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Exploring the Relevance of Periodic Markets to Neighbourhood Identity

The Cases of the LoCrate Market and the Neighbourgoods Market

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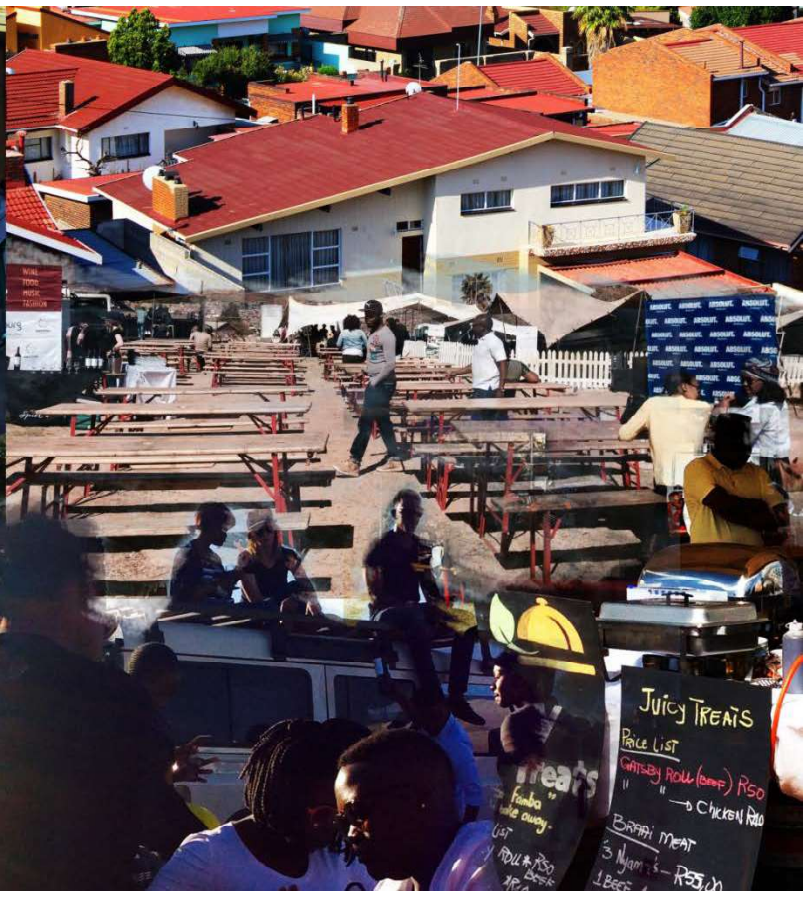
A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Bachelor of Science with Honours in Urban and Regional Planning

Supervisor – Alexandra Parker
November 2016





D E C L A R A T I O N

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

……

Maria Jokudu Guya

11 November 2016

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ABSTRACT

Marketplaces have been a part of societies for centuries and have served as public spaces of trading. While they exist in many different shapes and forms, common to all market places is interaction between traders and consumers. The market has thus always been a place of networking. Some marketplaces such as those of this case study are characterised by their provision of recreational spaces where people can interact with one another, thus shifting the focus of the market from solely trading to entertainment and socialising. The engagements between people, in these spaces, feed into their perceptions of places, they in turn shape the urban identities attributed to neighbourhoods.

The scope of the research aimed at exploring how periodic markets contribute to neighbourhood identity, specifically looking at and exploring the cases of the Neighbourgoods Market and the LoCrate Market. The main question thus asked is whether markets, particularly the aforementioned, impact neighbourhood identity and the ways in which they do so.

To answer these questions the research undertook a qualitative approach to get the perceptions of people, which were explored in relation to observations of both the neighbourhoods and markets. The dominant narratives that emerged through the research showed that context is an important determinant of identity.

Key Words: Markets; Urban Identity; Place making; Urban renewal

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As part of the redevelopment of Johannesburg into a more inclusive urban realm, many parts of the city have undergone regeneration in order to improve urban conditions and encourage development as well as attract investment. Much of this development has been diverse since the founding of the city as a mining town in 1886. Throughout its growth, this city has stood as the centre of political activity in South Africa. While many South Africans gravitate towards Johannesburg for employment, entrepreneurial and entertainment opportunities, a key defining feature of this city is its development around rules of racial segregation (Beavon 2004). The spatial structure of the city has led to spatial and economic divisions between the inner city, the richer northern suburbs and the poorer southern townships. Because of this history, the city has redeveloped its own unique identity, which has been constantly redefined throughout the last two decades, following the Apartheid era. For example, efforts by the city of Johannesburg have been focused on redeveloping the identity of the city into a *World Class African City* (Seedat and Gotz 2006) as well as initiatives such as the *Corridors of Freedom,* which aim to connect the inner city with poorly connected peripheral townships such as Soweto.

This research focuses on the neighbourhoods of Braamfontein and Orlando West that both began their urban regeneration journeys in the early 2000s. Braamfontein, a neighbourhood of the Johannesburg inner city, harnessed great potential for attracting urbanites back into the declining inner city. The City of Johannesburg and the Johannesburg Development Agency amongst many other stakeholders took to rejuvenating the Johannesburg inner city (Braamfontein 2004). They aimed to address the neighbourhood's lack of identity and public spaces and to improve economic robustness, in so doing attracting development to this bustling inner-city educational and cultural centre. The regeneration project for Braamfontein aimed at improving public spaces within the precinct, which brought in a number of new retailers and businesses (Braamfontein 2004). Orlando West, on the other hand, used its historical background as a driving factor for tourism-based development in order to shift the

neighbourhood from its dormitory nature towards a more sustainable urban environment with a variety of activities (Bieber 2010).

The new developments moving into Braamfontein have been significant in redefining the identity of this inner-city neighbourhood and thus achieving an urban environment that attracts a diversity of users. This is characteristic of the businesses found particularly along Juta Street in Braamfontein such as the coffee shops (e.g. Velo), vintage or urban clothing stores (e.g. The R40 Store and Anatomy) and the very popular Neighbourgoods Market. They are a significant part of the neighbourhood's identity and are a representation of spaces that are both advantageous to Braamfontein's economy and accessible to the public as social spaces of consumption and interaction. People are able to have a seat in the coffee shops and markets with friends for brunch or dinner. They are able to interact with each other, and the environment that is Braamfontein. Similar conditions are experienced along Vilakazi Street, Orlando West, which is the focus of development in the Vilakazi Precinct. Along this street are tourism destinations such as Nelson Mandela's Home and Phefeni Junior Secondary School that was one of the schools actively involved in the June 16, 1976, Soweto Uprising (Nieftagodien and Gaule 2012). Vilakazi Street is a place visited by local and international tourists who come to the neighbourhood to learn about South Africa's history as well as enjoy meals at the popular upmarket restaurants such as Nambitha or street-corner hotdog vendors.

The city should be a place where people can meet and interact. Spaces that are considered as functional well-planned urban spaces encompass a variety of urban activities that facilitate interaction between people (Gehl 2013). These spaces encourage a 'human dimension' in their design hence they reduce dependency on motor vehicles and prioritise urban life – the streets are spaces where people generate experiences and develop ideas based on the activities that they can partake in (Gehl 2013).

What are Markets

The term '*market*' refers to the commercial exchange of goods and services. The market has existed in societies as a crucial aspect of economic and social life for centuries (McMillan in Pottie-Sherman 2011). Traditional markets have served as a central feature of societies and have furthermore functioned as social spaces. As societies have transformed, so has the nature of the market. With the development of

technology, markets have become commercially driven phenomena that encompass trade in a nominal sense (Pottie-Sherman 2011; Slater and Tonkiss 2001). This means that while the market as a space of trade may exist it does not necessarily have to be a tangible entity; this makes the market a space of exchange of money as well as goods and services. The term market is thus generally used to refer to both commercial markets and traditional markets. In this research report, a distinction is made between the two; the terms market and marketplace are synonymous to the traditional definition of a market as a physical and tangible place of trade within urban spaces.

The focus of this research is the two neighbourhoods of Braamfontein and Orlando West that are home to the Neighbourgoods and the LoCrate Markets, respectively. The Neighbourgoods Market and the LoCrate Market are one of a few periodic markets that have recently emerged in Johannesburg. The markets are well known through social media across the city and are growing as popular weekend recreational spaces for people seeking experiences of the inner city and the township. Markets, in general, have become an emerging trend in the city with quite a few marketplaces such as the Sheds@1Fox and Arts on Main (Inspired by 44 Stanley which is a contemporary complex in Milpark, Johannesburg), which emerged in the last decade alongside urban renewal programmes.

The two markets have introduced different activities with a temporary dimension to the fabric of the neighbourhoods, which people seem to have positively embraced. The markets diversify the activities within the neighbourhoods and attract various people to create an environment which provides livelihood and entertainment opportunities for both residents and visitors from neighbouring suburbs.

The Neighbourgoods Market emerged in 2012, as a contemporary market that has become a cultural landmark in the city. The market attracts an array of customers as it caters to various backgrounds such as hipsters, family units, students, young couples and the elderly. The market, located in an inner-city parking garage, which is periodic in nature (as it takes place once on the first Thursday of each month and every Saturday of the year), has managed to help re-shape the identity and culture of Braamfontein. The success of this market has inspired another. The LoCrate market emerged in 2014 although in a very different context to that of Braamfontein (Dlamini 2016). It is located below the southern edge of the Vilakazi Precinct on the corner of

Kudu and Moema Streets, Orlando West. The market is characterised as a stepping-stone for young entrepreneurs from Soweto seeking to grow their businesses but lack platforms to market and brand their establishments. Hence, the market gives them the opportunity to market and display local creativity while networking with market users and fellow traders (LoCrate Market 2016).

The market is a place where people can go shopping for goods such as second hand clothing, vintage furniture and fresh produce or even browse through with friends or family on an afternoon or evening and have food from local stalls. The section below expands on the definition of the market and its use in this research report.

Problem Statement

The identity of places is strongly influenced by people and their perceptions of environments. A strong influence on these perceptions, in creating a collective identity for a space, is how its public spaces are perceived. These perceptions have the power to shape how outsiders view spaces. This research specifically focuses on marketplaces to discern how markets contribute to the identity of urban places. Marketplaces are entities of the public sphere that can be used as place making tools. As our built environments develop, the urban realm loses public spaces in which people can interact. Urban dwellers have very few spaces where they can access entertainment during the day, particularly where there is a lack of parks and squares. The markets create new public domains that also invite a variety of activities. The Neighbourgoods Market and the LoCrate Market are representations of the emergence of pop-up markets across the city of Johannesburg that have been instrumental in developing the unique identity within their neighbourhoods that fuses the historical and contemporary identities that manifest within these paces.

With the consideration of urban paradigms such as urban identity, urban renewal and place making, the city is meant to be an inclusive environment where urbanites can work, sleep and play (Gehl 2013). With the use of the Neighbourgoods Market and the LoCrate Market as case studies, I explore how transformed spaces such as parking garages and public parks can contribute to the identity and character of a neighbourhood, thus either enhancing or diminishing social character. I therefore question whether the markets have been instrumental in developing a unique identity within their neighbourhoods that fuses the historical and contemporary identities that manifest within spaces.

Research Questions

The main question I ask is '**How are emerging periodic markets contributing to the identities of urban neighbourhoods?'**

In order to answer the main question, sub-questions were employed to further elaborate on the research question and further probe the meaning of the concepts in relation to how markets contribute to the identity of neighbourhoods. The sub-questions express the various aspects of identity explored. The sub-questions are:

- What type of markets are the Neighbourgoods and the LoCrate Markets?
    - How are the markets categorised?
    - How often do they operate?
    - What type of goods do they sell?
- How do the markets contribute to activities on non-market days?
    - How have the markets influenced the social activities in the area?
    - What happens in these spaces as well as the surroundings on non-market days?
- Who uses the markets? In what ways are they contributing to the identity of the market?
- What permanent markers are observed in the neighbourhoods on non-markets days?

Report Structure

Key to the research is the concepts of identity and the neighbourhood in relation to periodic markets. Through literature on the concepts of Identity, the neighbourhood and markets, this research encapsulates the relevance of markets in shaping the identity of neighbourhoods. This section provides a breakdown of the chapters to follow.

The next chapter is the literature review section, which sets the foundation of the report. Chapter 2 explores the main concepts of the research, these being the concepts of periodic markets as well as identity and neighbourhoods and urban

renewal. The chapter breaks down the terms and develops an understanding of place-identity in relation to markets.

Chapter 3 focuses on the methods used for data collection throughout the research. The focus of this chapter is on the qualitative approach towards exploring the Neighbourgoods Market and the LoCrate Market as case studies. The main research methods applied are the use observation and surveys. The chapter breaks down how these methods were instrumental in answering the main and sub questions. Chapter 4 then focuses on the background of the two markets. This chapter introduces the neighbourhoods and the markets as well as their contextual backgrounds. This chapter begins to draw in observations of the neighbourhoods in order to paint a picture of the formed or developing identities or the respective neighbourhoods.

Chapter 5 reviews the findings and develops an analysis from the data. Here the findings are analysed and developed. The last chapter, 6, concludes the research document. The chapter sums up the findings from the research and data collected. I provide suggestions for further research and bring to light the challenges that affected the findings from the research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature on marketplaces and their relationship with place and urban identity has been interrogated by a number of authors such as Kirsten Seale (2016) whose work focuses on markets and place (identity). This chapter focuses on the concepts of periodic markets and urban identity. I focus on understanding how marketplaces can and have contributed to urban identity. Thus, the aim of the exploration of these concepts is to understand what constitutes a periodic market and how these markets can be contributors to neighbourhood identity. Furthermore, I interrogate the manifestation of identity in the neighbourhood.

Periodic Markets

Periodic markets are places of trade located in both rural and urban environments. The marketplace does not always have a fixed structure or position for trade and is thus versatile in its nature. The periodic market is a phenomenon that has been in existence for over a thousand years and dates back to the earliest settlements where the marketplace was a central feature of settlements (Sherry 1990).

Throughout their evolution, markets have come to be known by different terms throughout society. The term 'periodic markets' thus also refers to flea markets, fresh produce markets or farmer's markets, and thrift stores or second-hand stores (Seale 2016). This umbrella of terms is representative of the various forms that markets can manifest. This diversity about activities and cultural significance is characteristic of the physical and social features of marketplaces that set it apart from similar spaces such as malls and trading complexes (Seale 2016 and Sherry 1990). This section thus explores fundamental characteristics of the marketplace, its development through history and manifestation in urban spaces.

Historical Development of Markets

Markets have been in existence since the 6th Century BCE. Their existence can be traced back to the ancient settlements of Greece, Rome and the Aztec empire. Between the sixth and fourth century BCE, Athens' agora was a marketplace that hosted activities such as theatre, politics, athletics and religion in the same vicinity. By

the 8th century CE, the Chinese had night markets, which have today spread throughout the rest of Asia and to North America. Evidence of markets has also been found in the Aztec empire where street trading was common in Mexico (Pottie-Sherman 2011).

All these markets took different forms and served different functions in societies, but throughout these different contexts, the fundamental characteristics of markets have remained the same (Mc Millan in Pottie-Sherman 2011). Markets have always been regarded as spaces that hosted economic, social, and cultural activities. The markets thus take on a diversity of forms in order to accommodate their different functions (Pottie-Sherman 2011). This diversity is characteristic of the goods sold in the markets because these products tend to represent the character of the neighbourhood as they are imbued with conceptions of the characteristics of the environment that they are in (Fena in Pottie-Sherman 2011). Today markets still serve these same functions, but their character has developed beyond their original conception.

Today markets can be accessed through websites, on online store domains (Pottie-Sherman 2011). This new form of marketplaces has shifted some of the original elements of the marketplace as a space of social interaction. Thus, Shepherd (2009), De la Pradelle (1995) and Pottie-Sherman (2011) argue that as markets begin adopting these new features, the interest that people have in the physical/real market place recedes. Despite this, there is the counter-argument that these spaces are interactive environments in the public realm that serve the need for public spaces. People still have an interest in such spaces hence spaces such as the Neighbourgoods Market continue to spring up especially when people develop a longing for social interaction. Farmers markets were seen to have re-emerged in the early 2000s having been driven by movements such as Local Food Movements in North America (Clough and Vanderbeck 2006). In the case of Johannesburg, evidence of growing markets can be seen in the emergence of spaces such as Arts on Main in Maboneng and the Jozi Real Food Market amongst others (Bahmann and Frenkel 2012).

Market definition - Markets as Spaces of Social Contact and Interaction

As was shown in the introduction to this report the term markets can be distinguished between commercial markets as a nominal phenomenon (non-tangible) as well as markets in the traditional sense as a physical entity (Slater and Tonkiss 2001). Markets are, in commercial terms, a group of buyers and sellers who are interested in a

product (good or services). Amongst the various aspects of the market, the physical location of a market is an important feature for temporary or periodic markets (Slater and Tonkiss 2001). This is because the physical location of the market is a visible public space that happens on schedule, and is accessible to everyone thus drawing in customers. The marketplace is a phenomenon that occurs on a regular basis with set intervals (time) and a set location. Markets can be permanent features of space with permanent infrastructure that can be covered or in the open (Seale 2016). They can be located along streets, covered in buildings (e.g. parking garage or store space), or in the open (e.g. park areas or rooftops). Markets can also specialise in selling fresh produce, vintage and second-hand clothing or thrift goods such as furniture and home décor items.

The fundamental difference between periodic markets and other spaces of trading in both formal and informal contexts is based on the nature of the market. Hinrichs (2000) categorizes markets into two categories labelled indigenous markets and experience markets. This categorization of markets shows that the former, indigenous markets, refers to markets that are merely spaces of exchange between supplier and consumer (Sherry 1990). On the other hand, experience markets are spaces in which people not only engage in trade but engage in social experiences (Sherry 1990). In the case of the Neighbourgoods Market and the LoCrate Market, you have components such as seating areas and live music bands that facilitate social interaction between market-goers. The market place thus becomes an environment that is driven by socialisation and trade, and is thus an experience market.

Another aspect of the markets, which also influences the perceptions people have of them, is whether they are regarded as formal or informal entities paired with the types of products they specialise in providing. Because of this, they attract a desired group of consumers that they continue to place their focus on as target markets (Seale 2016). As places develop, their character can develop into either being pleasant or unpleasant to different people. An example of this perspective on marketplaces can be seen in Johannesburg's De Villiers Street Market. The De Villiers Street Market is a place where people go to seek second hand clothing that ranges from 90s fashion, high-end designer brands and vintage clothing. The De Villiers Market is located along a pedestrianised road where clothes are piled into different clothing groups, and one has to struggle through these piles in order to find items that they like or that fit them (Jamal 2011). A major characteristic of this open market is that it is chaotic, loud and

overcrowded. In an article on the market for Gummie.co.za, Honey Makwakwa (2012) expresses visiting the market as an adventurous endeavour. She describes the market as an intimidating place to visit because it is crowded with many stalls jam-packed right next to each other and with occasional cars passing through amidst pedestrians walking the street and others hunkering over the piles of clothing. Even though the market is chaotic, it continues to attract fashion lovers who are searching for cheap second hand designer items (Makwakwa 2012). This market is thus less attractive to people that do not feel comfortable in such loud and crowded places, thus the market is a space that attracts a specific target group interested in vintage thrifting.

There are varieties of marketplaces that exist such as the Neighbourgoods Market that is structurally and conceptually different from the De Villiers Street Market in downtown Johannesburg where the perception of a market as an overcrowded, loud and congested space is embraced (Refer to figures 1 and 2 below). Markets such as the De Villiers Street Market are deemed as informal. The state and global financial institutions have attacked these 'informal' markets because they are seen as informal activity in the urban environment that need to be improved and inserted into the public realm (Ahluwalia 2003). Even though the marketplace has gained traction in the global North, the perception of marketplaces in the South has dwindled due to such perceptions of spaces that are typically different from enclaved developments or malls (Sherman 2011).



Figure 1 : The Neighbourgoods Market (Guya 2016)



Figure 2 : DeVilliers Street Market (http://www.scoutnetworkblog.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/jam_pile-1-480x360.jpg)

Market places are a complex phenomenon with even more dynamics beyond the above mentioned. Many of them exist in spaces and draw on an existing identity as well as contribute their own unique characteristics to existing identities. Spaces such as the Neighbourgoods Market have been developed to redefine this identity and

perception of the place. This research thus draws on the above to understand markets and with a focus on their tangible characteristics and their social characteristics. The section under urban renewal will elaborate on the issues that have arisen from such shifts in perceptions of spaces, thus highlighting the positive and negative attributes to these conceptions and shifts.

Urban Identity

The identity of Johannesburg as a melting pot of diverse cultures is developing within the various neighbourhoods contained in the city. The characterisation of the city as a 'playground' for people of various backgrounds such as suburbanites, township dwellers and hipsters is continuously morphing and reshaping. These places that people live and work in are more than just coordinate points on maps. Places are spaces to which the many people who share both different and similar experiences (Relph 1992) attach meanings, feelings and experiences. It is these memories that help to define the identities that people attach to places and shift the conception of abstract spaces into defined places, hence people are able to attach meaning to place from their socialisations and the stories that people employ to express the character of places (Rose 1995).

The term identity refers to a social construct that begins with individuals. The amalgamation of various identities that individuals have contributes to the creation of a single identity of a place because these individuals congregate in one area with similar interests (Morontse 2010). Ultimately, they attract activities that suit their collective needs. Over time, people in search of similar environments are attracted to these areas as well based on the characteristics of the area. Soon, an identity is created and attributed to the place. Identity also encompasses characteristics attributed to not only individuals but also objects and places (Amundsen 2001; Hague 2005). Through identity, these objects and spaces are ascribed attributes that people use for the purposes of recognition and description (Morontse 2010).

The identity of a place is thus the ability to reconcile the need for change while retaining the established character of an environment based on the perceptions and experiences people have in places (Oktay 2002). The process of doing this is a complicated one especially when considering that the network of public spaces such as streets, squares and parks usually creates the identities of places. Still, people's perceptions are a vital component in determining and discerning identity. This is

because the way in which people determine a place to be what it is, is significantly derived from how others characterise places.

The process of developing spaces into places is furthermore, concerned with the development of space through activities to shape the character of spaces into places. Thus, place making is one of the elements that are crucial to the process of identity creation and attributing identity to space. As time passes, the activities practiced within a space become the central features of how people identify those spaces (Amundsen 2001 and Hague 2005).

The identity of space can be observed from regional as well as local scales. This research focuses on the local scale of the identity of place. At the local scale the identity of place, based on the perspectives and experiences of users of an environment, is drawn from the surroundings and the experiences that people have. Thus understanding urban identity goes beyond the view that identity is a psychological status. It is also about the influences external to people that affect how they perceive places. The concept of identity is thus a relative term (Oktay 2002). Spaces are thus transformed into places when people attach meaning to them as drawn from how they experience the place relative to how other people's imposed perceptions affect them. The following section narrows down the concept of identity to the neighbourhood scale.

Neighbourhood Identity

Urban identity is shaped by the characteristics and values of urban spaces; these can range from social, economic and cultural values or characteristics (Beyham and Gurkan), and can thus encapsulate all the characteristic components of a city. This part of the research focuses on the identity of urban environments at the neighbourhood scale in relation to market places.

The identities associated with markets are developed in the early parts of the development and establishment of neighbourhoods. These identities are usually underpinned by social structures and social dynamics that make them resilient to change (Robertson et al, 2008). This resilience to change is influenced by the fact that the external perceptions that people hold of a place are quite strong and in many cases stand out more than those held by residents. The perceptions that residents hold of their neighbourhoods and communities are more diverse than those held by

strangers to the place (Robertson et al, 2008; Melle 2016). The perceptions held by outsiders are based on the different experiences held by residents who all have similar memories of the place. Thus, their perceptions will be similar to those of residents given that the dominant narratives from residents stand out from the outsiders' perspective as the major characteristics of the place (Melle 2016; Raco 2003; Seale 2016). The perceptions that outsiders have on these places also informs the developing identity of a place. Their perceptions have the power to inflict negative or positive remarks on the place; these attributes result in changing identities and the further entrenchment of existing identities (Robertson et al, 2008). These ascribed identities of places are important for a variety of reasons such as how people view places and hence how people ultimately relate to the space in terms of whether they would live or invest in an area based on how it is perceived.

The identity attributed to a neighbourhood is not only resilient, it is also complex as well as dynamic because it is a socio-cultural as well as a physical process that develops as the neighbourhood grows physically, economically and socially, thus also encouraging sustainable development (Beyhan and Gurkan 2015). The relationship between these factors is also influenced by factors that are internal to and external to the site, which then shape how people relate to space as a place in which they can work, play or live (Morontse 2010).

Given that the identity of a space is subject to change, it can be fluid and hence change over long periods. Such is the case when significant changes are made to neighbourhoods through processes of urban renewal, gentrification or even growth. As the next section will show, new developments in spaces have the potential to shift the identity of a place. This can be either positive or negative depending on the context of the neighbourhood. Change that is significant enough to shift the identity of a place results in different perceptions of spaces and the type of people that are attracted to the spaces, which thus differ from those who have already established themselves in the space.

Urban renewal

The development of the periodic market as more than just a flea market, but a space of interaction and entertainment, is one that has only recently developed in the context of Johannesburg's neighbourhoods. During the early 2000s, a lot of emphasis

was placed on the redevelopment of urban spaces, particularly inner city neighbourhoods that were experiencing rapid decline (Kotze and Visser 2008).

The renewal of urban spaces in the city became important in order to stop the decline spiral that had begun as far back as the 1980s. The phenomenon of urban renewal is one that leads to the transformation of spaces and can have either positive or negative impacts such as successful place making or gentrification. Urban renewal can be achieved either through a holistic approach to a place or through the small scale, partial redevelopment of declining places (Melle 2016). Generally, the large-scale development of places is the most effective approach to development because it results in a redefinition of an entire neighbourhood or place while factoring in a number of contingencies in order to minimise negative outcomes such as gentrification and the displacement of poor majorities (Hague 2005). Despite this, the common approach adopted during urban renewal programmes is small scale, precinct level urban regeneration. Small-scale developments have a better potential of success as an approach to the renewal of deteriorating urban environments. Developers constantly seek to maximise the outcome of their investments and as a result, the most economically sustainable approach is development at a small scale (Melle 2016). When urban renewal occurs at the small-scale precinct level, these new spaces in the urban fabric tend to stand out in comparison to the other spaces surrounding them. As a result, enclaves are created given that the newer spaces in the fabric differ significantly enough for them to be detached from their surroundings (Melle 2016).

These enclaves tend to amplify the social disparities between the new developments and the existing surrounding places. The existing inequalities thus stand out because the quality of the built environment and the services as well as goods provided are of a higher social and economic standard than what remains in the untouched parts of the neighbourhoods (Melle 2016). When enclaves develop, they increase property prices and hence shift the dynamics of activities and services available in a space. When governments and public-private investors take on the task of developing new place identities through urban renewal they promote and attract projects through narratives that are attractive to the targeted audience (Raco 2003). Urban renewal is therefore essentially a phenomenon that encourages the "consumption [of newer developments by] 'outsiders'" (Melle 2016: 356). The limited access created in a place leads to and reinforces a sense of privilege as well as exclusivity, which is a positive

appeal to said developers and intended users. The consumption by outsiders is further entrenched because the activities that take place have a specific focus that repels people (typically local residents) who lack an interest in the space or those who are unable to consume what is available given that they cannot afford. Furthermore, the residents of these places with limited means are also essentially excluded from the spaces because they feel unwelcome due to social and financial reasons, or they have no reason or desire to visit these places (Melle 2016). Slater et al. (2004) points out that despite the many facets of gentrification the fundamental element of it is that it results in changes in class dynamics and the perceptions of space, thus showing how new developments can drastically shift the identity of a place from, in this case, being declining to being exclusive and exclusionary to majority groups. Despite the negative outcomes that emerge from enclaved developments, governments continuously encourage these developments because they promote and attract market growth and investments for these communities with the hope that the new developments will act as catalysts of economic growth for the urban environment (Melle 2016; Robertson et al. 2008).

Melle (2016) thus makes the argument that processes of urban renewal that occur in the form of enclave development do not happen in isolation of adjacent communities where poverty is a phenomenon that goes hand-in-hand with racial issues. This is synonymous with Johannesburg, which developed around racial segregation policies. The processes of urban renewal in this city are an issue that goes beyond the exclusion of poor people when urban spaces are transformed. Racial issues are inherent because the majority of poor people are black, meaning that the people that are marginalised by urban renewal are black and poor. Such issues shape the character of places. Thus, I place a focus on the way in which the markets and neighbourhoods have developed and how the common history of regeneration has shaped the identity that exists today. Identity is influenced by historical and current developments.

A key aspect of neighbourhood development that urban renewal programmes seek to address is the perceptions people hold of places (Raco 2003). Development then becomes about physical aesthetics and perception. Thus, it becomes important to ensure that developers create "new discourses and meanings of place" during processes of redevelopment as a way of incorporating new spatial changes into the re-imagined identity of the space (Raco 2003:1870). The principle of place making

thus becomes an integral aspect of urban renewal as it deals with approaches such as reshaping spatial aesthetics to convey desired meanings of places. Place making is a principle of urban planning that can be adopted during processes of urban renewal. This principle for the development of places is an approach to urban planning that is based on principles of community as the creation of places. This approach puts the needs of people above aesthetic design with the aim of improving the quality of public places (MIT 2013). This approach differs from the destruction of places that is caused by urban transformation (Friedmann 2010). Thus, a distinction can be made between place-making and urban transformation.

The difference between the process of urban transformation and place making is that the transformation of urban environments is about completely restructuring the character of a place that is run down whereas place making is a process that encourages the reinstatement of place by conserving and reinstating existing identities (Seale 2016). Through the process of place making, as spaces experience change that is caused or initiated (e.g. by market forces), the character of places can be preserved through restoration or relocation to create and retain an authentic sense of place. As markets have remerged in societies, they have become a key catalyst for the redevelopment of places. Markets are in many cases used as a means of creating place because markets are public spaces that are rich in character and can thus stand as starting points to re-attracting people to places.

Concluding the literature

The key concepts that my literature addresses regarding the contribution of periodic markets to neighbourhood identity are markets, identity and urban renewal. These three concepts are held together by place making, which is an approach that brings together the principles of regeneration, the perceptions of place and the activities that the place affords to its users. Through these concepts and themes, I was able to decipher the findings from my observations and questionnaires in order to answer the main question posed.

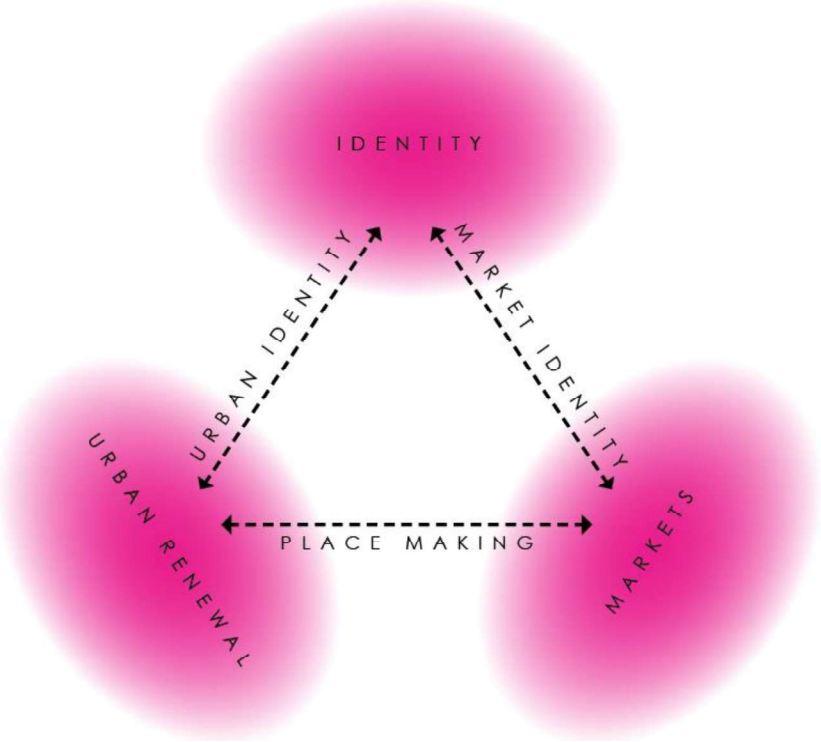

Figure 3 : The Neighbourgoods Market (Guya 2016)

Through the literature, a strong relationship is observed through the concepts of urban renewal and identity. Given that urban renewal is about redeveloping places and ensuring that the perceptions held of the place are positive and beneficial from social and economic stances, it became clear that this resonates with the concept of identity that is about how people perceive objects and places hence how they interact with the environments that they are in. This aspect of improving spaces is achievable through the process of place making.

The identity of spaces is developed through the collective characteristics of a place that are defined by the inherent nature of the space as well as the characterisations that people attribute to these spaces. When it comes to the market place, an urban identity is influenced because the market is a public setting that many people experience. Market identity is thus the identity that is attributed to markets based on the experiences people have.

On the other hand, the concept of markets and urban renewal come together through urban renewal issues such as enclave development. Typically, developments such as markets are isolated configurations of the spatial fabric that do not integrate or assimilate into their surroundings, but rather develop as isolated entities that result in the marginalisation of the poor. There are counter cases where these markets

become magnets for an area and act as assimilators of development and integration between new and old developments.

All three concepts are thus interlinked as dependents and boosters of the others. The concepts come together as approaches to urban planning that contribute towards the spatial and social development of place.

In conclusion, a cyclical relationship is evident between the three themes. Places have identities attributed to them that shift and grown over time. As they do so, changes in spatial character result in the need to revitalise degrading spaces or keep up maintenance. When spaces require urban regeneration, the process of urban renewal is adopted. As urban renewal seeks to improve the quality of spaces from a physical and social perspective, the process needs to not only improve aesthetic quality, but also redefine the perceptions held of places. As such, spaces such as markets are adopted to attract people to environments. When many people start visiting these spaces, they create their own memories, experiences and perceptions of the space. Their experiences become influences for the observed perceptions of other people. A character is thus attributed to the space that redefines any existing identity by either enhancing or changing it.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The contribution of markets to neighbourhood identity was told from the perspective of the cases of the LoCrate Market and the Neighbourgoods Market in Soweto and Braamfontein, respectively. This chapter explores these tools for data collection in qualitative research as well as their application to my research topic. The qualitative approach that I adopted included the implementation of survey and observation methods. The use of these tools highlighted the perspectives of market users contrasted with my personal observations and hence led to a narrative approach to the research objectives as well as emphasizing the contexts of the markets and neighbourhoods as part of the narrative.

Case Study Premise

The similarities and differences between Braamfontein and Soweto were the main elements that contributed to these neighbourhoods as choices for the case study. The primary similarities included the presence of a market in both neighbourhoods and the development of the neighbourhood through urban renewal as a common feature; the primary difference was the emergence and growth of the two neighbourhoods as an inner city neighbourhood and a township, respectively (see chapter 4).

Each market has different characteristics that shape the identities of the neighbourhoods. Thus, the use of a case study became instrumental in finding out how the markets contribute to urban identity through the exploration of neighbourhoods with different identities. The identity of places is, as has been shown in the literature review (see chapter 2), about how spaces are characterised based on their development and the perceptions that people hold of these places (Beyhan and Gurkan 5015; Robertson et.al 2008). Given that the two neighbourhoods have different identities, the use of a case study proved instrumental in finding out how periodic markets contribute to place identity from contrasting perspectives.

The Qualitative Case Study

Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2001) note that case studies have the potential to reflect real-life findings in cases where little has been explored on a topic in new contexts; this makes them an ideal approach for the exploration of unique or contextually different cases. They are an instrumental research tool in exploring trends, phenomena and the development of theories (Miles and Huberman 1994). Yin (2003) advices that the case study approach to research is an effective approach to answering qualitative questions; the approach helps researchers in cases where context and phenomena are blurred (Baxter and Jack 2008).

Stake (1995) categorizes case study research into three categories, these being: intrinsic, instrumental and collective. While *instrumental* refers to intensive and in-depth analyses of a case to refine a theory beyond a general understanding of the case and *collective* refers to the analysis of multiple cases that are similar in nature; the approach undertaken in this case was *intrinsic*. The intrinsic approach appeals to researchers interested in unique cases for the purposes of exploring interests with a lesser regard for the development of theory or phenomena (Stake 1995 in Baxter and Jack 2008).The case study method was thus qualitative as opposed to quantitative. The exploration of the identity of the periodic market drew on phenomenological aspects or research relating to how people understand identity.

Research Tools

The qualitative approach to understanding identity is dependent on the perceptions and opinions of market users and urban residents in the respective neighbourhoods that I conducted my research. The use of qualitative surveys helped in extrapolating information on peoples' perceptions of the emerging or apparent identity in Braamfontein and Soweto. Through the sub-questions, I explored the various facets of Braamfontein and Soweto from the perspective of market users and urban or township residents in contrast with my own observations. The sub-questions were mostly answered through the survey and interacting with market users during and after the surveys. Below is a list of the tools used:

Observation

Observation methods refer to a systematic description of events in a case study that allows the researcher to conduct fieldwork during data collection (Erlandson et.al

1993 and Schensul et al, 1999). The use of the observation method was vital in answering the questions regarding the types of markets explored and identifying the permanent markers of identity in each neighbourhood. The use of participant observation as a research tool was important for the research as it allowed me to explore the environment and get a sense of the character of the neighbourhood, in turn allowing me to develop distinctions and similarities between the markets and the neighbourhoods. Furthermore, how the market has become a contributing factor to the character of the neighbourhood.

My personal observations helped in steering the survey to better relate to the contexts of the markets. The process of making general observations resulted in a more contextualised understanding of the neighbourhoods and markets. While my perceptions were important, the outcomes generated from the questionnaires I conducted balanced out potential biases. The observation methods answered the sub-questions referring to the physical aspects of the market as well as mapping the activities occurring in and around the markets; this included the observation of the permanent markers of identity in the neighbourhoods. The process of participant observation helped guide answers to the questions from the researcher that relate to the type of markets and neighbourhoods being explored, their activities as well as the general character of people using the markets in terms of aspects such as age, race, gender and personality.

My observations at the Neighbourgoods Market were conducted during the months of August and September on Saturdays between 10:00 and 14:00 for the weekend market and on the first Thursday of September (01/09/2016) between 19:00 and 20:30 for the night market. On non-market days I spent time walking around the streets in Braamfontein to draw comparisons between the character of the neighbourhood on market and non-market days; this was done on Wednesdays and Fridays. Observations at the LoCrate Market were conducted on the 1st of May and the 7th of August, which were market days, between 11:30 and 16:30. I conducted observations on non-market days once a month on Sundays or Wednesdays in May, July and August.

The observations were recorded through note-taking, photographs, and active looking. Together these tools, as emphasized by Bernard (1994) and Marshal and Rossman (1995) helped in reviewing the validity of the data collected from

participants, providing a better understanding of the case study context, and paving room for the assessment of responses from interviewees produced in questionnaires, as well as improving the questions and quality of data collected.

Surveys

Surveys are instrumental tools for data collection and analysis that encourages a realistic interpretation of the phenomenon being explored. The use of surveys is a qualitative research paradigm that aims at drawing detailed evidence from small sample groups. In order to answer the sub-questions, I adopted the method of semi-structured surveys as a data collection method. The surveys were qualitative in nature in order to draw on the opinions of people. I thus tailored the questions to draw on the experiences of market users and residents in informing the perceptions of the neighbourhoods and the contribution of the markets to identity (Refer to appendix 1 for questionnaire).

Surveys can be conducted through interviews or questionnaires. My adopted tool was a questionnaire, which was estimated to take 20 minutes per participant, had questions based on the market and the neighbourhood at large. The questionnaire drew on perceptive narratives; the questions which were posed to participants were open-ended as this allowed for participants to draw on and elaborate on knowledge and experiences, and follow up on their answers. This encouraged dialogue that led to a deeper discussion of how the market had contributed to the broader identity of the neighbourhood to the city scale as opposed to yes/no answers. Further encouraging diverse results was my approach to selecting participants. The process of participant selection was purposeful. This approach opened up the sample to people who are typical of the market and those who stand out too.

I restricted my sample size of participants to 7 per neighbourhood. For each neighbourhood I distributed 5 surveys to market users and 2 to neighbourhood residents. This ensured that the results reflected the perspectives of people familiar with as well as those unfamiliar with the neighbourhoods. The majority of the questionnaires were conducted in the market. When it came to questionnaires from residents, I identified one market user who was interviewed outside the market on a non-market day. These participants provided very different perspectives on the markets as compared to those conducted in the market, as the findings will reflect.

Coincidentally, out of the 5 market users in the Neighbourgoods Market 2 participants had previously lived in the neighbourhood; in the LoCrate Market 1 participant grew up in a township of Soweto, Dobsonville. Their differing perspectives were interesting regarding their perceptions of the identity of Orlando in comparison to the markets. In the cases of both markets, I drew on the diversity of market users based on an observation that a variety of racial groups and a variety of ages visit both markets. While the majority of participants were black, there is representation of other racial groups such as white and coloured. Bigger than race, as selection criteria, was the age group of participants. The participants ranged from 18 to 40 years old. As the findings will show, the range in age showed similarities in perspectives and reasons for vising the market as opposed to differences. Despite age, the majority of people visited the market for similar reasons.

Limitations, Delimitations and Assumptions

While conducting my questionnaires I had a few limiting factors that affected the data I collected. A major concern and limitation regarding the markets was the difficulty to find participants willing to give up 20 minutes of their time to participate in a questionnaire. The majority of willing participants at the Neighbourgoods Market were approached in the first 2 hours after the opening of the markets; this applied to both marketplaces. The results produced during later hours of the market were less detailed to those obtained in the earlier hours of the market. This is attributed to the fact that factors such as loud music and overcrowding meant that it became less convenient to conduct surveys while users were in a relaxed and comfortable setting or listening to the music and dancing along. The data obtained is thus potentially biased towards people who prefer the market when it is quiet. While most interviews were conducted early in the day, the factors affecting the market's identity were substituted with my observations throughout the market days.

Given the limited period in which the research was being conducted, the exploration of the markets and neighbourhoods was limited to a few site visits. The exploration of the neighbourhoods on non-market days was not really affected by time constraints; the exploration of both the markets and neighbourhoods was, on the other hand, limited to very few site visits. The markets which are periodic are only open during scheduled sessions on market days thus limiting the time that questionnaires can be conducted in the markets. The questionnaires at the Neighbourgoods Market were

conducted across 4 market days, but those at the LoCrate market were all conducted on one market day; this affected the findings because the market is themed (refer to findings chapter). Certain market days have themes – I conducted surveys in August where the market day was themed 'Women and Wine' in celebration of Women given that it was women's month. This meant that participants' perceptions of the market were based on this experience as opposed to a general market day.

The boundaries set for the research are the exploration of only two neighbourhoods and two markets. Despite this, I observed the conditions of the neighbourhood and the marketplaces on market and non-market days to determine whether the market's periodic nature contributes either socially or physically to the identity of the markets when they are operational or not operational. Given the time constraints, I restricted the choice of markets out of the others around Johannesburg to the Neighbourgoods Market and the LoCrate Market because the two markets are quite similar in nature despite different settings. The LoCrate market developed based on the success of the Neighbourgoods Market. As a result I was able to contrast similar characteristics in opposing contexts (refer to section on case-study premise).

Fundamental to the research is the identification of the marketplaces (Neighbourgoods and LoCrate) as a constant. As has been shown is the section that details the premise of the case study, the markets are a key part of the research that determine the type of data collected based on the character of the markets as well as the neighbourhoods they are located in.

Procedure

I adopted the case study approach in order to study the two markets. I conducted my fieldwork by separating the method of observation into market and non-market days. Because the markets were only on a periodic schedule, I handed out surveys to selected participants on market days. I conducted surveys at the Neighbourgoods Markets over the course of four weeks (i.e. 4 Saturdays). Throughout the different market days, I identified at least two willing participants.

Unlike the Neighbourgoods Market, I conducted all the surveys over one market day. This meant that the experiences of market users and their perceptions of the contribution of the markets to neighbourhood identity were limited to one market occurrence.

The willingness of participants to engage with the questionnaire positively influenced the responses. Initially, I had planned to give participants the questionnaire to fill in. Through a test survey it became evident that using the questionnaire as a medium of engagement resulted in more detailed feedback. Each interview lasted between10 and 45 minutes depending on the participants' interest in the research and their willingness to elaborate further on their answers. This unforeseen advantage brought about answers that were more detailed, and gave perspective on how market users understood identity in the context of the market. Further enhancing the survey experience as well as compromising the results was the need to explain to participants what the concept of urban identity is. Despite this, each participant had his or her own interpretations of what urban identity is following the explanation.

Ethical Considerations

The ethical considerations, which I undertook, focused on my general responsibilities towards all the participants involved as none of my participant fell under vulnerable groups. From an ethical perspective, researchers have a responsibility to ensure that all participants are well treated and well informed about their role in the research project (University Research Degrees Committee 2008).

It was important to acknowledge that some perceptions drawn from the survey came from the participants and the interactions I had with them beyond the main questions that I asked them. It was also very important to ensure that participants felt comfortable when participating and were aware when the questionnaire sessions took longer than anticipated. Given the setting of the markets I had to take extra care to discern whether people were comfortable when answering the questions as well as interested in the topic at hand given that market goers are at the market to unwind with little disruption. It therefore became important to ensure that the participant was aware that they could terminate the survey or interview session when they felt uncomfortable or unable to continue the survey without being coerced into completing it.

For ethical reasons the names of participants have been kept anonymous, thus the names in the findings chapter are pseudo names used to identify each participant based on their cultural backgrounds and genders. This was important in order to express the identities and personality diversity inherent in each participant.

CHAPTER 4

SITE CONTEXT

Braamfontein and Soweto, as has been established in chapter three, are distinct of each other as elements within Johannesburg. Each neighbourhood's context was moulded by the developments that occurred throughout their growth. This chapter introduces the neighbourhoods of Braamfontein and Orlando West. I give a general background of the markets and the neighbourhood. The main elements of the chapter are the description of the character of the neighbourhoods and the already existing identity that is associated with the neighbourhoods based on observation and their historical developments.



Figure 4 : Locating Braamfontein and Orlando West

Introducing Braamfontein

Braamfontein is an inner-city neighbourhood located on the western part of the M1 highway that stretches north-south across Johannesburg. Parktown lies to the north, Hilbrow to the east, the CBD and Newtown to the south, and Auckland Park as well as Melville to the west of Braamfontein. The Jan Smuts Avenue runs through the middle of the neighbourhood providing access from the north. Braamfontein is also easily accessible from a variety of arterial routes including Rissik Street from the CBD and Empire Road which runs east-west though the city. This makes Braamfontein easy to

access as these major routes create linkages between Braamfontein and neighbouring suburbs and cities such as Centurion, Pretoria, Sandton and Soweto. While Braamfontein is well connected to its surrounds today, this was not always the case. The following section provides a history of Braamfontein and the current context of this inner-city neighbourhood as well as its current identity and role within the city.

Braamfontein's History

The neighbourhood of Braamfontein, just like many other neighbourhoods in Johannesburg, was initially a farm portion (Fraser 2007). Between 1888 and 1889 Braamfontein was acknowledged as a suburb of Johannesburg (Beavon 2004). During the early years of Braamfontein Smit Street and Wolmarans Street were prominent parts of the neighbourhood. This portion of the neighbourhood, named Wanderers' View, was a lush area that attracted the rich and thus constituted a number of large up-market houses (Fraser 2007). The rest of Braamfontein also developed with flats, lower-market hotels and cottages (Beavon 2004). Wanderers' View did not thrive for long because the large houses built faced the south and were thus cold due to a lack of sunlight. Evidently, the affluent residents soon abandoned this part of the area (Beavon 2004).

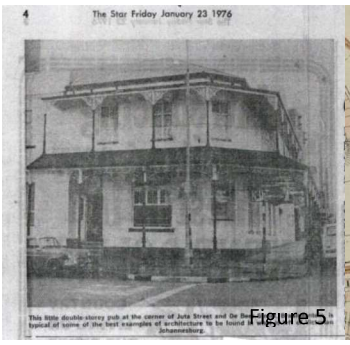

Figure 5

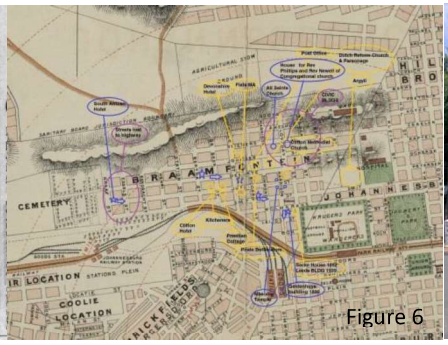

Figure 6


Figure 7

Due to the railway lines that acted as a hard edge, Braamfontein remained detached from the CBD but continued slowly growing until the 1900s. The character of Braamfontein as a business district was initiated by an influx of businesses from Johannesburg's CBD around the 1950s (Beavon 1998 and Beavon 2004). This was a time when the availability of space in the CBD had lessened therefore businesses that were not as dependent on the influx of people into the city sought out office space in Braamfontein (Hart 1969). Most of these businesses simply required office space rather than retail hence Braamfontein was labelled as a prime spot for offices (Beavon 2004).

During this period, the character of Braamfontein started developing into a thriving business district. The neighbourhood began growing and attracting major corporations and institutions from the 1950s up until the 1980s (Beavon 2004). Alongside this, the city also started the process of rezoning much of Braamfontein into a commercially zoned area. It was during this time that large corporations moved out of the CBD and went further north all the way to neighbourhoods such as Rosebank and Sandton (Fraser 2007). Braamfontein managed to attract major corporations and institutions such as SAB Miller, ESKOM and the City of Johannesburg Municipal Council that still have locations in the neighbourhood today.

Braamfontein was considered a place for middle class white people to establish businesses and acquire inner-city residential accommodation (Beavon 2004). This aspect of Braamfontein's development solidified its character as a business district. Over the years, the business character of Braamfontein has grown alongside the recreational dynamic of restaurants, hotels and clubs. The rezoning of Braamfontein was instrumental in redefining the character of the neighbourhood into a commercial area. The neighbourhood was also known for its upmarket restaurants, theatres and hotels. The northern ridge of the neighbourhood had flats that were in high demand given the attractiveness of the neighbourhood (Beavon 2004). Furthermore, the neighbourhood hosted a number of nightclubs and recreational spaces that attracted people from various parts of the city. The University of the Witwatersrand was one of the landmarks in the neighbourhood and its students took advantage of Braamfontein as a retail and entertainment space (Beavon 2004).

Following the decentralisation of the CBD in the 1950s and its worst deterioration in the 1980s and 1990s (Brink 2012; Fraser 2007), the neighbourhood of Braamfontein also started experiencing decline by the late 1990s. The neighbourhood was attractive to criminals given the dark alleyways and general unwelcoming environment. A number of storefronts were left unoccupied and the residential sector was meagre as many saw this part of the city as "too south for comfort" (Fraser 2007). At the turn of the millennium, the city administration sought to revive this part of the city because it held great potential as an extension of the CBD and an environment to attract investment - hence the process of regenerating the neighbourhood began. A key driving force for the regeneration of the city came from the Johannesburg Development Agency that came up with the 2003/2004 Braamfontein Regeneration Project.

Current Context of Braamfontein

The Braamfontein Regeneration Project documents the major issues that the neighbourhood faced prior to regeneration. Some of the issues that the government sought to address included a lack of identity and legibility in the neighbourhood, correcting the pedestrian unfriendly streets, lack of public facilities and parking. The worst issues that Braamfontein faced were crime, grime, traffic congestion and its isolation from the broader region due to hard edge conditions like the railway lines and the University of the Witwatersrand (Braamfontein 2004).

A key identity that the regeneration project sought to achieve is the development of Braamfontein into a "knowledge centre of the smart city" (Albonico n.d:99). This is a fitting identity for this part of the city because it is surrounded by knowledge hubs that incorporate the arts, science and technology. Today Braamfontein is a neighbourhood of diverse activities; the neighbourhood has come a long way from its days of grime. The neighbourhood is part of a cultural arc that includes the Newtown Cultural precinct, the University of the Witwatersrand and the Constitutional Hill (Albonico n.d.). The cultural arc is an initiative for the greater part of the city that focuses on the development of special activity precincts. This neighbourhood has a strong presence of educational facilities from the secondary to the tertiary level – Braamfontein is home to the National School of the Arts, the University of the Witwatersrand and a number of private tertiary institutions such as Rosebank College and Damelin. In conjunction with the educational facilities in Braamfontein, the neighbourhood still has a strong business and commercial character. As mentioned previously, a number of corporations that moved into the neighbourhood are still present in the city from the 1950s influx. The majority of corporate institutions in Braamfontein are located along Ameshoff Street and Stiemens Street and a large portion of the neighbourhood's retail opportunities are located along Jorissen and DeKorte Streets. The regeneration project highlights space from Jorissen Street to Ameshoff Street as a business improvement district project area (refer to figure below).

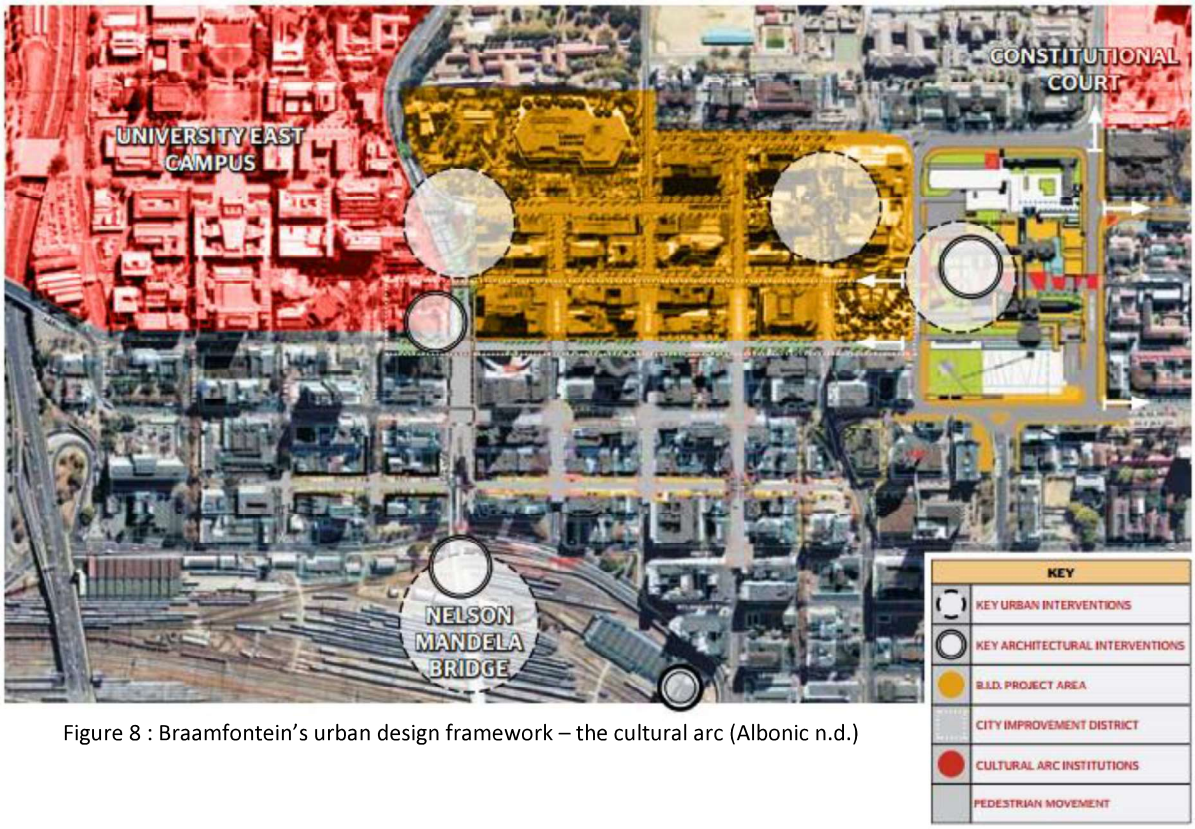

Figure 8 : Braamfontein's urban design framework – the cultural arc (Albonic n.d.)

Juta Street is where the redevelopment of Braamfontein began, thus this street is characterised by a number of pop-up stores, a coffee store, restaurants and the Kitchener's Carvery and Bar. Stiemens Street differs the most from the above three streets as it is the street with the most commercial activities The different identities of Braamfontein make up a collective identity of a mixed-use neighbourhood that caters to a variety of people. As a component of this urban fabric, the Neighbourgoods Market serves as a recreational space that many treat as a tourism space.

Braamfontein is also a recreational hub. It is a neighbourhood of diverse activities and hence has a mixed-use character with a strong daytime character and a buzzing nightlife. Beavon (1998) notes that Braamfontein had already developed a night time character in its earlier years – it was a place where students and young people would party.

In the night-time the character of Braamfontein shifts to a more social climate. Many people come to this part of the city to experience the nightlife that is partying and dining in many of the clubs and restaurants. The night-time activities, which people

partake in, includes partying at Great Dane, listening to comedy at the Kitchener's Carvery and Bar and having dinner while listening live jazz bands at the Orbit. This character of Braamfontein attracts a young audience and serves as a recreational space for the students that attend the tertiary institutions in and around Braamfontein.

The character of Braamfontein over the weekend contrasts that of the neighbourhood's weekday character. On Saturdays, the neighbourhood becomes a socially driven hub with many social activities that are similar to the night culture. The neighbourhood is a magnet for families, youths and young adults. Pedestrians, motor vehicles and skateboarders share the streets. People use the streets as meeting points as well as hang out spots. While many people sit outside and walk the streets, some people take advantage of the many spaces in which they can have food and drinks or go shopping. Spaces that accommodate such activities are dominantly around Juta Street. They include courtyards filled with boutiques and vintage stores as pop-up stores, restaurants and coffee shops such as Anti Establishment, Kitchener's, and the Neighbourgoods Market. All these stores have a defined character that contributes to the identity of the neighbourhood. Many of these stores focus on selling vintage and couture clothing. The character of the stores emulates the vibe that is reminiscent of Braamfontein on a weekend.

The character of Braamfontein as a neighbourhood differs significantly from the character of the neighbourhood along the western part, Juta Street and its surrounds. Towards the east of Juta Street, the streets are more retail oriented. The street character is represented by a number of hair salons, small grocery stores and boutiques selling cheaper fashion items. North of Juta Street is Jorissen Street and De Korte Street. These Streets are the centre of Braamfontein's commercial activities. These streets have the major retailers in Braamfontein such a Pick 'N Pay groceries, Refinery clothing store and Truworths a commercial clothing brand store. These are also the major streets along which public transport routes pass. Most of the traffic in this part of the city runs through these roads as they connect to all the other arterial and national roads in the city like the M1 and Jan Smuts Avenue. Jorissen Street connects major landmarks in Braamfontein such as Wits University, Braam Park, the Joburg Theatre and the Municipal buildings. The Northern most part of Braamfontein is less social and more commercial. This part of Braamfontein is where major corporations are located such as SAB Miller, Liberty Life and the JB Group (ABSA).

Exploring the Neighbourgoods Market

The Neighbourgoods Market is located up an alleyway (refer to figure 9 for location of market in Braamfontein). At the entrance to the market, there is a brass sign that boldly states that you are at the 'Neighbourgoods Market'. From that point, you can already hear musical chants attracting customers to a stall. After a 30-meter walk, a ramp leads you into the market but the entrance is already lively with the market spilling over to the alleyway. This intersection has wooden bleachers for sitting and a wooden staircase made up of wooden pallets. Below this staircase there is usually a performance by a violinist, a group of traditional Zulu dancers or a mime. People sit along the staircase and have food; they sit there while waiting for people to leave or while waiting for friends or family to arrive. The walk up the ramp leads to the first level of the market, which is always filled with people walking through the rows of stalls. Every stall at the Neighbourgoods Market is unique in its character. At the first stall there is a man selling smoked meats and sausages. And to his right a stall of fresh coconut juice.



Figure 9 : Locating the Neighbourgoods Market in Braamfontein; This aerial image locates the market and shows how the effects of the market's presence are less felt the further one moves away from the marketplace

As you venture further into the market there are many other stalls selling freshly baked cakes, preserved jams and pesto. The cakes differ in flavours such as carrot and decadent strawberry, and range from R40-00 to R60-00 a slice. This is quite highly

priced when compared to R25-00 for a similar sized cut from well-known nationwide retailers. As you keep walking up the alleyway there are stalls that continuously differ throughout the weeks, but a common occurrence is the Balkan Burger joint. As one of the most affordable meals at the market, the joint sells full sized burgers that start at R50-00 and increase in price the more condiments you add. Next to this stall is another stall that sells food preserves and one that sells seafood burgers. At the centre of the market, there is a seafood platter stall. Looking down this row, there is a long wooden bench that can accommodate approximately 35 - 40 people in one seating. The stalls further in the market provide different meals ranging from more baked goods to chicken strips and watermelon as well as sandwiches for R50-00 that are smaller than Balkan Burgers, and small pizzas for R70-00 which would normally be sold at R40-00 at nationwide pizza franchises.

Next to the Fish platters there is a single wooden table that can seat about 16 people. Surrounding this table are more stalls, by now you have reached the Watermelon and chicken strips stall where chanting fills the space around it. This part of the market has more drinks than food. This is where you get smoothies, wines and craft beers.

At the end of the lower level to the market there is a staircase to the upper level. As you walk up the stairs you can see through a series of bars down to De Beer Street. Through the bars you can see one storey off the ground to see the Banister Hotel and Restaurant, cars parked along the street and a as you keep going up more of the street is revealed. You can see landmark buildings in Braamfontein such as Jorrisen Place, Great Dane and the Kitchener's Calvary. At the top of the staircase which is two storeys up from the ground level is the half open-air and half closed-off upper level of the Neighbourgoods market filled with stalls and a bar area. Visuals of the market can be found in the appendix (refer to appendix 2B).

Introducing Orlando West

Orlando is one of the first few townships that made up what were known as the South-western Townships in the early-mid 1900s. By then, these included Orlando East, Orlando West and Pimville. The name Soweto came about in 1963 as a collective term for the townships located south-west of Johannesburg (SAHO 2011) such as Dobsonville, Jabavu, Jabulani, Naledi, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Mofolo, Dube, and Mapetla (refer to figure 3).

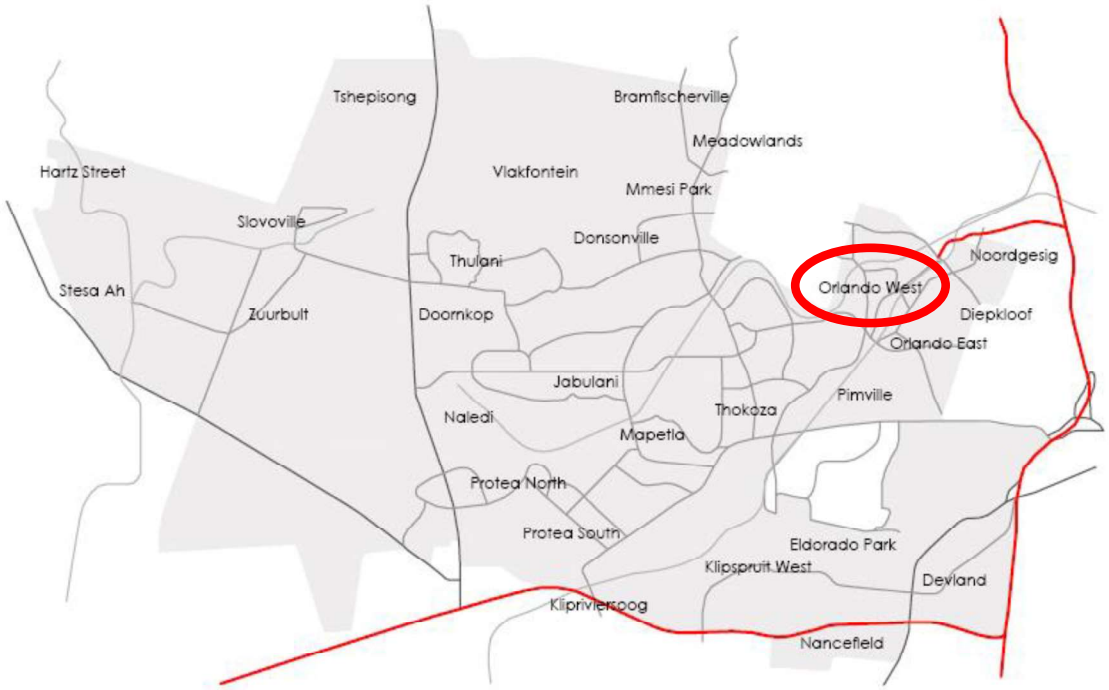

Figure 10 : A map of Soweto

Orlando West, which is one of the focal areas of my research, is located approximately 15 kilometres from Braamfontein. The main arterial route east of the township is the Klipspruit Valley Road that connects the townships to Johannesburg via the N1 Western Bypass and the M2 highway. These major arterial routes are one of very few roads that connect Soweto to the CBD. Many residents of Orlando West are dependent on the rail system, which is the cheapest mode of public transport for residents. One railway line runs through the township and has three stations (Mzimhlope, Phomolong and Pfefeni); the other runs between Orlando West and East with two stations (Mlamlankuzi and the major Orlando Metrorail Station). The major rail network was developed under the apartheid government as a means of mass transporting the black population into and out of the city centre (Beavon 2004).

Orlando West has strong roots in South African history as a place of freedom fighting. Its character has been politically driven from its creation (Anders and Snyman in Bieber 2010). It is also known as the place where the journey toward the abolition of apartheid law began (Nieftagodien and Gaule 2012). The section below expands on this history of Orlando West and how the identity of the township came to be.

Orlando West's History

This neighbourhood is characteristic of storytelling and its history is carried through verbal narrative. In the book *Orlando West* (2012), Noor Nieftagodien and Sally Gaule took to documenting these verbal histories of the neighbourhood. Through their

research project, it emerged that as a space rich in history every family has a story to tell. The character of the neighbourhood is held in the narratives of the people who have called Orlando West home for decades, the economic context and the physical form of the township. Soweto thus, encapsulates various dimensions of the Apartheid era (Anders and Snyman in Bieber, 2010).

The government established the Township of Orlando in 1936 (Nieftagodien and Gaule 2012); it was a place of dwelling for black people separate from other racial groups. Soweto was, at the time of Apartheid, a place reserved for the black population that worked in Johannesburg's mines (Malcomess and Kreutzfeldt 2013). Laws during the Apartheid era stipulated separation based on racial terms and reasoning that black people should only enter the central city when working for white people. This resulted in the exclusion of black people from urban life beyond restricted boundaries and conditions. Many black people who had been dependent on the mines of Johannesburg for labour were thus confined to township living (Nieftagodien and Gaule 2012). These circumstances led to an influx of people into the part of Orlando which is known as Orlando East today. As the settlement grew, government extended the neighbourhood to what we know today as Orlando West. Orlando West is populated by families that had relocated from Orlando East to the newer part of the neighbourhood that had bigger houses and larger plots (Nieftagodien and Gaule 2012); As a result, the spatial fabric or Orlando West is still less dense than that of Orlando East amongst other reasons.

Today, many hold the perception of Soweto as a place of poverty (Niq Mhlongo in Bieber 2010). While Soweto has gained traction over the last decade in developing its economic base, it has not always been like that. This township was originally developed as a dormitory township (Anders and Snyman in Bieber 2010). Many of the homes such as those in Orlando East only had one bedroom; families had to be creative when it came to either renovating their homes or demarcating spaces in the house for domestic activities (Nieftagodien and Gaule 2012). In the book *Orlando West (2012)* the Mazibuko brothers, who initially lived in Orlando East before moving to Orlando West, noted how families would use curtains as room dividers because they could not afford to build walls in the houses to create rooms.

The men and women who lived in these homes had to travel to work in the city as miners, garden boys and house cleaners. When it came to household products, they

still had to commute all the way to Jeppes Town, which is about 30 kilometres from Orlando – this was the nearest place of trade (Niq Mhlongo in Bieber 2010; Nieftagodien and Gaule 2012). Orlando and Soweto at large thus developed as a dormitory neighbourhood with a poor economic base. The effects of such planning are still felt today where Soweto struggles economically (Anders and Snyman in Bieber 2010). The developing tourism sector of the neighbourhood is further elaborated on under the section of Vilakazi's upgrading below.

Major historical events that took place in the neighbourhood have become the central feature of the tourism precinct. In 1967 on June the 16th, students from the schools around Orlando West came together to fight against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of education, Soweto was already prominently known as a space that contested the political issues of the countries (Nieftagodien and Gaule 2012). The June 16 March has now been marked as the beginning of resistance against the apartheid government. This event was followed by many other attempts at overthrowing the Apartheid government. Today a memorial and museum have been erected to remember this past event.

Current Context of Orlando, Soweto

Orlando remains a residential district in Soweto where approximately 40 603 South Africans live (Frith 2011). A major character of Orlando West is its identity as a historical landmark. There are a number of landmarks in the township that draw people from across the nation, and the globe, to this historically and culturally rich township. This part of the township developed through an urban renewal programme that focused on Vilakazi Street, which is a well-known tourist destination (SAICE 2011; Segooa 2014). Beyond the Vilakazi Precinct are other activities that contribute to the recreational aspects of Orlando West. A landmark of the township is the Orlando Towers where people go bungee jumping, swinging between the towers and wall climbing. These various activities are essential in defining the character of Orlando West as a tourism-based township, filled with adventurous activities. Thus, there is constantly an influx of people into the neighbourhood throughout the week.

The users of the Vilakazi Street precinct are attracted to the place for tourism purposes. Many visit the street for an authentic experience of South African culture regarding street markets that sell food and clothing as well as established restaurants that specialise in African cuisine (Beyhan and Gurkan 2015). Some of current landmarks of

the township are the Orlando Towers, the Walter Sisulu Memorial Park, and the Orlando Stadium. The market on the other hand has opened up the space for a customer base that is more oriented towards thrifting, food and drinks, and entertainment (music, fashion, interacting and meeting new people). The entrenchment of the neighbourhood in the history of the city has resulted in this place being a tourism destination. Thus there is constantly an influx of people into the neighbourhood throughout the week particularly in the Vilakazi Street Precinct, which is a portion of Orlando West that went through urban upgrading.

Vilakazi Street Precinct Upgrading

The Vilakazi precinct is located within Orlando West. This part of the township developed through an urban renewal programme. It is a well-known tourist destination. The precinct, which is a significant part of South African history, is a tourist destination that people visit when exploring the history of Johannesburg and South Africa at large.

The vibrancy and character of Vilakazi Street lies in the physical planning of the streets and the attention to details that make up the identity of the place. Careful consideration was taken into the redevelopment of this street precinct (SAICE 2014). A walking route that is filled with homes, activities, active sidewalks, information boards, and artwork connects the major landmarks in the precinct. Along the streets where students marched for a better system of education (i.e. Vilakazi Street and Moema Street), the paving has been redone in red to represent the bloodshed during the protests. There is also a memorial stone for Hector Pieterson along the corner of the two streets as a remembrance of the young boy who died during this event. The homes of Nobel Prize winners, Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu, are now tourist attractions that tourists frequent on a daily basis (Nieftagodien and Gaule 2012). Nelson Mandela's home has been turned into a museum whereas Desmond Tutu and his family still live in their home. The Vilakazi Precinct is also considered an economic hub in Soweto that draws on local tourism as an economic driver. The street holds its economic potential in its tourism sector. As a result this street has both an entertaining daytime and night time experience. During the day, both local and international tourists in the precinct can stroll along Vilakazi Street where there are a series of street traders offering locally produced artwork as memorabilia. They can and have food and drinks at either the high-end restaurants including Nambitha, Sakhumzi's

Restaurant and the winery or the spaza shops and food stalls that sell local cuisines such as Kotas (Bunny chows) or slap chips (greasy potato fries). They can also visit chesa-nyama[1] eateries where meat is freshly barbequed and served with the option of pap (maize-meal) or bread rolls and a side of soup or chakalaka[2].

The restaurants usually stay open until late in the evenings while chesa-nyamas can stay open until the early hours of the morning over weekends. Thus Vilakazi, and Orlando at large, encourages a vibrant daytime and night time culture that caters to tourists and local residents.

The LoCrate Market

The LoCrate market, which is located in the township, has developed as part of both the broader neighbourhood and the tourism precinct (refer to figure 11 for location of market in Orlando West). The market is located below the Vilakazi precinct, and is accessible from Moema Street. While the market is not located along the common walkway that tourists use when exploring the precinct, the market is closely located to the developments taking place along the Vilakazi Precinct.

The LoCrate Market offers a different experience every month. Each month has a new theme that brings a different vibe, yet attracts a very similar crowd. The entrance to the market is usually along Kudu Street or Bhejane Street, depending on the market set-up. On each market day, there are stalls new to the market and a few stalls that have returned. A key character of the LoCrate market is its support for Soweto-based businesses that the market provides a platform for exposure to local, national and international customer bases. The market becomes a place for interacting and networking for both customers and traders. The LoCrate Market can be classified as an outdoor flee market. The market can thus be divided into a food section, a drinks section, a variety goods section, while and leaving ample space for sitting. Although the market provides sitting space you have people coming to the market with camp chairs, such people usually spend the entire day camped in the marketplace.

[1] A Zulu term that translates to barbeque – This refers to a restaurant that specialises in local (South African) cuisine.

[2] Chakalaka : Vegetable relish, usually spicy



Figure 11: Locating the LoCrate Market in Orlando West; This aerial image locates the market and shows how the effects of the market's presence are less felt the further one moves away from the marketplace .

The eastern portion of the market always has a tent set up with food stalls. The stalls sell a variety of foods from local foods such as pap and barbequed meat for R30-00 to chicken wraps for R35-00, potato fries, and hot-dogs for R25-00. There are also desert options such as cupcakes in jars, tiny fruitcakes and sponge cakes. The variety as compared to the Neighbourgoods Market in terms of food is much less, although the price of food is relatively cheaper despite the fact that prices change on every other market day. The western side of the market usually sells drinks such as fruit juices, smoothies, virgin cocktails and alcoholic beverages. In between the two is usually where sitting is provided. There are benches and gazebos, although some people only use the gazebos and bring their own sitting. The middle section of the market is also sometimes filled with company promotion vans and food trucks.

What makes the LoCrate Market unique is that it has incorporated the character of markets into township culture. The music played at the market, as well as the vibrancy of the people and the space is characteristic of township culture.

Conclusion / Dominant Identities

Braamfontein's dominant identities include the place as a student hub, a cultural-education hub and a small residential hub, as well as a small corporate or office centre. Orlando West has three dominant identities, which include its historical narrative, its tourism sector and the dominant residential sector.

A key identity feature for each neighbourhood is their urban renewal history. For each neighbourhood the role of urban renewal has been important in establishing the existing identities. In Braamfontein, the process of urban renewal has allowed for the growth and development of the afro-hipster culture, a café-society, a number of up-market restaurants and cafes as well as a buzzing nightlife. Through urban renewal, the physical aesthetics of Braamfontein were developed and improved, making the place an attractive environment for both students living in the area and young adults from around the province.

The identity of the markets is more similar than different in a variety of aspects. The LoCrate Market is a spin-off of the Neighbourgoods Market, and thus has the same characteristics particularly when it comes to the food and artisanal goods sold. While the overall identity of the markets is the same, each market has adopted its character to the neighbourhood it is located in. Both markets offer products of the same family group yet those of the Neighbourgoods Market are pricier whereas those from the LoCrate Market are imbued in the local township context.

The LoCrate Market uses its space as a means of local empowerment. Through the market, local entrepreneurs are given the opportunity to display their goods to a larger audience while also networking. Different businesses such as local food traders and Soweto TV come to the market for exposure, to display creativity and to join in the recreational activities offered. What makes the market unique is the fact that local entrepreneurs only hold stations at the market for 4 consecutive market days in order to allow a greater scope of local entrepreneurs the opportunity to partake in the process.

The LoCrate Market differs from the Neighbourgoods Market because it focuses more on locally produced goods and goods that represent the local culture that is experienced in Soweto. Both the markets pride themselves in the empowerment of local businesses. All the stalls at both the LoCrate Market and the Neighbourgoods Market are small businesses based in and around Johannesburg that specialise in artisanal goods. Examples at the Neighbourgoods Market include Tutto Food Co., which is one of Johannesburg's oldest food trucks, the Joburg Culinary School and the Apple Tree Terrines (Neighbourgoods Market 2016). While all these are local businesses, they do not necessarily provide goods that are specific to South African local culture; the Apple Tree Terrines, for example, specialises in terrines and French pastries that are adapted to the South African context by using local meats and vegetables. However, the market also has locally produced foods such as the stall that focuses on selling Poitjie Kos. These identities of both the Neighbourgoods and LoCrate market are expanded on in the findings chapter where the perceptions of participants are explored.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

The context of Braamfontein showed that this is a neighbourhood of multiple identities whereas the context of Orlando West showed that it is a neighbourhood rich in history and booming as a tourism sector. These key identities of the neighbourhoods premise the findings from Braamfontein and Orlando West as well as their respective markets. The main findings that emerged through the research show that the Neighbourgoods Market and the LoCrate Market contribute to the identity of their neighbourhoods as tourist attractions. The Neighbourgoods Market feeds into the recreational identity of Braamfontein, particularly as an Afro-hipster space. The LoCrate Market on the other hand contributes to the identity of Orlando West as a tourist attraction by tapping into the entrepreneurial sector of the township.

This chapter will present the findings from the surveys and observations of both markets. The main elements of this chapter lie in answering the sub-questions initially posed in order to understand how marketplaces contribute to neighbourhood identity. This chapter begins with a section on the analysis of findings from Braamfontein, followed by those from Orlando West. Each section is divided into four sub-sections that include personal observations, market users and participants, and identity. The findings from both sections are then consolidated into a conclusion that explores the connections between the markets and the neighbourhoods, hence defining how the markets contribute to the identity of the neighbourhoods.

Findings in Braamfontein and the Neighbourgoods Market

The main findings reveal that the market contributes to the neighbourhood as a recreational space, which users view as an 'exclusive event' and use as a tourist attraction. A strong relationship is also shown between the market and Juta Street as opposed to the whole of Braamfontein. In drawing from the literature, I refer to the findings to see who visits the market, how the market fits into Braamfontein, how people view the market and its relationship with its surroundings.

Neighbourhood and Market Observations

Braamfontein is a neighbourhood with a host of activities, with each street exhibiting a different characteristic. The four streets I considered under the context chapter included Juta, DeKorte, Jorissen and Ameshoff which all run east west through Braamfontein. The most active of these are Jorissen Street, which is a major route through the neighbourhood, and Juta Street where the majority of recreational activities are located as well as the centre of the Braamfontein Regeneration Project.

The character of Juta Street is representative of the vibrant nature of the neighbourhood. The street is used as a space of movement, entertainment and expression; outdoor exhibitions are laid on the walls of buildings while others are used as canvasses to express political issues, for self-expression. People have photoshoots along the street; occasionally a TV series or movie will film a scene on the street. The different elements of the neighbourhood such as young boys skating down the street, men and women having coffee in the many coffee stores, and hipsters shopping for the latest trends in pop-up stores, have all allowed the space to thrive as a diverse place within the city. The Neighbourgoods Market fits in quite well with this character of Juta and DeBeer Streets, which are vibrant and filled with a variety of day and night time activities. The Neighbourgoods Market feeds off the recreational identity of the neighbourhood by adapting to both the daytime and night character.

The Neighbourgoods Market describes itself as a lifestyle market that focuses on providing specialised goods. This marketplace is both a trading and a recreational space (Neighbourgoods Market 2016). It accommodates a variety of users given that it is divided into a lower level trading space and an upper level entertainment area. The lower level of the market, which is a parking garage on non-market days, is characterised by food stalls and mostly caters to trading food and drinks than entertainment. Most of the stalls have permanent locations in the marketplace while others are only temporarily available. The food sold in the market includes a mix of burgers, pastries, baked goods, foods from around the world as well as local cuisines such as Poitjie Kos[3] and Kotas[4]. The lower level has the least seating space with only one row of seats (+/- 40 people at a time) and an extra-large group sized table on the western section of the market that can seat approximately 12 people at a time (Refer

[3] Poitjie kos: Traditional Afrikaner dish typically cooked in a three legged iron pot.
[4] Kota: A quarter loaf of bread stuffed with curry and meats.

to appendix 2B). The minimalist seating on the lower level can be attributed to the different functions of the spaces in the market; this lower level is focused on browsing and trading.

The upper level of the market has a completely different character, more focused on entertainment. This part of the market is divided into three sections. The first section of the upper level is an open-air sitting area with tables and benches, it is in this section that live bands perform; the second part of the upper level is a covered space filled with stalls that sell itemised clothing, shoes, jewellery and decorative artefacts. The last part of the upper level is also covered, it is a bar area surrounded by sitting stools and tables. The upper level is where people go when they want to sit down and enjoy a drink or eat a meal with friends or family while relaxing to music. The edges of the open-air section have seating; the western edge that borders Melle Street offers a view of the street that is always buzzing with activities, and people moving around. From this part of the market, you can see Kitchener's Carvery, Great Dane, the Banister Hotel and Jorissen Place which is further down the street. From here market users have a view of the atmosphere of Braamfontein which makes the market more a part of the neighbourhood as opposed to a space that is severed from the rest of the city. The section dedicated to live performances is in a little corner that is central to the market. My visits to the market were usually between 10:00 and 14:00. During these times, the character of the market transforms completely. The bands usually playing at the market are local afro-pop[5] musicians. Local artists featured during live band shows play Afro-pop music, a combination of Jazz and Hip-hop music. The ambiance of the market is much livelier between 12:00 and 14:30 when the band plays. The music is not so loud as to inhibit conversation or socialising as one participant described the "vibe of the market [as] calm" thus it is a great place to meet new people and begin conversations (Rori, 23).

This dynamic of the market differs during the Thursday Night Market that opens only on the first Thursday of every month. On a Thursday night, the character of the lower level remains the same with an added component; the section labelled the second part with stalls is shifted to the lower level, while the upper level transforms into an exclusive entertainment area that is only accessible by a fee of R50-00. The character of the lower part of the market remains the same as it is during the Saturday market

[5] Afro-pop: combines African tunes, Motswako and pop.

because the stalls are the same and the setup of the market does not change. Because the general character of the market is different on Thursday Night Markets, the type of people seen at the market differ from those seen on a Saturday.

On a Thursday night, the market is less accessible than usual. Apart from the fee required to be in the upper level, it is unlikely that the same range of users would visit the market. On a Thursday the people, thus, observed at the market are usually friends and individuals as opposed to families. The diversity of the market is reduced to people that enjoy the nightlife of the city. During the Saturday markets, I observed a greater variety of users. While the participants were only aged between 21 and 44, there were mothers that came with their babies to the markets and people in their late 60s to early 70s that frequented the market. This range in the diversity of age shows that the market is quite accessible to a variety of users. At the lower level, I observed many family and friend groups whereas at the top I observed this same variety of users earlier in the market and later on the space filled with more people whose diversity was racial and personality related than age-specific. Despite this, the diversity of users regarding age was only observed in the lower level of the market, which is characteristically less rowdy. The upper level of the market is much louder and often more crowded.

The Neighbourgoods Market fits in very well with its surrounding context. As a periodic market, it draws on the existing identity of the neighbourhood to establish its character and niche. The market is viewed as a nodal point in the neighbourhood physically and socially. Out of the 5 market goers I interviewed, 3 had come for the market specifically with no intentions of exploring more of the neighbourhood and rather staying at the market until it closed. One other participant stayed at the market until it closed which was when they would walk across the street to party at Great Dane. The remaining market user, who was only there for business purposes, stayed at the market for 2 hours and still, had no plans to visit the rest of Braamfontein. While participants only came to the market only they were all well acquainted with Braamfontein as a neighbourhood. Nadine (23) had been to various nodal points such as the Wits Art Museum, the Stevenson gallery, the Joburg Theatre and various restaurants such as the Smoke House. The section to follow will now expand on the perceptions that the participants and the characteristics they associate with the market.

Market Users and Participant Profiles

The perceptions of market users are influential in defining the character of the neighbourhoods. Their views are what inform the people we bring into spaces and the characterisations of our urban environments that are portrayed to outsiders. The section to follow delves into more of the perceptions that residents and non-residents of Braamfontein have on the neighbourhood and the market. The 7 participants that I interviewed at the Neighbourgoods Market included 2 female market users, 3 male market users and 2 female neighbourhood residents. Each participant apart from the residents came from a different part of the city. Factors such as their ages influenced the parts of Braamfontein that each participant had visited, which shed light on the different activities that Braamfontein has to offer and its various identities as well as why they had come to the market. While the ages of all the participants differed completely, their ultimate reasons for visiting the market were all similar.

Nadine (28) was a coloured female from Centurion who had come to the market with her friend; they usually come to the market together to have relaxed afternoons with drinks and live music. Rori (26) was a black male from Randburg. This was his second time at the market. Thulani (30), a black male from Thokoza, had come to the market with his cousin for business purposes. They decided to stay for a while longer to listen to the live band before leaving. Dobbs (21) was a young black male who lives in the inner-city as a student. He lived in Braamfontein before relocating to Marshalltown. He had come to the market with friends, the market being their first stop before partying at Great Dane across the street from the market. Claudia (44) was a middle-aged coloured woman from the East Rand who had visited the market with her daughter and granddaughter. The visit to the market was the start of their efforts to explore their "backyard" which is Johannesburg. Participants 6 and 7 were residents of Braamfontein. Zonke (21), a student at the University of the Witwatersrand, lives in a Braamfontein student accommodation and visits the market once a while with friends as an outing. Leatile (23) is a student at the University of Johannesburg and lives in an apartment in Braamfontein. She has only visited the market twice with friends.

When asked about the diversity of market users, the majority of participants expressed that the only observable diversity was racial, some even pointed out that they saw groups of friends that were at the market all with different ethnic backgrounds. Despite this, Thulani observed that while the space exhibits racial diversity, he does not feel like the market is representative of different economic classes. As a former

resident of Braamfontein, he expressed that this was his first time at the market and his visit was for business purposes. Thulani said that when one stands across the street from the market, it is intimidating to walk into the space because the character of the place is one that attracts a more affluent group. He never felt comfortable visiting the market because he knew that he could not afford the culture and lifestyle offered by the market. His view was contrasted with that of Rori who expressed that perhaps the reason why the market is so successful is that it portrays exclusivity. "…*People come to the market because it is sort of exclusive*…" he said.

For Thulani the Neighbourgoods Market is an exclusive place that blurs the line between public and private places. The prices of food at the market as has been shown in chapter 4 are much higher than they usually are in most of South Africa's major retailers. Zonke, a resident of Braamfontein further went on to say that when she and her friends do visit the market it is an occasion. While Thulani now said that having visited the market one does not need to spend any money, Zonke expressed that "*You can't visit Neighbourgoods with R200-00! You need at least R400-00 if you really want to have a good time and spend the entire afternoon*." The varying perspectives show that the market is portrayed as a space welcoming to all, and while it is, Zonke and Rori portray the argument that the market is a space where exclusion is encouraged by factors other than physical restriction. They hold perceptions that the market is not fully accessible to everyone. Apart from the fee one has to pay to access the roof-top space on a Thursday Night Market, other factors that encourage restriction include the high security levels, the overpriced food and drink and the observed people seen entering the market spaces which factor into the reasons why some participants feel intimidation when entering the space. These factors entrench the identity of the market as a place for a more affluent group.

Participant's experiences illustrate that the market does not feel welcoming to everyone. Some of this has to do with the way the space is controlled through security and price, but also through perceptions of the identity of market users. The personal reflections that participants had on their experiences of the markets also relate to the identity of the neighbourhood and how the markets fit in. The next section elaborates on these experiences.

Urban and Market Identity

The words used by participants to describe the neighbourhood include student village, culture and vibey. The words used by participants visiting the neighbourhood as local tourists reflect that the dominant identity of the neighbourhood is its recreational character. Participants mostly visited Braamfontein for the art galleries, clubs along DeBeer Street, and theatres while others had previously lived or studied in the neighbourhood. They come to Braamfontein because it is a place of no repercussion to being you; this means people are free to express themselves regardless of their personalities.

Braamfontein is a mixed-use neighbourhood with a variety of aspects that make up its different identities and characteristics. The identities that people attribute to places are derived from the activities that people partake in in these spaces. The spaces in which these activities take place are the spaces that stand out as landmarks in neighbourhoods because they are magnets that attract people into the spaces. These landmarks are signifiers of the already existing identity of the neighbourhoods (Robertson et al, 2008). The identity of the neighbourhood is thus expressed through the various activities that take place there; this part of the findings explores the responses of participants regarding place identity in the neighbourhood and market.

The success of Braamfontein's urban regeneration programme was already evident by 2005 where it was recorded that storefronts along Jorissen Street were improved and working hours were extended. Chain stores such as KFC and Nando's also opened up in Braamfontein following regeneration. One of Braamfontein's approaches to urban renewal was improving the legibility of the neighbourhood by improving its public environment identity (Braamfontein 2004).

The majority of activities that the participants associate with Braamfontein show that the neighbourhood is characterised as a recreational hub. Mixes of activities that range from commercial (work), retail and recreational represent the character of Braamfontein. While the resident participants view the neighbourhood as both a recreational hub and an educational space, participants from surrounding neighbourhoods in Gauteng regard Braamfontein as a recreational and cultural hub. People visit this part of the city because it provides recreational opportunities. One participant used the analogy of Braamfontein and the Market as a "*Physical Facebook*" (Rori, male). This is because Braamfontein caters to a variety of users such

as families, young adults and hipsters who are in search of spaces where they can interact with either people they know or people that they have just met. The idea of the neighbourhood and market being a *'Physical Facebook'* also means that it is an easy place to meet new people. The market accommodates a variety of people, especially young adults. In Rori's case, Braamfontein is a place he regularly visits when he needs to unwind from a long week at work. His reasons for visiting the market included that he is familiar with the neighbourhood which he used to party in a few years before as a student. For him Braamfontein is the perfect place to end a week of work in a relaxed environment in the afternoon and partying at night while meeting new people.

Zonke, a resident of Braamfontein, said that the market acts as a magnet for people to visit the neighbourhood. Even though Braamfontein is more than just Juta Street, the market provides people with a reason to spend the day in the market. For Zonke, the market also gives people a reason to visit the surrounding pop-up markets such as Select Puma, Anatomy, Ray-Bans, Mr Price and Stache. She explained that when you get bored at the market you could always walk out to explore the neighbourhood. As a resident, she had observed that the pop-up stores in Braamfontein were the busiest on a Saturday. During weekdays and Sundays, the pop-up stores remain quite empty. An example is the Anatomy store where entry is restricted to customers who have an entry pin code from the store's website. This restriction to entry is lifted on a Saturday where customers are now allowed to wander into the store, whereas the store seems closed on other days. The market thus plays a role in activating the area but these actions also perpetuate a sense of unfriendliness in the neighbourhood because people feel restricted from spaces that exhibit exclusivity.

The two Braamfontein residents noted that the market and the neighbourhood are connected as a place of entertainment. Zonke felt that the market does not fit in with the rest of the neighbourhood. Braamfontein is larger than the middle portion of Juta Street. The majority of people that live in Braamfontein are students and young entrepreneurs. These people, she assumed, cannot afford to visit the market on a weekly basis. This applies for the surroundings of the market where there are high-end restaurants, coffee shops and pop-up clothing stores. These stores are very exclusive and inaccessible to local residents so the connection between the market and the rest of the neighbourhood is poor. Other participants have shown how the market serves as a place of local tourism. While the place is expensive, there are many diverse

activities in a small area i.e. the market, restaurants, the Grove and Great Dane as well as Kitchener's Carvery.

For non-residents, the connections between the neighbourhood and the market are significantly different. Claudia said that there seemed to be no connection between the market and the neighbourhood. The market, or the idea of the market, is one that is typically located in country yards or open spaces outside the inner city. She does not associate markets with the city. Dobbs noted that the main connection between the two is diversity. The market and the neighbourhood are places of expression so you get to observe a variety of people with different styles. The market is also a place of escape from work or school and life in general where you can feel like you are a part of a family, which is the afro-hipster family.

"People in Braam are just living life and walking through. [However], in the market people are tourists. The market has more character; it is like an amplified version of Braam" Dobbs, male.

The Neighbourgoods Market offers two distinct activities in the same vicinity, these being entertainment and shopping. This marketplace stands out in Braamfontein as such because if offers an experience for everyone that visits. Each participant had different stories of how they got to the market and different experiences too, but what remained the same with every participant was that their reasons for visiting were either recreational or tourism related. The space offers people an urban environment where they can unwind with friends or meet new people. Furthermore, the experiences people then had of the spaces were impacted by the perceptions they held of Braamfontein. The residents treated the market as a less accessible space of recreation while non-residents used the space as a recreational ground or a local tourism attraction. Ultimately, the contribution that the market has for Braamfontein is that it is a public space that encourages local tourism for residents of surrounding neighbourhoods within Johannesburg.

Findings in Orlando West and the LoCrate Market

The identity of Orlando West is reflected through its history as a township that stood at the centre of many events during the apartheid era. The current identity of the neighbourhood is thus a tourism-based neighbourhood. New developments have shifted the identity of the neighbourhood as a dormitory town into a thriving neighbourhood of retail, commercial and recreational activities. The LoCrate market is one of the activities that takes place in the neighbourhood and contributes to redefining the negative stereotypes held of townships. The LoCrate market incorporates different ideas from local businesses to display the variety of retail developments by local businesses while providing recreational space for residents and tourists.

Observations in Orlando West and the LoCrate Market

The LoCrate Market also describes itself as a lifestyle market that specialises in promoting local businesses, hence the market sells goods that can be found around Orlando West and more so the rest of Soweto. The market always offers different products from different small businesses and these can range from vintage clothing, jewellery, books and the most prevalent being food and drinks. As a means of empowering local businesses, this market differs from other similar marketplaces in Johannesburg because it rotates vendors allowing them to trade at the market only for a maximum of 3 to 4 consecutive market days. The market thus always has a variety of products available. Further enhancing the feasibility of such an approach is the themes that are attached to different market days that attract different local businesses to the markets (Dlamini 2016).

While conducting surveys at the market it was quite difficult to gain the perspective of residents on the market beyond the surrounding streets. While the residents that lived directly across the market were uninterested in participating in the questionnaire, those that lived further away were either unaware of the market or had a vague idea about it. The assumption can be made that the impact of the market is minimal for the surrounding streets. Upon visiting Orlando West on a non-market day and approaching residents to participate in the questionnaire, none was well familiar with the market, a few knew that something took place but did not know what the name of the market is or what activities were available. This reflected that the majority of residents do not visit or use the market.

Because the market is only present once a month, its infrequency has not yet embedded the market as a part of the neighbourhood. The character of the neighbourhood along Malie, Khuele and Meeka Streets was the same on the 24th of July (non-market day) as it was two weeks later on the 7th of August (market day). On the 24th of July, these streets were characterised by people washing their cars along the curb, men having conversations, women congregating on the street to speak and young people were occasionally spotted walking around. The presence of the market on 7 August was unfelt beyond the surrounding streets where people were partaking in the same activities as the 24th of July. The streets were very quiet; none of the music from the market could be heard and neither was there an influx of people walking through the neighbourhood's inner streets.

The space where the market is usually located returns to being a vacant piece of land that is relatively unused throughout the month. Sandile (19) expressed that the vacant land is occasionally booked for large performance events such as local concerts, typically once or twice a year. The terrain of the market is generally flat but there are large boulders piled together around the western edge of the market; usually children and young adults can be found here in the latter hours of the weekday and on weekends hanging out or playing games. The space, as seen by Sandile, is wasted because the young boys from the neighbourhood use this piece of land as a hideout where they can practice illicit activities such as taking drugs and drinking. She thus felt that the market would benefit from being a regular occurrence, or the neighbourhood itself could benefit from the space being rented out for community functions more frequently.

While the market has a poor presence in the neighbourhood, its irregularity makes it stand out as an event in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the market thus also extends the boundaries of local tourism for the Vilakazi Precinct. As a heritage tourism precinct, Vilakazi Street and Orlando West at large, this neighbourhood's identity is economically driven by its historical heritage. Local and international tourists visit this part of the township to learn more about South Africa's history. The township identity has been strongly influenced by globalisation. Many of the young residents of the neighbourhood can be spotted walking along the streets playing hip-hop music through their cell phones. The influence of global forces can be seen in the stores along Vilakazi Street where mixes of locally and internationally influenced restaurants are located. This diversity in cultures and traditions attracts a variety of people to the

place by affording a level of comfort for tourists. The diversity of people in Orlando West is quite low beyond the Vilakazi Precinct. The section to follow expands on the diversity of users and residents in Orlando West and the LoCrate Market.

Market Users and Participants

The 7 participants that I interviewed at the LoCrate Market included 4 female market users, 1 male market user, 1 female resident and 1 male resident. The participants included Kelebogile (20) who is a student and actor from Braamfontein. She is a black female who grew up in Soweto (Dobsonville), and works with Soweto TV based in the Vilakazi Precinct. Zinhle (26) is a black woman from the East Rand who visited the market with a friend. This was their first visit to the market; they were attracted to the market because of the theme "Women and Wine". Thembani (32) was a black man from Ennerdale aged 32 who works in Ennerdale but also lives in Soweto, which is where he grew up. He had come to the market with his girlfriend, but had been to the market before with his son too. Jessica (28) was a white female from Philadelphia, America. She is a student who was in South Africa for a summer-work holiday; she was at the market with a friend who had come to visit her. Lwando (23) was a black male from Ormonde who has visited the market over half a dozen times with friends. Tiffany (23) was a coloured female student from Melville who had decided to visit the market with her friends after hearing about it through social media. Sandile (19) was a young female who lives along Kudu Street. She has never visited the market despite living directly across from it.

The diversity of market users at the LoCrate Market is not as diverse as those of the Neighbourgoods Market users. The range of participants that I interviewed was aged 19 to 32. While these are just the participants, the general observations I made at the market showed that the majority of market users were very young and could average around 25 to 30 years old. Unlike the Neighbourgoods Market where you regularly find market goers older than 65, there are very few such people at the LoCrate Market. On one occasion at the market, I spoke to an old man Victor aged 62 who said he came to the market out of curiosity because he could see all the way into the market from his house along Bhejane Street. He mentioned that what interested him about the market were the clothes that drew inspiration from the fashion during his youth.

Thembani observed that the variety of people he saw in the market were diverse in the way that they dress and even in the goods and foods sold. Everything is different

but still representative of local culture. Everyone has their own vibe and this is what makes the market accessible and welcoming to a variety of users. Despite this Thembani also noted that the diversity he saw in the market traversed age. He talked about having visited the market previously for a *Mothers and Children* themed market day. The markets diversity is sometimes inclusive of various age groups, thus the space is blended with different family groups.

Market and Urban Identity

The perspectives of Orlando West and the LoCrate market held by the participants reflected the growing and developing identity of the township and township culture. Thembani, who grew up in Soweto, emphasised throughout the questionnaire, that the most important change that can be observed of the neighbourhood since the abolishment of Apartheid is that the neighbourhood has not only diversified, but people are becoming more welcoming of change in the neighbourhood. When asked what he loved about the neighbourhood he said that the neighbourhood is more diverse economically and socially from the variety of businesses to the types of people that visit the neighbourhood as non-tourists. But, he went on to further say that he disliked that the change has been quite slow, and while the younger generations are more inclusive of change, the older generations such as his parents and older neighbourhood residents do not seem to understand the changes that they see around them. They are not understanding of the new cultural influences that are shaped by global forces. This view was similar to that of Victor who expressed that while he came out of curiosity he was unimpressed by the actions of the youth in the current generation and was thus unimpressed by the presence of the market in his neighbourhood. For Victor, the market perpetuated a negative perception of the neighbourhood despite its benefits for the local economy given that it encouraged activities such as drinking, particularly on a Sunday that he was not fond of.

Some residents and tourists have welcomed the changes in the neighbourhood, but not everyone benefits from the changes. After talking to Sandile, who is a young female student that lives along Kudu Street, it became clear that some residents are aware of the developments surrounding the neighbourhood – they see people partaking in tourism-related activities and see the restaurants around the neighbourhood, but they are aware that they are not the target market. Sandile expressed that Vilakazi Street is not a space she visits for recreational purposes. She

rather goes deeper into the neighbourhood for recreational activities, in spaces such as chesa-nyama houses. For her, tourism has not affected the culture of the township in the same way that it has Vilakazi Street. There is no racial diversity observed deeper in the township.

When it comes to the non-residents, Vilakazi Street's character has a strong influence on their views. Out of the 5 participants, only 1 had explored more of the neighbourhood. The other four had only been to Vilakazi Street. Lwando had visited the market over 7 times and had never ventured beyond Vilakazi Street. For three participants, the visit to the LoCrate Market was largely an exploratory trip to find out what the market was about, as opposed to a general trip to the market where people purchase goods. This identity of the market is what sets it apart from other marketplaces such as the Mai-Mai Market and the DeVilliers Street Market where the experience of the market is solely about buying and selling goods – the markets observed in this case-study are recreational spaces that offer an environment for interaction and a return to the traditional marketplace.

The perspective of Jessica, an international tourist, provided a different viewpoint from those of residents and non-residents. Her perspective showed that there is a disjuncture between Vilakazi Street and the rest of Soweto. Upon visiting this neighbourhood, the rich history to explore along one street impressed her, but she was also disappointed that this space did not provide her with an authentic experience of 'township' culture. She viewed Vilakazi Street as providing her with a 'sanitised' version of the township. This stemmed from the fact that just by walking two streets away from Vilakazi Street the dynamic of the neighbourhood shifted dramatically from retail to a residential character.

"I dislike that there is a very highly touristy aspect to the parts of Orlando that I have seen smack in the residential area. I kind of feel like it is an invasion of space for residents… This is why I came to the market this time. I wanted to show my friend a more authentic experience of Soweto that is more like the neighbourhood than just Vilakazi Street" – Jessica (28).

The disjuncture between the Vilakazi Street character and the rest of the neighbourhood was illuminated by the responses of market goers that are familiar with township life. Many responded saying that "what you see is what you get; you don't expect to see anything other than what you already know in Orlando" (Lwando).

While this response seemed like Soweto is an uninteresting place, Lwando and Kelebogile were referring to the character of Orlando West beyond Vilakazi Street, which still resembles the dormitory nature of the township during the apartheid years. The majority of houses still have the same façade of brick-faced homes with a meter high wire-fence. They acknowledged the growing diversity of activities and residential character but were adamant about the fact that development seems confined to Vilakazi Street.

The biggest contribution that the LoCrate Market makes to the identity of Orlando West is its ability to transform a vacant plot into a place that brings people together. While the residents of Orlando West may not use the marketplace, it is evident that the majority of Market users are Soweto residents in search of recreational spaces in their neighbourhood. The Market thus meets a demand for local tourism. The market furthermore affects the social character of the neighbourhood by shifting the perspectives of townships. Through the participants views I learnt that many do not view the township as an urban space and therefore do not associate spaces such as the LoCrate Market with it. Thus, through the market people's views of the township character are changing.

While the majority of tourists visiting Orlando West only end up in the Vilakazi Precinct, the neighbourhood's character is vibrant beyond the precinct. As shown in Chapter 4, the identity of the neighbourhood is rich in history and has a strong culture that embraces local activities and local creativity. What makes both the LoCrate Market and the Neighbourgoods Market stand out is their provision of different activities in their neighbourhoods that fill the recreational and tourism gaps for daytime activities that accommodate a greater diversity of users as compared to other local activities.

Making Connections

What makes the markets stand out as features of their neighbourhoods is their uniqueness. The concept of the marketplace exists all around the world but in South Africa, very few exist dedicated to developing spaces of entertainment and interaction between users. As a space of entertainment, I sought to find out from participants whether they visited the market in isolation of its surrounding context or whether they were familiar with the surroundings of the neighbourhoods or whether they venture beyond the markets to explore more of the neighbourhood. In Braamfontein, market users have all at some point been to or passed through the neighbourhood. Thus, while the participants may not all be familiar with the neighbourhood, they are still able to describe the neighbourhood and the activities taking place. Out of the 5 market users interviewed, 2 had previously lived there and 2 had frequented the neighbourhood but 1 was unfamiliar with the neighbourhood. The market users in Orlando West mostly lacked familiarity with the township. 3 Tourists were completely unfamiliar with the entire neighbourhood; 2 were familiar with Vilakazi precinct; and only 1 was familiar with the neighbourhood. The familiarity of the market users with the neighbourhoods contrasted with their reasons for visiting the market (see table below) represented that users came for recreational and tourism purposes.

Reasons for visiting Market		
	Neighbourgoods Market	LoCrate Market
Never been to market	-	✓
Work	✓	✓
Tourism	✓✓	✓✓✓
Recreational outing (family and friends) (Food, drinks, music)/ Outing with friends/family	✓✓✓✓	✓✓

Whether visiting the market for recreational or tourism purposes, most of the participants were attracted to marketplaces because of the atmosphere of the places. Each participant sought out a place where he or she could interact with friends or meet new people in a relaxed yet public environment. As such, the alternative spaces suggested surrounding the city included other marketplaces with a similar character such as the Fourways Farmer's market, Arts on Main in Maboneng and Kitchener's Carvery in Braamfontein.

Leatille noted that as a resident, she saw Kitchener's Carvery as the closest alternative to the market because it offered similar entertainment such as live music in a closed environment, and at a discounted price on Tuesday nights for students. On the other hand, these responses reflected that Soweto residents have to go out of their township to access similar recreational spaces because there were no alternative recreational spaces in the township. ZInhle thus expressed that an alternative for Soweto residents would have to be Maboneng in the CBD. For Thembani, who has a child, this was a big issue because unlike the LoCrate Market accessing other family oriented recreational spaces are quite expensive and only available in the Northern suburbs of Johannesburg.

The lack of similar alternative spaces for both neighbourhoods reflects a demand for recreation and tourism, which the markets have captured. The markets act as a magnet to the neighbourhoods and encourage a positive perception of the neighbourhoods. It can thus be said that the identity of the market begins from peoples perspectives of the market. The identity of the market is an amalgamation of the various activities that contribute to the characterisation of the neighbourhoods. People visit these spaces because they exude an atmosphere that is not available through other activities or spaces in the surroundings during the daytime.

Conclusion

The main findings suggest that the presence of periodic markets have had positive influences on the identity of their respective neighbourhoods. The Neighbourgoods Market and the LoCrate Market are features of the neighbourhood that both tourists and neighbourhood residents appreciate as centres of entertainment. The development of the neighbourhoods through historical events and more recently urban renewal programmes has resulted in changing spatial character and diversity. In Orlando West, there is evidence of a shifting spatial urban fabric from only

residential to an area that incorporates commercial, tourism and retail land uses. With this land-use change there is also a shift in the social dynamic of the township. There is increased movement of people into the township particularly along Vilakazi and Moema Street, given that this is where the tourism precinct is located. The character of the street as has been shown above is diversified by street narratives in the layout of the sidewalks, the graffiti and the artwork. People frequently walk these streets, cycle and drive through to learn of the history of the spaces particularly the events that took place along the street. The contribution of the Neighbourgoods Market to its neighbourhood plays a greater role from diverse points of view as compared to the LoCrate Market, which portrays significant yet small contributions to its surrounding context.

Beyond this, people regard the markets as creative uses and adaptions of spaces in the neighbourhoods. The surveys revealed that many people are unaware that the spaces in which the markets are located remain relatively vacant on non-market days. To the question posed regarding the creativity of the spaces, many suggested that the markets would benefit from being present throughout the week. Others suggested that there is an allure to the temporality of the space. This in essence is a strong aspect of the identity of the neighbourhoods because it gives people reason to continue coming into this part of the city, as Rori and Lwando emphasised the visit to the market is much like an occasion you have to prepare for rather than one where you just pitch.

While participants unanimously agreed the use of the spaces as markets is a creative use of space, they viewed the markets as nodes that help reshape the identity of the spaces beyond the market. It is thus a space that is welcoming and appealing to a variety of users, although restrictive in some respects. As a space that is open to a variety of users, the identity of the market is beneficial to that of the neighbourhood and the city at large. Nadine from centurion said that she liked the market because she could bring her visitors from other cities around the country and the world to the market as a way of showing them what Johannesburg is like. To her this piece of the city portrays a positive perception of the city at large. Spaces such as the market have helped transform the vision of the city of Johannesburg as a degraded city that is fervent with crime and poverty. Their impacts thus transcend the boundaries of the neighbourhood into the identity of the city at large.

While the Neighbourgoods Market contributes to both spatial and social identities, the LoCrate Market largely has an influence on the social dynamics of Orlando West as opposed to having a physically permanent presence.

The identity of Orlando West on the other hand received a number of conflicting perspectives. While some participants saw the identity of the neighbourhood shifting into a more dynamic neighbourhood, others felt that the change in the neighbourhood was very little and more confined to the Vilakazi Precinct as opposed to the whole of Orlando West.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The main aim of the research was to find out how the Neighbourgoods Market and the LoCrate Market have contributed to the existing or developing identities of their neighbourhoods. To achieve this, the objectives sought out included defining the existing urban identities of Braamfontein, the Neighbourgoods Market, Orlando West and the LoCrate Market. I thus explored the concept of identity in order to understand how people's perspectives help to inform and shape environments, contribute to urban identity, as well as what characteristics are linked with the spaces to define their growing identities. Another objective was to explore how the periodic nature of the markets is affecting the main social activities surrounding the market, and whether these are transforming the physical environment.

Through the research, it became apparent that the markets are features that attract local and international tourists into the spaces. Both the Neighbourgoods Market and the LoCrate Market are vibrant places, but what was surprising was that the residents of Orlando West were not familiar with the LoCrate Market in the same way that Braamfontein residents were familiar with the Neighbourgoods Market.

This chapter concludes the research report. Here, I summarise the main outcomes and revisit the research process, and most importantly the findings that emerged through observation and questionnaires. Following this, I provide an exploration of further areas of study as well as recommendations for practitioners.

Major Findings

Through the research, I explored the concept of the market as a space of entertainment and consumption. The two markets in focus have both physical and social impacts on their neighbourhoods. Markets are nodal, sometimes landmark, spaces within urban fabrics that serve as attractions for both outsiders and residents of neighbourhoods as recreational spaces and tourist destinations. The findings show that the markets are creative uses of spaces that predominantly remain vacant. The shift in land-use allows for a variety of activities to take place that have some influence on the urban identities of their neighbourhoods. They have thus encouraged a

redefinition of the perceptions held of these specific neighbourhoods. While the general perceptions are that the market is a public and welcoming environment, it is also a space of exclusion. For some people the market is an inaccessible space for various reasons. The section below expands on the main findings and ultimately concludes that the Neighbourgoods market has proven to be more successful in contributing the identity of its surrounds as compared to the LoCrate Market which has had very minimal influence on the place identity of Orlando West.

Markets and their neighbourhoods

Through the research process, I drew on the responses of 14 participants from a questionnaire to explore the range of diverse perspectives people have of places and markets. The questionnaires along with observation were key tools for data collection that generated various responses towards the concept of identity and the role played by marketplaces. The major finding that emerged was that markets do play a role in urban environments. As such, the Neighbourgoods Market and the LoCrate Market, similar in nature, play different roles in their environments because they have been adjusted to suit the needs of their neighbourhood contexts. Ultimately, each market plays a recreational role in its urban fabric; they are both tourist attractions for both residents and outsiders.

Despite the LoCrate Market being a spin-off of the Neighbourgoods Market, each market has developed its own identity that is unique to the context the market is located in. Each market has some social as well as some physical characteristics that it offers its neighbourhood. The markets thus influence the character of the neighbourhoods through the different activities they offer.

The Neighbourgoods market is divided into two levels, with the lower level used for shopping and the upper level for entertainment purposes. The differing levels of the market accommodate a diverse range of users and its provision of different activities means that different people frequent the space. They can also choose from a variety of food and drinks offered by different stalls. The variety of goods sold range in prices with some pricier than others. As represented in the findings, for some participants, the place targets a more affluent group, thus while a diversity of users are seen, it is limited to racial profiles and does not transcend economy and class. The social activities that dominate the market include browsing through stalls and shopping, eating and tasting both food and drinks, as well as listening to live local bands. The location of the

market in the entertainment area of Braamfontein means that the space is easily accessible to international and local tourists. The accessibility of the space allows people to interact with the surrounds. As a space that increases permeability in the urban realm, the market does not stand separate from its surrounds but rather functions as an extension of activities throughout the daytime on weekends.

The LoCrate market is an open air market located on a vacant plot of land (bounded by Bhejane, Kudu and Moema Streets), it is sectioned into spaces of trade for food, drinks, locally crafted items, seating spaces (gazebo covered benches and tables) and sometimes a children's play area. The market is unique because it uses each market day as an opportunity to explore different themes that all attract a variety of users. Themes include 'Mothers and Daughters', 'Women and Wine', the 'Soweto-July' and events such as the Makhelwane Festival.

The market defines itself as a space that combines food, design and experience in one space. This means it is a space where people are meant to interact with each other, it is also a space that promotes local businesses by providing them with a platform for networking with other traders and further developing a customer base through the market users. On the other hand, the market has had a strong influence on the way people view the township. A common utterance from participants was that the market, like many new developments in the township, is an example of the changing dynamic of what South African townships are. For non-residents of Orlando West the market is a symbol of changing perceptions that represent an environment that is diversifying. The township is developing a different identity that serves local and international tourists. People are slowly finding interesting recreational activities to participate in within their own neighbourhoods, as opposed to having to travel further north of the city for similar activities.

The markets are recreational entities that encompass public open space in the urban fabric mixed with recreational activities. As social activities, they serve, for people, as tourism spaces within the city that offer different activities that they otherwise would not have within their neighbourhoods. The role of the markets in this research report have drawn on the existing identities of the neighbourhoods, and afforded a different space in which people can interact in a public realm.

The temporary nature of the markets has had different impacts for Braamfontein as compared to Orlando West. In Braamfontein, the aura of the market is felt during non-market days, particularly when one walks along the De Beer Street and the alleyway leading to the market.

On non-market days, pieces of the market remain as reminders of the markets presence. The space occupied by the market on market days is used as a parking garage. The space remains relatively inactive unless it is used for other events such as filming. While there are no activities happening in the area, non-market days are quiet for Braamfontein in the daytime. The space livens up during night times, particularly Tuesdays and Fridays across the street where Great Dane (club) and Kitchener's Carvery (pub) are located. The block where the market is located is made up of a number of restaurants and pop-up clothing stores. On non-market days the pop-up stores are relatively empty compared to Saturdays, this is symbolic of the crowd and customer base attracted by the market – while the participants interviewed hardly explored more of the neighbourhoods when visiting the market, the pop-up stores could be seen to take advantage of the influx of people into the neighbourhood for recreational activities.

The LoCrate market does not have the same impact on its surrounding context, as does the Neighbourgoods Market. Upon visiting the market on non-market days, both during weekdays and weekends, it became evident that people within the immediate context were aware of the market as a monthly occurrence, but were not familiar with the activities offered. There are no permanent markers of the LoCrate Market in Orlando West. There is no signage to show that the market was present, the paces are relatively clear of rebel and junk thus no trace of the market is left. The presence of the market does not affect the social activities non-market days, and is furthermore unfelt beyond the first streets surrounding the markets on non-market days. The music from the market cannot be heard further than one street from the market, and the influx of people into the space do not venture into the residential area either.

While the market has a poor presence in the space, it does represent the beginning of a diversification of recreational township activities for local tourists. Thus, while the contribution of the two markets to urban identity differs, the markets have both had an influence on the perceptions held of the neighbourhoods. A number of users solely

visit the neighbourhoods for the market whereas others visit the space on non-market days to explore the rest of the neighbourhood. It is thus evident that the markets themselves are social events in their neighbourhoods.

There is diversity in the users of both the Neighbourgoods and LoCrate market. The participants at the Neighbourgoods Market were all from outside of the neighbourhood. All the participants, including the Braamfontein residents, had chosen to come to the market for recreational or tourism purposes rather than only shopping from the stalls.

The market users of the LoCrate market provide quite contrasting perspectives of the market. For different users, the market had a different purpose, hence different contributions to the township. For the female resident, Sandile, the market was perceived as an unwelcoming space for people who were not there to shop. Sandile saw the market as an extension of Vilakazi Street and a space she did not visit. She, on the other hand, saw the market as a needed component of the neighbourhood that took a space that was used for illicit activities into a space that provided a positive perception of the neighbourhood. For non-residents the market was perceived as a space for local tourism that, as mentioned above, provided locals with a space for recreational activities that are more affordable.

At the Neighbourgoods Market, the majority of participants saw the market as a space where they could both unwind and explore a piece of the neighbourhood. A participant who was at the market for the purpose of work contrasted their views. He felt that while he had a positive experience of the market, it was not a place he would willingly visit for recreational purposes, through his experience living in the neighbourhood, the market was avoided because the character of the space was uninviting for him – he felt excluded because the type of people he saw visiting the market were more affluent than he is.

The Neighbourgoods Market remains a permanent feature of the neighbourhood on non-market days. While the space where the market is held is used as a parking garage, there are still elements of the market within the space. You find signboards for different stalls, the lighting fixtures are permanent features, and the bare bones of the market are clearly defined in the space. You see the skeleton of the market. The overall character of the Neighbourgoods Market resonates throughout the character of Juta Street. While the presence of the market is unfelt and the streets are filled with

people, the space becomes seemingly less inclusive because the diversity seen over the Saturday market day is reduced.

Issues around exclusivity of urban environments and the creation of enclaves are difficult ones with very few practical solutions. As the literature showed, there are various ways of dealing with issues of urban decay. In the case of urban renewal, the contingencies include financial burdens at the large scale, and enclaves and exclusion and the more rather practical small scale to development. Spaces such as markets have a strong presence in places and are sometimes the central feature of a place. More importantly, they serve as spaces of interaction. The perceptions people hold of these places resonates with how they identity with the neighbourhood at large. People unfamiliar with the neighbourhood can discern that a dominant culture exists that is attractive to a variety of users. For outsiders the space is an expression of what the city at large is like or could be like.

The contribution of marketplaces to neighbourhood identity is subject to context. While marketplaces are developed around a specific concept, as their development manifests in different contexts become a part of the urban fabrics they are located in. Marketplaces thus contribute differently to neighbourhood identity. Altogether, there are commonalities between the markets, and hence common contributions that markets make from the spatial character to their social identities. To a certain degree, the markets project an identity of the neighbourhoods that is in line with the identity created through the urban renewal processes that the neighbourhoods have undergone.

The markets play significant roles is shaping the perceptions people hold of their neighbourhoods. For each neighbourhood the role of urban renewal has been important in establishing the existing identities. In Braamfontein, the process of urban renewal has allowed for the growth and development of the afro-hipster culture, a café-society, a number of up-market restaurants and cafes as well as a buzzing nightlife. Through urban renewal, the physical aesthetics of Braamfontein were developed and improved, making the place an attractive environment for both students living in the area and young adults from around the province. Both markets draw on the identity of the space as it has been redeveloped. I thus observed that the markets are elements that help define the identities that processes of urban renewal sought to encourage. For the Neighbourgoods Market, the market feeds into

the Braamfontein Renewal Project's desire to give the neighbourhood an identity. This market encourages a vibrant perception of the entire neighbourhood. The LoCrate Market also encourages a redefinition of the character of the township. This space, as previously mentioned, has allowed for those that have been to the market to shift their view of the township into an urban space that can afford them a diversity of activities. The market further more does this while empowering local businesses.

Limitations and Research Recommendations

One of the limitations encountered that affected the research was the ability to conduct questionnaires at the markets. Findings were limited to the perceptions of participants in the earlier hours of the market given that the busier the environment got the less convenient it was to interview people. As such, findings that are more detailed emerged from the Neighbourgoods Market than the LoCrate Market. While time was a constraint, this factor had to be considered given that I limited the chosen case studies to periodic markets. While a variety of market typologies exist, I focused on only this market typology as an area of exploration where the non-permanent character of spaces potentially had an influence on the existing fabric. Thus, given the variety of market typologies that exist, it is pertinent that different market places will offer different insights into how markets such as street markets shape urban identity.

My expectations of the relevance of the two marketplaces were shifted through the research process. Initially, and having never been to the LoCrate Market, I expected the markets presence in the neighbourhood to have a greater presence as compared to the Neighbourgoods Market which exists around a variety of entertainment opportunities. Through the research process, the responses of participants, particularly neighbourhood residents that did not participate in the process shed light on how changes in space are not always positively welcomed. The contexts of the two markets differ quite significantly, and while my research began to delve into the issues raised, it opened up an avenue of further research into how the neighbourhood would respond to a more permanent and regular presence of the market. Further research can thus be done on the relationship between the market and the neighbourhood to understand how residents relate to new changes in their space.

One of the responses that emerged through the research was how spaces in townships are not seen as urban spaces. This resonates with a common issue in the South African context, the objectives being to facilitate better connections between the inner city and its surrounding suburbs and townships. Further research can be done through marketplaces as case studies to further understand how the perceptions of South African townships can be re-defined as a part of the broader city. Such can be done in consideration with existing policies that seek to connect southern suburbs with the rest of Johannesburg.

An aspect of my research that was not explored is how the traders view the periodic markets and whether they benefit from such developments. Furthermore, the economic character of Orlando west can also be incorporated in order to understand how the nature of townships is shifting and growing. Orlando West has a strong recreational and tourism base, which can be explored in urban planning. Research can thus seek to understand the relationship between local businesses and markets in order to understand how market users are benefiting from such public spaces and whether traders deem these spaces as relevant for the growth of their businesses in the local context.

A recurring subject that emerged through the research literature and findings was that of exclusivity and access to space. In effect, processes of redeveloping space can be done at two levels. When done at a large scale the outcomes encourage an environment that is welcoming to all and beneficial to the majority if not the whole population. On the other hand, small-scale developments pose the danger of gentrifying spaces and developing enclaved environments and as such, inclusivity to spaces is an issue that developers and planners have to take into consideration. The ethical role that urban planners play becomes important in that professionals should use pragmatic thinking when making decisions that influence how spaces are developed, this means using academic knowledge paired with community participation to come up with forward solutions that negate contingencies that result in the displacement of people based of issues of class or race (Campbell 2005).

The responses from participants at the Neighbourgoods Market reflected that while new development allow for great benefits for urban spaces, the planner still faces issues regarding the creation of spaces that are welcoming to majority and minority groups. I thus recommend that professionals and academics continue seeking ways

to developing spaces that encourage spatial justice and planning spaces for people and their needs. Further research in subjects such as urbanism is needed in order to learn more on how developments such as markets are shaping South African cities. An issue that has gained relevance in the last two decades has been planning for people, hence planning at the human scale in order to create urban environments where people can interact with one another (Gehl 2013). As our urban environments experience changes in lifestyles, the theories of physical planning need to keep up with the times in order to sufficiently plan alongside the needs of urban residents. The principles of new urbanism encourage walkable, well-connected, mixed use, diverse and traditional neighbourhood structures. This century has seen a shift in urban planning approaches that now encourage environments where people interact with both other humans and their environments. A continued analysis of how spaces are used and perceived improves the way in which planners deal with urban space.

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Appendix 1 - Questionnaire

PARTICIPANT ____

1. Age
   Race
   Gender
   Occupation
2. Where do you live? (neighbourhood name): _____

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

3. Have you ever visited this neighbourhood, apart from the market
   YES NO
   Are you familiar with this neighbourhood?
   YES NO
   If yes, how?
   WORK/BUSINESS: _____
   SOCIAL REASONS: _____
   OTHER: _____
4. If you are familiar with the neighbourhood, what activities do you see happening around this neighbourhood?
   How would you classify these activities?
   - Residential
   - Commercial
   - Retail
   - Recreational
   - Tourism
   - Mixed use (what are the mixes)?..... ....

   If you are **not familiar** with the neighbourhood, what types of activities and businesses do you think surround the market based on your experience of the market?
5. How would you describe this neighbourhood?
6. What do you like about the neighbourhood?
7. What do you dislike about the neighbourhood?
8. Do you see a diversity of people in the **neighbourhood**?
   YES NO
9. Is the diversity racial, cultural, ae-specific, gender-specific, or other?
   If other ----- describe:

THE MARKET

1. Is it your first time at the market?
   YES NO
   If no, how many times have you been here? _____
2. How do you know this market? Elaborate on chosen option
   WORD OF MOUTH: _____
   SOCIAL MEDIA: _____
   TELEVISION/RADIO: _____
   OTHER: _____
   _____
3. Is there a specific reason why you chose this market over other recreational spaces in the city/ township?
4. How did you get to the market?
   BUS: (PUBLIC)? (TOUR)?
   WALK:
   TRAIN:
   TAXI (MINIBUS) :
   PRIVATE CAR:
   OTHER (SPECIFY):
5. How long will you stay in the market?
6. Is the market easily accessible?
7. What activities do you plan on taking part in today?
   WORK/BUSINESS: _____

SOCIAL REASONS: _____
OTHER: _____

Where else in the city can you do these activities?
Have you been to any of these markets in the city?
The Sheda@1Fox: Arts on Main (Maboneng); Fodsburg Square Flea market; Panorama Flea Market; Jozi Real Food Market; Joburg Market; Bryanston Organic Market; Rosebank Sunday Market; LoCrate/Neighbourgoods Market; Other: .....

8. Will you explore other parts of the neighbourhood when visiting the market today?
   YES NO
   What other parts of the neighbourhood have you explored, or are planning to explore?
   What activities will you partake in around the market?
   Elaborate:
9. How would you describe the market to others?

MARKETING AND USERS OPINIONS

1. Do you know how the market is marketed?
   i.e. on social media, television or (internet) websites
   Do you know about the market's social media pages and websites?
   Do you know the market's logo?
   Are you familiar with these logos?
2. What are your opinions on the marketing strategies of the market?
   POSITIVE
   NEGATIVE
   Do you think marketing has influence the market?
3. Is the market a creative use of space?
   YES NO
   If yes, what makes the space creative?
   If no, do you think the space should be used for other more relevant activities?
4. Do you see the market as an alternative to malls?
   YES NO
   How so?
5. Do you see the market as representative of the neighbourhood?
6. Do you see the market as a public space or a private place, and why?
7. **What connections do you notice between the market and the city/ neighbourhood?**
8. Do you see a diversity of people in the **market**?
   YES NO
   Is the diversity racial, cultural, ae-specific, gender-specific, or other?
   If other ----- describe:
9. According to your perceptions, what type of people visit this market? E.g.:
   Students Hipsters Young adults Artists and celebrities Hoboes
   Residents of the neighbourhood Adults Families Couples
   Groups of Friends Tourists (local / international)
   Business people / entrepreneurs (here for work or informal business meetings)
   Other _____
10. Do you think the market fits in with this neighbourhood?
    YES NO
    How?
11. Do you fit in with the people you see around the market? i.e. do you feel welcome here?
    YES NO
    How?
12. How would you describe your personal identity
    I am:
13. Do you see other people that **share** your **personal identity**?
    YES NO
14. Do you like/dislike the market?
    LIKE DISLIKE
    Why?
15. How does the market **impact your experience** of the neighbourhood?
    POSITIVELY
    NEGATIVELY
16. Would you return to the **market**, for what reasons?
    Would you return to explore more of the **neighbourhood**? Why?

Appendix 2 – Photo Collages

The photo collages below give visual representation of observations made at the Neighbourgoods Market and the LoCrate Market. They serve as additions that further elaborate on what the character of the different studied spaces look like. The elements of identity portrayed through these images are key to the research findings as they help the reader visualise the character of the spaces explored.



A view of DeBeer Street from the Neighbourgoodss Market





A view of Juta Street from the top of 77 Juta Street



Graffiti - political expression



A little enclave, 77 Juta Street



Street performance - Zulu dance



Early evenings - sitting on the curb, Juta Street

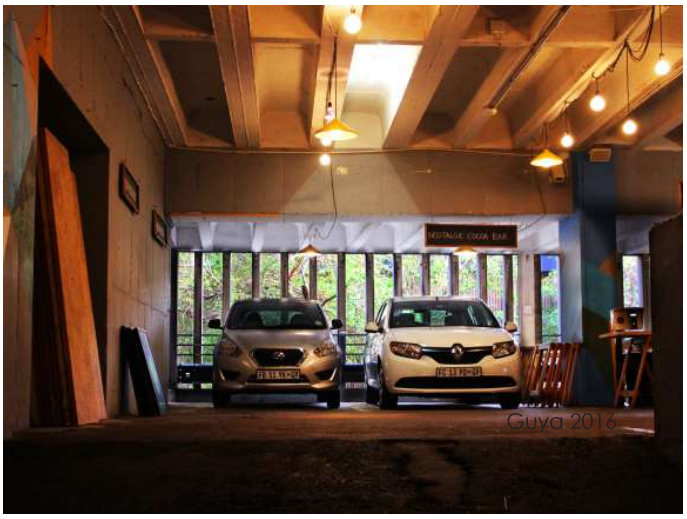


Safe, walkable alleyway leading to the neighbourgoods market



The Grove (Square)

Neighbourgoods Market - Characteristics (Appendix 2B)



Market as garage



Tables remain on non-market days



Ramp and bleachers



Diversity at table



Craft beer stand



Belgian waffles for R40-00



Market at peak hour



Bar/Market/Seating area



Photographers and live music

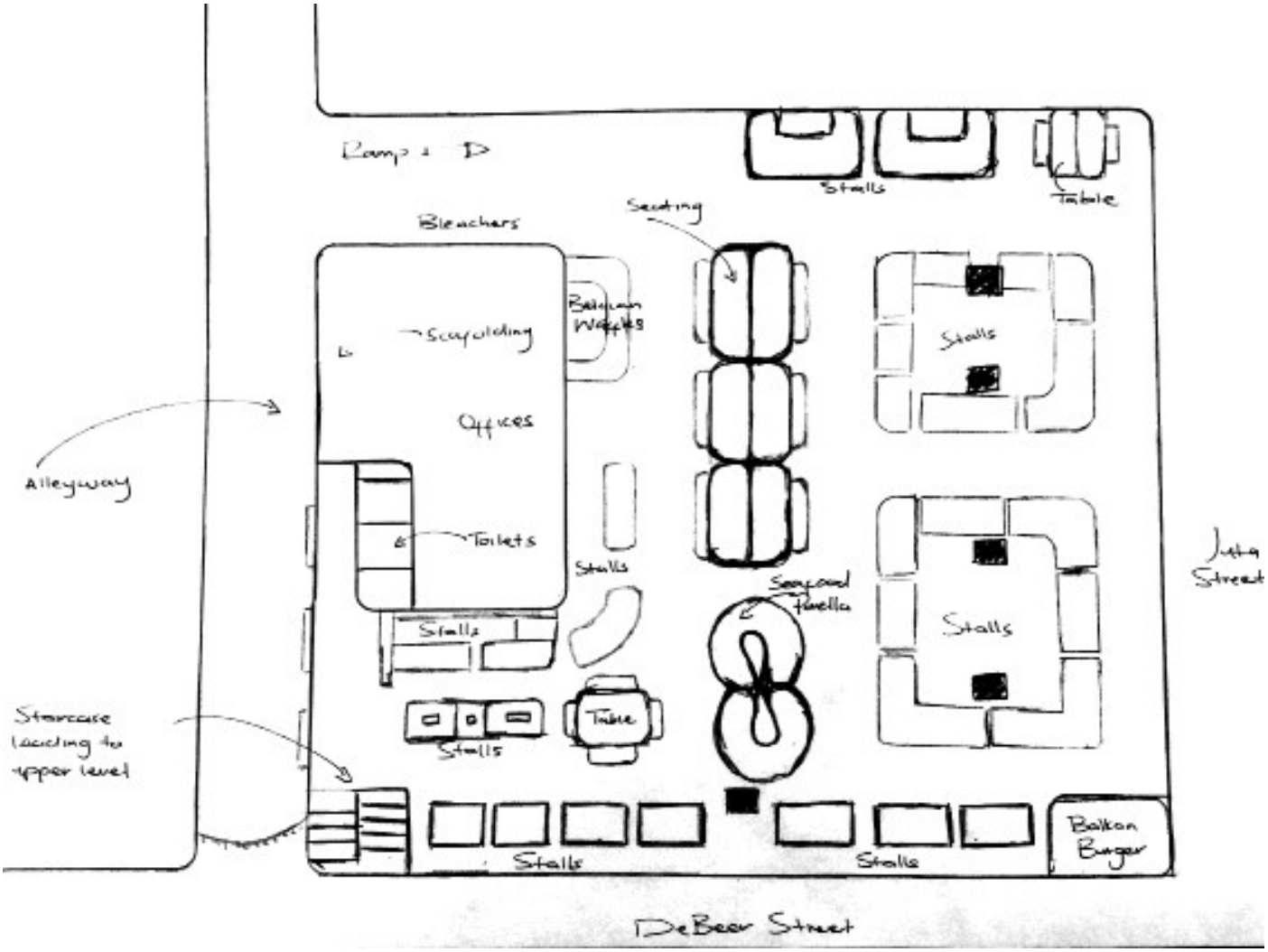
Parking garage - The market sapce is filled with cars on non-market days

The entrance to the market is characterised by people walking in and out, as well as seating along the bleachers

The lower level of the market sapce - people walking around, sitting in groups or individually having food.

The upper level - Bar area where people sit or stand around tables with food and drinks.

Neighbourgoods Market - Layout (Appendix 2C)



A layout of the lower level of the Neighbourgoods Market on a Saturday.

Orlando West - Characteristics (Appendix 2D)



Dense township layout



Public transport - BRT



'Braai' on the road side



June 16 - Phefeni Secondary



Hector Pieterson Museum



Landmark - The Mandela Home



Public exhibition wall



June 16 - Street Art; Red pavement



Wall art - Home on Malie Street



Street filming - Soweto TV



Street trading - Vilakazi Street



Local businesses - Zintozinhle



Tourists in Orlando West



Residents strolling



Children playing - Market's plot



Panoramic view of the market space from the end of Moema Street



Entering the market through Bhejane Street - A view of the stalls



Bench area



Self-made seating



Local area advertising



Vintage clothes shopping



Traditional handbags



Crafts - Home decor



Gourment burger food truck



Yamama concentrate juices



Teka famba - takeaway braai meat and pap

LoCrate Market - Layout (Appendix 2F)



The layout of the LoCrate market on the 07th of August 2016 - The layout of the market differes with every market day, but a general layoput is kept consistent throughout the year. The market area is always fenced to control movemnt in and out of the space.