 and 2006, New Growth Path in 2009, National Development Plan of 2011 and the National Infrastructure Plan of 2012 disparities between economically productive areas and economically depressed regions have remained, at least at provincial level (SACN, 2013). According to South African Cities Network (2013) this failure is attributable to a number of reasons such as the poor regulation of the private sector, failure to comprehend forces that impact the space

economy, the difficulty associated with planning for existing informal sectors of the economy and weak relations between different spheres of government. Nevertheless, a local or municipal level may present a different pattern of the space economy. As shown on this provincial map the largest proportion of economic activity is still concentrated in apartheid towns and central areas, but a sometimes overlooked phenomenon is the emergence of smaller economic nodes previously marginalised areas that have the potential to change this spatial make-up to a point where it can be visible at this scale.

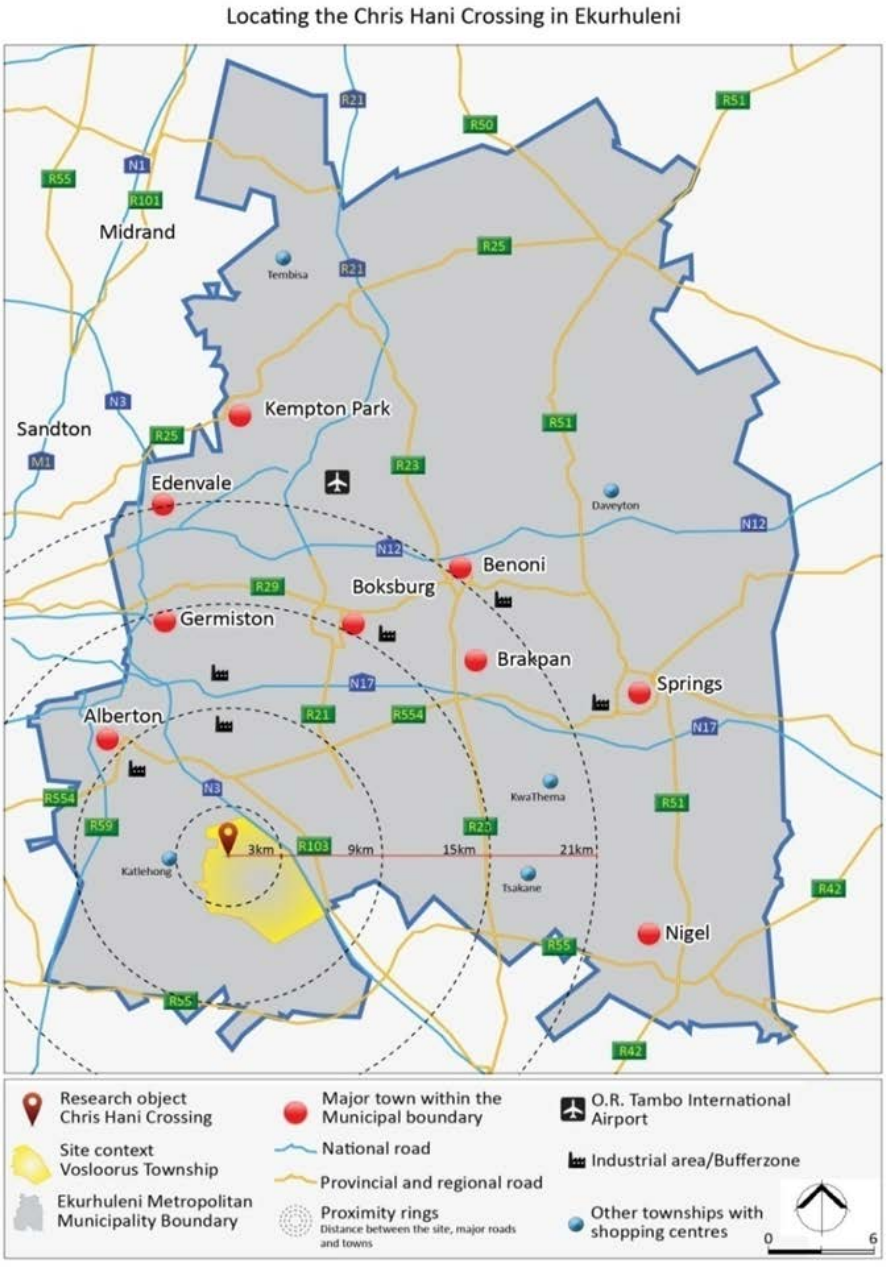


Figure 1.3: Chris Hani Crossing in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality.
Source: Mtshali, 2015.

This map (Figure 1.3) shows the location of both the study area and the study object in relation to old apartheid towns or former municipalities in Ekurhuleni such Boksburg, Benoni and Germiston. It also looks at the broader space economy of Ekurhuleni which includes a number of industrial areas and other major nodes such as the airport. With the aim to link this section with the core and periphery segment this map which shows a number of other key nodes (retail centres) in previously marginalised areas that contributed to altering the apartheid space economy by bringing economic activities in previously deprived areas. These townships such as Daveyton and Tsakane share in the same experience.

1.3. Third Space: Delineation of the Study Area

The study is primarily based on Vosloorus, a township located 15 kilometres south of Germiston in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, Gauteng province- South Africa (Figure 1.3). The township was proclaimed in terms of Section 35(3) of the Black Communities Development Act, (Act 4 of 1984) (Van der Schyff, 2007: 3). The EMM is identified as the country's industrial and manufacturing hub and a main national transport hub housing the O.R Tambo International Airport and Germiston station (GDED, 2014). The municipality's ranking as an 'industrial workshop' of Africa from the 1980s to this day is due to the fact that it was identified as a municipality, among others, with the largest concentration of industries in one geographical area (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2012). Vosloorus is bordered by N3 to the east and Katlehong Township to the west (Figure 1.5). Khathorus[1] is counted among the largest townships after Soweto. Natal Spruit, a hydrological barrier, has had a cumulative effect on this relationship separating the three townships and adversely affecting the development of a consolidated space economy and therefore retarding any potential economic and social benefits (Vermeulen, 1981). Less than a decade ago Chris Hani Crossing was established in Vosloorus, with a recent extension across the road to the west (Vosloorus Plaza). The Crossing is classified as an upmarket shopping mall with a Gross Leasable Area (GLA) of 40 000m^2 (Rowan, 2011). This is equivalent to six combined professional soccer stadiums. It is currently the largest township mall in the whole Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, serving customers from Katlehong, Thokoza, Vosloorus and Spruitview (Bestbier, 2015; Rowan, 2011). The mushrooming of shopping centres in this manner in South African townships recently is not an uncommon phenomenon. Other areas like Soweto, Johannesburg and Khayelitsha, Cape Town share a similar experience.

The study area, for the purpose of this research, covers households, formal and informal businesses within a 5 km radius. As shown in figure 1.6.7, a photograph titled adjacent property, of the next section the study area is dominated by standalone houses most of which existed long before the construction of the mall. Businesses located within the radius are auto body repairs, cobbler, general dealers or spaza shops, hair and

[1] Vosloorus combined with Katlehong and Thokoza

beauty salons, shisanyamas (informal barbecue) and so forth. These tend to agglomerate around busy nodes such as shopping centres and taxi ranks where they can take advantage of the high volumes of vehicle and pedestrian traffic. Chapter four of this research gives a comprehensive and detailed background about the demographics as well as the history of the study area.

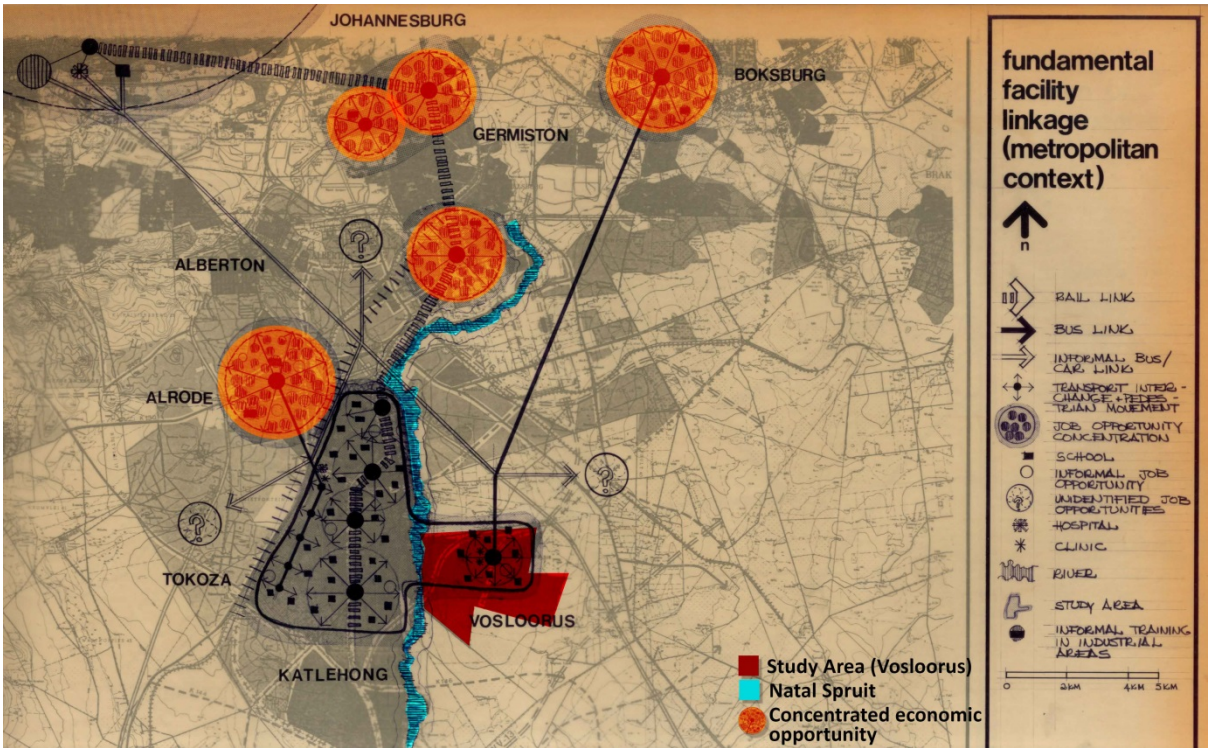


Figure 1.4: Access to socioeconomic opportunities in the 1980s.
Source: Mtshali, 2015 - adapted from Vermeulen, 1981.

As shown in this illustration and argued in the previous section, economic and social opportunities were located outside the Katlehong, Thokoza and Vosloorus. Township economies survived through an informal and predominantly illegal structure consisting of a few light industrial areas and informal commercial activities while major economic opportunities were concentrated in three areas namely Alrode (in Alberton), Boksburg and Germiston (Vermeulen, 1981). As illustrated in Figure 1.4, these interdependent areas were linked through a robust rail network and bus service. Of the three townships that makeup Kathorus Vosloorus is the most peripheral; this is exacerbated by the fact that it is buffered by a hydrological feature – Natal Spruit (Vermeulen, 1981).



Figure 1.5: *Research Object* -Locating Chris Hani Crossing in Vosloorus.
Source: Mtshali, 2015- adapted from Google Earth Pro, 2015.

This research does not only look at Vosloorus but also investigates the development's impact on the immediate surroundings in Kathorus since the research object is located on the north-western edge, where Vosloorus and Katlehong converge. The photographic observation on the next page gives an idea of what the study object looked like during the time of research. The photographs are visual excerpts selected from the entire observational experience portraying the realness of the research object (Nordeman, 2007). The first photograph tagged Fig1.6.1 shows the view of the mall, facing the main entrance to the central atrium from one of the large parking spaces. The Crossing is designed as a contemporary internal mall boasting vibrant colours on main entrances. These colours combined with the rustic material are considered as a special design feature to create a modern feel (Rowan, 2011). Caravans are used as fast-food selling places next to the main entrance of the Crossing as shown in the second photograph. These sell pap or rice and beef stew or chicken. Figure 1.6.3 gives a virtual reality of the open spaces to the reader through a photograph with a six piece band performing live maskandi music for passers-by and shoppers at the entrance of Spar. This shows how locals are using entrances as an advertising platform and promotion space for their craft. Figure 1.6.4 is a typical of adjacent of property to the east of the Crossing. Figure 1.6.5 shows a predominant public transport system informally parked outside the Crossing from across the road. Figure 1.6.6 is a photograph showing informal traders operating from informally constructed makeshift structures. Open spaces and empty parking pays are sometimes used for promotional and recreational activities such as skating and 'kasi tours' as showed on Fig.6.7 (McCormick, 2015). Private cars used as public transport known as 'amaphela' are parked separately in a formally constructed parking lot inside the mall (Figure 1.6.8). The next photograph tagged Fig.6.9 shows the newly established Vosloorus Crossing across the road from the research object. The mall is also used to host educational activities and lectures at Kingston College tenanted at Chris Hani Crossing as shown in Figure 1.6.10.



Figure 1.6: *Photographic Observation* – A walk in and around Chris Hani Crossing.
Source: Mtshali, 2015.

1.4. Understanding key Research Concepts

1.4.1. Transformative Economic Development

Transformative Economic Development is a three-pronged concept appropriated from a broad range of debates on change and transformation for this research. The concept, on the whole, is defined at a global level as a drastic change and break from an econo-political paradigm recognised as neoliberal capitalism to an equitable system which would ensure that marginalised groups who have not enjoyed the trickledown from economic development in their areas, or in their backyards in most instances, benefit from development (Adelman, 2013; Earle, 2012). Transformative Economic Development is too often compromised and sold as a development model which promises the creation of employment opportunities, increasing the tax base and other economic benefits. In light of this, it is important to note that it is also about change in ownership and the disposition of power (Loh, 2013). This concept is appropriated for this research to denote a change from an economic development which benefits a few already wealthy elite groups while other communities who bear the greatest cost, representing the majority in this case, accrue no or less-than-expected socioeconomic benefit, to a system which benefits local people or communities, with particular reference to shopping centre development in previously marginalised areas. This concept in chapter two of the report deals with how socioeconomic transformation is or has failed to be translated all the way down to the local level through the analysis of the veiled relationship between BBBEE, the growth of black middle class and the proliferation of mall and shopping centres in previously marginalised areas. It looks at how the neoliberal framework has constricted the local economic development project into strategies that serve the vested interest of property and finance markets (Adelman, 2013; Earle, 2012).

1.4.2. Strategic Investment in Townships in South Africa

This is also a compound concept which can be broken into two. The first segment, strategic investment, entails an investment a corporation or company makes on a relatively smaller one thereby generating good returns and value for the corporation itself (LSE, 2015). The aim maybe to be help companies grow or to capitalistically generate big returns on investment. The second segment of the concept, which is Townships in South Africa, refers largely racialised areas outside the city designed as monofunctional suburbs by the apartheid state (Mbembe *et al*, 2004). Strategic investment in townships in South Africa, a concept formulated for this study, refers to a well-calculated investment segmented towards improving the socioeconomic conditions of previously disenfranchised and marginalised township locals and communities. In a similar fashion investment may also be directed towards socioeconomically disadvantaged and spatially distorted areas to change the apartheid spatial geography, without losing its prime goal of making sound and reasonable returns on investment for the investor and other pertinent stakeholders (Adatia, 2010). At the

epicentre of strategic investment in townships is the high-profile BBBEE which aims to equalise the socioeconomic status of citizens through the transfer of corporate ownership, localisation, supplier development, job creation, skills development and small business support (Mazwai, 2013). The township has become a 'fetish object' of investment for both the retail property market and the entertainment industry (Ellapen, 2006). In terms of the former strategic investment has been in a form of shopping centre development in areas that are devoid of economic infrastructure.

1.4.3. Post-Apartheid Urban Space Economy

The space economy is defined as a spatial region comprised of connected areas sharing a common network of flows and markets for factors of production such as infrastructure platforms, labour and land markets (SACN, 2013). Furthermore, the space economy is a crucial element of spatial development planning in the South African context. The constantly changing nature of the post-apartheid space economy is identified using a number of components which are recognised in the literature of this study as labour market change, settlement pattern alteration, dispersion of industrial and commercial nodes as well as other infrastructure that emerges as a product the effort of both private and public actors which provides benefit and value to societies (Parnell and Crankshaw, 2013; Harrison and Todes, n.d; OECD, 2012). The urban space economy of South African cities remains that which is characterised by the deeply entrenched legacy of apartheid.

1.4.4. Development in Peripheral Areas

This concept, on the whole, entails development which is directed towards areas that are usually located outside metropolitan areas or big cities (Soltys, 2012). These areas differ from their relatively wealthy counterparts or big cities according to levels of development, availability of opportunities and investment. These areas are usually characterised by diminutive development potential, low productivity, high unemployment levels, low territorial accessibility and relatively impoverished population (Soltys, 2012). Therefore development in peripheral areas seeks to ultimately respond to such issues while simultaneously ‘mopping up’ the extreme effects of the apartheid regime through altering the space economy reflected in townships. In the South African context spatial development policies and frameworks are currently grappling with the challenge of fully integrating these peripheral areas, also identified as townships in this study, into the economic and social fabric of well-established economic nodes or major cities through intervention (Alam, 2015).

1.4.5. Empowerment through Retail

Empowerment through retail is a concept which embodies elements of the last two letters of the BBBEE acronym. The development of shopping centres and malls in townships is, to an extent, seen as an economic

empowerment effort seeking to stimulate the township economically by providing access to quality goods, job opportunities and other economic benefits (Fairgray, 2015; Motsaanaka, 2008; Zondi, 2011). Economic empowerment is defined as affording the opportunity and resources to the poor to enable them to tap into the market, make decisions, invest and access finance opportunities (Eyben *et al*, 2008). The current situation in South Africa reveals that malls and shopping centres, in the place of stokvels, shebeens, shisanyamas and spaza shops, are perceived as the main, if not only, empowerment tool for the development of the township retail sector (Ngoasheng, 2015). The conceptual understanding of the term empowerment and the manner in which it is explored operationally are poles-apart (Eyben *et al*, 2008). Furthermore, empowerment is primarily about power – "the power to redefine our possibilities and options and to act on them, the power within that enables people to have the courage to do things they never thought themselves to be capable of, and the power that comes from working alongside others to claim what is rightfully theirs" (Eyben *et al*, 2008: 5). Individuals or group to which this power is disposed will be further discussed in the body of this research.

1.5. Rationale for the Study

The reason for this research is to increase knowledge about the understudied topic of the impact of retail led development in townships with particular reference to Vosloorus which is currently wanting in literature produced within the confines of the Urban and Regional Planning and other related disciplines. "To date, the literature does not contain much material directly addressing this topic," at least in peripheral areas (Matthews, 2006: 7). This attempt to understand changes (or lack of) of the space economy in South African cities more especially in the new political context is considered a challenging but worthwhile task, which has the potential to improve policy choices and decisions by providing evidence of the outcomes of related or similar policies. Furthermore, this is an attempt to find the link between policy, implementation and, most importantly, outcome. Additionally, this may also be regarded as a learning experience that will provide a deeper understanding of the complex relationship between the state, society and space. During the process new understandings about the nature of this forever changing world will also be gained. Most importantly as noted by South African Cities Network (2013) national frameworks and plans such as the National Spatial Development Framework of 1995, Spatial Development Initiatives between 1997 and 1999, National Strategic Development Plan first and second in 2003 and 2006, New Growth Path in 2009, National Development Plan of 2011 and the National Infrastructure Plan of 2012 are not realised to their fullest potential due to a number of reasons among which they mentioned significant knowledge gaps in contemporary analyses of the country's space economy. Therefore this study seeks to make a positive

contribution to the recently enkindled interest in the study of the space economy in a number of disciplines such as Economics, Geography, Urban Planning and many others.

Currently, in townships, retail development is a dynamic force behind the transformation of the space economy and therefore there is an urgent need for the planning profession to monitor and have a firm grip on this kind of development so as to ensure equitable development and protect marginalized communities from, sometimes enigmatic, market forces. Deplorably, as recognized by Gotz and Todes (2014) with particular reference to Johannesburg, there is not enough systematic analysis of the economy and the space economy of cities. Above all, this research seeks to tell a narrative about the third space and the lives of those who live in it, by choice or circumstance. It is a narrative told on behalf of those who are yet to voice their concerns through a communicative, pluralistic and collaborative privilege that they are currently not afforded. As argued by Chandler (2003) plans are developed with the goal of fostering change and it is imperative for a locality to measure the impact the plan is having in the life of a community. Correspondingly, this research may be wholly perceived as a post development assessment of the impact of Chris Hani Crossing on the community of Vosloorus and the surroundings.

1.6. Problematizing the Idea of Retail Development in Townships

The urgent need for economic development in peripheral and previously marginalized areas such as townships and rural areas as well as the interest of private stakeholders to empower such areas economically through job creation and the facilitation of access to economic utilities has led to the growth of retail centres. Some authors, like McGaffin (2010) and Oranje (2014), perceive this as a greed-driven spatial transformation controlled by the emerging middle class while others, like Zondi (2011) believe that a major driving force for this phenomenon is the shortage of economic facilities in townships which has, in this particular case, led to a rising demand for retail nodes in these areas. For consumers this has undoubtedly had positive impact but its impact on local retail economies of townships varies according to scale and context. Though perceived as key drivers of local economies in other contexts, South African has had a different experience (Cushman and Wakefield, 2014). In some South African townships, including Mabopane, Soweto and Thulamahashe, the development of retail centres has been detrimental to the prospect of growth for the local traditional retail structure through the diversion of expenditure by consumers from local businesses to the newly established retail centres, however the impact varies according to their proximity to the shopping centre (Adatia, 2010; Demacon, 2011; McGaffin and 2010; Zondi, 2011). Even so, retail centres have played a catalytic role in breathing new life into these areas through the attraction of investment and instigating development in previously marginalised regions (Bretton Woods Bulletin, 2014; ERE, 2009). The aim of this research is to look beyond the implications of

shopping centres on local businesses and consumers by unpacking the manner in which these retail developments have altered the socioeconomic positions and relationships of locals, with space, in the area of Vosloorus and the broader context of Ekurhuleni.

Prior the development of Chris Hani Crossing, Vosloorus was identified as a spatially distorted predominantly residential black township with minimal economic facilities and other uses that are complimentary to a residential area. Due to this, residents still had to travel fairly long distances to shop in the CBDs and Malls. A retail study commissioned for Vosloorus identified that the Kathorus area had an estimated 200 000 households in the year 2006, the estimated monthly expenditure on food in the area was R 123 million, retail developments were limited to the Gold Spot and Spruitview Nodes and as a result a large proportion of the monthly food expenditure was spent outside the Kathorus catchment area (Van der Schyff, 2007). Subsequently, the proposal for the development of Chris Hani Crossing was in line with the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality's Retail study which had found that second economy areas are characterised by high population concentrations and a disproportionally low supply of retail floor space per capital. The estimated net effective demand for retail space in Kathorus for 2014, including inter-town cross border trade, was 380 000m^2 of retail floor area and Chris Hani Crossing has only covered 44 000m^2 of retail floor area (Motsaanaka, 2008: 8).

1.7. Main Research Question

What has been the impact of Chris Hani Crossing on the post-apartheid space economy of Vosloorus in Ekurhuleni South since its establishment?

1.8. Sub-questions

- What was/is the impact of the mall on the level of infrastructure development of Vosloorus within a 5 kilometre radius?
- How has the mall changed the economic and social status of people living around the mall?
- How has it affected shopping and travelling patterns of locals who frequent the mall?
- What are other developments that were attracted to the area by the crossing?
- How has it changed the area of Vosloorus since its establishment?

1.9. Informed Consent and Ethical Consideration

The two critical factors which the researcher was confronted with before the commencement of the study and prior the collection of empirical data were access and ethics. With regards to the latter, informed consent is a crucial stride to any research project and is a reflection of adherence to the rudimentary principle of respect of persons (Cody, n.d.; Escobedo et al, 2007). For this study, the researcher took time, before conducting interviews, to explain to respondents or participants the purpose of the research as well as the benefits, duration and nature of research, procedures and level of confidentiality to be maintained throughout the study. This was also meant to inform participants that their participation is voluntary and may withdraw at any time (Cody, n.d.). This is a fundamental moral obligation (Morodi, 2009). Full and conscious consent was obtained from all participants. The agreement and consent to participate is indicated with signatures on consent documents. As a township norm, the researcher also engaged in small talks with participants before delving into the research work. This had a major impact on the quality of the interaction between the participant and the researcher. To avoid sudden discomfort or change of mind during the interview, participants were informed about the number of questions to be asked and the estimated duration of the interview. Prior the beginning of the research project, a course was attended during the first semester which equipped the researcher with information pertaining to the ethics, procedures and research principles. Issues discusses in this course were a continuous concern and were borne in mind during the course of the study (Morodi, 2009). The former factor, which is access, dealt mainly with what kind of information the research needed, how it may be acquired and the methods which may be used (Morodi, 2009). This will be discussed further in chapter 2. Permission to proceed with this research was also obtained from the University of the Witwatersrand after the formulation of the research proposal.



Figure 1.7: Schematic Diagram of the study.
Source: Mtshali, 2015.

1.10. Chapter Outline

The chapters in this research are structured in the following way: Chapter one dealt with the introduction of the research topic and background of the research at different scales. The chapter presented, while introducing relevant debates and arguments, the current situation of the space economy at a provincial scale down to the local scale where the research object is located. It shows the need for this research through problematizing the proliferation of shopping malls in townships. Chapter two defines research

concepts of Transformative Economic Development, Strategic Investment in Townships in South Africa, Post-apartheid Urban Space Economy, Development in Peripheral Areas, Empowerment through Retail, and discusses literature which is relevant to the research topic based on these concepts. This chapter is aided with both local and international examples. The last segment of the chapter explains the position of the research in relation to existing work based on identified gaps in the previous chapter. Chapter three gives a detailed description of compatible urban planning research methods and techniques that were used to respond to the research question, the sub-questions as well as other questions that developed throughout the journey of investigation. Chapter four provides both qualitative and quantitative results of the fieldwork as per methodology identified in chapter three. This chapter also provides an analysis and interpretation of the results. The last chapter sums up the report through providing a conclusion based on the findings and recommendations with regards to the future of retail development in townships, with specific reference to the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality.



2 Deconstructing the Multifaceted Notion of Retail Development in Third Spaces







2.1. An Analysis of Arguments, Key Concepts and Theory

The previous chapter sought to put the research topic in perspective and dealt with the problematization of the idea of retail development in townships by giving a brief background, contextualising the study with the use of illustrations pointing out how this study relates to a bigger context – Gauteng City-Region, providing a rationale for the study and outlining the problem statement – which is basically a focal point for this research. This chapter advances the argument by firstly clarifying concepts that give direction to this research and then formulating an illuminating discussion of what has been said or written about the research topic in scholarly and popular sources. These are main components that are to be further analysed in the literature review and substantiated in subsequent sections. These concepts will also help answer questions posed in the preceding chapter. As affirmed by Maxwell (2013) and Vaughan (2008) this is an essential component of the research design which provides a conceptual framework that consists of prior related assumptions, beliefs, debates and theories that inform the study. According to Vaughan (2008) the conceptual framework may be in a narrative form or graphic format. The following section has employed both visual and written styles of presentation. Furthermore, this section heavily relies on recent public documents, speeches, unpublished papers and news since, as argued by Locke *et al* (1993), current knowledge base is hardly found in the library. The five main concepts that are discussed in this chapter are:

- Transformative Economic Development
- Strategic Investment in Townships in South Africa
- Post-apartheid Urban Space Economy
- Development in Peripheral Areas
- Empowerment through Retail

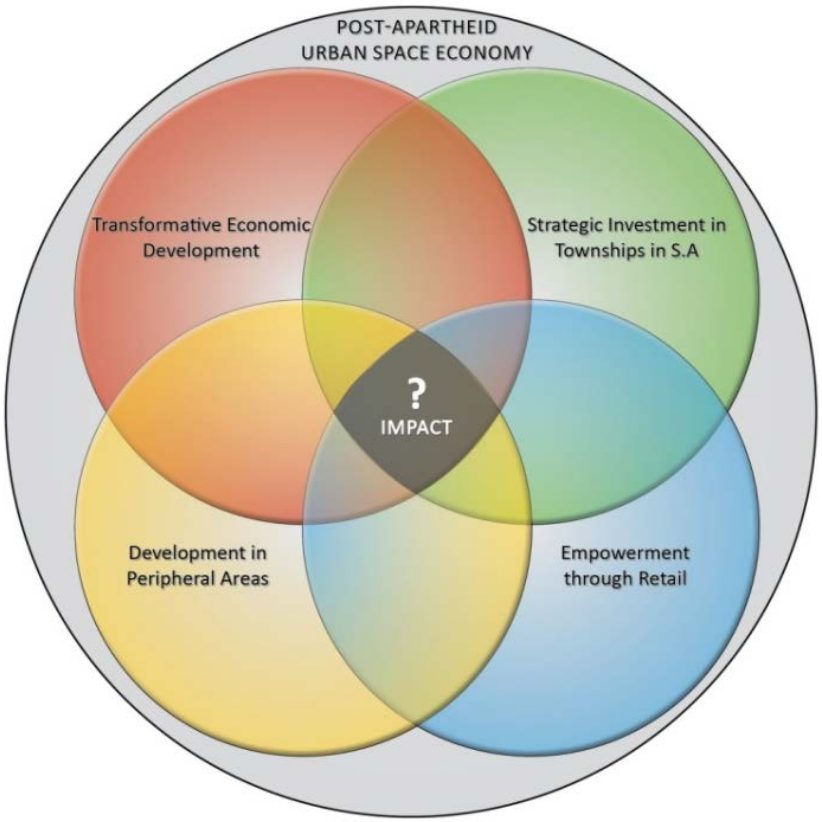


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework Diagram: Organisation of Ideas.
Source: Mtshali, 2015.

2.1.1. Transformative Economic Development

Transformation, economics and development are three components that do not only form this concept but also prove to be crucial components at the forefront of development frameworks and policies in South Africa seeking to reverse the impact of decades of systematic economic exploitation and oppression, to contend with the exclusive disposition of economic power and respond to twenty first century challenges such as poverty and unemployment among many others. Among such economic policy interventions, relevant to this research, is the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment. According to Dr. Blade Nzimande in Maseti (2005) this policy is principally about attending to the needs of the majority of black workers and the poor through providing access to employment and other basic utilities such as electricity, housing, telecommunications and transport. Alas, the transformative economic development agenda is private sector driven and the Black Economic Empowerment project is dominated by big businesses. The direction and pace of transformative socioeconomic development is determined by market forces. According to Maseti (2005) the results of this policy have been devastating due to such conditions. It has not done much to advance and deepen socioeconomic transformation while successfully empowering an elite few leading to the formation of a realm of black bourgeoisies ignoring the challenging task of skills development and

labour-intensive investment. What has been noted by Dr Xolela Mangcu is the idea that this realm of elites has been deracialized, it is no longer exclusive to white minority but has a proportion of black business men/women, scholars and politicians. This could be viewed as a positive aspect but disinclined by the earlier mentioned fact that this group of elites is divorced from the rest of the population (Mangcu, 2009). Mbeki (2015) describes BEE as an extremely internalised model which continues to benefit members belonging to the upper echelon of government.

Townships still remain at the bottom of the strata hence they still face socioeconomic challenges such as high levels of unemployment and income disparities continue to grow. While authors such as Demacon (2010) argue that benefits from economic growth in such areas are far below expectations others tend to be more optimistic by maintaining that it is still a working progress as the national economic policy is refined every now and then to make it more effective than its previous version. It cannot be expected that a space economy that was created over a period of three and a half centuries of apartheid, colonialism and white supremacy can be reversed in a couple of decades (Thornley *et al*, 2011). As expressed by Nadine Gordimer "we are still in the morning after" (Gordimer in Brockes, 2010; Maile, 2014: 1). Contrary to Ellapen's (2006) observation the post-apartheid democratised township space economy is far from being user-defined. In more recent years it has been, to an extent, defined according to the logic of those who own the means of production – as explicated in the previous paragraph. In the same vein, establishment of a shopping centre is more of an economic and capitalistic than a community development endeavour. As explained earlier economic development is largely driven by the private sector and has no attributes of local economic development, community participation, self-help or grassroots development as mentioned by Sihlongonyane (2009). According to Maseti (2005) South Africa needs a people-driven economic policy that will be developmental and transformational in nature to make real and meaningful contributions to the formal and, most importantly, informal economy (the like of street vendors, shebeen queens and kings) since the mainstreaming of township enterprises in this often neglected economy has also been identified as a 'key game changer' by Premier David Makhura (SOPA, 2014).

2.1.2. Strategic Investment in Townships in South Africa

The high profile BBBEE (Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment) strategy of the African National Congress government is one of the key policies indirectly utilised to promote investment in previously marginalised areas through property development corporations such as McCormick Property Developers. In this instance investment is manifested through the development of retail centres in townships. According to Thornley (2011) the BBBEE is responsible for the conception of black capitalism through the transfer of corporate ownership. As indicated by Southall (2006) the strategy's goal to empower black-owned

businesses is flawed by the fact that it has, to this point and most probably beyond, empowered politically connected and remarkably wealthy elite groups thus hoarding economic benefits from lower income communities. According to Adelman and Earle (2012) the failure of economic transformation to trickle down to lower income communities is a global phenomenon as cities move back and forth between extractive and exploitative models of development. In the global North as in the global South transformation is felt by those who are either well connected or already established thus perpetuating the culture of cryonic capitalism, clientelism and neopatrimonialism. For countries like South Africa this may seem like an inadvertent subscription to the most brutal strategy of supply-side economics which tends to over emphasise the importance of middle class in the economy.

In the last two decades the township turned into a 'fetish object' for the retail property market in South Africa. Fetish here is employed as loosely defined by Surrealists – an object endowed with certain value (Ellapen, 2006). The township has evolved from being a space of marginality to a space of target for investment. This can be observed through the proliferation of shopping centres in the southern and often lagging regions of metropolitan areas such as the City of Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. According to Mohlaka (2015) since the year 2000 an estimated 1.8 million square metres of retail space has been built in both rural and township areas. This translates to an average of 120 000 square metres each year between then and now. This is a development model which, like many others, pledged to create job opportunities, attract further investment and development into the area and increase the tax base ultimately altering the space economy but according to Adatia (2010) the primary reason is to make reasonable returns on investment for the developer. Furthermore, due to such investment from the retail industry the township is no longer just a port to the city but also a destination for people migrating from rural areas. This begs for the question- if these malls are developed by middle class or black capitalists are they really a 'fetish object' committed to the goal of improving socioeconomic conditions and altering the space economy or a 'capitalist object' used to extract money out of townships as suggested by MEC for Economic Development, Environment, Agriculture and Rural Development- Lebohang Maile.

2.1.3. Post-Apartheid Urban Space Economy

The constantly changing nature of the post-apartheid space economy is identified using a number of components which are recognized in preceding literature such as labour market change, settlement pattern alteration, dispersion of industrial and commercial nodes as well as other infrastructure that emerges as a product the effort of both private and public actors which provides benefit and value to societies (Parnell and Crankshaw, 2013; Harrison and Todes, n.d; OECD, 2012). According to SACN (2013) the space economy is a crucial element of spatial development planning in the South African context. SACN (2013) defines the

space economy as a spatial region comprised of connected areas sharing a common network of flows and markets for factors of production such as infrastructure platforms, labour and land markets. Policies and strategies pertaining to the transformation of the space economy in cities are understood as outlined in the National Spatial Development Perspective but this research interrogates what this means in practical terms.

This research sought to understand how retail-led development impacted these different interlinked components in the context of Vosloorus and the greater region of Ekurhuleni south. The extent of failure or success of these spatial interventions that emerge as an effort to redress existing economic disparities and unequal access to opportunities, such as the establishment of malls and retail centres, is rarely unpacked more especially in understudied areas of Ekurhuleni with the exception of recognised and well-researched areas within the City of Johannesburg such as Alexandra and Soweto. What makes this an interesting direction or area of research is the fact that it looks at one key aspect which perhaps differentiates South African cities from most cities of the world. As noted by authors such as Mahajan (2014) most countries display a dichotomous structure consisting of the rural and urban, but the South African context has a more trichotomous structure which is inclusive of the townships and informal settlements than can neither be categorised as fully urban or rural. Following these observations is Lekota's (2015) proclamation that the apartheid geography between and within these regions continues to afflict the nation, even in the existence of ample research some with feasible solutions as those of the World Bank, because the authorities lack political will.

Shopping centre development is not by any means a recent phenomenon, it has evolved and shifted from the inner-city and is now directed towards previously economically neglected areas such as suburbs and these third spaces. According to the Gauteng Provincial Treasury (2012) retail development has been experiencing an astounding average increase of 36 percent each decade since their first development in the 1960s (Figure2.2). As indicated on the statistical display during this period their Gross Leasable Area (GLA) was only 207 000 m^2 which tripled to a total of 620 000m^2 in the first half of the following decade - between 1970 and 1974. According to Gauteng Provincial Treasury (2012) this sharp increase, almost equivalent to the one incurred in the late 1980s and early 2000s, is due to improved economic conditions. According to Prinsloo (2010) in South Africa total retail space is estimated between 31 and 35 million square metres (50 percent used for retail centres) with a chance of growing at an exponential rate in the coming years due to the growth of the middle class fuelling this kind of development from both the demand and supply side. Government interventions such as the Township Economic Revitalisation Strategy may also contribute to the growth of retail or shopping centres in townships. MEC Lebogang Maile attests to this and also announced that R 650 million will be injected in townships such as Alexandra, Attridgeville, Katlehong, Khutsong, Randfontein and Sharpeville towards the construction of 500 retail centres (Maile, 2015).

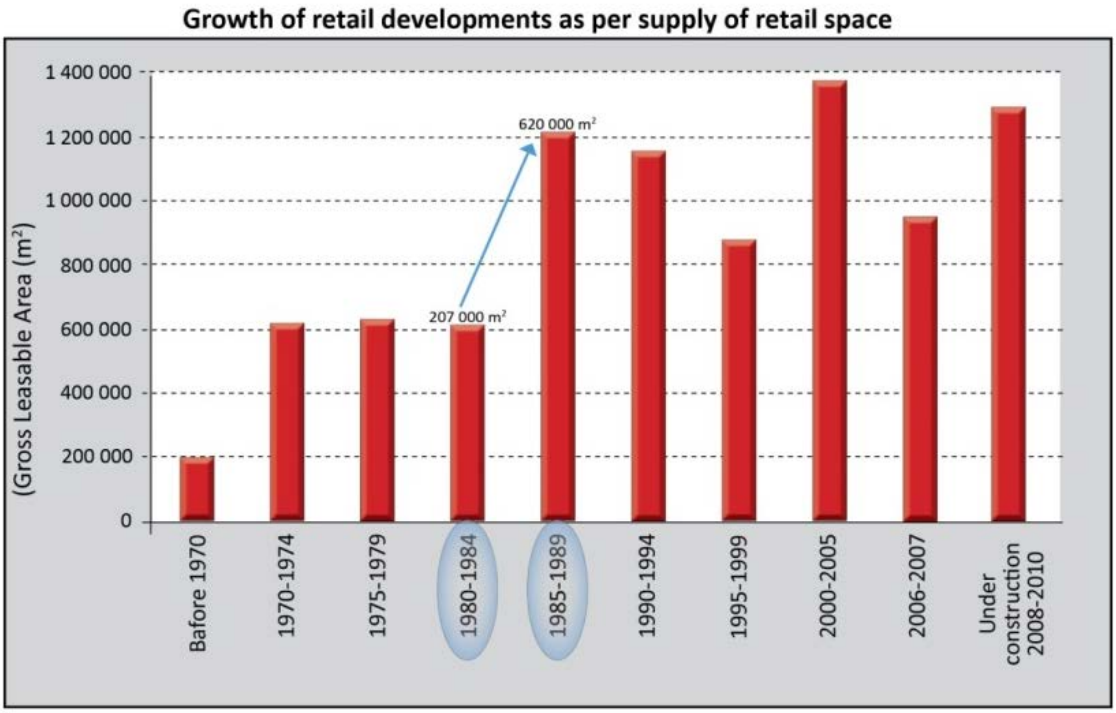


Figure 2.2: *Growth of Retail Developments as per Supply of Retail Space*- This statistical illustration gives an indication of the increase in the number of retail developments.
Source: Gauteng Provincial Treasury, 2012.

Even with such changes in the retail sector South Africa's space economy still reflects a dual relationship between leading and lagging regions. This duality is experienced at both macro and micro scale (NSDP, 2006). As shown in figure 1.2, the two overarching spatial categories are the core which is characterised by high volumes of economic activity particularly from tertiary goods and services, high levels of income as shown in figure 1.1a, low rate of unemployment and relatively higher densities juxtaposed with peripheral areas of low economic activity, low income levels, high unemployment rate and a large proportion of the population still living below the Minimum Living Level. Due to this persistent deeply entrenched economic and social divide the apartheid spatial configuration lingers on. In light of such claims, this research appreciates the idea that users of the site or locals and other stakeholders involved may hold a different view, hence the methodology section has an ethnographic component (titled perception) which has questions that seek to understand how people feel about changes with reference to post 94 economic and social infrastructure development in their immediate surroundings and hopefully uncover nuanced insight which may have not been realised.

In terms of the space economy, as explained in the introduction of the third chapter, this research does not only attempt to fill all identified research gaps or endeavour to find solutions to raised issues and challenges but has also undertaken a selective study that only looked at specific components of the space economy. This research has focused on the spatial changes to see if they have reflected any form of geographical

transformation and resulting socioeconomic upshots and trends. As stated by Vermeulen (1981) when studying spatial element it is of critical importance to take into account aspatial elements since these two interdependent components have a direct influence on each other. This is in line with the idea that policy and its outcomes in space have the capacity or propensity to shape social and economic status of communities.

2.1.4. Development in Peripheral Areas

According to Soltys (2012) peripheral areas are usually located outside metropolitan areas or big cities; he continues to say that these areas differ from metros according to levels of development, availability of opportunities and investment. These areas are usually characterised by diminutive development potential, low productivity, high unemployment levels, low territorial accessibility and relatively impoverished population. While Soltys uses this to define areas in the context of Poland this paper appropriates the definition to describe the relationship between regions within Ekurhuleni. To elaborate further on this, Ekurhuleni south where most townships such as Vosloorus, Katlehong, Thokoza, Tsakane and Duduza are located is peripheral to its relatively affluent and well-serviced northern areas above the N17 and N12 such as Kempton Park, Boksburg, Bedford View and Edenvale (Figure 1.2 and 1.3). Development in these major towns is moving at a much faster rate than in the peripheral south. This includes the Aerotropolis Project in Kempton Park.

On the other hand the establishment of a retail centre or shopping complex in peripheral areas would be perceived as development which is good enough to revitalise the overall economy of that particular township. This is usually in view of the idea that shopping malls have played a crucial role in helping improve the quality of life in contemporary towns and cities around the world (Cushman and Wakefield, 2014). In actual fact, as discovered by Mahajan (2014), post-apartheid policies fashioned to improve such areas have inadvertently exacerbated the reality in the South Africa context. For instance retail-led development brings economic opportunities closer to people living in townships for easy access but this may contribute to the spatial fragmentation of the municipality and reinforce the spatial divide by keeping people in the township – “the only negotiable space for the psyche of the black person” (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2012; Ellapen, 2006: 20). This, as compared to the apartheid regime, is rather done in a more subliminal and unforced manner. As exemplified by this phenomenon, development strategies in peripheral have inadvertently or otherwise reinforce the divide and have tended to focus less on finding cost effective ways to bridge the gap between the heartland and the immediate hinterland. Making the boundary between the city and township more fluid and porous should be one of the main aims for spatial integration. Retail development has also colonised the existing informal sector within these areas, which brings to question the idea that

development seeks to ‘make better’ not devastate. On a lighter and perhaps planning oriented perspective, given the fact that sustainability is adopted as a guiding ethos for strategic urban policy, pending development of activity and retail centres should consider the sustainability criteria from their inception or planning phase thereby considering economic, environmental, social and spatial implications (Stead and Marshall, 2001; Goodman and Croote, 2007). This does not, by any means, suggest that in this way problems identified earlier would be completely prevented but their negative consequences may be diminished.

Much focus is placed on retail as a seemingly thriving sector in the face of identified challenges because industrial development in townships has become less relevant. This follows the national pattern depicting a transition of the South African economy from industrialised economies to tertiarisation (GDED, 2014). Due to this and other pertinent factors townships have economically degenerated into consumption-based communities instead of dynamic production-based districts. This also presents a huge leakage of financial resources through these retail centres. The black community of whom the majority live in township was once austerely reprimanded against this abominable culture of consumerism in Onyeani’s (2000) Capitalist Nigger. This study has inadvertently demonstrated Onyeani’s (2000) hypothesis which obliquely contends that production is inversely proportional to consumption in most black communities, the augmentation of one causes the diminish of the other. According to Gauteng Economic Development MEC Lebohang Maile an estimated 100 billion goes in and out of townships through the retail sector (Makholwa, 2014). Capital in the form of money does not circulate in townships because entities owning these retail centres are usually from elsewhere and fail to re-invest in the township. This argument will be discussed further in the subsequent section. Strategists and policy makers have been oblivious to the fact that capital cannot remain in the township if the means and mechanisms to regain it are non-existent. Re-industrialisation, as advocated for in documents such as the Gauteng Development Strategy (DGS 2055) among a few others, may be one of the main solutions as alluded to in the Gauteng Township Economy Revitalisation Strategy Draft (GDED, 2014). Manufacturing industries could be established in townships to supply bulk goods to these retail centres thus circulating capital between sectors within the township. Requisitely, there needs to be a clear understanding of the fact that the retail rescue rope is not long and strong enough to pull everyone out of poverty and unemployment and simultaneous alter the lingering post-apartheid space economy, the industrial sector also has the potential to serve the purpose if strategically and tactically approached. The industrial sector employs people with different levels of skill and has the potential to draw in more people into the functioning of the market system through enterprise and employment thereby decreasing the level of poverty.

2.1.5. Empowerment through Retail

As argued by Fairgray (2015) retail is a key driver of city expansion and main shaper of the urban form. Its socioeconomic and spatial implication on users (households or locals) through curtailing travel time and distance is often underestimated as a positive contribution to the post-apartheid space economy. On the whole, shopping centres and malls have the propensity to revive and resuscitate towns in different regions across the globe (ERE, 2009). According to Ngoasheng (2015) retail developments in townships emerged as a result of the municipality's failure to plan strategically. He further states that the government failed to observe the economic development initiatives which existed long before the advent of democracy, namely spaza shops and shebeens. As stated by Mbeki (2015) this negligent form of leadership is worsened by the BEE policy which has killed the entrepreneurial spirit and continues to promote the culture of entitlement among blacks, particularly those who belong to the upper echelons of government. The dynamics of establishing and growing home-based businesses has been examined extensively, but perhaps the idea that businesses in townships somehow operate differently from those in CBDs or industrial areas remains largely interrogated. Mbembe *et al* (2008) defines a township as an invention of apartheid state which is characterised by the lack of amenities.

Dlamini (in-Mbembe *et al*, 2008) defines township as a largely racialised space while other authors such as Ellapen (2006) perceive it as a 'space of otherness'. Furthermore, in the South African context townships are located on the urban fringes and are occupied by predominantly black African natives who still, as a result of past regimes, serve the economy with cheap labour. Townships still remain as a spatial realm that is not yet completely integrated socially, spatially and structurally with the existing urban system or rural economy (Ellapen, 2006; Mahajan, 2014). For this reason township economies have always differed and operated differently from these two systems that are most often than not dichotomous in other cities across the world. This section has, in more than one way, established retail-led development as a rather disempowering endeavour, contrary to the concept identified for this research. For example the cannibalisation of small local businesses by big retail centres and the flocking in of formal sector banking through retail establishments for reasons other than supporting small local businesses through finance. The latter continues to transpire in the face of small businesses in townships closing down due to want for funding. According to the Gauteng Department of Economic Development (2014) an estimated 4400 small business ceased operating due to lack of funding in 2012.

2.2. Development of the Conceptual Framework

Undoubtedly, policy affects what is implemented in space and its outcomes. Recently, there has been an accentuated need for radical policy direction which will help frameworks and strategies attain the goal of transformation. Spatial frameworks as well as economic policy have as much impact on the space economy as existing economic and social dynamics, whether great or small, from a manner in which they are applied. Therefore the conceptual framework stitches the process together from the national envisaged goal of seeking to improve the space economy of peripheral areas through investment (with particular focus on retail), the synthesis of development frameworks such as the Township Economic Revitalisation Strategy and policies such as the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment, to their application as a means of investment on social and economic infrastructure and the outcomes they have achieved thus far.

"What Descartes did was a good step. You have added much several ways, and especially in taking the colours of thin plates into philosophical consideration. If I have seen a little further it is by standing on the shoulders of Giants."

Sir Isaac Newton, 1676

It is by standing on the shoulders of those whose work antecedes ours that we are able to reproduce value-added outputs. As stated by Tu Delft (2009) and Rocco (2011) building on the knowledge of others is the work of science, and collected data or information should be integrated into a new narrative. Accordingly, this is the second segment of chapter two seeks to undertake an integral step through unpacking existing literature on the topic in order to build upon findings of preceding investigations and research, give background and context to the research, find gaps and position the study within existing literature. This section presents an expanded and different chronology which firstly looks at the benefits of retail development in peripheral areas or townships and moves on to the role of the private sector with its high-profile BBBEE in this complex phenomenon of retail-led development in these areas. The review further looks at how retail development has affected informal local retail structure which fundamentally consists of shebeens, spaza shops and street vendors. The fourth segment discusses how the establishment of retail further attracts new development in the area, it also delves into the argument of its impact on property values and lastly interrogates the idea that economic development in townships has placed focus on the retail sector and less emphasis on industrial development.

2.3. Building on Congruent Literature: Exploring the Multifaceted Nature of the Space Economy of Townships in the Gauteng City Region.

The pre-1994 township retail geography was dominated by small every so often informal businesses operated from the house, backyard or garage offering basic necessities to somewhat low income local households (Ligthelm, 2008). They offered very limited choices and as a result township residents resorted to 'out-shopping' in areas such as Alberton, Germiston and Benoni for Katlehong and Vosloorus communities, to which they were connected through a rail network and bus services (Vermeulen, 1981). According to Dlamini (2009) this is where people went on weekends or month end to do serious shopping. This denotes that most township dwellers spent large proportions of their incomes on commuting and shopping in areas outside the township. In an attempt to respond to this challenge the retail sector sought to expand to these areas creating a myriad of mixed contentions around their establishment. Evidently, in her research, Adatia (2010) surfaces a number of debates pertaining to the retail development in peripheral

or previously marginalised areas. Firstly she establishes that retail-led development does not benefit everyone equally, some, like local small and medium business owners, are at the detriment of this change. The optimistic side of the debate indicate that the establishment of retail centres in township tends to attract other development initiatives, fiscal benefits the municipality through revenues (rates and taxes) and also provides consumers with easy access to cheaper quality goods and services (Adatia, 2010).

Contrary to the nature of the earlier retail landscape of the apartheid regime new retail shopping centres offer choice in close proximity to the homes of township residents as they usually sell a variety of goods in different quantities, with different colours sizes, brands, designs and prices. According to Tau (2014) improving accessibility to amenities which were previously unavailable is a commendable attempt to change the space economy. This is one perceivable benefit among others. The extent to which retail development benefits township areas cannot be fully recognised, since there is no clear cut between two existing arguments (pessimists and optimists of retail development in townships); it depends on a number of factors such as location. A study carried out by Demacon (Adatia, 2010) through surveys shows that local consumers, on the whole, have positive perception towards retail centres due to secured benefits such as permanent and temporary employment as well as access to quality goods. The benefit of retail goes beyond that of locals through employment and access to quality goods and services, the retail industry is one of the biggest contributors to the Gross Value-Added in the Gauteng province recorded at 26.5 percent in 2012, which was then the largest share in the industry (GPT, 2012).

In most studies a topic that was left untouched is the role of the private sector in instigating economic development in local areas, through the establishment of what Robbins (2012) terms 'in-township commercial/retail development' and its unintended consequences. Mr Kgosientsho Ramokgopa - the executive Mayor of the City of Tshwane makes no bones when he states the reality that these retail-led economic developments in townships are still in the hands of those who were already privileged (Boje, 2015). This denotes that this is the minority-owned kind of a private sector. This is not entirely true since other establishments in townships like Soweto, like Maponya Mall, are black-owned. Perhaps the term privileged minority in this instance may not be referring to social status (race) but economic status (class) - a private sector that is run by the few well-connected capitalist middle class. Even so, as observed in most LED efforts, the private sector is in the lead. What can also be deduced is the fact that one of the key failures of this development is the inability to link lucrative growth and redistributive development. Most of it (economic growth) has failed to expand, retain or support local, mostly informal, economic activity in peripheral areas. A typical example is a big retail centre landing in a previously marginalised area with no commitment to invest in any way, be it local business, infrastructure or housing. This leads to an outflow of money from townships. This is what Bond (2002) would term 'orthodox LED' that is corporate-dominated.

When looking at what is currently happening in townships like Vosloorus and Tsakane one will notice that the element of partnership between stakeholders, particularly the public and local government, is very superficial. Retail-led township development is largely steered by the private sector and its top-down in approach.

This has stifled the growth of the informal retail market as a local economic development effort that existed during the apartheid regime where by people would conduct their retail activities from home to hide from the apartheid government since most, if not all kinds, of economic activity were heavily restricted and regulated by the apartheid government (Zondi, 2011 and Ngoasheng, 2015). The coming in of big retail centres in townships clearly indicated an uncalculated diminish in township retailers' market share (Ligthelm, 2008). Correspondingly local businesses drown since can no longer compete in the market (Boje, 2015). Mr Ramokgopa terms this 'the cannibalisation of local entrepreneurs'. Zondi (2011) attests to this argument by stating that establishments that make up Local Economic Development in township areas such as spaza shops and stokvels are generally negatively affected through the loss of customers to these big retail developments while others such as shebeens derive positive benefit. Surviving local retailers are ones that offer services of products that the retail centres do not have. According to Ndhlovu (2014) and Ligthelm (2008) further states that small businesses such as spaza/tuck shops manage to stay afloat through offering customary informal credit options and the sale of basic products in small quantities to consumers. Ndhlovu (2014) and respondents of this research such as Chauke, Kele and Mathebula (2015) have argued that the fact that spaza shops tend to operate for much longer hours than malls and tend to serve customers through the sale of convenient goods late at night, this is one of many other factors that helps local businesses stay afloat.

A study carried out by Demacon (2010) of Jabulani Mall in Soweto and Central City in Mabopane shows that local businesses within a 2 kilometres radius confirmed to be benefiting through increased pedestrian traffic in the area whereas a study of a retail centre in Pretoria North (Soshanguve) yielded completely different results. In Soshanguve, 75 per cent of businesses located within a 1 kilometre radius experienced severe decline in profits whereas businesses located 4 to 5 kilometres away from the centres were less affected (Ligthelm, 2007). This shows that the impact of retail centres more especially on local businesses is context-specific due to a number of factors such as the capacity of local business to adapt the augmented competitive nature of the retail market (Mbulawa, 2011). Therefore the impact of retail centres on local businesses cannot be explicated uni-dimensionally (McGaffin, 2010; Demacon, 2010 and Ligthelm, 2007). Recently Premier David Makhura introduced the concept of 'radical economic transformation' aimed at providing assistance to drowning Small and Medium Enterprises (SMMEs) (Makhura, 2014). This will hopefully help reverse the negative impact of retail development on the local retail structure of townships.

In other countries such as Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France and Germany legislation aimed at preventing the distortion of already existing retail structure by new retail development was enacted in the 1990s (Goodman and Croote, 2007).

What has been less spoken of is the hostile takeover of the traditional township economy by foreign entrepreneurs through cartels, collusion and vertical ownership (GDED, 2014). It would be inappropriate to discuss the township retail structure without including foreign entrepreneurs since they constitute a considerable share of the retail market in townships. According to Liedeman *et al* (2013) foreign nationals have been permeating the township retail market since 2005. They also present a threat to local small businesses since their shops are usually better stocked and sell goods at low prices to capture the market (Modise, 2014). Against this backdrop, foreign retail business owners are praised for their business acumen which allows them to go against the current. While most informal black-owned businesses close down due to reasons explicated in preceding paragraphs foreign-run businesses still manage to keep up and still make considerable gains in the harsh township retail market. Their competitive business model is clan-based and effective. They seem to have mastered Onyeani's (2000) spider web economic mentality. In a township bordering Vosloorus is another shopping centre known as Enoch Sontonga Mall, located 4 kilometres away from Chris Hani Crossing, foreign-owned businesses have located themselves a stone's throw away from the retail centre expressing their competitive edge through a discounted sale of goods that can also be found in the mall and operating for longer hours. As put across by Waride (2014) (a foreign spaza shop owner) "I am also struggling like other people, sometimes I have to charge very low prices without even adding the extra charge for my petrol just to keep customers happy".

According to Allie (2014) foreign-owned businesses are also commended for their ability to adapt and survive in economically depressed areas. They have immersed themselves into the traditional township economy which consists of businesses like auto body repairs, cobbler, general dealers or spaza shops, hair and beauty salons, shisanyamas (informal barbecue) and so forth. According to Liedeman *et al* (2013) most of these businesses evade tax and do not adhere to municipal regulations such as zoning- by conducting business in plots zoned for residential use. According to a bulletin published by the Spaza News Industry the spaza industry in South Africa consists of more than 100 000 spaza/tuck shops that yield a collective turnover of an estimated R 7 billion (Allie, 2014). On the other hand, while existing outside the bounds of the law, they have also contributed to the project of altering the space economy of townships through the timely infiltration of the traditional township economy. They are found in almost every other corner or street and have undoubtedly changed shopping and travelling patterns, promoting in-bound shopping. Notwithstanding this positive contribution to the socioeconomic landscape of townships foreign-owned shops are still prime targets for criminals and service delivery protesters.

According to Robertson and Fenel (2007) the establishment of shopping centres in relatively disadvantaged areas in the UK has had other positive benefit than those that are spoken of in literature on the South African context. They argue that regional shopping centres attract infrastructure development such a roads and private sector capital investment which was wanting in those particular areas. In such instances locals procure both permanent and temporary benefits. The construction of the mall and the improvement of roads may employ from a local pool of labour thereby decreasing the level of unemployment while this form of economic benefit may be temporary the improvement of Infrastructure will stand as a long term benefit. Apart from construction jobs locals may have greater employment prospects from different tenant stores renting retail space. The symbiotic relationship between the private and public and private sector is complex and much deeper than considered. In some instances public infrastructure development, investment or maintenance is a result of income gained from rates and taxes gained from these retail centres. As attested to by Adatia (2010) a retail centre is not an end itself, it may lead to other socioeconomic development benefits for the area if well-planned and coordinated. According to Demacon (2011) the City of Johannesburg is collecting an estimated R 18 million a year in rates and taxes from five shopping centres in Soweto. Certain proportions of income gained are used to maintain infrastructure and service provision but this input/output technique can be further exploited to benefit the greater community by extending municipal services to immediate areas and improving infrastructure conditions in surrounding areas. In this way internal circulation is improved as money extracted from local pockets can also be used for the benefit local households through infrastructure upgrade.

In places like Zimbabwe- Harare, this model is embraced for the development of Chipinge Shopping Mall with the hope that its establishment will lead to increased infrastructure development in Manicaland (Chinamhora, 2015). The location of a shopping centre in an unattractive or previously ignored area is a vote of confidence in that particular area, this has an often underestimated spinoff on the local economy. The established shopping centre has the potential to draw in people from different income brackets into one area thus increasing traffic volumes and profit margins for businesses operating within the vicinity may catch the attention of other private investors. It attracts further positive infrastructural development and promotes the congregation of other land-uses such as manufacturing industries, logistics firms and housing development around the precinct thus creating a compact urban form. This model has also been adopted and proves to be functional in other areas as well. For instance, developers of Garden City Mall in Nairobi – Kenya and Jabi Lake Shopping Mall in Abuja – Nigeria maintain that these developments yield benefits that are beyond improved food security, job creation and increased tax revenue, they are also catalysts for urban development stimulate both the property and retail sector with multiplier effect (Bretton Woods Bulletin, 2014). The perception of a retail centre as a catalyst for further development is a more promising approach

to alter the persistent apartheid space economy than the consideration of a retail centre as an end itself. In the South African context, as suggested by the content of this review, shopping centres are treated as an end to an economic and spatial transformation goal. With better facilitation of retail development in townships by the authorities, as recommended by Adatia (2010), may help articulate a clearer set of development objectives and strategies that may help understand retail development as a means to an end or a step in the long process of socioeconomic transformation.

Surprisingly the impact of retail development on property values is either avoided or ignored intentionally in most, if not all, literature in the South African context. This could mean one of two things, firstly this could possibly be because they do not want to portray retail development as a bad thing or because researching about its impact on property values is a strenuous exercise, to which one of the reasons is the lack and uneasy access of information related to this topic. Some key research such as the study conducted in Urbana Illinois by Colwell *et al* (1985) has shown that retail-led development does not always have positive externalities on property values of adjacent areas that are within a radius of 1 500 feet (equivalent of 457.2000 meters), beyond this point there were positive externalities. According to Wang (2013) retail development may be treated with nimbyism (not-in-my-backyard) in other areas due to the fact that it has other negative externalities such as increased traffic which may cause congestion and air pollution as well as noise associated with both increased vehicle and pedestrian traffic. Wiley (2015) presents a different scenario, he argues that industrial development is the least desirable land-use, usually proposed in areas where residential property values are already on a downward spiral. In areas where industrial development is due to take place house prices contract even before the construction phase, as a response to the change of zoning. This is due to the fact that industrial development is usually associated with air and noise pollution as well as high volumes of heavy vehicles traffic. Industries are resource-intensive and they have the propensity to overstrain the community's access to electricity and water. In contrast, office development only affects housing property values in the long-run. Retail development presents a slightly different case, according to Wiley (2015) shopping centres are usually established in areas where property values are relatively low, they only increase after a few years following the completion of the shopping centre. This is usually experienced with properties that fall within a specified radius. The slow catch-up of the housing property values is due to the time the submarket takes to fully incorporate positive price effects (Wiley, 2015). Chris Hani and its surroundings in Vosloorus make for an ideal testing ground to experiment Wiley's premise on the topic.

Ngxiza (2011) looks at the topic from an entirely different perspective and argues that local economic development in previously marginalised areas has been limited to retail development with little or no regard

to development and expansion of industries. Ngxiza (2011) further argues that retail development cannot be the only solution to unemployment and poverty. Township economies are marginal and the lack diversity, therefore focus on only one sector, which has been thus far retail, will further perpetuate the marginal nature of township economies (Permegger and Godehart, 2007). As attested to by the Gauteng Provincial Treasury (2012) the economy of South Africa is evolving and tends to shift towards the retail industry with less focus on secondary sector activity such as mining and manufacturing. This blatantly perpetuates the culture of consumption and cripples the economy as the country runs the risk of being globally uncompetitive and the economy heavily relies on imports. This major shift of economic activity is fuelled by the exponential growth of retail centres. There are other grievous consequences related to this shift such as the decline in manufacturing employment towards the south (Gotz and Todes, 2014). Even though retail seems to be a thriving sector, Ekurhuleni is still described as an industrial powerhouse and manufacturing heartland of Gauteng due to the mining belt running through towns such as Germiston, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Nigel and Springs as well as the existence of heavy and light manufacturing industries in and around these towns(SALGA, 2015). These are the most developed areas in Ekurhuleni buttressed by a strong east-west road linkage which directly connects the municipality to the core of Johannesburg. Below the Ekurhuleni mining belt are light manufacturing industries in Alrode, Roodekop and Wadeville to the south-west, while eastern areas such as Anderbolt, Benoni and Boksburg house heavy industries with noxious emissions. Even with the existence of these industries Ekurhuleni still remains a municipality where the disparity between the rich and poor is acutely pronounced with 38% unemployment rate, high levels of poverty, fragmented towns and biased procurement of municipal services (CLGF, 2007: Gungubele, 2015 and Mkwakwa, 2015). These socioeconomic challenges are intensified by the declining manufacturing sector which is among the prevalent employers in Ekurhuleni (Makwakwa, 2015). According to Gungubele (2014) the socioeconomic profile of Ekurhuleni emulates that of the Gauteng Province, but in certain instances the City's indicators bypass those of the country by a few increments of growth or decline. For example the average growth of the Gross Geographic Product of Ekurhuleni from 2002 to 2012 was 10.5% and the national average was 10.4% (Gungubele, 2014). These statistics that do not say much about the extent and the nature of socioeconomic and spatial transformation spawn contentment among authorities about their policy direction and the trajectory of economic growth. However the realisation that the retail sector cannot alleviate all socioeconomic and spatial challenges has led to a strong penchant towards re-industrialisation (aimed at achieving job creating growth) which is one of the five main pillars outlined in the Growth and Development Strategy (GDS 2055) (Makwakwa, 2015).

2.4. Position of Research in relation to existing work

As a prerequisite to the analysis of shopping centre development this chapter has provided a deep understanding of the economic and sociospatial, in the South African context, for their existence (Vernor and Rabianski, 1993).My research is narrowed down to only one retail centre and its surroundings as opposed to a sample study or national survey which was once carried out by Demacon of five different malls in five different provinces. The focus on one particular area stands a chance to discover nuanced elements of retail-led development in township areas. This research promises an in-depth analysis of the relationship between retail-led development and the post-apartheid space economy as opposed to generic information provided in precedent literature. As acknowledged by Adatia (2010:18) what literature has not covered is the impact of newly established retail centres on people living and working in the area. This research takes it a step further by looking at the extent to which retail-led development has affected the space economy which includes the labour markets, property values, industries as well as infrastructure. This perhaps resonates, to an extent, an orthodox urban planning method of enquiry in the South African context, which "examines the black urban in terms of the effects of the implementation of socioeconomic policies designed to address inequality" (Malaza, 2014: 556). It is always important to understand the nature and extent of this effect more especially for disciplines that continue to grapple with aspects that seek to change the geography of urban areas. For this research, as acknowledged by Underhill (2004) the mall has, and continues to, transform our countries and as admitted by this research as well, transformation is not always for the good.

A commendable aspect in congruent studies is the sampling of key areas in the at a national scale but generic impacts of retail centres that were discovered cannot be used to assume that all other municipalities share in the same experience. For the purpose of this research it would be interesting to look at impact beyond the consumer's perspective and include narratives of locals who have benefited differently from this spatial change in different ways. Another grey area pertaining to retail-led development in township areas is the role of municipalities in facilitating and managing the growth of retail centres in townships. Findings in this research may help officials and/or policy makers understand the implications of their decisions and the outcomes of their plans, as well as the role which they played in empowering or disempowering local economies and hopefully provide learning experience in this regard.


3
A Toolbox Search for Urban Planning
Research Methods and Techniques

3.1. An Informed Choice of Methods and Techniques

The previous chapter has discussed key arguments, debates, concepts and theory relating to the research topic in order to build a solid foundation and a theoretical platform on which this research is based. Furthermore, the preceding chapter was key in finding a perspective for this research through identifying knowledge gaps. Ideas in the previous chapter, which were largely informed by popular media, preceding research and other informative sources, painted a complex portrait of which most parts will be revisited throughout the discourse. The purpose of this chapter is to rummage the research toolbox for compatible urban planning research methods and techniques, as well as theoretical conjectures, required in order to respond to the main research question. Throughout this study the researcher has referred to research as a systematic and iterative process of inquiry which is largely based on asking complex questions whose answers have the propensity to development new lines of inquiry or new questions (Wilkinson, 2014). Therefore the methods outlined in this chapter seek to respond to the research question, the sub-questions as well as other questions which have developed throughout this journey of investigation.

As put forward by Krawczyk and Ratcliffe (2005) change has always been an attribute of cities since their emergence. This change is characterised by breakups, disruption, instability as well adverse and complex effects of transformation. Therefore, planning is faced with the challenge of making sense of and ultimately adapting to and coping with these challenges (Healey, 2005 in Krawczyk and Ratcliffe, 2005). This research seeks to employ a set of methods in order to undertake the task of investigating the nature of this change in the context of Vosloorus as explained in the introductory section of this study. Simplified, this research seeks to highlight the perceivable and sometimes nuanced and not so obvious difference between what is and what used to be in the socioeconomic and spatial geography of Vosloorus - Ekurhuleni (Zack, 2015). It does not end there, it also seeks to unpack the underlying processes as explicated in the conceptual framework and literature review section. In order to do so, the research marks a 5 kilometre radius within which the locals and users of the precinct will be sampled and interviewed. This chapter gives an account of the data collection procedure and instruments employed to undertake this research as stated above. The first segment highlights my interest and perspective in the study and introduces the research object at a precinct scale, as portrayed in figure 1.4 and figure 1.5, with its different components. Secondly, this section seeks to explicate the value of post-development assessment as a measure of the impact of development on the lives of community members. Furthermore, it enlists the participants that this research envisaged to obtain information from through different methods of data collection in the succeeding section. The last segment categorises the research questions according to fitting subheadings namely accessibility, function, labour market, residential property market, perceptions, goods market, history and travelling patterns. The last section gives an idea of the specific methods that will be used for this research.

This chapter is arranged in the following order:

- Interest and Perspective in the Study
- Value in post-development assessment
- Object of Research
- Participants and respondents
- Type of Research Required: Searching for More than one Truth
- Kind of information/data needed and the structure of interviews
- Sources and Procedures of collecting data information
- Ethical Consideration
- Specific Approaches and Fieldwork Methods
- Themes and Sample Questions

3.2. Interest and Perspective in the Study

According to Saunders *et al* (2008) our values impact the kind of research we aim to embark on and the choice of methods we opt to pursue it, to a great extent. Correspondingly, my point of view and research philosophy were greatly influenced by both personal values and those of the planning profession. Saunders *et al* (2008) further states that a pragmatic stance allows one to research what is of interest and value to them and in ways they deem appropriate. Added to this perspective is the idea that research should be beneficial to its target audience in most disciplines and for the general public and authorities/policy makers in the planning profession. Values of the planning profession rest on the notion which defines planning as a profession that is subservient to public interest (Platt, 2004). According to Bickenbach and Hendler (1994) advocacy planners promote the interests of marginalised and disadvantaged communities, groups and individuals. In light of this my research philosophy, as an aspiring planner, is interpretive and pragmatic -as interpreted by Saunders *et al* (2008)- in a sense that the values (personal and professional) played a major role in framing the research topic and question, and were also crucial in the interpretation of results and outcomes. In addition, research methods employed are similar to those of interpretivism and pragmatism research philosophies- small samples, in-depth investigation, and the mixed methods procedure among others (Saunders *et al* 2008). Furthermore, the inevitable advocative component of the profession pointed this study to the direction which sought to conduct an investigation about the socioeconomic and spatial challenges, resulting from past regimes as perpetuated by decisions of policy makers, which constitute a space economy that is detrimental to the livelihoods of poor and marginalised communities. This research was about making an effort to hear relevant stories of those who are at the blind spot of government intervention and were at the mercy of corporatist entities and the entire private sector. My interest in the

impact of development on the space economy of peripheral areas was inspired by the idea that planning is a moral mandate which seeks to promote the goal of economic, social and spatial transformation in order to achieve equity and equality.

3.3. Value in post-development assessment

"Increasingly, plans are being written with the goal of fostering change. In order to do so, plans must be written in a manner that allows a locality to measure the impact the plan is having in the life of a community."
Chandler, 2000: 3

The central concern of this research was the change brought about by retail development in third spaces which has ultimately affected the lives of community members to an extent. The outcome of change is multidimensional in a sense that it includes economic, social as well as spatial aspects that are rarely documented in these spaces. As understood in this research the growth of retail shopping centres in South African townships and marginalised areas in other neighbouring countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Swaziland has far more prospects for further proliferation than any other industry in the foreseeable future (Figure3.1). Investigations pointing to this direction have been conducted by different authors from different perspectives to cover specific topics. Preceding research has looked at how retail development has impacted local businesses in terms of how they have lost clients/consumers to these retail giants and local residents/consumers/users in terms of the manner in which it has expanded their arena of choice and services, without the consideration of the spatial impact and resulting consequences (Ligthelm, 2008). This research looked at the topic of retail development in townships from an urban planning perspective and sought to undertake a short post-development assessment of Chris Hani Crossing in order to understand how its establishment has shaped the space economy of the area around it. The space economy concept in this area has only looked at specific spatial and implicated aspatial components. According to Edwards (2015) it is impossible to conduct an assessment of every socioeconomic impact associated with development. Therefore this research refined its scope to focus on employment and expenditure on transport as key economic indicators.



Figure 3.1.1: Mundial Shopping Mall in Angola.
Source: McCormick, 2014.



Figure 3.1.2: Mall of Mozambique in Matola, Mozambique.
Source: McCormick, 2014.



Figure 3.1.3: Manzini Mall in Swaziland.
Source: McCormick, 2014.



Figure 3.1.4: Mall of Tete in Mozambique.
Source: McCormick, 2014.

As explained above, this study was undertaken as a somewhat post-development assessment or evaluation. Edwards (2015) argues that post-development assessments are critical for a number of reasons. Firstly, they alert the community, officials and most importantly the developers of the impacts as well as the magnitude of the development on the urban space and the social and economic wellbeing of the community. Equally important, as noted by Edwards (2015), post-development provides opportunity for diverse community ideas and values to be incorporated in decision making processes and future developments. Furthermore, Martinez (2005) states that the significance of evaluation is to provide an understanding of whether planned activities or initial objectives have been achieved or effectively carried out. Accordingly the design or planning process has a number of steps through which a plan can be realised. The aim of this research is to delve into the last step of the planning process which, for this research, entails the study of the results of retail development in the township of Vosloorus and ultimately bring about information that may help decision makers from both public and private sector so they can make better decisions about the implementation of future projects. According to Chandler (2000) evaluation or assessment is a last step that completes an effective planning process which in itself becomes a continuous loop whereby the last phase

(evaluation) feeds back to the first phase (plan preparation). The feedback entails recommendations and propositions that, ideally, should be used to improve the planning phase.

With the understanding that a single development effort cannot address a apartheid-cum-colonial history which has stayed with this area now known as Ekurhuleni this research used the criteria of looking at what was there and what exists now, as well as the previous socioeconomic disadvantages and the current socioeconomic gains. Consequently, the research methods have always referred back to the past or historical tendencies to understand change as well as the objectives for retail development and what they have achieved in order to extract value and learn from the outcome. As referred to by Dr Zack (2015) this will be a journey of reflection between the past and present. Over and above it was interesting to find out whether these developments continue to entrench the apartheid space economy or have achieved their initial objectives. This was the basis of this study.

3.4. Object of Research

The main object of research is Chris Hani Crossing, which is located on the corner of Brickfield Road and Bierman Street in Vosloorus – Ekurhuleni as shown in Figure 1.5. This mall houses a number of international tenants such as Game, Shoprite, Pick n Pay and Edgars it also has a mix of other shops such as Foschini, Legit and Woolworths (Rowan, 2011). The crossing is described as the largest retail node in the whole of Ekurhuleni south. With regards to the fieldwork for this research, the interviews of locals, users and business owners, were carried out within a five kilometre radius around Chris Hani Crossing. According to Demacon's (2010) retail centre classification Chris Hani is classified as a small regional centre with a Gross Leasable Area (GLA) of 42 000m^2 which serves households between 17 800-35 700 whose LSM ranges between four and ten, and serves an average radius of 5 kilometres.

The development impact was evaluated within a 5 kilometre radius around the site. Of interest to this research is the hybrid or threshold space within which the crossing is located. This space of otherness, known to many as a township, is neither fully urban nor rural. Due to its peculiarity, this space has a different and often underestimated and understudied story to tell from the unique socio-cultural practices right up to economic development patterns; hence this research is making an attempt cover a small segment of that story.



Figure 3.2: Research Object Model.
Source: http://www.mccormick-property.com/mpd/sites/default/files/chris_hani_ext_01.jpg Accessed 07 May 2015.

3.5. Participants and respondents

This research, which was carried out in a form of post-development assessment, looked at both the spatial impact of this development in a local area (Vosloorus) and its socioeconomic impact on the community as a result this research has relied heavily on the involvement of the users of the development and the local community who are directly affected. In this process of assessing change, for the sake of unbiased information or univocal responses, input was also required from other key stakeholders and officials such as property developers, interest groups and ward councillors. Information needed for this research was neither readily available nor could be found in literature. Therefore in order to gather accurate up-to-date information it was of paramount significance to approach the following key respondents for interviews.

- Local residents
- Interest Groups
- Users (customers)
- Estate agents
- Ward Councillor (Cllr. Sammy Mohoaladi)
- Management and Real Estate entities (formal interview of management bodies and real estate agents with information about Vosloorus on the basis of their availability and willingness to participate were conducted). These have also included other involved private sector entities such as McCormick Property Developers (Matthew McCormick).

- Ekurhuleni Department officials
    - City and Planning Development Unit (formal interviews with officials were based on their availability and willingness to participate)

3.6. Type of Research Required: Searching for More than one Truth

Employing the right methods and techniques of inquiry is crucial since it determines probable outcomes and findings. Due to the complexity of the research question this chapter seeks to keep the methods simple and systematic, while acquiring as much information as possible. Furthermore the complexity of the research question does not allow the choosing of one research method of input over the other. Employing both qualitative and quantitative techniques of inquiry is a technique that is commonly used among researchers who subscribe to interpretive and pragmatic research philosophies. Creswell (2004) puts forward the idea that mixed methods research is more insightful and gives a full multifaceted understanding of the research problems. In this research a qualitative approach was adopted in view of the fact that the study sought to understand the spatial impact and socioeconomic outcomes of retail-led economic development in a township environment, particularly Vosloorus. Opting for multiple methods did not only answer the research question but opened up the possibility of attaining information in great detail. Information acquired was also utilised to cross-reference the conceptual framework identified in chapter three. Philip (1997) identifies qualitative research as an intensive but small scale humanistic and nonnumeric approach to exploring complexities of human experience. He further states that it is a post-modern or post-positivist inspired model of inquiry which searches for more than one truth. Qualitative research encompasses a range of methods such as discourse analysis of oral and written information, case studies, discussions, group/structured/impromptu interviews as well as the use of audio-visual media (films and photographs) (Philip, 1997). Correspondingly, this research relied heavily on a variety of methods ranging from transcribing the respondent's responses during an interview, taking photographs during site visits, and would sometimes go to the extent of recording interviews in situations where the respondent spoke too fast or had humongous amounts of information to share. However, the researcher acknowledged that respondents may be tempted to hoard or omit some of the information because of the innate fear of being recorded.

As put across by Edwards (2015) the assessment of socioeconomic as well as spatial impact required the use of both qualitative and quantitative data, for instance retail development like Chris Hani Crossing may increase the level of employment in the community through secondary and primary jobs, and increase demand for transport and housing in the area therefore requiring the use of text and numeric information.

Therefore, the kind of data which was produced for information on the level of employment is quantitative. On the other hand, which is of paramount importance, are people's perceptions on whether the newly established shopping centre has made and fulfilled its commitment to improve their living conditions and address the disadvantageous nature of third spaces within which these communities live. The kind of data which was produced for this section is qualitative. The research question leans more towards the latter, since it is based on the daily experiences of users and other affected locals. It sought to find out the impact of the newly established retail centre on their socioeconomic status and most importantly commuting patterns, which would denote a basic inquiry about their lifestyles before and after the establishment. This research also had qualitative elements to it since there were relationships of information sharing with a few randomly selected consumers and local residents in the area to find out about their views on the topic and conduct interviews. This research also featured perspectives of stakeholders who were on the planning side of development such as McCormick Property Development. Philip (1997) defines quantitative research as a traditional scientific approach which requires a research to have quantification skill to approach or undertake research, which may sometimes produce results that are incomprehensible.

3.7. Kind of information/data needed and the structure of interviews

This research has drawn together qualitative information and quantitative data based on people's personal experiences and viewpoints, observation of research participants conducting their daily activities, group-discussions, statistical information, maps to track spatial changes and so forth. This data from both the quantitative and qualitative model of inquiry was collected in a form of text and audio-visuals (photographs, maps and voice recordings). In terms of quantified data the research has randomly selected a total of 20 locals from Vosloorus and neighbouring townships, with the use of supplementary information from the property developers and managers, to inquire about the manner in which local residents who live in close proximity to the mall were affected both positively (e.g. through employment) and negatively by the retail development in the area. The latter could not be anticipated during the initial phases of the research. The interviews were conducted or questions were framed according to the respondents' level of literacy and code-switching was applied where necessary to assist respondents answer questions with ease. At the beginning of every questionnaire there was a paragraph which gives a brief explanation about the background of the study to a respondent. This short section included information about the purpose of the research, level of confidentiality and freewill to withdraw at any time. All questionnaires began with a few introductory questions to gather basic information about the interviewee and to build a rapport. These questions were undertaken in the following format:

- Name and surname:

- Age range (for example 18-24 years old for ethical purposes):
- Where do you live?
- What do you do for a living?

3.8. Sources and Procedures of collecting data information

3.8.1. Capturing and understanding people's daily experiences through interpretive qualitative approach

Information was collected through conducting brief face to face impromptu interviews with users of the facilities (these are people who were met on site or within the vicinity of the retail development precinct) and in-depth interviews with key respondents from different departments within the municipality, representatives of different interest groups as well as private developers at arranged times and venues. This research also required face to face interview surveys with a number of Vosloorus residents residing in Extension 16 and Extension 20. These surveys included a number of generic questions. Interview surveys were not only for the benefit of getting responses but also to get deeper information from the interviewee's substantiations for questions asked. These interviews had no particular setting or place but chose places where respondents were most comfortable, for example people who run businesses from their homes or inside the mall were interviewed while conducting their daily business or during arranged time at their business premises or homes, and officials were interviewed from their workplace or office.

3.8.2. Submerging into the Unknown

Qualitative observation entails taking notes from the observation of the behaviour of individuals and other activities at the research precinct. This means that research methods have carefully observed other unanticipated sources of information that may emerge during site visits. According to Kawulich (2005), even though it is time consuming, qualitative observations allow a researcher to learn about the research subject or object in its natural setting through participating or observing, and this makes a huge difference in the accuracy, quality and amount of the collected data. This has the potential to improve the researcher's familiarity with the research object. The downside may be the fact that during the period of observation more questions relating to the research may rise therefore demanding further or deeper inquiry. At some point this research allowed the researcher to support or partake in day to day or routine activities of respondents such as buying from the informal trader, spending a couple of days at the mall for this research in particular.

3.8.3. Perusing through a Wealth of Existing Data

This research also made use of already existing data in a form of private documents (e.g. letters and journals) and public documents (e.g. gazettes, minutes of meetings, published official reports, speeches etc.). As perhaps one of the major challenges encountered most information about Chris Hani was not available on the internet therefore obtaining information about the establishment needed direct contact or e-mail exchange with major stakeholders. Organisational and institutional documents also defined as 'social facts', which may be printed or electronic, are valuable means of tracking change and development (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004; Bowen, 2009). Documents produced in different times but focussing on the same area or topic were used to track or identify changes since this research is about impact – which requires a comparative study of what is and what used to be. In addition, for the research documents that have detailed information, which were not be easy to obtain, about the different phases and components of the Chris Hani Crossing Project from the Property Developers, such documents helped understand the aim and the vision for the establishment of this retail development to see whether it was linked to the main goal of socioeconomic transformation in any way. The documents containing information about the process of the acquisition of land, different stakeholders involved in the project, employment projections policy framework and so forth were not obtainable. Qualitative documents were also used to verify or validate the credibility of information gathered about the Chris Hani Crossing Project during the desktop study phase of this research because not all information obtained from the internet can be deemed accurate.

3.8.4. Play, Spool back and Replay

The data stored or obtained in a form of film/video, images, photographs, voice recording is identified as rich sources of information that cannot be repeated (Garcez *et al*, 2011). Procedures that entailed the recording or photographing of objects or subjects were dependent on the research participant's authorization or consent. These have helped capture information that can always be referred to at a later stage. Like most qualitative procedures this process is also time-consuming as it requires the researcher to spend a considerable amount of time in the setting. The most common method is the scribbling of notes. The use of a camera to record or take photographs is rare and tends to be obtrusive at times causing respondents or subjects to act in an unnatural and edgy way (Thomas *et al*, 2010). Nevertheless, the use of digital recordings is advantageous in instances where people can only avail themselves once in a long while and cannot be contacted at a later stage to repeat what they had said in the interview before. It is also advantageous in instances where the interviewee has a lot of information to share and talks fast, in such situations recorded material may be used repeatedly at a later stage to extract valuable information. According to Garcez *et al* (2011) video recording is also recommend for complex and difficult situations that cannot be explicated by

an individual when they unfold, they may require a re-play or a second and third observer. In addition, the recording is relatively prompt and allows the capturing of details which may have been left out if a different method was employed (Garcez *et al* 2011). This research was about tangible outcomes; it looked at retail development upshots in the area of Vosloorus surrounding Chris Hani Crossing Mall and therefore needed to show how much development has occurred in space through graphics and photographs.

3.8.5. The Significance in Statistics

This research also interrogated quantitative data from McCormick Property Developers. The quantitative method of inquiry sought to find information about the number of people who had access to both permanent and temporary jobs from the construction phases through to the operational phase. Quantitative data provides evidence to support the motion of the argument, for instance if in other areas retail development has led to the growth of other smaller informal shops in the area or around the precinct, the number of shops that existed before the establishment may be calculated against the number of shops which were established after the construction of the mall. Maps from the council (town planning office) or relevant management entities also helped with providing information about the crossing's serving radius in Vosloorus. Under this category this research has also mapped out other pertinent land-uses such as transport nodes and affected residential areas and businesses. Quantitative data documented in the research involves permanent, temporary and secondary jobs which were created during and after the establishment of the Chris Hani Crossing Mall as a direct and indirect socioeconomic impact. In this research socioeconomic effects are categorised as aspatial outcomes of retail development which are secondary to spatial outcomes such as infrastructure improvement. The number of people employed is important since bringing employment opportunities closer to marginalised communities is perceived as one of the main objectives of retail node developers, as identified in the literature review, such as the one in question.

3.9. Ethical considerations

This section entails the level of responsibility and ethical considerations which were drawn in when conducting interviews. The researcher's responsibility to colleagues, supervisor, and people to whom the findings were be presented and other research participants was recognised. Most importantly, the researcher obtained authorisation and permission from respondents or interviewees to conduct interviews, record where necessary, take photographs of the site and surroundings, and use all obtained information and data for the findings of this research. All respondents were provided with an introductory letter which briefly introduced the research, described the research topic and its main aims and objectives. Furthermore, the letter assured the respondents that information deemed as confidential will not be disclosed and their responses/insights will not be duplicated or used for other purposes. The letter of consent also served as

proof that the researcher is a student at the University of the Witwatersrand and has obtained permission from the institution to undertake the fieldwork. Lastly, respondents were also given the opportunity, through the interview, to ask for clarity on section they did not understand.

3.10. Specific Approaches and Fieldwork Methods

The previous chapter has produced a number of debates through its engagement with outlined key concepts. These debates have also brought to attention a number of key aspects and gaps in research or existing literature pertaining to the impact of retail development on the space economy. However, due to limited time and resources, this research did not attempt to fill all identified knowledge gaps or answer all raised questions; therefore did not feature all different defining aspects or components of the space economy. As one of the three methods, this research made use of travelling patterns through a travel diary study of users of the mall and locals to understand the space economy of Vosloorus as explained in the introductory chapter. As maintained by Stead and Marshall (2001), there is a growing body of research focusing on the relationship between travelling patterns and the urban form at a range of geographic locations and scales. As identified by Fairgray (2015) the spatial distribution of shopping centres has a direct socioeconomic impact on users (customers, employees, households or locals) through travel and time efficiency. This research sought to utilise the relationship between these components to understand the changes in the economic activity and space, the manner in which economic opportunities are structured most importantly, as described in the previous section, in peripheral areas as an endeavour to alter the apartheid urban geography (GCRO, 2015). This was done through the analysis of the link between the urban form consisting of commercial and retail activities and resulting travelling patterns of local residents. This method was useful in capturing one of the key indicators of the changing space economy as outlined in the National Development Plan 2030 chapter eight (NPC, 2011), as well as the amount of energy, money and time marginalised households and communities when commuting on daily basis.

In addition, it was fitting for this research to employ the Urban and Spatial Analysis workflow as an integral element of this research methodology since the method was already pointing to this direction. According to Maruna and Maruna (2005) the Urban and Spatial Analysis workflow identifies, states and gives a description of fundamental components (research subject and object) and their mutual, often complex, relationships existing within an urban domain which is comprised of a number of aspects such as economic, social, spatial and so forth. Furthermore, information that result thereof is presented through maps, simulation results, models, sketches as well as other expressive forms giving a description of the aspects and details of the urban system (Maruna and Maruna, 2005). This is relevant for this research because its initial aim was to focus on the change in travelling patterns of research subjects (locals) to understand a change in the space

economy, in relation to a retail node which was viewed as a research object, existing within a broader urban form. Furthermore, the travelling behaviours of individuals tend to evolve with changing economic conditions, demographics, urban form and other aspects that make up our cities (Kriger *et al,* 2011). Correspondingly, as understood by Gotz and Todes (2014), the spatial distribution of economic activities has the propensity to alter commuting patterns, more especially with regard to home-to-work journeys. Therefore, travelling behaviours and patterns are basically a reflection of how the space economy of Vosloorus and its surrounding areas has changed after the establishment of Chris Hani Crossing. Nelson and Niles (1999) put forward the fact that the location of retail development in close proximity to a residential area has positive externalities among which they mention a decrease in total cost of travelling and distance travelled. Using this method of investigation is informed by a deliberation which led to the realisation that in order to answer questions posed in this research focus had to be placed on daily socioeconomic interactions between individuals and individuals, and individuals and places. It is also important to note that an inquiry about changes in the space economy is a complex investigation which needs to be broken down into easily understandable, and most importantly, answerable questions. For instance, an ordinary citizen or local would not know about 'changes in the space economy' but may be able to answer questions pertaining to their travelling patterns, which already shed some light as to what has changed since the establishment of Chris Hani Crossing.

3.10.1. Travel Diary Study: Spatial Narratives from the weekend shopping experience

To understand the manner in which the changing urban form impacts its subjects this research explored the travelling patterns that existed before the establishment of the Chris Hani Crossing against those that resulted after its establishment using origin-destination surveys/interviews. On a map these movements (travelling behaviours) are represented in the form of patterns and flows conveying, in an easily comprehensible form, a myriad of multi-dimensional experiences that transpire on the streets daily (Koch and Sand, 2010). For this study this experience was only limited to a weekend because in the area of Vosloorus, as in other townships, shopping is perceived as a weekend experience for the family (Dlamini, 2009 and Potelwa, 2010). Each person's experience was articulated as a spatial narrative. For this research a narrative is understood as explained by Azaryahu and Foote (2008) – as anything that tells a story through a comic strip, film, novel, performance, photograph/picture, play, text and so forth. A spatial narrative is understood as a story which transpires through space. Correspondingly, combined frequently travelled journeys of each participant were used as their spatial narratives not only telling a story about their lives but also looking at the manner in which they use or do not use the crossing as a tangible economic infrastructure. One might assume that the location of a retail centre in close proximity to a residential area will have an obvious effect on travelling behaviours and patterns of locals, but according to Nelson and Niles

(1999) this cannot be an obvious case since consumer behaviour is affected by a number of factors such as bargain hunting, comparison shopping, preference for variety and location flexibility.

To do this, as identified by Stead and Marshall (2001) this research employed only four of five measures of travel patterns namely:

- Journey frequency:
- Modal split:
- Travel distance:
- Travel time:

This research employed the travel diary study method to unpack these measures. It has conducted interviews of people within a 5 kilometre radius which is considered a comfortable walking distance and an average serving radius for small regional centres (Goodman and Coote, 2007; Demacon, 2011). Interviews of 10 locals or resident residing in Vosloorus Extension 16 and Extension 20 as well as 10 consumers of users of the mall, with preference to the ones residing outside this radius, were conducted.

3.10.2. The Profiling of McCormick Property Development

The profiling of McCormick Property Development has helped link the study back to chapter two (literature review) of this research to see if the firm in question is typical of those mentioned in the review chapter, for instance, to see if it is also complies with the BBBEE policy as the review put across a strong statement which argues that the proliferation of retail centres or shopping malls in South African townships is an indirect outcome of the BBBEE policy. This has also helped understand the main objectives of this property development firm with regards to this particular research object (Chris Hani Crossing), so as to see how far this development has gone in an attempt to achieve these objectives. The profile was also linked to the processes bridging the gap between policy and implementation. This research has also engaged respondents from McCormick Property Developers, who were available, to gain understanding about other components of the space economy. This was be based on information that is exclusively disposed to them such as the manner in which Chris Hani Crossing has impacted the extension and expansion of municipal infrastructure such as power lines and sewer systems, and how its presence may have attracted new establishments to the area taking advantage of the availability of municipal services and infrastructure as well as increased pedestrian and vehicular traffic. Personnel from MPD also had a clearer explanation about the newly established extension (Vosloorus Crossing) facing the Chris Hani Crossing. This method was also used to find information about the number of people who are currently employed at the mall and an average of funds injected into the areas through incomes. This gives an idea of how the mall has impacted the economic status of Kathorus.

3.10.3. Basket of Goods analysis

The basket system is a method which was used to find out about the manner in which Chris Hani Crossing has affected other people, those who shop at the mall but were from neighbouring townships. This included the combination of fixed necessary goods in a basket; these are the goods that households commonly buy from a local shop or mall. This method was also informed by initial interviews with people from Extension 16 in Vosloorus. As they answered the interview questionnaires, the respondents tended to mention goods they used to out-shop for but can now easily obtain from Chris Hani Crossing. The first basket consisted of goods such as bread, meat, rice, fruits and vegetables, and the second basket consisted of clothes and shoes. The selection of where they used to obtain the goods and where they purchase them during the time of the interview gave an indication of whether Chris Hani Crossing's impact on the distribution of economic infrastructure has influenced people's choices and access to goods and services.

3.11. Themes and Sample Questions

The following section presents a breakdown of themes and the grouping of sample questions which were used for different respondents. Each theme has a specific feature or area of focus that guides the questions.

3.11.1. History and travelling patterns

Tracking the changes of the space economy, especially travelling patterns, required the research to look at what was there in comparison to what currently existed during the time of the fieldwork as well as tracking changes in shopping patterns since the establishment of the Chris Hani Crossing. History component for this research goes as far back as the early 2000s and was asking local questions such as:

- Where did you used to go for shopping before Chris Hani Crossing was built?
- Do you still go there for shopping and/or other economic utilities?
- Have your travelling patterns changed between then and now?
- What mode of transport do you use?

3.11.2. Function

Different nodes are used differently by different people. Some people go to the mall for entertainment while others go for basic economic utilities such as banking and shopping. This question sought to find answers

about the basic or dominant function of this mall by interviewing users this section also sought to find out if people still used other convenient retail options such as spaza shops in Vosloorus:

- What do you do at the mall?
- How often do you go to the mall?
- Where else do you buy your groceries?
- Do you prefer the mall over a local spaza shop? Why?

3.11.3. Accessibility

The accessibility component was used to find out about different transit systems that are supportive to the establishment in a way of linking it to other surrounding areas. It also sought establish the dominant transport mode used by interviewees when visiting Chris Hani Crossing. For this component the research has questions which were directed to the users of the mall:

- Where are you from?
- How do you get here? (Bus, taxi, private transport or other)

3.11.4. Labour Market

To understand the nature and extent of socioeconomic benefit procured by locals questions relating to both permanent and temporary employment were asked. This was to establish whether Chris Hani Crossing management was considerate of the socioeconomic status of the area (Vosloorus):

- How many locals were employed during different phases of the project?
- How many permanent jobs?
- How many temporary jobs?
- Where do most people who work there live? (what has changed since you started working here (e.g. spend less on transport)

3.11.5. Property market

This theme is linked to the previous one. It sought to find out about the impact of retail-led development on residential property values in Vosloorus. As explained in the introduction the impact of development was evaluated within a 5 kilometre radius, which is defined as an average sphere of influence for a small regional centre with a GLA ranging between 25 000 and 50 000. The interview questions were formulated for real estate agents and property managers with information about the area. This evaluation was carried out using a method of coupling houses with the same condition, same number of bedrooms and bathrooms. Each set

was located inside the specified radius closer to the mall and others were located towards the fringes of the radius. This evaluation was used as a comparison of the value of houses with similar features but located in different distances to the research object in the same township (Vosloorus). The valuation difference between houses that are sold within the radius and those that are sold outside the radius gave an idea of the impact of retail development on residential property values. The use of more than one pair of houses with similar features gave a better perspective. This section appropriates findings from Seago's (2015) regression hedonic model. This does not entail running the entire model, because would be a study on its own, but to select a few relevant components and to utilise Seago's (2015) conclusions and observations to validate and support the findings of this research.

- What has been the general trend of property values in the area around Chris Hani Crossing in Vosloorus?
- How has Chris Hani Crossing affected the property market in Vosloorus?
- Is this different to others areas which have not experienced any kind of economic development particularly in Ekurhuleni?

3.11.6. Goods market

These questions sought to find out if there was an effective relationship between the local providers of goods and services and the establishment. Some literature argues that the manner in which retail developments are operated is unsustainable to township economies. Some of the questions were aimed at finding out whether major stakeholders are aware of the impacts of the establishment. The following questions were directed to the management of the mall or of the main tenant/anchor shops:

- Where do you source your goods from?
- How does this establishment contribute to the economy of Vosloorus?
- How does the mall benefit from other local businesses?
- How has the mall enhanced economic opportunities for local businesses?
- Have you done any assessment since Chris Hani Crossing started operating to see if your objectives were achieved?
- If yes, how would you describe the results?

3.11.7. Links to the local economy and changes in travelling patterns

Links to the local economy sought to find out if the establishment was well integrated into the economy of Vosloorus. This section also sought to establish the length these businesses have been in operation to see if

they were attracted to the area by the establishment or if they have always been there. Questions under this theme were directed to taxi drivers and formal as well as informal traders in and around the precinct:

- How often do you come here?
- What do you do at the mall?
- Where did you shop before the establishment of Chris Hani Crossing?
- Do you still buy from other businesses? (example: Spaza, shebeen, general dealer, street vending or other)
- Do you benefit from the mall? If yes, how?
- Where else do you buy your goods?
- Have you moved or changed your business in the last 5 years? (For example: moving from one location to another or changing the goods that you are selling?

3.11.8. Perceptions

This theme sought to get information about people's general perception about the mall. It was made up of open-ended questions to allow the respondent to be able to express their feelings about the presence of the mall in the area.

- Do you think the location of Chris Hani Crossing here is a good thing?
- How have you benefited from the location of the mall in this area?

3.11.9. Development: Tracking Spatial Changes

The process of tracking spatial changes entailed the use of Google Earth to map out the traceable spatial difference. This method looks at how the area was before the mall was built and how the area looks since the mall started operating. Questions under this theme sought to find out if there has been any change in the surrounding areas since the establishment of Chris Hani Crossing. Questions under this theme are directed to city officials from various departments (Strategy and Macro Planning, Strategic Planning, City and Planning Development Unit and Economic Development Unit).

- Who initiated the development of Chris Hani Crossing?
- What has been the role of the municipality in this process?
- How is the establishment of retail centres aligned with policy at municipal level?
- How has Vosloorus changed since the establishment of Chris Hani Crossing, in terms of new developments within a 5 kilometre radius?

- Is the municipality aware of both positive and negative externalities of this establishment?

3.12. Summing up

The first segment of this chapter has specified methods and techniques, as well as their theoretical assumptions, used by the researcher to acquire information that is relevant for the report. The second section of this chapter provided a brief synopsis of how data and information was obtained through more specific processes and analysed therefore linking earlier discussed methods and techniques to this research. The following chapter will present research findings and analysis.



A Fact-finding Journey around Chris Hani Crossing through the streets of Vosloorus

4











4.1. The Point Of Departure: From Desktop to the Field

The previous chapter presented a detailed sequence of research approaches, methods and techniques which were used by the researcher to proceed from the desktop into the field in which the research was conducted. The aim of this chapter is to present both the qualitative and quantitative results of the fieldwork carried out in Vosloorus as per methodology identified in chapter three and ultimately provide an analysis or interpretation of the results. The arrangement is as follows: the first section is a description and an illustration of information gathered from interviews through tables, charts and maps, subsequently the second section presents spatial narratives obtained through interviews and the last section is the analysis and discussion of all the findings combined against relevant academic literature. Due to the nature of this research, the information is presented in the form of text and visual demonstrations to give the reader a perceivable insight of the issues discussed. Of the four different types of visual methods this research only illustrates researcher created data and representations (Wiles *et al*, 2008). Lastly, it is also important to note that due to moral and core ethical issues of anonymity, confidentiality and consent associated with visual research and practical illustrations such as photographs and images, these findings do not show the respondents or their faces.

4.2. Sources of the Multi-Vocal Story

The researcher was able to do a spatial study of the site through observation, mapping and photographic analysis and conduct a total of 33 interviews (this constituted 2 personnel from McCormick Property Developers, 1 Ward Councillor, 1 member from the Township Entrepreneurs Network (NGO), 2 members of the South African Council of Shopping Centres and Pareto LTD, 3 Municipal Officials, 4 real estate agents from Cosmopolitan Projects, Howell Real Estates and Urban Housing, 10 members of the local community of Vosloorus Extension 10, 16 and 31, and 10 randomly selected users of the Crossing). The spatial analysis was captured in a form of mapping which was used to record spatial narratives of respondents between their homes and retail centres. The first map was used to observe the physical manifestations of change through the comparison of newly established features of the site as a result of the presence of the mall in the area. The photographs were also used to show components associated with the main research object. Interviews were captured in a form of fieldwork notes and transcripts. This was done in order to gather and present as much data from different sources as possible in the form of visuals and text. Key respondents such as real estate agents, municipal officials and property developers were also interviewed as a cautionary measure against telling a single-sided story.

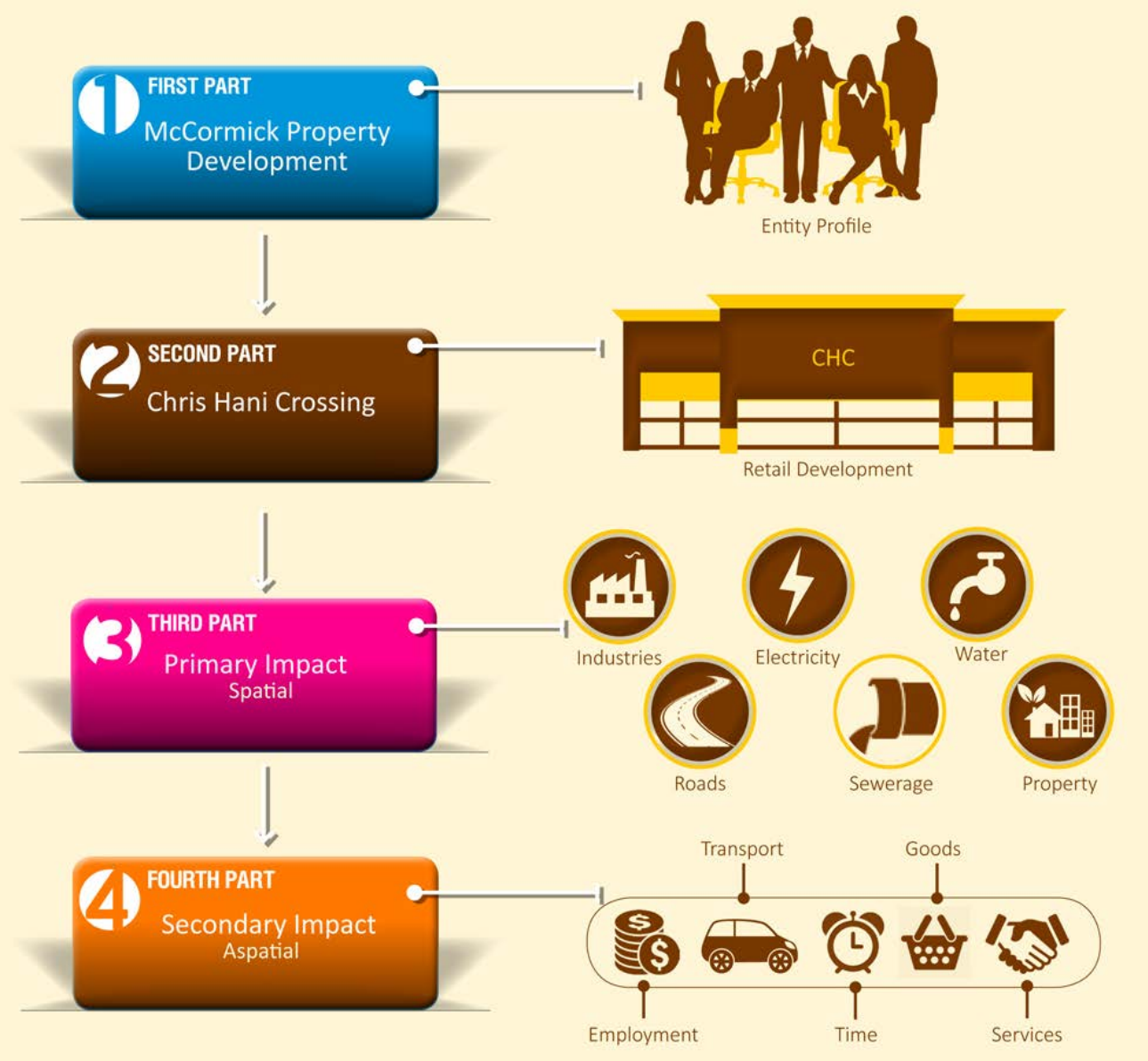


Figure 4.1: *Changes in the Space Economy* - This info-graphic shows the development assessment and a representation of the general findings garnered from the research.
Source: Mtshali, 2015.

The infographic above (Figure 4.1) provides the reader with a graphic representation of the findings. It begins with the profiling of McCormick Property Development as one of the main proponents of the BBBEE-sponsored space economy. This is a section that is meant to link the findings in chapter four to those in the literature review. This is important to briefly look at so as to connect the main objectives of this kind of development with their impact in the space economy of Vosloorus and to briefly answer the question of whether - these malls are developed by the capitalist middle class as a 'capitalist object' used to extract money out of townships or perhaps they are really a 'fetish object' committed to the goal of improving socioeconomic conditions and altering the space economy. The second section focuses on the spatial impact of the establishment which also includes aspatial impact in terms of how this development has changed the

social and economic stance of the community of Vosloorus Extension 16 and 31. Each component as shown on the right in this diagram will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent sections of this chapter.

4.3. McCormick Property Development and the BEE-Sponsored Space Economy

The main object of this research, Chris Hani Crossing among fifty five other completed retail developments, is owned and managed by McCormick Property Development (MPD, 2014). According to the findings McCormick Property Development (MPD) is a company which is an epitome of what has been described in chapter two of this research as a BBBEE compliant private firm whose enterprise and calculated focus is towards strategic investment and transformative economic development in marginalised and peripheral areas. MPD, founded by John McCormick in 1983, has claimed to be the first retail Development Company in South Africa to implement BEE, generally focussing on areas that are devoid of economic infrastructure and opportunities with a resolute commitment to local economic empowerment (MPD 2014; McCormick, 2015). This is in line with what has been discussed in chapter three - the idea that shopping centres in townships are a result of BBBEE companies looking to explore new markets while attending to the socioeconomic responsibility of developing previously marginalised areas. McCormick's aim was to transform Vosloorus from its mono-functional character into a more multi-functional character which would facilitate better access to urban amenities and job opportunities while contributing to the alteration of the distorted space economy (Motsaanaka, 2008 and van der Schyff, 2007). This became ubiquitous in the third space after the relaxation of restrictions pertaining to where and how people, mainly realtors and property developers, can buy and develop land (Roman, 2015).

Furthermore, the firm's development focus is not limited to the local context; it also has development pipeline projects in other countries such as Angola, Ghana, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. Arguments from Adatia (2010) and Maile (2015), as explicated earlier, have conveyed that these establishments are more profit-based and therefore are more committed to making returns on investment rather than achieving the greater goal of promoting spatial and socioeconomic development of previously marginalised areas. According to McCormick (2015) this is not entirely true; shopping centres are a risk and tend to make reasonable returns on investment ten years after their establishment. Their objectives are aligned with those of the municipality aiming to rectify the spatial distortion within Vosloorus and the wider Ekurhuleni area and create liveable spaces. These objectives are outlined in the last segment of this section.

As understood in this research and as put forward by McCormick (2015), there is far too little research done on the impact of retail development in areas where malls are already fully functional. However, the sometimes overlooked knock-on effect of what such entities do is perceivable in these areas but there has never been any means to document or quantify it. Beyond the fact that MPD has developed well over

450 000m^2 Gross Leasable Area, and has created over 45 000 permanent jobs in South Africa and hosts 12 million shoppers monthly, this has a great impact on the space economy of targeted areas (McCormick, 2015). This impact will be further interrogated in subsequent sections.

As per motivation in the memorandum that was in support of the application for the rezoning of ERF 14669 Vosloorus Extension 31 the following development objectives which were in line with the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework and relevant to the application were:

- Development strategies to promote the principle of compact city, focussing on activity nodes, places of residence and transport linkages.
- The development of activity nodes to focus on the creation of an economic growth environment, through the utilisation of activity in nodes and modal interchanges and provide supportive land use management policies and frameworks.
- Coordinate harmonious land use patterns through the implementation of effective land use management policy and legislation.
- Identify developable land for infill development in terms of strategy, socioeconomic value and soil conditions for development.

4.4. New Development Changing the Space Economy - 'We don't own the mall, we own its trickledown'

At first glance the answer to the research question seemed too easy to answer, especially for people who are familiar either with the retail precinct in question or the processes of development partnerships between the private and public sector. By and large, in the Gauteng city-region, municipalities are likely to support the expansion of the retail sector in areas that are currently under-provided with economic facilities, for example the Soweto Retail Strategy and Township Development Programme for Soweto used by the City of Johannesburg to guide and support the expansion of retail in the township (CoJ, 2015; Badenhorst-Weiss and Colliers, 2014). This may be done through incentives or the extension/provision of basic infrastructure and services such as water and electricity. According to McCormick (2015), their development endeavour was not met by such assistance from Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipal authorities responsible with the planning and implementation of economic development projects. This came as a rather unexpected finding. As explicated by McCormick (2015), the city council did not have enough funds to supply or at least extend infrastructure such as electricity, sewer systems, storm water drainage and roads to the area where Chris Hani Crossing was to be built. Consequently, MPD had to build their own sewer plants, upgrade transformers and other infrastructure so they could access water and electricity. The failure of municipalities to initiate,

control, direct or support developments of this nature is often seen as one of the major barriers to socioeconomic and spatial transformation of cities. Contrary to this, Ngcobo (2015) stated that, as per service agreement, the municipality only makes reasonable monetary contributions towards the development. Furthermore he stated that Eskom is a direct provider of electricity in Vosloorus and therefore the municipality has no responsibility to provide such services in the area.

Nonetheless, the servicing, upgrade and expansion of infrastructure in the Bierman and Brickfield road intersection is of greater benefit to the surrounding areas. According to Gwagwa (2014) infrastructure is a catalyst of development which is key for economic and social development, which improves the quality of lives of people. To elaborate on this, from an economic perspective, the availability of municipal infrastructure and services combined with increased pedestrian and vehicle traffic volume has turned the Bierman and Brickfield Road intersection into a prime location for investment. Recently, there was a construction of another convenient shopping centre across the road from Chris Hani Crossing. According to SA Commercial Prop News (2013), the mall is identified as Vosloorus Crossing and was developed by iKwezi Development Trust with an estimated investment of over one hundred million rand (Figure 4.2). This kind of agglomeration has been briefly described as 'sleeping with the frenemy' which denotes co-locating close to a business or competitor which offers similar goods or services to clients thereby drawing more customers to the area increasing aggregate demand and gaining parasitically from the existing consumer base (Datta, 2008). As stated by Bestbier (2015) this is one of the major impacts Chris Hani Crossing has had on the space economy of Vosloorus and also has long term benefits. For instance, the close proximity has become an incentive for these two shopping malls to always find innovative ways to better their service, improve aesthetics or keep up with modern trends of keeping customers such as changing the facade of the mall because of increased competition.

There are other developments to the east of the mall such as houses and smaller commercial activity. There is also a recent development of a number of brick making light industrial activity and the selling of building material and other hardware (Figure 4.4). These developments are advantageously and conveniently located on Bierman Road and Brickfield Road where they are visible to high volumes of vehicular traffic travelling to and from the mall. Brick-making is a traditional industry in the township as it produces bricks which are the main building material in such areas. Furthermore, this industry has contributed economically through the creation of low and semi-skilled job opportunities in the area. There was also an establishment of free-standing low-density township houses to the east of the mall. Kutoana (2015) raised an interesting observation from which we could deduce that malls in townships are not owned by locals but have a significant trickledown effect on the local economy as mentioned above. For instance new developments, which are as a result of the trickledown effect, such as the medical centre (Figure 4.3) and light industries are

owned by locals. Kutoana (2015) further elaborates that development is not only deemed good because it is owned by locals but it is also graded according to the level of benefit locals derive from its existence and operation in that particular area. In addition, seemingly the issue of ownership is not a problem in the case of Chris Hani Crossing and the people of Vosloorus, however people such as the Ward Councillor are mainly concerned about post-development advantages and benefits incurred by locals. Lastly, there are other developments such as the recently established commercial facility to the east of the mall (Figure 4.6). This is a liquor storage facility which stores and sells liquor in bulk, mostly for resale. The location of this facility in the area has also been beneficial to people like Mathebula who runs a licensed liquor business from her house in Vosloorus Extension 16. Undoubtedly these changes have had a drastic impact on the space economy of the immediate surroundings of the mall and the rest of Vosloorus, they also help keep the money circulating within the local economy.



Figure 4.2: *Vosloorus Crossing* - Recently established retail development across the road from Chris Hani Crossing. The co-location of these malls is an epitome of cluster development of nodes selling complementary or related goods and offering similar services to clients thereby incurring common challenges and benefitting from the same opportunities.
Source: Mtshali, 2015.



Figure 4.3: *New Development* - This is a Medical Centre under construction located to the west of the mall which has also capitalised on the availability of increased pedestrian and vehicular traffic. It is the first of its kind in Katlehong and will complement already existing land-uses upon completion.

Source: Mtshali, 2015.



Figure 4.4: *Brick-Making and Light Industrial Development* - This picture shows an example of one of many brick making light industry located opportunely on Bierman Road, approximately a kilometre away from Chris Hani Crossing. These are within easy access for people looking to build new houses or renovate existing ones

Source: Mtshali, 2015.



Figure 4.5: *Residential Property in Vosloorus* - This photograph shows properties which were established since Chris Hani Crossing started operating; these are located less than a kilometre to the east of the mall. The impact of Chris Hani Crossing on the impact of these houses and other residential properties will be discussed further in succeeding sections

Source: Mtshali, 2015.



Figure 4.6: *Liquor Selling Facility* - This is a recently established commercial facility located to the east of the mall, which has also led to the growth of small, sometimes informal, liquor selling businesses in Vosloorus, Spruitview, Katlehong, Windmill Park, Leondale and other local townships.

Source: Mtshali, 2015.

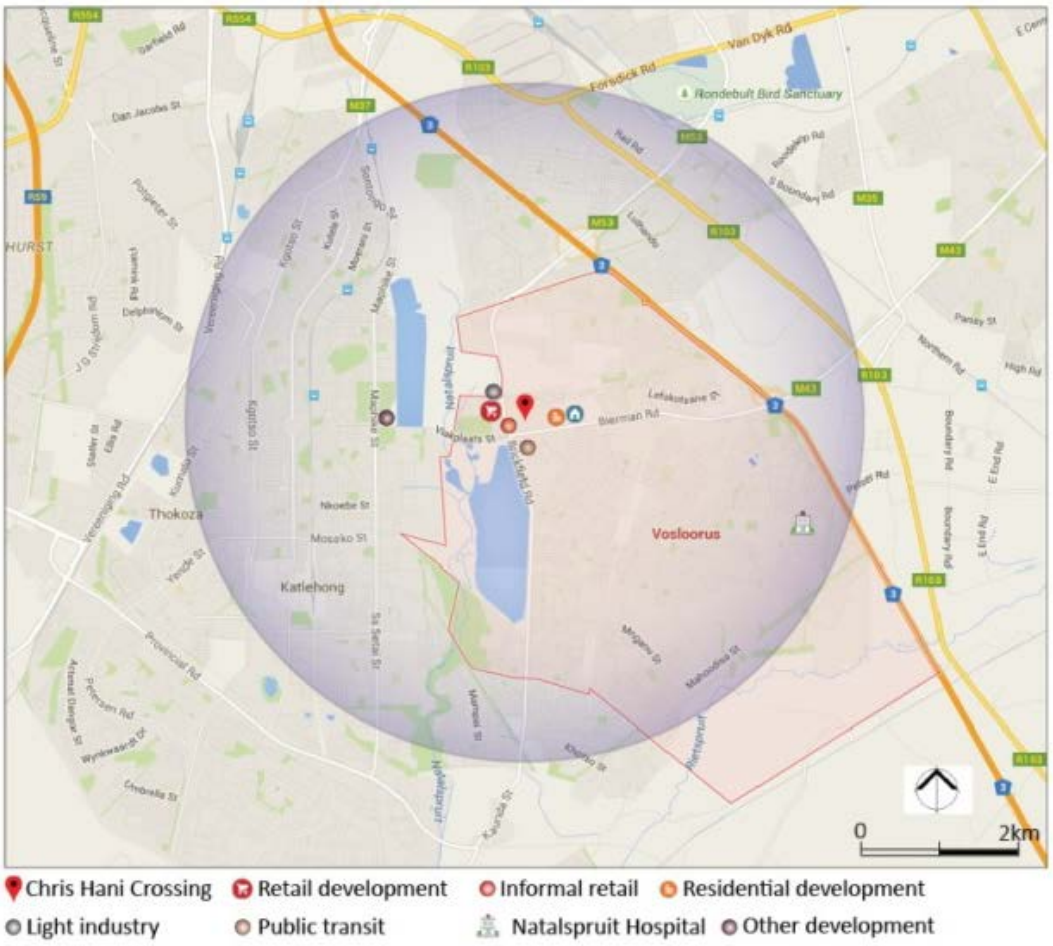
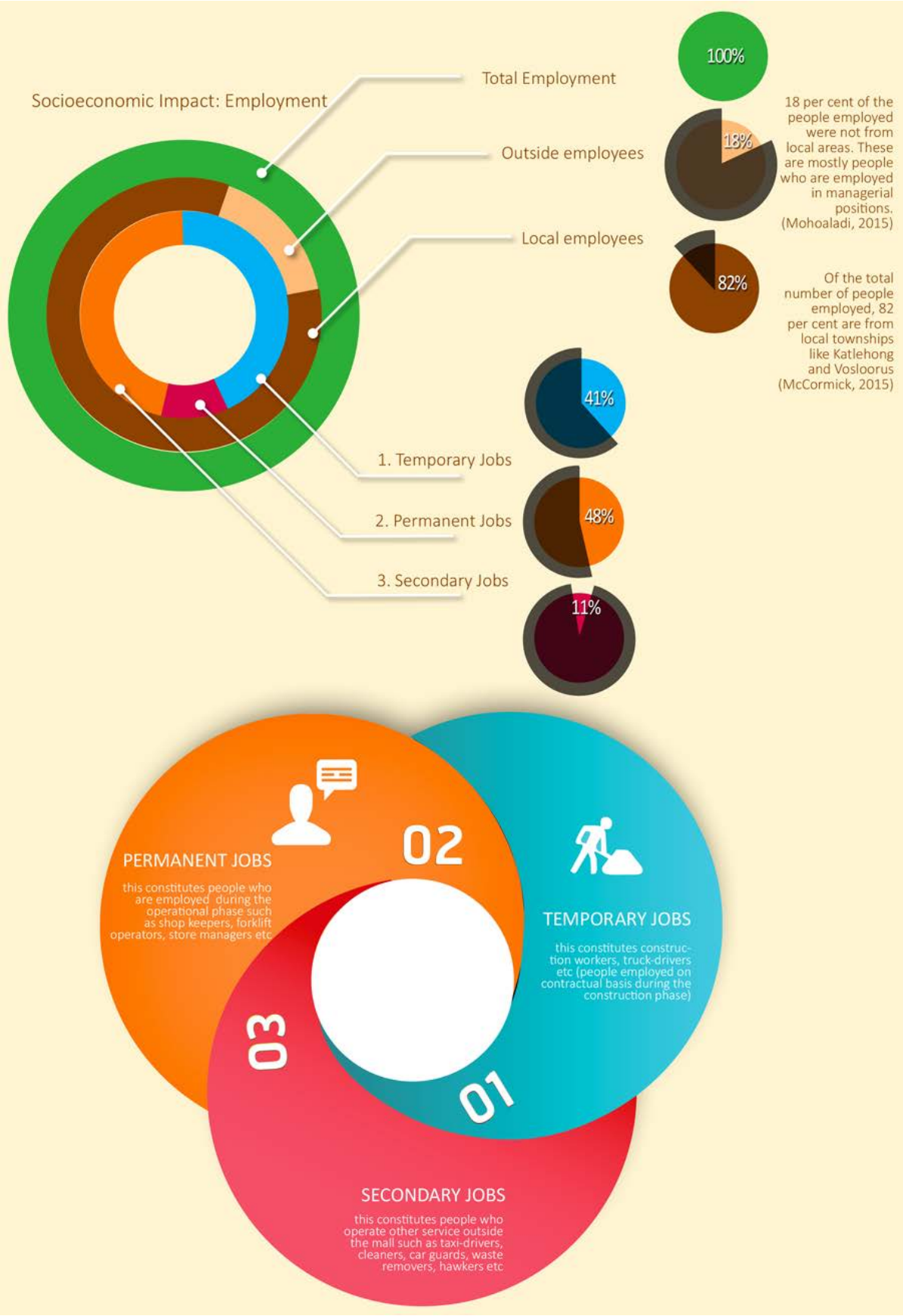


Figure 4.7: *Progression and Change in Landuse* - this map is linked to the previous section and depicts the change in land-use and new developments after the establishment of Chris Hani Crossing in an area that was once a brownfield but has now become a prime location for investment. As shown on the map below, a cluster development pattern is formed at the centre where Chris Hani Crossing is located. This clustering, as explained above, comprises of industries that deal with the sale of complementary or interrelated goods and the offering of similar services to clients. This kind of development has the potential to substitute out-shopping with the new and more socially and economically sustainable one-stop-shopping whereby locals can access everything in one place within a reasonable travelling distance.
Source: Mtshali, 2015.

4.5. Socioeconomic Impact: Employment



Type of Employment	No of people employed
Temporary	1500
Permanent	1750
Secondary	400
Total	**3650**

Figure 4.8a: *Socioeconomic Impact through Employment* - The table above with the info-graphic demonstration shows the number of people employed according to the type of employment.

Source: Mtshali, 2015.

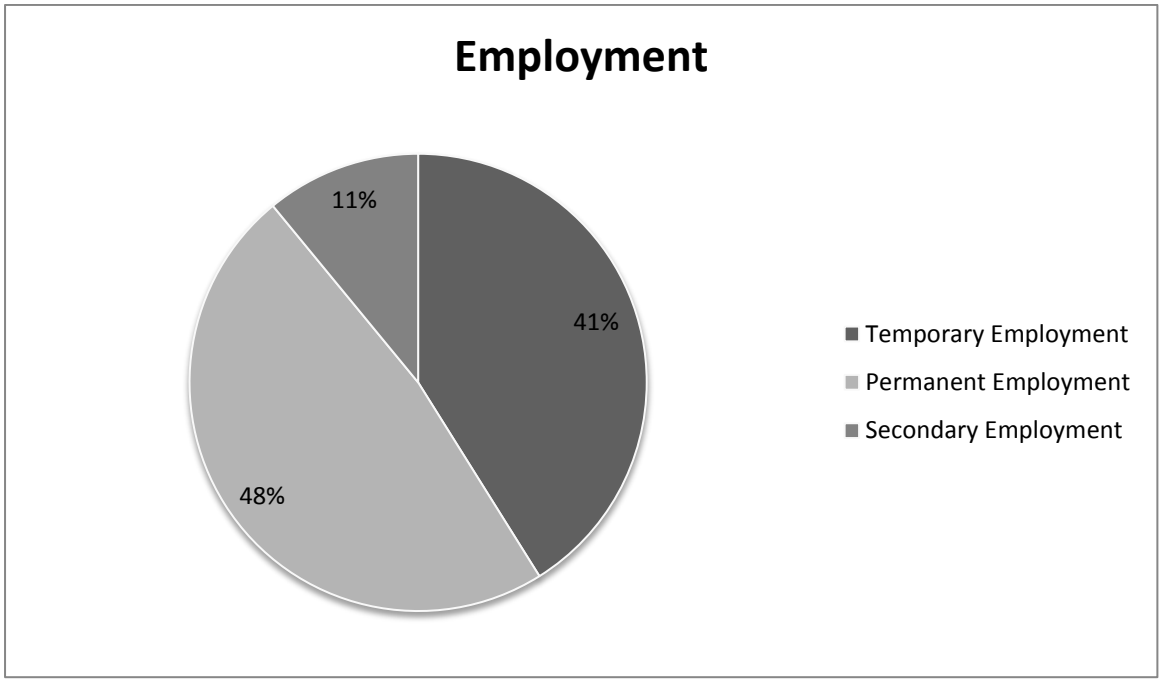


Figure 4.8b: *Level of Employment* by Type –the pie-chart above shows the percentage of employment as per category.

Source: Mtshali, 2015.

*Temporary employment – construction workers, truck-drivers etc. (people employed on contractual basis during the construction phase)

*Permanent employment – shop keepers, forklift operators, store managers etc.

*Secondary employment – taxi-drivers, cleaners, car guards, waste removers, hawkers etc.

*Average income = R 2 500.00 per employee

*82% local employees (from the Khathorus area)

82% of 3650 (total jobs) – 1500 (temporary jobs) = *1763 (local jobs)* x R 2 500.00 (Av. Income)

= R 4 407 500 (in salaries per month)

In terms of employment as a form of commitment to economic investment in the township respondents have retorted with contrasting views. According to McCormick (2015), for each retail development in the township, the private firm is obliged to source 80 per cent of its employees from the local community. This is a requirement set by the government and the remaining 20 per cent includes managerial positions which are usually occupied by people from outside communities because of the issue of the shortage of required experience and qualification. Mohoaladi (2015) has a slightly different perspective. He states that this process is usually dictated by the market through their criteria of recruiting employees. This criterion is inclusive of special [scarce] skills that are usually not found in the township. According to Mohoaladi (2015) an opening of a new store at the mall such as Woolworths does not always translate to new job opportunities for locals because they would sometimes bring their own experienced staff or personnel from elsewhere. Notwithstanding this practice, during the construction phase, people from the Kathorus area have managed to secure temporary and secondary jobs in large numbers. These were generally non-skilled and semi-skilled jobs.

As shown in Annexure E this has responded directly to the goal which was stated in the memorandum from the development planning directorate. It reads as follows "as a government we have a mammoth task to halve unemployment by 2014. This [Chris Hani Crossing] will be helpful to reach that goal. There will be employment, businesses nearer to communities and opportunities for poor local people to open their own businesses."

4.6. Influx, the Rise of Property Values and the Booming Rental Market

As stated by Mohoaladi (2015) "Chris Hani Crossing has taken centre stage as a main economic hub of Ekurhuleni South. As a result we have seen an influx of people in surrounding areas, from Spruitview, Thokozo, Windmill Park, Katlehong, Dawn Park and Zonkizizwe." According to Mohoaladi (2015) Chris Hani Crossing has drawn in a considerable amount of both foot and vehicular traffic to the area and has simultaneously attracted new residents because it provides economic facilities that are not found in nearby shopping centres such as exclusive shops that are rarely found in townships. As per Vernor and Rabianski's (1993) triangle of employment, household and population these components are strongly interrelated. Increased employment opportunities are usually an underlying force behind population and household increase. According Mohoaladi (2015) the market value of houses in extension sixteen and thirty one respectively has increased due to their proximity to the mall. Based on the house pricing model of Howell Real Estate Agents, the value of a property is affected by a number of both internal and external features such as location features, the physical attributes of the property, as well as environmental and financial conditions (Seago, 2015 and Howell, 2015). This was further explicated by Howell (2015) and Mokoena

(2015) from Howell Real Estate Agents, who maintained that Chris Hani Crossing is added, among other facilities such as schools, as a decisive factor for the valuation and sale of residential property in Vosloorus. He further states that homebuyers looking to buy houses closer to the mall pay an extra premium due to their proximity to the economic node.

From this explanation it can be deduced that proximity to a shopping centre is perceived as a positive externality since homebuyers will not have to travel long distances to access economic opportunities or quality goods and services, and tends to influence a buyer's decision. In the case of Vosloorus these positive effects are often counteracted by unanticipated negative externalities, which will be discussed further in the body of this section, such as crime and noise pollution. According to Howell (2015) as the level of agglomeration continues to bulge negative externalities may have a more counteractive powerful effect and overshadow positive externalities. This makes it apparent that there is more than one force at play. In light of this, as discussed in chapter two, existing literature does not show clear consensus on whether externalities have a positive or negative impact on property values of adjacent areas as in the case of Vosloorus – which has a combination of both externalities. From the interviews both extremes were reported. While a proportion of respondents who were interviewed, mostly those who were within a reasonable travelling distance, reported to be benefiting from positive outcomes since they no longer had to travel relatively long distances to access economic opportunities, and save on transport costs and so forth. However, this had no significant impact on the property values while, others, who were literally a short walk away from the mall claimed to be experiencing both positive and negative externalities. Respondents such as Chauke and Sibanda have complained about the level of crime in the mall that affects the surroundings. In the latter, property values would be expected to decrease immensely because of the issues of crime but real estate agents would rather use positive externalities to impact property values in their favour. Properties further away from the mall were less affected.

The positive externalities of Chris Hani Crossing on the space economy of Vosloorus and the prices of proximate residential properties may be offset by a number of negative externalities which were identified in the previous section such as the level of congestion and its impact on road infrastructure, noise pollution from delivery trucks at night as well as issues of crime. However, studies have indicated that residential property values depend on a number of factors such as the density of commercial or retail development in the neighbourhood as well as the distance of houses from the development. Smaller developments yield great benefits in terms of residential property values and prices whereas the bigger commercial or retail development result in increased negative externalities that have a negative influence on residential property prices and values (Figure 4.9).

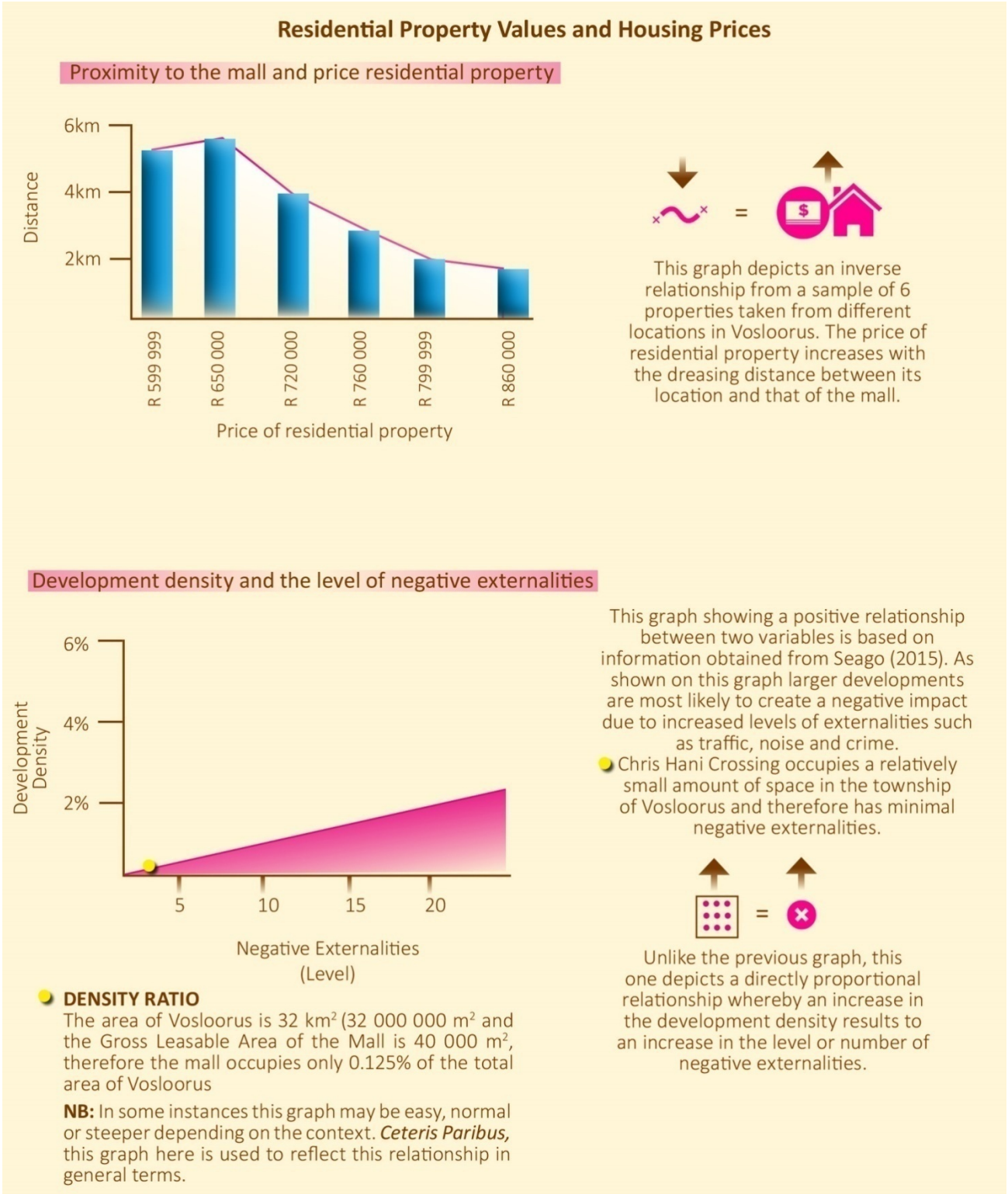


Figure 4.9a: Residential Property Values and Housing Prices - This info-graphic shows the relationship between distance, development density and property values
Source: Mtshali, 2015.

The findings portray a localised character of the impact in Vosloorus, in a sense that other areas have portrayed different outcomes. Seago (2015) considers the optimal distance to be between 800 and 3200

metres and further explains that the negative impact on residential property located very close to the mall would be high (considering that living right next to the centre would probably have the most negative impact) (Jhetam, 2015). This negative impact decreases as one moves further away, considering it would become more pleasant, safe and quiet as one moves a few metres outwards. This would be the case between 0 and 800 metres from the centre. As one moves out increasing property values offset the negative impact and those properties are still close enough to the centre to warrant good value in property. Between 800 and 3200 metres the graph shows an upward trend in the negative impacts (i.e. the negative impacts are increasing as one gets further away) due to the fact that distance from the centre has now come into play – the residences, as one gets further away from the centre, tend to lose value. After 3200metres from the centre, the graph would start to fall (possibly all the way to zero)in terms of negative impact caused by the centre because eventually, the residents as one moves further outwards would not in any way be affected by the presence of the mall. Therefore, any high or low property values would not be caused by the mall but rather by other factors (Jhetam, 2015).

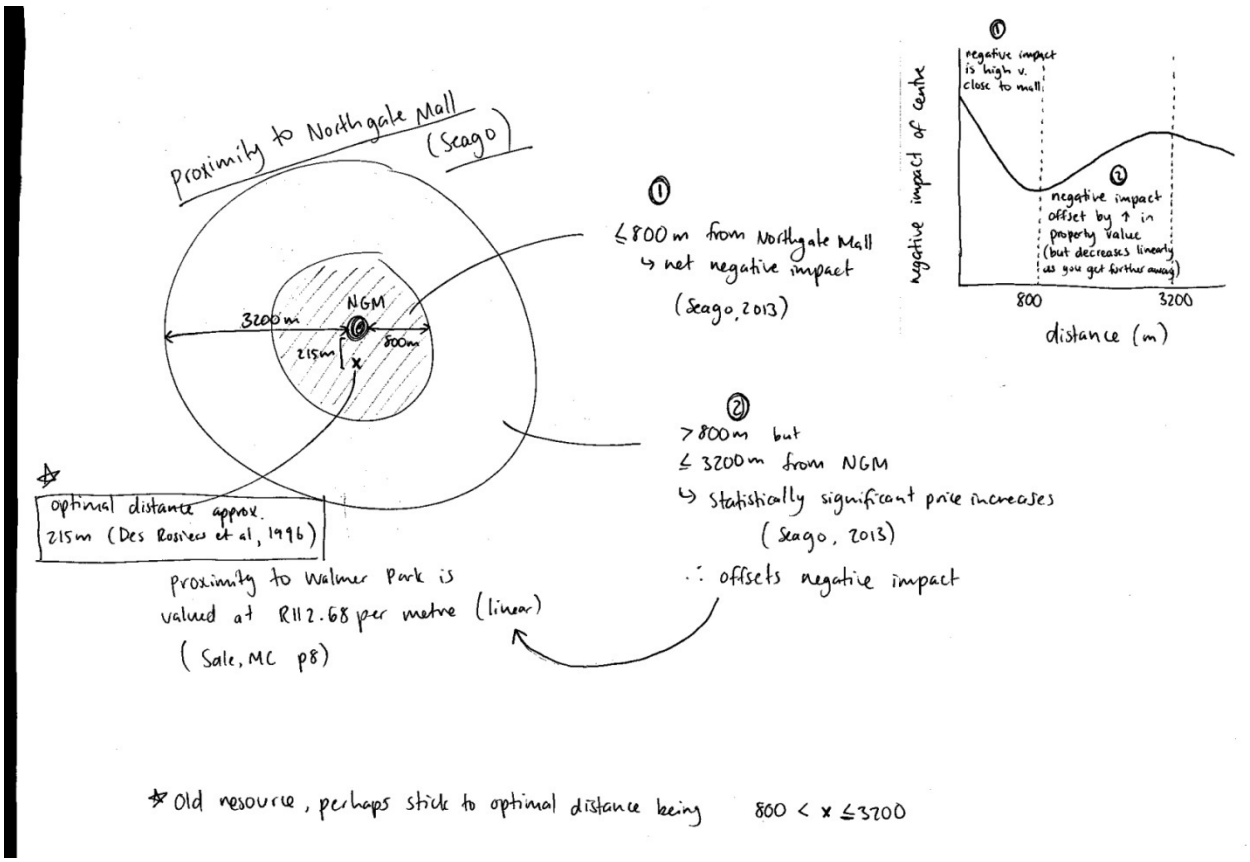


Figure 4.9b: *Magnitude of Impact and Distance from the Mall* - This info-graphic shows the relationship between distance, development density and property values from the Northgate Mall experience.

Source: Jhetam, 2015.

The comparison of the price of houses in the area before and after the establishment of Chris Hani Crossing was close to impossible to track because of the unavailability of the record of houses which were sold before the establishment of Chris Hani Crossing. The comparison of six property prices of houses with the same lot size, number of bedrooms and bathrooms situated in different radiuses from the mall, as suggested by realtors, shows that residential properties have different price ranges depending on their proximity to the mall (Figure 4.10). The ones located within a two kilometre radius are the most expensive and the further out one moves, the prices of residential properties gets less expensive (Figure 4.9 and 4.10). According to Khoza (2015) "residential property standards and prices in Vosloorus are now comparable with to the ones in Soweto where property prices *over one point*[2] would not be questionable because of the level of development in the area".

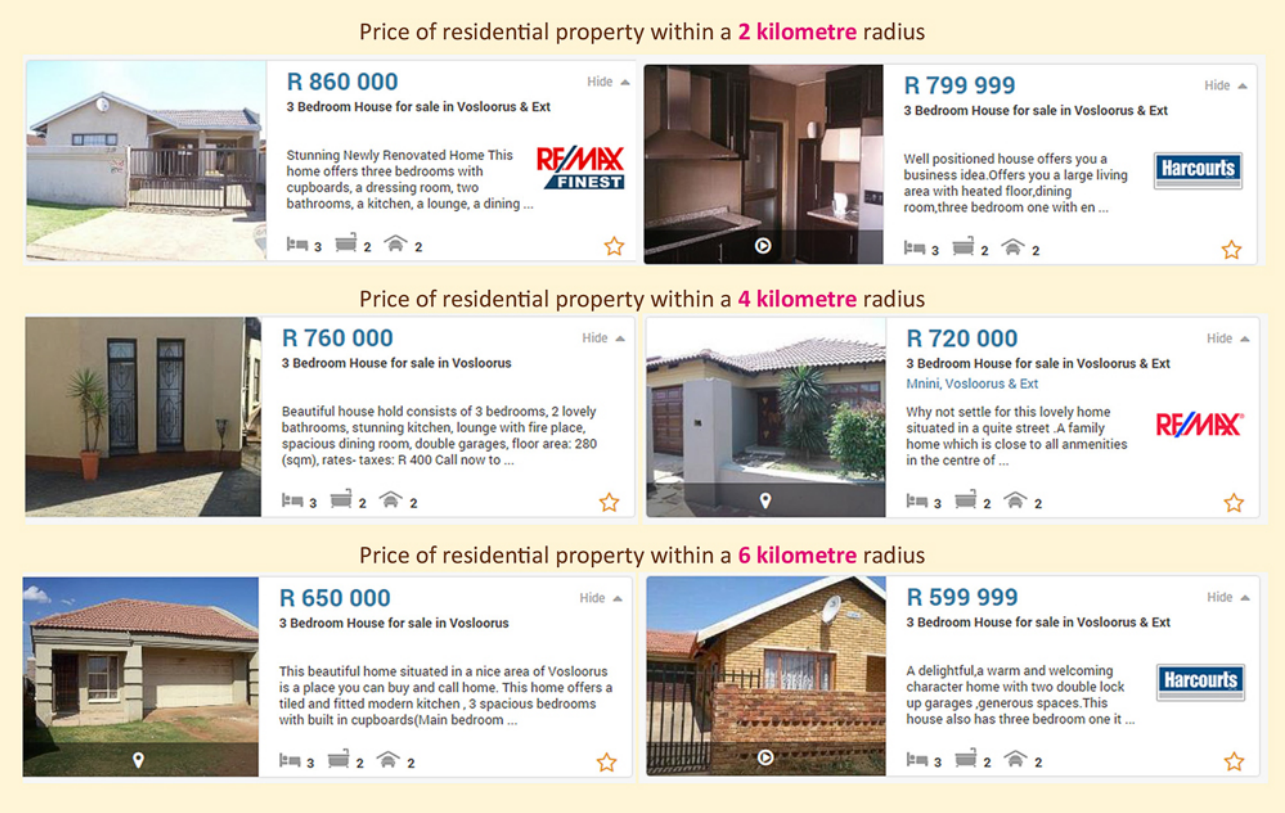


Figure 4.10a: *Price of Residential Property within a 2 Kilometre Radius* - This is a comparison of residential properties, each pair located within a different radius.
Source: Property 24, 2015.

Chris Hani Crossing only occupies less than two per cent of the total neighbourhood space and the findings show that the closer the houses in Vosloorus are to the mall and other facilities around it, the higher the prices of the properties thereby validating the two hypotheses of distance and density of development. However, this does not mean that there are no negative externalities; it shows that real estate agents

[2] worth more than one million

choose to factor in positive externalities only in their pricing model or alternately denotes that the positive accessibility effect outweighs negative externalities. This has led to the growth of the property business in the area (Figure 4.11). Despite the limitations of this method or the partly-employed hedonic regression model, the findings are consistent with the existing theory of retail/commercial development impact on residential property values or prices. Nonetheless, Viruly (2015) an associate professor Department of Construction Economics and Management at UCT and a property economist, has argued that the building of malls and shopping centres in townships is one of the main boosting factors and drivers of this residential property market growth to which rental are also a significant part. The price of houses located close to newly built malls tends to increase by almost 50 per cents, rising from R 300 000.00 to R 500 000.00 (Viruly, 2015).



Figure 4.11: *House Sale Advertisement* - This is a back to back A5 size advertisement that was obtained from Cosmopolitan Projects offices at Chris Hani Crossing. It shows models of houses usually sold in the residential property market
Source: Khoza, 2015.

There has also been a rise of the backyard rental market which has added extra income for households around the mall. This was attested to by Mr John Thabaneng, a 47 year old retiree, who stated that "employees from the mall rent out three of my backrooms, so that is my main source of income". He is among many others who have extended their homes with granny flats or formally constructed backyard rooms and rented them out to tenants, most of whom are employed at the mall but cannot afford houses in Vosloorus, as a source of income. This is a creative response to the changing space economy. Back-yarding has always been part of the township's identity and culture, and has become more lucrative in areas located close to the mall. However, it is also important to note that not all highlighted backyard rooms on the map below are rented out, some are used to house relatives or extended family members. Furthermore, as put forward by Ngcobo (2015), it is close to impossible to deal with or manage the use of property in townships like Vosloorus because, with reference to the applications received by the town planning department, an owner would want to run a business and still reside on the same property. He further stated that property is

an important tool to possess because it has both exchange and use value and most black communities tend to focus more on the use value and less on its exchange value.

Nevertheless, according to Mhlanga (2011) and Loos (2013) the house price growth of previously marginalised black areas, identified as third spaces in this research, have been outperforming areas previously categorised as 'white suburbs' since the property market resuscitated from the 2009 recession. In addition, The Economist (2015) points out the fact that houses in black townships such as Soweto are almost equally priced as those in white suburbs. The positive growth of the house price index is attributable to the fact that townships have change from being mono-functional spaces to areas of mixed-use development making townships congenial places of residence boasting high class shopping malls, entertainment as well as recreational facilities (Mhlanga, 2011 and The Economist, 2015). This is also as a result of the new housing stock that is brought to the market at relatively higher prices than the existing housing stock (Mhlanga, 2011 and Loos, 2013). Furthermore, townships still remain the most affordable and preferable places to live especially for those who are between the low and middle income bracket, and those whose 'roots' are in the township.

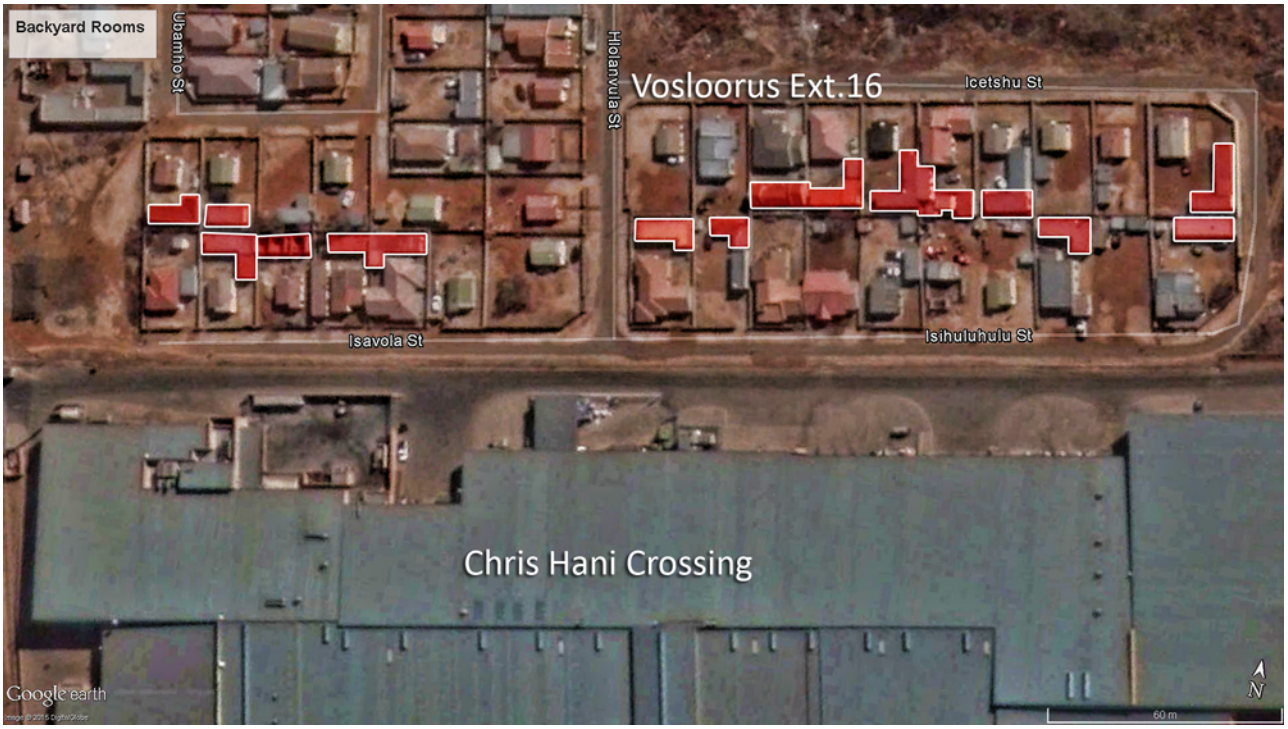


Figure 4.12: *Backyarding in Extension 16* - This image shows formally constructed backyard rooms in Vosloorus Extension 16 in the two blocks bordering the mall on the northern edge.
Source: Mtshali, 2015 – adapted from Google Earth Pro, 2015.

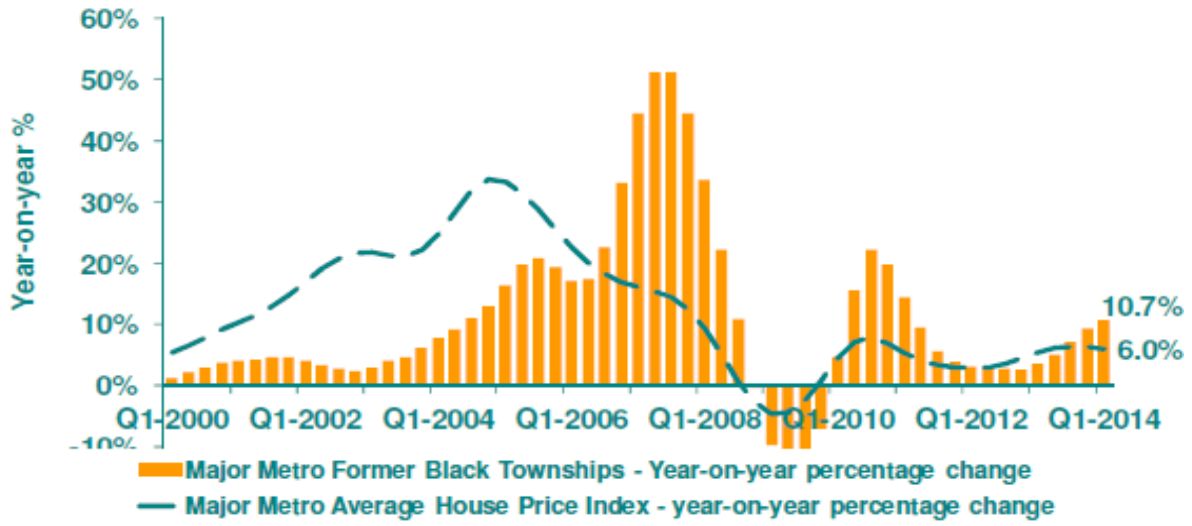


Figure 4.13: *Major Metro Former Black Township House Price* Growth - This graph, which is based on statistics gathered from the metropolitan region of Cape Town, Ekurhuleni, Ethekwini, Johannesburg, Nelson Mandela Bay and Tshwane, illustrates a 10.7% price growth in the first quarter of the year 2014, beating the 9.4% of the previous year. This figure rose again to 11.6% during the first quarter of the year 2015.
Source: Loos, 2014 and Tlhabi, 2015.

4.7. Other Economic Spinoffs of Retail Development in Townships

In most literature used in chapter two of this research the development of retail in townships has been identified as a negative establishment that cripples the existing traditional informal retail structure of the environment within which it is located. From this research, even though spaza shops and informal retail owners were not targeted, it can be deduced that Chris Hani Crossing has had positive externalities on the surrounding areas. To elaborate on this argument, a third of the respondents reported to have benefited economically from the mall. These are people like Ms Chauke who runs an informal spaza inside her house, Ms Nurse who sells liquor from home and Mr Thabaneng who rents out his formally constructed backyard rooms to tenants who are employees in one of the shops at Chris Hani Crossing. These economic spinoffs obtained from the fieldwork are contrary to what was discussed at great length in the literature review. This solidifies the presumption that malls have different impacts in different areas.

4.8. Public Transit Systems: The Necessity Unplanned For



Figure 4.14: *Taxis Parked outside the Mall* - This picture shows predominant public transit modes parked outside the mall.
Source: Mtshali, 2015.

As stated by Mohoaladi (2015) "it [Chris Hani Crossing] has created a negative transport system, especially on weekends. Congestion is usually at its peak because the main roads bordering the mall are also used to connect other townships like Katlehong and Thokoza to cemeteries in Rondebult, so the congestion is really massive on weekends (Figure 4.16). Also when it is month end, when people are paid, they rush to those shops." One of the main reasons could possibly be poor planning or failure to anticipate the impact on public transit modes (Mohoaladi, 2015). Furthermore, the mall does not provide enough parking spaces for these public transport systems. One of the main reasons for such negative impacts could be the underestimated threshold population which would support the shopping mall (Ngcobo, 2015). The assumption throughout the development was that the mall would mostly cater for locals who live in a predominantly residential Vosloorus and are within short travelling distances that would not create this level of demand on public transport (Ngcobo, 2015). Consequently the mall has attracted shoppers or visitors in large numbers from neighbouring townships such as Katlehong, Leondale, Spruitview and Thokoza. The largest proportions of these locals depend on public transport as a means of travelling between home and Chris Hani Crossing.

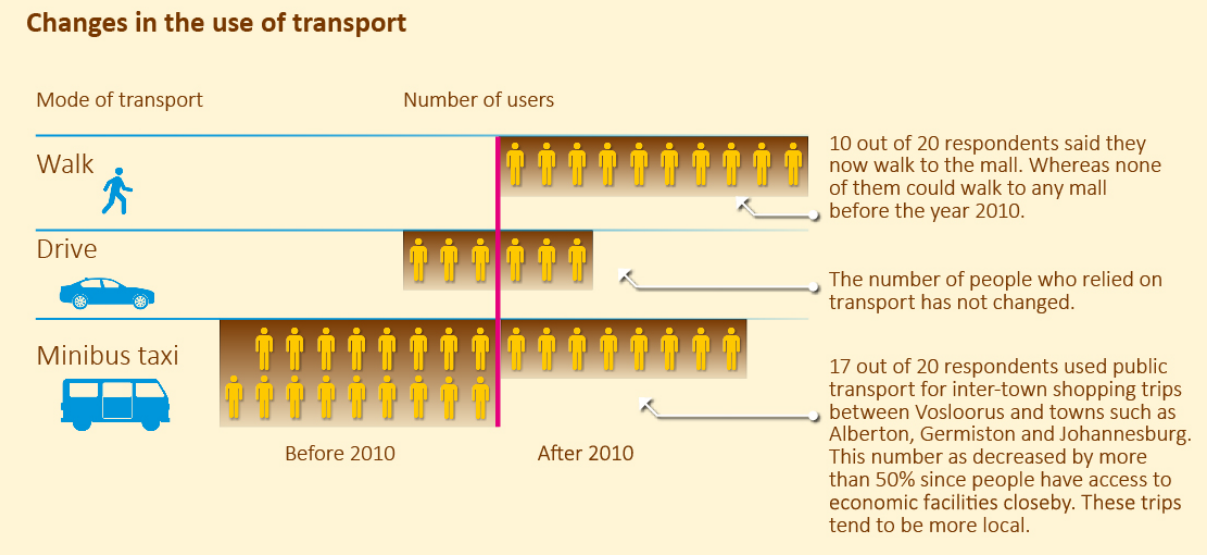


Figure 4.15: Changes in the use of Transport - This does not only show the change in the use of transport but also shows changes in expenditure on transport as a result of changing shopping patterns.

Source: Mtshali, 2015.



Figure 4.16: *Traffic Congestion and Poor Road Infrastructure* - This photograph depicts the condition of the road infrastructure and the level of congestion on Bierman Road on a busy weekend during the day.

Source: Mtshali, 2015.

4.9. Other Negative Elements Associated With the Development

As stated by Mohoaladi (2015) "It [Chris Hani Crossing] has also brought in the criminal element. We have had a number of burglaries there, cash heists and the killing of policemen." Other locals such as Chauke (2015) have also expressed their concern about the issue of crime in the area. She does not feel safe in her own home because criminals usually run to their yards and hide behind or even inside their houses. According to Mohoaladi (2015) the most recent activity was when a policeman was shot at point blank while they were doing their morning rounds - monitoring the precinct while shopkeepers where opening the stores (Figure 4.7). Other interviewees like Motloung (2015), as expressed in their own words, do not entirely appreciate the presence of the mall in the area because it has become a haven for criminals to rob and mug people. For this respondent this is a matter of security which is currently minimal and not always visible, especially outside the mall. Motloung (2015) is not a regular visitor or shopper at Chris Hani Crossing because he does not want to become a victim of stray bullets or a victim of robbery or mugging incidents. The targeting of the shops inside the mall by criminals has also turned police officers into victims because they usually visit the mall unwarily that a criminal activity could be in progress inside any of the shops. This is a negative externality which may negatively influence people's perceptions and also have a negative impact on residential property values of surrounding sections. The crime element is inevitable but can be mitigated. "A mall must not create an island of security, it must be part of the community otherwise it will have a negative effect… what would happen is that as soon as you walk out of that boundary you get mugged" (Roman, 2015). In a sense, a negative impact such as crime may be mitigated when a mall is part of the community, which may see the need to protect what belongs to them.


JUST IN: Vosloorus cop shot dead by robbers

A 34-year-old Vosloorus SAPS constable was shot dead by a gang of robbers at the Vosloorus Crossing Shopping Complex just before 8am this morning (July 29).

July 29, 2015

Figure 4.17: *News Paper Article* - This is a snippet from an article that was released by Kathorus Mail detailing the shooting of a policeman at Chris Hani Crossing.

Source: Kathorus Mail, 2015.

4.10. Shopping, the Weekend Experience: Between the Past and the Present

The current political dispensation, which has come with the less restriction on where people can buy and develop land, allowed for the private sector to instigate economic development in areas where in was utterly prohibited. This has had a huge impact on shopping patterns and profiles (Roman, 2015). As put across by Potelwa (2010) shopping in townships is recognised as a weekend experience for the family hence this section was based on weekend shopping patterns of locals. During the week most people still embark on long journeys between home and work, like Thulisile who could not find employment close by and has to commute on daily basis to Springs - an old town in Ekurhuleni located 50 kilometres away from Vosloorus. Xolani Makhubu shares a similar but more detailed story. He owns a construction and renovation firm for which he could not procure a tender or secure a deal when Chris Hani Crossing was built. Mr Makhubu travels between Edenvale and Vosloorus on daily basis during the week, where his firm is contracted. However, a consistent finding in this research is that shopping distances travelled over the weekend have become shorter as a result of travelling patterns of locals which have changed from out-shopping to one-stop local shopping where everything, in terms of goods and services, is available in one area. For example Chauke, Nkadimeng and Sibiya (2015) stated that they used to go to the Joburg CBD to purchase clothes and Germiston or Alberton for month-end groceries. The coming in of Chris Hani Crossing and Vosloorus Crossing with a good tenant mix of shops such as Shoprite, Spar and Pick n Pay serves them well with goods they would otherwise shop elsewhere for. This research has no interest in the kind of people who use these facilities but the literature review introduced the idea that malls come into townships as a result of middle class demand of better facilities as those afforded to their counterparts in affluent regions. Interestingly, Mohoaladi (2015) mentioned in passing that the mall is mostly visited by low income groups who have long waited for this development to occur so they can save money spent on transport, others who are relatively well-off still travel to town for shopping.

This section of the findings seeks to show how travelling patterns have changed.

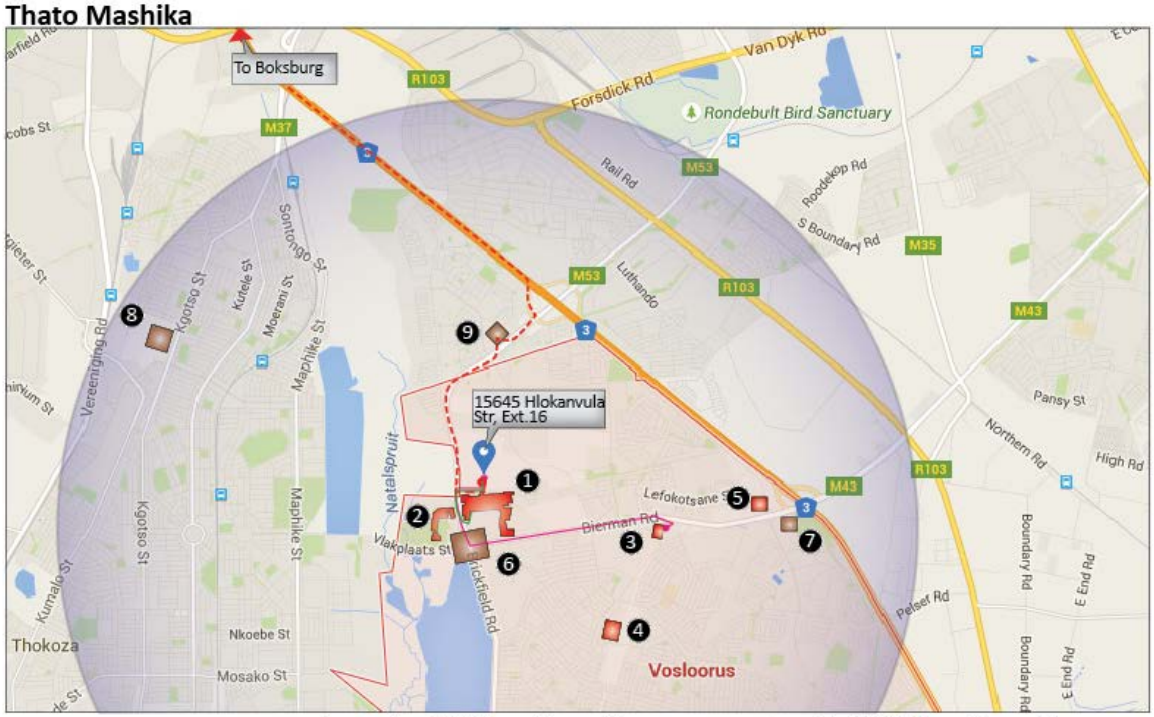
- The pink line denotes local relatively short trips
- The red line reflects out-shopping patterns usually in towns such as Alberton, Germiston, Boksburg and so forth.
- The green line represents post-2010 local trips to Chris Hani Crossing

John Thabaneng



Name and surname	John Thabaneng
Age	45-54
Occupation	Unemployed
Gender	Male
Frequency of mall visitation	5 times a week
Mode of transport	Walk (sometimes use a car for groceries)
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Lesedi Shopping Complex (Volsoorus) and Golden Walk (Germiston)
Reasons for visits	Banking, shop and pay accounts
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	None
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, it is the nearest and most convenient
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“Employees from the mall rent out three of my backrooms, so that is my main source of income”

Thato Mashika



1 Chris Hani Crossing
2 Vosloorus Crossing
3 Cambridge Food
4 Lesedi Complex
5 Gold Spot Shopping centre
6 Taxi rank (CHC)
7 Taxi rank (Gold Spot)
8 Taxi rank (Natalspruit)
9 Taxi rank (Spruitview)
5 Kilometer radius

Pre-2010 travelling patterns

Cambridge Food
3.2 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

Boksburg
38.0 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R42.00 return trip)

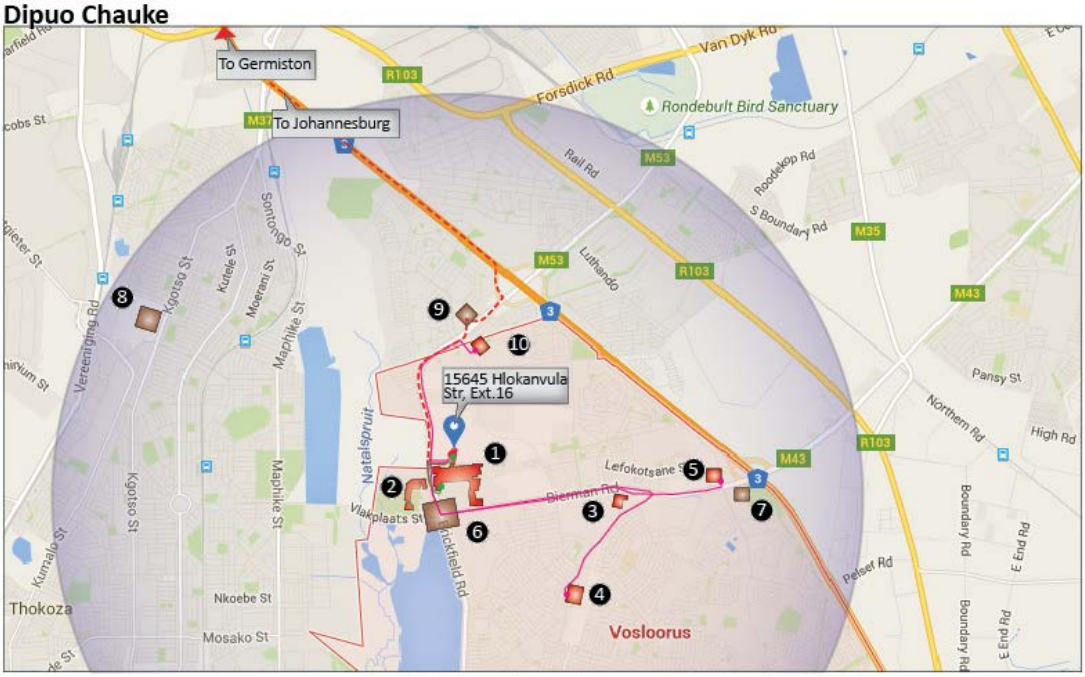
Post-2010 travelling patterns

Chris Hani Crossing
400 m travelling distance
No transport fare

0 2km

Name and surname	Thato Mashika
Age	18-24
Occupation	Student (Netcare – Auckland Park)
Gender	Female
Frequency of mall visitation	Twice a week
Mode of transport	Walk and drive
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	East Rand Mall (Boksburg)
Reasons for visits	Banking, shop and pay accounts
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	Cambridge food (Vosloorus)
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, because of month-end specials and bargains
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“We have access to good close by and we do not have to go to town anymore”

Dipuo Chauke



1 Chris Hani Crossing
2 Vosloorus Crossing
3 Cambridge Food
4 Lesedi Complex
5 Gold Spot Shopping Centre
6 Taxi rank (CHC)
7 Taxi rank (Gold Spot)
8 Taxi rank (Natalspruit)
9 Taxi rank (Spruitview)
10 Spruitview Shopping Centre

5 Kilometer radius

Pre-2010 travelling patterns

Gold Spot Shopping Centre
3.6 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

Lesedi Shopping Complex
5 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

Spruitview Shopping Centre
2.2 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

Germiston
19.3 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R40.00 return trip)

Johannesburg CBD
28.6 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R42.00 return trip)

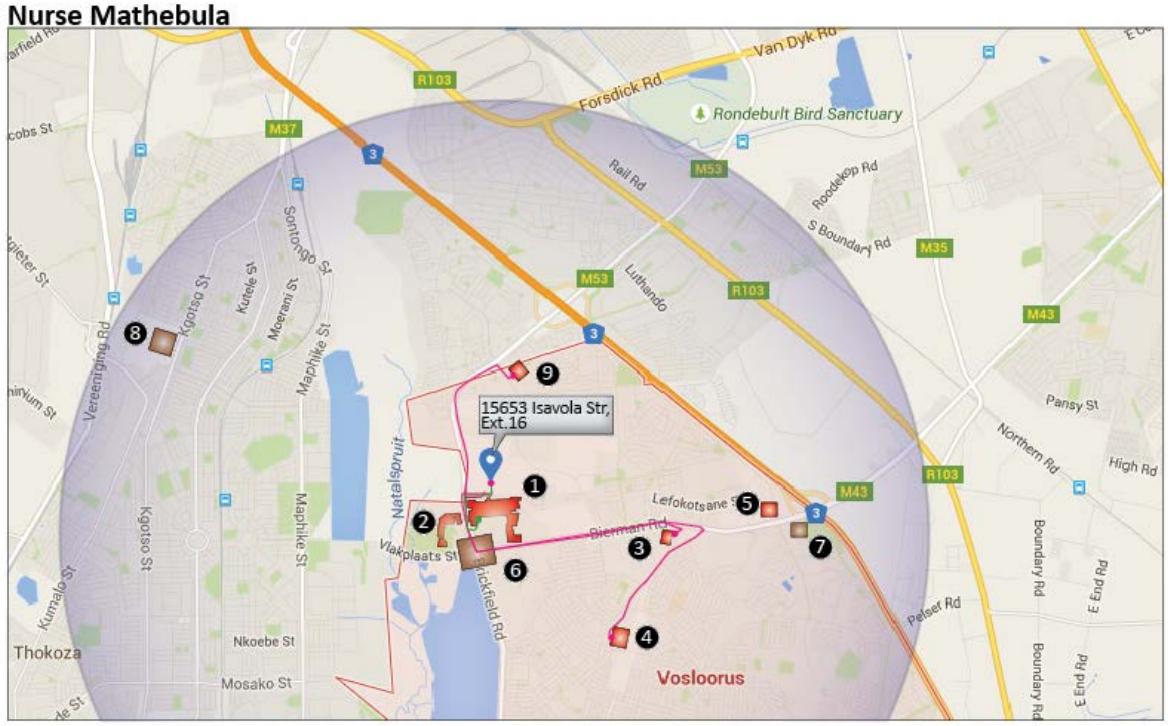
Post-2010 travelling patterns

400 m travelling distance
No transport fare

0 2km

Name and surname	Dipuo Chauke
Age	45-54
Occupation	Self-employed (sells snacks from the house)
Gender	Female
Frequency of mall visitation	More than 7 times a week
Mode of transport	Walk
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Joburg, Germiston, Lesedi Shopping Centre (Vosloorus), Gold Spot (Vosloorus) and Spruitview Shopping Centre.
Reasons for visits	Banking and shopping
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	None
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, cheap food and month-end specials
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“I can buy bulk goods from the mall to sell and that is where we buy our clothes”

Nurse Mathebula



1 Chris Hani Crossing
2 Vosloorus Crossing
3 Cambridge Food
4 Lesedi Complex
5 Gold Spot Shopping centre
6 Taxi rank (CHC)
7 Taxi rank (Gold Spot)
8 Taxi rank (Natalspruit)
9 Spruitview Shopping Centre
5 Kilometer radius

Pre-2010 travelling patterns

Lesedi Shopping Complex
4.7 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

Cambridge Food
3.2 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

Spruitview Shopping Centre
2.3 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

Post-2010 travelling patterns

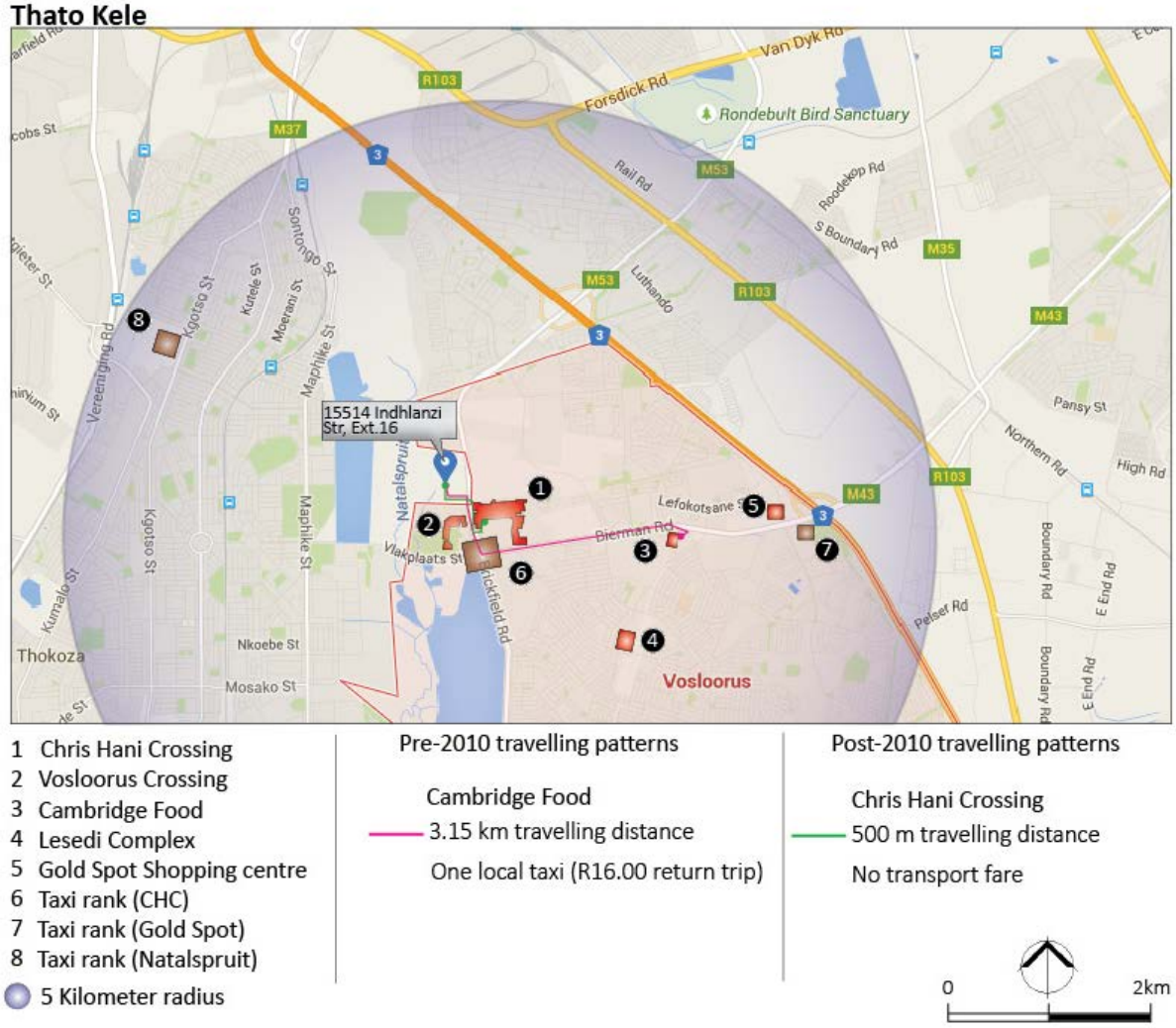
Chris Hani Crossing
300 m travelling distance
No transport fare

Cambridge Food
3.2 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

0 2km

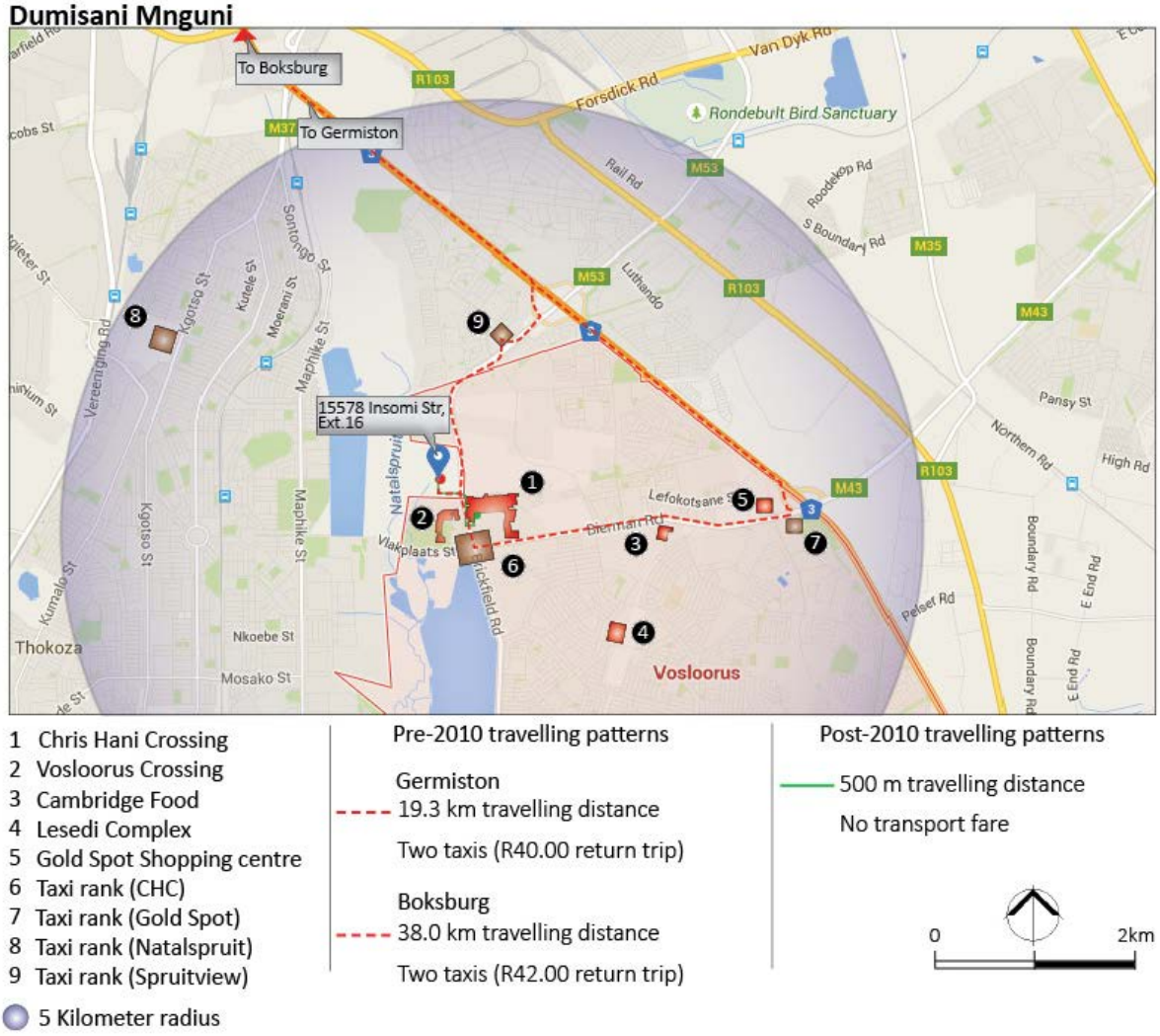
Name and surname	Nurse Mathebula
Age	55-64
Occupation	Self-employed
Gender	Female
Frequency of mall visitation	3 times a day
Mode of transport	Walk during the week and drive on weekends
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Cambridge Foods (Vosloorus), Lesedi Shopping Centre (Vosloorus) and Spruitview Shopping Centre
Reasons for visits	Shop and pay accounts
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	Cambridge food (Vosloorus)
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, because spaza shops are expensive, only go there at night when the mall is closed.
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“That is where is get my stuff to sell for my business”

Thato Kele



Name and surname	Thato Kele
Age	18-24
Occupation	Student (University of Johannesburg- Doornfontein)
Gender	Female
Frequency of mall visitation	Once on month-end
Mode of transport	Walk
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Cambridge Food (Vosloorus)
Reasons for visits	Shop and pay accounts
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	Vosloorus Crossing (Spar)
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, reasonable prices
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“We save because we do not have to catch taxis to town anymore and that is where we bank, shop and buy clothes”

Dumisani Mnguni



1 Chris Hani Crossing
2 Vosloorus Crossing
3 Cambridge Food
4 Lesedi Complex
5 Gold Spot Shopping centre
6 Taxi rank (CHC)
7 Taxi rank (Gold Spot)
8 Taxi rank (Natalspruit)
9 Taxi rank (Spruitview)

5 Kilometer radius

Pre-2010 travelling patterns

Germiston
19.3 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R40.00 return trip)

Boksburg
38.0 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R42.00 return trip)

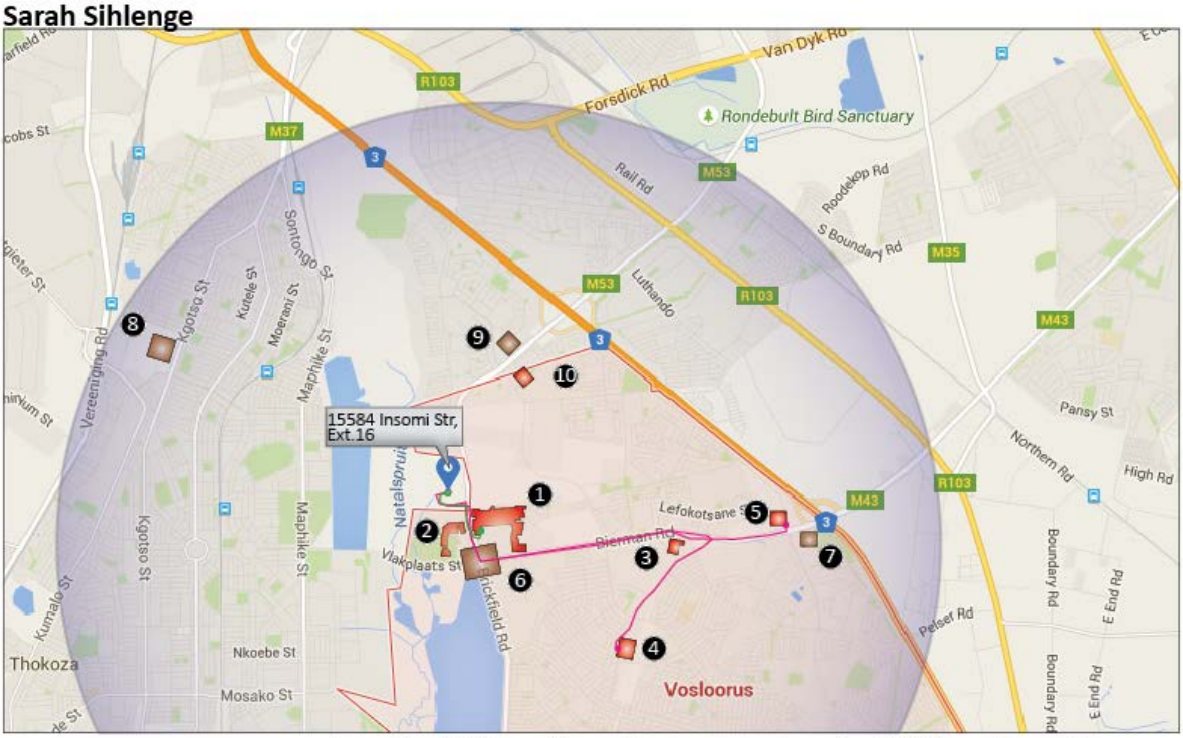
Post-2010 travelling patterns

500 m travelling distance
No transport fare

0 2km

Name and surname	Dumisani Mnguni
Age	25-34
Occupation	Deliveryman (Chris Hani furniture shops and hardware)
Gender	Male
Frequency of mall visitation	7 times a day on average
Mode of transport	Drive
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	East Rand Mall and Germiston
Reasons for visits	Work and Shopping
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	None
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, cheaper goods
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“If it wasn’t for Chris Hani Crossing I wouldn’t be employed”

Sarah Sihlenge



1 Chris Hani Crossing
2 Vosloorus Crossing
3 Cambridge Food
4 Lesedi Complex
5 Gold Spot Shopping Centre
6 Taxi rank (CHC)
7 Taxi rank (Gold Spot)
8 Taxi rank (Natalspruit)
9 Taxi rank (Spruitview)
10 Spruitview Shopping Centre

5 Kilometer radius

Pre-2010 travelling patterns

Gold Spot Shopping Centre
3.6 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

Lesedi Shopping Complex
5 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

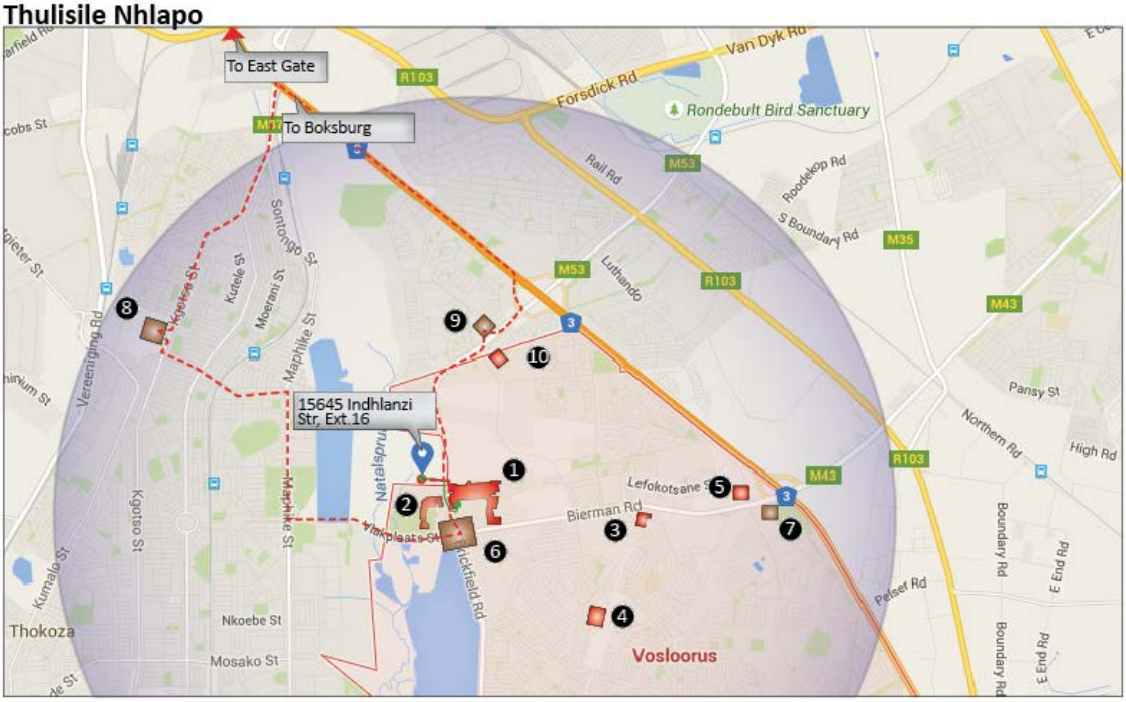
Post-2010 travelling patterns

400 m travelling distance
No transport fare

0 2km

Name and surname	Sarah Sihlenge
Age	65-74
Occupation	Self-employed (sells liquor)
Gender	Female
Frequency of mall visitation	7 time a week
Mode of transport	Walk
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Lesedi Shopping Centre (Vosloorus) and Gold Spot
Reasons for visits	Banking and shopping
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	Vosloorus Crossing
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, because spaza shops are expensive, only go there at night when the mall is closed.
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“We no longer have to spend money on transport, since we walk to the mall it’s a good exercise for elderly people like myself, it’s like gym”

Thulisile Nhlapo



1 Chris Hani Crossing
2 Vosloorus Crossing
3 Cambridge Food
4 Lesedi Complex
5 Gold Spot Shopping Centre
6 Taxi rank (CHC)
7 Taxi rank (Gold Spot)
8 Taxi rank (Natalspruit)
9 Taxi rank (Spruitview)
10 Spruitview Shopping Centre

5 Kilometer radius

Pre-2010 travelling patterns

Boksburg
38.0 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R42.00 return trip)

Post-2010 travelling patterns

400 m travelling distance
No transport fare

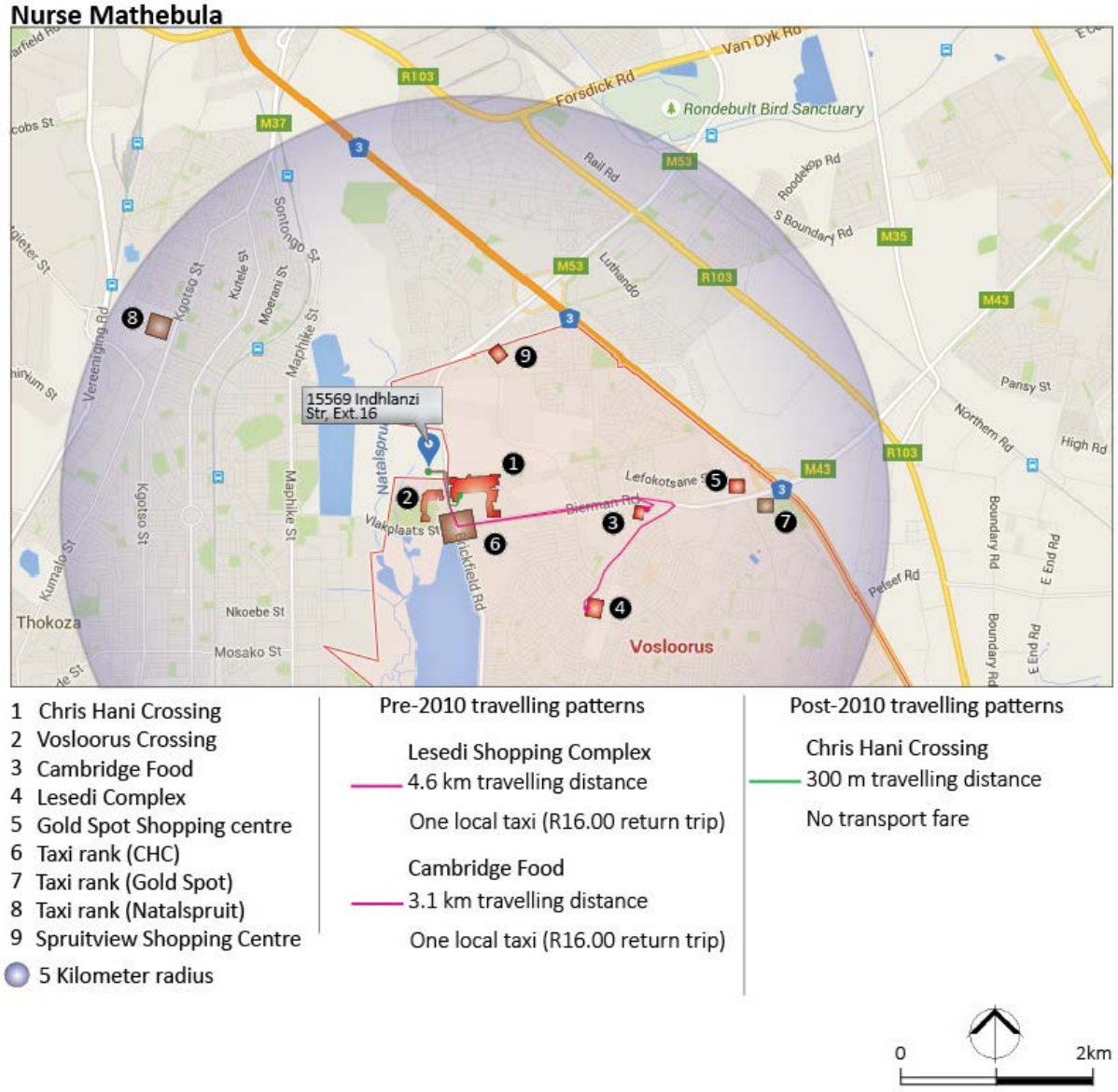
East Gate
30.7 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R42.00 return trip)

Boksburg
38.0 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R42.00 return trip)

0 2km

Name and surname	Thulisile Nhlapo
Age	25-34
Occupation	General Worker (Springs)
Gender	Female
Frequency of mall visitation	Once a week
Mode of transport	Walk
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	East Rand Mall (Boksburg)
Reasons for visits	Shopping
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	East Rand Mall (Boksburg) and East Gate
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, prefer bulk goods
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“Access to bulk goods close by”

Nurse Mathebula



1 Chris Hani Crossing
2 Vosloorus Crossing
3 Cambridge Food
4 Lesedi Complex
5 Gold Spot Shopping centre
6 Taxi rank (CHC)
7 Taxi rank (Gold Spot)
8 Taxi rank (Natalspruit)
9 Spruitview Shopping Centre
5 Kilometer radius

Pre-2010 travelling patterns

Lesedi Shopping Complex
4.6 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

Cambridge Food
3.1 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

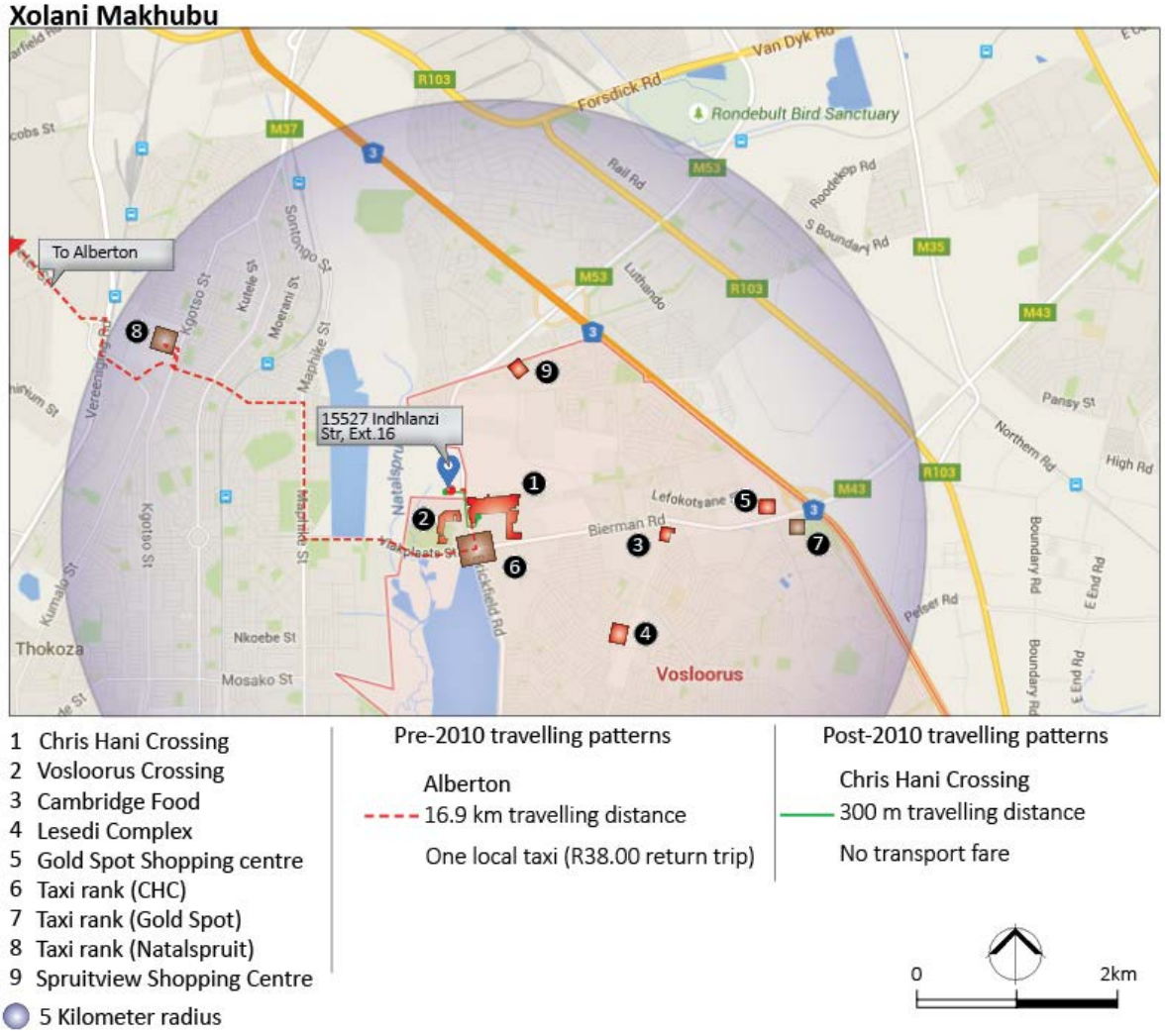
Post-2010 travelling patterns

Chris Hani Crossing
300 m travelling distance
No transport fare

0 2km

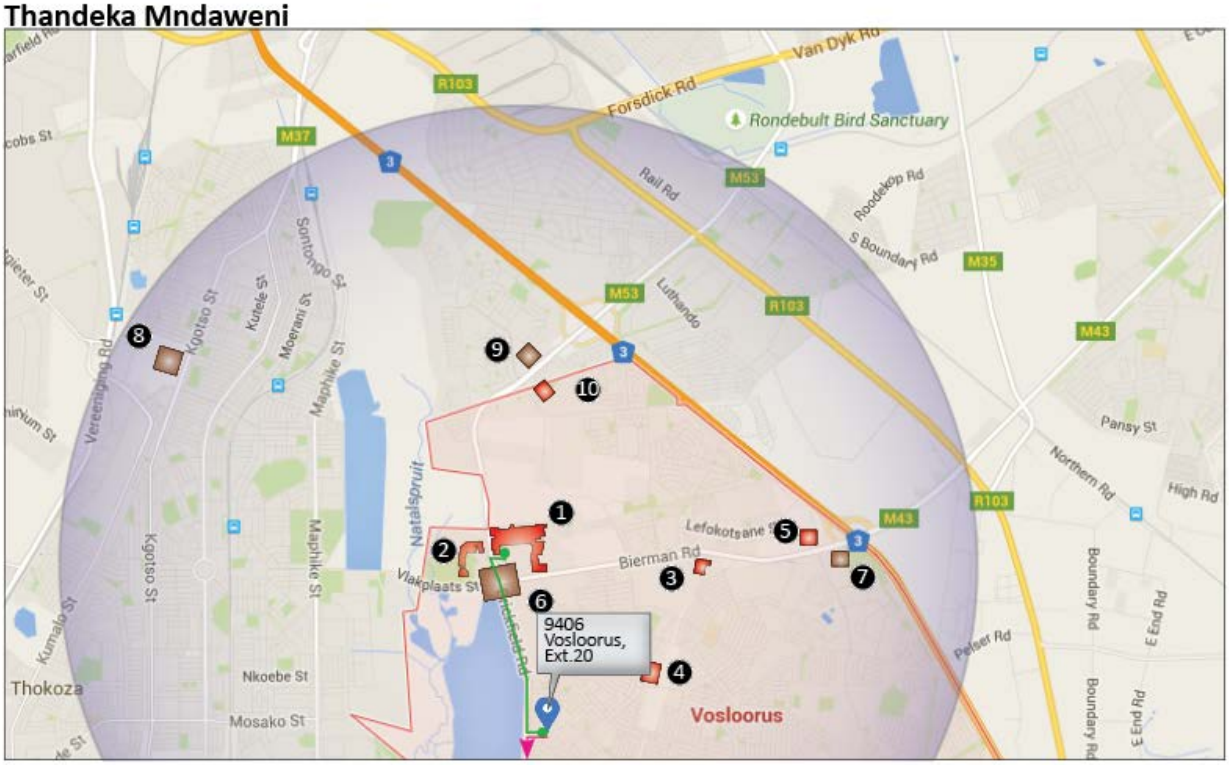
Name and surname	Themba Nyandeni
Age	35-44
Occupation	Unemployed
Gender	Male
Frequency of mall visitation	Three times a week
Mode of transport	Walk
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Cambridge Food and Lesedi Mall
Reasons for visits	Banking and buying groceries
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	None
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, because local shops are expensive
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“We have access to good close by and we do not have to pay for transport”

Xolani Makhubu



Name and surname	Xolani Makhubu
Age	25-34
Occupation	Self-employed (construction firm –Edenvale)
Gender	Male
Frequency of mall visitation	Fourth times a week
Mode of transport	Walk
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Alberton
Reasons for visits	Banking and shopping
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	None
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, bulk goods
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“I save money because I don’t have to travel to Alberton for shopping”

Thandeka Mndaweni



1 Chris Hani Crossing
2 Vosloorus Crossing
3 Cambridge Food
4 Lesedi Complex
5 Gold Spot Shopping Centre
6 Taxi rank (CHC)
7 Taxi rank (Gold Spot)
8 Taxi rank (Natalspruit)
9 Taxi rank (Spruitview)
10 Spruitview Shopping Centre

5 Kilometer radius

Pre-2010 travelling patterns

Enoch Sontonga Mall
7 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

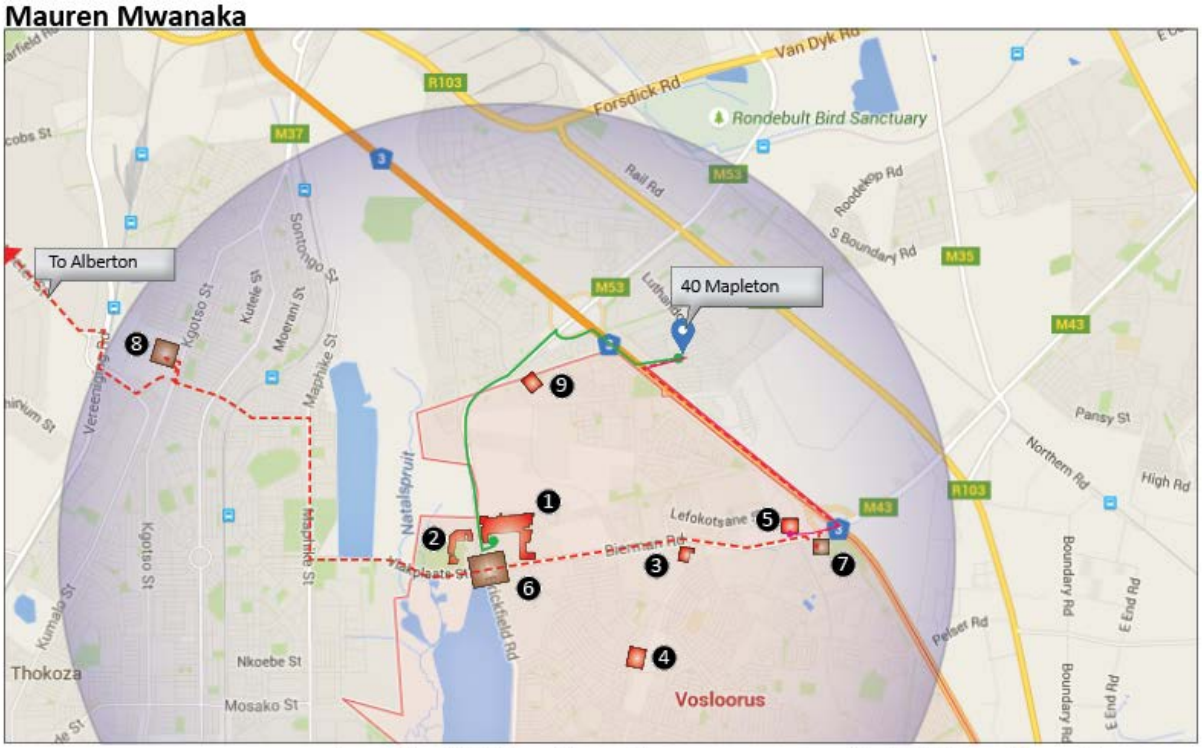
Post-2010 travelling patterns

2 km travelling distance
No transport fare

0 2km

Name and surname	Thandeka Mndaweni
Age	35-44
Occupation	Self-employed (Mr Biltong in CHC)
Gender	Female
Frequency of mall visitation	Six times a week
Mode of transport	Walk
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Enoch Sontonga Mall
Reasons for visits	Banking, business and shopping
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	Enoch Sontonga Mall
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, good quality goods
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“I run my own business, I sell biltong inside the mall next to Pick n Pay”

Mauren Mwanaka



1 Chris Hani Crossing
2 Vosloorus Crossing
3 Cambridge Food
4 Lesedi Complex
5 Gold Spot Shopping centre
6 Taxi rank (CHC)
7 Taxi rank (Gold Spot)
8 Taxi rank (Natalspruit)
9 Spruitview Shopping Centre
5 Kilometer radius

Pre-2010 travelling patterns

Alberton
25 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R 42.00)

Post-2010 travelling patterns

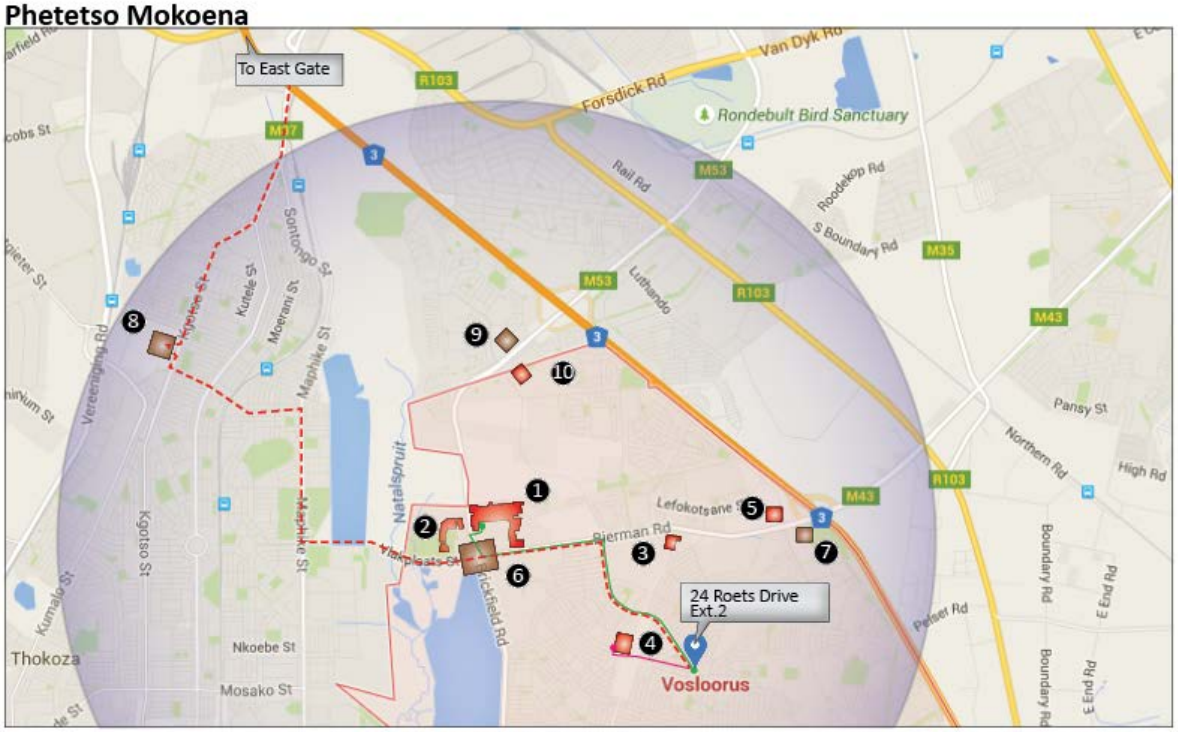
Chris Hani Crossing
4.5 km travelling distance
Once local taxi (R16.00)

Gold Spot Shopping Centre
2.5 km travelling distance
Once local taxi (R16.00)

0 2km

Name and surname	Mauren Mwanaka
Age	35-44
Occupation	Domestic Worker (Germiston)
Gender	Female
Frequency of mall visitation	Once a week
Mode of transport	Taxi
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Alberton
Reasons for visits	Banking and shopping
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	Gold Spot
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, variety of goods
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“I don’t have to travel to Alberton for shopping, I catch one taxi to Chris Hani”

Phetetso Mokoena



1 Chris Hani Crossing
2 Vosloorus Crossing
3 Cambridge Food
4 Lesedi Complex
5 Gold Spot Shopping Centre
6 Taxi rank (CHC)
7 Taxi rank (Gold Spot)
8 Taxi rank (Natalspruit)
9 Taxi rank (Spruitview)
10 Spruitview Shopping Centre

5 Kilometer radius

Pre-2010 travelling patterns

East Gate
36 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R42.00 return trip)

Lesedi Complex
600 m travelling distance
Walk

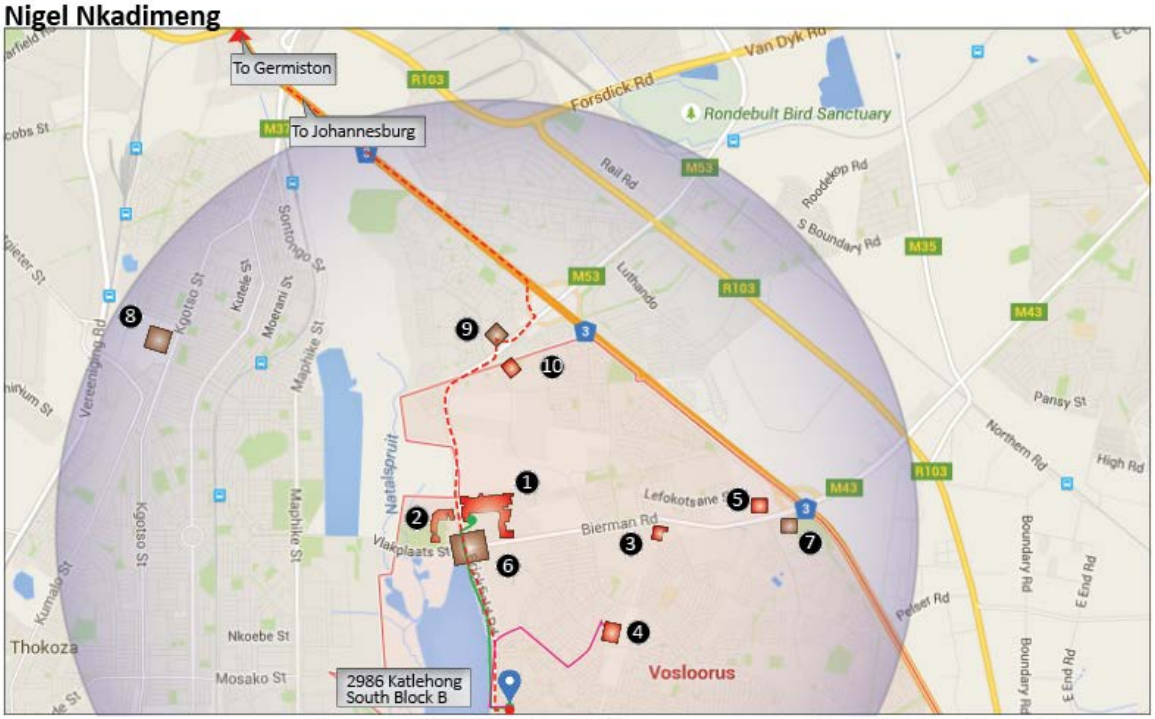
Post-2010 travelling patterns

4 km travelling distance
Local Taxi (R 16.00 return trip)

0 2km

Name and surname	Phetetso Mokoena
Age	18-24
Occupation	Unemployed
Gender	Female
Frequency of mall visitation	Almost everyday
Mode of transport	Taxi
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	East Gate and Lesedi Complex
Reasons for visits	Shopping
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	None
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, variety of shops
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“Sometimes I walk to the mall”

Nigel Nkadimeng



1 Chris Hani Crossing
2 Vosloorus Crossing
3 Cambridge Food
4 Lesedi Complex
5 Gold Spot Shopping Centre
6 Taxi rank (CHC)
7 Taxi rank (Gold Spot)
8 Taxi rank (Natalspruit)
9 Taxi rank (Spruitview)
10 Spruitview Shopping Centre

5 Kilometer radius

Pre-2010 travelling patterns

Lesedi Shopping Complex
3 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

Germiston
25 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R40.00 return trip)

Johannesburg CBD
33 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R42.00 return trip)

Post-2010 travelling patterns

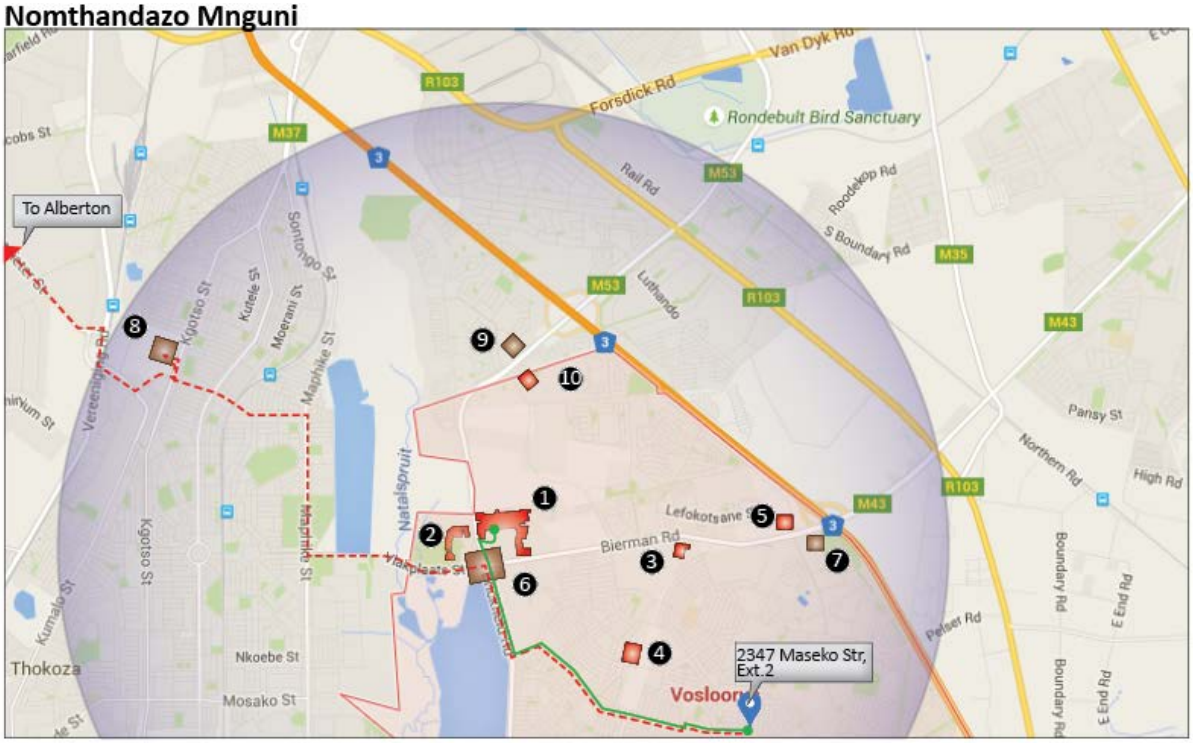
2.6 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R 16.00)

Enoch Sontonga Mall
5 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

0 2km

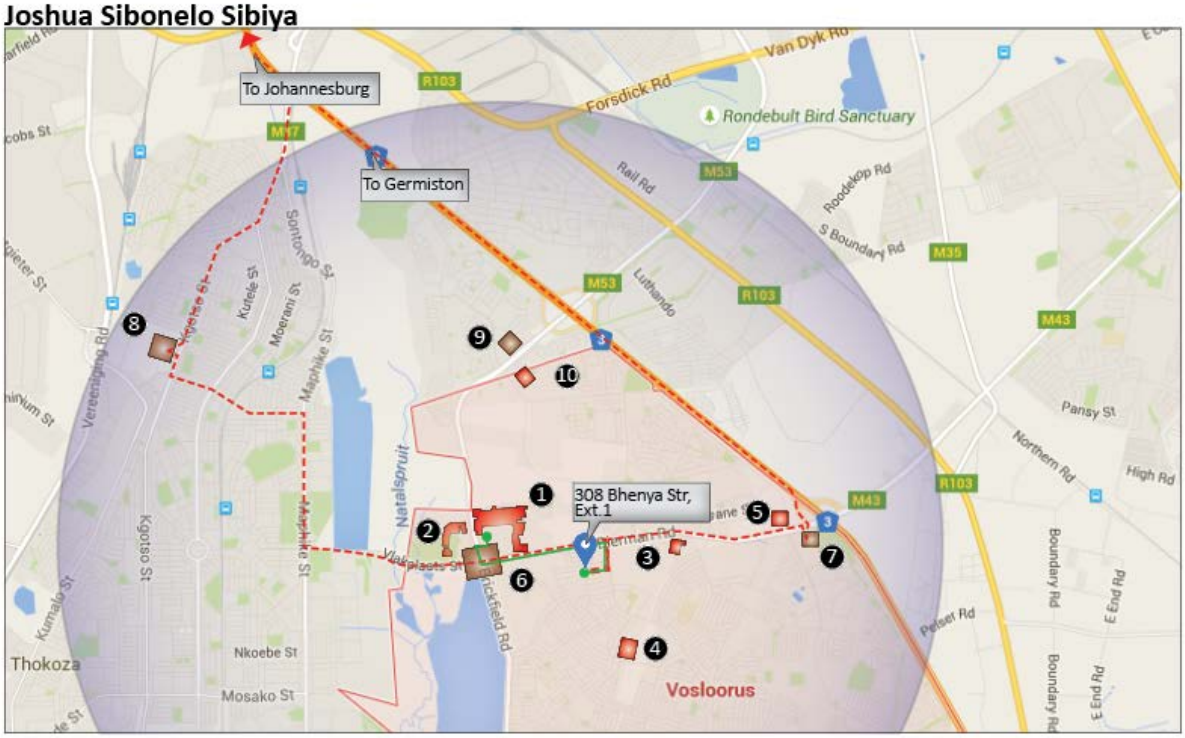
Name and surname	Nigel Nkadimeng
Age	25-34
Occupation	Police Officer
Gender	Male
Frequency of mall visitation	Once a month
Mode of transport	Taxi
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Johannesburg, Germiston, Enoch Sontonga Mall and Lesedi Complex
Reasons for visits	Shopping and Accounts
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	Enoch Sontonga Mall
Mall or spaza shop	Both for different reasons
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“We no longer travel lo g distances to access shops and banking facilities”

Nomthandazo Mnguni



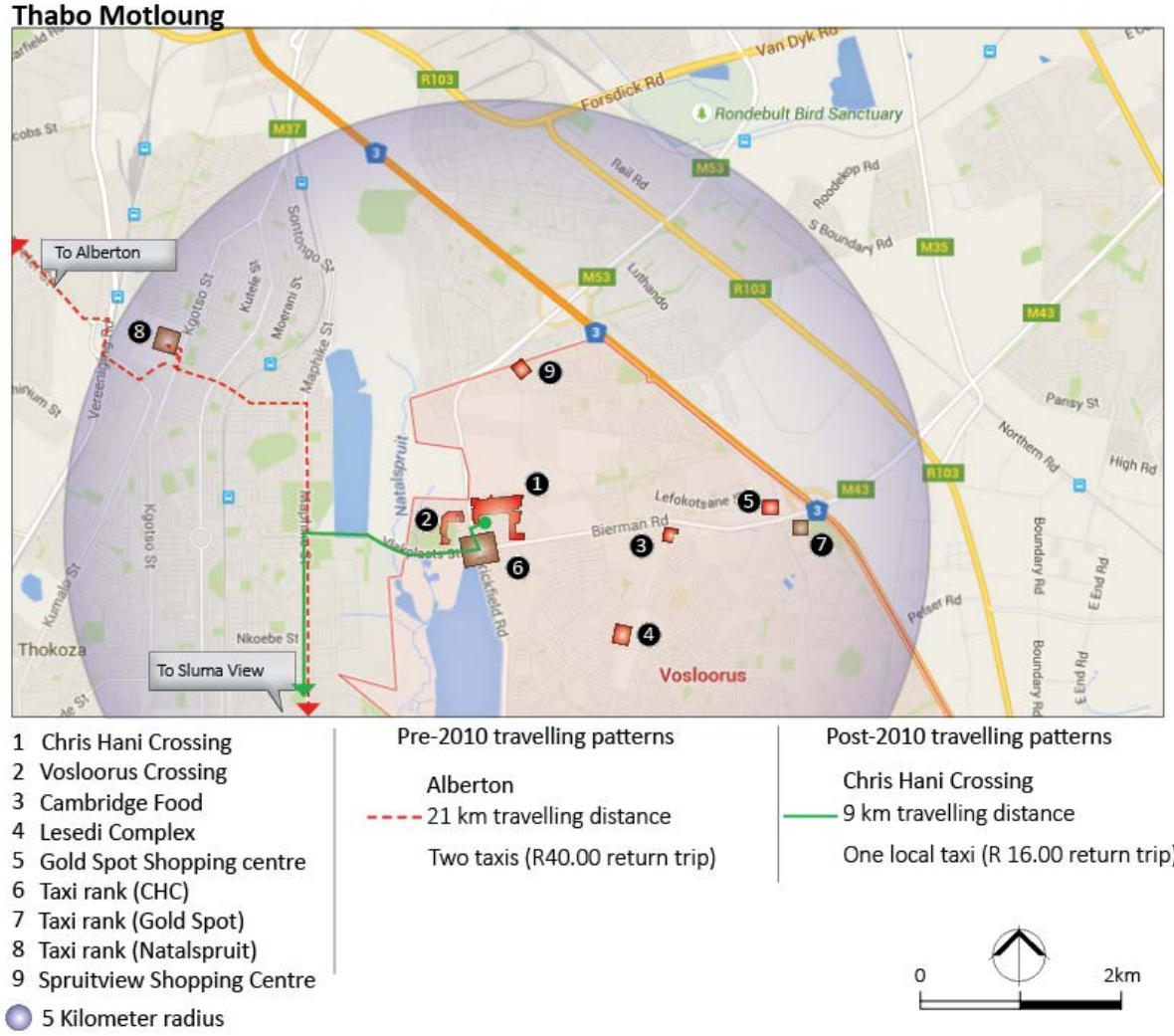
Name and surname	Nomthandazo Mnguni
Age	18-24
Occupation	Student
Gender	Female
Frequency of mall visitation	Almost everyday
Mode of transport	Taxi
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Alberton
Reasons for visits	Shopping
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	None
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, availability of variety of goods
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“We have access to cheaper goods”

Joshua Sibonelo Sibiya



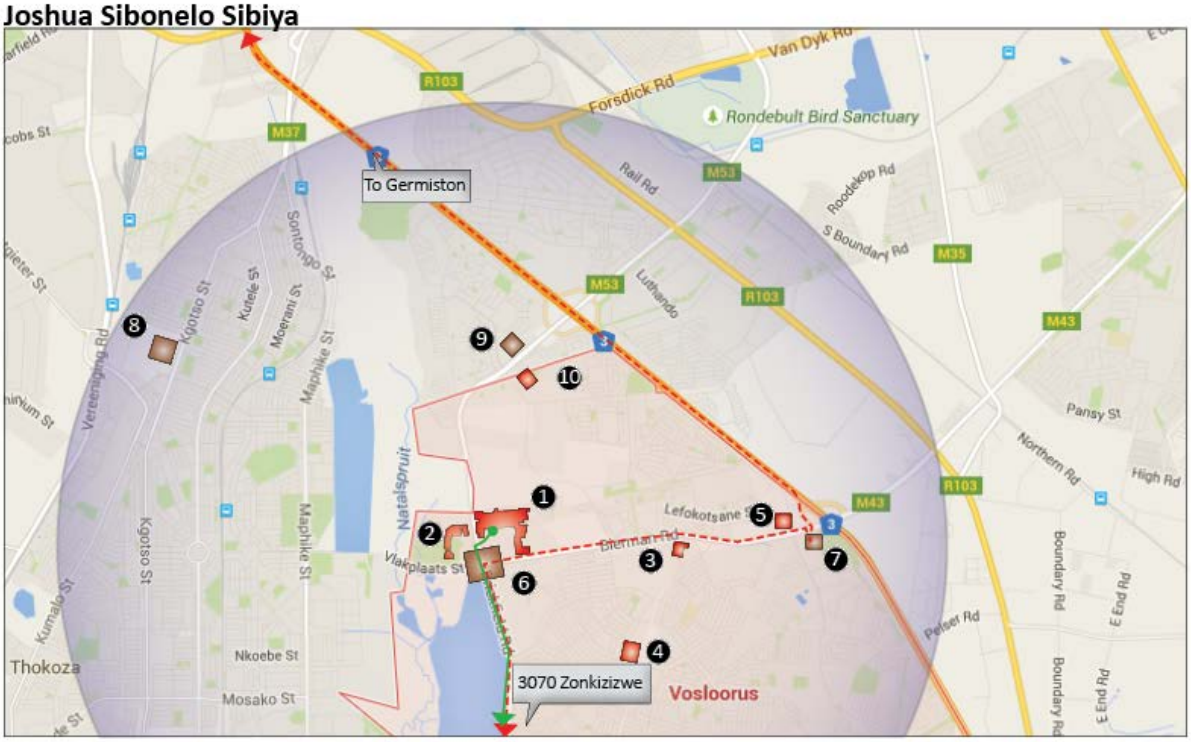
Name and surname	Joshua Sibonelo Sibiya
Age	25-34
Occupation	Driver (Wadeville)
Gender	Male
Frequency of mall visitation	Three times a month
Mode of transport	Taxi
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Germiston and Johannesburg
Reasons for visits	Accounts, banking and shopping
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	None
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, spaza shops are expensive
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“We are getting cheaper goods closer”

Thabo Motloung



Name and surname	Thabo Motloung
Age	45-54
Occupation	Storeman (Alrode)
Gender	Male
Frequency of mall visitation	Once a month
Mode of transport	Private car
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Alberton
Reasons for visits	Accounts and shopping
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	Alberton
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, good quality food
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“I usually don’t buy here, I would if security was beefed up”

Joshua Sibonelo Sibiya



1 Chris Hani Crossing
2 Vosloorus Crossing
3 Cambridge Food
4 Lesedi Complex
5 Gold Spot Shopping Centre
6 Taxi rank (CHC)
7 Taxi rank (Gold Spot)
8 Taxi rank (Natalspruit)
9 Taxi rank (Spruitview)
10 Spruitview Shopping Centre

5 Kilometer radius

Pre-2010 travelling patterns

Germiston
26 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R40.00 return trip)

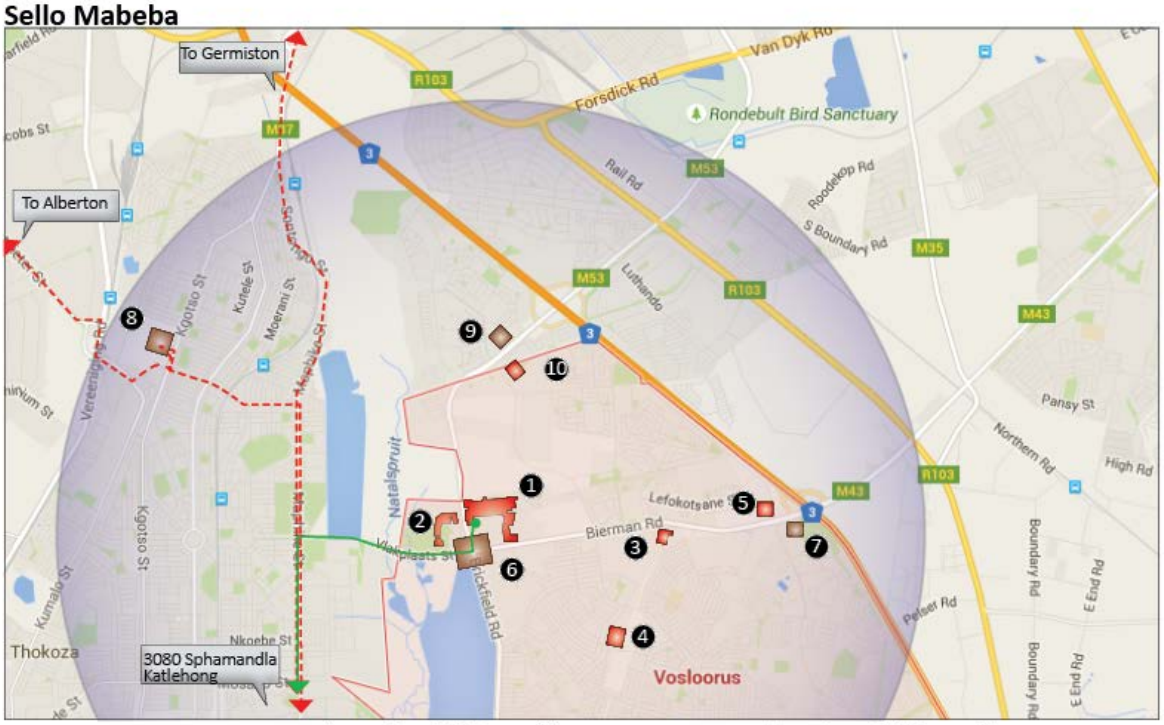
Post-2010 travelling patterns

9 km travelling distance
One local taxi (return trip R 16.00)

0 2km

Name and surname	Mthandeni Madela
Age	25-34
Occupation	Driver (Germiston)
Gender	Male
Frequency of mall visitation	Eight times a month
Mode of transport	Taxi
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Germiston
Reasons for visits	Accounts and shopping
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	None
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, variety of shops
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“People can walk to the mall, especially those who live close by”

Sello Mabeba



1 Chris Hani Crossing
2 Vosloorus Crossing
3 Cambridge Food
4 Lesedi Complex
5 Gold Spot Shopping Centre
6 Taxi rank (CHC)
7 Taxi rank (Gold Spot)
8 Taxi rank (Natalspruit)
9 Taxi rank (Spruitview)
10 Spruitview Shopping Centre

5 Kilometer radius

Pre-2010 travelling patterns

Alberton
21 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R40.00 return trip)

Germiston
26 km travelling distance
One taxi (R26.00 return trip)

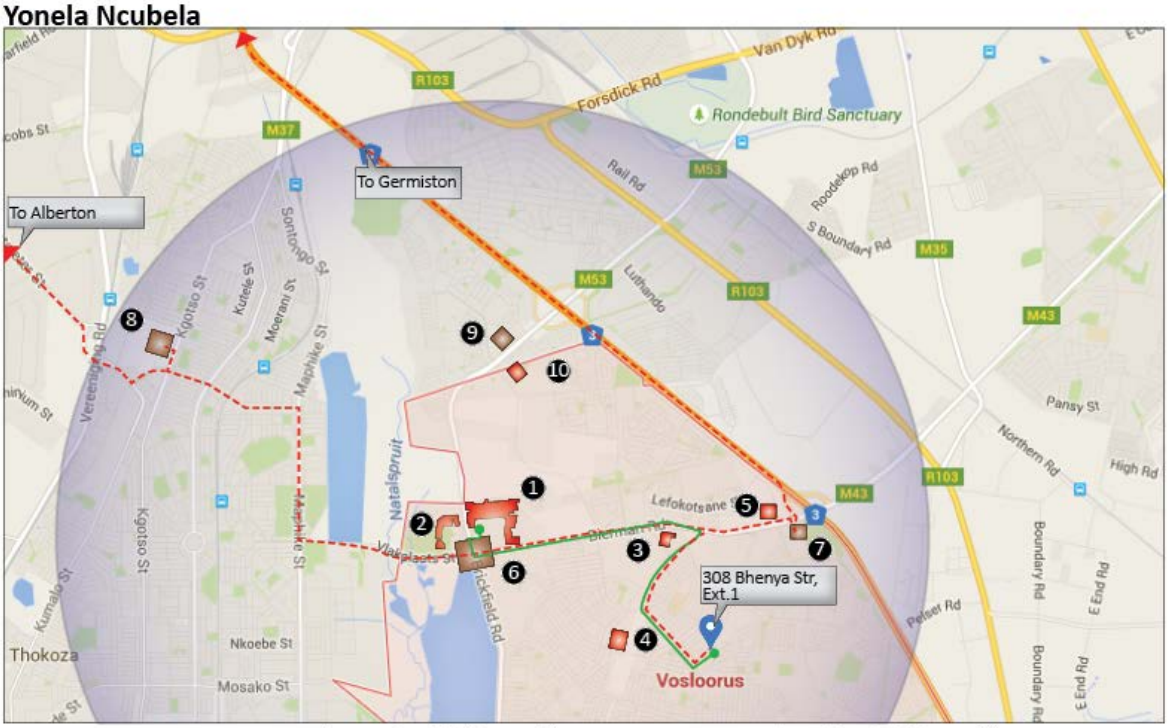
Post-2010 travelling patterns

6 km travelling distance
One local taxi (R16.00 return trip)

0 2km

Name and surname	Sello Mabeba
Age	25-34
Occupation	Apprentice (Isando)
Gender	Male
Frequency of mall visitation	Four times a month
Mode of transport	Taxi
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Alberton and Germiston
Reasons for visits	Accounts and shopping
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	None
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, fresh air and free Wi-Fi
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“I don’t have to go to Germiston for most of my shopping”

Yonela Ncubela



1 Chris Hani Crossing
2 Vosloorus Crossing
3 Cambridge Food
4 Lesedi Complex
5 Gold Spot Shopping Centre
6 Taxi rank (CHC)
7 Taxi rank (Gold Spot)
8 Taxi rank (Natalspruit)
9 Taxi rank (Spruitview)
10 Spruitview Shopping Centre

5 Kilometer radius

Pre-2010 travelling patterns

Germiston
26 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R40.00 return trip)

Alberton
22 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R42.00 return trip)

Post-2010 travelling patterns

5.5 km travelling distance
One local taxi (return trip R 16.00)

Germiston
26 km travelling distance
Two taxis (R40.00 return trip)

0 2km

Name and surname	Yonela Ncubela
Age	18-24
Occupation	Student
Gender	Male
Frequency of mall visitation	Once every two months
Mode of transport	Taxi
Previous shopping areas (pre-2010)	Alberton and Germiston
Reasons for visits	Shopping and hanging out
Other retail centres frequented (post-2010)	Germiston
Mall or spaza shop	Mall, fresh air and free Wi-Fi
Benefit from Chris Hani Crossing	“Curtail travelling cost and distance”

4.11. Making sense of multi-vocal judgments

The following section presents a summarised discussion of the findings which had already began in the previous section and the analysis of the main ideas gathered in the previous section.

4.11.1. New Heterogeneous Cluster Development/Agglomeration Model

Reverting to the main research question, which is 'what is the impact of Chris Hani Crossing on the space economy of Vosloorus and its immediate surroundings' the following section, based on the findings, puts forward that the location of Chris Hani Crossing at the intersection of Bierman and Brickfield road has seemingly led to the development of a new transit oriented heterogeneous cluster model which comprises of the main retail centre as the instigator, light industries that deal with hardware sales and brick making, automobile dealerships/industries dealing with the sale of brand new and second hand vehicles, informal retail development around the mall, a regional park for recreation, reliable intra and inter-town public transit services, residential development and the recently built medical centre within a walking distance. The retail centre has radically transformed the environment in the same hypermarkets, retail parks and retail centres impacted environments of most Western economies (Guy, 1994). The retail centres in the South African context have become magnets, meeting places with positive effects (Roman, 2015). As explained in the previous section this spatial change has had economic and social knock-on effects such as increasing business and employment opportunities in the area, as well as the curtailment of travel times. This model is defined as a 'new heterogeneous agglomeration/cluster development' because its attributes differ considerably from the conventional cluster development which is defined by Abdin and Rahman (2015) as the co-location of homogeneous industries that deal with the production of similar goods and the provision of homogenous services to clients in a particular geographic location. Services on the intersection of Brickfield and Bierman road are heterogeneous but complementary with the exception of Vosloorus Crossing and Chris Hani Crossing which is a stone's throw away. According to Bestbier (2015) the relationship between these two shopping centres is a special one with tenants offering the same goods and services, as he continues to explain, "ten years ago you would not have a Checkers and Pick n Pay store close to each other, but now they cannot survive without each other".

This outcome on the intersection of Brickfield and Bierman Road has played out as envisaged. The rezoning application stated that "the development should act as a catalyst to encourage other economic development on the business erven to the west of the site and industrial area to the south" (Van der Schyff, 2015: 4). According to Brown (1987) the concentration of economic activity in one area is identified as a ubiquitous attribute of the commercial environment both in contemporary Western conurbations and Third World

cities. What this research is concerned with is how this phenomenon has played out in the township of Vosloorus as a new cluster model. This clustering can be categorised as agglomeration because the concentration is based on the rule of retail compatibility whereby retailers that offer different but complementary goods or services tend to co-locate. This model has altered the space economy to an extent by not only bringing desired land-use such as the shopping centre but also has cumulative attraction effects which have led to the co-location of complementary uses, thereby replacing out-shopping with proximate one-stop-shopping. Furthermore this agglomeration has led to the creation of a vibrant space for social and economic interaction thereby contributing to the regeneration and renewal of the rest of Vosloorus.

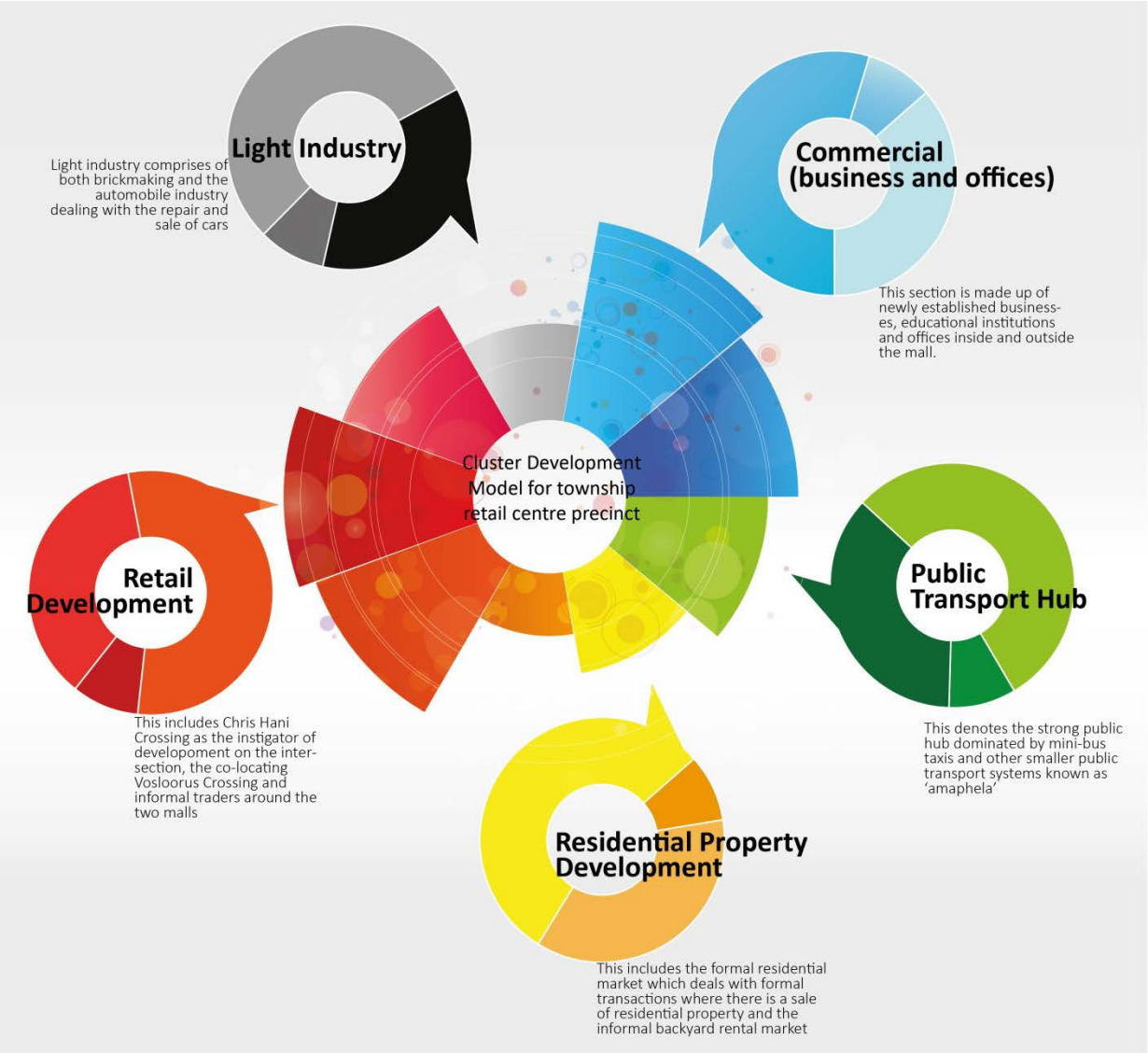


Figure 4.18: *Cluster Development Model* - This info-graphic shows a new cluster development that advanced from the agglomeration or co-location of heterogeneous and complementary land-uses around the research object (Chris Hani Crossing) in Vosloorus. As the idea of retail development in townships proves to be an ongoing phenomenon this model may be used to forecast or anticipate other agents of economic and spatial change that may result as a knock-on effect to better plan for future development around the main retail precinct.
Source: Mtshali, 2015.

4.11.2. The goad of change: Between the past and the present

The findings presented in the previous section have been useful in answering the main research question – 'What is the impact of Chris Hani Crossing on the Space Economy of Vosloorus'. According to the findings gathered the presence of the mall did not only alter the space economy but also produced drastic socioeconomic change on the lives of locals and people from surrounding areas. This has led to the division of chapters found into two sections, one looking at aspatial aspects and the other focusing on spatial outcomes.

The establishment of the mall in Vosloorus has produced economic, social and spatial impact on the space economy – as indicated through map analysis and the changing travelling patterns section. For local consumers (within a five kilometre radius) the proximity of the crossing to their homes has reduced travel distance and time, thereby giving them more energy, time and money to spend on other things. More than two thirds of the respondents reported to have more disposable income. The expenditure of large proportions of income on transport by township dwellers commuting between homes and areas of economic opportunities was once identified as a glaring challenge of the legacy of apartheid. This research has demonstrated how overlooked local initiatives may also contribute to the greater national goal of altering the apartheid space economy. The presence of Chris Hani Crossing has altered the space economy of Vosloorus to an extent, at most, to the benefit of locals and other visitors of the mall. As one of the major socioeconomic impacts perceived through the study of shopping patterns is the fact that more people have tended to shop less in areas far away. One of the main reasons for curtailing or changing shopping patterns is the long-awaited need to lessen the number of hours spent travelling between home and areas of economic importance. This could also be an indication of a good or compatible tenant mix at Chris Hani Crossing. Even though some respondents have complained about the shortage of recreation and entertainment facilities, most users reported to be satisfied with the tenant mix which offered all the goods they would have otherwise purchased in town.

As shown in the study the development of Chris Hani Crossing in Vosloorus has had both positive and negative knock-on effects on the space economy of Vosloorus. One of the notable changes is the housing development to the east of the mall. The study of how a shopping centres or malls impact housing development of property values could be further looked into for future studies. Further studies could also be conducted to provide answers to some of the questions which were not adequately answered in this research. The development of Chris Hani Crossing brings long term low-skilled and semi-skilled job opportunities for the local community through the attraction of the light industrial development as well as commercial establishments. These facilities which have gained immensely from co-locating with the mall

through access to pedestrian and vehicular traffic are owned by locals and may help retain money in the township. It is a celebrated discovery that even though locals do not own anything related to the mall itself but they own everything else that came with it as a result of the knock-on effect. This has changed the apartheid space economy from the entrepreneurial perspective, allowing the poor to exploit economic opportunities freely. Contrary to this, during the apartheid era entrepreneurship was purposely restricted in townships.

Among locally developed businesses is the property market which comprises of two sections – the formal sale of residential property and the informal rent out of backyard rooms. The former has always been functional in the area but recently became a more lucrative business since people want to locate closer to the mall flock in large numbers from neighboring townships and other less economically advantaged municipalities south of Ekurhuleni. The residential property market in the area no longer exists as a typical market which is exclusive to formal and somewhat well-earning buyers and sellers. The market has opened up informal avenues of trade to low income groups who cannot afford living space in the formal residential market. Residential property in areas surrounding the mall can now be accessed, traded and held by low income groups. To further elaborate on this finding, most employees who work at the mall and are not from Vosloorus tend to rent backyard rooms at reasonable prices in residential areas close to the mall so that the distance between home and work is walkable in order to save and have more disposable income. This has demonstrated the best used of a scarce resource which is land and has also contributed positively to the struggle against the general housing backlog in the municipality and the shortage of urgently needed well-located low income unique housing typology. The informal market does not only benefit renters but has also come to the rescue of 'cash poor home owners' who depend on the rent for income. The new cluster development model identified in the previous section could be utilised to better plan for future retail development projects. To explain this, the cluster development model would be used to estimate how much land would be used for retail and how many people could be employed in that establishment then estimate from the figures obtained how much residential space would be needed. This would help come up with innovative planning ideas on how to obtain land and provide affordable housing in favourable locations.

When it comes to economic benefits, it appears that not all employees at the mall live within the immediate surroundings; this could be partly as a result of the fact that settlement size has a direct impact on the range of local jobs that can be provided (Stead and Marshall, 2001). In terms of job opportunities most interviewed people, as shown in spatial narratives, have maintained the same travelling patterns. A large proportion of respondents living in Vosloorus extension 16 still go to outside areas for employment whereas shopping patterns, which are usually done on weekends, have changed drastically. People have opted for the cost

effective option for economic utilities such as the payment of accounts, accessing financial services and shopping, which, in this case, is Chris Hani Crossing. According to McCormick (2015) a local economic development endeavour of this nature is required to draw at least eighty per cent of its employees from the local community ensuring that locals become the first to derive benefit from the establishment. Eighty two per cent of the people who employed at Chris Hani Crossing are locals from Katlehong, Thokoza and Vosloorus, this also includes the Spruitview area north of Vosloorus.

Furthermore, Bowles (2013) states that before the advent of retail shopping centres in townships locals have had to incur petrol price hikes mostly felt through rising taxi fares year after year. Another disadvantage associated with out-shopping is the fact that shoppers could not carry too many parcels; the number of food carrying shopping bags was constrained by the size of the taxis they took to and from town. The proximity of the mall to residential areas has allowed locals to explore other methods of tackling this challenge, respondents have reported to even travel to the mall more than twice a day especially those who run businesses or those who have too many parcels to carry.

The presence of the mall in the area has increased the level of traffic on Bierman and Brickfield road, more especially where these two roads intersect. In this area again retail has done what it does best – attract people (Goodman and Coote, 2007). Traffic congestions caused by both public and private modes of transport continues to escalate since Chris Hani Crossing, like most retail establishments in townships, does not supply enough parking spaces for public transport thereby increasing the need to use private vehicles when visiting the mall. Its design gives a clear indication that customers are expected to arrive in private cars thereby perpetuating the cycle of car dependence. The construction of the mall also did not include the improvement of infrastructure such as the widening of roads to accommodate increased traffic. Increased traffic can translate to two findings, firstly this denotes that the mall is well served by public transport and secondly increased traffic as a consequence of its establishment was not factored in during the planning phase. As explained earlier these negative externalities have the propensity to offset positive externalities more especially if they augment due to the lack of control or attention given to them in due course.

As acknowledged by Goodman and Coote (2007) sustainability is a concept which is adopted as a guiding ethos of most strategic urban policy. In the same vein, according to the findings of this research sustainable urban development has resulted from the development of Chris Hani Crossing in a sense that its location in Vosloorus has reduced the need for locals to travel to far places in order to gain access to or satisfy their economic and social needs. According to Goodman and Coote (2007) as well as Stead and Marshall (2001) this is a component of the neo-traditional approaches of planning that put an emphasis on importance of the promotion of more sustainable patterns of travel and the desirability of compact urban forms. The Bierman

and Brickfield intersection now boasts a compact environment with complementary land-uses offering an incentive for one-stop-shopping.

As mentioned in chapter two and also revealed by some of the interviews retail developments such as Chris Hani Crossing do not benefit everyone equally. For this reason respondents have differing perspectives with regards to the question of whether the establishment of malls in townships is a good development initiative. According to Kutoana (2015), a representative of the Township Entrepreneurs Network – an initiative that advocates for the development of township economy, the development of malls in townships is not entirely good because "people who live in these townships do not own a anything in these centres, no share, no supply contracts, no relationship whatsoever other than being consumers of products produced outside... The concern with this is that it has a negative impact on the economies of these communities as it actually kills the previous market of tuck-shops". This is true to an extent, as discussed in chapter two that most studies have shown that these shopping centres have no commitment to invest in the township. They are merely perpetuating the culture of consumerism, taking millions out of the township year after year. The case of Chris Hani Crossing in Vosloorus and Enoch Sontonga Mall in Katlehong shows that local businesses tend to co-locate with these establishments thus deriving the same or equal benefit from increasing aggregate demand and pedestrians as well as vehicular traffic.

Possible Futures of Retail Development in Townships and Concluding Remarks



5

So the point is...

5.1. The Roundup: The Point of it All

The previous chapter dealt with an integration of the presentation, analysis and discussion of the findings. The findings, from both literature review and empirical investigation, were complex and often generated more questions. This chapter provides a summary of the discourse and recommendations for further analysis, directed to the main stakeholders, for future retail development based on decision-making processes and the new cluster development model discovered in this research. In light of findings obtained from chapter two of the literature review and chapter four of the observations, map analysis and interview responses, the following chapter will also provide critical points from the previous chapters. It was not the purpose of this investigation to unpack the entire space economy of Vosloorus or Ekurhuleni South; hence the approach was specific and selective due to issues of time and access to information. The approach which entailed the use of a comparison of then and now traveling patterns, the basket of goods analysis and the changing labour market in terms of new employment and business opportunities has helped understand the nature and the impact of the transformation of the urban form in this area.

5.2. In the Beginning were Statements of Inquiry – Were they adequately responded to and thoroughly engaged?

The findings of this research are intricately linked and have been used to tell a narrative in the previous chapter. Debatably, each one of the strands of the five research sub-questions may be used to develop a workable research topic (Nieftagodien, 2015). Reverting back to the beginning, the study had mammoth task of investigating and ultimately providing answers to five statements of inquiry. Firstly, in response to the first sub-question, the presence of the mall in the area evidently has a great impact on the level and the quality of infrastructure which was available in the area before the construction of the mall. “Infrastructure is a catalyst to development” (Gwagwa, 2014). The research has demonstrated that an improvement of infrastructure creates an attractive environment for both public and private investment. This was seen in the manner in which development focus tend to concentrate on the Bierman and Brickfield intersection due to the availability of infrastructure. This has been explicated graphically through the heterogeneous cluster development model which entails an agglomeration or co-location of complementary land-uses in one area.

Secondly, qualitative and quantitative methods of inquiry have proven that the mall had an impact on the economic and social status of people living around the mall. Permanent, temporary, secondary and primary job opportunities were created; informal businesses grew at an exponential rate spilling over into the residential area across the mall, with these grew the informal housing market which caters for people working in the mall. Furthermore, this had an impact on shopping and travelling patterns of locals who

frequent the mall. Most respondents claimed to have more disposal income, time and energy to spend on other important things in the place of travelling to town for economic needs. In terms of the attraction of development the mall has sparked the process of renewal and regeneration transforming the intersection into an intense mixed-use node through the attraction of complementary economic uses and activities such as light industries that deal with hardware sales and brick making, automobile dealerships/industries dealing with the sale of brand new and second hand vehicles, informal retail development around the mall, a regional park for recreation, reliable intra and inter-town public transit services, residential development and the recently built medical centre within a walking distance. The mall brought within it positive spinoffs for the community and Vosloorus and the surroundings. For instance the residential property market in Vosloorus is comparable to the residential property market in Soweto in terms of the quality, value and price of properties held, exchanged and sold each day through this market. This has led to the attraction of real estate business into the area which is characterised by the co-location of prominent real estate corporations such as Cosmopolitan Projects, Howell Real Estates and Urban Housing. Furthermore most properties bordering the mall to the north have been densified and others converted into mixed-use, formally and informally. This is seen through the extension of residential space through formally constructed backyard rooms. These rooms are then rented out, mostly to employees, who cannot afford to rent or buy in the formal housing market. In addition, property is also used in a similar way as it was during the apartheid regime whereby homeowners would sell convenient items or liquor from their houses.

The idea of transformative economic development, in spaces such as the one which was researched, is no longer a rhetoric but manifests as a result of decisions taken at different scales of government as shown through the reference of the DFA as well as the IDP and SDF, the calculated risks of the private sector and choices made by the community with particular reference to those who actively participated and continue to do so in the journey of changing the space economy of Vosloorus. As noted by some of the respondents, economic change cannot be fully realised until local businesses or township enterprises are tenanted in these township mall and until such spaces are user-defined. In terms of the former, township enterprises were referred to as ‘key game changers’ by Premier David Makhura (SOPA, 2014). As McCormick plans to expand the Crossing by adding a News Café while on the hand local business men and women flood the City Planning Department to acquire permission to run those services from home when there is retail space at the Crossing, the question which comes to mind is ‘how can the coordination between the management/developer and local business or the general public be harmonised to improve planning and foster strategic investment in townships?.’ This relationship is necessary to ensure that the township does not remain a ‘fetish object’ for the retail property market to exploit limitlessly or a ‘capitalist object’ used to extract money out of townships. An improved relationship between the developer/management would help

turn the township into a target area for investment in local small business and skills development without losing sight of the primary goal of generating reasonable returns on investment for the investor.

5.3. Benefit of the Research and Implications for Urban Planning

The study and main research question were triggered by the recent proliferation of shopping centres and malls in marginalised third spaces. Such research among others of this nature may help improve the knowledge base by providing an understanding of the impact of retail development on the space economy in order to have evidence-based and robust strategic planning and decision making for future retail developments in townships. Moreover, the question of how successful newly established malls are is a prime question which every developer should be asking for the benefit of future retail development in the African context (Prinsloo, 2014). This research, from its inception, proved to be a worthwhile task to be embarked on as it modestly stimulated the interest of professionals and academics even outside the urban planning discipline. This report will hopefully be a useful addition to existing literature about the changes in the space economy of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality and the greater Gauteng-City region. Factors affecting the space economy of townships that are usually driven by informal sector markets usually go unidentified, unnoticed and unrecorded. Therefore they will remain in the blind spot of researchers till more disciplines open up possibilities to the investigation of such areas in the place of focusing on already heavily researched topics and areas.

This will be a step closer to collaborative planning most assuredly between the private and public sector. This report has also responded to the question 'what is missing' which has helped gather people's perceptions about this retail development. Secondly, the study of people’s travelling patterns and behaviours may help in terms of future land use decisions and transport investment. Post development assessments as argued by Edward (2015) give information that will inform future decision making processes and development initiatives. For instance, the building of Chris Hani Crossing did not anticipate the attraction of public transport to this level of concentration and did not demarcate space for public transport that would transport people further than Vosloorus. Taxis that transport people to different sections of neighbouring townships park informally out the premises. Learning from this and moving forward such lack of pre-emptive consideration may be avoided. The idea of agglomeration, which was deemed as the ultimate impact of Chris Hani Crossing on the space economy of Vosloorus, is a new concept for practitioners in the city planning departments of Ekurhuleni south as far as this investigation is concerned and therefore brings with it new ideas and lessons from which they hope to learn and improve the planning of future retail

development (Bestbier, 2015). Lessons from this study will be of great benefit to students & professionals in estate management, geography, municipal, planning, retail management and property professions.

5.4. Challenges Encountered in the Study

The purpose of this research was to conduct a post-development assessment or evaluation of Chris Hani Crossing, broadly looking at how the mall has changed the space economy of Vosloorus Township in Ekurhuleni South. Initially the study intended to look at the spatial outcomes of this development but, like most investigations, had more questions that sought answers arising throughout the study. This called for the inclusion of socioeconomic aspects as secondary effects of the development further broadening the scope of the inquiry. Consequently the findings were also extended, looking at both aspatial and spatial aspects. This might have changed the entire direction of the research but was worthwhile and led to richer and more ethnographic discoveries. One of the biggest impediments encountered during the study is that the mall was established five years ago and most people who were involved in the process of its establishment have left their respective offices, the likes of the councilor of ward 44 and other personnel from the Municipality. Not all those who recently took office had ample information about Chris Hani Crossing. It took the research four months to find planners who were directly involved in the development process who did not only have sufficient information but also helped in providing loads of documents which had all fundamental details about the development. Furthermore, the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality is still a spatially and administratively fragmented city, and getting just the right official to interview was a wearisome mission. The researcher has had to call office after office because of several reasons. These reasons would vary from some officials claiming to have not been involved in the process or referring to other officials who presumably knew better but they also claimed to be proscribed from answering questions about anything. Another challenge was that McCormick Property Development is a global firm and some of the answers could only be answered by people who are constantly out of the country and can only be available for interviews after the set deadline for research. A similar situation was encountered with one city official who was on leave during the time of research.

Another challenge encountered during fieldwork was the unavailability of information about the state of the area before the mall was established. For example, to understand the impact the mall on the property values of the surrounding areas, the study, as stated in chapter three, intended to compare prices of residential property before and after the mall was established. This was next to impossible to do because information about the sale of property before year 2010 was unavailable and therefore the contingency plan was to compare residential property values based on certain elements of hedonic regression model. This proved to

be successful with the information provided by Khoza from Cosmopolitan Projects, Mokoena and Howell from Howell Real Estate Agents as well as advertisements from Property 24.

5.5. The Possible Next Step

5.5.1. Shopping Centre Development in Townships and the Role of Planning

Retail development is proving to be an ongoing process which has no signs of thinning or losing ground any time soon. An estimated additional 1.5 to 2 million square metres of retail floorspace could be warranted by the year 2021 or 2025 as a direct result of urbanisation in its spatial and socioeconomic form (Prinsloo, 2014). According to Ngcobo (2015) the influx of shopping centres is currently uncontrollable as private development scramble for huge plots of land that is available for development especially in the southern parts of the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. Therefore the planning profession needs to take this issue more seriously than it currently does (Goodman and Coote, 2007). Furthermore, the market cannot fully manage all negative effects identified in chapter three and four all by itself; therefore there is a serious need for the involvement of planning (Fairgray, 2015). This would mean taking a more proactive role towards development than reactively responding to applications for development or land-use planning. As stated by Ngcobo (2015) in the process of retail establishment planners are 'glorified administrators' than drivers of development. The role of planners in the establishment of Chris Hani Crossing has been the identification of focus areas for development among which the intersection of Brickfield and Bierman was identified as a first priority area in Ekurhuleni South because of its physical and location attributes (Bestbier, 2015). The planning profession in other countries such as Britain has dealt with this in a different way. "In the 1970s, government interests supported the view that planners should determine the broad location and type of development, in the interests of protecting existing (generally unplanned) facilities and providing good quality shopping for the local population" (Guy, 1994: 201). But in the 1980s this changed and left the private sector developers and retail experts the impetus for retail establishment, growth and change (Guy, 1994). This led to an unprecedented boom in the number of retail development proposals coming in during the second half of the 1980s.

Planners involved in the process should uphold the values of sustainable development and that of the profession itself by not allowing the market to dictate the form and nature of retail provision. This would, as one of the positive outcomes, prevent the overburdening of already existing infrastructure such as roads that have to carry increased traffic in the same condition they were in before the construction of the mall. The findings demonstrate that the pre-development evaluation of infrastructure such as roads alone and ticking the box is not enough. Post-development assessment has shown that the road infrastructure that was

assessed and approved by the Roads, Transport and Civil Works Department before the development of the mall is failing to handle the pressure of an augmented level of traffic. The findings of this research suggest that considerable attention needs to be paid to planning phases that eventually lead to the development of retail centres as well as assessment and evaluation phases that should come after the mall starts operating. Much thought and deliberation which would also consider the sustainability criteria is wanting. According to Goodman and Coote (2007) the sustainability criteria should always be in the minds of those who are responsible for the planning and development of retail and activity centres on greenfield sites or urban fringes. Furthermore, Adatia (2010) puts forward the idea that retail centre development can only be sustainable and possibly contribute to future development if the local government can be committed to take its responsibilities of providing and maintaining public amenities such as sitting areas, lighting and so forth around the centre and most importantly infrastructure such as electricity, water and roads. This also includes the assessment of environmental impact, land availability agreements and zoning.

Laws regulating the location and establishment of retail centres more especially in townships, such as the Development Facilitation Act, Metro Spatial Development, Regional Spatial Development Framework and the Local Spatial Development Framework, are currently not direct but have helped to ensure that these retail developments are in line with the broader municipal vision of transforming the space economy. These help align retail developments with the planning of urban and rural territories in the municipality. The municipal manages development decisions and processes administratively and is yet to play a proactive role. According to Bestbier (2015) planning is only becoming less modernist and more accommodating now in a sense that the profession may allow for the development of a new breed of planners who will be specialising or focussing on the establishment of retail centres particularly in townships. Currently, positive externalities from the development of Chris Hani Crossing are organic but legal in a sense that one development follows the other without a proper prior plan of what was envisaged for the area, these tend to be successful by following the procedure of development such as making applications for rezoning, land acquisition or land development. The City of Johannesburg is in the process of devising a township economic development framework known as Soweto Retail strategy. This strategy has identified, through research, Soweto as a township that is under-provided with retail facilities and therefore seeks to provide guidance and support for the development of retail centres (CoJ, 2015). In comparison, Ekurhuleni also had a retail strategy that is now outdated (Bestbier, 2015). The outdated strategy would be irrelevant in the contemporary context simply because areas which were identified as areas of economic need, especially those in the north, are now well-endowed with retail centres such as East Gate Mall.

Retail development exists and proliferates without a direct up-to-date framework. Regardless, retail development is thriving even through it is only guided by Land Use Policies such as the Regional Spatial Development Framework, Metro Spatial Development Framework and Local Spatial Development Framework (Annexure E). These policies ensure that development is in line with municipal future developments and policies such as the Transit Oriented Development as well as the densification of urban infill areas. They also make sure that development is aligned with objectives and principles outlined in the Development Facilitation Act, Integrated Development Plan and Ekurhuleni Growth and Development Strategy. As explicated in previous sections retail development strategy is wanting in Ekurhuleni. The delayed synthesis of a new retail strategy or update of the old one could be due to the fear of intervening in the market. As highlighted by Bestbier (2015) "if you interfere with those things you end up with white elephants where people don't go to shop". The coordination and guidance of retail development could help enhance and maximise the retail potential for the city and ultimately derive more social and economic benefits for local communities (Robison, 2015). This would help with the creation of a more organised structure for retail development based on the already existing cluster development model. This structure would also include merchandising mix and place-making.

5.5.2. Safeguarding the Interest of Locals for Better Socioeconomic and Spatial Outcomes

Currently municipal planning or the municipality follows development that is initiated by the private sector; as a result the goals are economic leaning than social because the primary goal for a developer is to accrue returns on investment. The municipal should play an advocative role in safeguarding the interest of local communities to derive even better socioeconomic benefits for locals in the long and short term. In Western economies, whereby strategic control over retail development was undertaken through the land use planning system, the objectives and outcomes proved to be more subservient to the interest of the public (Guy, 1994). Most decisions pertaining to the location and establishment of shopping centres in Ekurhuleni are currently driven by the private sector and goals tend to suit their interest. With Chris Hani Crossing this is not very clear as the city planning department argues that the piece of land on which the mall was built was intended for an economic use which was going to benefit the locals and change the monofunctional nature of the township as per Local Spatial Development Framework. The land use that existed before the proposal was 'undetermined' and was later rezoned for 'Business 1'. Some decisions pertaining to the development of retail centres are based on vested interests. The role of a planner is to protect communities from such interests and argue in favour of or advocate for the interest of disadvantaged or marginalised groups who are currently excluded from economic and political processes (Chaowarat, 2010). The role of the municipality is to make sure that the profit-driven goals of the developer and those of the community are

balanced through a clear communication of goals, objectives and responsibilities before and after the development between relevant stakeholders and representatives. Other relevant stakeholders are taxi associations, informal traders, local residents and business owners. They should be involved in the design and planning process. This would allow for more innovative ideas for future retail development. This includes facilities which were not considered in the planning, design and implementation of Chris Hani Crossing such as stalls for informal traders and a taxi rank that is big enough to accommodate different public transport modes transporting consumers to different areas.

In Vosloorus minibus taxis, which are the main transit mode transporting consumers and other users to and from neighbouring townships such as Katlehong and Thokoza, park informally on the fringes of the mall while there is ample parking space reserved for private cars inside the mall which remains idle. Informal traders trade from informally constructed makeshift structures outside the mall; this has a negative impact on the overall aesthetic quality of the entire precinct which is an important aspect for the developer (Bestbier, 2015). Furthermore, the opening up of a platform for meaningful collaborative or participatory planning which allows for the gathering of information from the grassroots will present an opportunity for locals who do not only want to be consumers but also producers and service providers to advertise and promote their businesses. Such locals include Makhubu who lives in Vosloorus Extension 16 and owns a construction and renovation company but failed to acquire a construction deal before the construction of the mall and a renovation deal during the operating phase. These meaningful collaborative or participatory planning platforms will also help the municipality look beyond the administrative responsibility of assessing development plans against technical criteria and consider the value and the impact of retail development on local communities and local economic development. Furthermore pluralistic decision making processes improve the quality of plans through making them responsive to varied interests and help diminish the level of corruption in local planning process (Chaowarat, 2010).

5.5.3. Shortage of Resources and Lack Development Readiness

By and large, the challenge of the lack of development readiness and the shortage of resources incurred by the municipality are negative factors that sometimes derail development and hinder the municipality from carrying out its local responsibility effectively. According to Adatia (2010) the role of municipalities in the development of retail centres is to provide long-term services such as electricity and water, and collect revenue and taxes. From this research McCormick put forward that the municipality failed to adequately provide these services. This could be because they had expected much higher contributions. As a result, McCormick Property Development has had to be responsible for the extension of such infrastructure into

the area and the installation of bulk services. Contrary to this the city planning department produced documents which prove that the developer had received monetary contributions from various departments toward the establishment of Chris Hani Crossing. The conflict of statements could be because the initial expectation of the developer was not adequately met in terms of infrastructural development support or fiscal assistance by the municipality.

The cluster development or mixed-use nodal development which results from the presents of a retail centre is a model which has come about unexpectedly and unanticipated but has the potential of changing third spaces into vibrant and economically active zones. They also have the potential to kick-start urban renewal in these areas. This can never be achieved until the municipalities, mostly in the Gauteng City Region, ceases to look for development strategies from other areas or do away with the development of idealistic development plans and start focusing on harnessing and enhancing what already exists. This should allow for the synthesis of more creative and context-specific approaches to retail-led development. According to Chaowarat (2010) state policies usually fail to adequately respond to economic, social and spatial challenges due to the fact that they are not context specific and are not sensitive to the existing social diversity of urban life. According Bestbier (2015) the municipality is currently learning and planning to explore the idea of agglomeration and looking at how this can be utilised for future retail development model as it proves to be effective for the township of Vosloorus.

5.5.4. A Beacon of Hope for the Township Informal Retail Structure

This study culminates with the idea that the time of wanting to develop for the township what already exists in relatively affluent former 'white suburbs' should be brought to a complete halt. This report suggests that the township should, with the help of the public and private sector through investment, pioneer its own socioeconomic and spatial development models which will provide direct responses to its challenges and needs. The fear of tempering with the formal retail market in the interest of marginalised groups should be overcome. As explained in the previous section, planning practitioners should be involved in the process of development. The township does not need a shopping centre or mall to develop economically; it needs something bigger and more grassroot-focused. The township is in dire need of well-through-out strategic interventions which will prioritise its long-standing local businesses such as spaza shops, stokvels, shebeens, barber-shops and shisanyamas. These businesses are central to real growth, job-creation and the ambition of black economic empowerment (Kohler, 2010). An urban design framework based on the organic agglomeration model in chapter four reflecting the vision of the community and the city's strategies would be a near appropriate response. This model would prioritise local business by necessitating the allocation of

a portion of the Gross Leasable Area, at a reasonable cost, to already existing local businesses that have the potential to compete in the formal retail market. Secondly measures to ensure that financial institutions established in these mall do not only come with their 'business-as-usual' method of extracting in townships but also provide funding opportunities and support for small and medium local businesses through innovative financing models and viable incubation approaches. Profits generated in townships should help improve the conditions of locals and their businesses. This can be done through investing in skills development and business development local projects.

5.6. Summing up

In the development cycle of shopping centres there is currently a huge gap which is meant to loop the entire process. This gap was identified in chapter three as the short and long term development impact assessment or evaluation. In an attempt to fill only a portion of this wide gap the report has sought to demonstrate, through the use of findings conveyed in the form of text and graphics, a multifaceted impact of Chris Hani Crossing on the space economy of Vosloorus and its surroundings. The basis of this was a conceptual/theoretical framework which consisted of four broad concepts identified as: Transformative Economic Development, Strategic Investment in South African townships also recognised as 'third spaces' in through the study, Development in Peripheral Areas and Empowerment through Retail. These concepts were key in finding the perspective for the study and they also helped identify gaps in the existing knowledge base. From this basis the report discussed the often overlooked socioeconomic and spatial change that has been brought about in third spaces through retail development and its indirect cumulative impact on the surroundings. This has also led to the re-discovery of the already existing of a cluster model, which has played out in a different form in the township of Vosloorus, through the analysis of data gathered from the fieldwork. The model is a possible outcome of other similar developments in Ekurhuleni South.

McCormick Property Development did not monopolise the market upon entry and therefore the model has organically accommodated other analogous initiatives for development in the area; this has led to greater economic benefits for locals. These incorporated complementary uses are real estate agents offices outside the mall, healthcare facilities within a comfortable walking distance, complementary retail development, mixed-income residential areas, light industries as well as public and social facilities such as a park. This model of clustering, based on unbiased information from real estate agents operating in the area, property developers who implemented the project, locals and users who have an incomparably better understanding of the impact as well as city officials to represent the views of the municipality, has proven to have more positive than negative externalities in its process of altering the space economy of Vosloorus in particular. However it has also been suggested that as this form of agglomeration or clustering intensifies beyond the

break-even point there will be more negative externalities than positive externalities. This would mean the instigated process of urban renewal will be offset by disadvantages of growth and development such as increased pedestrian and vehicular traffic augmenting the already existing level of congestion as well as noise pollution from delivery trucks and other activities. What has been interesting to find out is that other areas have yielded different results in terms of the impact of shopping centres on existing local retail structures. Even though initially it was not the aim of this research it has been discovered that this has stimulated the growth of local businesses and indirectly supported the development of local enterprises. This phenomenon has proven to be of great value as it has transformed the township of Vosloorus from a space of geographical misery characterised by the lack of both economic and social infrastructure to an area of economic and social opportunities. However the study has shown that this development has not received the much needed support from relevant municipal bodies or structures. With the right support from all pertinent structures this model can be used to revitalize townships, change the spatial make up of previously marginalised areas and bring desired results.

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Appendices A: Consent Form

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Student number: 391609
Faculty: Engineering and Built Environment
School: Architecture and Planning

Research Title

The impact of Chris Hani Crossing on the space economy of Vosloorus and its surroundings.

I (Skhumbuzo Mtshali) am an honours student from the department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. As per requirement for the completion of this qualification I am conducting research, in the area of Vosloorus, which seeks to understand the manner in which Chris Hani Crossing has affected the space economy (dispersion of economic infrastructure in space) of the township. This research looks at the impact from three perspectives namely economic, social and spatial. It aims to understand outcomes of policy decisions from the view of locals, decision makers, property developers, retail experts, realtors and other relevant stakeholders involved in the Chris Hani Project. The final output of this study will be an academic research report (thesis) which will help fill existing knowledge gaps in Urban and Regional Planning and other related disciplines. This is to assure you that I have obtained permission from the University to undertake this fieldwork and I hope it clarified the purpose of this research.

- I declare that I will not disclose or report about information deemed as confidential.
- I will not duplicate or use the information acquired from interviews and observations for any other relevant or unrelated project.
- I will keep information/ data anonymous.
- I will report back about the completion of the project and its findings to keen respondents
- The information and recorded data will be appropriately stored and kept as a good source of evidence for this research and may be destroyed at a later stage.

Consent Agreement

I _____ (respondent's name) am willing to participate and aid you with information needed for your research. I fully understand that my participation in this research is voluntary and I may withdraw, if need be, at any time.
Signature: _____Date:_____

I, Skhumbuzo Mtshali, thank you for your generous participation in this study. Rest assured that your information will only be used for this research and I am also willing to share a summary of the results if you require so.
Signature: _____Date:_____

EKURHULENI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

CITY DEVELOPMENT PORTFOLIO COMMITTEE MEETING

2008- 03- 18

ITEM C-CD (62-2008)

WARD 44 (BOKSBURG): REZONING: ERF 14669 VOSLOORUS EXTENSION 31 TOWNSHIP: BOKSBURG AMENDMENT SCHEME 1419

(14/2/82/14669)

1. PURPOSE OF THE REPORT

1.1 To obtain a decision on the application submitted, in terms of Section 56 of the Town Planning and Township Ordinance, 1986 (15 of 1986), for the rezoning of Erf 14669 Vosloorus Extension 31 Township from "Undetermined" to "Business 1" including a taxi rank, in terms of the Boksburg Town Planning Scheme, 1991.

1.2 As this application is not fully in line with LSDF Area 14, this application is referred to the Portfolio Committee for consideration.

2. STRATEGIC PRIORITIES

2.1 **Good Governance** – This development will take place in accordance with the provisions of the relevant legislation in order to ensure good governance.

2.2 **Urban Renewal** – Redevelopment of existing properties stimulate local market activity as well as resulting in an overall sustainable increase in property value.

2.3 **Poverty alleviation** – this application will tend towards job creation through the provision of business facilities and therefore poverty alleviation.

2.4 **Local Economic Development and Job creation** – This application is in direct line with this principle as jobs will be created both during construction and subsequent trade.

2.5 **Prevention of HIV/AIDS** - Not applicable.

2.6 **Safety and Security** - The development of vast and vacant land will lead to the improvement of security in the area.

2.7 **Community Participation** – the application was circulated to the local Councillor and all neighbouring property owners. The application was also advertised in terms of the relevant legislations.

3. RECOMMENDATION

3.1. **That**, the application submitted, in terms of Section 56 of the Town Planning and Township Ordinance, 1986 (15 of 1986), for the rezoning of Erf 14669 Vosloorus Extension 31 Township from "Undetermined" to "Business 1" including a taxi rank, **BE APPROVED**, as amended, subject to the following conditions:

8. TOWN PLANNING EVALUATION

8.1 Inspection Report (ANNEXURE "C")

8.2 Approved Land Use Policies for the Area. What Land Use Policies affect the application and how?

Regional SDF- The application is in line with the concept of Transport Orientated Development (TOD) within a strategic infill area. This is also defined as such in the Metro SDF. Furthermore, LSDF Area 14 identified the site as a "major infill opportunity for high density residential, taxi rank and urban market if **the dolomatic conditions allow**. A geotechnical study indicates that dolomite conditions do not support residential development, but business uses can be supported. As such the application aligns with the LSDF.

8.3 Development Facilitation Act, 67 of 1995

In what manner does the application comply with the general principles for land development, listed in Chapter 1 of the Development Facilitation Act, 67 of 1995?

(i) Promote the integration of the social, economic, institutional and physical aspects of land development:
The application will facilitate the provision of a wider scope business development in the Vosloorus area, thus promoting the integration of social, economic, institutional and physical aspects of land development.

(ii) Promote integrated land development in rural and urban areas in support of each other:
The intended development will not only deepen the scope of business typology provided for in the Vosloorus area, but also be in support of growth in general property values of existing residential properties, since a wider scope of amenities in support of the residential component present in the area will be catered for. This will stimulate development in the area.

(iii) Promote the availability of residential and employment opportunities in close proximity to or integrated with each other:
This application is in line with this principle, since the proposed development will lead to improvement in the scope and depth of amenities provided for in the neighbourhood. Growth in the residential property market will therefore be encouraged, which theoretically, translates into improved potential for additional business opportunities and hence employment opportunities.

(iv) Optimise the use of existing resources, including such resources relating to agricultural, land, minerals, bulk infrastructure, roads, transportation and social facilities:
The proposed business use will add to the complexity of mixed land uses and will thus promote the increased optimal utilisation of roads and other infrastructure.

(v) **Promote a diverse combination of land uses, also at the level of individual erven or subdivision or subdivisions of land:**
This development will most definitely contribute to the complexity and the diversity of future land uses.

(vi) **Discourage the phenomenon of "urban sprawl" in urban areas and contribute to the development of more compact towns and cities:**
The area in which the proposed development is taking place is well inside of the urban edge and forms part of the infill process that is being advocated by the Spatial Development Framework.

(vii) **Contribute to the correction of the historically distorted spatial patterns of settlement in the Republic and to the optimum use of existing infrastructure in excess of current needs:**
The proposed development being located within a previously disadvantaged area of the City will help in rectifying the historically distorted spatial patterns mentioned above. The application will lead to job creation and poverty alleviation because it promotes the establishment of business premises and therefore also employment opportunities.

(viii) **Encourage environmentally sustainable land development practices and processes:**
The Gauteng Department of Agriculture Conservation and Environment has granted authorisation for the proposed development in terms of the Environmental Impact Regulations, 2006.

8.4 Comments from Spatial Planning. Make specific reference to the following:

8.4.1 Linkages to the IDP

The approved Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) forms the spatial component of the IDP. The MSDF incorporates and spatially interprets all principles, objectives, etc set in the DFA, NEMA, the EMM Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and the EMM Growth and Development Strategy (EGDS)

8.4.2 MSDF / RSDF / LSDF

The MSDF "indicated broad, desirable land use patterns and is therefore not a mechanism intended to evaluate individual land use applications." (MSDF: 2005, page 147). "A Local Spatial Development Framework (LSDF) or approved policy is thus to be used for the consideration of all application types". "If no LSDF is available for a specific application site, the RSDF can be used to consider the application." (MSDF: 2005, page 149).

LSDF Area 14 identified the site as a "major infill opportunity for high density residential, taxi rank and urban market if **the dolomitic conditions allow**. A geotechnical study has been undertaken, and indicates that dolomite conditions do not support residential

development, but business uses can be supported. As such the application aligns with the LSDF and is supported.

8.5 Merits and Desirability of the Application

The application has merit from the point of view that it proposes the development of a shopping complex in a previously disadvantaged area. The Local Spatial Development Framework (LSDF) for Area 14 identified the site as being located within an activity node at the intersection of Bierman and Brickfield Roads. The LSDF further identified the site as a "major infill opportunity for high density residential, taxi rank and urban market if the dolomitic conditions allow. The applicant has undertaken a geotechnical investigation of the site and it has been found that the dolomitic constraints would preclude residential development. The investigation however identified that the site would be suitable for the development of business related uses. The Council for Geoscience has confirmed that the findings of the geotechnical investigation are in their opinion correct.

Vosloorus has over the years continued to develop as primarily a residential area within the Ekurhuleni Metro. Many of the facilities regarded as complimentary to a residential area including shopping centres have been slow to develop. This has resulted in residents still having to travel fairly long distances to shop in the CBDs and Malls. The proposed development of the site for a shopping centre provides an opportunity to rectify this spatial distortion within Vosloorus and the wider Ekurhuleni area.

The proposed development of the site will further provide job opportunities for the surrounding community both during the construction and operational phases of development.

The land use rights being applied or would allow for the development of a regional shopping centre of ± 44 000m². The provision of public transport facilities has become essential with such business uses, and as such, the existing informal taxi rank will be formalised and public parking will be provided on site.

The proposed development aligns with the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipalities Retail Study in the sense that second economy areas are characterised by high population concentrations and a disproportional low supply of retail floor space per capita. This is a direct result of the general lack of formal retail facilities in these areas. The estimated net effective demand for retail space in Kathorus for 2014, including inter-town cross border trade, is 380 000m² of retail floor area.

This application serves to provide 44 000m² of retail floor area that will service both Kathorus and its surroundings. Considering the size of the property (i.e. ± 11ha), the proposed development can easily be accommodated with sufficient parking, manoeuvring space, on-and off loading, etc.

This Department recommended a much wider building line along the eastern and northern boundaries of the site in order to protect the immediate residential properties. Furthermore, the impact of the proposed development on the adjoining land uses can also be controlled in terms of a site development plan.

A copy of this authorisation will be forwarded as soon as it has been issued.

2. THE APPLICATION

The application is for the amendment of the Boksburg Town Planning Scheme, 1991, amendment scheme 475 in respect of Erf 14669 Vosloorus Extension 31 from "Undetermined" to "Business 1" including a taxi rank.

The proposed controls will facilitate the development of a typical mall-type of shopping centre with a supermarket, line shops and surface parking.

The floor area ratio is limited to 0,4, the coverage to 40%, and the height of buildings to 2 storeys. The development will be preceded by a site development plan.

3. MOTIVATION

3.1 Background to the application

The site is located within the Vosloorus Township area. The township was proclaimed in terms of Section 35(3) of the Black Communities Development Act, (Act 4 of 1984). The township register was opened that the Johannesburg Deeds Office on 8 July 2002.

The site is situated at the intersection of Brickfields and Bierman Roads. Brickfields Road is an important north-south arterial which links Zonkizizwe in the south to Spruitview in the north. Bierman Road is also a high order road which crosses the Natalspruit to the west of the site and links Katlehong and Vosloorus to the N3 Highway.

Although well-located and accessible to the general area, the geotechnical characteristics of the site made it unsuitable for residential development. The site was therefore zoned "Undetermined" pending further geotechnical investigations which would determined what uses could be developed on the site.

As indicated earlier, the Property Owners have appointed Intraconsult Engineering Geologists to conduct a more detailed investigation into the Geotechnical Characteristics of the site. Initial findings of the investigation have indicated that the property is suitable for the development of business uses.

3.2 Policy Environment

The Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality has prepared and approved a Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF) for the Southern Service Delivery Region. The RSDF proposes a set of Development Objectives which are in line with the overall goals to be achieved within the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework.

The objectives of relevance to this application include:

- *Development strategies to promote the principle of compact city, focussing of activity nodes, places of residence and transport linkages.*

The proposed development is located in a development node and on main north-south and east-west transport linkages. The development will provide easy access to goods and services for the surrounding residents and wider Katorus area.

- *The development of activity nodes to focus on the creation of an economic growth environment, through the utilisation of activity in nodes and modal interchanges and provide supportive land use management policies and frameworks.*
  The proposal seeks to integrate and formalise the existing taxi rank located on the site as at present. The development should act as a catalyst to encourage other economic development on the business erven to the west of the site and industrial area to the south.

- *Coordinate Harmonious Land Use Patterns through the implementation of effective land use management policy and legislation.*
  Shopping Centres from an integral part of most residential areas providing easy access to goods, services and entertainment in close proximity to peoples homes. The Vosloorus area has for many years has been deprived of these facilities resulting in the residents having to travel long distances to access these services. The proposed rezoning and development will result in a more typical land use pattern characteristic of residential area, being created.

- *Identify developable land for infill development in terms of strategy, socio/economic value and soil conditions for development.*
  The geotechnical investigation has identified that the site is suitable for the development of business uses. The proposed development of a shopping centre of the site will therefore result in it being utilised to its optimum potential.

The proposal is therefore consistent with the above objectives.

A Local Spatial Development Framework has also been prepared for the area. The area has been identified as primarily comprising residential land uses and in need of economic and work activities.

The plan promotes the following opportunities that are pertinent to the development of the site:

- *There is a need to promote change of the existing mono-functional character of the study area into a more multi-functional character which will facilitate easier access to urban amenities and job opportunities.*
- *The large tracts of vacant land in the area need to the utilised – either by infill development if the dolomitic conditions allow it, or by low-intensity uses such as recreational areas, parks and urban agriculture.*
- *Development is fragmented and there is a need for an overall structure which will tie the different elements of the urban environment together into a cohesive and legible whole.*

The Plan proposes the development of activity nodes at the following intersections:

- The Goldspot node at the intersection of Bierman Road and the N3 highway;
- The Spruitview node at the intersection of Leodale and Moagi Roads;
- **The intersection of Bierman and Brickfields Roads (the site)**; and
- The intersection of Bierman and Moagi Roads.

The Plan further reflects the site as accommodating a taxi rank, urban market and major infill opportunities, even high density residential if dolomitic conditions were to allow it. As started earlier, the geotechnical investigation indicates that the site is not suitable for residential development. The existing informal taxi rank will be accommodated and formalised as part of the proposed shopping centre development.

3.3 Traffic Impact

A Traffic Impact Study for the proposed development is currently being undertaken. It is proposed that full access points will be provided on Brickfields and Bierman Roads.

The access points will be designed and constructed to the satisfaction of the Municipality's Roads Department.

3.4 Need

Retail development in the Vosloorus area has largely been limited to the Gold Spot and Spruitview Nodes.

A Retail Study for the site was commissioned and its findings are as follows:

- The study identifies that based on 2001 census data projected to 2006 that there are ± 200 000 households in the Katorus area.
- The estimated monthly expenditure on food in the area is ± R132 million.
- The existing national retail chains represented in the area include Spar at Spruitview, Gold Spot, and Thokoza, and a Shoprite at Natalspruit.
- It was identified that the bulk of the monthly food expenditure is spent outside the Katorus catchment area.

The indications are that the residents of Katorus do not have adequate access to a range of retail facilities and consequently have to travel long distances to do their monthly shopping. The limited local facilities, which are subject to higher prices and lack of choice due to limited competition, can be augmented by more shopping.

As indicated in the Municipality's Spatial Development Frameworks the Vosloorus area was established primarily as a "dormitory township" with limited land provided for uses other than residential. This has constrained economic growth and job creation.

The proposal will facilitate the development of a shopping centre at an identified node, which will not only serve the surrounding community but also the larger Katorus area due to its highly accessible position.

In order to create sustainable communities it is important that job opportunities are encouraged within close proximity to residential areas. The proposed development will not only result in jobs being created during the construction phase but also during the operational phase of the development.

3.5 Desirability

The Local Spatial Development Framework has identified the possibility of the development of an activity node, at the intersection of Brickfields and Bierman Roads. The realisation of this proposal depends on the type of investment that the Property Owner is willing to bring to the area.

The site has remained undeveloped for over 5 year since the development of the residential component of the township, largely due to geotechnical constraints. The lack of development has made the site susceptible to vagrancy and illegal dumping with the consequent negative impact on the adjoining residential areas.

The development of the site will be a major capital investment in the area, which will hopefully act as a catalyst for further development.

The areas to the west of the site being zoned "Business" provide an opportunity for the further expansion of the node.

The proposed development will facilitate the formalisation of the existing taxi rank on the site.

It is proposed that the existing servitudes which affect the site will be accommodated within the development proposals.

3.6 Impact on surrounding properties

Residential houses are typically orientated in a north-easterly direction away from the site to take advantage of maximum light and sunshine.

The proposed development will be orientated in a south-westerly direction away from the residential houses to increase visibility from the intersection of Brickfields and Bierman Roads.

The proposals to limit the height of the development to 2 storeys will ensure that there is no overlooking or overshadowing of adjoining properties.

The development of the site will be subject to a site development plan which will detail further mechanisms to mitigate possible impacts on the adjoining properties.

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

4.1 The application is for the rezoning of Erf 14669 Vosloorus Extension 31 from "Undetermined" to "Business 1" including a taxi rank, to allow for the development of a small shopping complex.

4.2 The site is situated to the north east of the intersection of Brickfields and Bierman Roads.

4.3 The development provides for a significant economic investment on properties that are currently not being utilised to their full potential.

ANNEXURE "B"

AS A GOVERNMENT WE HAVE A MAMOTH TASK TO HALVE UNEMPLOYMENT BY 2014 THIS WILL BE HELPFUL TO REACH THAT GOAL THERE WILL BE EMPLOYMENT, BUSINESSES NEARER TO COMMUNITIES & OPPORTUNITIES FOR POOR LOCAL PEOPLE TO OPEN THEIR OWN BUSINESSES THERE HAVE NO PROBLEM WITH REFERENCE TO THE ABOVE MENTIONED APPLICATION OF PROPOSAL.

DIRECTORATE: DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

SECTION:

NAME: CLR PAULINA BODIBA

SIGNATURE:

DATE: 2007-03-30

Memorandum

Ekurhuleni
METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

To: AREA MANAGER : DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING: (BOKSBURG CCC)
ATTENTION: Nhlanhla

Your Ref: 15/4/3/1/82/14669
Our Ref: 15/4/1/1

WATER AND SANITATION

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Engineer Planning: Water Services

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E-mail: Bonganih@ekurhuleni.gov.za

www.ekurhuleni.com

Date: **30 January 2012**

SUBJECT: APPLICATION FOR PROPOSED REZONING ERF 14669 VOSLOORUS EXTENSION 31 TOWNSHIP: SEWER AND WATER ENGINEERING SERVICES: COMMENTS

Your memorandum dated 20 December 2011 in the above regard refers.

The Department Infrastructure Services, Water Services has no objection against the application.

Our support is subject to the following conditions;

1. This application is subject to contributions in terms of the policy which came into effect on the 1st April 2009.

The following contributions are applicable in terms of our policy;

1.1 Water contribution	R 29 534, 01
1.2 Sewer contribution	R 35 228, 30
	R 64 762, 31

These figures exclude VAT and will be payable before the amendment scheme is promulgated. Although these figures are reasonably accurate they are still subject to verification.



Chris Hani Crossing

Vosloorus - Site Plan

RESILIENT
Property Income Fund

Molefi Properties

Longwalk Investments (Pty) Ltd
Property Developments and Brokering

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