

Spaza shop keepers, the city and the local 'community'-The case of Yeoville

Chapter One: Introduction to the study

Introduction

The research is focused on investigating the relationships that exist between spaza shop keepers, the City of Johannesburg and the local community members of Yeoville. In investigating these relationships that exist between the stakeholders outlined, the report will be divided into five chapters. Chapter one is the introduction to the research, chapter two is the literature review, chapter three focuses on the research methods undertaken and the conceptual framework, chapter four is based on the findings from fieldwork and chapter five draws conclusions and recommendations. Attention is now turned to chapter one.

1.1. Rationale

In early 2000s, the City came up with a strategy of eradicating 'informal' trade in Yeoville as part of the regeneration program in the inner city and the clean up Yeoville campaign (Dhliwayo, 2003; Benit-Gbaffou, 2011). Spaza shops were also identified as a dimension of informal trading and therefore the city wanted to ban spaza shop operation in the residential spaces in Yeoville. The community mobilized against this arguing that spaza shops provide a useful service in the area. Through long processes of negotiation between the City, the local community members and spaza shop keepers, the City came to a conclusion that it will allow spaza shops to be established in the area but they have to follow certain conditions of operation. The stakeholders involved came to an agreement but recently there has been the blooming of spaza shops in the area and there have been allegations that spaza shop keepers are not abiding by the conditions agreed upon. Currently however, the rapidly increasing number of spaza shops has led some community leaders to question whether this agreement is working or not.

The research seeks to investigate the types of relationships that exist between spaza shop keepers; the local community in Yeoville (with an understanding of its diversity) and the City because the relations between the above mentioned actors are not fully understood. This is evident in the way the spaza shop operations are dealt with in the area. Getting this kind of information will help in understanding why spaza shops in Yeoville were allowed to be established by reforming by-laws to

allow their existence; getting a sense of the levels of social and political acceptability of spaza shops in residential spaces in Yeoville and coming up with by-laws that are better suited for the context.

Yeoville has been chosen as a case of study because it offers an interesting case where there are a lot of spaza shops being developed in the area at an accelerated rate. Finally it is an interesting case study because of the variety of research initiatives being developed this year throughout *Yeoville Studio*¹.

1.2. Background

Spaza shops in general in South Africa are a direct product of apartheid because the government then used a strategy of preventing people from getting involved in their own economic activities (Smithers, 2011). “Spaza shops in Yeoville emerged because of the black population that started moving into the area” (Smithers, 2011). People started establishing spaza shops as they have done so in the townships that they came from. The house is viewed as more than a place to reside but also as a source of income.

After liberation of the country in 1994, the Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme prohibited spaza shops from being established in residential spaces (Elias, 2011). Although this legislation prohibited the development of spaza shops, they started growing slowly until they reached about 200 in the early 2000s. By the year 2003, spaza shops started being a persisting phenomenon in Yeoville (Elias, 2011; Smithers, 2011). When this was taking place, a lobby group, the Yeoville Stakeholders Forum, was exerting pressure on the City Council to stop the activity of spaza shops and shut them down. One of the main arguments by the lobby group was that spaza shops decrease the value of property in the area. Another reason was that Yeoville is zoned for residential uses and therefore retail activities should not be allowed to take place. Spaza shops are also argued to compromise the residential character of the area and also contributing to the housing crisis because a lot of houses are being converted to businesses. Spaza shops are argued to encourage criminal activity because majority of them act as fronts for illegal activity.

This is shown by what some of the community leaders have said such as “90% of spazas in Yeoville are probably illegal, most of them by their very existence, others spill out onto the pavement instead

¹ *Yeoville Studio* is a research and learning initiative driven by a collaboration between the Wits University School of Architecture and Planning and the Yeoville Stakeholders Forum, supported by several other partners. It aims to produce quality academic research that is relevant, useful and of interest to the Yeoville community. The website for Yeoville Studio is <http://www.wits.ac.za/academic/ebe/archplan/4876/yeovillestudio.html>.

of being a window in a wall and others contravene the by-laws and sell alcohol, loose cigarettes and play loud music” (Smithers, 2011). “Most spaza shops are a front for illegal activities, some sell drugs and others operate shebeens and sell illegal and unlicensed alcohol” (Mhlanga, 2011). “...some sell illegal goods such as dagga and unlicensed alcohol” (Khoza, 2011). The City in the year 2003 decided to ban and shut down spaza shops by arguing that they are in contravention with town planning regulations. Warnings were issued to spaza shop keepers and later spaza shops were bulldozed.

Individual spaza shop keepers approached the Informal Business Forum to act on their behalf and help them with the decision by council to close them down. The Informal Business Forum, as a strategy, collected 5000 signatures as a petition to stop the onslaught against spaza shops. The people who signed the petition were mainly local community members and not a single spaza shop keeper. The petition was accompanied by a memorandum to the then President of South Africa Thabo Mbeki. In the memorandum, it was argued that the Johannesburg 1979 Town Planning Scheme is an apartheid legislation that applies to areas where white people own property and that it is not practical. “I don’t know if some community leaders also signed the petition but what I know is that most of them are against spaza shops and are arguing that they are speaking for the community but the petition proved otherwise” (Elias, 2011). The president was able to listen and stopped the onslaught against spaza shops.

The local community members also reacted against the onslaught against spaza shops by arguing that it is unreasonable to just shut spaza shops down and that people are trying to make a living to sustain their livelihoods. Another argument by the community was that many of the spaza shop keepers are not aware of the regulations by the City contained in the Town Planning Scheme. The City listened to the concerns raised by the community and later negotiations between the City, local community members and the spaza shop keepers took place.

After a series of negotiations, an agreement was reached in 2005 to allow for what is called “house shops” to be established in Yeoville. This was allowed by slightly amending the Johannesburg 1979 Town Planning Scheme with certain conditions. One of the main conditions is that people who want to open a spaza shop must apply for consent use and or rezoning at the council offices and wait for approval before operating. The other conditions are explored in detail in Chapter four. However, the amended Town Planning Scheme is still very restrictive and people find it very difficult to abide by the regulations. “This is why most people don’t apply and resort to just opening their spazas (Elias, 2011). “Things have gone to the extreme where one finds 6 spaza shops on one property” (ibid)

The reason for this is that council has not taken any steps to manage and regulate the development and operation of spaza shops in Yeoville. This is a challenge because unmanaged and uncontrolled spazas cause a vicious cycle of urban decline in the area. “Right now as we speak someone is starting or halfway through or putting the finishing touches to a new spaza shop” (Smithers, 2011). The development of spaza shops should therefore be controlled in order to make sure that they abide by the regulations and conditions agreed upon in 2005.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

This study will investigate: **what are the relationships between spaza shop keepers, the City and the local community in Yeoville residential spaces?**. The study will be guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the different typologies of spaza shops that exist in Yeoville?
2. What are the by laws governing spaza shop operation in Yeoville?
3. What are the local community and the city’s perceptions of spaza shops in the area?
4. What are the spaza shop keepers` own perceptions?
5. Are there any contestations regarding spaza shops operation and by whom?
6. Do spaza shop keepers claim a right to establish their businesses in the area?
7. What organizations are in place to represent the interest of spaza shop keepers?
8. What are some of the negotiation tactics used by spaza shop keepers to continue operating in residential spaces?

The sub questions above are used in order to guide the main question which is on investigating the relationships that exist between spaza shop keepers, the City and the local community of Yeoville. Getting answers to these questions will give an idea of the relationships between these stakeholders.

1.3. Context of Case study: Yeoville

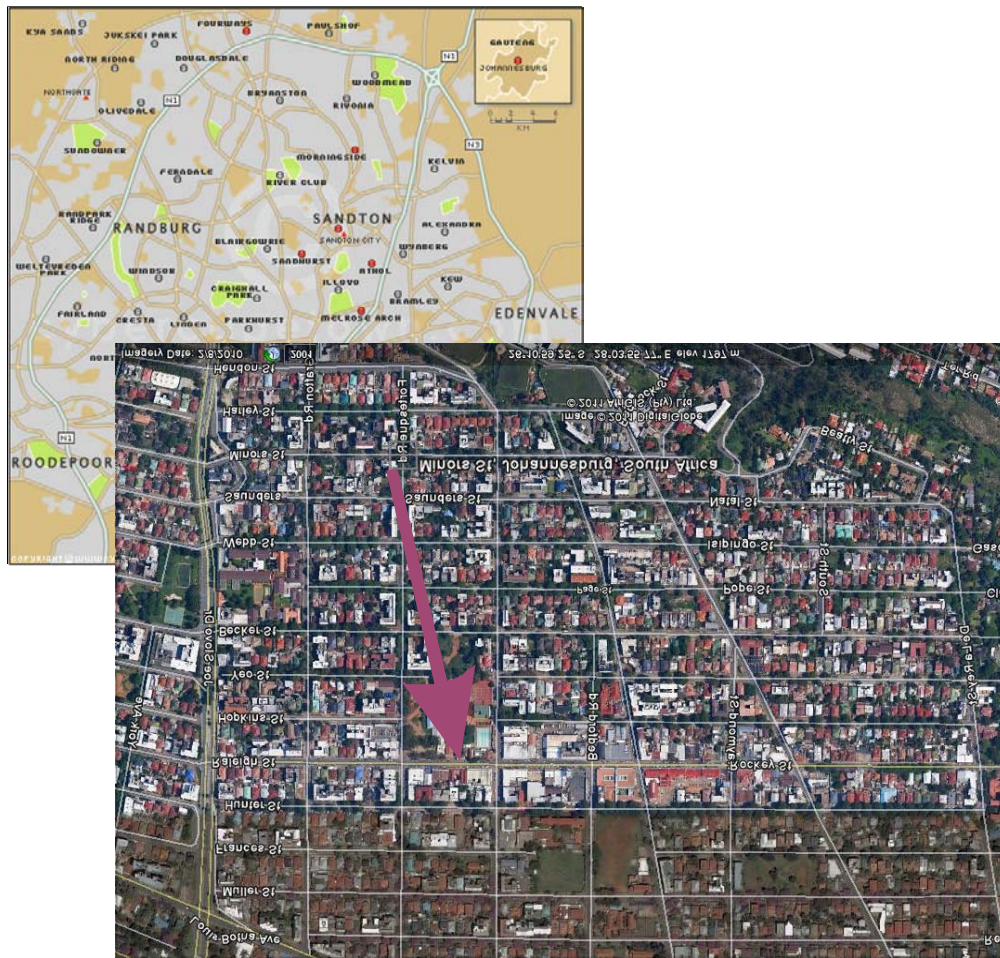


Figure 1: Context of Yeoville



After www.googleearth.com

Yeoville is located on the northeastern part of the Johannesburg Central business district in region F (Yeoville Studio, 2010). It is bound by Louise Botha to the North and the Ridge to the South, to the west by Joe Slovo Drive and to the east by De La Rey Street. Yeoville as a neighbourhood is located in close proximity to employment opportunities and Johannesburg`s economic nodes such as the inner city and Parktown. Figure 1 above shows the location of Yeoville in the context of Johannesburg. Yeoville is densely occupied by migrants from the rest of the country and the rest of the African continent such as Mozambique, Lesotho, and Zimbabwe. The neighbourhood has a commercial high street known as Rockey/Raleigh Street which is internationally known because of its character (Yeoville Studio, 2010). It is a vibrant street which is characterised by all sorts of trade including informal street trading. The area is mainly zoned as *residential 4*² but a lot of land uses are occurring in the neighbourhood. The figure below shows some of the important dates and events that took place in the shaping of the neighbourhood.

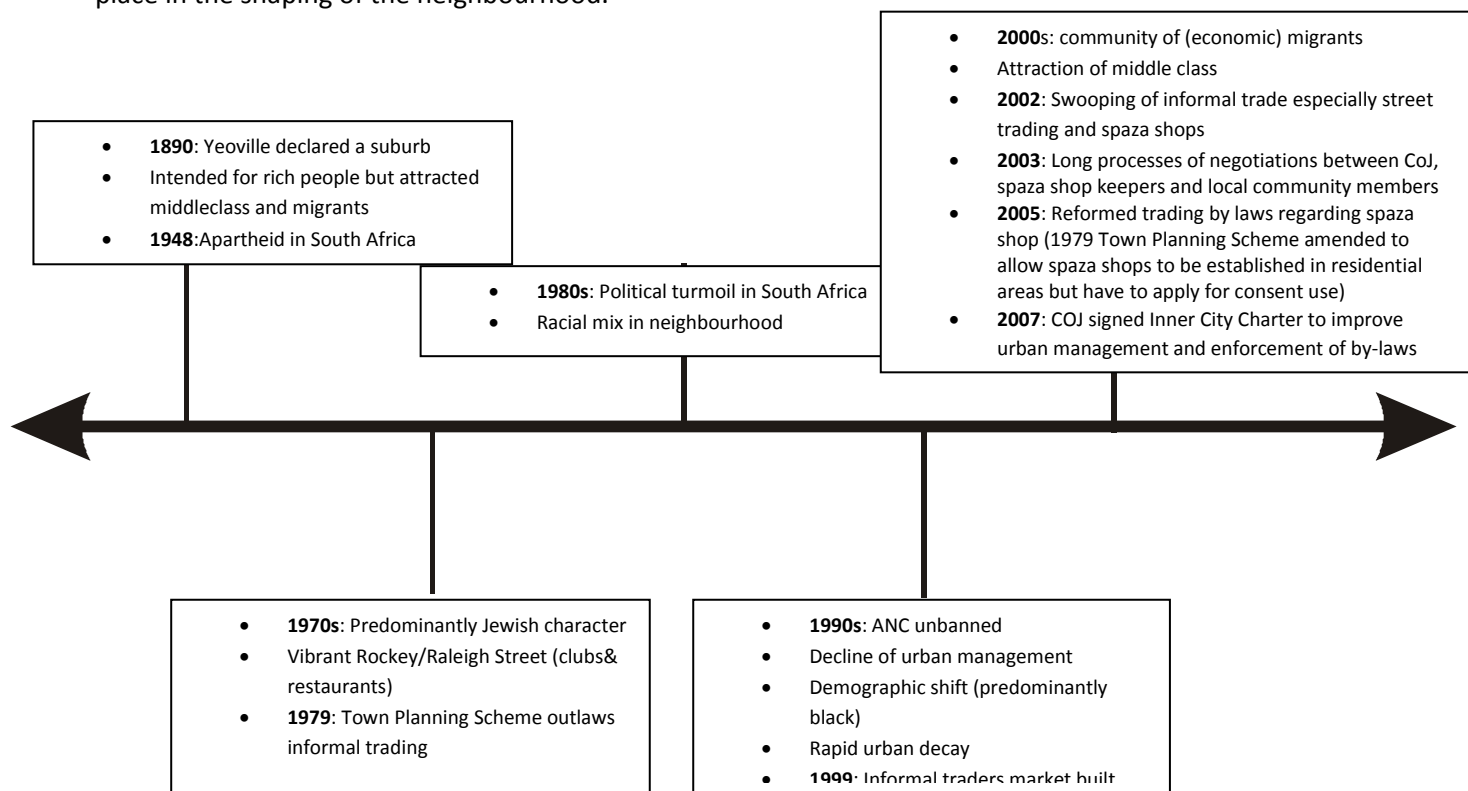


Figure 2: Important influences in Yeoville

Information adopted from [.s4.brown.](#) and Yeoville Studio (2010)

² "Residential 4 is a type of zoning which allows for dwelling units, residential buildings excluding hotels in respect of which an on-consumption license is granted according to the conditions of the Liquor Act (Act 27 of 1989). These are the purposes for which the building or land may be used for. Other purposes for which the buildings or land may be used only with Council's consent include places of public worship, places of instruction, social halls, institutions not necessarily for office or administrative use, special buildings, sports and recreational clubs, private or public parking areas, medical consulting rooms other than for veterinarians, a hotel in respect of which a license is granted according to the conditions of the Liquor Act (Act 27 of 1989)" (City of Johannesburg, 1979).

1.4. Informality in Yeoville

Governance plays an important role in Yeoville especially because urban management is informalised by residents some of its residents. Strategies of accumulation and urban management are informalised in order to gain access and make a living in the area. In Yeoville the City of Johannesburg has and continues to enforce by-laws regarding the organization and use of space in Yeoville, residents (especially those excluded from the formal workings of the market) informalise urban management in order to gain access to the city through the use of insurgence (Yeoville Studio, 2010). Some of the residents of the area informalise urban management in order to respond to over regulation by the City in terms of enforcing restrictive by laws. Thus the economy of Yeoville is mainly characterized by informal trade.

General context of informal trade

The 1990s saw the prevalence of street traders in Yeoville along Rockey/Raleigh Street. Lack of urban management was seen as the main cause of this dimension. There were both negative and positive perceptions of street traders by the local community members and community leaders. Some saw them as providing a useful service in the area while others associated them with crime and grime. These perceptions vary widely across the community.

Informal trading in public spaces

The City of Johannesburg has banned street trading since the construction of the Yeoville market in 1999 (Housing Class, 2010; Yeoville studio, 2010). Even though this is the case, street trading still characterises many streets of Yeoville especially Rockey/Raleigh Street. Most people trade on the street because it offers easy access and convenience therefore customers do not have to travel long distances to buy traders goods. Street trading offers an income to people who cannot enter the formal job market either because they do not have the necessary skills or they are illegal immigrants and do not have the necessary documents. These traders use trading as a way to subvert the state and its regulations. Since this type of trading is not permitted in public spaces, these traders are in conflict with the regulations set by the state.

The City enforces regulation by sending the Metro police to raid the streets and residential properties in search of informal trade operating outside the City regulation (Yeoville Studio, 2010). The police confiscate any “illegal” goods and chase traders away. Traders are using insurgency to claim the space of trading in the city in order to sustain their livelihoods because immediately when the police leave, they come back to the streets and sell their goods.

Spaza shops in Yeoville

As part of the Cleanup Yeoville campaign and the inner City regeneration program in early 2000s, the City of Johannesburg came up with strategies of eradicating informal trade (Benit-Gbaffou, 2011; Dhliwayo, 2003; Elias, 2011; Smithers, 2011). Yeoville was identified as one of the problem area in terms of informal trading including spaza shops. The City wanted to ban these spaza shops because it identified them as a dimension of informal trading. The community mobilized against this arguing that spaza shops provide a useful service in the area. Through long processes of negotiation between the City, the local community members and spaza shop keepers and the City, a conclusion was reached in 2003 to allow spaza shops to be established in the area but they have to abide by certain conditions of operation. This will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.

Recently however there has been the blooming of spaza shops in the area because spaza shop keepers are not abiding by the conditions agreed upon. Spaza shop keepers have decided to ignore the city's regulations and operate outside the law. This has resulted in the City being forced to take action against "illegal" spaza shops by confiscating their goods and destroying their places of operation. Figure 3 below shows the mapping of spaza shops by second year Architecture students from the University of the Witwatersrand in the Yeoville residential properties area. They only mapped spaza shops from Rockey/Raleigh Street to the South of Yeoville and ignored the North.



Figure 3: Location of spaza shops in the South of Yeoville

Source: Atkinson et al (2010)

In this research the North will be included by focusing on Muller Street as a site where interviews will be conducted with spaza shop keepers. Muller Street in the North and Minors Street in the

South will be the areas of focus in this research. Figure 4 overleaf shows the location of these Streets where research will be based (streets highlighted in purple) in relation to Rockey/Raleigh Street which is the commercial high street (street highlighted in red). Muller Street has been chosen because it is the North of Yeoville which from observation seemed more orderly as opposed to the South. The street is also in close proximity to Rockey/Raleigh Street which is the commercial high street. Minors Street has been chosen because it is located in the South and away from Rockey/Raleigh Street. Choosing these different streets will hopefully provide different types of relationships between the stakeholders that will be interviewed.



Figure 4: Location of focus areas in relation to Rockey/Raleigh Street

Source: After www.googleearth.com

1.5. Typologies of spaza shops in Yeoville

The framework of Yeoville studio, some students from the University of the Witwatersrand, Atkinson et al (2010), have already done some research on spaza shops and proposed several typologies (i.e ways of identifying them). The authors first distinguish spaza shop typology in terms of their degree of formality which is focused more on their physical character. The first type that they define is a space in the residential property. This is a spaza shop that is operated from the original property without any subdivisions. Atkinson et al (2010) also argue that in some cases there is extension on

the edge of the property that spaza keepers operate from. In this instance, rudimentary material such as cardboard or corrugated iron are used to construct the structure of operation. Other spaza shops are also on the street frontage from the residential property but are constructed with bricks to make them look more formal. This typology defined by authors provides a useful basis for this research because it will be interesting to find out the relationships that exist between community members, the City and spaza shop keepers in these different spaza typologies. The images below show examples of different (physical) types of spaza shops.



Image 1: Window in property



Image 2: Room constructed within residential property



Image 3: Space within residential property with signs on it.



Image 4: Spaza within residential property with big selling space



Image 5: Spaza built into wall of property



Image 6: Space street frontage

Figure 5: Spaza shop typologies

Source: Atkinson et al (2010)

The sketches below also show the typologies of spaza shops that were identified by Atkinson et al (2010) in Yeoville.

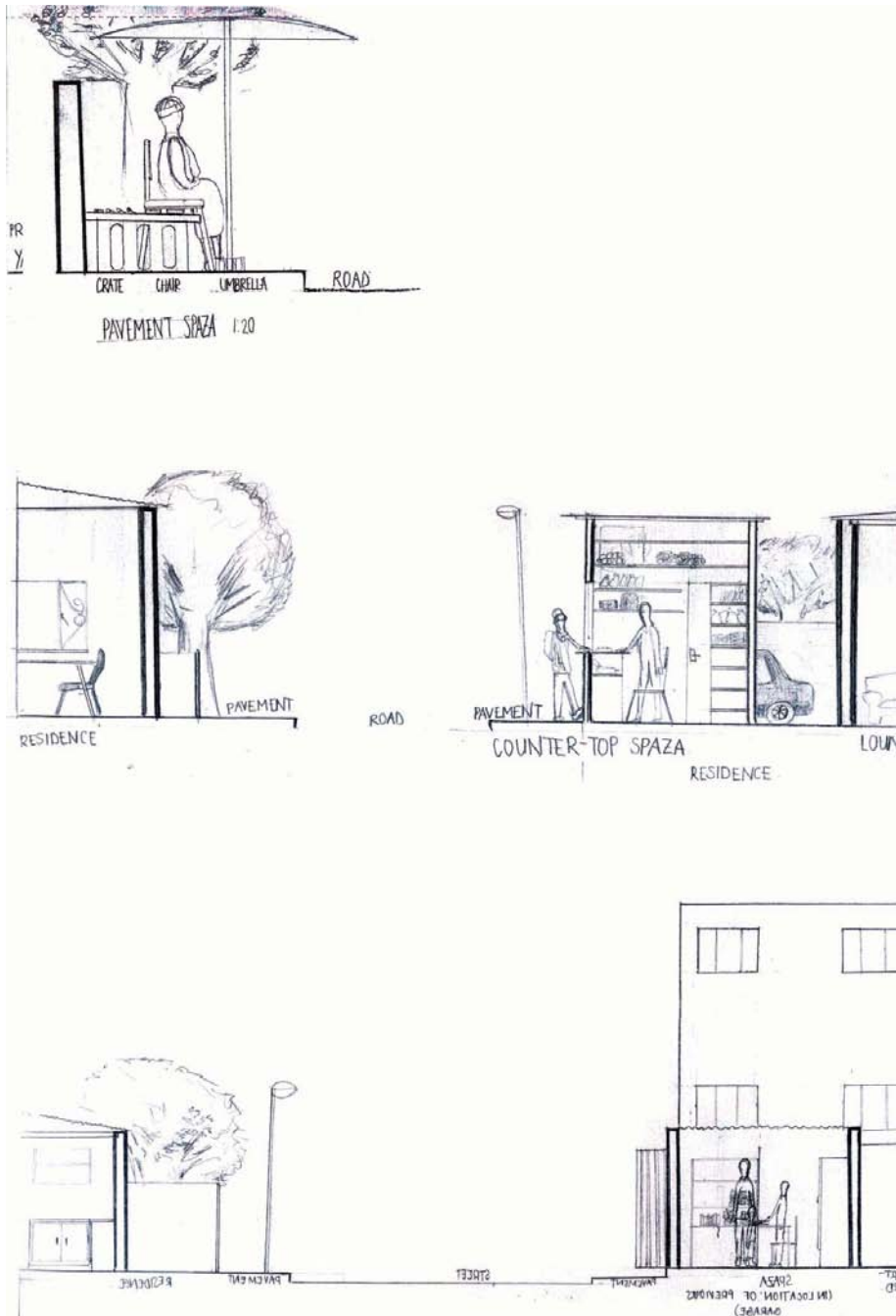


Figure 6: Sketches showing spaza shop typologies

The second typology the authors propose is one that is focused on the ownership dimension (Atkinson et al, 2010). Some spaza shops are established by owners of property who wish to

supplement or sustain their livelihoods. These owners of property might also own space and rent it out to spaza shop keepers or even go to the extent of building a structure in their property and rent it out on a monthly basis to those interested in running a spaza shop. Another type includes one where a tenant rents space from the landlord in order to run their spaza shop from the residential property. The last type in this category is one where a tenant sub-lets space to anyone interested in running a spaza shop operation in the neighbourhood. Below are sketches of spaza shop typologies identified by Atkinson et al (2010).

In this research, the aim is to draw on these spaza shop typologies identified by Atkinson et al (2010) and expand on them by doing fieldwork in the area of study. These identified typologies act as a starting point for this research and certainly hope that more spaza shop typologies will be discovered during the course of the study in Muller and Minors Streets.

Some community members are however starting to question whether this agreement is working by arguing that this community based management of spaza shops that is adopted in Yeoville is not working. This is because of the mushrooming of spaza shop on many of the streets in the area. The City is not properly managing and regulating the spaza shops. This is illustrated by Elias (2011) who during an interview with him said that "...Council has not taken any steps to control or manage spaza shop development and operation in Yeoville". He said this because one finds more than one spaza shop in the same property. Smithers (2011) also substantiates this point by saying that "in the last six years there have been rampant extensions of spaza shops with little or no regulation by authorities". Urban management is left to the community members to control and regulate spaza shop development.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The Informal sector has transformed the urban space in the world and particularly in African cities. Keith Hart quoted in Hansen Tranberg and Vaa (2004:19) argues that the informal sector “was nothing less than the self-organized energies of people, biding their time to escape from the strictures of state rule”. The quotation above shows that the informal sector is a livelihood strategy by people especially those who are unable to enter the formal sector and where the state is not able to provide for their needs. One characteristic group of the informal sector is informal traders who characterize many cities around the world especially African cities. When the government is unable to provide for people`s needs, many of them resort to informal trading as a livelihood strategy. However, this sector has often been highly contested by government in many cities. These governments devise policies that seek to eradicate this sector because of the perceptions held by the authorities and ‘communities’. The government tends to dismiss this sector because it is believed that informal traders contribute to crime and grime in cities (Bromley, 2000). Perceptions of street traders vary among ‘community’ members and are in most cases contradictory; while others are appreciative others are antagonistic. Majority of the ‘community’ members support the informal traders because their location is convenient and they offer their goods and services at cheaper rates than formal shops and traders in the market. Others dismiss street traders by arguing that they lack control and contribute to crime in cities.

The relationship that exists between informal traders, the local government and the local community within which the traders operate is not understood fully. This is substantiated by Meagher (2010) who argues that research on the informal sector in Africa focuses more on stereotyping the sector rather than understanding the institutional organisation and complex relations that exists between the stakeholders involved. These stakeholders in this case include the community, government and informal traders in Nigeria. This dynamic translates in the making of policies on the informal sector that do not address the real underlying issues but rather remedy the symptoms.

The literature review will look at four themes; the first one is informality and planning; the second one is governance; followed by informality and insurgence and lastly the business logic of spaza shops. Attention is now turned to the first theme below.

2.2. Informality and planning

Roy (2005) argues that the informal sector was mainly prevalent in the 1970s in many cities around the world although it was prevalent before this time. Even though the informal sector was mainly prevalent in this period, there is a whole colonial legacy of street traders` repression. In the colonial era, informality was repressed and criminalized by the state (Tissington, 2009). Any informal activity was restricted and action taken against such illegality was forced removal and confiscating of traders goods. City authorities responded to this by seeking to organize the economy through the formulation of policies aimed at controlling the sudden growth of the informal sector. This was done in order to reinstate state power because informality was seen as a strategy by those at grass root level to undermine state control. Bayat (1997) who is writing from a political sociological perspective substantiates the above statement by arguing that informality dates back in Iran`s large cities in the 1970s. During this time the city was not able to provide every citizen with services resulting in those excluded (most notably migrants and immigrants) starting to find ways in which they could provide themselves with the services.

In response to this increasing informal sector, the state came up with by-laws that were meant to regulate and control this sector (Cross, 2000; Tissington, 2009). The state during this time was playing a regulatory role because informality was seen as a character of a failing state. Therefore many states during this time were concerned with eradicating and preventing the growth of this sector by developing regulations that restricted the operation of the sector in order not to be seen as being dysfunctional. The states therefore did not allow the proliferation of the informal sector and as a result were seeking to destroy it (Bayat, 1997).

The most dominant by-law objective regarding informal trade was eradication in the early 1970s. Eradication was carried out by governments in many countries as a way to discourage the development of informal trade. This relates to the case in Yeoville where informal trading especially street trading is not appreciated by the city authorities and some local community members and therefore eradication seems to be the solution.

2.3. Governance

The issue of blooming spaza shops in Yeoville seems to be mainly governance coupled with policy issues. The main issue is who regulates the development of spaza shops in residential areas and who controls their operation. For instance, if governance structures of informal trade are weakened, the

policy that is formulated in response to this will not respond to the key underlying issues at hand but will seek to remedy the surface issues.

Governance is the relationships that exist between government; civil society and the private sector (Lindell, 2008). It means that power is not located within a single institution but rather it is dispersed among a range of stakeholders who do not have the same level of importance. A range of stakeholders in this case refers to the city authorities, the local community in the form of Community Based organizations, spaza shop keepers, property owners and formal businesses in the Yeoville area. This concept is used to illustrate that the state does not have monopoly over power as ordinary people are able to shape and influence planning processes. This understanding of governance is particularly important in the Yeoville context because in the City enforces trading by-laws and these are contested by community leaders and spaza shop keepers. Some community leaders support the operation of spaza shops in the area and most spaza shop keepers operate their businesses without abiding by some of the conditions set by the City.

Various modes of power show that the City is the regulator of informal trading but there are conflicts as to what the role of the local community is in the by-laws making processes (Lindell, 2008). These conflicts exist because it is not known what the degree of local community influence and involvement in the policy making process by authorities is. The extent of participation by local community members in the informal trading by laws is not known. The author argues that in African cities, there is a weak relationship between the state and civil society because the state usually enforces top-down regulations without understanding the context and politics at the grass root level. As the City has come up with regulations for informal trade, civil society has come up with ways to still operate amidst the regulations in place. This shows that the state does not have monopoly over power as ordinary people are able to shape and influence planning in various ways such as insurgence which will be discussed in detail below. In most cases literature on informal trading generally considers only two stakeholders being informal traders and the state and therefore it is original to add a third stakeholder being the local community. In Yeoville there is a three way relationship between the informal traders being the spaza shop keepers, the City and the local community. Instead of seeing the state as the main and sole regulator of informal trade, the local community members and the informal traders are allowed to have a say in issues that affect them. The City in this regard does not have monopoly over power as the decision to allow the spaza shop keepers to continue trading in the residential properties came through long processes of negotiation between the City, spaza shop keepers and the local community members.

Miraftab (2009) and Perera (2009) argue that in the light of governance, it is evident that urban planning is practiced by planners as experts but they do not do this alone but with a range of stakeholders for which they are planning for. The stakeholders include non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community based organizations (CBOs). People who are not experts are able to create spaces outside the planned ones and operate within them. This will be observed in Yeoville where the City of Johannesburg is in partnership with a range of stakeholders including NGOs, CBOs, property owners and other formal business owners.

The collapse or inabilities of many states to regulate the informal sector and the economic state of many countries have resulted in the proliferation of the informal economy. State sovereignty in many African countries was decreasing due to external pressures of liberalization which emphasized decentralization of government. Reduced sovereignty of government was also caused by the fact that many African governments were unable to deliver services to the population because of a range of institutional challenges such as the lack of resources. Brown, Lyons and Dankoco (2009) argue that the informal sector is acknowledged to be a survival strategy in African cities by authorities although they still tend to contest it by enforcing and enacting by-laws that cripple its operation. In Yeoville, the informal sector is not only contested by the authorities, but some community leaders also contest by laws governing informal trade because they feel that they are too flexible. These community leaders argue that this form of community management of informal trade is too flexible and the state has withdrawn from its management and regulation.

Formalisation of the informal sector was highly emphasized in the 1990s as a policy objective of many African states (Roy, 2005). This is due to the realization that informality is not going anywhere and therefore planners need to work with informality in order to plan efficiently in the African context (Roy, 2005). Followers of the Chicago school of thought who are highly influenced by sociology argue that there is a need for informal actors to be formalized in order to be integrated with the state and society. What these sociologists are arguing may be challenged on the grounds that informal actors are already integrated with the society because they are part of the society. This is substantiated by Castells and Perlman cited in Roy (2005) by arguing that the informal actors are integrated well in the state and society and therefore do not need to be formalized. This argument by Castells and Perlman seems to hold in the Yeoville context because many of the informal traders are part of the society in a sense that they reside and also perform a service in the area. Bayat (2007)

argues that regulation by the state usually occurs when the informal activities go beyond a point of tolerance.

Hernando de Soto argues that the poor have assets which are held informally and the only effective way of realize their value is through their formalization by government (Bromley, 2000; Holston, 2007). He therefore advocates formalisation of informal sector as a way to help actors in the sector not as a way to cripple the operation of their activities. Formalisation of informal trading has become a dominant mechanism used by government to control and regulate the informal economy. Bromley (2000) and Holsten (2007) argue that planners seek to formalize informal sector in order to create order in cities. An example of this is the creation of formal stalls for informal traders as a way to create order. Even though this approach has positive implications for the informal operators, the negative implications outweigh the positive ones. The process has tended to displace the most vulnerable actors because informal traders are required to register their businesses by paying certain amounts of money to the authorities. Those who have been excluded from the formalisation process find ways and means to undermine the government regulations and still continue to trade (Roy, 2005; Karumbidza, 2011). Cross (2000) substantiates Roy and Karumbidza`s argument by stating that there have been attempts to formalize the informal sector although with little progress because people who get excluded from the processes of formalisation find other ways in which they can still continue to trade informally.

The last two decades have seen the rise in radical planning which has put emphasis on inclusion and participation of people in planning matters (Miraftab, 2009). There was a realization that instead of formulating top-down by-laws that restricted informal trade, it was useful to have input by actors in the sector to understand what was really going on. Then in this way regulations developed will address the problem rather than cure the symptoms.

During this time there was also an emphasis on community involvement in decision making processes of government. There was a need for community based solutions in response to local problems and not international solutions for local problems. Authors such as Yiftachel (2009) who is writing from a political point of view contest this concept of participation on the grounds that even though government initiates the integration of civil society in planning practices, the government still remains the main role player. This means that participation is a strategy by the local government to manipulate the decision making processes. The author also gives an analogy which shows the stratification of informality in cities. He argues that there are gray spaces in cities (spaces which are neither legal nor illegal) and that governments seek to formalize or eradicate them through a

processes of 'whitening' or 'blackening'. 'Whitening' refers to the approval and formalisation of the informal activity while 'blackening' refers to criminalization and eradication of the informal activity. This analogy is useful in the Yeoville context because it can be applied to find out whether the City intends to 'whiten' or 'blacken' the spaza shops in the residential area.

There was also emphasis on enablement of actors in the informal sector by government (Yiftachel, 2009). Therefore there was a growing policy focus which was seeking to 'help the poor help themselves'. This era therefore saw the acceptance of informal traders but still seeing the need by government to control and regulate their scope of operation. Change was appreciated because there was a realization that the informal sector was not going to diminish especially in African countries which are characterized by poverty.

2.4. Informality and insurgence

Insurgence is defined by Roy (2009:8) as "the uneven cartographies of access and power within which the periphery is at once marginalized and yet able to put forward a counter-politics". This means that there are uneven levels of power and access to resources by different people in a given context, that not everyone can access the same types of resources and have the same level of influence. Insurgence in the informal context means the contestations and conflicts that exist between informal actors and the state (Holston, 2007). Roy (2009) argues that insurgence and informality are two worlds that are intertwined because insurgence takes place in the informal context. Manuel Castells, a renowned sociologist, who is cited in Roy (2009), inquires whether insurgence and informality show the failure of planning in cities as an instrument to regulate space. He argues that the poor have invented spaces of their operation through what he terms 'counter-politics'. This is because "the rooms for familiarization is afforded by the incompleteness of formal urban systems...these have gaps, cracks and depends on exceptions" (Roy, 2009:8). Perera (2009) argues that ordinary people are creating spaces of their operation outside the state's regulation through a process of what he calls 'familiarization'. Familiarization has been defined by Perera quoted in Roy (2009:8) to mean "the process by which the subaltern citizen comes to inhabit, reshape and rewrite the space of the colonizer". This means that people familiarize themselves with the space and therefore adopt it for their operation. The author also argues that even though these people do not overthrow authority, their forms of resistance against government eat away the structures of authority.

Bayat (1997) argues that in cities, especially those that are not democratic regimes, people who are excluded from the formal provision of services, housing and jobs formed collectives and started changing the character of the street by turning it into shopping arenas. Authorities did not agree with what these people were doing to the streets and therefore forced traders to stop this action. There was confrontation between the state and the vendors. What remains evident is that the government's attempt to eradicate street trading did not work because the traders responded to the policies with resistance and insurgence. The tactics used by traders to subvert the state include resistance or by simply not complying, this is what Bayat (1997) has termed this type of behavior 'silent and free-form mobilisation'. This applies to the Yeoville case study as the City put in place by-laws that regulate the development and operation of spaza shops but the keepers do not comply or simply ignore the regulations.

Bayat (1997) argues that social change is often brought about by this silent and free-form mobilisation by poor people who are excluded from the formal systems of operation. The author realizes an important dimension that the poor are not passive recipients of whatever regulations the government throws their way. He acknowledges that the poor also have agency to determine what works for their situation and what does not work. In the author's understanding "the struggles of the urban poor are also surreptitiously offensive, that is, disenfranchised groups place a great deal of restraint upon the privileges of the dominant groups..." (Bayat, 1997:56). This means that the poor's activities are often hidden from the state and therefore bring the liberties of the ruling class under control.

The mobilisation of the poor is often marked by no clear leadership and associations which voices out the collective interest of the group (Bayat, 1997). This argument may be dismissed on the basis that the author is writing from a non-democratic context and that the article was written in 1997 and therefore some arguments made such as this one may be outdated. Many organizations that represent the interest of the poor have been established in many urban areas. It is also argued that the poor who are excluded from the formal economy act as counterparties against the state through representation by organizations. In Yeoville for example, organizations such as the Yeoville Spaza Association have been developed in order to voice out the interest of spaza shop keepers in the area (Gerber, 2004). Even though these organizations are formed in Yeoville, they are still quite fragile because they are weak both financially and institutionally.

There is a debate in Bayat (1997) 's article which is based on why the poor are using informality as a form of insurgence. The first argument is that the poor mainly use informality as a way to redistribute resources in an unlawful manner. This means that the way resources are acquired and distributed to the poor by the poor is unregulated. The second argument is that the poor mainly engage in informality as a strategy to avoid regulations and bureaucracy of the authorities. This is an interesting debate that can be tested in the area of study to see why spaza shop keepers are engaging in their informal practices. It would be useful to find out if informal operation of spaza shops by their keepers is used as a strategy to gain autonomy from authorities or simply to make a living from informal practices. This echoes broader debates on social movements.

Tilly (2004:1) defines social movements as being "inclusive organisations comprised of various interests groups...these various interest sectors of society will be bound together by one common grievance...". This illustrates that these movements are groupings of individuals whose primary concern is to bring some form of change (be it political or social) through collective action. Goodwin and Jasper (2009:4) define social movements as "a collective, organized, sustained and noninstitutional challenge to authority. These movements are usually organized around concerns of the manner in which planning decisions are made by the City (Higgins, 2011). These groups are usually formed when an area is threatened by proposals of development and change and therefore organize to question policy dimensions and be involved in decision making processes. Tactics used through these informal mobilizations of people include resisting social change enforced by formal structures. These movements have become part of a global network of non-agreement and opposition to hegemony. Social movements have recently gone beyond their traditional roles which are to ensure participation of community members and stability in neighborhoods to include questioning and changing of policy by the local government.

Public spaces are used as a space for the contestation between the informal actors and the authorities (Bayat, 1997; Yiftachel, 2009). The state puts in place regulations that depict the use of space and expects these regulations to be followed by actors but instead informal traders seem to be ignoring these regulations and acting against them. This is because the informal people are struggling for multiple sovereignties wherein they want to be operating alongside the state and also have the power to influence regulations concerning their operation. Perera (2009) argues that it is a political issue for informal traders to constantly have to defend the right to be allowed to sell on the streets.

Informal traders have been noticed to join associations that represent their needs (Bromley, 2000; Motala, 2002; Brown, Lyons and Dankoco, 2009). Motala (2002) argues that positive economic and social change can be achieved by collective representation of informal actors. Therefore associations have been seen as crucial platforms that can initiate for institutional reforms. It is useful for informal traders to operate as a collective as opposed to try and influence policy as individuals. As individuals, informal traders are marginalized and do not have a voice in decision making processes and therefore need to form or join associations that represent their collective interests. The ability to voice out interest is dependent on forming collectives to influence the decision making of authorities. Brown, Lyons and Dankoco (2009) argue that even though organizations of informal traders are better able to voice out the group interest, there is a difference in the degree of influence between formal associations and grass root informal associations. The informal grass root level associations tend to have limited influence in decision making processes as opposed to the formalized interest groups. The informal traders associations are able to have interactions with the local government and thereby influence policy by being involved in decision making processes. Lobbying and confronting the local government are often used as tactics to put forward the group interest. Their main aims are to lobby with government and find ways of incorporating informality in policies by the city.

It is however argued that although the associations are able to influence policy, their scope of efficiency is undermined by internal challenges (Motala, 2002; Brown, Lyons and Dankoco, 2009). These challenges include the fact that that the organizations often lack capacity in terms of finances and workforce. Membership of organizations is small because most informal actors do not have the necessary knowledge about associations or are simply not interested in being members. Another challenge is that strategies by organizations tend to focus on short term rather than long term strategies. These short term strategies used to attract local government attention include protests to authorities' offices and mass meetings.

Bromley (2000) argues that there are conflicting interests between street traders, the local government, political parties and the local community. These conflicting interests are fueled by the fact that these different stakeholders each have their own vendetta and ways of operation. While the local government is putting by laws in place to regulate and manage informal traders, the traders are trying to make a living and some local community members support while other criminalize informal trade. This argument's applicability will be investigated in Yeoville. This argument by Bromley is made in line with street traders in a different context from Yeoville

therefore it will be interesting to investigate if this type of relationship exists between spaza shop keepers, the local community and the City. Brown, Lyons and Dankoco (2009); Holsten (2009) and MirafTAB (2009) argue that there is a need to better understand the complex relationship that informal associations have with the state and the local community within which they operate. This in the Yeoville context will be the investigation of the relationships that exist between spaza shop keepers, the City of Johannesburg and the local community members. Understanding the relationships between these stakeholders will help in reaching a common ground in terms of policy that will benefit spaza shop keepers, the local community and the City in Yeoville. This will also help in coming up with by laws that are better suited for the Yeoville context.

The logic of why spaza shops are established is one aspect that needs to be investigated. Attention is now turned to the business logic of spaza shops as researched by Chapman and Piper (2011) who give a case study of an area in the Western Cape Province, Delft South, where spaza shops owned by foreign nationals were targeted for xenophobic attacks.

2.5. Business logic of spaza shops

Spaza shops as businesses in the township differ in their logic of establishment and operation (Charman and Piper, 2011). The authors argue that this is evident especially where spaza shops are established by local South Africans and others by foreign nationals. There exists a contrast in business logic between locally owned spaza shops and those owned by foreign nationals and the broad categories that the authors outline are social and business logics. For the local owners, the logic is usually that of making an extra income to sustain their livelihoods which can be said to be socially oriented while for immigrants it is predominantly more business oriented.

These contrasting business logics inform the way the spaza shops are run in the townships. Local spaza keepers normally own one spaza shop while foreigners own more than one. This allows the foreign spaza owners to reduce operational costs and be more competitive. They tend to sell their goods at lower prices as compared to the locals. Local spaza owners tend to re-invest money from the spaza locally while foreign nationals tend to send money back home in the form of remittances and therefore the money is invested somewhere else and not in the local community.

Since spaza shops in one location are not homogenous, this means that there are a range of typologies that people can establish. The spaza may be opened by a tenant who pays rent to use the space in the residential property. Another typology might be where an owner of property opens a

spaza shop in their own plot. These typologies have an effect on how spaza keepers are perceived and treated in the area of operation, be it locally or foreign owned spaza shop.

In the year 2006, a number of immigrant shop keepers were attacked and killed. This intensified in the year 2008 where more and more foreign spaza keepers were killed and wounded. Many of the attacks were based on the fact that most immigrant spaza shop keepers had established prominent businesses that were profitable and competitive to the South African owned ones. Therefore the xenophobic attacks can be seen as being fuelled by the struggle for resources between the locals and the immigrants. Some people were even arguing that it is the local spaza shop keepers who have initiated the xenophobic attacks on immigrants resulting in destroyed spaza shops, stealing goods and killing of owners. The authors argue that in almost all cases where xenophobic attacks took place, local groups or individual spaza shop keepers were at the forefront of the action in efforts to claim authority and power in order to further their political and economic interests.

The strategy to attack the immigrant spaza shop owners by local ones was to ensure that they politically disempower the immigrants since they are economically dominant. This is because the South African owners are economically weak but are politically strong when compared to immigrant owners. This increased competition between local and foreign spaza shop owners has also affected and influenced the local community's perceptions of immigrant spaza keepers. Some community members support while others dismiss foreign shop keepers. Therefore perceptions of foreign shop keepers vary widely across the local community. Other appreciate the foreign spaza shops because they offer goods at lower prices compared to those owned by South Africans while others argue that the quality of goods and services offered by foreign nationals is bad compared to South African owned ones. The issue of xenophobia might not surface in Yeoville because it is a neighbourhood which is mainly occupied by diverse nationals from other African countries.

Chapter 3: Research Methods

3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the research methods that were used in data collection and analysis. The data that is used in this report is both quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative data is used to make statistical representations of the situation in Yeoville and maps out an idea of what the majority of people think. The quantitative data is from spaza shop keepers and the local community of Yeoville. Graphs, tables and figures are used in the following chapter to paint the general picture. Qualitative data is the in depth analysis of what each person said. Themes and significant quotes are extracted from the qualitative interviews in order to understand the dynamics of this issue and ultimately answer the research question. The purpose of the research is to explore the relationships that exist between the stakeholders outlined above (spaza shop keepers, the City and the local community of Yeoville). This assists in answering the question: ***What are the relationships between spaza shop keepers, the City and the local community in Yeoville residential spaces?***

The main aim of the research is to understand the types of relationships that exist between spaza shop keepers, the City and the local community of Yeoville. The outcome of such an investigation will be to getting a sense of the levels of social and political acceptability of spaza shops in residential spaces in Yeoville and possibly coming up with by-laws that are better suited for the context. During the month of June that is when fieldwork (interviews and observation) started taking place first with Edmund Elias and Maurice, followed by spaza shop keepers in Minors street, spaza shop keepers in Muller street, the local community, chairperson of the Yeoville Community Policing Forum (YCPF), Region F quadrant manager and the Senior Professional Officer of Development Planning and Urban management in the City of Johannesburg. The diagram below shows the sequence of fieldwork that took place.

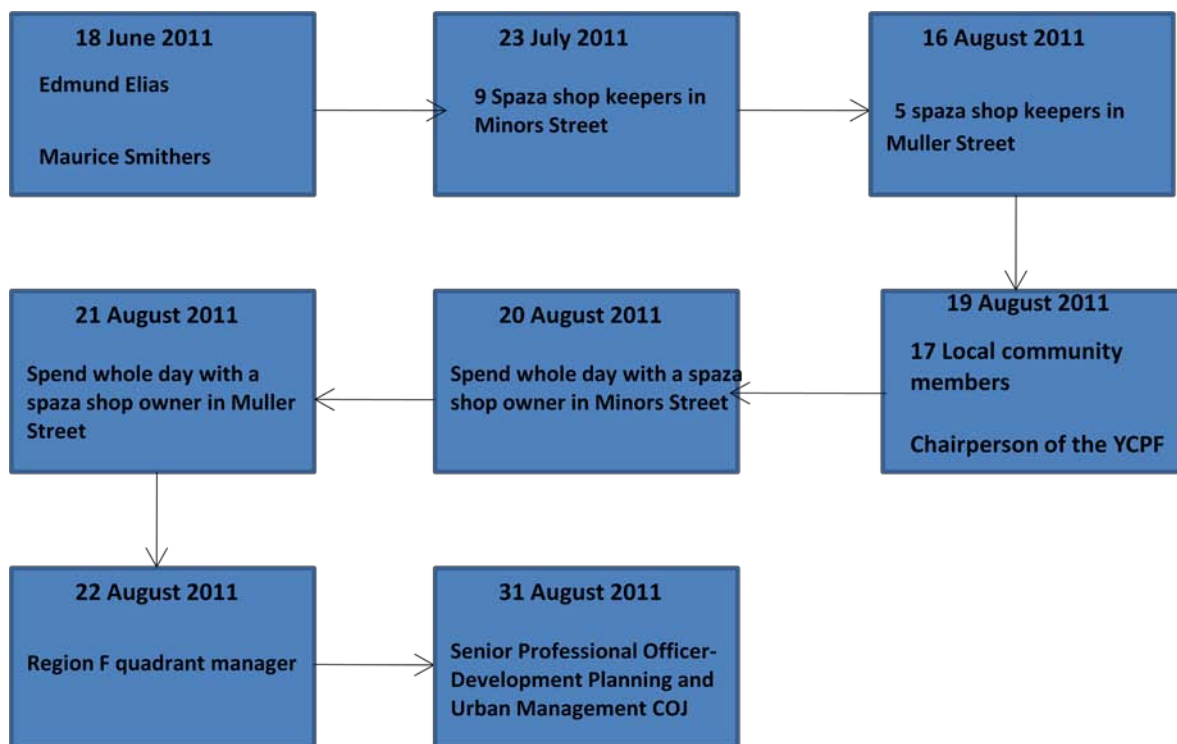


Figure 7: Sequence of fieldwork

Thirty six (36) interviews in total were conducted. An interview with Edmund Elias, Maurice Smithers, nine (9) interviews with spaza shop keepers in Minors street, five (5) interviews with spaza shop keepers in Muller Street, seventeen (17) interviews with local community members, an interview with the chairperson of the YCPF, Region F quadrant manager and the Senior Professional Officer of Development Planning and Urban management in the City of Johannesburg. The idea was to get an understanding of the relationships between different stakeholders by asking questions such as those about history of spaza shops in Yeoville, perceptions of spaza shops and the by laws that govern spaza shops.

The research was based in Yeoville but concentrated on two Streets namely Minors in the South and Muller in the North. Four methods of data collection were used in this research. They include case study, interviews, observation and looking at available literature on the issue of spaza shops. Different interview questionnaires were prepared for different stakeholders (*see annexure*). Attention is now turned to the first research method, case study.

3.2. Case Study

Soy (1997) argues that the case study research method is “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context”. This form of research method has been chosen because it supports the intention of the research. The issue of spaza shops is not unique to Yeoville but informal trading by laws being reformed to suite and apply to the context is unique to Yeoville which is why this method of a case study is used. The complex issue of spaza shops developing and operating in residential spaces is better understood by using a case study as a research method. The Yeoville case study is the basis of the study and informs the research question and sub questions. This case study has highlighted unique issues that pertain to the area of study.

3.3. Interviews

Interviews as a research method are used to get and understand in detail the interviewee’s perceptions and lived experiences (Valenzuela and Shrivastava, n.d). This type of research method allows one to follow up and ask further questions on things that the interviewee might say that need probing. This method was used to get perceptions and feelings of people in Yeoville. Interviews were conducted with some community leaders who were available and those that are involved in a way with the spaza shop issue (*Edmund Elias and Maurice Smithers*), the chairperson of the Yeoville Policing Forum (Mbuyiseni Khoza), spaza shop keepers in Minors and Muller Streets, local community members who were randomly selected for surveys, Region F quadrant manager (Owen Mhlanga) and Senior Professional Officer of Development Planning and Urban Management at the City of Johannesburg (E.J.H. Theron). Interviews were conducted with the stakeholders mentioned above and transcripts were written down (*see annexure*). These transcripts capture realities and experiences of the respondents. Different people’s interpretation of the situation of spaza shops was also documented.

Spaza shop keepers, including owners, workers and tenants, were randomly chosen for interviews based on their willingness to participate. Community members were also randomly chosen as I walked throughout the streets of Yeoville. I approached people who were sitting in the parks and those that were hanging around in the street and did not look too busy to answer the interview questions. This was done in order to get a diverse range of views and perceptions that would inform this research.

3.4. Unobtrusive Observation

This type of research method is used to study behaviour of people without them being aware that they are being studied (Hannan, 2006). This method looks into the behaviour of subjects and their

daily activities. Observation played a key role in this research. I spent the whole day, from 09:00 till 17:00 with a spaza shop owner in Minors street and another day with another owner in Muller Street. This was done in order to observe the types of relationships that exist between the spaza shop keepers and their customers, their neighbours, their working conditions, interaction with other spaza shops on the same street, customers' behaviour towards spaza keepers, peak hours of business and the types of items that are sold mostly at different hours of the day. The dynamics of the relationships that exist between a range of stakeholders was carried out while conducting interviews.

3.5. Desktop Research

Desktop research is a research method which is used mainly when literature especially academic, is limited on the topic (Pru, 2010). This type of research method is used to get an overview of the issue that is being researched. It is used to categorize key issues relating to the research topic, inform research question and sub questions and also gives an idea of the potential interviewees. Research that has already been undertaken related to the research topic is used. Available literature on spaza shops by Yeoville Studio was also used to better understand the dynamics and getting a sense of what has already been done in terms of research. This has helped in getting a sense of the extent of the issue in the area. It also helped in getting a sense of the typologies of spaza shops in the area. Available literature that was mainly used is from Yeoville Studio, the City of Johannesburg website and Yeovue News. This research will hopefully add onto the body of research and knowledge that is already available through the Yeoville Studio.

3.6. Data collected

The data collected required the answers from both street traders and shopkeepers as the key informants of the research.

People that I interviewed are spaza shop keepers (13), community leaders (Edmund, Maurice, Mbuyiseni), Region F quadrant manager (Owen Mhlanga) and the local community of Yeoville (17). 34 interviews in total were conducted in order to get a sense of the types of relationships that exist between spaza shop keepers, the City of Johannesburg and the local community members of Yeoville.

3.7. Limitations of the study

There is some research done on informal trading in Yeoville but much of the research that is done is mainly focused on street trading and traders in the Yeoville market. There is not much research done specifically on spaza shops in Yeoville but the literature that is available on spaza shops is the one

that was done by second year Architecture students. Shebeens have also been researched on but no mentioning of spaza shops.

Some spaza shop keepers were not willing to be interviewed at all because they did not see any immediate material benefit of engaging. Some of the spaza shops were operated by workers because the owners work during the day. Most workers do not know the history of the spaza shop such as when and how it got established. This meant that information such as when the spaza shop was established and what were the processes followed to open it. Most of the workers that I spoke to just started working in the spaza and do not know the workings of the spaza and the relationships that exist between other spaza shop keepers in the same street. Others needed spaza shop owner`s permission in order to answer questions because they are afraid of the consequences.

Some of the spaza shop keepers in Minors Street did not want photographs of their spazas taken while others were enthusiastic. All the interviewees in Muller Street did not want photographs of their spazas taken. This has crippled my research to a certain extend because one of the sub questions in the research is what are the typologies of spaza shops. Even though I could not capture the spaza shops, I made notes and sketches of the typologies that I identified in both streets. The person who was involved in the 2003-2005 agreement for spazas in Yeoville was unavailable throughout the course of my fieldwork. Even though this was the case I managed to talk to the Senior Professional Officer in the Department of Development Planning and Urban Management. She was helpful in many ways. The chairperson of the Yeoville Stakeholders Forum was also unavailable for an interview.

3.8. Reflections on research process

Delusion

I thought that participants will not be willing to talk about their life experiences and share their perceptions regarding the research. Language barrier was thought to be a huge factor affecting the research but most people understood English and could engage with the questions posed to them. I was scared of going to Yeoville on my own because of the misconception that it is a dangerous area. Therefore I always had to have someone to go with and help me conduct the interviews and observations.

Surprises

Many of the interviewees in Yeoville were very friendly and were willing to participate in the research that I was conducting. Some were even enthusiastic and asked questions in order to know more about the kind of study I was conducting and what the outcomes of it would be. Most spaza shop keepers revealed how much they make per day from their businesses. This was a surprise because I had assumed that they will not be willing to disclose such information. All of the spaza shop keepers interviewed said that they do not belong to any spaza shop organization. Some of the spaza shop keepers are educated. There was this one spaza shop keeper in Muller Street who has completed a degree in mechanical Engineering but decided to open a spaza Shop as he likes to interact with people.

Frustrations

Most spaza shop workers were not willing to answer questions because the owners were not around. Some of them are not familiar with the spaza shop as they only started working there. Some community leaders and the people who drafted the 2005 by laws that govern spaza shop operation in Yeoville were not available for interviews. This has crippled this research to some extent because the process that was followed when reforming the by laws from the 1979 Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme is not clearly understood.

3.9. Theoretical framework

In the literature review, a variety of concepts are identified that need to be explained in the context of the research at hand being spaza shop keepers, the city and the local community. The concepts include community; informality, spaza shop, (City) local government; governance; insurgence; organizations and social movements. Attention is now turned to the first concept being community.

Community

Community is defined as a social grouping of people who draw on a similar value base and interest and belong to a certain locale that is claimed as their shared space (Peck,2009; Jackson, 2011). The common consciousness of interests and values that they share are what joins and brings them

together in their day to day lives. However, it should be acknowledged that even though these people share similar values and interests, they are not homogenous. There are bound to be conflicts or consensus on certain issues that affect the functioning of the community (Peck, 2009; Jackson, 2011).

Informality

There is no one universal definition of informality and as such it has different meaning to different people in different contexts (Roy, 2009). Innes et al (2007) quoted in Roy (2009:8) argues that informality is “mode of production of space defined by the territorial logic of deregulation”. This means that in the current context of deregulation of state responsibilities, people define and claim their own spaces of operation outside the formal regulations. Roy (2009:8) argues that informality is a “state of exception and ambiguity such that the ownership, use and purpose of land cannot be fixed and mapped according to any prescribed set of regulations or law”. This definition shows that informality can be understood as those activities that take place outside state regulations.

Spaza shop

Spaza shop will be defined according to Preston-Whyte and Rogerson (1991: 337) who argue that it is “essentially a small neighbourhood convenience shop serving the community in its immediate vicinity”. In the literature, the word will be used to mean those convenience shops selling household goods such as food and will not include shebeens. This is because shebeens and spaza shops selling household goods do not have the same political arena and are governed by different by-laws. Trading stalls in front of properties will also be regarded as spaza shops because they are within property boundaries, they do not encroach onto the street and sidewalks and their owners have plans in the near future to enclose them.

City

Before defining this concept, it is important to understand that the City is a complex and heterogeneous institution that is characterised by the involvement of several departments (ETU,n.d). The city or more generally referred to as the local government is defined according to the Constitution to refer to the administrative authorities over smaller areas than a nation (Constitution, 1996). Its powers of operation are delegated to by the national and provincial government. The City

is concerned with land use control, service delivery and by-law making over area of jurisdiction. According to the Constitution (1996) Section 151 (3) “a municipality has the right to govern, on its own initiative, the local government affairs of its community, subject to national and provincial legislation”. In the South African context, local government is guided by policies on how to respond to local needs and incorporate community views in its planning processes. In this literature the City will be used to refer to the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality.

Governance

In the literature governance will be used to mean the relationships that exist between government; civil society and the private sector (Lindell, 2008). It means that power is not located within a single institution but rather it is dispersed among a range of stakeholders who do not have the same level of importance. A range of stakeholders in this case refers to the city authorities, the local community in the form of Community Based organisations, spaza shop keepers, property owners and formal businesses in the Yeoville area. This concept is used to illustrate that the state does not have monopoly over power as ordinary people are able to shape and influence planning processes.

Insurgence

Insurgence is the literature will be used to mean what is defined by Roy (2009:8) as “the uneven cartographies of access and power within which the periphery is at once marginalized and yet able to put forward a counter-politics”. This means that there are uneven levels of power and access to resources by different people in a given context, that not everyone can access the same types of resources and have the same level of influence. Insurgence in the informal context means the contestations and conflicts that exist between informal actors (this refers to the spaza shop keepers in the Yeoville context) and the state (Holston, 2007). These contestations and conflicts are between citizen groups and the state rather than different residential groups because the citizen groups include and are in most cases supported by residents of an area.

Informal organisations

Informal Organisations are forms of mobilisation of people who are excluded from the formal economy. These forms of mobilisation are build upon social networks of the same interests and

motivation for action (Bayat, 1997). These structures then become an important platform for individuals to access some form of power when they experience inefficiency from the government especially at the city level. These structures act as counterparties against the state through collective representation.

Social movements

Tilly (2004:1) defines social movements as being “inclusive organisations comprised of various interests groups...these various interest sectors of society will be bound together by one common grievance...”. This illustrates that these movements are groupings of individuals whose primary concern is to bring some form of change (be it political or social) through collective action. Goodwin and Jasper (2009:4) define social movements as “a collective, organized, sustained and noninstitutional challenge to authority. These movements are usually organised around concerns of the manner in which planning decisions are made by the City (Higgins, 2011).

Chapter four: Findings and analysis

4.1. Introduction

Interviews were conducted with some community leaders who were available and those that are involved with the spaza shop issue, the chairperson of the Yeoville Policing Forum, spaza shop keepers in Minors and Muller Streets, local community members who were randomly selected for surveys, Region F quadrant manager and Senior Professional Officer of Development Planning and Urban Management at the City of Johannesburg. Thirty six interviews in total were conducted with the participants mentioned above and therefore findings of this research are based on these participants who represent the total number of the sample. This chapter converses findings from the fieldwork and analyze this data. The first aspect of this chapter will look at is the mapping of spaza shops in both Muller and Minors Streets. This is then followed by the statistical representation of the data from interviews.

4.2. Mapping of spaza shops

The figure below shows the spaza shops that the researcher had the opportunity to interview. Therefore this is not all the spaza shops in Muller and Minors Streets but the ones that keepers were interviewed. A total of thirteen spaza shop keepers were interviewed, five in Muller Street and eight in Minors Street.

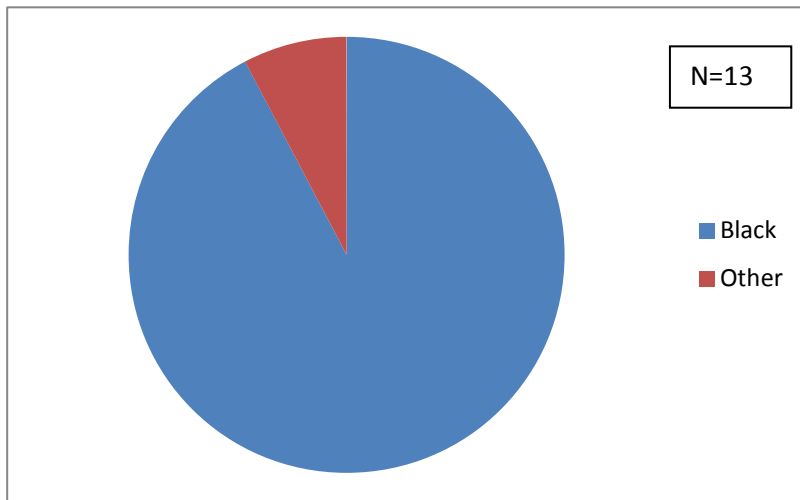


Figure 8: Muller (in the North) and Minors (in the South) Streets

After www.googleearth.com

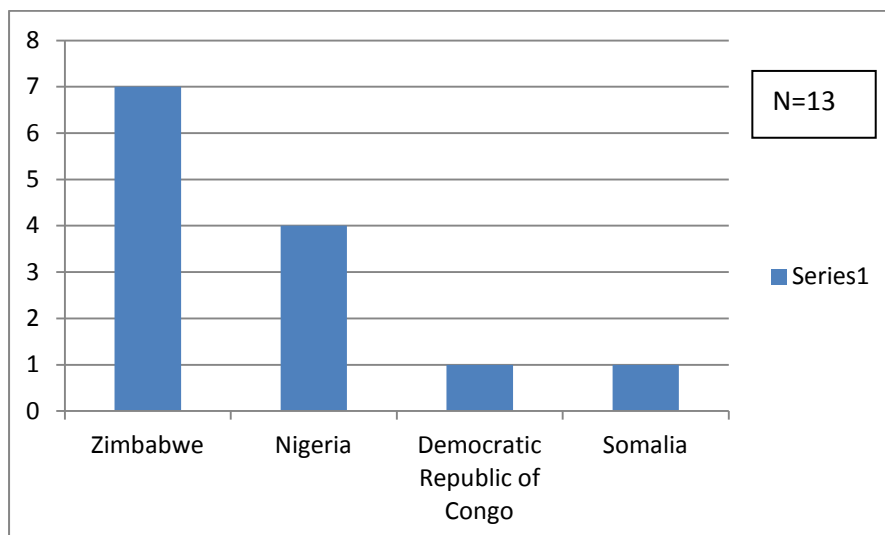
4.2. Social makeup of spaza shop keepers

Graph 1: Racial category of spaza shop keepers



Graph 1 above shows the racial categories of spaza shop sellers. Out of the 13 spaza shop keepers interviewed, 12 of them fall under the Black racial category and only 1 person falls under the other racial category. This person is Somalian and does not fall under the Black racial category. This means that majority of the spaza shop are operated by Black keepers.

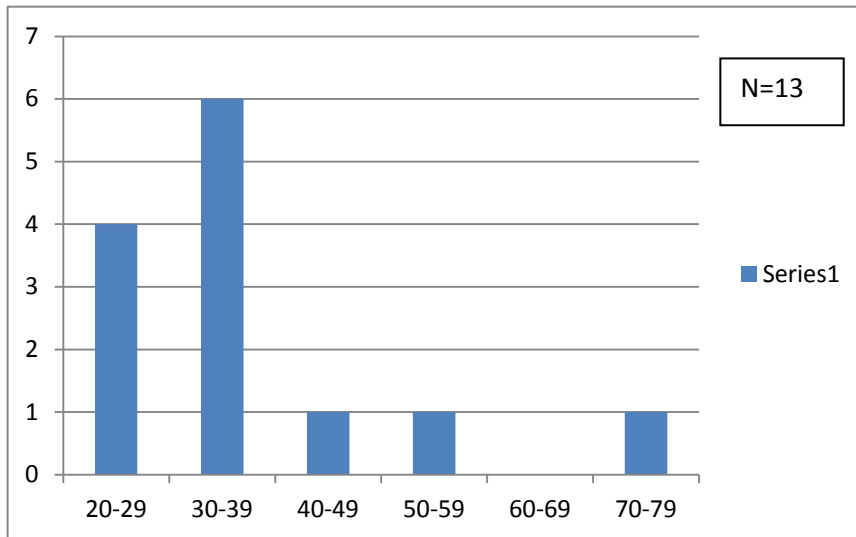
Graph 2: Place of birth of spaza shop keepers



Graph 2 above shows the places of birth of spaza shop keepers interviewed. 7 out of the total sample of 13 interviewees were born in Zimbabwe. 4 out of the 13 interviewees originate from Nigeria. 1 out of the total of 13 was born in the Democratic Republic of Congo and 1 in Somalia.

These spaza shop keepers have moved from their places of birth to Johannesburg (Yeoville) in order to make a living. The character of Yeoville has given them the opportunity to make an economic venture in order to sustain their livelihoods.

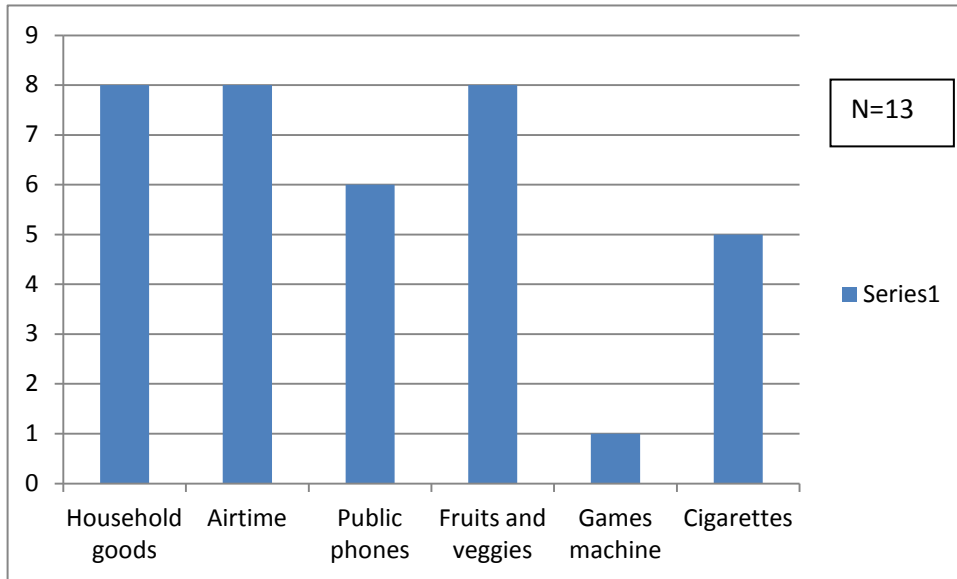
Graph 3: Age group of spaza shop keepers



Graph 3 shows the age groups of spaza shop keepers in Yeoville. Out of the 13 spaza shop keepers interviewed, 4 of them fall within the 20-29 years category. 6 out of the 13 interviewees fall within the 30-39 years age group. 1 person falls within the 40-49 years age category, another falls within the 50-59 years category. 1 other person falls within the 70-79 years age group category. This shows that the majority of the spaza shop keepers fall within a young age group category meaning that they fall within the working age population. These people are able to work and are still economically active.

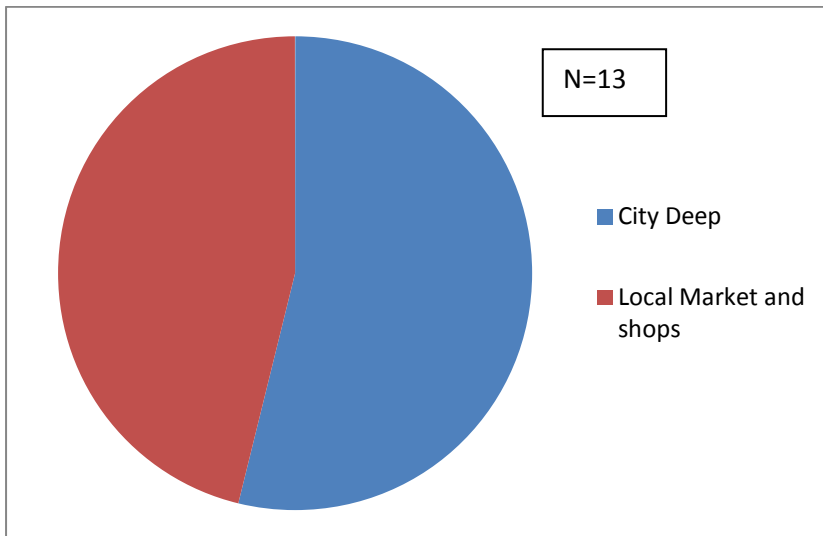
4.3. Statistical representation: spaza shop keepers

Graph 4: Type of goods and services provided



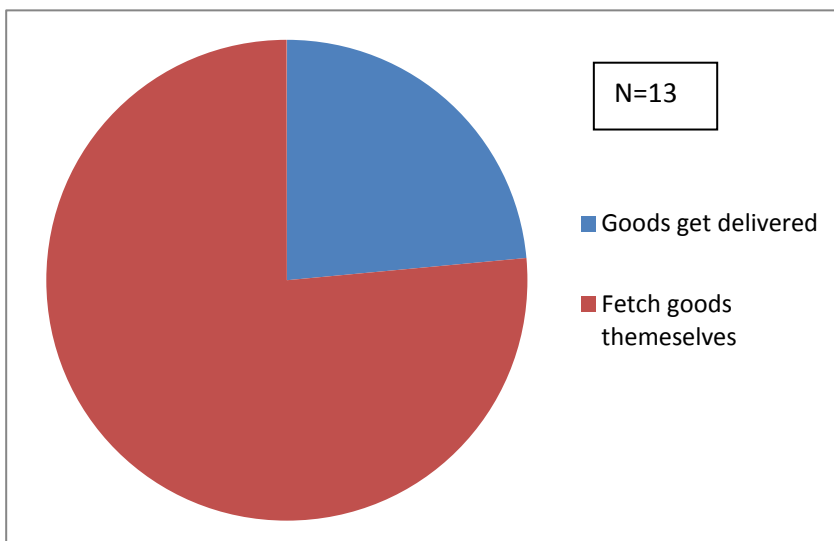
Graph 4 represents significant type of goods and services provided by spaza shop keepers. 8 of the spaza shops sell household goods. Household goods include bread, salt, soap, maize meal, candles, toilet paper, tinned foods, cooking oil etc. 8 of the spaza shops also sell airtime and 8 others sell fruits and vegetables. 6 of the spaza shops have public phones that customers can use. 5 of the spaza shops sell loose cigarettes because they have discovered that there is a market for them. Only one of the spaza shops has a games machine that the worker claims is to draw people to the spaza shop. "There is also a games machine to draw customers especially school kids in" (spaza shop keeper 13). These spaza shops provide goods and services that there seems to be much demand for.

Graph 5: Where do you get your goods?



Graph 5 shows the significant places where spaza shop keepers get their goods. 7 out of the total of 13 spaza keepers interviewed said that they get their goods from City deep. This shows that goods travel. 6 of the keepers get their goods from the local market and shops such as the Yeoville traders market. This shows the positive role that spaza shops have on the economy of Yeoville. It shows the degree of direct benefit for Yeoville`s local economy.

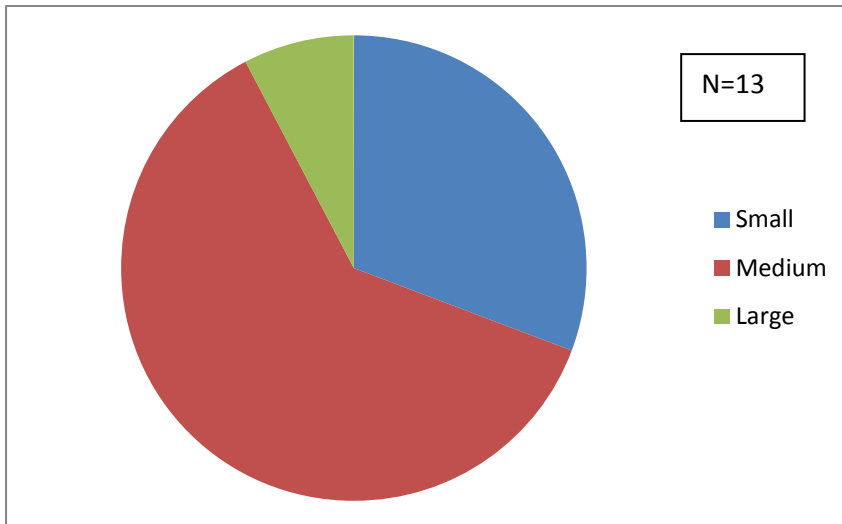
Graph 6: How do you get goods to the spaza shop?



Graph 6 shows the mechanisms used to get goods to the spaza shops. 4 spaza keepers said that their goods get delivered to the spaza. Delivery to the spaza shops is mainly by Coca Cola delivering cool drinks and Albany delivering bread. Out of the 13 spaza shop keepers, 4 of them get some goods

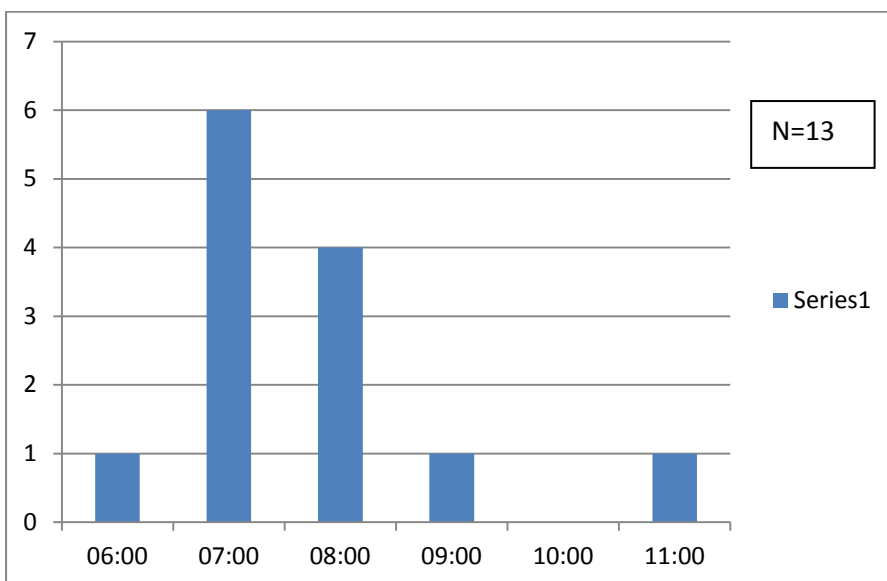
delivered but also fetch other goods themselves. Therefore all of the spaza shops said that they fetch some goods themselves whether by own transport or hire one or by foot.

Graph 7: Size of spaza shop



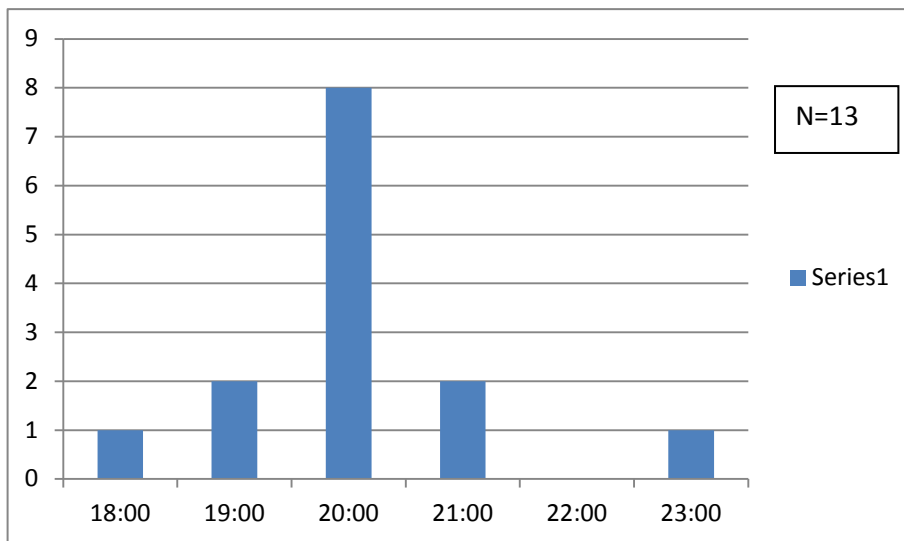
According to Atkinson et al (2010) there are three basic sizes of spaza shops, namely, small, medium and large. Small in the context of this report refers to a trading stall that operates in front of property without a solid shelter. A medium spaza is one that is within a solid structure (outlet in a wall) but only covers a small amount of land. A large spaza shop is one that covers a vast amount of space. Examples of spaza sizes are shown in detail in the typologies of spaza shops below. The size of the spaza is directly proportional to the goods sold and income made. The categories of the size of spaza shops in this research will be according to the spazas` physical appearance and the amount of space they occupy. This will be further elaborated in the typologies of spaza shop section. From the fieldwork, 4 of the 13 spaza shops were classified as small. 8 out of the 13 spaza shops were categorized as medium and 1 of the spaza shops was classified as large.

Graph 8: Opening time of spaza shops



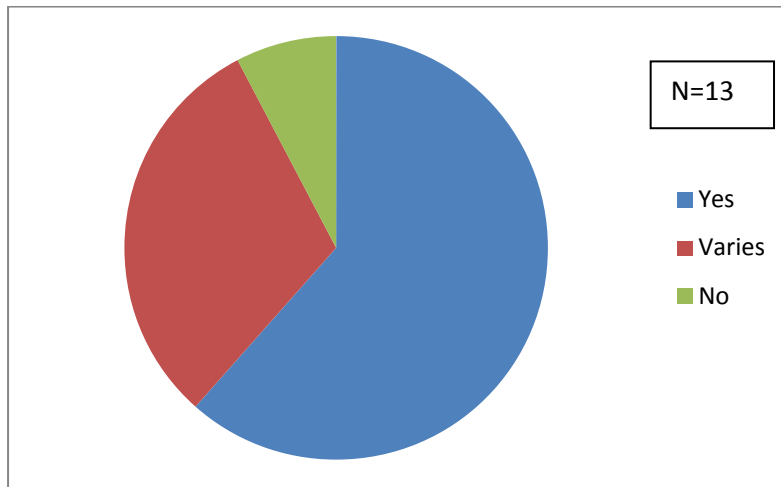
Graph 8 shows the opening times of spaza shops. From the graph it is evident that most spaza shops open at 07:00 in the morning. 6 out of the 13 spaza shops interviewed open at 07:00. 4 out of the 13 spaza shops open at 08:00. 1 spaza opens at 06:00, 1 spaza opens at 09:00 and another opens at 11:00. This shows the convenience aspect of spaza shops because most formal shops are still closed by 07:00. If customers need something in the morning they can just go to a spaza and buy without having to wait for the formal shops to open.

Graph 9: Closing time of spaza shops



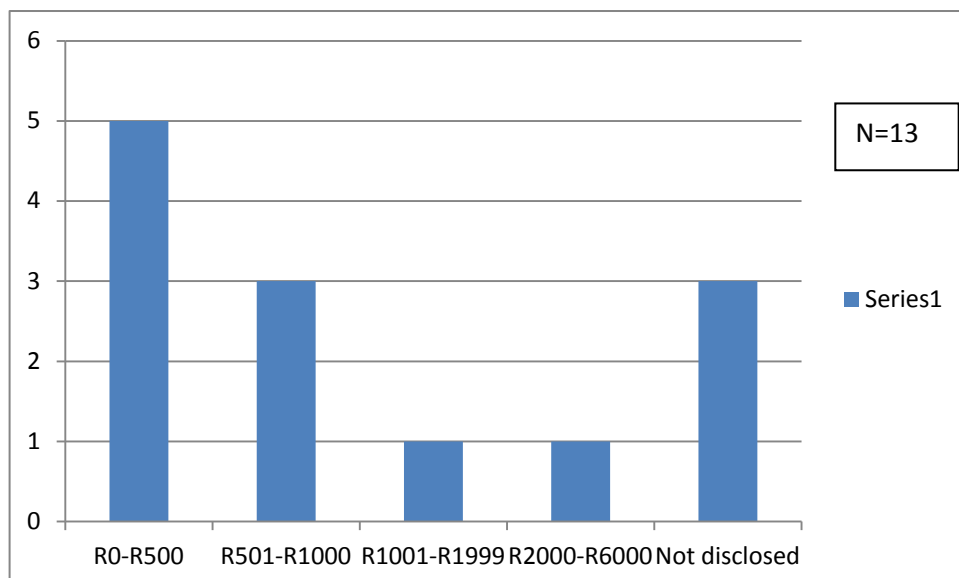
The graph above shows the closing times of spaza shops. Majority of the spaza shops close at 20:00 in the evening. 8 out of the the 13 spaza shops close at 20:00. 2 close at 19:00, 2 close at 21:00, 1 closes at 18:00, another closes at 23:00. This shows the convenience of the spaza shops because they do not all open or close at the same time. This also depicts the convenience aspect of spaza shops. Majority of the formal shops on Rockey/Raleigh Street close before 20:00. Spaza shops serve the needs of the community and are convenient because most of them close after formal shops have already closed.

Graph 10: Is business good?



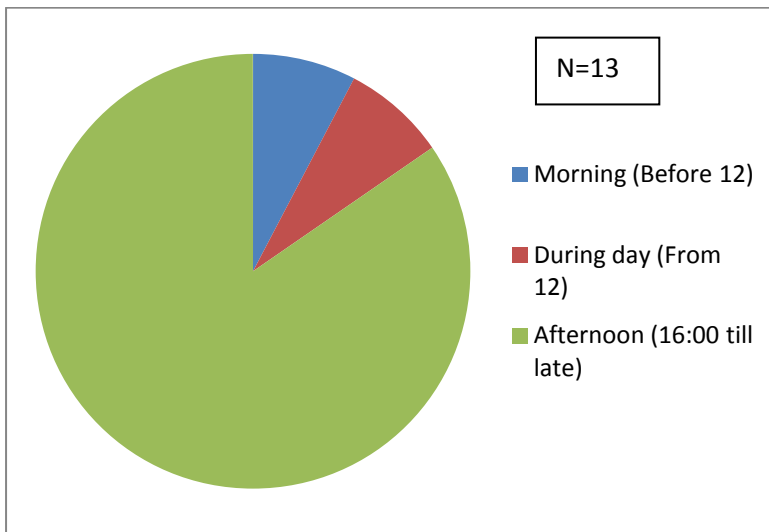
Graph 10 shows whether business is good or not. Majority of the spaza shop keepers interviewed said that business is good. This is because most of them make about R500 and more per day. 8 of the interviewees said that business is good. “Business is good because we have people who are coming to buy everyday and we always make some money” (Spaza shop keeper # 4). “Business is good...it’s better than staying at home (paza shop keeper # 7). 4 out of the 13 spaza shop keepers said that business varies. “Business is not good all the time because at times I don’t have any customers and this is not good” (spaza shop keeper #1). “Business is not good all the time but during month end till the of every month it is very good (Spaza shop keeper # 11). Some days they make less and others they make more money. Only 1 spaza keeper said that business is not good. “Business is not really good because I make R40 to R50 a day” (spaza shop keeper # 5).

Graph 11: Average income per day



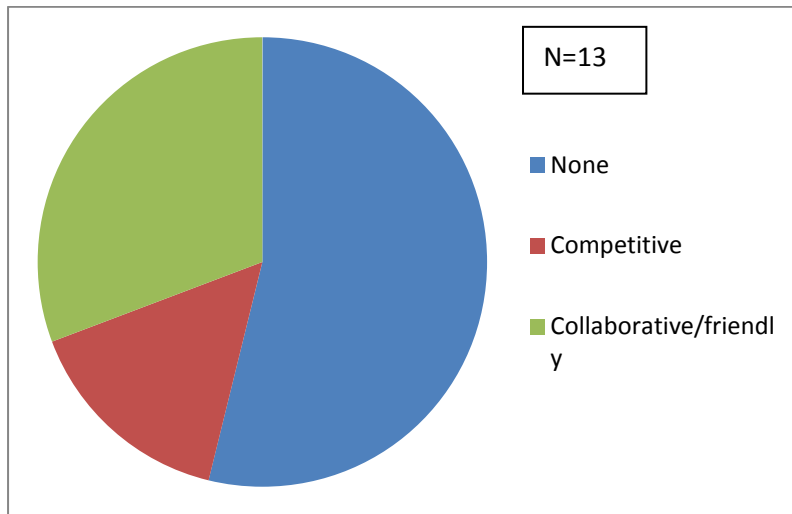
Graph 11 depicts the average income that the spaza shop keepers make per day. Income is what the spaza shop keepers make per day and not the profit (what they make minus what they spent). 5 of the spaza keepers make less than R500 per day. 3 spaza keepers make between R501 and R1000 per day. 1 spaza keeper makes an income of between R1001 and R1999 per day. 2 spaza keepers make an income of between R2000 and R6000 per day. 3 out of the 13 interviewees did not want to disclose the income they make per day.

Graph 12: What are your peak hours of business?



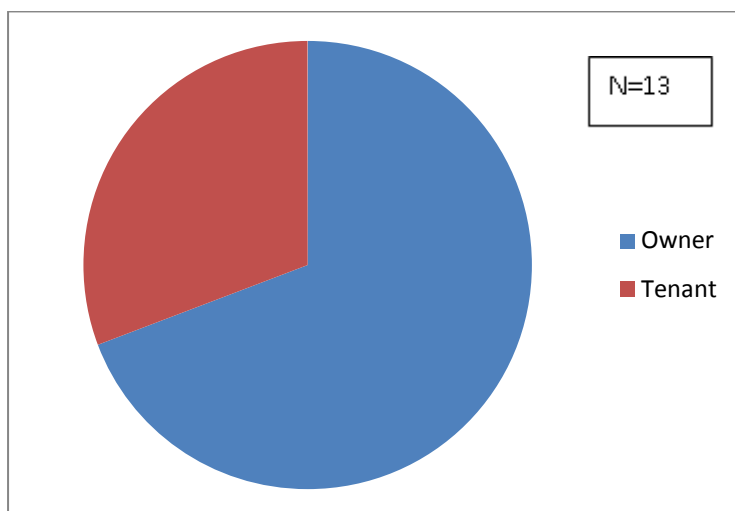
Graph 12 shows the peak hours of business of the spaza shops. 1 spaza shop keeper said that their peak hours are in the morning. 1 other spaza shop keeper said that their peak hours are during the day after 12. 11 of the spaza keepers said that their peak hours of business are in the afternoon from 16:00 when people are from work.

Graph 13: What is your relationship with other spaza shop keepers on the same street?



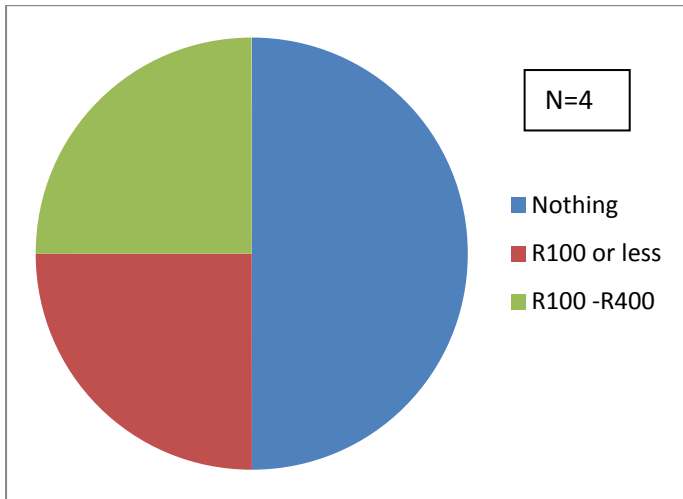
Graph 13 depicts the type of relationships that spaza shop keepers of one spaza shop have with other spaza shop keepers on the same street. 7 of the respondents said that they do not have any kind of relationship with their fellow spaza shop keepers. “I don’t have a relationship with other spaza shops in the street and I have never spoken to them (spaza shop keeper # 2). They said that they have never talked to them and do not even know who they are. 2 of the respondents said that they have a competitive relationship with other spaza keepers. “There is a competing relationship between spaza shops in the same street (Spaza shop keeper # 4). 4 of the respondents said that they have a collaborative or friendly relationship where they greet and communicate and also help each other when necessary. “I also have a good relationship with other spaza shop keepers in the street. We help each other with change and also buy from them (Spaza shop keeper # 3)

Graph 14: Tenure status of spaza shops



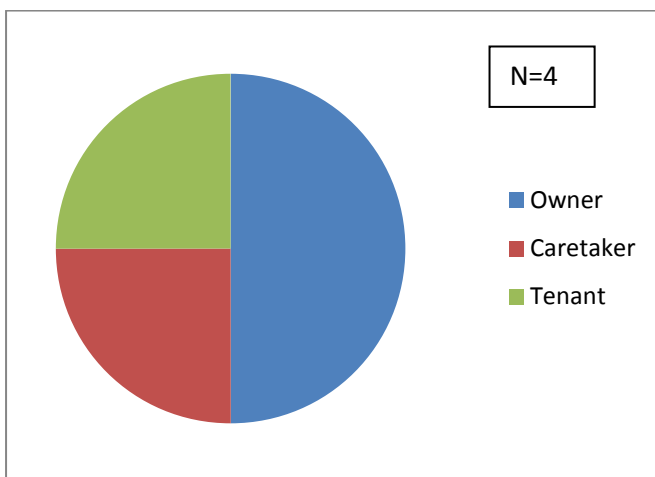
Graph 14 shows the tenure status of spaza shops identified. 9 of the spaza shops are operated by owners while 4 of them are operated by tenants. Out of the 9 spaza shops that were opened by owners, 5 of them are operated by workers while owners are at work during the day. Tenants are those spaza shop keepers who pay rent to the owner or someone else in charge of the building that they are trading from.

Graph 15: How much do you pay per month to owner of property?



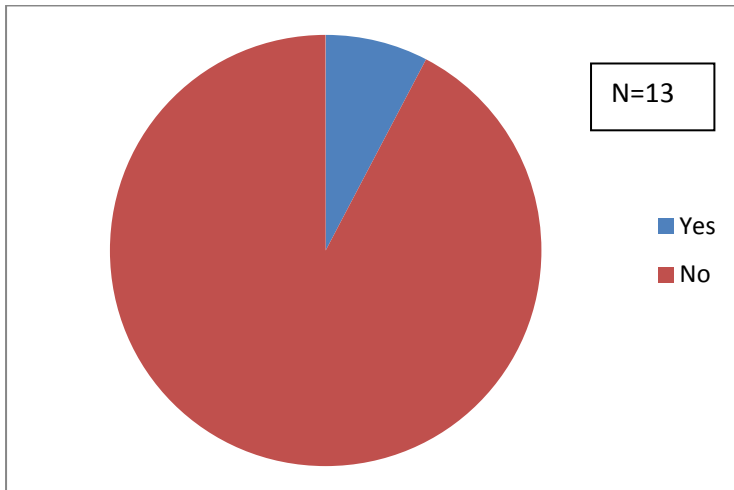
Graph 15 shows the amount of rent tenants pay per month to owner or person in charge of property. 2 of the tenants interviewed said that they do not pay anything. For 1 tenant, this is just until she makes enough money to be able to pay. One has made arrangements with the person in charge to pay when she is making enough money. The other tenant does not pay anything at all and there is no arrangement to pay in the future. 1 of the tenants pays less than R100 per month and the other pays less than R400 per month.

Graph 16: Who gave you (tenants) permission to trade here?



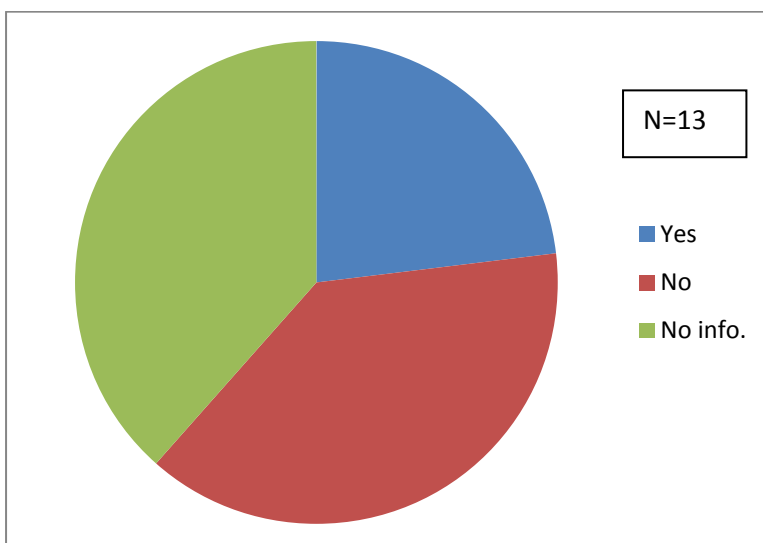
Graph 16 shows the person who gave permission to the tenants to trade in the spaces that they trade in. 2 of the tenants said that they got permission from the owner to trade. 1 of the tenants said that they got permission from the caretaker of the building. 1 of the tenants said that they got permission from another tenant who was previously occupying the space she is now trading.

Graph 17: Did you speak to neighbours before opening spaza shop?



Graph 17 shows whether owners spoke to neighbours or not before opening their spaza shops. Out of the 13 spaza shop keepers, only 1 of them spoke to neighbours before opening shop. Others just opened their shops without talking to neighbours.

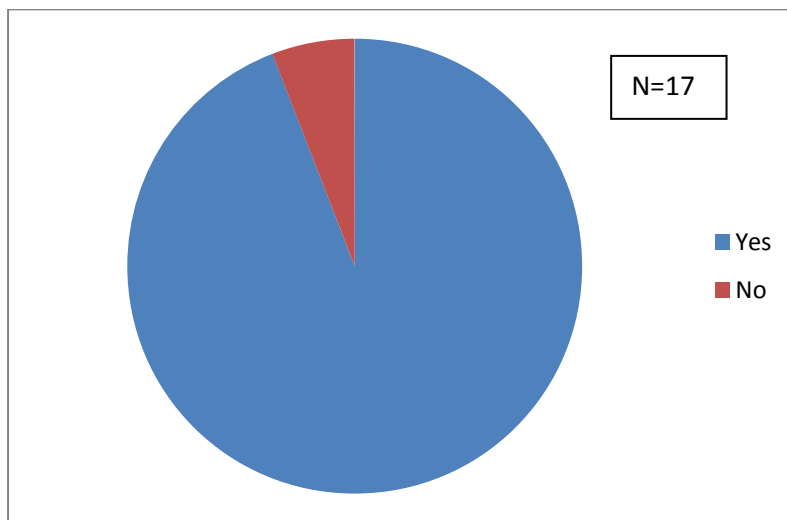
Graph 18: Do you get harassed by the police?



Graph 18 depicts whether spaza shop keepers (both owners and tenants) get harassed by the police or not. Out of the 13 spaza shop keepers, 5 of them said that they never get harassed by the police. They only come to check if they are still open after 20:00 and if not they ask them to close. 3 of the spaza keepers said that they experience some form of harassment from the police sometimes. There was no information provided by 5 of the other spaza shops.

4.4. Statistical representation: local community members

Graph 19: Do you buy from spaza shops?

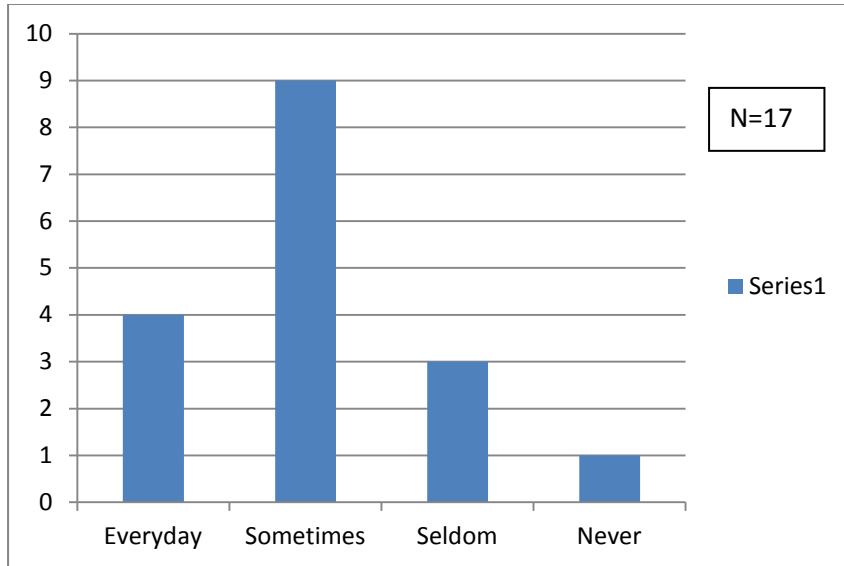


Graph 19 above shows that majority of the people interviewed (16 out of 17) buy from spaza shops. This shows that spaza shops have support from majority of the local community members. They support them for different reasons. Some of the community members support them because of the advantages that they have outlined during interviews. Some of the advantages are that they are convenient meaning that people do not have walk long distances to get goods. Another advantage is that they open early and close late unlike most shops on Rokeby/Raleigh Street. They also offer good service and the prices are good. This is shown by what some of the community members have said such as: "I can run to spaza and leave my stove on to get something...it is at a short distance from my flat "(Community member #6, 2011). "You can also buy on credit...like take things and pay at the end of the month "(Community member #10, 2011). "I can buy on credit and pay later. If I am short maybe by R1 I can still buy and the goods are cheap" (Community member # 14, 2011).

Only 1 person said that they have never bought anything from a spaza shop. This is shown by the disadvantages that the community members outlined during the interviews. Some of the disadvantages of spaza shops is that they increase illegal littering on streets and are poorly managed. The quality of the products that they sell is poor. Some have said that the price of goods is higher than formal shops and that spaza shops decrease the value of property. This is shown by what some of the community members have said such as: "The quality of products is not the same as

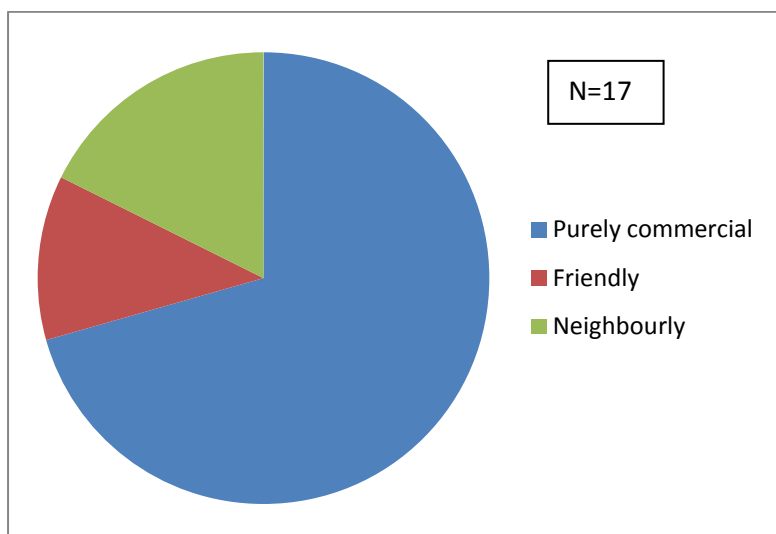
formal shops” (Community member #2, 2011). “I heard someone saying that some of the products have expired!!” (Community member # 11, 2011). “Prices are a bit higher than normal shops and they bring down the value of property” (Community member #12, 2011). “There is lack of proper management by the City” (Community member #17).

Graph 20: How often do you buy from spaza shops?



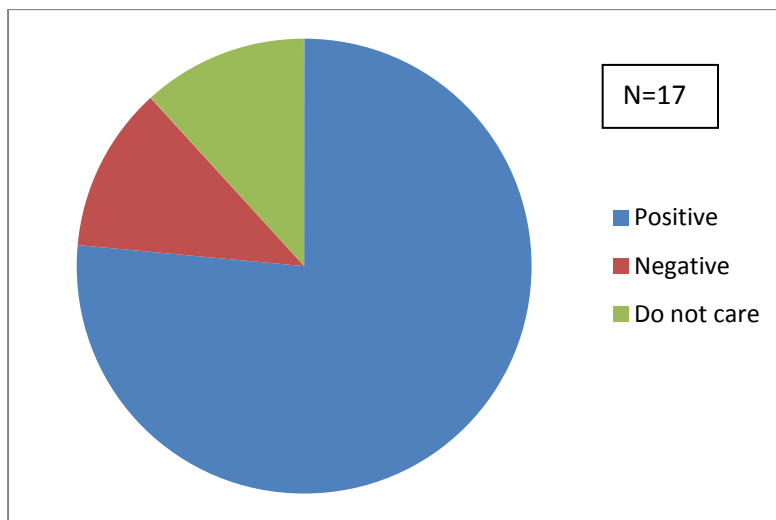
Graph 20 shows how often people buy from spaza shops. 4 people said that they buy from spazas every day. 9 people said that they buy from spazas sometimes and not all the time. This shows that spaza shops get constant support from community members. 3 people said that they seldom buy from spaza shops and 1 person said that they never buy from spaza shops. This shows that those that seldom buy or do not buy at all represent only a small proportion.

Graph 21: What is your relationship with spaza shop keepers?



Graph 21 depicts the type of relationships that the local community members have with spaza shop keepers. 12 of the respondents said that they have a purely commercial relationship with spaza shop keepers. For instance, they only go to the spaza to buy what they need. “I don’t have a relationship, I just go to buy” (Local community member #1). 2 of the respondents said that they have a friendly relationship with spaza keepers. For instance they talk to them in a friendly manner and some of them get credit from the spaza shop keeper because of the friendly relationship they have established. “I have a relationship with some of them, we talk to each other...I can say we have a friendly relationship (Local community member # 9). 3 of the respondents said that they have a neighbourly relationship where they only greet and communicate with spaza keepers but nothing more. “We talk to each other as neighbours” (Local community member # 12).

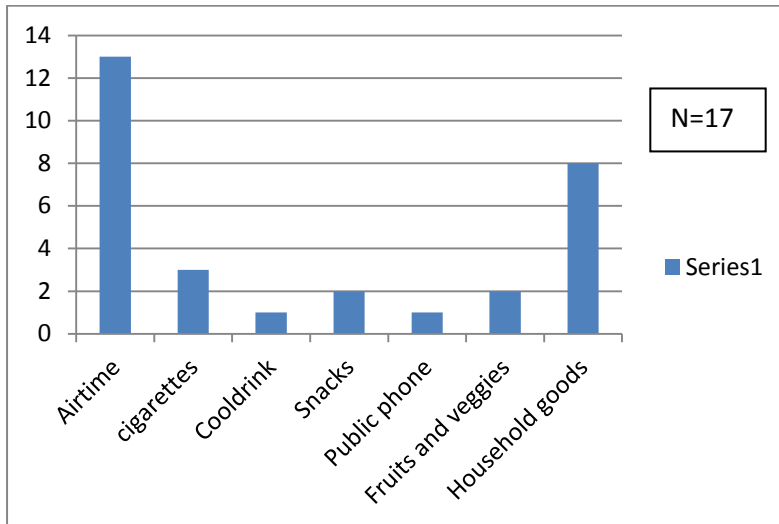
Graph 22: What is your perception of spaza shops?



Graph 22 shows the local community’s perceptions of spaza shops. The local community members are diverse and therefore possess different views and opinions regarding spaza shops. They hold different perceptions. 13 of the interviewees had a generally positive perception of spaza shops. They saw them as providing a needed service in the area. “I like them because they provide a useful service (Local community member # 4). “It’s a good idea to open spaza shops because formal shops are far (Local community member # 9). “It is an income generating strategy to keep people employed in the city where there is high unemployment...ba ya tabalaza shame” (Local community member # 13). Some of those that had positive perceptions about spaza shops also mentioned that there is a need for proper management and regulation by the authorities. 2 of the respondents had a negative perception of spaza shops. They said that spaza shops they brought down the value of property and took business away from other traders. “I don’t like them, they take business from street traders (Local community member # 5). 2 of the interviewees said that they did not care

whether there are spaza shops or not in the area as long as they do not disturb them. “I don’t care about them” (Local community member # 3).

Graph 23: What goods do you mainly buy from spaza shops?







Graph 23 shows the type of goods that community members mainly buy from spaza shops. 13 people said that they mainly buy airtime from spaza shops. This is followed by 8 people who mainly buy household goods. 3 people buy cigarettes. 2 people mainly buy fruits and veggies and another 2 people mainly buy snacks. 1 person said that they mainly buy cool drink and another person mainly uses the public phones.

4.5. Analysis

The data collected from the fieldwork will be analysed in order to answer the sub questions that were outlined in chapter one. Analysing this data will help in answering the main research question.

Typologies of spaza shops that exist in Minors and Muller Streets

Typologies	Images	Size of spaza	Degree of formalisation
1		Medium	Formal
2		Small	Semi formal
3		Small	Informal
4		Medium	Formal
5		Small	Informal
6		Medium	Formal

Typologies	Images	Size of spaza	Degree of formalisation
7		Medium	Semi formal
8		Small	Informal
9		Medium	Formal
10		Medium	Formal
11		Large	Formal
12		Medium	Semi formal
13		Medium	Formal

The by laws governing spaza shop operation in Yeoville

The 1979 Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme was amended in 2005 to allow spaza shops to trade in residential areas by applying for consent use before setting up their businesses (see annexure). Clause 29 of the Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme, 1979 was amended in 2000 and Yeoville was added to the list of areas where “houseshops” are allowed in 2005.

Conditions of operation of spaza shops

The conditions of operation of spaza shops as set out by the City of Johannesburg in the Johannesburg Amendment Scheme 7110 reads as follows: “Amendment to the Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme, 1979, to permit the consideration of applications for Houseshops in specific Areas of the Southern Metropolitan Local Council. “ The use...by an occupant of a dwelling unit, with the consent of the City Council and in compliance with the By-Laws of the City Council, of such a dwelling unit or a residential outbuilding or a combination of such dwelling unit and residential outbuilding, as a shop, on land not zoned Residential 5 subject to the following conditions:

- i. The floor area of the shop shall not exceed
- ii. The number of employees employed in the shop shall not exceed two
- iii. The sale or consumption of liquor shall not be permitted in the shop
- iv. The residential character of the site shall be maintained to the satisfaction of the City Council and the predominant land use remain residential
- v. The shop shall not cause an interference with the amenities of the neighbourhood
- vi. The exhibition of any notice or sign other than a notice or sign ordinarily exhibited on a dwelling unit to indicate the name of the occupier shall be prohibited
- vii. The storing or keeping of goods on site of such dwelling unit of anything whatsoever which, in the opinion of the City Council, is unsightly or undesirable because of its effects upon the amenities of the neighbourhoods shall be prohibited. No amusement machines of any kind shall be permitted on the premises
- viii. The provisions of Clauses 7 and 8 shall apply *mutatis mutandis*³.

The City`s perceptions of spaza shops in Yeoville

³*mutatis mutandis* means the necessary changes that have to be made.

Spaza shops are branded illegal by the City. The City views spaza shops as illegal because they do not abide by the by laws it has set forth. Spaza shop keepers do not apply to the City in order to establish their houses as businesses. It is also argued by some officials and community leaders that spaza shop act as fronts for illegal activities. Spaza shops are used to sell illegal substances and products such as illegally exported cigarettes from Zimbabwe and unlicensed alcohol. Spazas are also perceived to be a liability to the City because it provides services that are being used for income generation without being able to make money out of it. The City therefore loses money as a result of these spaza shops. The area of Yeoville is also degrading and downgrading because people are not willing to buy property or invest in it as a result of spaza shops. They are undesirable to potential house buyers and investors.

These perceptions of spaza shops by the City have informed Operation Letsema (let's fix it) which was launched recently this year (2011) by the City of Johannesburg with an intention of addressing issues faced by neighborhoods in the city's jurisdiction. One of the issues that they intended dealing with is spaza shops in residential properties. The Yeoville Bellevue Community Development Trust, the Yeoville Community Policing Forum and the councilor are working with the City on a data base of spaza shops with the possible intention of destroying them.

Contestations regarding spaza shops operation

There is evidence of some contestations of spaza shop operation in Yeoville by some community members, some community leaders, property owners, the City and some lobby groups. Some community members argue that there are too many spaza shops and that they take business away from other traders. This is shown by what one of the local community members interviewed said, "I don't like them, they take business from street traders (Local community member # 5).

Some community leaders agree that spaza shops play a role in Yeoville but they need to be properly managed and regulated so that they do not pop up everywhere. The City also loses money when people who operate spaza shops have not made any application and gotten permission to trade from the City. Property owners argue that the establishment of spaza shops in residential properties brings down the value of property and people are therefore not willing to buy in Yeoville. Most people rent property in the area and those that do, do not reside in it but use it for income

generation such as setting up guest houses. Investment in property is also weak because investors are not willing to put their money in an area where illegal spaza shops prevail.

What organizations are in place to represent the interest of spaza shop keepers?

There are no spaza shop organisations in Yeoville to represent the needs of traders. “But sometimes there are little groupings that pop up as a strategy to collect money from traders. Money gets pocketed but nothing is done to improve conditions of spaza shops and their keepers. In most cases, the organizations pop up when there is threat” (Edmund, 2011). “Most of these organisations are for material benefit. The main aim is to get money from people to make a living. There is no strong or constructive representation of spaza shop but if the City started cracking down on spaza shops, something would come up but it would be some kind of defence to try and keep status quo not to come up with constructive solutions” (Smithers, 2011). The Yeoville Community Forum has tried to bring spaza shop keepers together through meetings but this has proved unsuccessful. The chairperson of the YCPF has said that “there are those that are operating illegally so it is not easy to bring them together (Khoza, 2011). If they were registered with the City it would be easier to track them down and help them form an organization that can represent their needs.