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BRINGING ORDER TO THE CITY: INFORMAL STREET TRADING IN THE JOHANNESBURG CBD

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment, University of Witwatersrand Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Science in Development Planning

Johannesburg 2008

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Masters of Science in Development Planning at University of Witwatersrand Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university.

_____
Signature of candidate

_____ Day of _____ 2008

DEDICATION

To Fred and Edna (Fredna) the best parents anybody can have.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I would like to sincerely thank the Lord God Almighty from the bottom of my heart, he made all this possible as many times when I felt like giving up he carried me along.

I would like to acknowledge with absolute gratitude the assistance I have had from people in writing and carrying out this research report. Many thanks to my supervisor Professor Alan Mabin for comments and advice given towards this work and all the members of staff in the Planning Department who offered insights and help in many ways. Thanks also go to the informants used in this research. Many thanks too to my classmates for being helpful in one way or another, these were a good two years of getting to know you all.

Special heartfelt thanks go to all the wonderful friends I have who never stopped believing in me especially to Bana Chungu, Tawila and Mwangala for the never ceasing prayers, support and encouragement. To my family I love you all so much and I can never say thank you enough. Mum and Dad where would I be without you; Chibole, Vincent (my brother-in-law), Mwansa, Longa and Nsofwa my amazing siblings tight like voltron for life – your love, prayers, encouragement and inspiration kept me going from the beginning of this course right up to the end of it.

THANK YOU, BE BLESSED!

ABSTRACT

Informal street trading has played a role in the decline of the inner city. In restoring the inner city to its splendor and attracting people plus investments back into it, there has been an acknowledgement of informal street trading and a move to organise the activity. The City of Johannesburg has taken action towards dealing with informal street trading within the CBD by having trading and non-trading zones, constructing markets and providing stalls along pavements in busy streets from where traders can sell. This study was carried out as a response to the major issue at hand of cleaning up the city and ridding the streets of informal traders and only letting them trade in a controlled manner preferably in enclosed markets. While not dwelling on matters of whether regulating traders is good or bad, the main purpose of the study was to probe into the systemisation of informal street trading in the CBD, further investigating the alternative of a street market as that which can be done in other parts of the inner city as a means of keeping the vibrancy of the city through the provision of minimal infrastructure.

Hence, this study explored the functionality of a street market plus certain issues pertaining to informal street trading in terms of what is being done in regulating the activity, whether trading permits are being issued and whether traders are more secure trading from designated trading areas. The outcomes were then used to outline any lessons learned from the case study that can in turn be applied or be used as an insight to other parts of the inner city. In analysing informal street trading in the inner city and Kerk Street, street market it was shown that the provision of minimal infrastructure through a street market enables informal street trading to be controlled and managed in a well organised open environment while maintaining a vibrant area in which both traders and passer-bys are able to interact.

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LIST OF ACCRONYMS

CBD - Central Business District

RDP - Reconstruction Development Programme

JDA - Johannesburg Development Agency

ITDP - Informal Trading Development Programme

MTC - Metro Trading Company

CJP - Central Johannesburg Partnership

CID - City Improvement District

RSDF - Regional Spatial Development Framework

SDF - Spatial Development Framework

CCTV - Circuit Controlled Television

NPM - New Public Management

IDP - Integrated Development Planning

BID - Business Improvement District

RID - Retail Improvement District

JMPD - Johannesburg Metro Police Department

"Unmanaged trading is a critical issue," Executive mayor, Amos Masondo
(Addressing Inner City Summit May 2007, taken from Cox, 2007)

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

"A vibrant city makes it an exciting place to live in filled with energy and exhilaration, one where there are many contrasts with different activities coexisting." (Khobthong, 2005)

Informal trade can be defined as: trade in legal goods and services taking place outside the law (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005a). It may include trading without a permit, trading outside formally designated trading locations and non-payment of municipal taxes or self-provisioning of shelter for trading (ibid). Informal street trade ranges from vegetable and fruit sellers, clothes selling, food cooking, barbers and hairdressers. Bromley (1979) says that informal sector activities are mainly ignored, seldom supported, often regulated and sometimes actively discouraged by government. It is observed to still be the case in most developing countries as very few have found ways of incorporating informal street traders into urban development, because they are usually seen as encroachers who bring disorganisation into the city. Street trading is thus usually perceived by the public and the city as representing a decline within a city which then leads to encouraging interventions that seek to exclude or remove traders totally from the streets as a way of stopping the city's decline.

Informal street trading is considered to be associated with being unsightly, vast amounts of litter, obstruction and congestion of pavements, crime, unhygienic surroundings and deterioration of infrastructure (Thale, 2002). For this reason, the City of Johannesburg is determined to remove informal traders from trading randomly on the streets but at the same time create appropriate locations where street vendors can still sell their commodities and earn a living. Through the regulation of hawking, some traders have been moved into built markets, while others occupy stalls along streets and others just sell on vacant available spaces within trading zones. This move may have helped to clean up some of the streets of congestion but has also damaged the livelihoods of hawkers by

removing them from passing foot trade and forcing them into overtraded markets (Harrison, 2006). It therefore implies that with the development of formal markets, stalls and specific trading zones trading anywhere and anyhow in the city is prohibited. As, the City of Johannesburg aims to clean up the streets and hopes to reach a point where there are no informal street traders trading on the streets but rather operating in formal markets only. These interventions may bring order and efficiency to the inner city but may also create isolated unnatural urban spaces with no vibrancy.

The City of Johannesburg is controlling and managing informal street trade within the inner city so as to clean up the crime and grime and make it better and more attractive to investments (see Appendix A). But, placing traders in enclosed markets can leave the inner city lifeless with no activity on the streets therefore distracting the city from creating a World Class African City. Nonetheless, this does not mean that there should completely be no traders trading on the streets, but rather they can be managed and also abide with the city by-laws so as not to kill the vibrancy of the inner city. As outlined by Beavon (2004), even though the six CID's that existed in the inner city by 2003 provided a clean safe environment, they nevertheless seemed to be sterile with no life in them. He therefore showed that when an area is improved upon and ordered, the energy and activity that different activities bring may be removed. Hence, there can be strain created between municipal control of informal street trading and maintaining the vibrancy of the city, thus making it hard to reach a balance between the two.

Hence, this study titled *BRINGING ORDER TO THE CITY: INFORMAL STREET TRADING IN THE JOHANNESBURG CBD,* focused on showing how informal street trading can still be controlled and managed through a minimalist approach while still being able to maintain a sense of vibrancy in the inner city without confining traders to constructed formal markets only. It sought to understand informal street trading as a broad concept of a street market from which lessons can be learned and applied to other parts of the city. As the street market concept is believed to help do away with congested pavements, it captures passing foot traffic customers and helps define urban space. The study further explored matters surrounding the regulation of informal street trading

within the inner city of Johannesburg, with specific interest of the City's advancement in relation to the management of this activity. However, it should be noted that the study did not intend to assess the good nor bad of informal street trading, but rather examined the managing and controlling of informal street trading in the CBD as a means of cleaning up the city's streets by looking at interventions that have been undertaken thus far. With Kerk Street, street market being used as a case study to show another possibility of organising informal street trading in the CBD. It should however be noted that the informal street trading that is considered in this study involves the simple buying and selling of goods.

Informal street trading is identified as the economic activity that is engaged in the selling of goods and services to the public as a means of earning a living while using public space (Ligthelm and van Wyk, 2004). The public space that is referred to here is places such as pavements in front of shops, streets, town squares and public parks. Hence, informal street trading occurs within public space, which is considered to be public property. The implications thus being that informal street trading management needs to be centered on how public space will be allocated and how traders may be regulated in a more realistic way. And so through the undertaking of this study the main question that was passed was: what does the provision of minimal infrastructure through a street market contribute to controlling and managing informal street trading within the CBD and what does it contribute to retaining the vibrancy of the inner city?

1.2 Justification of the study

Informal traders are seen as the people who crowd the city streets and sidewalks such as petty traders, street vendors, barbers and vegetable sellers (Bromley, 2000). The City of Johannesburg has committed itself to improve urban management i.e. the proper management and maintenance of the public environment with unmanaged trading being considered as an important concern (Cox, 2007). Thus, organising informal street trading is considered to be one of the ways of helping restore the CBD as Johannesburg's primary business centre (ibid). It is usually observed that informal traders generally

operate at the mercy of urban authorities, as they are sometimes required to move in order to give way for planned development. Traders trade from certain places for a reason. Usually the areas they trade from are advantageous for their sales since there is a great frequency of people passing through on a daily basis.

Hence, this study was instigated because the city wants to rid the streets in the inner city of informal street traders by keeping them enclosed in built up markets or only allowing them to trade from stalls in trading zone areas as a means of achieving urban renewal. This then led to thinking of whether there could be alternatives to managing informal street trading in the inner city other than constructed markets and if these markets take away the vibrancy of the inner city. Therefore the justification of this study was to investigate an alternative to managing informal street trading and show that trading can operate in an organised clean environment that is vibrant and aesthetically blends into the urban fabric.

By only wanting traders to trade from formal markets, the city is trying to achieve a utopian kind of environment where all appears orderly and in place. However, it is futile to plan a city's appearance or speculate on how to endow it with a pleasing appearance or order without knowing what sort of innate functioning order it has (Jacobs, 1992:14). The study does not go into details of whether order is needed and is a good thing, but order is discussed because the municipality feels there is need for it and has taken action towards managing and controlling informal street trading in the CBD. Furthermore, it was stated by the executive mayor, Amos Masondo that it is the City's view that, as is the case in many countries and cities, informal trading should be legally controlled and properly managed with trading occurring only in areas that have suitably been designated for this particular purpose (Cox, 2007). Thus, the study is discussed and carried out in the context of creating a World Class African City where a substantial number of people are making a living through informal trading and the City is trying to make a better city for all and embarking on means and ways of tackling informal street trading within the inner city. Since informal street trading is being organised, there is a need to explore other alternatives so as not to destroy the vibrancy of the city that it adds and thus not ending

up with streets and sidewalks that are deserted with no life on them. It has been noticed that the CBD, like so many of its kind world wide, is effectively dead at night and depending on which part of it you are in is either sleazy or sterile by day (Beavon, 2004). For this reason, the research investigated the functionality of a street market within the CBD as a way of exploring an alternative that can be duplicated in other parts of the city so as not to kill the vibrancy of the city, reduce congestion on pavements and provide a good trading environment for traders and their customers with minimal infrastructure provision so that traders do not end up bearing the costs of constructed markets many years down the line.

1.3 Background

Varied economic, social and political forces that function in our society have led to hawking coming into existence over time (Beavon, 1981). Informal street traders fall within the informal sector and, as rapid urbanisation takes place in most developing countries; more people migrate to urban areas in search of better opportunities. Urbanism usually results in social instability, insecurity and anonymity, which leads to individualistic survival mechanisms among urban residents (Alsayyad, 2004). Hence, it is seen that people living in urban areas turn to the informal sector as a means of survival as it requires very little money for them to start up operations. However, there are failures to accept the role that informality plays in survival strategies of the poor and that it has a form and logic which may not conform to the norms of modernity, but is nonetheless a rational response to poverty and marginalisation on its own terms (Harrison et al, 2008). Informality has mainly been seen and associated with underdevelopment and considered as something that exists in the present with no meaningful future (Bromley, 1979). It is thus observed that developing countries try to do away with informal street trading in cities as a means of achieving development and measuring the extent of development that has been achieved by comparing their cities to western ones. Nevertheless, urban areas usually face a problem of reconciling the growth of informal economic activities on one hand and modernising while un-polluting the urban eco-system on the other hand (Perera and Amin, 1994). Thus, it is observed that cities face problems of integrating the growth

of informal trading into their urban development without necessarily rejecting this activity as that which pollutes the urban environment and holds back the cities from achieving modernity.

In Johannesburg, street trading has been a high profile issue because of the concern about office decentralisation from the CBD (Skinner, 2000). Informal trading is something that has existed in the CBD for a long time and has over time experienced rapid growth. In the past there was an attempt to completely do away with informal trading, as there were restrictions on who was allowed to trade within the CBD. A succession of governments during apartheid tried in vain to get rid of the sector and then the lifting of restrictions in the late 1980's gave rise to rapid uncontrolled growth of informal trading (Thale, 2002). It is therefore seen that before the 1980's, it was hard to get a trading licence and traders were not allowed to trade. Then, from the late 1980's onwards, the adoption of a free market approach led to an increase in street traders within the CBD along with the fact that trading restrictions were removed leading to dirty congested streets, which made businesses lose confidence in the city council. As a result, the city council was seen as not enforcing by-laws and falling short in controlling informal street trading. Nevertheless, the demands from property owners in Johannesburg's CBD in 1999 led to the city trying to remove all traders from the street and relocating them to markets (Skinner, 2000).

During the period of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), from 1994 to the early 2000's, there was increased inner city decay and the progression of office decentralisation from the CBD which had major damaging costs on the inner city (Harrison, 2006). Though in the late 1990's, there was a change of focus and the main concern was towards creating an efficient business environment and arresting processes of urban decay (ibid). A regeneration process for the city was embarked upon in 2000, which later led to the establishment of the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) whose concern was to support inner city renewal (Rogerson, 2004). The key strategies for renewal included the creation of business improvement districts, crime prevention, informal trade management, taxi management and by-law enforcement (Harrison, 2006).

Metro Trading Company (MTC) and Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) were the two organisations that were consulted to carry out this research as they do a substantial amount of work with informal trade management within the inner city of Johannesburg. MTC is responsible for the management of informal trade markets, stalls and taxi ranks throughout the city. MTC was established for the purpose of the development, management, marketing and business development of informal trading markets (http://www.metrotrading.co.za). MTC's role is to manage well-located and designed informal trader markets throughout the city with a major objective being the social and economic development of traders (http://www.metrotrading.co.za). On the other hand, CJP as an urban manager is a facilitator of change within the inner city and deals with informal trade management largely because these traders fall within their jurisdictions of City Improvement Districts (CIDs). Through MTC, street trading is regulated by issuing traders with trading licenses, removing traders from trading in forbidden areas and putting them into markets and ensuring that they are adhering to the by-laws of trading.

Council policy envisions that trading should take place in markets, stalls and other demarcated spaces only (Dlamini, 2004). The City's Informal Trading Development Programme (ITDP) which is part of the council's policy to manage the impact of informal trading on the city's infrastructure and help develop a vibrant and diverse trading sector; plans to provide traders with appropriate facilities, limit the number of traders to the carrying capacity of an area and prevent unregulated trade (http://www.joburg.org.za). As a result, the City of Johannesburg has taken action to legally control and manage informal street trading. That is why the city has so far built formal markets and provided sheltered demarcated spaces that traders can trade from and have also identified trading and non-trading zones within the inner city. The City has thus embarked on an extensive informal trade management programme involving various stakeholders as part of its urban renewal plan so as to make the inner city more attractive to businesses. However, urban renewal should not be done at the expense of informal street traders as they also have the right to the city and should be provided for within an environment that is conducive for them.

1.4 Problem Statement

Even though there continues to be a reluctance to accept the existence of informal street trading fitting into a developed global city, it is noticed that it continues to rise. It was believed that with development and modernisation in cities, informal trading and the informal sector would eventually disappear. But, many years later informal trading is still thriving and growing. It therefore goes to show that informal trading is not an activity that will just disappear. This has in turn led to pressure on urban managers to undertake the regulation of informal trading for which a gradually more developmental approach has been supported (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005b). Through regulating informal trading, comes plans such as those that involve traders being restricted to operating from formal markets. These markets should not however be seen just as a means of trying to clean up city streets of informal traders but mainly as stimulation places where traders have the widest possible range of trading opportunities (Dewar and Watson, 1990).

The urban management of the city takes into account issues such as the management of formal markets and the registration and licensing of informal traders. The City of Johannesburg embarked on a developmental approach in which to provide formal markets as an expanded programme of support for street trading. Thus, it is noticed that the City has moved from a situation where informal street trading was uncontrolled and unmanaged to it being controlled and managed by building markets, provision of street stalls and by designating certain areas of the city to be used as trading zones. The markets that have been built in the CBD are Metro Mall, Yeoville, Hillbrow and Faraday Markets with other markets being in the pipeline to be built in the near future. Added to this, trading stalls have been put up along busy streets that have quite a lot of pedestrian traffic flow such as Bree, Jeppe, Small and Market Streets with certain precincts such as Braamfontein, Constitutional Hill and Newtown to be considered as non-trading areas. With the whole idea being that trading zones are kept in areas near places of public transport and high pedestrian traffic.

Certain areas of the city are seen to be crowded with traders on pavements along busy streets and there does not seem to be enough space for all these traders in trading zones. The city is controlling and managing informal trading to regenerate the inner city and bring order to the inner city so as to attract investments back into it. However, this does tend to impact on the city in many ways such as by ending up with over traded markets, lifeless streets, traders bearing running costs of markets in the long run and pushing traders away from passing foot trade. As a result, some form of tension between municipal control and maintaining the vibrancy of the city ends up being created in the quest of trying to achieve a World Class African City. It is not known what impact municipal control has on the vibrancy of the inner city. It thus raises some questions such as: what happens when the municipality regulates informal street trading and how does this impact on the vibrancy of the city? Apart from providing constructed formal markets all around the inner city, the City of Johannesburg could possibly look at other feasible ways in which adequate infrastructure could be provided for traders other than constructed markets in which traders would most likely end up bearing the running costs in the long run. In addition to this, what happens when a minimalist approach to organising informal street trading is undertaken such as in Kerk Street street market and does this form of regulation work?

The argument for this research is whether or not the City has really taken a developmental approach towards tackling informal street trading. Arguably at one end, there is the traditional approach of where regulation/control of street traders means traders being enclosed in constructed markets such as the ones that have been built so far with all being orderly and in place therefore removing the vibrancy that exists on these streets. While, on the other end, it can be argued that traders can be kept on the street in an orderly manner bringing with them a form of energy and life and maintaining the vibrancy. So, this research investigates the functionality of a street market so as to explore how it contributes to controlling and managing informal street trading and if it does help in retaining the vibrancy of the inner city. In view of the situation that has been presented, the hypothesis for this study was that the liveliness of the inner city is

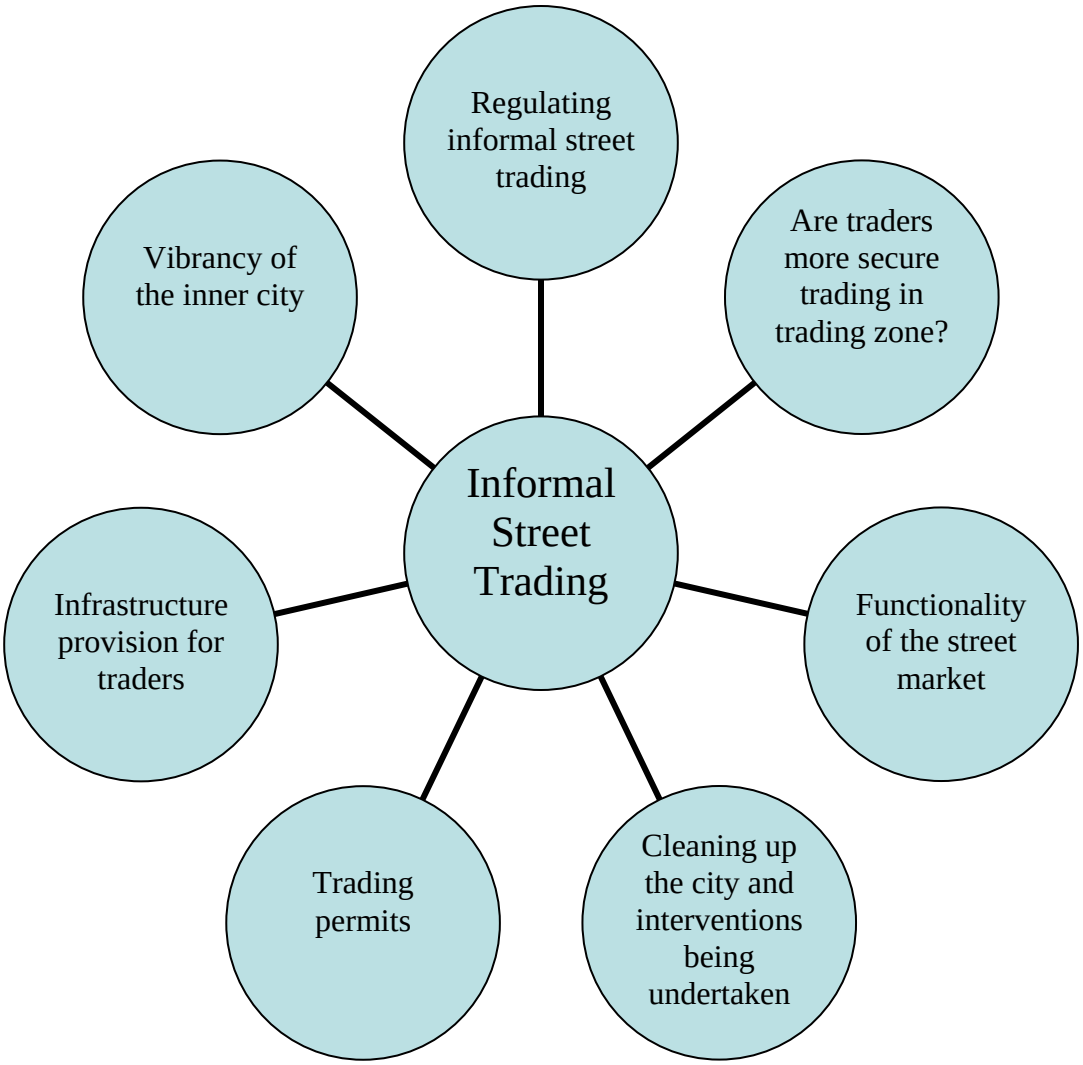
destroyed through the municipal control of informal street trading and perhaps there is a different alternative of a minimalist approach to it other than constructed markets.

Hence, based on the scenario that has been presented, it would be informative to find out if traders do have trading permits and how they are obtained, the functionality of the street market, the trading environment in which traders trade in and the provision of trading infrastructure. This would enable one to examine how this “order” is being managed and whether or not the City is actually doing what they say they are doing. Further, using the case study of the research to explore the possibility of informal street trading being conducted in a street market and investigate how this form of regulation is performing.

1.6 The Research Questions

The diagram on the next page shows the relevant issues that were singled out as areas of focus in the study.

Figure 1: Areas of focus for the study



Source: Author

The main research question was:

- What does the provision of minimal infrastructure through a street market contribute to controlling and managing informal street trading within the CBD and what does it contribute to retaining the vibrancy of the inner city?

The sub-questions below were formulated to help answer the main one above:

- What is the street market's impact on the traders?

- Through the regulation of informal street trading are traders being issued with trading permits?
- What kind of trading environments are traders operating from? This is in terms of traders being secure in trading areas and infrastructure provision.
- What is the street market's impact on maintaining or bringing some vibrancy to that area of the inner city?

Vibrancy or liveliness of the inner city is used interchangeably and this refers to the energy and activity that the city experiences with certain activities happening in it. The trading environment in this instance refers to the area that trading is happening in. With reference to issues of whether traders are being issued with trading permits, expense of trading from designated places in terms of how much do traders pay to operate from specific area and customer availability i.e. if it is an area where many people pass through daily and if they are secure in trading area. Secure in this study refers to traders having the right to trade from a specific area with them not being subjected to removals because the area is considered to be a non-trading zone and not being vulnerable to their goods being confiscated. The trading environment further takes into account issues of how the regulation of informal street traders is being implemented and how the street market is operated and managed. It should however be noted that these questions were only targeted at the case study that was used in which the answers may be perceived to provide insight to the inner city as a whole.

1.7 Methodology

A qualitative approach was used to undertake this research. The methodological tools used were: literature review, interviews with the traders and officials from organisations that work with informal street trading in the inner city and a case study. The first approach to the study was to choose a topic of interest that was problematic, in this case informal street trading in the CBD. Then, a wide range of literature was read so as to know what has been written about this topic and what is happening with regards to informal street trading in the inner city of Johannesburg. The literature review cultivated

various concerns and issues surrounding the subject which further helped in choosing a specific area of study. Next, the aim and the justification of the study were outlined so as to guide the study, with the scope being clearly defined. Matters surrounding the informal sector and informal street trading, which were reviewed in the literature, additionally helped conceptualise relevant theories surrounding the topic and also provided the opportunity to draw upon a wide range of documentary information. This assisted in formulating the questions that the research set out to answer.

After the preliminary stage was done, next was the data collection stage. The data collection process involved both primary and secondary data. The survey method developed for the data collection was based on random sampling. Even though the sample was chosen randomly, it was directly involved with informal street trading in the CBD. The primary data collection involved first hand information of observing the study area and personal interviews. The interviews used on the traders were on a one on one basis with a small random sample being selected. Key informant interviews were also conducted with some officials from offices that work with street trading management within the CBD. The interviews used structured and semi-structured questions and they helped provide an insight into certain issues that were being investigated, which are discussed in further detail in chapter four. The case study helped to have contact with the situation at hand and also see the reality as it was being presented, since it also involved on site observation. The secondary data collection constituted reviewing existing information in the form of documents, text books, published and unpublished articles, newspapers, journals and government publications.

After the data was collected, it was then analysed. This was done by comparing and contrasting the primary and secondary data. Since a qualitative method was used for the study, when the data was analysed it was qualitative and interpretive. Then, the final stage was to engage in a discussion of the findings. Afterwards, recommendations and concluding remarks were made.

The case study used was Kerk Street street market where the road has been closed off and pedestrianised for trading purposes. The market is surrounded by a lot of other retail shops plus offices which traders capitalise on. It is through this case study that the success or failure of this market was investigated and further used to answer the research questions.

It should be noted that the scope of this research does not involve the whole inner city, but focuses on a particular area with the findings being able to be applied to other areas of the inner city too. The case study proved to have relevance to the research in the sense that this street market appeared to have a sense of energy in it, well organised, well located and orderly.

1.8 Outline

The report has been structured into six chapters. It is written in a manner that moves from a broad view of the subject that then focuses on the case study in the Johannesburg CBD. The chapter outline in this research report has been divided as follows:

Chapter two engages in an extensive literature review that was explored, looking at the kinds of studies that have been done with regards to informal street trading and what kind of themes that have emerged from these studies. This chapter engages in discussion of theories that were deemed relevant to informal street trading and necessary to discuss in this research. It further engages into an overview discussion of informal trading and the different aspects of it. It also brings to light the multifaceted view on what has been done with regards to regulating street trading, accordingly engaging into a discussion of what has emerged and how successful it has been.

Chapter three is a continuation of reviewing literature mainly in the form of documents and looks at planning with regards to informal street trading in the Johannesburg context. The chapter will dwell on a discussion of the kinds of planning interventions that have been taken in Johannesburg and how they may have impacted on informal street trading.

In addition, the chapter will also consider a brief history of the inner city and the organisation that manages the street market as a way of presenting the setting for the case study.

Chapter four discusses the research design and the case study as well as the steps taken to collect the information. The chapter shall describe the case study i.e. Kerk Street, street market. The chapter further engages in a discussion of why this market was chosen as a case study and how it was hoped that through this case study evidence for arguments raised would be provided thus enabling one to answer the research questions.

Chapter five presents the research findings from the study and further engages in a discussion of the analysis of data.

Chapter six presents the summary and conclusions while outlining some lessons learned from this study. Finally, some recommendations based on the outcomes of the research are made.

1.9 Conclusion

Informal street trading is considered to be a major sector within the informal economy that continues to develop through an insistent abundance of survivalist ventures. This chapter has presented an introduction to what the study is concerned with and has outlined the structure of the report. The City of Johannesburg is determined to tackle the issue of unmanaged informal street trading within the CBD while the inner city goes through a process of urban renewal. But, as much as the urban renewal process tries to clean up the city through redevelopment so as to bring investment back into the inner city, this cannot be done at the expense of informal street traders. Consequently, there is a need for informal traders to be provided for adequately as it shall be seen in the chapters to follow.

CHAPTER TWO: AN OVERVIEW OF INFORMAL TRADING

"As we enter the 21st century, it is clear that the informal sector is here to stay and needs to be better understood." (Carr and Chen, 2001:4)

2.1 Introduction

After presenting what the research is about in the previous chapter, this chapter engages in a discussion of the theoretical framework, literature reviewed and discussions on informal trading. Firstly, the theoretical framework that was necessary to this study is discussed. Then, an overview of informal trading is presented therefore going into discussions of defining it, perceptions, debates, growth, regulation and challenges faced. In addition, the thinking behind informal trading and what has been happening in this sector both locally and internationally shall also be looked at in this chapter.

2.2 Literature Review

Urban economic change occurring throughout the world has been accompanied by the growth of the informal economy. In many African cities, the informal economy dominates over the formal economy providing not only a virtual means of income generation for the urban poor, but also ensuring that cities are adequately provisioned (Bromley, 2000). There has, however, been a broad sense of feeling from supporters of this activity that the urban informal economy should be viewed positively by policy and is to be encouraged.

There is a wide range of literature on the informal sector from which ideas about informal trading were drawn, thus providing some useful insights. A substantial amount of literature has also been written about street trading, with various viewpoints on the subject being looked at. The more detailed literature review looked at specific documents, policies and articles, with specific interest to material that has been produced by City of Johannesburg.

2.3 Theoretical framework

Cities are shaped and changed by various schools of thought and theories. Theory is said to be a proposed assumption or explanation of the way things happen around us which helps to provide a clear lens to look at the world (Schwandt, 1997). A study is guided and situated within a particular context through a set of theories known as the conceptual framework (Creswell, 1998). The research looked at some theoretical concepts that were thought to be necessary to draw ideas from. This study did not begin with a theory then try to prove it, but rather began with an area of study and what was relevant to this particular study was allowed to emerge. It is these concepts and processes that the research was centred around and they formed the foundation of the research design. Additionally, these theories also assisted in receiving a better understanding of how they have had an influence on the thinking behind dealing with informal street trading.

However, theories alone should not be relied upon, but rather one should look closely, and with as little previous expectation as is possible, at the most ordinary scenes and events and attempt to see what they mean and whether any threads of principle emerge from them (Jacobs, 1992). The implication of this is that, in as much as there could be a need to control and manage informal street trading, we should appreciate the vibrancy it brings with it which is lost once all the traders are enclosed in constructed markets. The bottom line is that planning does play a role in shaping the city and we should not only be interested in how a city ought to look, but rather embrace the diversity of the city and work with it.

2.3.1 Modernism

Modernist planning came about as a result of the reaction of the industrial cities in the ninetieth century, which was due to the rise of capitalism. Modernism was about sweeping aside past conventions and making a new beginning closely linked to functionalism, of where something is able to fulfill its essential function (Harvey, 1989). For this reason, it is witnessed that modernism was about doing away with unnecessary

detail so as to serve the functionality of things. The planning approach to modernism had an emphasis on rationalism where the planner is seen as a technical expert that is able to analyse the problems of a place and propose solutions (ibid). For example, in modernist planning a problem such as city slums would be solved with a radical solution of slum clearance as it was believed that whatever was inherited from the past was not appropriate to the modern society and should completely be done away with. Thus, this comprehensive rationality approach would ideally want to do away with problems that did not have a place in the modern world and start afresh by planning what was considered to be fitting and accepted.

Hence, modernist planning was the reaction to a process of modernisation and was about mass production and making cities function. Through the notion of making cities function, it was about trying to achieve a utopian environment and a belief in a future in which social problems could be controlled. Modernist approaches to planning are thus based on a comprehensive adaptive decision making style of where the city is seen as an object of mass production i.e. housing, with an emphasis on functional zoning, and builds a new town with controlled expansion through the suburbs further fragmenting the city plus destroying communities (Harvey, 1989). It is this kind of planning that many African countries have a basis from as they adopted this kind of planning from colonial rule where planning was about grand central plans. This is of relevance because it helps understand where the city has come from in terms of planning.

In modernist planning theory, informal street trading was seen as something bad which was not included in the ideal vision of what a city should be. There was no room for street trading in such a world, because everything had to be ordered, efficient and structured (Cross, 2000). Further, modernism in planning was centred on the idea of zoning which was considered to be rational so as to separate the different functions of the city i.e. commerce, industry and housing. For instance, this was observed in Le Corbusier’s contemporary city on which the emphasis was on grand scale design and planning, with the city centre being reserved for commerce and the surrounding areas for residential. Therefore through the lens of modernist planning, street trading was seen as

disorderly and constantly attacked, as it was not viewed as an ideal of public order and state control (Cross, 2000). As a result, it is observed that most African countries provided plans for their cities that did not necessarily include informal street trading since having this occupation in the city was considered as being un-modern. Accordingly, one or two markets were built in the cities, though over time these markets could not accommodate the increase in informal street trading, therefore leading to informal traders setting up wherever they thought to be a profitable place. It is from this kind of history that most developing countries originally started from. This review proposes a framework in which one is trying to move from a situation of not really considering informal street traders as being important enough, to acknowledging that this sector is not disappearing and rather needs to be included in urban planning.

In sum, modernism is concerned with uncovering universal and objective truths plus scientific laws, further invoking themes such as fundamental rationality of human beings' technological mastery over nature and the superiority of scientific method and knowledge, while considering anything being different and unscientific as irrational, thus attempting to order reality with all encompassing theories (Harrison, 1996). Thus it is from here that the story begins even though to a certain extent modernist controls are still carried out in the planning of cities and on informal traders i.e. in the form of severe action being taken to restrict activities of traders so as to maintain the ultimate order.

2.3.2 Postmodernism

Postmodernism refers to the widespread condition recognised in the loss of faith in rationalism and the attempts to simplify and universalise the human situation. It is much concerned with inequalities and differences between people and with the plurality of values and perspectives held by different groups (Harvey, 1989). As is said by the geographer David Harvey that in the field of architecture and urban design postmodernism generally signifies a break from the idea that planning and development should focus on large-scale, metropolitan-wide, technologically rational and efficient urban plans backed by no frills architecture (Harvey, 1989). Since postmodernism

develops instead a notion of the urban fabric as inevitably fragmented, a palimpsest of past forms superimposed upon each other and a patchwork of current uses many of which may be temporary (ibid). Thus, post modernist planning came about as a response to the changes in the organisation of societies and their economic activities. It is also more realistic and accepts that the world is disorderly. It is through this kind of planning that a shift has been made from grand central plans to decentralised urban plans that deal with specific urban realities. Postmodernism is relevant to the study so as to discuss the different kind of approach of thinking towards planning and dealing with multiple layers of reality.

Postmodernism became known as the new deeply destabilising movement that has threatened to overturn the great intellectual and artistic traditions inherited from 19th century Enlightenment (Harrison, 1996). It is further noted in Harrison (1996) that postmodernism is used to describe a style, method and epoch. As a style, it refers to effacement of boundary between art and everyday life collapse of hierarchical distinction between high and mass popular culture, playfulness; as a method it is a form of literary analysis that is concerned with the critical deconstruction of language and text and then as an epoch it refers to the cultural, social and political practices of a new era of which words such as diversity, decentering, entrepreneurialism, localism and individualism spring up (Harrison, 1996: 26). Postmodernism is presented as a challenge to modernism as it emphasises human consciousness, difference, diversity and symbolic meaning, recognising that the world is complex and chaotic therefore celebrating inconsistency, uncertainty, and tolerance towards diversity and difference (ibid). Hence, postmodernism highlights complexity in the sense that the world is too composite to understand, contextuality in terms of understanding when activities happen and where, contingency in the sense that there are different factors at play that contribute to the world around us and criticality in terms of knowing what the hidden meanings are.

However, it can be highlighted that there are some implications for planning from postmodernism that have had or continue to have an impact on the design and layout of urban areas. These implications are outlined below as:

- Reality and perception emerge and intertwine with image triumphing over substance; this is seen in glamorous developments and building of shopping malls.
- Hyper-mobility of capital due to globalisation therefore resulting in international processes and transactions running economic systems across the globe beyond the control of national governments, thus impacting on the fortunes of nations and localities.
- The shift from welfarism and managerialism to entrepreneurialism as the traditional forms of urban governance now have an inclination towards economic development working closely with investors, property speculators and industrialists.
- Democratisation, decentralisation and diffusion of power therefore doing away with authoritarian rule as power is diffused into municipalities and state planners no longer being able to command, impose and control plans as a way of regulating economies as there has been a move towards initiating development at regional and local levels.
- Social polarisation and spatial segregation bringing the aspect of the dual city which is seen to exist in postmodernism, outlining a clear distinction between the rich and poor, the haves and have-nots as some are able to access opportunities while others are not, some losing their jobs to uncertain futures while others are able to become self employed and make money. In addition, the elite having their activities occurring in exclusive spaces while the poor are relegated to the ghetto and out of sight areas.
- Flexible urban form which can be attributed to the global economy as cities are being shaped through investment capital and urban entrepreneurialism on which the focus is on image building plus private sector-led partnerships rather than rationally planned urban development which also brings in aspects of the urban poor shaping cities through informality.
- A loss of faith in master narratives, ideology and utopian visions as postmodernism is an age of skepticism and doubt which is suspicious of

ideological fervor and vision which encourages plans to be fragmented, non-linear, without aspiration to comprehensiveness nor compelling authority.

- Cultural pluralism, fundamentalism, localism, populism which to a certain extent has brought about a renewal of local distinctiveness, regionalism and diverse culture.

(Harrison, 1996: 29-31)

Hence, it is from the implications above that street trading in today's cities is subjected to exist in.

Postmodernism approaches to planning are based on gradually coping with conditions in the decision-making style of where the city is seen as a landscape of the expression of social diversity, with an emphasis on the local context having diversity and mixed land uses along with the town being renewed, regenerated plus contained further being concerned with the communities and city building (Harvey, 1989). Consequently it is observed that postmodernism was incorporated into planning with an importance on deregulation, decentralisation, local perspective, social multiplicity and mixed land use.

With the emergence of post modernity it was found that street trading is a thriving and growing phenomenon that can be attached to the existing changes in the global economy (Cross, 2000). Through postmodernism, a realistic response to the economic, cultural and social world of today is fashioned and individuals are able to gain control over their lives. Postmodernist planning is more open towards the informal sector and it is expected to solve the problems of the informal sector by becoming formal (Cross, 2000). Hence, postmodernism comes with various solutions of how informal street trading can be tackled without having to completely get rid of it. With the emergence of postmodernism, comes a more sensitive way of handling informal street trading and realising that it is here to stay and should be allowed to thrive and be part of urban planning.

To enable the reader to understand the main concepts behind modernist and postmodernism theories better, the differences between the two are outlined in the table below which later provides some guidance in analysing the data.

Table 1: Differences between modernism and postmodernism

Modernism	**Postmodernism**
Hierarchy	Anarchy
Centering	Decentering
Distance	Participation
Grand narrative	Local narrative
Transcendence	Immanence
The “one”	The “many”
Clarity	Ambiguity
Community	Dissemination
The real	The hyper real
Absolutism	Relativism
Foundationalism	Nihilism
Rationalism	Skepticism
Logic	Irony
Paranoia	Schizophrenia
Purpose	Play
Authority	Eclecticism
Utopia	Heterotopias

Source: In Harrison, 1996: 27

2.3.3 New Public Management

The origins of New Public Management (NPM) are associated with the neo-liberal reform agenda introduced in the UK by Margret Thatcher after her election in 1979 (Harrison, 2001). NPM has been happening in many parts of the world since the early 1980's and refers to the principal transformation in management practice within the public sector. The major changes have involved the introduction of private sector management processes and ideas to public services with much greater emphasis on performance, outcomes and accountability to citizens (Harrison, 2001). In Harrison (2001), it is stated that the concepts associated with NPM include performance management, competitive incentives, output controls, service delivery partnerships and goal directed budgeting (Harrison, 2001:178).

In Borins (2000), the characteristics of NPM have been outlined as:

- Providing high-quality services that citizens value
- Demanding, measuring and rewarding improved organisational and individual performance
- Advocating managerial autonomy, particularly by reducing central agency controls
- Recognizing the importance of providing the human and technological resources managers need to meet their performance targets
- Maintaining receptiveness to competition and open-mindedness about which public purposes should be performed by public servants as opposed to the private sector or non-governmental organisations.

In line with these characteristics above, it is further stated that NPM can be interpreted as an agreement between the public and their elected representatives on the one hand and the public service on the other (Borins, 2000). Therefore, in line with NPM, the public and politicians want high quality public services and better performance by public sector organisations and there is willingness to reward strong performance, and to introduce competition within the public or private sectors if public servants do not improve performance (ibid).

NPM talks about the changes in managerial practices within the public sector which has involved the introduction of private sector management processes and ideas into public services. NPM seeks to enhance the efficiency of the public sector and the control that government has over it with the main assumption that more market orientation in the public sector will lead to greater cost-efficiency for governments (Borins, 2000). It brings corporate culture to the public sector and focuses on efficiency and outcomes. With the emergence of NPM come new themes, styles and patterns of public service management which transfers business, market and management principles into the public sector. Therefore, there is a shift from traditional public administration to public management. With the key elements of NPM being: decentralisation of management within the public service, increased use of markets and competition in the provision of services, plus an emphasis on performance outputs and customer orientation (Yamamoto, 2003).

In the past, public servants were expected to give politicians unbiased policy advice and to implement the decisions taken by them so as to secure their jobs (Borins, 2000). By means of the new public management approach we see government departments decentralising and being run in a more corporate way. Thus, there is a situation where politicians focus on policies and allow professionals to implement these policies and further having companies being owned by the City operating as separate entities in collaboration with private public partnerships as a way of achieving greater efficiency. This has lead to cities bringing in consultants to help them with trying to plan their cities better. Hence, it can be said that New Public Management (NPM) has had an influence on post-apartheid policy in South Africa as it is through this thinking that notions and ideas of Integrated Development Planning (IDP) and Spatial Development Frameworks (SDF) stem from in response to decentralisation and dealing with the realities of urban areas.

2.4 Defining informal street trading

According to the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality street trading by-laws, a single act of selling, offering or rendering of services in a public space shall constitute

street trading (City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality Street Trading By-laws). Specific studies that have been done on informal street trading such as Bromley (2000), Cross (2000), Mitullah (2004) and Bhowmik (2005) all acknowledge street trading as an economic activity that occurs in urban areas with a number of people making a living out of it. Informal street trading can be said to simply be the retail or wholesale trading of goods and services in streets and other related public spaces. Informal street trading is a very old and significant livelihood strategy found practically in every country and major city around the world (Bromley, 2000). In addition, it has generally been viewed as a phenomenon in developing countries and informality does not necessarily mean that it is illegal. Informality suggests that the distinction between appropriate and inappropriate economic behavior is not a matter of laws or markets but of definition, motives and power (Cross, 2000).

Informal street vending can be defined as the offering of goods for sale to the public without having permanent built up structures to sell from therefore occupying public space (Bhowmik, 2005). Informal trading covers an assortment of activities that involve different working relationships that can range from self employment to paid or casual workers and basically involves the buying and selling of goods or services. It is seen to operate full time or part time and may be run by one person, salary person or consist of divisions of off street businesses. Street trading is a remarkably persistent form of commercial activity and yet it is highly diverse and flexible (Bromley, 2000). Informal trading can be considered to be anything from a survival strategy to petty capitalism (Bromley, 2000). Informal trading usually comprises of people who do not have the skills to get jobs in the formal sector or even people who were formerly employed in the formal sector but lost their jobs. It should however be noted that informal street traders do not only provide employment to themselves, but also provide employment to others and goods and services to a large number of urban residents (Bhowmik, 2005). Therefore, street vendors subsidise the existence of other sections of the poor by providing cheap goods (ibid). As a result, urban residents benefit from informal street trading in the sense that traders provide goods at affordable prices in much smaller quantities that people are further able to afford on a daily basis.

2.4.1 Growth of informal street trading

The emergence of the informal sector is largely attributed to the divergence between the growth in the urban population and employment growth in the formal economy (Ligthelm and van Wyk, 2004:1). Even though it was predicted that with development, the informal economy would slowly decline this has not been the case. There is no one single answer as to why the informal economy and informal trading continue to expand and grow. As urbanisation increases, so does informal trading seeing that more and more people migrate to urban areas in search of improved living standards, which in turn leads to many generating an income on the streets and engaging in various trades. This migration constitutes both internal and external migration with most people ending up selling on the streets because they cannot find a formal job. Other reasons could be because they do not possess the necessary skills to enable them to find secure employment in a formal environment or they choose to sell while they wait for their "big break" in terms of employment or managing to finally get an education.

Persistence of informal activities continues despite economic growth and change (Harrison et al, 2008). In developing countries, informal street trading sustains a considerable percentage of rural and urban residents with the activity mobilising between 30% and 80% of the workforce in cities experiencing a large influx of people from the countryside (Lighthelm and van Wyk, 2004). It can be assumed that in Johannesburg the numbers of informal street traders continue to rise as more and more people, both local and foreign, come to Gauteng to ameliorate their different living circumstances. Street trading is thus considered to be the fastest growing sector of employment in the country (Lighthelm and van Wyk, 2004).

Nonetheless, this sector continues to grow, thrive and survive not only as a source of employment but also because it provides goods and services to the urban poor. Informal street traders subsidise the existence of other sections of the urban poor income by providing them with goods and foodstuffs at affordable prices (Bhowmik, 2005). For the

above reason, informal street trading can be said to support many people and the urban economy, while also supporting some formal businesses as most traders buy goods from formal businesses to resell on the streets. For instance, one of the traders who was interviewed for this study said that the fruits and vegetables he sells are bought at wholesale price from farm areas on the outskirts of the city and by selling them in town he is providing fruits and vegetables at a cheaper price to people who cannot drive out to that specific place to buy those goods for themselves.

It was found from research that street trading, despite some problems and frequent attacks, is a thriving and growing phenomenon believed to be tied to the current changes in the global economy (Cross, 2000). Thus, the increase of informal street trading in cities can be attributed to the extent of unemployment and poverty, the extent to which the urban system creates trading responses that traders can respond to and the effectiveness of controls imposed by authorities in relation to those opportunities (Dewar and Watson, 1991). To a certain extent, authorities play a role in how the activity thrives and operates depending on the different approaches undertaken to deal with it. Numerous media commentaries assert that street trading is growing at a tremendous rate and that this reflects some structural change or defect in the economy as a whole (Bromley, 2000). However, in reality there is little idea whether numbers of informal street traders are growing faster than the urban population as a whole or whether their numbers grow faster in periods of economic boom or crisis (ibid).

2.5 Informal street trading around the world

Street trading presents one of the most visible and popular occupations in the global south (Donovan, 2008). It is a phenomenon that most countries seem to battle with in trying to handle and accept it with countries tackling informal street trading differently. In her book, *The Death and Life of American Cities*, Jane Jacobs argues that modernist urban planning rejects the city because it rejects human beings living in a community characterised by layered complexity and seeming chaos, therefore using deductive reasoning to plan cities and in the process not upholding redundancy and vibrancy in

cities (Jacobs, 1992). As the city street is arguably the most distinctive feature of the metropolis, representing the positives and negatives of modern city life, part of the vibrancy of cities is often found in the tensions created by these contrasting features (Van Brunschot, 2007). Hence, it is observed that as most cities around the world try and deal with the issue of informal street traders in the inner cities, they remove the vibrancy that this activity may bring with it and would rather have it out of sight.

In Africa, petty trade is viewed as an economic activity for those with a low level of education (Mitullah, 2003). While in Latin America the growth of street vendors and their occupation of public space in crowded, commercial areas have attracted local authorities charged with maintaining order in the region (Rover, 2006). Then, on the other hand, Singapore is one of the countries that has managed to regulate all street vendors by providing them with trading licences , which has in turn managed to keep the cost of living low as a lot of the people rely on them for daily necessities (Bhowmik, 2005). But, it has been realised by planners in the West and Asian cities, that there are benefits of providing space for pavement sellers and maintaining a lively inner city culture (ibid). This section thus presents examples of some of the interventions towards street trading that different countries have undertaken.

In African cities, street trade and service provision occur in different parts of streets and roads with most traders locating themselves at strategic points that have heavy human traffic where they can be seen by pedestrians and motorists while others walk from one place to the other without any official allocation (Mitullah, 2003). From the Mitullah 2003 study, the case studies of Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Zimbabwe and Uganda share a colonial background where colonial laws aimed at controlling indigenous business operations in their cities was used, whereas in South Africa, after the apartheid regime, the government worked towards putting in place frameworks that responded to local needs. Thus, it is seen that African cities are faced with the challenge of how to handle informal street trading while trying to overcome the colonial laws and also provide sustainable areas for traders to sell from. This needs to be seen in a context in which street trading in the past was viewed as an underground activity that undermines

the healthy function of the formal economy which has resulted in conflicts with urban authorities over licensing, taxation, site operation, sanitation and working conditions (Mitullah, 2003). In most African cities the policies are not appropriate for vendors and they are hardly consulted in the development of the by-laws and planning vending sites in respective urban areas (ibid). Policies are thought to be inappropriate because they include expensive daily charges, poor and insecure working locations, inappropriate hours of business, poor locations for business, constant harassment, confiscation and loss of goods by urban authorities and poor enforcement approaches by urban authorities (Mitullah, 2003:11). As a result thereof, it is acknowledged that local authorities seem to still be a major obstacle to the development of informal sector activities as most of them still use restrictive policies, by-laws and regulations originally intended to control and regulate the growth of indigenous enterprises (Mitullah, 2003). Therefore, with these restrictions, vending is made to be principally illegal and vendors are viewed as being responsible for making cities dirty, obstructing traffic and therefore a public nuisance (ibid).

More and more local governments, especially those concerned with their image, are taking actions such as relocation projects or prohibiting street trading so as to discourage informal commerce, with the most commonly cited cases including Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's campaign against food vendors in New York City and the more sinister destruction of flea markets in Robert Mugabe's Operation Murambatsvina ("Drive Out Trash") (Donovan, 2008). As a consequence, it is clear that some form of tension usually results between the use of public space for informal survival strategies or that which is to be used to attract private investment so as to keep abreast with the global trends and enable cities to compete globally. It is observed that in Bogotá, Colombia the city embarked on reclaiming public urban space through the relocation of informal traders so that the city could compete globally. Street traders in Bogotá are perceived not as agents of innovation, but as anathema to city marketers who claim traders congest streets and create "broken windows" that generate disorder, blight and crime (Donovan, 2008: 30). It was argued by politicians that investments in down town public space and the removal of informality would foster economic development and help to remake Bogotá a global city

(ibid). Thus, it is observed that the city shifted from a situation of neglecting street vendors to an extensive relocation programme of traders so as to clean up the city. During the period of 1980 to 2003, Bogotá mayors jointly recovered more than a million square metres of space, constructed or rehabilitated 1 500 parks, built nearly forty enclosed markets with stalls for five thousand former street vendors and invested more than US$20 million in malls for relocated street vendors (ibid). Consequently, Bogotá went far in order to make their relocation programme a success.

Donovan (2008) carried out a study in Bogotá which examined the working conditions and occupational hazards faced by vendors both before and after relocation to government built markets and how formalised vendors experienced declining income levels but improved working conditions. The relocation programme emerged as a legal compromise that could satisfy both the right to work and the right for public space as guaranteed in Colombia's 1991 Constitution (Donovan, 2008). This offered the vendors the opportunity to become retailers and the public space of the city to breathe again with supporters of the relocation programme calling Bogotá a model city (ibid). Though, throughout the processes of relocation, street vendors effectively lost their voice in policy making and their ability to interface with local politicians (ibid). However it is thought that most vendors agreed with the relocation programme for security rather than economic reasons as the markets offered improved working conditions (Donovan, 2008). Therefore, even though traders do not necessarily agree with being relocated they may relocate anyway since this gives them security and may provide better infrastructure.

In the Latin American region local authorities are involved with tackling the issues of informal street traders so as to maintain order and cleanliness in the cities. Hence, city officials are faced with a choice between tolerating street trade, attempting to tolerate it, or trying to regulate it through the use of force therefore making street trading a major issue in Latin American urban governance (Rover, 2006). However, the working conditions among street traders vary substantially across countries, which is mainly attributed to the different legal frameworks that the countries have for the street traders (ibid). For example, Chile and Colombia have relatively clear legal frameworks and

jurisdictional mandates that facilitate the enforcement and compliance with written law, while on the other hand countries like Peru and Venezuela have legal frameworks that do not easily and clearly accommodate street traders as well as overlapping jurisdictional mandates that produce confusion and conflict between governments resulting in a lack of adequate enforcement and low levels of compliance with written law (Rover, 2006:4). Another notable trend in this area is the cleaning up of the Historic Centres of capital cities in which the increase of street vending posts in historic areas created intolerable conditions of pedestrian and vehicular congestion, trash accumulation, noise and other problems in the mid 1990's resulting in metropolitan governments engaging in large-scale campaigns to expel vendors from historic areas thus relocating them to off-street commercial centres (Rover, 2006). However, these relocation projects restored order and cleanliness to historic areas creating a model that other governments followed, but also displaced low income vendors who could not afford to be relocated (ibid).

Moreover, street vendors in Latin America have formed associations to help facilitate their work and defend their interests in the political arena thus indicating low barriers to collective action at grass roots level and at the same time a high potential for establishing a political voice (Rover, 2006). In Rover's (2006) case studies of Bogotá, Colombia; Caracas, Venezuela; Lima, Peru; Mexico City, Mexico; Santiago, Chile; and Sao Paulo; Brazil, she suggests that the best practices emerge when a clear legal and regulatory framework for street trade facilitates exists providing stability in the sector and encourages both vendors and governments to invest in long-term strategies for sustainable solutions to traditional problems related to street commerce. And secondly, sustainable solutions are more likely when street trading organisations are incorporated into the decision-making process, especially when they involve relocation projects (Rover, 2006:5).

Informality, although more visible on the streets, remains more invisible institutionally (Donovan, 2008:44). Seeing that even though informality is seen all around us, very few countries are able to tackle the problem or choose to ignore it and feel that informal trading has no place in policy formulation or that the easiest way to handle it is to move

traders whenever they are considered to be an eye soar. It is observed that in the Latin America region there is a tendency of cities to embark on relocation projects so as to reclaim the public space and preserve historic areas. Then, the trend in Asia is to licence traders and keep them in the areas they already occupy, but improve on the infrastructure available to them. Where as in Africa most countries still do not have policies in place that support informal trading with most striving to eliminate the activity completely. Though South Africa has tried working towards dealing with their situation and having frameworks that work for their specific local needs.

2.6 Perceptions of informal sector and informal trading

Global competition and the ease with which capital can flow around the world have created both opportunities for and pressures on cities (Devas, 2004:27). From this statement, it is acknowledged that cities are no longer relying on national markets alone but also on international markets and institutions. Hence, there is a need for cities to be more flexible to enable them to attract investments, though this usually overlooks the needs of the citizens.

The concept of globalisation has come with improved technologies especially with regards to communication and information plus the deregulation of capital markets. It is seen that investors want developments, production and marketing functions to be in the most profitable locations. Therefore resulting in spatial implications on cities and putting the not so important people at the bottom of everything which in turn leads to the tendency of informalisation of the urban economy due to an increase in unregulated employment and also because all economic activities are concentrated in the urban areas. Hence, as cities compete to offer better facilities more workers migrate to the urban areas wanting to improve their economic opportunities. There is therefore a constant arrival of people who cannot find employment once they get to the urban areas and so turn to the informal sector. This then ends up having implications on the number of informal traders on the city streets and how to cater and provide for them without taking that livelihood away from them.

There are two schools of thought towards the informal sector i.e. the neo-liberals and the petty commodity production theorists (Skinner, 2000). The neo-liberals see the informal sector as having an enormous potential for employment creation and growth while the petty commodity production theorists see the sector as a structural problem that is unlikely to generate any growth. In relation to how these two schools of thought view the informal sector the implications for this are with regards to the former deregulation and to the latter government control of these activities (Skinner, 2000). Portes et al (1989) looks at the informal economy in less developed countries and the theoretical framework that surrounds this economy. Different perspectives are looked at and many misconceptions about the informal economy are dismissed. In the book, *The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries,* it is acknowledged that the informal sector is not exclusively for the poor and looks at a political and economic shift between employers and workers plus a shift in the regulatory mission of government (Portes et al, 1989). This provided a better understanding of some theories that are related to the informal economy that were useful to address the issue of informal street trading in this research report.

Informal trading has long had different views towards it. Some view it as a problem that needs to be resolved while others view it as a positive dynamic, which enables large numbers of people to gain a foothold in the urban economy (Dewar, 2005). Cross (2000), concludes that traders choose to work as street traders as it provides them with freedom and flexibility. It has been acknowledged by Ligthelm and van Wyk (2004) that informal traders normally work within public space. This implies that informal trade management requires public space management to be the centre of attention with regards to dealing with informal street trading. It then brings in issues of regulation, location and placement of informal street trading within the city which in turn leads to solutions such as the construction of markets along with distinguishing trading and non trading zones. The formalisation of street traders by local authorities is largely about cleaning up the CBD so that traders trade from locations that are considered to be appropriate and out of sight (Dewar and Watson, 1990). Even though street trading is linked with congestion, health

and safety risks and tax evasion, it adds life to a streetscape and contributes to economic activity and service provision (Bromley, 2000). As a result, it is seen that local authorities will tend to confine traders in enclosed markets so as to maintain a sense of order and cleanliness though at the same time they end up taking away the energy and activity from the streets. Since the modern controlled orderly city is to attract investments and tourists and does not have informal traders and so any intrusions on this need or should be removed. For this reason, it is through licensing that informal street traders are to a great extent regulated.

From Mitullah's study done in South Africa, it was found to be that street trading laws and policies were in transition and the government has been committed to creating an enabling environment conducive for the growth of the informal economy (Mitullah, 2004). In South Africa decentralisation of government offices and departments has yielded much benefit for the informal economy, as local authorities are able to address issues relating to informal trading that apply to specific cities. It then enables cities to come up with developmental strategies for their particular situations or scenarios and not take on a one size fits all approach. Cities have therefore encouraged the use of by-law enforcement concerning street traders so as to promote the orderly manner in which business is conducted. In the case of Johannesburg, the Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF) of the inner city intends to address key issues such as the continuation of inner city revitalisation and regeneration efforts to create an environment conducive for investors, tourists and business so as to increase economic opportunities for the city (Spatial Development Framework 2006/07). It thus implies that the city is taking a particular path and providing a solution of bringing order to the inner city so as to achieve what the RSDF sets out to do.

Street traders are seen to cause congestion of traffic because urban planners leave them with no viable places to go (Cross, 2000). But, attempting to clear streets of informal trading is seen to be an outdated concept that pavements in cities need to be clear for pedestrians (Bhowmik, 2005). Though formal markets do make traders feel they have a sense of stability and will not be removed or harassed by local authorities. The success of these markets can be considered to greatly be dependent on the function, positioning and

physical arrangement of the formal market. The success of markets should not only be considered in terms of how well the market accommodates existing informal trading but also how it accommodates the needs of even the most vulnerable traders (Dewar and Watson, 1990).

2.6.1 Arguments for and against informal street trading

The overall debate of informal street trading is the supporters of it, sanctioning it as a form of entrepreneurship with the opponents of it generally feeling that it brings congestion, dirt, unfair competition and ruins the city's image therefore compromising its economic competitiveness (Donovan, 2008). Informal street trading has mainly been viewed with a great feeling of mistrust as it is seen as an activity that plays a role in the decline of an area while in the process creating a poor impression of the city to inhabitants and visitors alike. This is observed to be mainly the case because as one walks through the streets of the inner city where there is a high population of traders, it is congested and surrounded by dirt and dilapidated buildings therefore giving a very pitiable impression of the area. Thus, it is hard to also say whether there is a clear and simple right or wrong towards the arguments for or against informal street trading. There is some truth to a certain degree in both sides of the story even if some of the arguments especially those against are usually from a personal perspective. There are, however, two major arguments that are associated with informal street trading. There is the idea that the city should get rid of the sector completely and contain it in markets on one hand and control it, but let it thrive by providing conducive environment in terms of infrastructure, location and business help on the other hand.

Bromley (2000) outlines some major arguments that side with and against informal street trading. For instance, some of the arguments for informal street trading are that it contributes to the provision of goods and services in turn adding to the overall level of economic activity (Bromley, 2000). Informal street trading further enables people to engage in entrepreneurial activities giving citizens a range of alternatives to have occupation and also as a safety net for the unemployed plus also providing upward social

mobility to minority groups (ibid). In addition to all of the above, it can be a potential source of government tax revenue through licencing fees and it offers workers flexible hours and levels of activity (ibid). The most negative perception of street trading comes with the misguided perception that informal street traders do not operate in elite neighbourhoods or in the world's richest countries (Bromley, 2000). And so, modernists and authoritarians often portray informal street trading as a sign of poverty and underdevelopment such that its fading is viewed as an advancement towards the perceived notion of universal wealth. With this attitude come attacks on any noticeable signs of disorder so as to make the city perfectly clean and orderly, thus traders are usually the first targets where police and municipal inspectors chase them and have their goods confiscated.

In Ligthelm and van Wyk (2004:4), it is outlined that the negative elements surrounding informal street trading in South African cities are:

- Negative conceptions about informal traders still exist
- Support of the informal economy is still uncoordinated and fragmented
- Procedures surrounding licensing and permits are complex, cumbersome and costly
- Lack of planning and site allocation results in wastage
- Consultation and participation are still lacking
- Relations are often strained and hostile
- In-fighting between competing organisations takes place
- A lack of capacity of all parties in the informal trade process i.e. officials and formal business plus workers
- Unfair competition
- Littering and health hazards
- Blocking pedestrian flows
- Tensions about foreigners seeking work

While on the other hand positive elements surrounding informal street trading from Ligthelm and van Wyk (2004:4-5), were outlined to be:

- Flexible trading hours
- Economic viability and dynamism of the city
- Creation of employment
- Alleviation of hardships of unemployment
- Development of entrepreneurial skills
- Large amount of money flowing through the informal sector
- Diversity and convenience
- Experience of cultural and religious practices
- Support for a large majority of the population
- Cheaper products
- Expansion of the municipality's economic base

There is usually a high rate of traders in CBD areas, where traders are not only plentiful but also constitute a sensitive issue. Subsequently, some of the arguments against informal street trading are that traders are heavily concentrated in a few locations which lead to high levels of congestion on crowded sidewalks and blocking views of CCTV cameras. They are also considered to obstruct the business activity of off street businesses as traders will capture customers first before they are able to enter a formal retail shop. The number one argument against informal street trading on Johannesburg's list is that it contributes to the crime and grime of the city as it is considered to be unsightly.

Through these arguments one sees different kinds of alliances towards informal street trading. There are the libertarians who would support the traders and their freedom to sell on the streets and the democratic socialists who would be in full support for informal street trading because of the income opportunities it provides to people. There are also the politicians who may see street traders as potential votes and the urban elites who take on the course of action of NIMBY (not in my back yard) where it is acceptable to have it but it should not be in my vicinity. Finally, there are the environmentalists whose major concern of informal street trading is with pollution, congestion and garbage.

2.6.2 Challenges faced by informal street trading

The key issue with regards to informal street trading is its state of having lasted for a long time and its continuous existence without it being fully understood. In addition, governments continue to show both good and bad feelings about it i.e. whether to have policies that completely scrap the sector or let it operate in an orderly manner of controlling and managing it. Informal traders have been noted to be most regulated and least protected (Mitullah, 2006). Hence the greatest challenge with regards to informal street trading is to have an appropriate location to sell from and the right to trading space.

In this respect, it can be acknowledged that even in instances where traders have trading space they are however at the mercy of urban authorities as they are the first to be moved or removed to give way to any new modern planned development and usually provided with an alternative option of selling where there are hardly any customers. This can be attributed to the misconception that traders can always and easily be relocated. However, experience across Africa shows that traders usually do not stick to such areas and end up drifting back to the centre of town (Mitullah, 2006). Therefore, the issue of security of tenure comes in as traders rarely have rights to the spaces they occupy. Most places that traders operate from are open and do expose traders to harsh environmental conditions therefore bringing in the issue of lack of adequate infrastructure and services i.e. water and sanitation. Additionally, traders are usually exposed to harassment and confiscation of goods, which is basically due to not trading in the right place or not having a trading licence.

The problems traders mainly face in South African cities are outlined as: the lack of infrastructure i.e. water, electricity, refuse removal, sanitation and unorganised trading areas which often leads to conflicts, lack of storage space, lack of transport to and from trading areas, no shelter, conflicts with foreign informal traders, crime against informal traders, overtrading and law enforcement (Ligthelm and van Wyk, 2004). The national street vendors' workshop that was held in Johannesburg in 2003 highlighted some of the

challenges and problems that affect street traders. The major ones mentioned that were deemed to be supportive to this study were: police and local government harassment in which traders have their goods impounded and confiscated, trading sites are considered to be too small, there are many vendors but limited space, problems with site allocation systems, problems with trading permit system, limited trading areas, lack of facilities (shelter and storage), no consultation with vendors in drawing up by-laws and relocation to markets which are unviable for earning a living (National Street Vendors' Workshop and Policy Dialogue on the Regulation of Street Vending).

2.6.3 Regulating informal trading

Informal street trading is often seen as a great problem and nuisance with no apparent single right or wrong solution to handle it. Its existence in urban areas is rarely on top of the list of government priorities. To a certain extent, it can be considered to be illegal in that it sometimes operates outside the regulatory framework and without trading licences. It is, however, accepted as a form of livelihood unlike the selling of drugs and so when governments say they want to get rid of it there is usually an uproar and great resistance. The regulating of informal street trading also means trying to promote its existence and functioning. There is, however, no actual theory or system of ethics associated with regulating street trading (Bromley, 2000). In a context such as South Africa where income inequalities and poverty are increasing it would appear to be far more sensible to adopt a policy of tolerance and support for informality while at the same time opening up opportunities for growth and development for those activities or households that are willing and able to take advantage of them (Harrison et al, 2008:234).

The regulation of street trading signifies it being controlled by means of rules and is allowed to operate within an accepted legal framework that would either involve trading licences or operating in a market or specific area demarcated for trading. This is more often than not done in areas that municipalities would like to attract investment to, while other areas that are not points of interest end up being ignored. The most evident solution that governments take on in regulating informal street traders is moving traders into

markets. These markets are usually not welcome and end up being abandoned and fall short of expectations from traders, though sometimes some markets do end up being a success story. Thus, it is noticed that regulation of street traders often leads to inhibition and the restriction of the numbers of traders allowed operating, especially in CBDs. In regulating informal street traders governments take various approaches from demarcating sites for them to operate from, to providing traders with trading licences and charging fees to enable them to operate on the streets.

Regulation is a critical issue when it comes to informal trading as it implies legality and some sense of formality, though it is likely that any action taken ends up damaging rather than enhancing the sector. And, it is highly misconceived that traders can easily be relocated to new markets that are assumed will function well for them in terms of business or customers. Regulation with regards to the trader means legal acknowledgment of the activity, which would involve licencing, legality in payment of taxes and observance of official rules and guidelines (Amis, 2004). Whereas with regards to the municipality this includes planning and development control, the creation of by-laws, issuing trading permits, local taxation and public health plus safety (ibid). However, regulation may have harmful consequences that can lead to the ruin of assets and evictions as this informal activity is extremely reliant on the location and nature of the local urban economy (Amis, 2004).

There are, however, different implications of regulation and it has a lot to do with enhancement of the city. It is usually received differently depending on what is being proposed. Though it is usually hard to evenly tackle all aspects of regulation and reach a balance in which all affected parties are happy. When it comes to regulation of street traders Singapore and Malaysia seem to have achieved much success. For instance, Singapore has licenced all street traders and always check that there are no unlicenced traders operating on the streets, whereas Malaysia has formulated a comprehensive plan to tackle social and economic problems associated with street trading (Bhowmik, 2005). It can thus be said that when it comes to regulating informal street traders, one has to look at all aspects involved especially economic and social so as to come up with a better way

of regulating this trade. In addition, regulating informal street trading should preferably involve all-embracing dealings between the government and municipal officials and the traders themselves, though this is generally not the case. On top of all that has been discussed, there is a need for regulation to be directed by reasonableness. The issue of control cannot be resolved through rules and regulations only; judgment is also required (Dewar and Watson, 1991).

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented a general idea of issues concerned with informal trading that was of interest to this study and the theories that emerged that were relevant to the study. The chapter highlighted that there are many perceptions towards informal trading and with its existence comes different views of how informal street trading should be handled. Additionally, even though there are various beliefs and understandings towards informal street trading it is a reality that cannot be ignored and a balance needs to be reached to come up with a more workable solution of how to handle this phenomenon without killing the vibrancy of the city. Thus, it was deemed necessary to examine some planning legislation that may have impacted on informal trading in Johannesburg's CBD and interventions that have been and are being taken to deal with informal trading which is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: PLANNING AND INFORMAL TRADING

3.1 Introduction

After engaging in a literature review in the previous chapter, this chapter engages with policy documents and, more specifically, informal street trading in the Johannesburg context. The previous chapter presented an overview of informal trading, so it was necessary to engage in a discussion that considers how Johannesburg has tackled informal street trading in the CBD in the process examining the planning initiatives that have been undertaken. The chapter will therefore scrutinise informal street trading in relation to a brief history of the inner city, planning initiatives and the organisation that manages the street market that was used as a case study. Moreover, this chapter seeks to depict where the city has come from and where it is now.

3.2 History of Johannesburg Inner City

Johannesburg developed because of the promising mining activities that were in the area due to the discovery of gold. Historically, the purpose of the CBD was primarily to provide for commerce and retail activities with a lot of important offices that had their headquarters within the inner city. However, in the late 1970's a process of suburbanisation of commerce and retail activities began, which saw the inner city slowly being abandoned. In the period between 1980 and early 1990 poor urban management, increasing population pressure, informalisation and deregulation, exacerbated this desertion of the inner city. This led to disinvestments in the inner city and an escape to the northern suburbs by many companies.

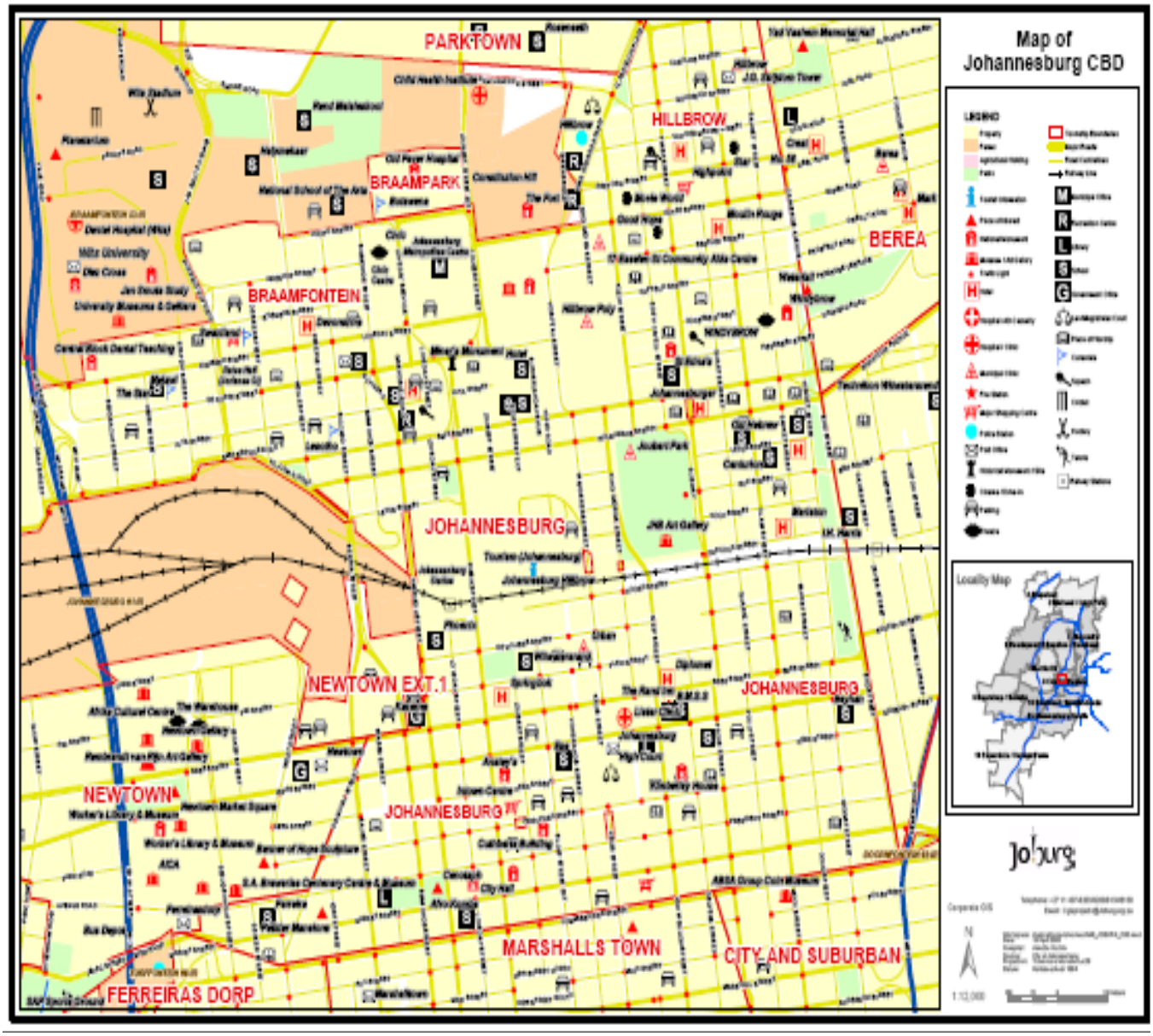
The history of the whole city is not appropriate here, rather just that of the Johannesburg's inner city in relation to the Kerk Street, street market. Johannesburg's inner city was not meant nor originally created to be an urban centre, as it basically existed because of the gold mining that occurred around it. Johannesburg was not meant to be a town that would grow and have other economic activities happening in it as it was

seen as a mining place that would only cater for migrant workers. Due to the mining that was occurring in Johannesburg, gold trading and other activities mushroomed around mining and thus there was a need for supporting companies to come and set up in Johannesburg's CBD. Therefore, areas such as Marshalltown and Carlton Centre are where mining and other supporting companies set up their offices.

However, through the activity of gold mining only the white workers were catered for and the black ones were sidelined. The black workers were only seen as migrant workers who would come and work in the mines and when their contracts ended they would go back to their homes and not settle in town. Thus, they were catered for in the periphery of the city where they were accommodated in single sex hostels. But, with time people stopped going back to their homelands and more and more people were settling in town with their families. When gold started diminishing people started losing their jobs. This then meant that people started engaging in informal trading as they were stuck in this urban economy on the periphery of the city with no jobs in the mines, but with families to support.

Therefore, people slowly started making their way into the inner city as a means of earning an income and providing cheaper goods to people that would pass through the inner city each day to go to their respective jobs. It is observed that informal street trading is interlinked to the county's labour migrant system as the mushrooming of traders was concentrated around the taxi, bus and railway stations (Matlou, 2000). Kerk Street and the area around it became popular for traders to trade from as the traders captured the traffic of people moving from Park Station to Gandhi Square where most black people caught buses to go for work in the northern suburbs. Map 1 on the next page shows the inner city and the location of Kerk Street in relation to the rest of the inner city.

Map 1: Johannesburg CBD



Source: http://www.joburgcentral.co.za/map.php

3.3 Informal street trading and planning initiatives in Johannesburg

There have been great changes in the planning profession in South Africa and it has been forced to respond to the various changes that the country has experienced. In the Johannesburg context, planned interventions more often than not have outcomes that are unintended, unexpected and even quite contrary to the intended, for example local officials plan and construct markets for informal traders who shun these facilities claiming they will destroy their livelihoods (Harrison, 2006). The political changes in the country emulated changes in planning. The restrictive environment that the government controlled shifted to a more encouraging environment that dealt with urban reconstruction at all levels. After independence, planning was focused on reconstruction and development so as to readdress planning of the apartheid system. Due to this, the profession took an inclination towards development planning. Legislation and interventions towards planning are guided by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. For instance with regards to planning for informal trading, the Constitution can give a guide as to how the issue can be tackled without infringing on people's rights. The constitution states that, "Every citizen has the right to choose their trade, occupation or profession freely; the practice of a trade occupation or profession may be regulated by law" (The Constitution of Republic of South Africa, 1996).

During the apartheid era, planning was restrictive and very controlling tools were used to regulate development within the city. Segregation and racial detestation during apartheid was enforced through legislation and it is seen that some of the laws passed had an influence on the spatial and social form of the city and country further having a bearing on the informal trading sector. There was a clear distinction of the kind of services and amenities that were offered in the different racial areas and it is seen that industrial growth in metropolitan areas was further limited by the Physical Planning and Utilization Act of 1967 which ended up hindering economic improvement in black communities. This impacted on the black townships, as there were no industries in the townships that could help the people sustain themselves. Above all, black Africans were perceived as being temporary workers who would only come to the city to work and thereafter go back

home. Though with time this was no longer the case as more of them stayed in the city as a result, having to look for other sources of employment to sustain themselves when they were no longer working in the mines. It therefore led to the movement of black people into the inner city in search of business opportunities that were non-existent in the townships, which was also exacerbated by the fact that these townships were on the periphery of the city. In addition to this, there was a great restriction to the development of informal trading as a way of ensuring that Africans spent all their money in white areas and controlling unfair competition between street traders and formal businesses. But, those that managed to get to trade on the streets were required to be mobile and not allowed to sell from one spot further adding to the restrictive environment for informal trading.

However, with the end of apartheid in 1990, most of the repressive and restrictive laws were lifted as the country became independent. The new government was all geared up for the rebuilding and improvement of the country. The early 1990's saw a rapid increase in the numbers of street traders in all urban areas (Skinner, 2000). This can be attributed to the fact that there was free movement of blacks as the Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950 was removed and the influx control laws were scrapped therefore leading to more people moving to the cities. As a result, migration to the city was happening at a much faster rate than the growth of employment opportunities so unemployment increased, increasing numbers in the informal sector. In addition, the Business Act of 1991 helped the informal businesses by reducing the powers of local authorities to develop and implement laws restricting informal trading (Skinner, 2000). With this development municipalities were required to make by-laws concerned with informal trading. The enactment of this Act meant that traders could trade within the CBD without having a trading licence therefore allowing street traders to trade freely. The Business Act established traders' right to trade and sets out procedures for the restriction of this right through the declaration of restricted or prohibited areas. So, it is seen that restrictions on disadvantaged communities to start up businesses were lifted with all protective measures as the city council decided that it would not repeal its regulations and also not enforce them (Fraser, 2004). Informal street trading, therefore mushroomed in the inner city and was not at all

managed resulting in the decline of formal retail with the council being seen as lacking in political will to enforce the by-laws (ibid).

In 1994 the Reconstruction and Development White Paper was published with a strong emphasis on development planning in addressing social and spatial imbalances of the past (Reconstruction and Development White Paper, 1994). Overall, this period after independence was about the integration of planning at a national level so as to achieve transformation for the country. During this period, there were many foreign agencies that were coming to the new South Africa to help in the transformation process in which the influences and recommendations that these agencies made played a great part in the shift that South Africa made from thinking at the national level to thinking at a local level. One such agency is the German Agency GTZ. Moreover, the rising influence of NPM had an effect on the way policies were made in post-apartheid South Africa, as there was a greater emphasis on efficiency and outcomes.

Furthermore, after independence, as a form of black economic empowerment and as a way of job creation, small businesses were seen as a source of development. Hence, the White Paper on National Strategy for the Development and Promotion of Small Business in South Africa of 1995 acknowledges that "there are millions of unemployed and underemployed people in the country and so the government has no option but to give its full attention to the fundamental task of job creation and generating sustainable and equitable growth" (Foreword, White Paper on National Strategy for the Development and Promotion of Small Business in South Africa, 1995). So it is through this that the state is held against to create an enabling environment for small businesses which does encompass businesses in the informal sector. Additionally, the shift to local government plus the developmental approach put a lot of weight on the governments' shoulders, as they were held accountable for the improvement of people's quality of life following the country's history. Developmental local government is local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives (White Paper on Local Government, 1998).

To sum it all up, a new constitution for the country was enacted in 1996. This constitution placed the foundation and structure to guide a new kind of planning legislation in the country with much emphasis on a developmental mandate. However, according to Van Wyk (1999) the single most important piece of legislation is the Development Facilitation Act of 1995, which regulates planning and development matters in the national sphere. The Act provides that all laws, policies and administrative practices affecting land development should facilitate the development of both formal and informal settlements and promote the efficient and integrated land development integrating land uses rather than keeping them separate (Development Facilitation Act, No 67 of 1995). With this in mind, it can be said that government then plays a role in not just limiting and concentrating economic activities in the CBD but also providing development in other areas to reduce the congestion of everybody wanting to trade in the inner city. It is through all these policies and legislation that the government is given a mandate to provide for the citizens of the country and not exclude anybody or anyone nor their economic activities.

A new system of local government emerged in 2000, which can be said to be the transition of local government and the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 was enacted. The Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 provides that the core components of an IDP include the municipal council's vision for the long-term development of the municipality, operational strategies and a SDF that must include the provision of basic guidelines for a land use management system for the municipality (Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000). In the SDF of Johannesburg, the key issues are the continuation of inner city revitalisation and regeneration efforts to create an environment conducive for investors, tourists and businesses plus to increase economic opportunities (SDF, 2006/07). Furthermore, a SDF should provide existing areas of trade and where new areas for trade are to be located. Hence, the ITDP has been developed so as to develop a rational development policy around the placement and location of informal trading activities in the city. It is from this basis that most of the current initiatives are derived from and ideas of how to deal with informal street trading within the CBD stem from.

The City of Johannesburg has adopted a long-term strategy to regulate hawking so as to enable the sector to thrive and is trying to move from a restrictive kind of law enforcement. The city is thus working with a number of stakeholders in trying to achieve this and have by-laws in place that traders trading within the inner city should not violate. There is the MTC that was developed for the purpose of the development, management, marketing and business development of informal trading markets. Through the establishment of this company, it is hoped that with time informal traders will be removed from the streets to formal markets. Then there is also the CJP, which is a private non-profit organisation that deals with informal street trading as a way of contributing to urban regeneration in trying to improve the city's image and helping to bring back investments into the inner city. CJP is the organisation that manages the street market used as a case study and shall be discussed in detail later on in this chapter. In Johannesburg, markets are graded on the basis of the provision of different services and infrastructure i.e. grade A, B, C and D. Grade A is a fully developed market with electricity and other facilities, B is partially developed and in some cases, it may be a high level stall with electricity and other facilities. C is a street stall with limited facilities and clearly defined trading area and D is a market spot or area on the road or in an open air market with no facilities.

Table 1: Grading of informal trading markets in Johannesburg

Facilities	**Grade A**	**Grade B**	**Grade C**	**Grade D**
Discrete location	**X**	**X**	**X**	
Permanent structure	**X**	**X**		
Electricity	**X**			
Storage	**X**	**X**	**X**	
Security	**X**			
Refuse removal	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**
Cleaning service	**X**			
Development programme	**X**	**X**	**X**	

(Source: Ligthelm and van Wyk, 2004:68)

MTC works with the informal traders and does acknowledge that even though the city does not want anybody trading on the streets and that with time all traders must be in formal markets, they cannot just chase these traders and tell them not to sell at all as this is a very sensitive issue since many make a living from informal street trading. Therefore, one of the solutions is to provide linear markets in certain strategic places that will have gazebos, then with time upgrade these places into formal markets with all the appropriate facilities and services. Above all, the greatest challenge that the city faces is in the number of traders wanting to come and sell from the CBD when the inner city cannot accommodate them all. Thus, in line with the SDF one of the policies has got to do with the promotion of strong viable nodes in which these nodes will be developed and made self reliant enabling work and home to be nearer to the people. Therefore people will be encouraged to trade in areas near where they come from and not just the CBD.

The City's informal trading policy views the informal trading sector as a positive activity seeing that it contributes to the creation of jobs and alleviation of poverty and also has the potential to further expand the city's economic base (Kgowedi, 2007). Hence, the City of Johannesburg has acknowledged that informal trading is as much of the city's past, present and future just like any other forms of economic activities. Thus, the municipality has recognised a need for appropriate infrastructure, support services and organisation and management of public trading spaces. One of the ways in which they are offering support is by empowering informal traders. This is being done in conjunction with the University of the Witwatersrand where informal and street traders are being taught basic business skills as a way of helping them grow their businesses. This is what the city of Johannesburg is calling a grow your business skills development programme which has been running for three years now and is providing critical skills to the city's informal traders, especially those situated in formal markets (Matlala, 2007).

3.4 CBD Development

The CBD of an urban area typically contains an intense concentration of retail and office activities, is the hub of the city and has a high traffic flow passing through it each day. These retail and office activities range from commercial, entertainment and administrative. The CBD is synonymous with the term 'downtown' and 'inner city'. Johannesburg's CBD has distinguishing comparative advantages such as a fundamental location in the city's centre, a major public transport hub (as all main modes of transport i.e. taxi, bus and rail services run into the city centre), low rentals and property prices for high quality offices, access to a large work force due to easy access from Soweto, under-served markets and considerable infrastructure (http://www.joburg.org.za). These advantages therefore make the CBD an ideal place to trade from due to the number of people that work within the CBD and pass through it each day.

In his article, Thale (2007) reported that Phillip Harrison (Executive Director of Development Planning and Management) singled out the inner city as an area that requires intensive urban management as it is a place of livelihood and support for newly arrived immigrants. Thus, there is a need to ensure that it is properly serviced and functions well. Since the CBD is seen as a source of livelihood, informal traders should not be excluded from it, but should be adequately provided for. A lot has gone into turning around the CBD after it was deserted in the 1990's when people and companies moved to the northern suburbs. The inner city has 217 000 residents living in 37 000 dwelling units with some 800 000 commuters entering the city every day (http://www.joburg.org.za). Amid what has been achieved so far in the inner city, crime rates are down due to intensive policing, there has been a rise in occupancy rates and investment is increasing as confidence in the CBD improves and there is improved cleanliness (http://www.joburg.org).

However, there are certain challenges that continue to be faced, which are mainly the management of taxis plus a lack of sufficient capacity to enforce by laws especially pertaining to informal trading (http://www.joburg.org). Implementation and overhauling

the informal trading policy framework and by-law regime for the inner city as a main key deliverable has been set out in the economic development sector plan for the inner city (Economic Development Sector Revised Sector Plan 2007/08). Hence, this shows that there is great thought put into what needs to be done in tackling informal street trading so that it progresses hand in hand with the development of the CBD as a whole.

3.4.1 Urban Regeneration

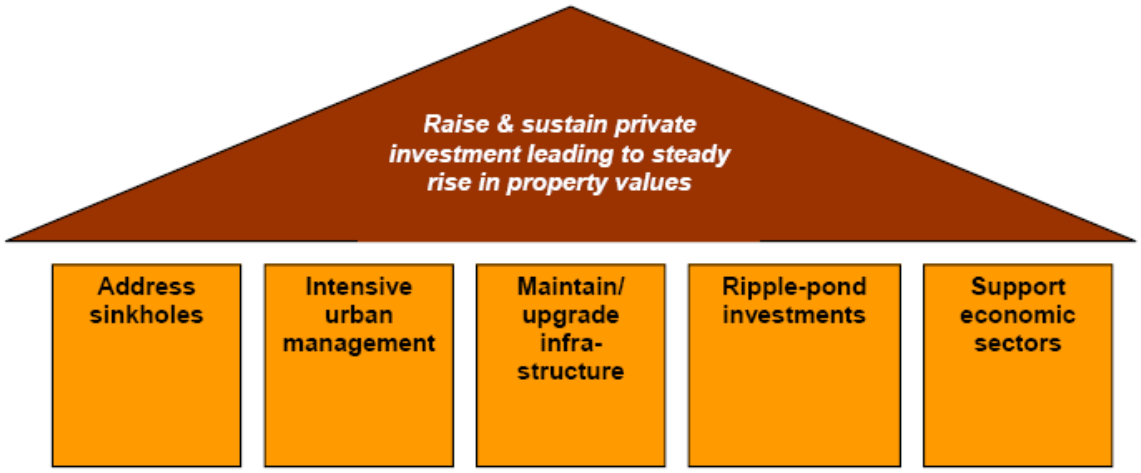
The concept of urban regeneration emerges because of city decline and hope of renewal and reversing trends in order to find a new basis for economic growth and social well-being. This decline is in the local economy, use of land and buildings, quality of the environment plus social life. Informal street traders have been identified as contributing to the decline of the inner city in the form of the quality of the environment. Thus, urban regeneration tries to undo this decline by hoping to achieve urban environments that can attract people back to the inner city. When a new city manager was appointed in 1998, there was a shifted focus and priority towards creating an efficient business environment and arresting processes of urban decay, which further came with the willingness to engage with the private sector such as CJP (Harrison, 2006).

Due to the decline that the inner city went through, the City of Johannesburg wants to regenerate the inner city and make it a cleaner place that is more conducive for business. The City is thus in the process of redeveloping the inner city so that investors may be attracted back into it. The City's first executive mayor, Amos Masondo, in 2000 announced that the inner city was to be one of his six priorities in his term of office (Fraser, 2004). This then led to an enormous advancement into the city's urban renewal so as to focus on this mayoral priority. The re-development of the inner city works hand in hand with making Johannesburg a World Class African City. With this in mind, the City Development Plan (2002) sets out initiatives such as upgrading buildings through the better buildings programme, moving of taxis to off street taxi ranks, rolling out of the informal trade markets programme and the removal of traders from prohibited areas,

enlarging the coverage of CIDs and enforcement of relevant by-laws (City Development Plan, 2002).

There is an Inner City Regeneration Strategy whose goal is to raise and sustain private investment in the inner city leading to a rise in property values. The components of this strategy are: intensive urban management which involves improving service quality, strict enforcement of by-laws and management of taxis and informal traders; upgrade and maintain infrastructure so as to create an environment attractive to residents and businesses; support and encourage growth of economic sectors that have the potential to thrive in the inner city; discourage sinkholes as they pull down the value of the inner city and encourage ripple effect that can lift up the entire area (http://www.joburg.org.za). The figure below thus graphically shows the five pillar strategies that are the focus for the Inner City Regeneration Strategy.

Figure 2: The Five Pillars of the Inner City Regeneration Strategy 2003



Source: Regional Spatial Developmental Framework: Administrative Region 8 (Inner City Region): 36

Informal trading falls under the intensive urban management pillar. Accordingly, urban management is defined by the Johannesburg development and planning department as that which involves the coordination and integration of public and private activities to tackle major problems the residents of a region face with the aim of building a more

competitive, equitable and sustainable city (http://www.joburg.org.za/planning/planning_urban.stm). It is through this urban management that cities manage and coordinate their resources to achieve development objectives of the city. Therefore, urban management is about taking an active role in developing, managing and coordinating resources to achieve a town's urban development goals further implying an integrated approach to the major problems of cities in developing countries (van Dijk, undated). Urban management should take the most important issues of the city as the point of departure in the process not only being concerned with the modern economy but also with the informal economy which has a profound influence on the thinking of the urban economy, thus stressing the importance of participation and the role of different actors (ibid).

Informal street trading falls under intensive urban management which focuses on efforts to ensure effective by-law enforcement, management of informal trading, improved service and utility delivery and maintenance of the public realm (Regional Spatial Developmental Framework: Administrative Region 8, 2006/2007). In relation to this, the specific programmes and activities that have been outlined in helping to achieve management of informal trading are the: market development and management programme which is to handle the management of taxi ranks and formal and informal markets with the licencing of informal traders in the city, the development of the different grades of markets and in addition to support and train informal traders (ibid). With the ITDP handling by-law enforcement and policing of restricted trade zones (ibid).

However, an Inner City Summit was recently held in May 2007 where it was acknowledged that even though huge strides had been made in regenerating the inner city there are still challenges to be faced. The Inner City Charter, which was the outcome from the inner city summit, sets out core issues that the City of Johannesburg will focus on in the next few years and scale up regeneration efforts to ensure more rapid even and sustained positive impacts on the entire inner city (Draft Inner City Regeneration Charter, May 2007). Through the Inner City Charter, a better urban management is hoped to be achieved that involves waste management, by-law enforcement and education along with visible policing with regards to issues that involve informal street trading. It was reported

in the Star newspaper on 9th May 2007 that the City of Johannesburg is to invest R100 million in cleaning up the inner city over the next five years (Cox, 2007). With the pressure of re-developing the inner city, informal street trading is still seen as unmanaged and a serious issue and so there are constant debates on what to do with the traders. However, Chitichat's Neil Fraser says that informal street traders should be viewed as creating the city and not destroying it so do not clog them up in markets and rather than chasing away the users of the city, change the public realm to accommodate their activities (Fraser, 2004).

3.5 Central Johannesburg Partnership

As earlier mentioned, CJP is the organisation that manages the Kerk Street, street market which was established in 1992 and has made great contribution in the urban renewal of the inner city. It was restructured in 1998 as a private non-profit company with its centre of attention being on the revitalisation of the inner city. When the organisation began, it spent a number of years gathering information and undertaking research in order to develop an understanding of the forces leading to degeneration and the steps to be taken to combat them (Fraser, 2004). The organisation thus outlined six major issues that were identified i.e. safety and security, informal trading, residential accommodation, transportation and taxis, urban design and marketing (ibid). Over the years, CJP has dedicated its time to enhancing and reviving the inner city's image and life form. It acts to facilitate change that is free and works well for all and is therefore not just focused on targeting the private sector. However, a lot of emphasis is placed on the facades of streets in its quest of promoting a clean healthy environment.

CJP performs various tasks that are all targeted to the revitalisation of the inner city. It acts as:

- An initiator and has established some organisations, these are: Inner City Housing Upgrading Trust (ICHUT), The Inner City Business Coalition, Partnerships for Urban Renewal (PUR), Homeless Talk, Johannesburg Trust for the Homeless

(JTH), City Ad, Johannesburg Heritage Trust and Rosebank Homeless Association.

- A coordinator of strategic developments that plays a pivotal role in developments that happen in the inner city in conjunction with other stakeholders. Some of these developments have been the transitional housing, revival of Gandhi Square, upgrading of the Braamfontein corporate precinct, Fox Street, Legal Precinct, Main Street, Fashion District, Civic Legislation Precinct, Alexandra Informal Business and Joburg Art City.
- An advocate and has worked in promoting as well as supporting initiatives such as an inner city vision, inner city policy, development of informal trading by-laws in which CJP established a joint negotiating forum in 1994 to address the need for new street trading by-laws to be determined jointly by the City Council, informal trading associations and street traders in collaboration with businesses and retailers.
- An urban manager and has supervised the establishment of CIDs, informal trading management and the design manufacturing plus erection of informal trading stalls through out the inner city and Lenesia.
- A consultant and has been involved in extensive research involving what kind of interventions can be applied to the inner city by studying what other countries are doing.
- A communicator, CJP produces publications that keep the private and public sectors abreast with inner city developments.
- Employment generators and have established a number of inner city organizations that provide employment to a number of people.

(http://www.cjp.co.za)

CJP has been working with the City of Johannesburg to improve the inner city, through trying to improve the environment and uphold and boost investment levels. One of the most successful break-throughs that CJP has made has been the establishment of CIDs in which these districts have over the years added to a more positive urban experience and an enhanced sense of place (http://www.cjp.co.za). Nevertheless, Neil Fraser who was

one of the founding members of CJP, brought about the whole concept of making Kerk Street a street market. He came up with the idea to pedestrianise the street and let people trade from there rather than completely getting rid of the informal street traders within the CID. It was a pilot project that was started in 1995 and the market still exists today and continues being run by CJP.

3.5.1 City Improvement Districts

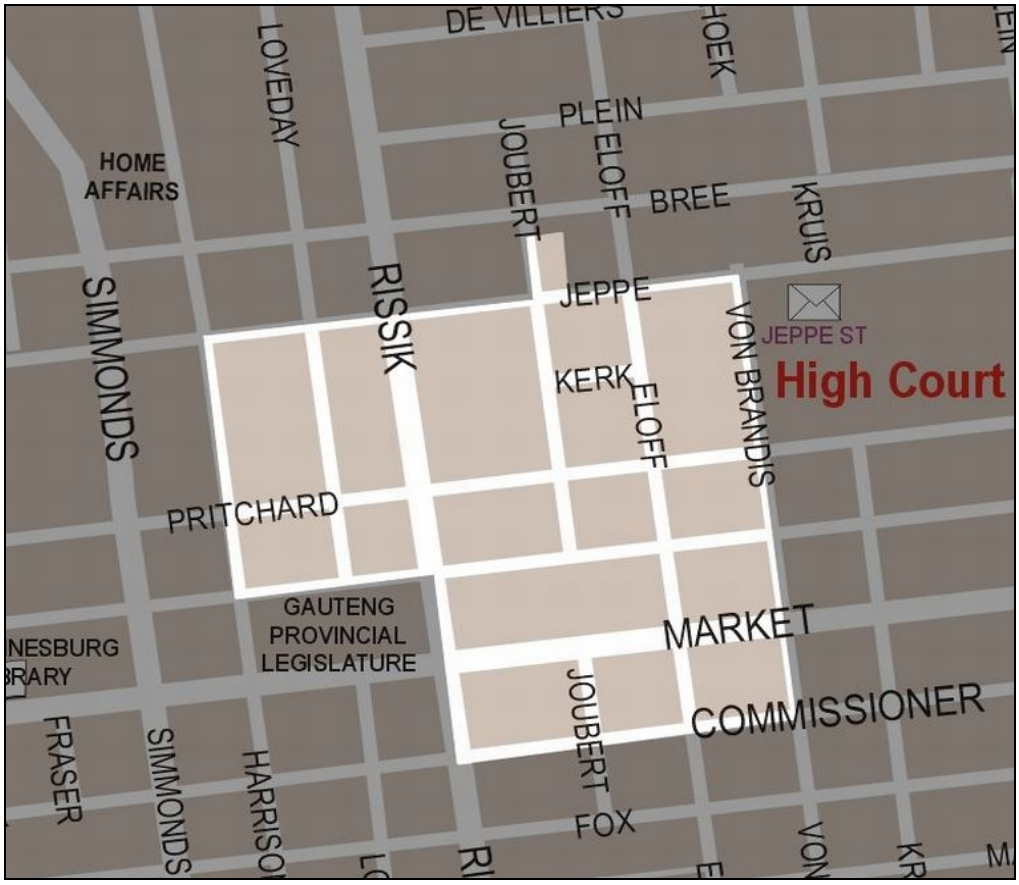
Cities have become more diverse and it is more essential to provide for them both economically and socially. They should not just attract investors and visitors but should also continue meeting the needs of the local community. However, the differences of the spatial and social structure of city centres have made it more difficult for traditional town centre organisations to find a sustainable income as funding by voluntary subscription and grants from various agencies do not provide for the long-term planning which is essential to enable these city centres to incrementally develop and flourish (http://www.cjp.co.za). The whole concept of CIDs came about based on the model that CJP researched from North America originally known as Business Improvement District (BID) (Fraser, 2004). This notion came about as an intervention to the safety and security concerns of businesses in the inner city of Johannesburg as it was a response to the high crime rates that were being experienced (ibid). There was an instant reaction to what became known as CIDs in South Africa as this helped property and business owners to improve safety and security in their areas which then ended up spreading to other parts of the city.

Hence, it has been seen that CIDs have become the trend in recent years in America, Europe and South Africa as a reaction by commercial property owners to the declining of municipal budgets and services in their areas. CIDs can be defined as a geographic area within which property owners agree to pay for certain services to enhance the physical and social environment of the area (http://www.cjp.co.za). The services provided in these CIDs accompany those provided by the local authority and usually include informal trading management, environmental upgrading, business retention and attraction, safety and security guard officers, cleaning of pavements, collection of litter, public space

maintenance plus the implementation of precinct development plans and infrastructure management (http://www.joburgcentral.co.za/retail.php).

The street market case study that has been used in this study falls within the jurisdiction of the Retail Improvement District (RID). The RID is located between Jeppe Street in the north, Harrison Street in the west, Commissioner Street in the south and Von Brandis in the east (Map 2). This CID has been in operation since 1997 and enhances the operation of huge retail outlets such as Edgars, Woolworths and Truworths in a safe, clean, friendly and attractive environment mainly for the shoppers (http://www.joburgcentral.co.za/retail.php). Map 2 below shows the area that is covered by the RID.

Map 2: Retail Improvement District



Source: http://www.joburgcentral.co.za/retail.php

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has given the setting of the case study that shall be presented in the next chapter. It considered briefly the history of Johannesburg's inner city in relation to the case study and highlighted a few planning initiatives that may have impacted on informal street trading in the inner city. It further outlined some of the steps that have been taken by the city to control and manage informal trading thus providing a basis for the argument that was raised in chapter one. Finally, the chapter discussed in detail the organisation that manages the street market outlining what exactly the organisation does and how they became involved in managing informal trading. It was observed in this chapter that informal trading in the CBD is occurring in an environment where so much is taking place and it is through planning that favorable trading conditions can potentially be created. Therefore, after having covered the theoretical implications of what has been written and done with regards to informal street trading to how planning initiatives may have had an effect on it, the next chapter will describe the research design of this study and the case study that was used.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE CASE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

Having examined literature and presented a brief account of planning initiatives that have been undertaken in the Johannesburg context with regards to informal street trading, this chapter presents the research design and describes the case study that was used for this research. Firstly, the chapter explains the research design and the methodology that was used to carry out the study. It then describes and discusses the case study getting into details of why this case study was chosen and how it was hoped it would be able to answer the research questions.

4.2 Research Design

The research design is the path that guided the direction of the research. A flexible qualitative design was chosen so as to give the liberty and opportunity for further decisions to be considered, since it was a cyclical process of constant collection of information and thinking about all that was encountered. A flexible qualitative design entails a dynamic process that is built as it goes along (Sarantakos, 1998). This research was planned in such a way that there was constant flow in all directions of all the steps so as to use any new information gathered to tweak and modify any parts that the new information could contribute to such as concepts, sampling and analysis.

Thus, it can be said that the following steps were taken in successfully carrying out this research, though it should be noted that there was continuous contact at all levels without one step being fully tackled alone. Firstly, a research topic was selected and a research methodology, in this case informal street trading in the CBD. Then a research question was formulated with the help of reviewing literature, theoretical concepts, strategy and rationale. A case study was then chosen with the methods of the kind of data collection that would be undertaken and the type of informants that would be used. Fieldwork was then carried out and data was collected. Afterwards, data was analysed and interpreted

and the research process aligned. Finally, the research report was put together though this was actually done throughout hand in hand with all the different stages.

4.2.1 Research Methodology

A qualitative approach method was embarked upon to carry out this research. According to Creswell (1998), qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social human problem from which the researcher builds a complex holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants and conducts study in a natural setting. The reason for choosing a qualitative study was backed by the research question being explored and the how of the whole matter that was necessary in presenting the overall study.

A qualitative study is chosen to undertake research because it tries to answer a how or what question since the topic needs to be explored so as to present a detailed view of the topic enabling one to study individuals in their natural setting and being able to tell a story from the participant's view (Creswell, 1998). Thus, this was the approach that was taken since the researcher needed to have contact with the situation at hand further undertaking a case study which enabled the study to be broken down into the problem, context, issues and lessons learned.

Basically, the methodologies that were used in this study were:

Desktop study

It was carried out in the form of an extensive literature review with a variety of books, journals, articles and documents which were analysed and helped with further engaging and understanding matters of informal street trading in terms of responses to the topic. The desk top study proved to be relevant so as to have a wide coverage on what has been written about the topic, set the mind thinking about issues raised and to be able to document what the City of Johannesburg's response to the regulation of informal street trading has been over the years.

Survey and questionnaires

The questionnaires were carried out in the form of structured and semi-structured interviews that were targeted at the traders operating from the street market and to some officials that deal with informal street trading within the CBD so as to gain insight into both sides. When actually administering the questionnaires, it was found that some questions were not necessary as it is shown in Appendix B i.e. the questions that show NA. This was the questionnaire used for the traders. In total, fourteen questionnaires were completed, of which twelve were from the traders and two from officials at MTC and CJP respectively. These questionnaires were administered face to face so as to observe and experience as much of the trader's environment as possible and so that a great deal of information necessary to answer the research questions would be gotten by physically engaging with the traders.

Case Study

A case study format calls for an explanation of the problem, a thorough description of the context and the processes observed then finally lessons to be learned from the study (Creswell, 1998). An appropriate case study was chosen; that which could be studied and the research questions answered. In this instance it was Kerk Street, street market. The case study used was considered to be appropriate as it portrayed the best example of a minimalist approach being taken as a way of providing for informal traders in an organised environment while still maintaining a vibrant atmosphere that blends into the urban fabric. This case study was done in its natural environment and by observing what is actually happening in reality.

4.2.2 Data Collection

Schwandt (1997) argues that there are two critical sampling issues in qualitative studies, which include: selecting a field site in which to study some phenomenon and sampling within the case or field site. The field site that was selected was Kerk Street, street market that is located within the Johannesburg CBD. The data collection involved the researcher going around the street market and asking the traders structured questions from the

questionnaire that was designed (Appendix B). It also included engaging in informal discussions with those that were willing to talk more and not just answer the questions. The data collection further included talking to two officials from MTC and CJP by the use of structured and non-structured questions (Appendix C). There were no major difficulties that were encountered when collecting data though it was noticed that traders were more responsive to answering questions in the mornings rather than the afternoons as there seemed to be more customers passing through the market in the afternoons.

4.2.3 Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is about becoming aware of certain issues, scrutinising, collecting and thinking about interesting things concerning the study (Schwandt, 1997). This process involves a circular process going back and forth between observing, collecting and thinking. Accordingly when the data was analysed, it was qualitative and interpretive. The data analysis was concerned with breaking down what was collected from the informal traders and the study as a whole into relevant themes that are later discussed in detail in chapter five.

4.3 Kerk Street, Street Market

Figure 3: Kerk Street, street market



Kerk Street, street market is situated in the inner city of Johannesburg and is in a 2km radius of Marshalltown, Carlton Centre and Park Station. It is an example of how traders

and retailers can function in one space as retail shops and offices surround the market. The history of Kerk Street, street market is that initially traders were trading around this area so as to capture the working class pedestrian traffic that was moving between Park Station and Gandhi Square and the various offices in Marshalltown and Carlton Centre. This market, as previously mentioned, is managed by CJP. It was started as a pilot project to try and integrate informal trading within a CID setting in a way that is sustainable and well thought out. This market was started in 1995. Five sections of Kerk Street were blocked off and pedestrianised so that it could become a street market with minimal infrastructure where traders could trade. It is a type D market, since it is an open-air market that has no permanent structures. The market spans across five blocks from Harrison to Von Brandis streets (Map 3). But the scope of this study only considered three blocks of the market that were observed and traders interviewed from these blocks i.e. the three blocks from west to east, which is from Harrison to Joubert Streets. Only three blocks were covered because the last two blocks of Eloff and Von Brandis Streets had construction works going on during the duration of this study and the traders were not operating in their usual arrangement. Map 3 below shows the five blocks of Kerk Street, street market that is shaded in pink.

Map 3: Kerk Street



Source: http://www.joburgcentral.co.za/retail.php

When coming up with the concept of this market and how to handle informal street trading, CJP acknowledged that whatever interventions they put in place they had to reach a balance between the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa so as not to infringe on the traders right to trade and what action would actually be taken. This street market came under the wing of CJP because informal street trading was falling within their jurisdiction of the specified RID shown in Map 2 and 3. Since CJP deals a lot with street frontage so as to provide a better aesthetic outlook of the city, it therefore played a role in the concept of this street market as they had to find a way to deal with informal street trading so as to ensure the environment of the CID is kept clean and well managed. Therefore, it was decided to pedestrianise five blocks of Kerk Street and accommodate informal street traders in this space as a way of organising the traders and contributing to the aesthetic image and vitality of this RID.

CJP does the compliance and administration of this market with traders being issued twelve-month contracts that are renewable. The initial traders of this market were traders that sold around surrounding areas in the streets when the market was started. But, over time, different traders have been given space at the market by usually being referred to CJP from MTC's waiting lists. There are 350 traders that are registered with this market. CJP encourages a participatory approach to handling the running of the market i.e. from the grassroots rather than a top-down approach where things will be forced onto the traders. So, each block has a block leader that represents the traders in their block and assists in dealing with the day to day conflict resolution between traders and CJP itself. CJP security officers are very prevalent at the market as is the case in all CIDs managed by them. These security officers provide security and check on traders to ensure only the right people who are supposed to be selling at this market are there.

All of the traders at this market have been issued with trading permits that they do not have to pay for and are currently not paying for the use of the space allocated from where they sell. These trading permits are issued by CJP which involves the traders filling in some forms and then the permit is given to them. It should be noted, however, that permits at this market only started being issued last year. Traders who operate from this market are engaged in selling fruit, vegetables, clothes, bags, shoes, cosmetics, hairdressers, food stuff, books, CDs and DVDs. CJP tries to minimise competition and maximise opportunities at this market and they feel that a number of traders seen to be selling fruit and vegetables is good for the market as customers associate this with a healthy environment and encourages traders to have fresh produce daily. Traders at the market must adhere to by-laws, keep surroundings clean and are not allowed to sublet their selling space to anybody else.

Figure 4: Vegetable traders at the street market



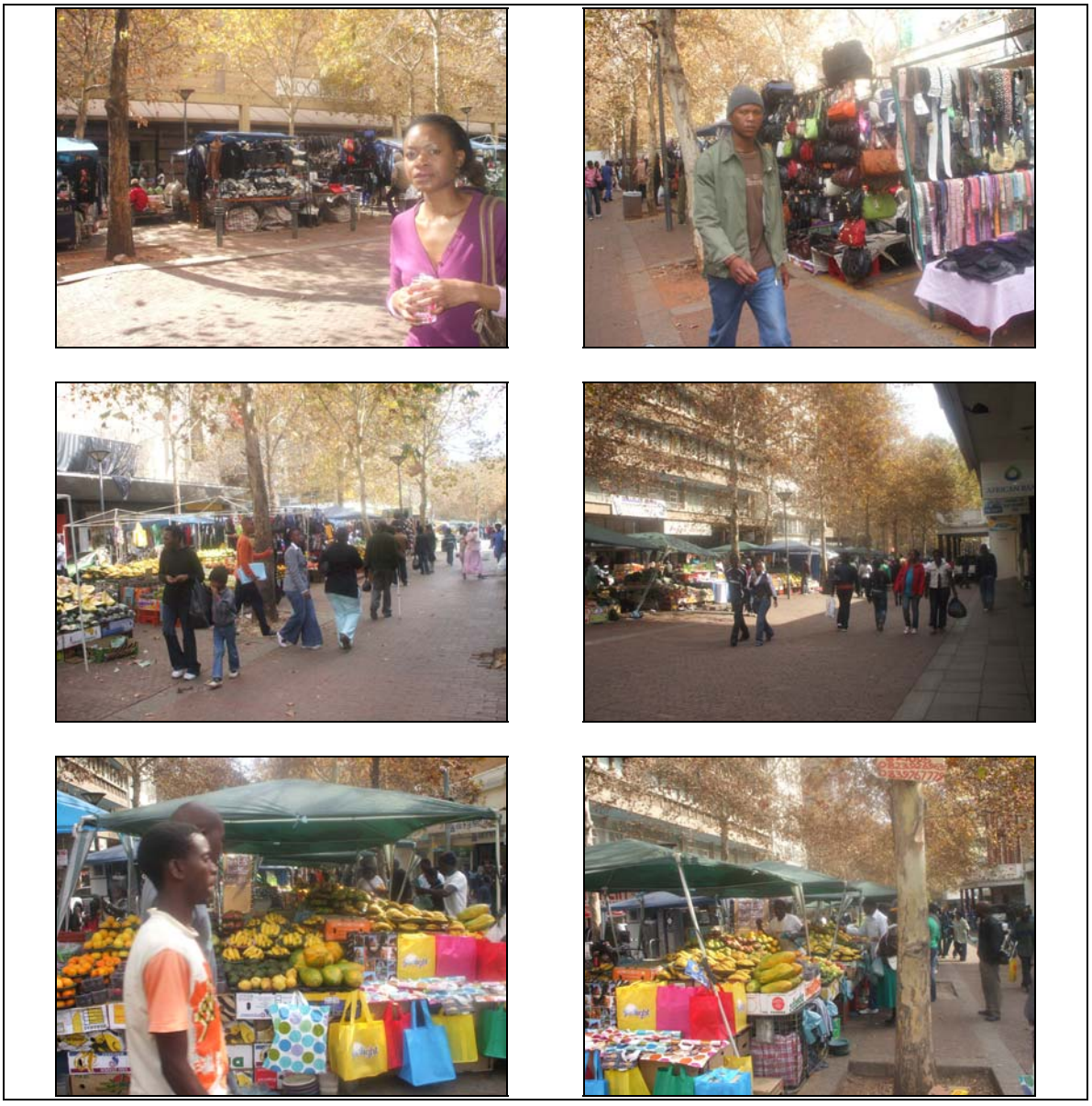
Figure 5: Clothes traders at the street market



This market appears to be orderly and well organised with traders complying with the rules and nobody trading outside the middle part of the street. Though there is no infrastructure that is provided at this market. Since this street market is a recognised market in a trading zone the traders do not face any harassment from the City and JMPD. It was, however, noted by an informant from CJP that the challenge remains with the people that are trading on the streets on stalls on the pavements as these will be completely done away with when more formal markets in the inner city are provided for

traders. It is part of the city plan in trying to de-densify trading areas and pavements for health and safety reasons. Therefore, with regards to informal street trading, CJP as an urban manager is there to facilitate change that is free where the traders are open and willing to transformation, works well for all and is not vetoed by Johannesburg Metro Police Department (JMPD).

Figure 6: Activity at Kerk Street, street market



Reasons for choosing this case study

According to what this study set out to investigate, i.e. the provision of minimal infrastructure through a street market, in controlling and managing informal street trading in the inner city and whether the street market approach does help to contribute to maintaining the vibrancy of the city. Kerk Street, street market was chosen as a case study because it was thought to be able to provide the setting to support or contradict the arguments that were raised in chapter one of the report. In addition, this market is not a typical example of regulation of informal street trading in the inner city. Its uniqueness of a street being pedestianised stood out and provided the basis of investigating the functionality of the market and whether this type of regulation contributes to the vibrancy of the city, also it fits into the urban fabric. Other markets and areas that have informal trading taking place were rejected because the study set out to investigate an unusual approach to controlling and maintaining informal street trading that could be used as an alternative in other parts of the inner city seeing that over time the City wants to completely rid the streets of informal street trading. That is why neither Yeoville nor Hillbrow markets were used as well as the trading stalls because they are situated along pavements in busy streets and with time these will be done away with.

Moreover, this market is located in an area that is considered to be a trading zone, providing for informal street traders in a space where traders, customers and passer bys are able to interact in an organized environment that has life and energy to it. The street market is also in a strategically located area that has a lot of pedestrian flow and is surrounded by retail shops and offices. Furthermore, since the street market is in a pedestrianised street it does away with congestion on pavements as there is enough space for passers by to walk through the market properly and traders too are able to display goods nicely for the public to see. Where as this is not what is usually experienced in other parts of the city such as the pavements along the Bree Street where traders have been provided with trading stalls on the pavements thus making it hard for both passers by and traders to adequately use the available space. Above all, what struck the author was that this market is a simple one with minimal infrastructure, which at first glance gives one the impression that it is well organised even though there is hardly any

infrastructure provided and trading takes place in a clean environment. This particular reason would in turn be used to test the hypothesis that was earlier mentioned as: that the liveliness of the inner city is destroyed through the municipal control of informal street trading and perhaps there is a different alternative of a minimalist approach to it other than constructed markets.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the research design and the street market that is the case study of the research. The chapter explained the research design that was embarked upon and highlighted the processes involved in carrying out this study. Also, the case study of the street market was described and the reasons of choosing this case outlined. The next chapter then continues to present the findings from the study and the analysis of data.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

5.1 Introduction

The case study has been described in the previous chapter. This chapter presents the findings of the research. The data is presented, broken down and examined. This chapter carries on discussing the case study but with additional detail of the research findings and the analysis of these findings.

5.2 The Findings

A sample of twelve traders randomly chosen was used as interviewees to answer the questionnaires from the Kerk Street, street market. In addition to these traders from the street market, information was also collected from two officials from MTC and CJP respectively. It was observed that a number of the traders interviewed were foreign which to a certain extent made it easier to communicate in English. The answers to the questions that were answered are presented in different themes, which are discussed into detail below.

5.2.1 Why selling on the streets

People engage in informal street trading for various reasons though the majority of them do it as a form of survival. It was seen from the questionnaires that the majority of traders at this market are selling on the streets because it is their source of income, this is the job they do on a daily basis. Out of the twelve traders that had been interviewed, four have had a job before and started selling when they no longer had that job and eight have never had any other job before. Thus, Table 2 below shows the distribution of the nature of employment of the traders interviewed.

Table 2: Nature of Employment

Self Employment	Working for someone	Temporary occupation
9	2	1

Some of these traders have been selling on the streets for a number of years, with an average of three years and nine months. Most of the interviewees had been selling at that market mostly for 1 year and 3 years (Table 3). Table 3 below therefore shows the frequency of the number of years the traders interviewed have been selling on the streets.

Table 3: Duration of selling at market

Duration (years)	Frequency
1	3
2	2
3	3
6	2
8	1
10	1

5.2.2 Distance Traveled

The CBD is a central place and many people want to sell from it. Due to the fact that there is a great flow of traffic of people passing through the CBD each day for various reasons, it thus proves to be good business for the informal street traders. Table 4 below shows the distribution of people that live in town and those that come from out of town, therefore showing that traders are attracted to come and sell from the CBD. Take note that out of town in this case refers to people that are traveling from the southern townships and beyond i.e. Soweto, whereas within town is mainly Braamfontein and Hillbrow areas and near town is the surrounding areas that do not take more than forty five to fifty minutes to reach the inner city. The mode of transport that is used to get to town is taxis and the traders that sell fruit and vegetables hire bakkies that assist them in going to pick up fresh supplies to bring back to the CBD.

Table 4: Distance traveled

Out of town	Within town	Near town
5	6	1

5.2.3 Why this particular market

Kerk Street, street market is a market that has no infrastructure and everything that the traders erect on site is of their own initiative. This is in the form of tables, boxes or even tents or whatever they feel they can use to make the space they are trading from more accommodating to them and their customers. All these objects they use are taken away with them once they knock off. As it was put by the traders interviewed, most of them are generally selling from this market because this is the space that was allocated to them by the council. Also, it seemed to be a preferred location because they felt they had no money for rent as traders are not paying for the use of space at this market and there is the added advantage of a considerable number of customers passing through this street market daily. Table 5 below thus shows the reasons for selling at this street market. One of the traders gave two reasons. Another one specifically highlighted the fact that that they particularly only wanted to come and sell from the CBD and this is the space that was available.

Table 5: Reason for selling at this market

Available space	Number of customers	No money for rent
9	3	1

5.2.4 Infrastructure, Safety and Security

As mentioned earlier, this market has no infrastructure and whatever is put up is at the initiative of the traders. Each trader is allocated a certain space which is on average 2m by 1m though it is also dependant on what one is selling. Some traders feel that the space they have been allocated with is adequate. Others feel that the space is not enough as they would like to expand their businesses, while others feel that they do not mind the space

they have been allocated with but would prefer a bigger space. From the observations made, it was noticed that a painted white line on the ground defines the space that each trader has to sell their goods within. Table 6 below shows the general feeling amongst the interviewees about the space allocated at the street market.

Table 6: Feelings on space allocation

Enough space	Not enough space	Do not mind more space
4	4	3

There are no storage facilities provided for the traders at this street market. Traders therefore have to make their own arrangements for storage nearby owned by private owners. Most of the traders leave their goods in storage overnight and either pay for this storage on a weekly or monthly basis. While the others that have smaller goods and feel they do not need to spend money on storage, carry their goods home with them and come back with them in the morning each day. The payment for storage depends on the goods being stored though on average R20 to R50 is spent weekly according to the traders that agreed to disclose what they pay for storage. Additionally, there are no specific toilets for the traders at the market to use and they use toilets that are available near to the street market. However, some traders feel that they need to be provided with storage facilities, toilets specifically for the market and tents which they can use to sell from under.

This street market has a secure and safe environment that always has CJP security guards lingering around. Traders are also not allowed to be too close to each other or to put any structures up that may block the CCTV cameras in the area. Hence, this market is safe and secure for both the traders and their customers. Moreover, since the traders are selling in a trading zone that they are allowed to be in, they do not receive any harassment from JMPD and do not have their goods impounded.

5.2.5 Trading Permits

All traders selling at this market have been issued with trading permits that give them the right to be operating from the market. These permits only started being issued last year. The trading permit has the trader's name, space number and at the back of the trading permit it says that the holder of the permit has to abide by the following rules: keep surroundings clean, not allowed to sublet to anyone and should renew permit on 7th of every month (though this is not the case, and renew permits after twelve months). The traders did not pay for the issuing of these trading permits and are still not paying, though it is said that they shall be required to pay later on in future, but it is not known exactly when this will happen. The CJP offices issued the trading permits at this market. Most of the traders said that representatives from CJP came to the market to ask them to fill in forms while others say that they had to go to their offices to fill in these forms. All traders were then later given the trading permits which they always have on them when they come to sell as a way of ensuring the rightful person is selling at the street market when the CJP security guards check.

5.2.6 Business Environment

Kerk Street, street market is in a place that has a number of people passing through daily. So, from data that was collected, traders expressed differently what they felt about business at the market. Some traders felt that business was sometimes good and at other times not too good, some felt it was better than getting nothing and others that it was a good location because it is surrounded by offices and people were always passing through and thus bound to sell something. On the other hand, one trader specifically outlined that since it was an open outdoor market, he felt that business was dependent on the season, as business seems to be slower during winter unlike summer. Also, due to the fact that the market is in a trading zone, people know that a variety of goods are sold there and so they will come to see what is available. Thus, Table 7 below shows the general feeling of the interviewees about the business environment. In this table, good means having many customers; slow means customers are far and in between, and

satisfactory means that there are a reasonable number of customers to at least enable some money to be made.

Table 7: Feelings on business environment

Business Good	Business Slow	Business Satisfactory
3	3	6

5.2.7 Relocation

Since the city wants to relocate all informal street traders within the CBD into formal markets, it was deemed necessary to find out that if the need arose for the traders here to be relocated how they would feel about it. The traders thus expressed their views on why they would agree or not agree to be relocated. Some of the traders felt that they would agree to be relocated to another place if it meant to be moved to a market that was better and busier because they felt the current one is not busy enough for their liking in terms of the number of customers they received plus if it meant getting a store like the ones at metro mall because they would want to progress in life and not just remain selling on the streets forever. On the other hand, other traders gave reasons for not wanting to relocate. These were attributed to the fact that they have been selling at the market for a long time and prefer being there and they felt that there is too much competition at other markets where too many people are selling the same things which is not the case at Kerk Street, street market. In addition was the fact that traders are not paying to sell from this street market. Moreover, traders also felt that there was enough passing foot traffic at Kerk Street, street market and so they are bringing goods closer to the people at a cheaper price thus traders should not be removed from the CBD and would definitely not want to be relocated if it meant being taken to a place that is far from the CBD. Table 8 below shows the general feeling from the interviewees towards relocation.

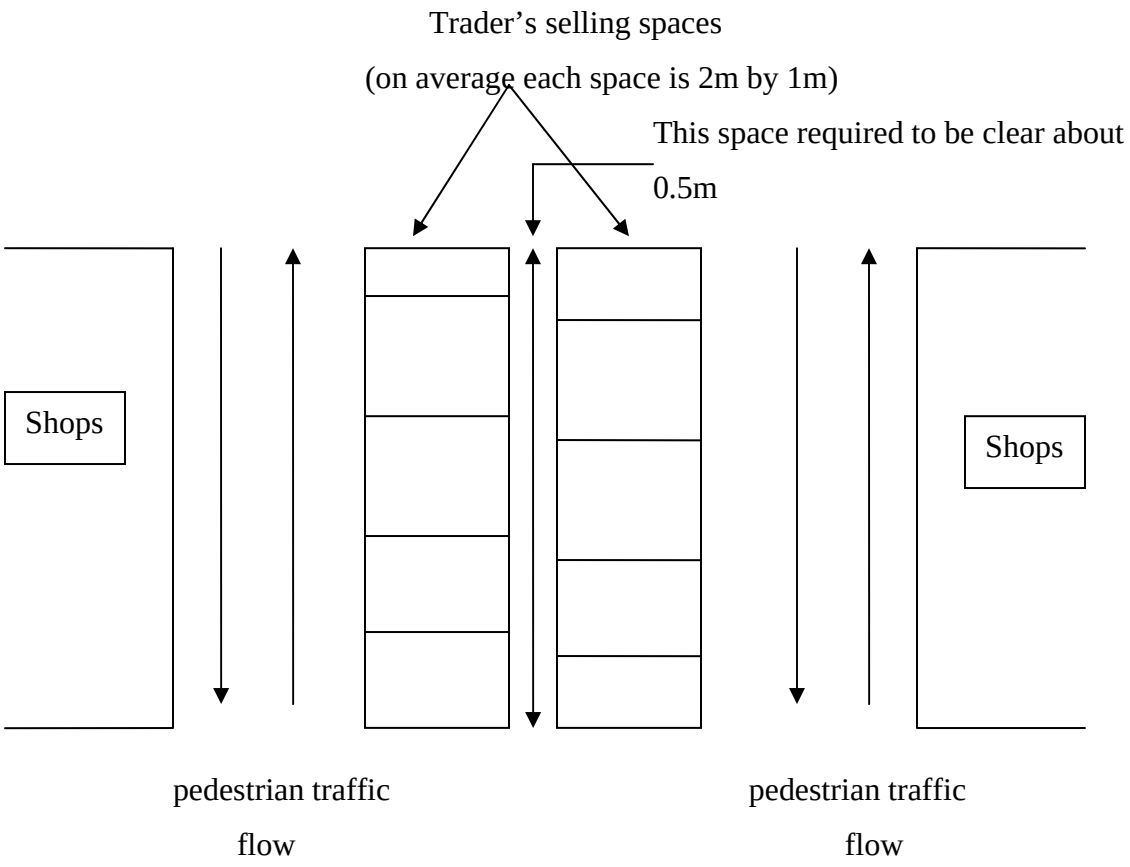
Table 8: Feelings on relocation

To be relocated	Not to be relocated
5	7

5.2.8 Management of Market

As has already been mentioned, this street market is managed and run by CJP. The surroundings are kept clean by CJP personnel. In addition to this, there are security guards that are constantly checking if people that are trading from there, are the ones that are supposed to be there. Each block has a block leader with whom CJP liaises with concerning issues or problems that are being faced at the market. It is these block leaders that CJP use to convey any information to the rest of the traders or to mobilise them. There is also a field worker from CJP that goes around the market interacting with the traders and ensuring that all is functioning well. This field worker pointed out that she expects the traders to be well organised, to keep their surroundings clean and not to break any of the rules of operating at this street market. One of the things she specifically pointed out was that the traders are expected to leave a space of about 0.5m between each other and work in a clear open space and not create any hidden dark spaces where any "shady" business can occur.

Figure 7: Illustration of layout of traders at the market



Source: Author

CJP has issued trading permits to all the traders that operate from this market. As stated earlier, the traders are not paying for them at the moment though they shall be required to do so at a later stage. But this shall be done only if and when infrastructure is put up at the market. The issuing of trading permits also helps CJP to keep track of the traders at the market as all of them appear on a database with all their necessary information, therefore knowing who has been allocated which space and if there is any space available at the market. First preference on the allocation of space at this market is to people who have already been trading in the inner city for more than two years though a period of eighteen months is also considered. Moreover, older women above fifty years old who cannot find a job are also given preference over others even if they do not meet the criteria of having been selling in the CBD for certain duration. The traders who want to

come and sell at the market appear on waiting lists that are with MTC who refer these people to CJP, and CJP only takes on traders if there is space available at the street market. At the present moment, traders sign twelve month contracts, which they are expected to renew and the current trader is given preference over others. Though if a contract is not renewed, it shall be considered that the trader no longer wants the space and it can be allocated to someone else. CJP tries to promote a culture of public participation at this market and work in conjunction with the traders as much as possible. For example, CJP asked traders to make recommendations on how spaces for selling from should be allocated, on which it was agreed that the traders should be given space depending on what goods one is selling and how long they have been selling at the market for. This therefore shows that CJP wants to work from the grassroots up and not just impose matters on the traders. CJP further tries to ensure that there is a variety of goods that are being sold at this market so as to minimise competition and maximise opportunities.

5.2.9 Challenges Faced

It should be noted that the challenges discussed below are those raised by the officials and not the traders. Some of the challenges that were said to be faced in dealing with the problems of running of the market and informal street trading in general were largely outlined as:

- Conflicts in planning and the kind of strategies that are implemented from higher offices such as local government to deal with informal street trading, as there tends to be various implications to the organisations that have to implement these strategies since they are the ones that directly deal with the informal street traders.
- The large number of traders who want to come and trade in the CBD.
- The provision of profitable walkways i.e. where does one take the traders that need to be relocated from the streets they are selling from to ensure their businesses are still profitable.

- The mindset of entitlement where people assume they have the right to make a living in the inner city and so relocating them to other areas makes these people feel that authorities are taking away that right because they need to make a living.
- The legacy of informal trade, as some are stuck in the previous mindset of informal trading being the economic activity that they should engage in because there are no formal jobs for them out there therefore nobody should take away this heritage, and so it is difficult to implement change.
- Wanting to trade from profitable pedestrian walkways that traders feel they are not exposed to in a formal market.
- Language and cultural barriers when it comes to engaging traders in initiatives with regards to trading as not all informal traders are locals and so they have different levels of understanding.
- Xenophobia as traders feel foreign traders take away what they have a right to and make more money.

5.2.10 Future Plans

This market seems to be running well and CJP would like to keep it as it is, i.e. operating as a formal street market. It was communicated that maybe infrastructure shall be provided at the market in the future, though management is not too keen about it. This is due to the fact that trading stalls do not seem to work out well, as once that is done the trading environment starts deteriorating. It then results in a situation where since there is infrastructure on site it is not clearly defined who manages it or cares for it. Therefore leading to making traders pay for using this infrastructure with the money collected said to be going towards “maintenance” of the infrastructure. Then with regards to storage facilities, it is felt that building storage is expensive and that the moment you create such dark spaces with goods locked up inside, you attract crime. Therefore traders are continuously advised to make their own storage arrangements. Overall it can be concluded that this street market will be operating just the way it is for a while.

5.3 Analysis of data

From the information and data that was collected an analysis was carried out in which the findings were scrutinised and broken down into matters of relevance to the study. The data was first analyzed on the basis of the functionality of the market based on observations made. Next, the data was analysed on the basis of answering the questions that the research set out to investigate. Then, the data was analysed by relating the data to the theoretical framework. Finally, the data was analysed in the form of attempting to link literature, policy and reality.

5.3.1 Functionality of market

Markets are profoundly affected by the way in which they are located, structured and administered (Dewar and Watson, xi: 1990). Therefore, the functionality of Kerk Street, street market shall be looked at from this perceptive in addition to what was observed at this market and what it contributes to this space in the inner city. The location of a market plays an essential role as to whether the market will function or not. If it is poorly located, traders usually end up abandoning the market and taking matters into their own hands to find a suitable location where they feel they can make more money from passing traffic. As a result thereof, informal street traders more often than not tend to set themselves up where they generally know that a lot of people do pass so as to capture the passing traffic. This can be said to be the case of Kerk Street, as in the beginning traders trading from this street aimed to capture the working class that was moving between Park Station and Gandhi Square and to the various offices in Marshalltown and Carlton Centre. This market is strategically located seeing that shops and offices with a constant flow of people passing through the market as they go to and fro from work and home surround it. Traders at this market have thus gained access to a central viable location within the city. The locality of this market further serves the city's consumers; catering for the lower income groups and helping them satisfy their shopping needs at a cheaper price within a convenient location that they do not go out of their way for.

This market is not a formally planned and built market though it has a very simple layout with minimal infrastructure with traders being adequately exposed to satisfactory flows of potential customers. This ends up being an advantage for the traders since there is an open flow throughout the entire trading area and there are no dead ends. These pedestrian flows are primarily affected by the selling environment and orientation of the market to dominate pedestrian circulation patterns and visual content (Dewar and Watson, 1990). Hence, this market is in a clean environment that is very orderly with a wide range of products being sold. In addition, traders are on direct movement pathways and so their products are displayed adequately for the customers to see. It then means that traders do not have to compete to be in direct contact with these movement paths especially since there is no defined entrance that exists at this market thereby giving all traders an equal opportunity to display and sell their goods thus enabling their goods to be seen equally by passersby. Whereas in a built formal market traders will sometimes move to sell from outside of the market at peak times so that not only the traders who are in first contact with customers when they enter the market benefit from peak time purchases. Moreover due to its open nature, this market is visually observable from other parts of it with no sellers being particularly isolated from the flow of consumers.

There are different levels of infrastructure depending on the kind of market it is. At this market, traders show a great level of resourcefulness by providing much of their own market infrastructure that enables the market to have an irregular form filled with creativity unlike having rows and rows of concrete rectangular slabs where traders would display their goods on. Even though traders feel that they would want infrastructure provided for them, the minimal provision of infrastructure enables them to be able to use this market without having to pay for the space. As there is no infrastructure to maintain and CJP is not trying to make any cost recoveries or profits from this market. Whereas depending on the type of infrastructure that would be provided it would be required to get money back on costs and money in for the maintenance of the infrastructure. Above all, the openness and minimal infrastructure of this market brings vibrancy to the area with all the activity that takes place within this space.

Since this market is a street market provision of infrastructure, services can be kept to a minimal. For instance, water can be provided by taps being strategically located and water that is needed by traders can be stored in containers especially for those selling fruits and vegetables. But, it would be helpful if traders could be provided with public toilets in the vicinity. There could be a need for shelter so that business operations are not dependant on the weather. Then again, if it is raining, how many customers will actually go to the street market as most, if not all, customers are pedestrians? On the other hand, the provision of storage is usually difficult to deal with because if traders feel that management is charging too much for storage they will look elsewhere for cheaper storage and so end up with wasted storage spaces that may not be used. Thus, it could be said that with the type of market that this is, it can function reasonably well with negligible infrastructure.

The administration of this market is solely the responsibility of CJP. This street market operates within the requirements of the city by-laws with regards to informal street trading. The market seems to be managed fair enough under a system of licencing by a means of issuing trading permits to traders and there is an inclination towards public participation when tackling issues affecting the market. With regards to the issues that have been discussed, it can be said that this market is functioning well since it is located, structured plus administered well with very little infrastructure so the costs of running this market are considerably low.

5.3.2 Answering the research questions

This research set out to investigate how a street market may contribute to controlling and managing informal street trading and what it contributes to retaining the liveliness of the city. Therefore the case study was used to try and demonstrate how a minimalist approach to informal street trading can be undertaken successfully in an organised, healthy, and clean environment other than a built up market. Additionally encompassing how well the regulation of informal street trading is functioning for the traders, if the traders are more secure now that they have specific areas to trade from and the

practicality of infrastructure provision. Therefore when the data was analyzed the questions that were set as practical research questions in chapter one could be said to have been satisfactorily answered.

It should be noted that due to the time constraints the whole inner city could not be investigated and answers are based on the case study from which lessons may be learned for the rest of the inner city. Basically a lot of negativity is placed on the regulation of informal street trading as the council is usually seen as being cruel in trying to move traders off the streets into markets and trying to create some order within the city. But then again, this activity cannot just be left to grow uncontrollably. The provision of a street market does help to manage and control informal traders resulting in the provision of minimal infrastructure that blends into the urban built environment and contributing to keeping the energy and vibe that come alive in an organised clean environment, as a vibrant commercial street is said to attract consumers and pedestrians. A street market therefore does contribute to maintaining the vibrancy of the city, as when one walks through this market you are taken at how peaceful and uncongested it is but at the same time there is an energy and vibe about it. Whereas, if this street market did not exist and the traders were completely removed from this area it would most probably be a deserted area with no vitality and very little happening in it with only people walking to and from work. Yes, the traders at this street market are all issued with trading permits and the trading environment is clean and conducive to both traders and customers. Hence, it can be acknowledged that the regulation of informal street trading at this particular street market is functioning well for the traders. It can attributed to the fact that the traders are not required to pay for the space they are using nor for their trading permits as this is noticed to be the major complaint of street traders when any talk of regulation arises.

Moreover, the traders are trading in a strategic location and there is not a lot of competition as there is a wide range of goods being sold at the market. Also, this street market operates in an environment that is open with enough space for consumers to walk around without them feeling crowded and there is no dirt lying around. Furthermore, this street market impacts positively on the traders since they do not have to be worried about

their goods being impounded as they are selling in a trading zone area and do not have to think of being harassed by JMPD and paying for confiscated goods.

5.3.3 Relating data to theoretical framework

Different theories and schools of thought to a certain extent help in the forming of the cities that we live in. Thus, in relation with the theories that were used as the theoretical framework of this study i.e. modernism, postmodernism and NPM a number of things were deduced when the data was analyzed.

The planning profession is a product of a reform movement within modernism that emerged as a reaction of the misery, deregulation and chaos of the 19th century city (Harrison, 1996). Therefore, it is seen that today most planning styles still remain modernist in thinking as well as application seeing that there is still a great need to pursue a better society to live in, bring order to spatial interactions and use appropriate human reasoning to find solutions to particular problems of the city. So even though postmodernism brought in the aspect of dealing with the realities of cities, both postmodernism and modernism seem to be present in planning interventions and being implemented side by side as hierarchy, rationalism, bureaucratic organisation and the authority of national government still exist with there still being an attempt to bring order to the social and spatial aspects of the city (Harrison, 1996). It is then hard to say whether today's planning involvements are completely modernist or postmodernist and if there is a need to bring order to an ever more disorderly society or whether difference should be held closely and celebrated without losing the functionality of cities and reasoning behind making cities better places to live in.

The City wants to restore order in the inner city by managing and controlling informal trading through providing constructed markets and setting out trading zones. Table 1 in chapter two showed the differences between modernism and postmodernism. Thus, it is noticed that modernist type of planning is about hierarchy, grand vision, functionality and it seeks to bring order to the realities of the city (Harrison, 1996). While on the other

hand postmodernist planning is about diversity, dealing with the realities, fitting into the global economy and attracting investors (ibid). So when one thinks of order, control and the setting out of specific areas for specific activities; modernism comes into mind as this is what modernism was all about as a way of achieving a utopian environment. However, the mere fact that informal street trading has been recognised plus acknowledged and the fact that something needs to be done about it, brings in the issue of dealing with the realities of the city from which this is taken from postmodernism therefore recognising that heterotopias can exist in society. Additionally, the inner city has been targeted as an area of regeneration and renewal so as to attract people and invest back into the CBD. This is seen to be gotten from the postmodern era that is all clued up with being in line with the global economy. Hence, with what the City of Johannesburg is trying to achieve, one sees a modernist kind of planning trying to exist in a postmodern situation that is multifaceted, diverse and ever changing.

Above all, it is seen that the context in which informal street trading exists is within a postmodern world that is ever changing as cities recreate themselves all the time. This is in turn seen through the whole notion of regeneration/renewal and the need to attract people back to the inner city. Nevertheless, since informal street trading is seen to contribute to the decline of the inner city through dirt, grime and crime a modernist approach is taken towards it. Which is to order and manage informal street trading as this activity cannot be left to just continue operating in the manner it does since it is not considered to be good for all parties i.e. the traders, the users of the city and the city itself. Furthermore the Municipality wants to make informal street trading a viable economic activity, which highlights the notable shift of postmodernity from welfarism and managerialism towards entrepreneurialism.

NPM has played a role in the way things are being done with regards to issues of efficiency, partnerships and a decentralised system. This is noticed in areas where specific units are now involved in managing informal street trading rather than it being done from a centralised system. Plus, the influence from NPM of there being a great focus on efficiency and outcomes is noticed to drive policy and have an effect on the

outcome of policies. In addition, the effects of NPM are seen through the ideals of competitiveness and trying to achieve world-class status, which is strongly emphasised in policy involving the inner city, which then brings in aspects of informal trading management. Looking at what CJP has done with the Kerk Street, street market it can be said that the NPM notion helps the city to draw from resources and ideas of the private sector. The case study clearly shows how the intervention of the private sector has helped in informal trading management within the inner city without having to take the alternative route of forcing the traders to leave the CIDs. This works out well for the city, which enables them to work in partnership with the private sector in trying to provide a better environment for the traders, consumers and a better image for the city.

5.3.4 Linking literature, policy and reality

Even though informal street trading has been acknowledged as a phenomenon that continues to exist, there is major support towards not taking away this uniqueness that is found mainly in developing cities as it is considered to bring life and vibrancy to the city. Most of the literature that was read supports not getting rid of informal street traders as their livelihoods should not be taken away by removing them from profitable walkways with good movement paths where they can capture their customers. Literature acknowledges that informal street trading continues to rise as jobs in the formal economy are created at a slower rate than the high rate of urbanisation and migration. Hence, people continue to turn to informal trading as a means of survival. The literature further acknowledges that informal street trading is perceived to be associated with congestion of pavements, dirt plus crime and that issues concerned with this subject are complex. Thus, when dealing with this activity there is a need to really understand the context in which it is happening as it is considered to differ over time and space, so as to come up with appropriate initiatives rather than taking the easier option of putting traders in enclosed formal markets. On top of this, it is also acknowledged that informal traders continue to face many challenges especially that of a right to trading space and the confiscation of goods especially if traders are found to be breaking by-laws. Above all, the literature

states that the informal sector, particularly informal street trading, can play a role in alleviating poverty and create employment so it should therefore be supported.

Policy wants to regulate the informal street traders as a way of being able to support, manage and control this activity. Therefore, the solution to this has been to let traders trade in specific trading areas only and provide them with infrastructure, opportunities plus give them trading licences so that a database of traders trading within the inner city is kept and they are easily kept track of i.e. knowing exactly where one is selling from. Policy also further states that there should be a time when there will be no street traders on the streets at all and will all be enclosed in formal markets thus dealing with the issue of dirt, congestion and crime. However, policy's focus is on control, management and organisation so that this activity can operate in a more organised manner within a cleaner healthier environment. Policy is also very inclined towards by-laws being adhered to, though one would wonder if by-laws continue to be broken then there must be a problem somewhere that policy does not seem to be addressing. Policy is fixated on cleaning the city and moving traders into markets so that they are off the streets and out of sight. From the influence of NPM it is noticed that there are specific targets of desired outcomes that need to be achieved towards tackling the issue of informal street trading in the CBD. For instance the Draft Inner City Charter, 2007 sets desired outcomes of all matters that need to be addressed and the commitments towards achieving these outcomes. For example, under the section entitled Economic Development, with regards to informal street trading the desired outcome is for there to be no more unmanaged trading on the streets beyond 2009. With some specific commitments being set out such as a smart card system of all traders trading in the inner city to be rolled out by March 2008 plus developmental street programmes to assist street traders to consolidate or expand their businesses i.e. by June 2008 with 1000 more traders to be provided with skills training opportunities by means of an existing partnership between City of Johannesburg and Witwatersrand University (Draft Inner City Regeneration Charter, May 2007).

Then when it comes to what is happening in reality it seems to appear as though these policies are achieving very limited results. But progress is being made even if it is at a

slow pace as some facets of these policies have started being carried out. The traders are being given trading spaces and being moved and relocated to trading zones either in markets or trading stalls are provided. For example this has already happened in Market Street where CJP has removed their trading stalls as a way of decongesting Market Street and these trades have been moved to other places. The whole process of moving traders is starting by setting traders up into linear markets that with time will have the necessary infrastructure. This is what is being done with the new linear market that is being set up in Hoek Street. Traders are also getting business skills training as mentioned earlier in chapter three at Witwatersrand University. Further still MTC has taken control of the management of informal trading markets and some markets have been constructed in the inner city or trading stalls provided where traders are expected to pay for the use of these selling spaces and in turn given trading licences. Moreover, traders continue to have their goods confiscated and impounded by JMPD if found to be breaking any of the by-laws especially not trading in a trading zone. In reality, even though the media sometimes portrays the council as being the enemy, traders to a certain extent are cooperative, even though have a few calamities here and there but when all is said and done they would rather agree to work with the council and continue having an income rather than no income at all.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the research findings and the data was analysed. To conclude, the findings from this research were that people continue to engage in informal street trading as a source of employment with the majority having been engaged in it for an average of three years. Traders want to sell from the CBD as it is seen to have a comparative advantage of many people passing through each day. Traders are selling at the particular street market because it is conveniently located, do not pay for using the spaces they have been allocated and traders are trading in a trading zone where they have been issued with trading permits and are not harassed by JMPD. From the findings, traders feel infrastructure could be provided at the market in terms of shelter and storage facilities and that if they had to be relocated most of them would not want to be moved at

all. Various challenges were found to be faced but the management of the market is not just imposed on the traders by CJP but traders also involved seeing that CJP encourages participation. Adding to all this, it is intended for this market to be kept the way it is for a while i.e. as a simple organised market operating in a clean healthy environment.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

The concluding chapter of this report presents the summary of the report and makes some concluding remarks while outlining lessons learned from this study. Then finally some recommendations are made.

6.2 Summary and Conclusions

Matters concerning informal street trading are usually generalised with the whole notion of the informal sector which sometimes makes it difficult to pick out exactly the specifics of informal street trading. However, issues involving informal street trading are dynamic and the more one reads and searches for information the more one unravels, ending up with an overwhelming amount of information thus battling with what areas to focus on and what to narrow it down to. It has been seen that informal street trading has moved from being treated with a laissez faire attitude of where it was allowed to grow rapidly in the inner city without being controlled to a more developmental approach of where it has been acknowledged that there is a need to appropriately plan for it so that it impacts positively on the traders and the city. It would have been interesting to compare how the linear markets are being operated and managed by MTC in comparison to the street market managed by CJP and therefore see which type of market seems to be achieving better results in terms of accommodating plus fulfilling the needs of the traders and that of the city. But, due to the time constraints of this research this was not possible and only the Kerk Street, street market was exclusively examined.

The aim of this research was to determine the viability of the hypothesis that the vibrancy of the inner city is destroyed through the municipal control of informal street trading and to see if there is perhaps a different minimalist alternative to it other than constructed markets. To this end Kerk Street, street market in the inner city of Johannesburg was chosen as an informal trading market to be analysed amongst other trading sites in the

inner city. This market was chosen due to the fact that it portrayed the best example of a minimalist approach of providing for informal street traders in an organised environment while still maintaining and bringing vibrancy to the area. It was envisaged that the research would: identify a topic of interest that was problematic. In this case, it was informal street trading in the inner city of Johannesburg focusing on issues of control, management and maintaining vibrancy. The report produced an outline of a theoretical framework which concentrated on the themes of modernism, post modernism and new public management as theories that influence planning and help in shaping interventions and policies that deal with informal street trading in the inner city. It then outlined the Johannesburg context of what has been done and what is currently happening with regards to informal street trading in the inner city and presented Kerk Street, street market as a functioning informal trading market that can be duplicated in other areas of the inner city. Further analysing the findings in terms of the prevailing situation in Johannesburg CBD referring to theory, policy and reality so as to outline lessons learned and how what would be learned could be built upon.

The study investigated concerns surrounding informal street trading within the inner city of Johannesburg with areas of focus being: cleaning up the city and interventions being undertaken; vibrancy of the inner city; regulating informal street trading; traders being more secure in trading zones; trading permits; infrastructure provision for traders and functionality of the street market. Therefore, based on what has been done so far with regards to interventions towards informal street trading in the inner city, certain arguments were raised in this study. These arguments were concerned with whether municipality control and management of informal traders removes the vibrancy of the inner city leaving it lifeless with no activity on the streets and apart from providing constructed formal markets all around the Johannesburg CBD the City could possibly look at other feasible alternatives of providing for informal traders. Further arguing whether traders were actually being registered as well as being licenced and if they were more secure trading in trading zones. So in answering the questions that were outlined it was found that the provision of minimal infrastructure through a street market enables informal street trading to be controlled and managed in a well organised open

environment while maintaining a vibrant area in which both traders and passer-bys are able to interact and go about their business without being exposed to congested pavements and that the traders are operating in a well structured area in which they do not pay for the use of space, they have all been issued with trading permits and are secure that they will not be harassed or removed by JMPD as they have a right to trade from the market.

The objective of the study was met in that the concept of a street market was examined and it was shown that the minimalist approach of this market does contribute to adding vibrancy to the inner city. A street market does add vibrancy to the city landscape and offers a good flow of walkable traffic through it without pavements being congested and customers not having to squeeze past each other and the traders so as to walk through. This therefore implies that enclosing traders in constructed markets is not the only solution to be considered as once that infrastructure has been built and commissioned it needs to be maintained and not only think of maintaining it when it has deteriorated since it is not just about providing the infrastructure but more of how this infrastructure will impact on development and the quality of the people's lives. The examination also revealed how the private sector with the formation of a street market played a role in trying to make the city a better place so as to help organize and attract investment back into the area, they did not focus on making profits but rather on the well being of all and therefore found a way of incorporating informal street trading into the CID. Hence, showing that public private partnership can successfully work with the municipality to assist in tackling and dealing with problems in the inner city like CJP. It was further revealed that the collaboration and participation between traders and officials helps to arrive at better interventions as it gives traders a sense of importance and appreciation, reducing conflicts between traders and management thus making them more welcoming to any changes that might be made. Above all, the provision of other street markets in the inner city could be a considered option so that the cost of having to construct markets is minimized and the cost of running these markets is kept to a minimum.

The report also discussed some of the issues concerning informal street trading in terms of perceptions of this activity, arguments for and against it and challenges faced. In addition the different kind of initiatives that different countries have under taken was dealt with so as to further understand how informal street trading is tackled in diverse ways and how this impacts on the vibrancy of the cities. In examining some of the pertinent aspects of informal street trading, the report revealed that the modern city has no room for informality and wants to exclude it as this city is more concerned with attracting investments and tourists. But informal street traders should not be confined to constructed formal markets only but rather allowed to bring liveliness to the streets in a controlled and managed way such as a pedestrianised street market. Above all informal street trading can be controlled and managed with a minimalist approach that brings vibrancy to an area and so should move away from the rigid thinking of need to enclose all traders in constructed markets. Hence this research report contributed to the knowledge base of planning as it highlighted the notion that even though cities may be under pressure to compete globally and maintain order and efficiency in the inner city, the traditional approach of controlling informal street trading by enclosing traders in enclosed markets should not be the only given option as this may end up creating lifeless unnatural urban spaces. This work embraces the ideology of planning with creativity that encompasses the complexity and chaos in cities therefore making informal street trading in the inner city better by taking public space and putting it to good use rather than it being seen as something that needs to be reclaimed with the users of this space being kept out of sight and out of mind.

6.3 Recommendations

After undertaking the research the following suggestions can be made as some of the things to be considered when dealing with informal street trading within the inner city.

- Markets need to operate in a decentralised manner rather than a centralised one i.e. people who are on foot should easily have access with markets or trading places not being too far for consumers to buy goods otherwise they will not necessarily go out of their way since it is usually people on foot that informal

street traders target and provide services to. Therefore informal street traders should not be taken away from these dynamics that pull them to trade from certain areas.

- There should be enough drawing power to a market or trading place for traders to make enough sales and so this needs to be thoroughly researched. While on the other hand it does not mean that traders should be over crowded and over traded in these places but rather implies that even though a market or trading area is provided it should to a certain extent be controlled on the number of traders trading and number of types of goods sold.
- A specific trading policy that is targeted at informal street trading and what exactly needs to be achieved should be drawn up, as it will guide in the provision of infrastructure for traders. Just to give an example, if the city wanted to create opportunities for traders it does not make sense to allocate markets far from suppliers and consumers. Thus, it should be encouraged for street trading not to be part of the bigger picture but to a certain extent to be the bigger picture.
- The type and level of infrastructure that is appropriate for different markets should be carefully planned so that it does not lead to a situation in which formal markets may be deserted, as they would be too expensive for traders to maintain and trade from. This is due to the fact that capital investment in infrastructure for markets or any development project can sometimes end up being a large cost spent which is usually hard to recover as the higher the level of infrastructure the higher the cost to the users since the authority would want to make a cost recovery.
- The provision of shelter can go hand in hand with the immediate recommendation given above. It can be considered that shelter creates an environment which enriches the trading experience and thus enhances trade itself also allowing the trading activity to not be dependent upon the weather. But, it is advised that shelter provision should depend on the type of the market and the actual cost for providing that shelter.
- Self-regulation of traders at markets should be encouraged so that traders are responsible for hygiene and keeping the environment around them clean.

- Endogenous development should be encouraged which is about development from within which cares to improve the asset base and not conceal poverty or anything that is considered to be unsightly. This can be linked to globalisation and the fact that Johannesburg wants to become a World Class African city as this fosters new modes of organisation within the city therefore leading to cities becoming spaces of development that are there to impress and attract more investment rather than accommodate all.
- Planning for new markets and trading opportunities need to bear in mind the spatial planning of the city, economic needs of the traders, the need for more a vibrant land use as well as health and safety and the need for an orderly town in which not only certain economic activities are considered while others are sidelined. Therefore, markets whether constructed, linear or street should be appropriately planned and designed to integrate into the surrounding urban fabric and not made to be an eye sore as this would defeat the purpose of having a controlled informal trading activity if the image of the city is not improved on.

It was, however, noted that there is usually a pessimistic view about what the City wants to do with regards to informal street trading. But, after really engaging in the topic at hand and learning more about the case study, the mindset shifts so that it can be possible to a certain extent for street trading to be organised and well-managed without compromising the well being of traders. Just like any other human being, these traders are making ends meet and should be given the chance and support they need. After all, providing for them in an improved manner is better than completely banning them from selling at all. Thus the City should continue working with all relevant stakeholders and traders to continue in coming up with improved initiatives towards informal street trading with both the City and traders engaging and learning from each other.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The Star; 9th May 2007

7

Joburg to pump R100m into crime and grime clean-up

BY ANNA COX

The City of Johannesburg is to invest R100-million in cleaning up the inner city over the next five years.

This is over and above an additional R100-million that will be given to Pikitup in the next financial year for cleaning.

So said executive mayor Amos Masondo while addressing the Inner City Summit at the weekend.

He admitted that although great strides had been made, the city was still facing huge challenges.

Among the main ones were crime and grime.

"Yes, we have run clean-up campaigns and by-law enforcement blitzes, but these have not left a lasting effect.

"We still see dirty streets, unmanaged street trading, pavements in disrepair, people urinating in public, litter, and illegally dumped waste on the side of the road. We still see many players failing to comply with the city's by-laws.

"Some people still do not walk freely on our streets because of petty crime. But the management and maintenance of our public environment, including crime, should improve."

'Unmanaged trading is a critical issue'

Another concern, said Masondo, was that while it was true that some of the large anchor companies were re-investing in further head office development, it would be a mistake to think that the city had reached its full potential in commercial redevelopment in the inner city.

"There has been a huge decline in the amount of A-grade office space in the area over the past decade. Initiatives like the Fashion District are exciting, but I don't think we can say it has contributed hugely to giving the garment industry new life and facilitating new jobs and businesses.

"We must think boldly about what more we can do to restore the inner city as Johannesburg's primary business centre," he said.

Over the past 15 years, because of migration from rural areas and other countries, the inner city had come to house many more people than it was originally built to accommodate, and a proper inner-city development plan was needed.

Johannesburg was the biggest transport interchange in the country, with many different modes – car, taxi, bus and train, both local, national and international – coming together in the same place.

Masondo said the challenge was that it did not work optimally as a point of interchange.

"The various modes don't connect well. There are too many taxis ranking illegally on our streets because we don't have the facilities to house them properly.

"Desirable residential neighbourhoods don't depend only on good accommodation; they need all those other things that allow residents to exercise a sense of community.

"Over the next few years the city will completely refurbish all swimming pools, sports fields and community sport centres," he added.

An International Transit and Shopping Centre would be built near Park station in the next financial year.

One of the critical issues facing parts of the inner city was unmanaged street trading, or micro-retailing, he said.

"It is our view that informal trading, as is the case in many countries and cities in the world, should be legally controlled and properly managed. Trading should occur only in those areas that are suitably designated for this particular purpose."

Masondo said the R100-million the city was allocating over the next five years would be used to upgrade pavements, put better streetlights in place, plant trees, build decent street furniture, install waste bins, develop public conveniences, and upgrade available plots into new mini-parks and public spaces.

Furthermore, the city was finalising plans to significantly improve regular everyday waste management and collection in the inner city.

"To ensure the full implementation of these plans, we have devoted almost R100-million in an operating subsidy to Pikitup in the coming financial year," Masondo said.

Other commitments by the city include:

- The setting up of a new structure to improve urban management in the city. "By urban management, we mean the proper management and maintenance of the public environment," Masondo said.
- The inner city will be fully covered with CCTV cameras within the next five years.
- The city intends to improve residential accommodation in the city.

APPENDIX B



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

MSC. DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

Research Title: Bringing order to the city: an evaluation of informal street trading in the Johannesburg CBD

Date: _____ Time: _____

Location: _____

Hello my name is **Yvonne** and I am a student from the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently working on a research study about how street trading in the Johannesburg CBD is being controlled and managed and have chosen to use Kerk Street, street market as a case study. I would therefore like to take some of your precious time to ask you a few questions that may assist me with my research. The information from this interview will be purely used for academic purposes and your assistance is highly appreciated.

1. How long have you been selling here for?

_____

2. Why are you selling on the streets?

_____

_____

3. Have you ever had any other job?

_____

_____

4. How far do you have to travel to come to sell?

5. Why are you selling at this particular street market?

6. How does this market operate? (Is there a committee in charge of running the market?)

7. Do you pay for use of the space you are selling from?

8. Do you feel the space allocated to each trader is adequate enough?

9. Do you have a trading license? (**if NO go to 10, if YES go to 11**)

10. Why don't you have a trading license?

NA

11. How did you get your trading license?

12. Is business at this market good?

13. Would you want to get a trading license?(for unlicensed traders)

NA to this market

Give reason

NA

14. If you were asked to relocate would you move to another trading place?

Give reason

Thank you very much for your time!

APPENDIX C

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

MSC. DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

Research Title: Bringing order to the city: an evaluation of informal street trading in the Johannesburg CBD

Date: _____ Time: _____

Location: _____

Hello my name is **Yvonne** and I am a student from the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently working on a research study about how street trading in the Johannesburg CBD is being controlled and managed. The research study involves evaluating what the city of Johannesburg has done so far in managing informal street trading and Kerk Street; street market has been chosen to be used as a case study. I would therefore like to take some of your precious time to ask you a few questions that may assist me with my research. The information from this interview will be purely used for academic purposes and your assistance is highly appreciated.

If there is any concern with regards to the study. You may contact my supervisor Professor Alan Mabin on +27 11717 7728 or 7726 email: Alan.Mabin@wits.ac.za

Some questions of interest:

1. What are some of the challenges that MTC has faced in trying to control and manage street trading within the CBD?

2. What are the statistics of the number of street traders trading within the CBD?

3. Do traders understand what the city is trying to do in managing street trading within the CBD?

4. How did the whole concept of a street market come up?

5. How is Kerk Street; street market managed?

6. What are the criteria for people to be able to sell from the street market?

7. Do traders trading there require trading licenses?

8. How does the trading licensing system work?

9. Do traders know how the system works?

10. Do you feel that the street market is working out well for the city?

11. What are the future plans for informal street trading within the city with regards to street markets, stalls or markets?

Thank you very much for your time!