Conflicting Rationalities: Street trade treated differently in two CIDs

Chandni Singh 364101
Ayesha Wariawa 442280
Petunia Mabokela 438150
Rhandzu Khoza 380671

ARPL 3023: Politics, Governance and the City, University of Witwatersrand 2012

Course facilitator – Prof. Claire Bénit-Gbaffou
Acknowledgements

This study was made possible by the generous assistance, guidance and support of different individuals. With aided support and assistance from different stakeholders. Without the support of these persons, we would have not managed to be successful in completing this study:

• Particular thanks are to Prof. Claire Benit-Gbaffou, whose sacrifices, expert advice and insights were of great value, this helped to maintain constant interest in enhancement and learning over this study.

• Sarah Charlton for helping us identify that ‘conflicting rationalities’ is a complex term that needs to be understood and defined clearly.

• Thando Mthimkulu whom assisted in final grammar, spelling and editing of this project.

• Pretim Singh for printing and binding our final report, transcripts and annexures.

• Finally, a special thanks to the various interviewees who provided insightful information and contacts that made the project possible: Paul Arnott, Michelle Belamant, Neil Fraser, Hans Jooste, Gerald Olitzki, Ann Steffny, and lastly pedestrians that gave up their time to answer our questions.
Table of contents

INTRODUCTION 4
1. What do we mean by Conflicting Rationalities? 4
2. Location of the RID and SWID in Johannesburg 5
3. Research Question 6
4. Methodology 6

CHAPTER ONE: TESTING OUR INITIAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE TWO CIDS 8
1.1. Startling Differences 8
1.2. Pedestrians Interviews 18

CHAPTER TWO: POLICY AND POLITICS OF STREET TRADE 22
2.1. Overview of Central Improvement Districts 22
   2.1.1. Overview of the South Western Improvement District 23
   2.1.2. Overview of Retail Improvement District 24
   2.1.3. How were the Boundaries established? 25
   2.1.4. The establishment of Gandhi Square 25
2.2. Gerald’s Olitzki’s view on Hawkers and their place in the City 26
2.3. The Informal Economy and its regulation 27
   2.3.1. Importance of informal economy in Johannesburg 27
   2.3.2. Laws and Policies addressing Informal Trade 28

CHAPTER THREE: THE BUSINESS SECTOR AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON INFORMAL TRADE 32
3.1. Stakeholder Power Map 32
3.2. Property Owners Map 35

CHAPTER FOUR: VISIONS AND OBJECTIVES OF STAKEHOLDERS 38
4.1. City of Johannesburg’s vision on informal trading 38
4.2. Urban Genesis and its Relationship to Informal Trade 39
4.3. Olitzki’s views on Informal Trading 41
4.4. Johannesburg Development Agency and its relationship with Gerald Olitzki 43

CONCLUSION 45

REFERENCE LIST 47

ANNEXURE 50
Annexure 1 - Questionnaire for Pedestrians 50
Annexure 2 – Lecturer’s comment and mark for the report 71
Introduction

This research report aims to unfold the history and relationship between the Retail Improvement District and the surrounding Central Improvement Districts, with a particular focus on Gandhi square/South Western Improvement District (SWID). The report will explore the formal policies which have been addressing informal trade and will highlight significant shifts in the informal sector.

Essentially this report seeks to understand why two sections within the inner city can be so remarkably differently managed. By undertaking an analysis of a small section of the city, we can effectively understand the current management of the CIDs and whether or not these differences promote or hinder the City’s vision of inclusivity.

1. What do we mean by Conflicting Rationalities?

Essentially each person has their own sense of logical or reasonable understanding of the surroundings and their everyday challenges, based both on their worldviews, their experience and their daily practices. In the case of comparing the RID and Gandhi Square, it is inevitable for people’s rationalities to differ – and possibly, to conflict. As it will be threaded throughout the report, pedestrians and traders (users of these spaces) have their own rationalities and perceptions on their city whilst the business sector has their own which usually differs significantly as its focus is more financial and commercial based. In addition, city officials have their own rationalities pertaining to this situation in the RID and Gandhi Square. Vanessa Watson (2003) is most famous author when it comes to the concept of conflicting rationalities and below is an extract from her text ‘Conflicting Rationalities: Implications for Planning Theory and Ethics’:

“The desire on the part of governments almost everywhere to formalize informal, irregular or illegal settlement has a long history with its origins, as described by James Scott (1998, p. 4), lying in the early emergence of modern statecraft and its subsequent development into ‘high-modernist ideology’ aimed at ‘the rational design of social order commensurate with the scientific understanding of natural laws’” (Watson, 2003; 396).

This directly relates to our topic as it is evident that informal trade globally is commonly seen in a bad light; in parallel to the constant need to formalise these activities in extremely dense and complex environments. This brings us back to understandings of most peoples rationalities and perceptions about informal trade and activities. And these ideologies continue to shape not only westerned societies but southern Africa too and this directly impacts on the way the City treats
street trading. Our aim is to understand the conflicting rationalities which are present within these inner city spaces of Johannesburg.

2. Location of the RID and SWID in Johannesburg

The Retail Improvement District is located between Jeppe Street in the north, Harrison Street in the west, Commissioner Street in the south and von Brandis Street in the east. It consists of five city blocks in the main retail area of the inner city.

The South Western Improvement District covers 24 blocks which incorporate the Standard Bank Superblock Complex and the head offices of various organisations, including the Chamber of Mines, BHP Billiton, and SA Eagle. It is located between Market Street in the north, Ntemi Piliso Street in the west, Village Street in the south and Rissik Street in the east.

Gandhi Square, although located within the SWID, has its own management structure.

Figure 1: Location of Gauteng, Johannesburg

Figure 2: Johannesburg Inner City (Footprint Map by Bradley Peens, 2012)
3. Research Question:

Why are there two completely different visions of street trading in two neighboring CIDs (Retail Improvement District and Gandhi Square/SWID)?

1. Understanding the broader context
   a. complexities and history of street trade in Johannesburg CBD
   b. Policy and regulation of informal trading in the inner city

2. How differently do the two CIDs work?
   - Observe the various activities within the CID and SWID
   - Look at the different functionalities of the two areas encompassed in the two CIDs
   - Ask whether the RID and CID work well together

3. History:
   a. Who decided on the CIDs boundaries and why?
   b. Why are there two different management models? Understanding their history

4. Understanding the power relations between property owners within the two CIDs and its impact on street trading.
   - Look at the various property owners within the RID and SWID
   - Whether or not they are actively involved in decision making regarding the CIDs

4. Methodology

In an attempt to answer of research questions and its sub-questions, a number of tasks were undertaken. Firstly a site visit of the RID and Gandhi Square was conducted to get an understanding of how the area works and functions coupled with a few documents on the RID. On the site visit, we were stricken by the differences between the two areas which initiated us to further investigate why they are so different. Photographs were taken, and a mapping of the various property owners in the RID was undertaken.

We were confronted with some very challenging issues pertaining to our research. Initially we aimed at researching a very broad topic which aimed to look at:

1. Who holds the most power within the Retail improvement District?

2. How does the RID work (or not) with surrounding areas, in the broader inner city context, and with the surrounding CIDs?
These questions were deemed too broad and complex and we had no clear direction of how to answer them. Thus after many consultations and discussions we sought to understand why two areas located so close to each other are so different. This brought us to investigate why when on our field trip, we experienced two so different parts of the city. One part of the city had the vibe of street life and trade whilst the other had, according to us, a very exclusive and tense feel to it.

In addition, we had a variety of formats of interviews which made it rather challenging to interpret and establish. Whilst undertaking a pedestrian survey which initially took place in Kerk street, we had a very one sided view of pedestrians perceptions. Therefore in the last stages of our research, we went back to the site and undertook a few more interviews to gain further insight into people’s perceptions about the two areas, from Gandhi Square users as well.

Lastly, one of the main challenges we’ve experienced is the difficulty of time and availability of people. Anne Steffny, being one of our key interviews, planned on leaving for a trip to the US just prior our report. She did however manage to give us the relevant contact details of someone else whom would have helped us further with the questions we asked to her – but it was so frustrating to us! In addition, most group members were on the way to Durban for a planning conference yet managed to get a hold of her. This shows us the wonders of technology and networking!
Chapter One: Testing Our Initial Perceptions of the two CIDs

1.1. Startling Differences

During our fieldtrip, we explored the various streets within the Retail Improvement District-placing an emphasis on the linear market in Kerk Street. We also moved further south into the South Western Improvement District in which Gandhi Square is located. The entire experience was rather educational and enjoyable as we had the opportunity to experience two very different parts of the city.

This section of the report will focus on the reason why we chose our research question. The underlying theme of differences will present itself throughout this section as it is through this difference which pushed us to further investigate why street trading is treated so differently in these two CIDs. We chose to follow up on this theme by conducting a pedestrian survey - which helped us understanding people’s perceptions regarding the two different spaces.

The first range of photos will illustrate the activities and atmosphere of the various streets in the Retail Improvement District. A series of streets will be analysed through a range of different photographs:

- Kerk Street
- Jeppe Street
- Rissik Street
- Gandhi Square

Essentially the aim of doing this is to effectively recognise the differences in activity and function in these streets and spaces.
It can be seen through these photographs that Kerk Street is a very energetic and robust. It offers a variety of services which range from regulated informal trade to formal trade. It can be seen that many street traders sells fresh produce and fruit whilst other well-known stores such as Legit and Truworths are nearby. This linear market caters to the needs of all types of classes and people and is convenient for a passer-by.

The street traders were friendly and very helpful. The entire set up of the Kerk Street Linear market was pedestrian friendly as it catered solely for the pedestrian with pavements throughout the site. Since we visited the site during winter, it is unfortunate that we cannot see the vegetation that is present in the area.

All in all, as a group we found this market very robust and interesting as it offered a feel to the city that none of us had experienced so far, in any other South African City. It changed our perception of the inner city – that we imagined either chaotic and frightening, or desert & sterile or exclusive.

Figure 3: Visiting Kerk Street
Figure 4: Walking down Jeppe Street
Jeppe Street, on the northern boundary of the CID, was also a very interesting experience. Unlike Kerk Street which is fully pedestrianized, Jeppe Street caters for both the vehicle and the pedestrian. It can be seen from the pictures, that on the sidewalks, street traders sell their products and services which seem rather popular in the area. One of the pictures has a store called “Jive City” which describes the street quite well in South African lingo (Jive meaning lively). This very store also played music which echoed out onto the street making the entire experience very dynamic. In addition, the opportunity that these street trading provides for passer-by’s is quite convenient and low-priced. The flexibility in which traders can sell their products is very lenient and interesting.

The overall atmosphere of this street was very energetic and safe. This street managed to enter all levels of ones senses, from noises to smells. However, the overall management of the street was not in great condition- pavements were unpaved and sandy, taxi’s were parked on the sidewalks. So in conclusion, even though this street had vibrancy, it lacked proper maintenance and control.
The entire sense of the City changes when walking away from Kerk Street down Rissik Street. From the busy streets of Jeppe and Kerk, the atmosphere changes significantly. This street is much quieter with a very business-like atmosphere to it. One will be able to see the many business woman and man walking in suits and ties. To add to this atmosphere is the remarkable buildings on Rissik as well as the public art.

In the photographs taken, one can see how empty the pavements are as well the wide width of them. This portion of the city has a completely different atmosphere compared to that of the other two streets discussed. It does not offer a range of activities that can be easily accessed by the ordinary pedestrian as it is shown that the street functions as mostly for the commercial and judiciary sectors.

Another interesting aspect of this street is how well it caters for the needs of the motor vehicle. In the bottom left corner, a picture is shown illustrating an empty plot which is converted into a car park. Even though it functions well, there is a loss of opportunity as the space could have offered much more than just holding cars.
Gandhi Square
Gandhi Square brings us to the end and concluding set of photographs. These pictures illustrate how well this area functions as a transportation hub for the citizens of South Africa. There is bus stop infrastructure which allows for pedestrians to relax whilst waiting for their transport.

Like Rissik Street, Gandhi Square has a very different atmosphere to that of Kerk and Jeppe Street. It does not offer a variety of services but instead focuses on transport. In addition, one can make a clear distinction between the two CID’s as it is prohibited to trade informally – even in managed ways- in these spaces. There are signs along the road of Rissik and a few more in the square that no trading is allowed in non-demarcated areas. In addition, Gandhi Square is surrounded by formal restaurants which either opens up onto the square or the road. This gives the space a very distinctive feel – more formal, less popular, more up-market. Below is a picture which compares the difference in activity and atmosphere in Kerk Street and Gandhi Square:

Figure 7: A comparison between Kerk Street and Gandhi Square
Belamant (2012) highlights that Gandhi square is a highly privatised area, for her the area operates according to Olitzki’s rules and regulations and if one does not adhere to the rules then they have to be removed from the area. The impression that Michelle receives from Olitzki is that he does not want any informal traders in the square because they are associated with dirty spaces and criminal activities occur in those realms.

“I do agree with him because when I walk in other areas of the city I feel very unsafe but I felt safe in Gandhi Square. There are cameras and security guards in the square or maybe I felt safe because I was walking with him” (Belamant, 2012).

However, Belamant also noted that some people feel safe in crowded areas as compared to Gandhi Square. Even though she felt safe in the square, she was aware that others would feel unsafe and might prefer more human presence in the street.
These startling differences were the reason why we chose to further investigate why street trade is treated so differently within two CIDs. To further help us understand these differences, and go beyond our own perceptions to move to users’ perceptions, we sought to interview a range of pedestrians in Kerk Street and in Gandhi Square.

1.2. Pedestrians Interviews

Statistics and Responses

The following section seeks to gain an understanding of the different perceptions of pedestrians in Gandhi Square and the RID. Interviews were conducted on two occasions, one during at mid-day (Kerk Street) and the other during the afternoon (Gandhi Square). From these interviews here these were some of the main responses that were conducted.

People’s perceptions when walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk/ Loveday Street as well as main elements that stood out for them

When pedestrians were asked how they felt when walking through Kerk Street, as well as elements that had caught their attention, these were some of the responses that stood out: majority of the people felt that the most useful and meaningful thing to them on Kerk Street was the shopping that one could do. Another common feature that stood out for pedestrians on Kerk Street was the interaction and communication that one could engage in when passing by or simply by just meeting friends, colleagues as well as family. Another aspect that was mutual between the pedestrians was that they found Kerk Street very convenient, in a sense that it was easily accessible as well as provided
necessary daily needs and at the same time a lively and vibrant environment that one could enjoy. One pedestrian however, found that there was a decline in the physical quality and maintenance of the area.

In Gandhi Square, pedestrians emphasized their sense of security (except one who felt the place was sometimes too empty). They appreciated the cleanliness of the place, and remarked on its orderliness and formality (symbolized by one pedestrian admiring the statue as a symbol). This perception was emphasized by those pedestrians interviewed on Gandhi Square- whilst those interviewed on Kerk street had more mixed feelings, some finding the place dull. The importance of empty space and wide pavement, as well as the connectivity of the place, also made of Gandhi square an easy place to socialize, meet friends. Some thought the transport hub managed to give a strong identity to the Square (dreams of connectivity); whilst some regretted the lack of a sense of an African urban identity in the square, and most described the Square purely through its function (transport), without much of an identity attached to it.

Pedestrians Perceptions of Safety in Gandhi Square and Kerk Street

When asked the question if pedestrians felt safe on Kerk Street majority 81% of them felt that Kerk Street was a safe place that one could go to without having any fear. These people mentioned that they felt safe as there is a sufficient amount of security in the area, and to date they have never been mugged or had any safety issues.

In Gandhi Square majority of the people felt safe, as they felt there was always policing and security in the area. Some mentioned CCTV – as opposed to the people-driven safety environment in Kerk street.

However, on the other hand a minority of 19% felt that Kerk Street was not a safe haven as it did not provide adequate security, and some of them had had bad experiences or have heard of dangerous incidents.
In Gandhi Square minimal pedestrians responded to the area being unsafe, however a few, mentioned that they have only been there during the day and therefore do not know if the area is still safe during the nights. Some males also brought about concern as they did not know if women felt as safe as they had when walking through Gandhi Square, as it was sometimes too empty.

**Pedestrians Perceptions on whether there should be street trading in Gandhi Square or not**

When pedestrians were asked whether they thought there should be street trading in Gandhi Square, more than half of the interviewees responded yes. These pedestrians felt that with more street trading in Gandhi Square it would allow for more entrepreneurial activities, as well as bring more activity and vibrancy to the area, so that those that use the transport system in Gandhi Square didn’t necessarily need to walk all the way to Kerk Street to shop before going home. However, those that responded that Gandhi Square should not have street trading felt that the area was just fine the way it was. They felt it already had enough activity and mixing a transport centre with shopping in Gandhi Square could become too hectic. Amongst the respondents, one mentioned that street trade was part of the inner city identity; another remarked that street trade and human presence gave him a deeper sense of safety and friendliness that he felt was missing in Gandhi Square.

From viewing the pedestrian’s responses, the main reason for most of the people wanting street trading in Gandhi Square was because it would allow them to be employed. It would give them a place to trade so that they could earn money and provide for their families as well as themselves; this is because many of them were unemployed. This shows that if Gandhi Square did allow for street trading many people would go there to do shopping and it could create an identity for Johannesburg as well as allow for people that use transport facilities to have convenience as if they were in a hurry, they would have Gandhi Square to do shopping and they did not need to walk all the way to Kerk Street. However, one can see that those that did not want...
street trading felt that it would get too chaotic and dirty, this could also be one of the reasons that Street Trading does not take place in Gandhi Square.

**Conclusion**

Concluding from these comments and answers one can see that many people do view differences in the RID and SWID, centered on their different functions and different managements that give each area a different atmosphere and identity. What was striking is that there was no strong sense of ranking or hierarchy between the two spaces. Neither was Gandhi Square considered unanimously better than Kerk street (better managed, safer and more enjoyable), as Gandhi Square manager might assume (does, in his interviews, see below): nor was it, as in our own perceptions as planners, a wide preference for the vibrancy, inclusiveness and liveliness of Kerk street over Gandhi Square.

To us what is important is that managed informal trading in the RID led to change the perception of informal trading by those who were familiar with the place – informal trading was no longer, as it is often the case, associated with dirtiness and crime, but with vibrancy, business, convencience, liveliness, friendliness and African city. The few who still associated street trading with dirt and crime where those in Gandhi Square that seldom went into the RID, therefore still reproducing common dominant negative conceptions of street trading. There is an emerging sense of street trading giving a sense of identity to Johannesburg inner city streets, that was also interesting to us.
Chapter Two: Policy and Politics of Street Trade

This Chapter discusses the Central Improvement Districts with special focus on the RID and SWID. It explores the history and establishment of the Central Improvement Districts of the Retail Improvement District and Gandhi Square. In addition the chapter also briefly unpacks informal trade within Johannesburg and the various policies which seek to address this issue of informal trade. By doing this research, we were able to better understand the complexities of informal trade management within the inner city of Johannesburg.

2.1. Overview of Central Improvement Districts

City Improvement Districts are geographical areas within the city in which property owners agree to supply complimentary and supplementary services outside of those offered by the Local Municipality (JICBC, 2012). The purpose of this agreement is to manage and maintain public space and a greater level so as to maintain it and attract more investment.

CIDs have been established in order to help fight decay and crime found in the inner city. In addition, it is clear that there has been decline of investment in the inner city which has resulted in many businesses withdrawing from the inner city and moving to areas such as Sandton and Midrand. CIDs are forms of governance that seek to turn this situation around and attain a global city status (COJ, 2012).

“The city never died. There were always more than a million people that come to the city every single day. All that was happening was that the city became more and more unpleasant for us people that had to use the city. So that was where I started. How can we bring the city back? How can we revive it?” (Olitzki, 2012).

This is where the idea of Improvement districts came about. During the initial set ups of the CIDs, Neil Fraser, a prominent businessman, was interested in urban regeneration in the city.

“He talked to the City about partnering in the inner city, in order to improve investment opportunities. The city could see they were losing their tax base. Neil was discussing with Parks Tau, who at the time was in Economic Development and Finances. They did a tour around the world, Washington, Philadelphia and NY – through the inner city downtown association. So here we were, they saw that CIDs would be an appropriate tool” (Steffny, 2012).
Also according to Olitziki (2012) seeing that the council did not adequately provide services and security, the private sector had borrowed the idea from of Improvement Districts from New York.

The Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) was established in 1992 as a partnership between business, community and local authority. Therefore in 1997, the establishments of four CIDs were initiated by CJP (CJP, 2012).

CIDs in the city meant that security officers, cleaners, informal traders and city managers were employed to work in the different CIDs. It is apparent that all CIDs differ in character and management. In this section the focus will be on two CIDs; the Retail Improvement District and the South Western Improvement District.

2.1.1. Overview of the South Western Improvement District

The South Western Improvement District (SWID) was established in 1996 (JICBC, 2012). It was legally legislated in 2004. The SWID covers over twenty four blocks in the South western part of the city. It is characterised by financial business, corporate offices and mining companies. Some of these include: Chamber of Mines, BHP Billiton, the African National Congress in the Walter Sisulu House, the Rand Club, Samancor, Anglo Platinum, Anglo Operations, South African Revenue Services, National Union of Mine Workers, National Government, Provincial Government, Engineer Industries Pension Fund, Peoples Bank Head Office, Johnnic and SA Eagle.

The SWID boundary is located between Market Street, West Street, Village Street and Rissik Street (JICBC, 2012). The area has a mining theme because that is where mining started in South Africa. The SWID provides supplementary and complementary services which include cleaning staff and fully equipped and uniformed security staff. The squad comprises 42 patrol officers and a controller.

The Vision of the SWID:

- keep the area form degenerating
- draw more corporates in the area
- grow towards the freeway in the south

The SWIDs view on Informal Trading:

The SWID is a restricted trading area (city by laws on informal trading define demarcated areas for trading and restricted areas). This was declared by the council but was also in the interest of the property owners in the area (Jooste, 2012). The property owners wanted to the area to be
somewhat exclusive so that it was different from other areas and creating its own character and identity.

Informal traders are not permitted to trade within the boundaries of the SWID.

“Big Business is reluctant to have their offices there and to walk on the streets and dodging hawkers” (Olitzki, 2012).

In addition, Gerald Olitzki stated that he believed that the city has divided up, naturally, into different parts. This particular part (SWID) accommodates for the corporate world and keeping a certain standard is essential to keep investment within the city and prevent it from sprawling to the suburbs (Olitzki, 2012)

2.1.2. Overview of Retail Improvement District
The Retail Improvement District (RID) was established in 1997 and legislated in 2005. The district covers five city blocks in the retail areas in the city (JICBC, 2012). The boundaries are from Jeppe Street to the north, Commissioner Street to the south, Von Brandis to the east and Harrison to the west.

The RID is a retail hub dominated by large retail stores like Woolworths, Edgars, Game etc. There also huge pedestrian traffic flows that go through this area from Gandhi square to Park station.

The goal of the RID was to establish a clean, friendly, attractive environment for shoppers (JICBC, 2012). The RID provides cleaning services and fully equipped uniformed security guards. The squad comprises 18 patrol officers and a controller.

**The Vision of the RID:**

- create a clean and safe place for shopping
- develop SMME’s
- Facilitating for the expansion of night time trading (formal and informal).
- increasing residents use of public space during the day and at night

**The RIDs view on Informal Trading:**

The RID is a full trading area. The CJP has adopted an inclusive model for street trading in the area thus trading on the sidewalks is permitted. There are certain by-laws that street traders are obliged to follow. Street trading is managed in co-operation between MTC, JDA and Urban Genesis. Street traders are provided with stalls and services such as water and waste removal.
2.1.3. How were the Boundaries established?
The first CIDs were established on a voluntary basis. The Central Johannesburg Partnership
concentrated on major crime areas which at that time was between the Carlton Centre and the then
Southern Sun Hotel. They spoke to property owners in this area about forming a voluntary CID. This
was first done on a trial basis. These first CIDs were so successful that the other property owners
asked the CJP to establish CIDs in their areas. Initially these were all voluntary and legislation came
about a few years later. In the SWID the Chamber of mines and Apexhi were the main champions
and they collectively set up and started a committee including all property owners. They decided
that the place would continue to be a restricted trading area as it has always been.

Steffny (2012) goes in to further details of the establishments of CIDs:

“To set up a CID you need a willing core, a group of driving property owners… the ones that
have been active are Brian Miller, Lael Bethlehem (now at Standard Bank), Gerald Olitski,
POMOA… Even Old Mutual, which has been criticized a lot; it finances all property
development in the inner city – it funds AFHCO, and AFHCO understands the inner city more
and more, they are getting braver. Now they are going into Doornfontein. It takes people
who like challenges, like Olitski who bought a building 20 years ago in the inner city, people
were saying, ‘he is mad’”

A property owner map will be illustrated further on in the report and will demonstrate Olitzki’s
properties around the square.

2.1.4. The establishment of Gandhi Square
Gandhi Square was a prototype agreement entered into by council, business and the community.
The square was formally known as van de Biji Square, infamous as a crime hot spot but also served
as a home for the homeless. This resulted in a lot of corporates abandoning the buildings
surrounding the area. Gerald Olitzki, who owns a number of properties in the area, had the idea of
forming a consortium with property owners to lease the square from the council and rebuild and
maintain the square at their own cost. He suggested that they should run the area in the same way
that the City Improvement District was run.

“I started with Gandhi Square and Gandhi Square was always going to be an asset test as to
whether my vision was going to work or not.” Gerald Olitzki goes into further explanation
about how he always wanted to do something with the square and that it took him seven
years to do it. “Fortunately I knew some people, I could talk frankly to them and I said listen
let’s be honest, you guys are mandated to revive the city (the inner city) but number one, you
don’t have the experience and number two, you don’t have any funds available. I’ll give you
this next to nothing. But obviously the question was what’s next to nothing? …I only want two things from you, one I have to declare this a no hawking zone and two a private lease for Gandhi Square” (Olitzki, 2012)

Therefore as Anne Steffny (2012) explained there was a shared lease with a large section of main section with property owners who would pay for infrastructure upgrade and maintenance and Gerald Olitzki gained a 45 year lease on Gandhi Square.

“… Gandhi Square, you have a high quality of public space, property owners were prepared to pay for it. The city signed off the lease agreement” (Steffny, 2012)

Attached in the annexures are copies of Gerald Olitzki’s proposed development plans for Gandhi Square (previously known as Van Der Bijl Square), which was given to us by Mr Olitzki himself.

2.2. Gerald’s Olitzki’s view on Hawkers and their place in the City
Essentially Olitzki views Gandhi Square as a great success and as

“a little island of sanity in a sea of madness because everything was a mess”.

It was a small test run for his bigger vision that he had in mind, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter four. According to Olitzki, within this lease and zones of Gandhi Square, Fox Street and Main Street, more jobs have been created than destroyed and hawkers were directed into other zones such as Kerk and Joubert Street.

“Much of the hawkers that were here are now there. It was a compromise and unfortunately with most comprises there’s no perfect solution but it’s the best they can do”.

He strongly states that everything was done with a sense of humanity. Something worth taking note of is his view on hawkers:

“I believe in hawkers. I believe informal trading is entry level for entrepreneurs. However and the big however is this: we could not revive the city, we couldn’t get big businesses back into the city, and we couldn’t get people back into the city, if there were hawkers all over the pavements. So now there’s a collision of interests” (Olitzki, 2012).

This brings us back to the concept of conflicting rationalities and its place within these CID s. There is no doubt that when dealing with diverse backgrounds and people, conflicts of interest will arise and this is recognised by Mr Olitzki. Trying to balance the interests of business, traders and general users of the city is quite a difficult task within the inner city and requires an approach which will be not only inclusive but equitable too. For him informal trade does not fit within his category of corporate
and business and is more appropriate where housing and retail is present. This is his criteria for where informal trade should fit in the city.

To further illustrate Mr. Olitzki’s view on informality and Johannesburg as a city, he goes on to discuss:

“The reality is that this is a proper city with genuine architecture, genuine people and to achieve that I had to get the hawkers out of the street” He mentions that the absence of hawkers allows for absence of litter and crime essentially giving people the opportunity to freely walk through the city comfortably. “There’s much criminality amongst hawkers”

This section sought to understand Olitzki’s rationale of informal trading and the reason behind not incorporating this sector into his bigger vision. The next section of the chapter will briefly look at the broader context in Johannesburg and the various policies that seek to address street trade within the inner city.

2.3. The Informal Economy and its regulation

2.3.1. Importance of informal economy in Johannesburg

It was estimated that at the end of the 1980s, at least 30% of the total South African labor force was involved in some form of informal work. An official survey in 1990 showed that the PWV region was the second of the two major concentrations of informal sector employment (the first being KwaZulu-Natal) (Rogerson, 1996). Unemployment levels within Johannesburg are ominously high; the economic recession experienced in 2009 has further exacerbated unemployment levels within Johannesburg, leaving people not many options for employment.

“In the absence of formal job opportunities or access to credit, skills and infrastructure to start formal business enterprises, people appropriate public space and passers-by to sell goods and services in order to eke out a living and support themselves and their families” (Tissington, 2009; 6).

Therefore it can be assumed that street trade is a livelihood strategy chosen predominantly as a survivalist tactic (Tissington, 2009).

Informal trade has become important to many citizens of Johannesburg. The Metropolitan Trading Company (MTC) estimated that in 2006, there were about 18000 informal traders within Johannesburg, most of them located within the inner city. In addition, the City of Johannesburg estimated that within the inner city alone, 8000 were informal traders (Abraham, 2006). These statistics are not entirely accurate as there are many undocumented informal traders which are
migrants as well as the fast growing nature of informality which seems to be growing at a significant pace (Tissington, 2009).

The City is struggling with this informal trade as the problem lies in the unregulated and undocumented nature of these street trading and markets which have been established by the traders themselves.

### 2.3.2. Laws and Policies addressing Informal Trade

Johannesburg City vision regarding informal trade is stated below:

“To create a well-managed informal trading sector which talks to the needs of its stakeholders and is effectively integrated into the economic, spatial and social development goals of the City.” (Informal Trading Policy, 2009; 4)

Street trading is primarily governed and regulated by various municipal by-laws and policy at local government level. Municipalities are given the mandate by the Business Act 72 of 1991 together with the Businesses Amendment Act 186 of 1993 to draw up and implement such by-laws. These municipal by-laws need to be in line with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996.

Below is a summary of relevant legislation and policy that affects informal trading within the City of Johannesburg:

#### Bill of Rights:

The Bill of Rights in the Constitution outlines a series of rights and protections which applies to all residents whom reside in South Africa and is especially relevant to the hard reality which street traders face only a daily basis. It is important to note that most principles state that everyone has the right to equality and dignity. Within Section (9)1, it is mentioned that everyone in South Africa is equal before the law and all has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law. More importantly, Section 22 speaks about the freedom of trade which states that “every citizen has the right to choose their trade, occupation or profession freely” but these rights are regulated by the law.

The main policy which affects the informal trade is known as The City of Johannesburg’s Informal Trading Policy and notes that in section 36(1) the rights within the Bill of Rights may be limited. The Informal Trading Policy further states that the effect of this limitation clause on the right to choose a trade is “simply an acknowledgment that the right to trade is not a right that cannot be limited and
must be considered and interpreted taking into account other competing rights and obligations” (CoJ, 2009).

**Local Government:**

The Constitution sets out the foundation in which Local Government must follow. It lays out the objectives and other developmental duties in which Local Government need to follow and achieve. In addition, it provides the authority for Local Government to develop by-laws in order to administer street trade. The powers and functions of municipalities are listed in section 156 which states that a municipality has executive authority in respect of, and the right to administer, certain local government matters including street trading (which is listed in Part B of Schedule5)

**Business Act 72 of 1992:**

This is one of the Acts which changed the legal framework for street trade and recognized the informal sector as an important sector which contributes to the economy and thus should be supported. Basically deregulation reduces and limits governmental powers regarding regulations that apply to private business (Gayle and Goodrich, 1990). According to Skinner, “it sought to reduce the powers of local authorities to develop and implement laws that would restrict informal trading. Thus legally there was a complete turnabout from a situation where traders were not being allowed to trade, with few exceptions, to traders being allowed to trade freely, with a few exceptions” (Skinner, 1999; 20).

**Informal Trade By-laws**

According to Tissington, (2009;14) “the by-laws there is a focus on the protection of businesses, public buildings and monuments, pedestrians and traffic flow, as well as the maintaining of cleanliness, hygiene, safety, public order and open space within the City”. Simply put the by-laws regulate and seek to manage informal trade within the inner city. Some of its main responsibilities include:

- Prohibited and Restricted Conduct
- Removal and Impoundment
- Offences and Penalties
- Cleanliness
- Publication and awareness of by-laws
In June 2009, several amendments were made to the first set of by-laws and are now known as the “City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality Informal Trading By-Laws” (Tissington, 2009).

**Informal Trading Policy for the City of Johannesburg (2009)**

The city published “Informal Trading Policy for the City of Johannesburg” in 2007 and sought to provide a policy outline in which informal trade would be managed and regulated (this was in line with the Inner City Regeneration Charter). However, the informal trading policy was revised in 2009.

> “Informal trading is as much a part of the past, present and future of the City of Johannesburg as are other forms of activity. It contributes towards job creation and thereby helps in the absorption of many who would otherwise be economically idle. As with the formal economy, it helps in the alleviation of poverty, the indirect medium to long-term outcome of which includes reduced levels of petty crime and criminality” (Informal Trading Policy for the City of Johannesburg(2009), section 1.2.)

However, this policy recognises that informal trade management is experiencing challenges some of which involve the lack of infrastructure and storage facilities, health and safety obligations, law enforcements difficulties and unpredictable consumer behavior.

Essentially the Informal Trading Policy is in accordance with the City vision as it aims “to create opportunities for the sector to share in the benefits of economic growth through a developmental approach which enables access to job and entrepreneurial opportunities within the sector” (Tissington, 2009; 18). It also aims to assist with the process of including/ migrating informal traders into the formal sector. In addition, it aims to build a stable and functional relationship between the two sectors (formal and informal) which will ultimately foster economic growth (Tissington, 2009).

In addition, as it is, informal trading can involve many stakeholders which can often lead to unnecessary or petty issues, thus the Informal Trading Chamber is established as a forum in which various interested parties can come together in consultation and negotiation regarding conflicting interests.

The policy is itself is very extensive and so only some of the most important aspects are summarised below:

- **Infrastructure development**: this responsibility is shared by two departments: the Metropolitan Trading Company (MTC) and the Department of Economic Development (DED). The MTC is to be consulted when development infrastructure is planned whereas the DED is tasked with categorizing trading markets and identifying developmental priorities.
Essentially it aims to develop the various groups of trading into permanent enclosed markets which will cater for all their needs (water, electricity, storage, etc.)

- **Demarcation of designated areas**: This entails that the DED should in accordance with the Business Act demarcate certain areas for informal trading. This will allow for the smooth operation of the informal trading as these demarcated areas should not interfere with pedestrian flow, formal business or add to traffic and pedestrian congestion. In addition, these traders within the demarcated areas are meant to have licenses and smart cards. Kerk Street Linear market and Faraday Muti market are examples of these demarcated areas in which traders are allowed to trade successfully.

- **Smart Cards**: This smart card system has been established by the MTC and is meant as an important tool for the administration, management and law enforcement of informal trading. The main idea is for every informal trader trading in designated areas to apply to MTC for a Smart Card which will provide biographical information, goods or services sold, trading location and rental (Tissington, 2009). However, this process has been rather slow and time consuming as has to decide whether or not to permit traders within a sixty day period.

- **Allocation of trading space, rental and appeals process**: this is where the MTC allocates trading space to traders whom are successful in obtaining smart cards. It is based around the “one-trader, one-stall” phrase. The policy states that trading space allocation should be done via an electronic system which processes the applications for trading space. Successful traders also have to pay a rental fee for their trading space so that maintenance and services can be provided for them.

- **Law enforcement**: law enforcement will be implemented if traders are in possession of illegal and/or prohibited conduct. This action shall be undertaken by the JMPD, who can remove and impound goods. In addition, the policy states that the DED will awareness programmes and communication strategies which will educate and inform traders about the policy.

In conclusion, this section allowed us to fully comprehend the various policies affecting street trade in the inner city therefore allowing a more in-depth understanding. The main policies that aim to address street trade within the inner city are the informal street trade policy and the bylaws.
Chapter Three: The Business Sector and their Influence on Informal Trade

This chapter explores the business sector and their influence on informal trade, through a stakeholder power sketch which helped to further understand the complex networks that are involved when dealing with street trade in the inner city. In addition, the chapter proposes a property ownership map which outlines who owns what and is suggestive of different owners’ respective power over decision making within the CIDs.

3.1. Stakeholder Power Map
The Stakeholder sketch attempts to unpack the relationships which affect street trade in the RID of Johannesburg. In addition, it discusses the various views that the Business sector has on informal trade.

First it can be seen that informal trade within the City of Johannesburg, falls under the Department of Economic Development (DED) in the SMME Development and Support unit/directorate, and specifically, in the Informal Trading sub-programme/sub-unit. The DED is responsible for implementing the City’s Informal Trading Policy and drawing up and implementing the informal trading by-laws (Joburg website, 2012). In addition, the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) is accountable to the DED since DED gives direction and takes the lead when related to economic development. JDA had “created designated areas for informal trading” as part of its intervention for the redevelopment of the inner city.

“That, while not directly involved in informal trading policy or management, the JDA is a powerful voice and player in inner city regeneration and its focus on enticing private investors and business is heavily contingent on ensuring that the issue of informal street trading is addressed timeously.” (Tissington, 2009; 37).

The Metropolitan Trading Company (MTC) is a municipal-owned entity which was established in 1999 (as a profit-driven company) which works under the mandate of management, development, marketing and business development and maintenance of informal trading markets. MTC is in a joint venture with both the CJP and the DED. In addition, it is the MTC whom should be consulted when infrastructure is planned and they will consider the impact on the street traders in the RID.

The Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) enforces the street trade by-laws set out as well as the informal street trade policy. Responsibilities include traffic policing, policing of municipal bylaws and regulations, and the prevention of crime within the city of Johannesburg.

The Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) is dedicated to the urban renewal and revitalization of Johannesburg’s Inner City and was established in 1998 as a private non-profit company. It focuses on serving the interests of businesses whilst at the same have a working relationship with the City. According to Skinner (1999), essentially a significant amount of street trading in the inner city is not managed by the city but is instead outsourced to property owners and private companies. This is seen through the CID system in which property owners are responsible for the management of the area (including street trade). It is the CJP which is contracted to manage both these systems. In addition, Steffny (2012) mentions that
“CJP then got involved in establishing and managing CIDs – in practice it was not a great mix, but we learnt a lot through the process. Rosebank was the oldest legislated CID; we set up PUMDC partnership for Urban management to manage it, which set up and managed Rosebank CID, then it became KUM, then UG, a different animal altogether.”

Thus one can see the different management the city experienced throughout the CID history. As it is seen in the sketch, the CJP has a partnership with the MTC and manages the urban environment in the legislated CIDs.

The Johannesburg Inner City Business Coalition (JICBC) is managed by the CJP and also is major stakeholder in efforts to manage and regulate inner city informal trading. The difference with CJP (in its mandate and its people) is not very clear however.

According to their website, Urban Genesis Management is responsible for the Strategic framework for the upgrade of the RID. This entails a visioning exercise and identification of challenges and opportunities; status quo analysis and presentation of findings; and detailed proposals, financial and institutional arrangements. In addition, the SWID is also managed by Urban Genesis Management.

“Urban Genesis is born out of CJP. Urban Genesis was born to run the CID’s... We (JDA) work together. But they do their thing and we, the city does its thing. We’ve never actually, well I don’t know if they’ve got money to co-fund anything. They normally just charge for services. So they’re running a CID, yes they will (get money), because it should be collected by the city, but it’s impractical for various reasons. So they actually collect on behalf of the city. That’s their main thing; and they run the CIDs. So they’ve got a service level agreement” (Arnott, 2012).

What can be seen clearly is the importance and centrality of CJP for driving change, legislation, institution and management of street trading in the inner city. It set up a number of sister organizations for different tasks (the for-profit running of CIDs for instance through Urban Genesis, after having set up and initially managed CIDs directly itself). CJP is working hand in hand with the City of Johannesburg, through strong policy networks and more formal partnerships and MOUs.

What was interesting to us was that CJP, although generally advocating for an integrated view and management of street trading, had a differentiated view of street trading management in the different CIDs. Whilst CJP promoted the inclusion of managed street trading in the CID, it did not push this agenda in Gandhi Square, in spite of being influential in its setting up:

“The CJP was influential in forming the Gandhi Square Consortium and providing safety and maintenance services but the lease was negotiated by Gerald Olitzki.” (Fraser, 2012).
Therefore, the CJP had some influence on the Consortium which fits into accordance with the SWID yet can be argued to have a dysfunctional relationship with the RID, as to their contrasted management choices on street trading, and the fact the traders excluded from SWID and Gandhi Square (according to Olitski) were pushed into the RID.

Lastly, street traders and their influence on informal trade has been purposely left out of the sketch seeing that they have no direct influence over the regulation, management and policy of their business. Even though they are the ones whom are most affected by management and policy of informal trade, they do not feature in the process of decision making. Another issue worth noting is the lack of forum or system in which traders can go to when there is an issue. Even though Urban Genesis is the closest organization on the ground, they are not fully accountable to drive change or push forward concerns regarding street traders.

3.2. Property Owners Map

As it has been briefly discussed in chapter two, it is known that CIDs are zones where private funds pay for additional services for security, cleaning and marketing. In accordance to the rules, once more than 51% of the areas property owners have voted to adopt a CID-all property owners must pay the levy. These property owners pay an additional fee which is added on their municipal bills.

Each CID has its own board of directors which is elected from the members of the CID Section 21 company and this board ultimately controls the district within terms and conditions of their own original improvement district plan.

The Board of directors comprises of various property owners, business people and possibly municipality. This does not necessarily represent the tenants or those that trade on the street.

"According to the CJP, although non-voting members of the board may be included, such as councilors, tenants or other stakeholders, property owners must be in the majority, and their voting power is proportional to the levy paid by them" (Section 4(3) of the Gauteng City Improvement Districts Act 12 of 1997.)

In addition, the board of directors appoints a specialist urban management company to manage the day-to-day operations within the CID (This is usually Urban Genesis who bought over the previous company Kagiso Urban Management).

On the property ownership map, the two boundaries are highlighted so that the two CIDs are easily identified. The map illustrates the various property owners within the two CIDs and it can be
perceived that there is quite a variety of property owners within the RID whereas the SWID has a dominated by Olitzki Property Holdings. As it was mentioned property owners and their voting power is proportional to the levy paid- thus it can be anticipated that since Gerald Olitzki owns so many properties in the SWID that he has the most voting power on the board of directors – it is basically a one man Board.... It is also worth noting that most of Olitzki Properties surround Gandhi Square and therefore any agenda that he may have, will directly affect the Square. This can be one of the reasons why there is no street trade in Gandhi Square and the SWID itself seeing that property owners have a direct effect on decision making.

In contrast, one can also assume that because the RID has so many property owners within the area, all of them may not be so active in the decision making of the RID. It is not clear that property owners favour the presence of street trading in the RID (there is no explicit discourse of support for it that we could find), in contrast with discourses by Urban Genesis of CJP on the need to include street trading in the inner city of Johannesburg. We could only hypothesise that it was more a CJP-UG agenda to come up with an integrated trading solution for the RID, than it was driven by property owners. In fact, it seems that it is the RID property owners’ diversity (and possible fragmentation) that allowed CJP and UG to test this model of integrated trading/inclusive street trading.
Chapter Four: Visions and Objectives of Stakeholders

The following section seeks to gain an understanding of different visions and objectives undertaken by certain stakeholders and companies. The City of Johannesburg, Urban Genesis, Gerald Olitzki and the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) will be discussed in relation to their views on informal trading. It will then draw to a conclusion if whether these visions complement each other, or whether they have opposing views.

4.1. City of Johannesburg's vision on informal trading

The potential for the informal sector to support inclusive and sustainable growth of the city’s economy is acknowledged by the City as it plays a crucial role in sustainable livelihood creation. The sector is viewed as having an essential role in creating future employment. By 2040 the city intends to provide greater support to the growth of the informal sector by developing partnership arrangements that will provide skills development support and the creation of an enabling environment (GDS, 2011). The City predicts that the sector will have positive spin-offs such as “entrepreneurial spirit, competition, innovation, higher efficiency and increased investment” (GDS, 2011: 98).

One again, looking at the City’s vision regarding informal trade:

“To create a well-managed informal trading sector which talks to the needs of its stakeholders and is effectively integrated into the economic, spatial and social development goals of the City.” (COJ, 2011:4)

The City’s mission with regards to the informal trading sector is as follows:

“In order to create opportunities for the informal trading sector to share in the benefits of economic growth, the City will, through a developmental approach, enable access to job and entrepreneurial opportunities within the informal trading sector as well as to facilitate the migration of informal traders into the formal sector. By providing a stable and predictable regulatory and management environment, a positive relationship with the formal sector will be nurtured so that the sectors operate effectively alongside each other in an environment that fosters sustainable economic growth.”(COJ, 2011:4).
The above vision for informal trading in the inner city illustrates that the City views informal trading as an activity that can be controlled and regulated. It is understood as the means for which one can move from the first economy to the second economy. Shepherd and Robins (2008) explain that the dual economy is one that consists of a first economy (formal economy) and second economy (informal economy). The first economy is an “advanced sophisticated economy, based on skilled labour. The second economy is the informal consisting of marginalised individuals, populated by the unemployed and those unemployable in the formal sector” (Shepherd and Robins, 2008: 74).

However in an interview with Paul Arnott, working in JDA, a part of the City, he emphasised that trading could never be controlled

“You take twenty people off the street and give them formal stores and forty more move into where they were therefore there is no hierarchy because it is a bunch of them.” (Arnott, 2012). One should be able to progress up the ladder “but you cannot do that if you are selling vegetables and a thousand other people can do that” (Arnott, 2012).

In such a case some people have to be excluded from becoming entrepreneurs, they should rather become employees and others should migrate up the ladder and become bosses (Arnott, 2012)

The city recognises the necessity to accommodate informal traders into the formal economy by managing the system through the provision of smart cards (COJ, 2011), including the transition from one sector to the other. It is also further notes that it should be well integrated into the social, economic and spatial goals of the city (COJ, 2011). But the practicality of actually regulating street trading seems daunting – at least to City officials on the ground.

4.2. Urban Genesis and its Relationship to Informal Trade

Urban Genesis delivers a range of services such as consulting to both the public and private sector, with the aim of developing a well-managed, resource efficient and sustainable mixed land-use environment (Urban Genesis, 2012). It has a close connection with the property industry, local government and business communities (Urban Genesis, 2012).

Services must be efficient and run smoothly as the initiative is based on an international place making hierarchy. Therefore the different levels of services that are needed in each space is founded on the notion as to where it fits on the hierarchy.

Here are some of the services that Place Management offers:
• Enabling communities to have a better relationship with municipalities so that they can look after areas more efficiently
• Resolutions in managing security, public space, cleaning, informal trade, environmental improvements, business attractions as well as maintenance and social programmes
• Doing quality research investigations and surveys, such as development, market and perception research
• Creating strategies as well as branding areas whilst holding events so as to create an exceptional sense of that place
• Developing programmes and projects to ensure urban decline does not take place
• Creating various information systems and solutions with urban monitoring tools, property databases and mapping products (Urban Genesis).

Besides Urban Genesis providing a variety of services to both the public and private sector, it also works in a joint venture with a private consultant Neil Fraser who writes Citichat. Urban Genesis works so that it can build up local economies and various business nodes, so that it can essentially bring people in and allow them to come back again.

According to an interview conducted with Hans Jooste, a general manager of all the City Improvement Districts, and a current high rank employee of Urban Genesis, with regards to informal trade first a partnership was created between Urban Genesis and the City to manage informal trade within the public spaces, in the CID’s. In the Johannesburg centre he argues there was chaos with informal trade as traders would sell illegally and practically all over the place. In these areas CIDs are supposed to be managed areas, so with all the chaos that took place it had a negative environment that no one was willing to go to. It caused many businesses to go down and close (Hans Jooste, 2012). After this, an Urban Genesis employee, Sylvia was hired and together they demarcated blocks where people were allowed to trade according to stipulated by-laws. Sylvia together with an operations manager (Norman) asked traders to appoint block leaders and weekly these people meet with Sylvia and Norman, and monthly meetings are also held. These traders have a relationship based on trust with the city and if any illegal trading is taking place, they report it same time and immediate action is taken. Also if a trader leaves there are lists of people that want to trade so Sylvia calls them up if any places are vacant and offers them a trading space (Hans Jooste, 2012).

Partnerships were also created between the business sectors, informal traders and shop owners whereby they had come to a common agreement as to where they would be located. For example if there was a business that sold clothes, informal traders that sold clothing were not placed in front of
those businesses rather an informal trader that sold food was rather located there (Hans Jooste, 2012).

Hans also mentions that one of their biggest challenges in Urban Genesis in relation to solving informal trader’s issues is the challenge of storage. When informal traders close up between 4pm to 6pm many of them do not have storage places to leave their goods during the night. So what Urban Genesis did is to look for vacant or renovated buildings that are available and negotiate a minimal fee that these traders can pay for storage. Urban Genesis together with CID cleaners and security guards make sure that these goods stay safe. Also cleaners make sure that the area in the CID remains clean at all times so that it can create a healthy environment. Urban Genesis tries to create a positive relationship with informal and formal traders so that if there are any problems at hand, it can be resolved in a friendly and decent way. Hans mentioned that 80% of the time it works (Hans Jooste, 2012).

Through a grounded presence, dedicated personal (at the cleaning and security level but mostly at a coordinating level), regular meetings with the traders and flexible approaches to traders’ concrete and daily issues, Urban Genesis helped in a major way to create a safe, secure, vibrant and lively environment within CID’s that welcomes all people. To some extent it is giving the City policy’s and by laws intentions more reality thanks to specific resources collected through the RID – implementing the inclusive and responsive vision that the City of Johannesburg does not have the means to implement.

4.3. Olitzki’s views on Informal Trading

Olitzki, like the City, sometimes states that he views street traders as entrepreneurs to be supported. For him the future lies in micro trading and the ability of people to migrate up the ladder, as it is an entry level for entrepreneurs. Olitzki (2012) proudly gives the example of Benzi, a lady that experienced difficulties obtaining a regulated location to do her trading. Olitzki provided her with a small shop in Gandhi Square.

Notwithstanding this discourse, Olitzki is adamant that he does not want to accommodate any street trader in the area he manages. Michelle (2012) recalls her walk about in Gandhi Square with him when they came across a women who was selling sweet by the bus terminal:

“Belamant asked “Oh so you do allow informal traders”, Olitzki responded by saying “no I don’t, I need to speak to the security guards to have her removed”
Relocation of informal traders to chosen areas results indeed in freer walkways, cleaner environment, increased visibility and a reduction in crime (Tissington, 2009). Nevertheless, areas such as the bus terminal could be suitable for informal street trading in Ghandi Square – in line with city policy documents (COJ, 2011) stressing that specific areas are to be considered for trading such as economic nodes, central business districts, adjacent to public transport, areas with high levels of pedestrian traffic and the proximity of informal trade to formal trade. If licensed informal street trading is considered to be a controlled and manageable sector, Michelle (2012) notes that it could be possible for a different type of informal trading to be introduced into Gandhi Square, however it is also a very tricky situation.

Olitzki (2012) had an idea of an Improvement district with the support of the private sector in close relation with Grahame Reed, the first chairman of JDA. He states that the city functions in an east to west direction that people constantly cut through without recognizing the various districts. His greater vision for the inner City of Johannesburg was to construct a spine through the entire area.

“It’s (the city) almost like a human body, if u don’t have a spine to it, it falls apart. So what was I trying to build? I was trying to build a spine” (Olitzki, 2012).

The spine would be created by refurbishing decayed buildings, the removal of street traders and creation of linkages with the aid of arcades. According to Olitzki (2012), his aim was to attract people on the streets and the only way he could achieve this was by the removal of hawkers. He also mentions that this is one of this is one of the biggest successes as he managed to get people onto the streets and out of their ‘fortresses’.

He further emphasizes that he wanted to attract people back into the inner city such as the city council and the corporate market (Olitzki, 2012). In order to do that he needed to remove hawkers from the spine. He is very proud of the fact that he has found “South African solutions for South African problems” (Olitzki, 2012)- but does not note the contradiction of solving the very “South African problem” of mass poverty and subsequent need for informal trading, though pushing informal traders out of the areas he manages...

He justified the subtle eviction of the traders from their designated area by providing this rationale:

“What are the interest of the majority? The interest of the minority should not hinder those of the majority” (Olitzki, 2012).
“(Street trade) Must go into the area where it works, they should be in the bus stations because that is where they do their informal trading” (Olitzki, 2012).

He clearly contradicts himself as he knows that street trade works best at bus stations yet he does not allow it in Gandhi Square. He further redeems himself stating that he does not want the traders along the Gandhi Square bus terminal because they do not fit into the urban form which he is trying to create (Olitzki, 2012).

Even though he is against street trading, he is supportive of those who do street trading

4.4. Johannesburg Development Agency and its relationship with Gerald Olitzki

The agency was established as an Agency (JDA) of the City of Johannesburg in 2001, thus it is meant to support the vision of the city. “It coordinates and manages capital investment and other programmes involving both public and private sector stakeholders” (Tissington, 2009:36). The JDA vision is centred on urban regeneration and development in the inner city. The agency deals with issues of crime and grime often associated with hawkers, unmanaged informal trade and congestion in the city (Tissington, 2009). In many aspects JDA’s views is aligned to the CJP’s and major property owners in the area – for instance JDA has recognised Gerald Olitzki’s efforts of regenerating the inner city by awarding him with 5 Halala awards.

In delivering the City’s priorities Johannesburg Development Agency strategic objectives are focused on unlocking public and private sector investment in historical areas, to promote productive partnerships and cooperation between all relevant stakeholders on area-based initiatives, it is to undertake area-based regeneration projects in areas in the City not meeting their potential and regenerating decaying areas of the city (JDA, 2010/2011) Gerald Olitzki’s unspoken vision is focused on regenerating the decaying inner city with a special focus on the Gandhi square/SWID. In doing so Olitzki has been constant in sustaining the city and the determination to overcome challenges that are faced by the inner city and he maintains the belief of the heart of the inner city, this resulted in him winning the Stan Nkosi Achievement Award from JDA (Olitzki Property Holdings, 2012). Olitzki won an award from JDA for the resent development of Fox street mall under the category Working and Buying Joburg, with the aim of encouraging the users of the space to interact with each other. The idea behind Fox street mall was creating a fully pedestrian walkway (COJ, 2011)
“OPH breathed new life into Fox Street by creating a destination where people living and working in the area can relax and enjoy the hustle and bustle. The redevelopment zone has provided an opportunity for established or start-up businesses to work in a safe, clean and pleasant environment.” (COJ, 2011:1).

Fox street mall does not consist of any informal traders nor does Gandhi Square. Belamant (2012) notes that the reason behind this is that Olitzki states that such activities are associated with crime and an unclean environment; hence there is no space for informal street trading activities in the city.

**Conclusion**

From here we can see that the City of Johannesburg and Urban Genesis complement each other as their goals and objectives are quite similar in a way. They both try to accommodate for informal trading, but at the same make sure it is regulated and in accordance with stipulated by-laws. They also want to create a sustainable and environmental friendly environment that is safe and clean so that people can be attracted and come often to these areas. In addition they create partnerships and understandings between the informal and formal sector, so that a negative economy does not exist.

On the other hand, the JDA’s vision and Olitzki’s dream of the city are very parallel to one another, even in their own contradictions. The city welcomes informal trade, the JDA is supportive of licensed informal trading but associates the sector with crime and Olitzki is not supportive of any form of informal trade. Because one of the JDA’s prioritises is to clear crime and grime often associated with hawkers in the inner city, it is then in line with Olitzki’s ideas of regenerating the city. JDA’s most successful development is the removals of hawkers in parts of the inner city; this has been considered as one of the most negative developments within the city. However it has identified that informal traders require designated areas. It is clear that the inner city’s objective is to attract private investment into the city by eradicating informal street trading (Tissington, 2009). The city promotes an inclusive environment it has achieved this by regulating informal trade in the RID however JDA has mentioned above that its priority is to eradicate illegal traders thus creating some form of exclusion.
Conclusion

After an intense and in-depth analysis of under-taking this research project, many conclusions can be drawn.

In trying to answer our research question as to why there are two different visions of street trading in two different CID’s; much time was taken to assess and view all the various angles of different interviewees, stakeholders and pedestrians. For us what was striking was

1) There are conflicting rationalities that are more complex than the ones opposing the City of Johannesburg and the private sector.

One the one hand, the City of Johannesburg has inclusive discourses of poverty alleviation and economic integration, and through its policies seems to enhance tolerance and support for managed street trading in the inner city. On the other hand, its developmental arm, the Johannesburg Development Agency, has other discourses and practices – viewing informal trade more as an obstacle to its efforts of regenerating the inner city, attracting investors and a social mix of users; and still often associating street trading with crime and grime.

Similar contradictions can be seen in the private sector, amongst property owners and business-oriented companies such as CJP and Urban Genesis. CJP discourse on informal trade in the inner city is a pragmatic one, and Urban Genesis practice of regulating street trading in the RID offers a practical way of making the city’s inclusive vision a reality – in a way that the City possibly cannot afford (with the deployment of cleaning, security and most importantly locally based coordinating personnel). On the other hand, most CIDs in reality, set up by the same CJP and managed by the same Urban Genesis, are intolerant to street trade to a point that we cannot not find exclusive.

2) There are contradictions between discourses and practices that might be linked to the complexity of regulating street trading in inner city areas

We learnt a lot about the complexity of the issue of street trading management in this research. This might explain the contradictions within the city itself (inclusive discourse but exclusive management practices). This also helped us understand the complexities of Olitzki’s position – which was sometimes more nuanced that we initially had expected. Even though we still believe that his position is problematic to sustain and full of contradictions and forms of NIMBYism (not in my backyard), we understood better his vision and grasp the risks that even regulated street trading would bear on Gandhi Square and the SWID development. We however do believe that the risks are
worth taking – and the RID provides a demonstration that street trading can be managed and co-exist harmoniously with other uses in the inner city.

3) Decision-makers discourses tend to assume there is a negative perception of street trading by users, which might not necessarily be the case. Pedestrians interviewed (arguably in very small samples) view the city in somewhat a different way as to how some property owners and companies would see it. Some of them assume that open spaces that have activity could be used as an opportunity for them. They view this space as providing them with job and entrepreneurial activities and also creating a sense of convenience to passer-by’s. More importantly even, most pedestrians interviewed saw managed street trading -as seen in the RID- as a positive element in the city, enhancing community feel, a sense of safety, and an African city identity.
1. “Informal Trading Policy for the City of Johannesburg” (2009), section 1.2.
3. City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality Street Trading By-laws (Published in Provincial Gazette Extraordinary No 179 dated 21 May 2004 under Notice Number 833).
9. Interview conducted with Hans Jooste at Rosebank, 09/10/2012, Interviewer: Petunia Mabokela
10. Interview conducted with Michelle Belamant (2012) at John Moffat, Interviewer: Rhandzu Khoza
11. Interview conducted with Neil Fraser (2012), via email, Interviewer: Chandni Singh
13. Interview conducted with Pedestrians (2012) at Kerk Street and Gandhi Square, Interviewer: Ayesha Wariawa
14. Interview conducted with Anne Steffny (2012) at Wits University, Interviewer: Prof. Claire Benit-Gbaffou


### Table of figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure number</th>
<th>Description of figures</th>
<th>Page number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1</td>
<td>Location Map of Gauteng, Johannesburg</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2</td>
<td>Johannesburg Inner City</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3</td>
<td>Visiting Kerk street</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4</td>
<td>Walking down Jeppe Street</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5</td>
<td>The quiet Street of Rissik Street</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6</td>
<td>Gandhi Square</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7</td>
<td>A comparison between Kerk Street and Gandhi Square</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8</td>
<td>Rules as to what people can and cannot do in Gandhi square</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9</td>
<td>Bus terminal with no indication of informal traders</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table of graphs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Graph number</th>
<th>Description of graph</th>
<th>Page number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Graph 1</td>
<td>Change in perception when walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk/Loveday Street</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graph 2</td>
<td>Safety on Kerk and Gandhi Square</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graph 3</td>
<td>Should Gandhi Square have Street Trading</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Annexure

Annexure 1 - Questionnaire for Pedestrians

Good morning/ afternoon, my name is (whoever is conducting the Interview) and I am a student from the University of the Witwatersrand who’s currently involved in conducting a research project with regards to pedestrians and their perceptions of the RID and SWID. If you have time would you mind answering a few questions for me?

8 Questionnaires conducted on Kerk Street on the 12th of September during midday (11am till 1pm).

Questionnaire 1

Age: 32
Occupation: Domestic Worker
Income per month: R 2000
Sex: Female

1. Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Kerk Street? What are the main elements that stand out for you?
   I feel very happy when I go to Kerk Street, because I go with my two friends, it is an outing for me. What stands out mostly for me is all the different things I can buy and send to my children that live with my sister. I also meet new people, and make friends.

2. Do you feel safe when walking through Kerk Street? Please elaborate.
   Yes I feel safe, there is security in the area and can walk around without being afraid. But at night I don’t feel safe, so I only go in the day time.

3. When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/ Loveday Street, does your perception/ understanding of the place change? If so, why?
   No, it doesn’t change. Some streets have different shops, but it is the same for me.

4. Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with
   a. Safe
   b. Vibrant
   c. Chaotic
   d. Dangerous
   e. Dull

5. Can you select three choices in which you will describe and associate Gandhi Square with?
   a. Safe
   b. Vibrant
   c. Chaotic
   d. Dangerous
   e. Dull
6. **When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy and from?**
   Yes, I buy fruit and vegetables from the traders on the street, and I also buy some toiletries, like toilet paper, matches and candles. I also buy clothing for my children from the traders on the street.

7. **What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?**
   a. Taxi
   b. Bus
   c. Train
   d. Private car
   e. Walk
   f. Cycle

8. **When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?**
   I get off by Gandhi Square, because I like to walk through the streets and see the other shops before I get to Kerk Street

9. **How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?**
   About once a week.

10. **What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading/ or not?**
    I think Gandhi Square should not have street trading, because then it will be too full and chaotic, and there are no security when I go there so I will not feel safe.

11. What do you mostly choose when eating out?
    a. Would you rather **buy food of the street on Kerk/ Loveday Street** or sit down in a restaurant in Gandhi Square
    b. Between Ghandi Square and **Kerk Street** which atmosphere do you like better

12. What activities does the inner city provide that you find useful?
    a. **Shopping in Kerk Street**
    b. **Transport in Gandhi Square**
    c. Other (Please state)

---

**Questionnaire 2**

Age: 21

Occupation: Employee at Supermarket

Income per month: R 2500

Sex: Male

1. **Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Kerk Street? What are the main elements that stand out for you?**
   In the day it is mostly busy, there are always people that are walking around, especially in the afternoons and evenings. I like Kerk Street because I can buy many things from the street and I
can also buy from the shops that are there, and then I don’t need to go to a mall to do my shopping.

2. **Do you feel safe when walking through Kerk Street? Please elaborate.**
   Yes, it is safe for me I walk here every day.

3. **When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/ Loveday Street, does your perception/understanding of the place change? If so, why?**
   Yes, because Kerk Street and Gandhi Square are busy, but some of the other streets I walk on are not so busy. The food is cheaper in Kerk Street; Gandhi Square doesn’t have any food that is sold on the street.

4. **Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with**
   a. Safe  
   b. Vibrant  
   c. Chaotic  
   d. Dangerous  
   e. Dull

5. **Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Gandhi Square with?**
   a. Safe  
   b. Vibrant  
   c. Chaotic  
   d. Dangerous  
   e. Dull

6. **When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy from?**
   Yes I mostly buy food because I work in the area, and the food is not so expensive. And I buy clothing from the stores in Kerk Street like Edgars.

7. **What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?**
   a. Taxi  
   b. Bus  
   c. Train  
   d. Private car  
   e. Walk  
   f. Cycle

8. **When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?**
   I get off at Kerk Street, because it is easier for me to get to work.

9. **How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?**
   I pass by Kerk Street every day when I go to work, and only sometimes I walk to Gandhi Square to meet my friends.

10. **What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading/ or not?**
    I think Gandhi Square should have street trading, because then more people will come to the area, and one day I can maybe have my own store on the street.
11. What do you mostly choose when eating out?
   a. Would you rather buy food of the street on Kerk/ Loveday Street or sit down in a restaurant in Gandhi Square  
   b. Between Gandhi Square and Kerk Street which atmosphere do you like better  

12. What activities does the inner city provide that you find useful?
   a. Shopping in Kerk Street  
   b. Transport in Gandhi Square  
   c. Other (Please state) Meeting new people

---

**Questionnaire 3**

Age: 32

Occupation: Employee at ABSA Bank

Income per month: -

Sex: Female

1. Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Kerk Street? What are the main elements that stand out for you?  
   It is an easy place for me to go on my days off work. I like to bring my family with me when I come here, because you have stores you can go to, and there are also informal trading where I can buy cheap goods.

2. Do you feel safe when walking through Kerk Street? Please elaborate.  
   Yes, well if I do come I only come in the day time so it is safe. I have heard stories of pickpocketing but nothing has happened to me.

3. When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/ Loveday Street, does your perception/ understanding of the place change? If so, why?  
   No for me it stays the same, only Kerk Street has more shopping.

4. Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with  
   a. Safe  
   b. Vibrant  
   c. Chaotic  
   d. Dangerous  
   e. Dull

5. Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Ghandi Square with?
   a. Safe  
   b. Vibrant  
   c. Chaotic  
   d. Dangerous  
   e. Dull

6. When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy and from?  
   Yes I go to Clicks and Edgars, and I buy from the street, I usually buy clothes, bags, fruits and vegetables and food.
7. What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?
   a. Taxi
   b. Bus
   c. Train
   d. Private car
   e. Walk
   f. Cycle

8. When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?
   I get off at Kerk Street and then when I’m ready to leave I walk up to Gandhi Square and catch a taxi to go home.

9. How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?
   About 2 or 3 times a month

10. What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading? or not?
    I think Gandhi Square should have street trading as there will be more variety of different goods that people can buy.

11. What do you mostly choose when eating out?
    a. Would you rather buy food of the street on Kerk/ Loveday Street or sit down in a restaurant in Gandhi Square
    b. Between Gandhi Square and Kerk Street which atmosphere do you like better

12. What activities does the inner city provide that you find useful?
    a. Shopping in Kerk Street
    b. Transport in Gandhi Square
    c. Other (Please state)

Questionnaire 4

Age: 22

Occupation: Student

Income per month: -

Sex: Male

1. Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Kerk Street? What are the main elements that stand out for you?
   It is busy during the weekends so there is a lot activity that takes place. The main elements for me would be seeing how different people come together and interact with each other.

2. Do you feel safe when walking through Kerk Street? Please elaborate
   Yes I feel safe during the day and the nights. I don’t walk around with much on me, maybe that’s the reason I feel safer.

3. When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/ Loveday Street, does your perception/ understanding of the place change? If so, why?
Well it stays the same for me, the only difference is that Kerk Street has street trading, and Ghandi Square is more of a meeting and transport place for people.

4. Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with
a. Safe
b. Vibrant
c. Chaotic
d. Dangerous
e. Dull

5. Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Ghandi Square with?
a. Safe
b. Vibrant
c. Chaotic
d. Dangerous
e. Dull

6. When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy and from?
Yes I buy fruits as well buy from the retail stores down the road. I sometimes buy my takkies from the street traders.

7. What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?
a. Taxi
b. Bus
c. Train
d. Private car
e. Walk
f. Cycle

8. When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?
I usually get off at Ghandi Square, and walk where I need to go, this allows me to exercise whilst at the same time, I get to see what’s happening in the area, and I also usually meet my friends there.

9. How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?
Well I’m there daily as I live in the area, so I need to pass Kerk Street to get to my flat.

10. What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Ghandi Square should have street trading/ or not?
Yes I feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading as there will be more variety for pedestrians to buy goods when entering or leaving the area.

11. What do you mostly choose when eating out?
a. Would you rather buy food of the street on Kerk/ Loveday Street or sit down in a restaurant in Gandhi Square
b. Between Gandhi Square and Kerk Street which atmosphere do you like better

12. What activities does the inner city provide that you find useful?
a. Shopping in Kerk Street
b. Transport in Gandhi Square

c. Other (Please state)

**Questionnaire 5**

Age: 42

Occupation: House Wife

Income per month: -

Sex: Female

1. Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Kerk Street? What are the main elements that stand out for you?
   This is my home I like this area; it is very easy and convenient for me. I don’t need to travel far to get my daily essentials or things like clothes.

2. Do you feel safe when walking through Kerk Street? Please elaborate
   Yes I do feel safe during the day; there are securities in the area. But, if I go at night I have to go with my husband, because it is dark and I’m afraid in the night.

3. When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/ Loveday Street, does your perception/ understanding of the place change? If so, why?
   No for me it is all the same, the atmosphere and feeling is the same.

4. Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with
   a. Safe
   b. Vibrant
   c. Chaotic
   d. Dangerous
   e. Dull

5. Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Ghandi Square with?
   a. Safe
   b. Vibrant
   c. Chaotic
   d. Dangerous
   e. Dull

6. When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy and from?
   Yes I like to buy fresh fruit and vegetables from the area, and also if I don’t go to the supermarket, I buy my toiletries from the street and I buy clothing from the retail stores and sometimes from the street.

7. What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?
   a. Taxi
   b. Bus
   c. Train
   d. Private car
   e. Walk
   f. Cycle
8. When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?
   Usually at Ghandi Square so that I can take a walk through town and see whatever is going on.

9. How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?
   At least 4 times in a week.

10. What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Ghandi Square should have street trading/ or not?
    Gandhi Square must have street trading, then more people will come in to town, and maybe I can open up my own store.

11. What do you mostly choose when eating out?
    a. Would you rather buy food of the street on Kerk/ Loveday Street or sit down in a restaurant in Gandhi Square
    b. Between Gandhi Square and Kerk Street which atmosphere do you like better

12. What activities does the inner city provide that you find useful?
    a. Shopping in Kerk Street
    b. Transport in Gandhi Square
    c. Other (Please state)

Questionnaire 6
Age: 25
Occupation: Employee in Braamfontein area
Income per month: R 4000
Sex: Female

1. Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Kerk Street? What are the main elements that stand out for you?
   I like that it is convenient and if you live there you don’t need to travel to go shopping. For me Kerk Street is somewhere I pass only when I come to visit my friend. So I usually just pass by everything else.

2. Do you feel safe when walking through Kerk Street? Please elaborate
   No, I am always afraid when I walk through Kerk Street, because there is not always security in the area. And I heard of people that get mugged especially towards the evenings.

3. When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/ Loveday Street, does your perception/ understanding of the place change? If so, why?
   For me it does change I feel safer in Gandhi Square then what I do in Kerk street, Gandhi Square is also more accessible then Kerk Street.

4. Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with
   a. Safe
   b. Vibrant
   c. Chaotic
   d. Dangerous
5. Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Ghandi Square with?
   a. Safe
   b. Vibrant
   c. Chaotic
   d. Dangerous
   e. Dull

6. When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy and from?
   No, I don’t really do any shopping in Kerk Street.

7. What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?
   a. Taxi
   b. Bus
   c. Train
   d. Private car
   e. Walk
   f. Cycle

8. When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Ghandi Square?
   Would you elaborate?
   Ghandi Square because I feel safer, the place is more energetic, and sometimes I meet my friend in that area.

9. How often do you come to Kerk Street and Ghandi Square?
   Maybe once or twice a month.

10. What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading/or not?
    I feel that Gandhi Square should not have street trading, I feel that the street trading brings more chaos and danger to the people.

11. What do you mostly choose when eating out?
    a. Would you rather buy food of the street on Kerk/ Loveday Street or sit down in a restaurant in Ghandi Square?
    b. Between Ghandi Square and Kerk Street which atmosphere do you like better?

12. What activities does the inner city provide that you find useful?
    a. Shopping in Kerk Street
    b. Transport in Gandhi Square
    c. Other (Please state) Meeting people

**Questionnaire 7**

Age: 35

Occupation: Unemployed

Income per month: -

Sex: Male
1. Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Kerk Street? What are the main elements that stand out for you?
   I get a lively and exciting feeling; there is always activity that takes place on the street. I enjoy meeting my friends here to eat or play cards. The area is also mostly clean, so it is a nice to come shopping or pass time.

2. Do you feel safe when walking through Kerk Street? Please elaborate
   Yes I feel safe when I walk here, there is nothing to be afraid of, I pass through here every day.

3. When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/ Loveday Street, does your perception/understanding of the place change? If so, why?
   No it does not change, some streets are quieter than others, but the feeling stays the same and Gandhi Square is always very busy because you can catch taxi’s and buses there.

4. Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with
   a. Safe
   b. Vibrant
   c. Chaotic
   d. Dangerous
   e. Dull

5. Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Ghandi Square with?
   a. Safe
   b. Vibrant
   c. Chaotic
   d. Dangerous
   e. Dull

6. When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy and from?
   Yes, I buy clothing from the street traders; there is also ABSA bank which I go to. And sometimes I buy vegetables and fruits and food from Kerk Street.

7. What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?
   a. Taxi
   b. Bus
   c. Train
   d. Private car
   e. Walk
   f. Cycle

8. When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?
   I get off at Kerk Street because it is easier for me, then I don’t need to walk from Gandhi Square all the way To Kerk Street

9. How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?
   Once or twice a week.

10. What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading/ or not?
Yes it should have street trading, than maybe I can have my own place to trade, because it is difficult for me to get a job at this age.

11. What do you mostly choose when eating out?
   a. Would you rather buy food of the street on Kerk/ Loveday Street or sit down in a restaurant in Gandhi Square
   b. Between Gandhi Square and Kerk Street which atmosphere do you like better

12. What activities does the inner city provide that you find useful?
   a. Shopping in Kerk Street
   b. Transport in Gandhi Square
   c. Other (Please state)

**Questionnaire 8**

Age: 16

Occupation: Scholar

Income per month: -

Sex: Female

1. **Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Kerk Street? What are the main elements that stand out for you?**
   I like to come to Kerk Street every day after school, I come with my friends and we buy sweets and walk around.

2. **You feel safe when walking through Kerk Street? Please elaborate**
   Yes it is safe, I come here most days after school and there is security all the time, so my friends and I feel safe.

3. **When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/ Loveday Street, does your perception/ understanding of the place change? If so, why?**
   Sometimes the one place is busier than the other, but I don’t go alone to Gandhi Square from Kerk Street because it is dangerous if I am alone. Some streets are quiet and my parents don’t allow me to walk on my own.

4. **Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with**
   a. Safe
   b. Vibrant
   c. Chaotic
   d. Dangerous
   e. Dull

5. **Can you select words in which you will describe and associate Gandhi Square with?**
   a. Safe
   b. Vibrant
   c. Chaotic
   d. Dangerous
   e. Sterile
   f. Dull
6. **When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy and from?**
   I buy from the street trader’s fruits and sweets and sometimes I buy hair accessories and bags from the people on the street. And when I come with my parents we buy clothes from Mr. Price and Identity.

7. **What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?**
   a. Taxi
   b. Bus
   c. Train
   d. Private car
   e. Walk
   f. Cycle

8. **When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?**
   I get off at Kerk Street because it is nearer to where I stay.

9. **How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?**
   I pass Kerk Street every day because I live in the area. And Gandhi Square I go to maybe once a week.

10. **What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading/ or not?**
    I think Gandhi Square should have street trading and then more people will come the area, and it will also provide jobs for more people.

11. **What do you mostly choose when eating out?**
    a. Would you rather buy food of the street on Kerk/ Loveday Street or sit down in a restaurant in Gandhi Square
    b. Between Gandhi Square and Kerk Street which atmosphere do you like better

12. **What activities does the inner city provide that you find useful?**
    a. Shopping in Kerk Street
    b. Transport in Gandhi Square
    c. Other (Please state)

---

**8 Questionnaires conducted at Gandhi Square on the 17th of October 2012 during the afternoon (2pm till 4pm)**

**Questionnaire 1**

Age: 22

Occupation: Student

Income per month: NA

Sex: Male

Location of Interview: Gandhi Square

1. **Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Gandhi Square? What are the main elements that stand out for you?**
The statue of Gandhi and the centre circle immediately draw my attention. Additionally the activities which occur on the balconies south of the square. The space feels clean and inviting.

2. **You feel safe when walking through Gandhi Square? Please elaborate**
   
   Yes, there is visible policing and pedestrian areas are well separated from the bus paths.

3. **When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/ Loveday Street, does your perception/ understanding of the place change? If so, why?**
   
   Yes, there is a decline in the physical quality and maintenance of the area however there are far more activities occurring here and a greater number of people.

4. **Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with**

   Street trade, busy, lively

5. **Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Gandhi Square with?**

   Clean, safe, transport.

6. **When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy and from?**

   **No.**

7. **What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?**

   a. Taxi  
   b. **Bus**  
   c. Train  
   d. Private car  
   e. Walk  
   f. **Cycle**

8. **When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?**

   Kerk street. It is more convenient to get off at kerk street as you arrive at the centre of the RID

9. **How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?**

   6 times since july.

10. **What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading/ or not?**

    Yes it should, Gandhi square needs more activity within it.

**Questionnaire 2**

**Age:** 21

**Occupation:** Student

**Income per month:** - none

**Sex:** female

**Location of Interview:** Ghandi Square
1. **Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Gandhi Square?** What are the main elements that stand out for you?

   It’s really busy most times of the day. There are always lots of people coming and going. The main bit must be the centre were the busses come in.

2. **You feel safe when walking through Gandhi Square?** Please elaborate

   Yes, having more people around makes it safer.

3. **When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/Loveday Street, does your perception/understanding of the place change?** If so, why?

   A little bit, there isn’t as much space at Kerk as at Ghandi and people are doing different things, some of buying and selling stuff. So for me it’s a bit more personal.

4. **Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with?**
   - Personal, Diverse, Convenient

5. **Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Gandhi Square with?**
   - Busy, Open, Noisy

6. **When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping?** What and where do you buy and from?

   Yes, I sometimes by snacks or fruit. Nowhere specific...what ever looks nice.

7. **What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?**
   - g. Taxi
   - a. Bus
   - b. Train
   - c. Private car
   - d. Walk
   - e. Cycle

8. **When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?**

   Ghandi square, that’s where the busses stop. If I take a taxi then sometimes near Kerk.

9. **How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?**

   Kerk – most days. Ghandi – every day

10. **What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading?** Do you feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading/ or not?

    Maybe a little but not as much as Kerk. Then I can grab some food there.

---

**Questionnaire 3**

Age: 20

Occupation: Student

Income per month: - 0

Sex: male
Location of Interview: Gandhi Square

1. Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Gandhi Square? What are the main elements that stand out for you?

   It is a very nice space that I feel comfortable in. There is a high presence of security therefore I feel safe. The element that stands out to me in the Square is the statue of Gandhi.

2. You feel safe when walking through Gandhi Square? Please elaborate

   Yes, there is a high presence of security and many people around making the space feel safer.

3. When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/Loveday Street, does your perception/understanding of the place change? If so, why?

   Yes, the presence of informal traders increases and the volume of people also increases, especially around peak hour.

4. Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with?

   Informal, Vibrant, diverse

5. Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Gandhi Square with?

   Formal, clean, orderly

6. When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy and from?

   I don’t use Kerk Street for shopping.

7. What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?

   a. Taxi
   b. Bus
   c. Train
   d. Private car
   e. Walk
   f. Cycle

8. When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?

   I get off near Kerk Street as I use the BRT. I generally get off here because I want to go to places such as Kerk street and the market by Ernest Oppenheimer Park and not Gandhi Square.

9. How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?

   I don’t go to the area often, I only started using the area after August 2012, I’ve been to the area about 6 times between August and October.

10. What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading/ or not?

    I think it should have street trading, as it adds to Johannesburg’s identity. It would also be more convenient for people who use the buses at Gandhi Square.

Questionnaire 4

Age: 62
Occupation: Retired Accountant
Income per month: -
Sex: Male
Location of Interview: Gandhi Square

1. **Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Gandhi Square? What are the main elements that stand out for you?**
   I like the atmosphere of this place. I particularly like the statue.

2. **You feel safe when walking through Gandhi Square? Please elaborate**
   Yes I do. I’m an old man, I would beat robbers with my walking stick if they try anything. (laughs)

3. **When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/ Loveday Street, does your perception/ understanding of the place change? If so, why?**
   Sure it does. Gandhi Square is not as busy as that side.

4. **Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with**
   Busy, hustle and bustle, fatkoek

5. **Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Gandhi Square with?**
   Chill, buses and travel

6. **When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy and from?**
   I do! I like getting fatkoek from the ladies that sell on the sidewalks. Also when I have extra money, I get my grandkids clothes from Edgar’s or the traders—it depends.

7. **What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?**
   a. Taxi
   b. Bus
   c. Train
   d. Private car
   e. Walk
   f. Cycle

8. **When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?**
   I get off at Gandhi Square, unless I need something from Kerk Street.

9. **How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?**
   Now that I’m retired, I have more time. I visit Gandhi more often than Kerk, maybe every two or three times a week

10. **What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading/ or not?**
    No, I think Gandhi functions well as a transport center and Kerk as shopping. If we mix the two, I think it will get to hectic around here.
Questionnaire 5

Age: 35
Occupation: SAP Consultant
Income per month: -
Sex: Male
Location of Interview: Gandhi Square

1. Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Gandhi Square? What are the main elements that stand out for you?
   I quite like the layout of the square makes me feel like I could travel to anywhere in the world from Gandhi Square.

2. You feel safe when walking through Gandhi Square? Please elaborate
   Yes I do, but I’ve only been here during the day. Don’t know the vibes during the night

3. When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/ Loveday Street, does your perception/understanding of the place change? If so, why?
   I haven’t really walked up that side so I can’t really say.

4. Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with?
   NA

5. Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Gandhi Square with?
   Opportunity, meetings and travel

6. When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy and from?
   No I don’t. Like I said, I visit that side too often. Can’t actually remember the last I’ve been.

7. What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?
   a. Taxi
   b. Bus
   c. Train
   d. Private car
   e. Walk
   f. Cycle

8. When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?
   At Gandhi Square because work is closer for me

9. How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?
   Kerk Street- Hardly
   Gandhi Square- daily
10. What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading/ or not?

No I like Gandhi Square the way it is. Street trading will make the area dirty and chaotic.

**Questionnaire 6**

**Age:** 37

**Occupation:** Teacher

**Income per month:** -

**Sex:** Female

**Location of Interview:** A bus stop at Gandhi Square

1. Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Gandhi Square? What are the main elements that stand out for you?

   As much as I want to run away from them, the amount of kids present in Gandhi Square stands out for me. (laughs)

2. You feel safe when walking through Gandhi Square? Please elaborate

   Yes I do. I guess it depends on the time of day

3. When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/ Loveday Street, does your perception/ understanding of the place change? If so, why?

   I suppose when I walk up to Kerk Street, it gets busier. It must be because of the market and the different shopping you can do.

4. Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with?

   Shopping, busy and convenience

5. Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Gandhi Square with?

   School kids, Buses and hometime!

6. When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy and from?

   I like getting fresh veggies from the ladies that sell on Kerk.

7. What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?

   a. Taxi
   b. Bus
   c. Train
   d. Private car
   e. Walk
   f. Cycle

8. When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?
It depends on what im doing. When I need to grab a few things before I get home, I get off at Kerk and walk down Rissik to Gandhi. When I need to go to school, I get off at Gandhi because its quicker and I have no time for shopping.

9. How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?
   I visit both on a regular basis

10. What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading/ or not?
    It would be nice if Gandhi had some trading, like that I could kill two birds with one stone! Shopping just before I get home!

**Questionnaire 7**

Age: 27

Occupation: Restaurant Owner at Carlton Centre

Income per month: -

Sex: Male

Location of Interview: Gandhi Square

1. Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Gandhi Square? What are the main elements that stand out for you?
   I enjoy walking though Gandhi Square as it is relaxing and less busier than that of Carlton Centre.

2. You feel safe when walking through Gandhi Square? Please elaborate
   Yes I do! But I don’t know how a woman would feel.

3. When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/ Loveday Street, does your perception/understanding of the place change? If so, why?
   Yes it does slightly. Kerk Street is very busy with people shopping- quite like Carlton Centre

4. Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with
   Busy, shopping and chaotic

5. Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Gandhi Square with?
   Relaxing, buses and open

6. When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy and from?
   No not really. I get most my stuff from Carlton Centre

7. What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?
   a. Taxi
   b. Bus
   c. Train
   d. Private car
   e. Walk
f. Cycle

8. When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?
   I get off at Gandhi Square since it’s closer to work for me. I avoid getting off at Kerk as I try to stay away from the hustle and bustle.

9. How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?
   Kerk Street: One or twice a month
   Gandhi Square: Almost every day (every 2nd day)

10. What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading/or not?
    No thank you. I like Gandhi Square the way it is. Adding street trading will just make it that much more hectic (and this is my escape from work!)

Questionnaire 8
Age: 21
Occupation: Student
Income per month: NA
Sex: Female
Location of Interview: Gandhi Square

1. Can you describe what you feel and see when walking through Gandhi Square? What are the main elements that stand out for you?
   I see a lot of empty unused spaces during peak and off-peak, I feel like it’s a little lifeless

2. You feel safe when walking through Gandhi Square? Please elaborate
   No, I do not feel safe because there is a lot of open spaces and people can run and grab your bag or disappear between the buses

3. When walking from Gandhi Square to Kerk Street/ Loveday Street, does your perception/understanding of the place change? If so, why?
   When walking through Kerk Street my perception changes because there are shops that line the street, but there are also people selling in the street that act as surveillance, there is always someone watching.

4. Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Kerk Street with
   Activity, vibe, pedestrian friendly

5. Can you select three words in which you will describe and associate Gandhi Square with?
   Buses, empty space, transition

6. When passing through Kerk Street, do you do any shopping? What and where do you buy and from?
   I buy from the veggie market on Kerk Street and other essentials from Woolworths and Clicks
7. What form of transport do you use more often when going to the RID and SWID?
   a. Taxi
   b. Bus
   c. Train
   d. Private car
   e. Walk
   f. Cycle

8. When using the above mode of transport where do you get off, Kerk Street? Or Gandhi Square? Would you elaborate?
   I get off at Harrison Street and cut through Kerk Street to get what I need then off to a taxi to get home.

9. How often do you come to Kerk Street and Gandhi Square?
   I pass through Kerk daily because that’s next to the bus route but I use the street market twice a week.

10. What are your feelings on Gandhi Square and Street trading? Do you feel that Gandhi Square should have street trading/ or not?
    I feel that Ghandi Square needs some sort of trading because many people transit through there and the place is there for them
Annexure 2 – Lecturer’s comment and mark for the report

General mark for the report: 72/100

General comment on the report

The report is good! Very well written and structured; embracing an enormous amount of rich material, both interviews and maps; and raising deep and important questions on urban politics and governance, that often go beyond 3rd year level!
Possibly you have drown a little bit in the mass of information gathered – as the chapters’ conclusions and general conclusions sometimes are elusive (I will edit them for the final report); or you fail to use fully the rich material you have gathered – in its contradictions and ambiguities. I would have liked you to tackle these contradictions much more upfront, using the debated concept of ‘conflicting rationalities’ for instance to juxtapose different views more explicitly (through contrasting quotes for instance). Eventually the concept seems to freeze your thought and not directly confront your (and mine too!) internal contradictions and mixed feelings about the whole story... Olitski is an artist in challenging (even though a level of blunt contradictions – fighting for ‘the majority’ where he is one single property owner making decisions...) our deepest convictions!
But I understand these conclusions and this work on contradictions require time – and distance from the material- that you did not have time to take...

Comments on the content
- Introduction: good overall:
  o Well written, good to start with conflicting rationalities (I would have liked Watson’s definition, rather than only her take on informal trading and its repression)
  o Great maps
  o research subquestions need to be grouped and ordered (4-5 deal with the policy context; 6 follows on 3, 2-3 both relate to history)
  o methodology presented too quickly; good description of the process, but missing here are: your choice of methodology; your choice of interviewees; your entry points; the place of observation...
- Chapter 1 – great and convincing, good use of photographs, well commented.
  o I would have liked testimonies of each member of the group’s initial perception of the place
  o I would have like quotes on Lebo’s tour (and his change of tone when coming into this area, and the way he shied away! when questioned on this Gandhi square contrast)
  o Pedestrian interviews – congratulation for completing the interview in Gandhi square. Here again, I think you could have made more of the interview material (very rich), in particular trying to read it in a more problematised way (do people using Gandhi square feel unsafe in Kerk street? Overwhelmingly no; strong identification of the 2 places as different and having different functions – the CID in fact managed to market 2 different identities...?)
- Chapter 2 – too descriptive (part on informal trading policy; the first part to me should have been in chapter 3). Based on desktop research – it would have been great to mix the policy documents with actual quotes from stakeholders, showing the internal contradictions of policy, the difference between policy and implementation, etc. in order to take a distance from a quite rosy picture (both for CIDs, and for the city’s inclusive policy towards the informal traders...). But this was hard – especially at 3rd year level.
I am not sure how it affected your overall report – beyond familiarizing yourself with the policy context (which is important). The link with your overall understanding of issues is somehow missing.

- Chapter 3 – the core of the issue – a little short maybe. Not much on property owners and their relation with Urban Genesis. Would have needed to liaise more with Thoko’s group. And the power sketch is not always convincing, and not properly analysed and presented (service level agreements? Dysfunctional relationships?)

- Chapter 4 – a good chapter...

- Conclusion – not that strong – eventually it is not very clear who did what, who pushes what and why... (contradictory evidences that are quite subtle, and that you have not always fully recorded). It is indeed difficult to make strong statements, maybe you should have acknowledged that you are lost at this stage, you don’t know what to think anymore, there are clearly several legitimate views and ways of doing things, ideals and pragmatism, etc...

- (I’ve edited the conclusion for the finalized report)

Comment on the form

- Beautiful cover page! Do put the caption of the picture on the reverse side of the page (who took the picture, when?)

- Table of contents – not always meaningful titles (cf chapter 3). Structure of the report sometimes to be reordered (Chapter 2 – thread not always very consistent; articulation with chapter 3 not visible)

- Beautiful chapter 1 – use of photography at its best, to lay an argument.

- Pedestrian survey-
  o maybe test if there is a difference between the 2 groups of interviewees?
  o Adjectives used by the Gandhi square interviewee to describe both places (GS and the RID) to be classified: positive-positive, negative-positive, positive-negative, negative-negative...
  o Colours of the caption and of the graphs are not located properly in relation to one another (light purple on the left on the graph, on the right in the caption) – disturbs the eye

- Amazing map, very well commented (missing is- title, source, author, date – especially since it comes from Michelle!)

Well done!