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EXPLORING HIGH STREETS IN SUBURBAN JOHANNESBURG

By Tatum Tahnee Kok

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Town and Regional Planning.

Johannesburg, 2016

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Science to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.

……

(Signature of Candidate)

……. Day of ……., ……

(Day) *(Month)* *(Year)*

ABSTRACT

Traditionally the high street serviced residents in the local suburb. The proliferation of entertainment and leisure activities on the high street in suburban Johannesburg has appealed to people in the broader region. These social spaces within the suburb provide a simultaneous interaction of individuals who can carry out their daily activities of shopping, dining and socializing and essentially has contributed to these high streets being successful destination points.

Patrons, the foot traffic of the high street, sustain businesses on the high street. Some business owners neglect to implement city by-laws and comply with licensing regulations often perpetuating unfavourable circumstances for residents in the suburb. Noise, petty crime and parking constraints detract from the street's allure. Alternatively, some residents enjoy easy access to the street's activities.

Using a mixed method research approach, this research reveals some of the perceptions, regulations and tensions regarding the prominence of entertainment and leisure activities on the high street. Three case studies (7th Street in Melville, 4th Avenue in Parkhurst and Rockey/Raleigh Street in Greater Yeoville) are explored to evaluate the role of entertainment and leisure on the suburban high street.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context

We use streets every day. Whether it is to go to work or school, buy groceries, go jogging or go for a walk, the street provides effective channels of movement and routes for transportation (Appleyard, 1981). A morphological description of the street is that it is a more or less narrow, linear space lined by buildings found in settlements used for circulation and, sometimes, other activities (Rapoport, 1987, p. 81). As a physical entity the street operates as a vehicular space allowing cars and pedestrians to get from A to B. The street provides an easy and efficient basis for dividing land and provides access and connectivity as well as a space for services and residential amenities (Mehta, 2013).

The morphological description of the street has been favoured by key custodians of the street and, historically, street design emphasized the street's role to move traffic through streets (Hawkes & Sheridan, 2009). This is not surprising as legislation and policy favour vehicles over pedestrians and the rise of car ownership in the late 20th century increased traffic volumes. Streets have been engineered and designed to endure increasing car capacities. Much less effort has been undertaken to recognize the street's potential for providing a public space in which people can socialize and interact.

> *"Within cities, there are different kinds of streets: for living, for shopping, for working, for walking or driving, for leisure, or for any number of other activities or combinations"* (Jacobs, 1993, p. 10).

The focus of this dissertation is on the high street. High streets are places of complexity and diversity. One of the distinguishable features of a high street is the suburb, as the high street and suburb are embedded. Traditionally, the high street provided easily accessible goods and services for residents in the surrounding area. The relationship between the British/English High Street and its suburb has historical continuity, where the high street carries cultural connotations of a long standing enduring local identity (Griffiths , et al., 2008).

Johannesburg has had a history of spatial and racial segregation. For decades, public space in the city was strictly regulated and controlled by the state. State sanctioned entertainment and leisure spaces were spatially confined and available to the white minority only.

Amidst the inequality, disparity and fragmented spaces accrued during the apartheid era, new public spaces have emerged (Bremner, 2006). The geography of social interactions and entertainment and leisure spaces in the city is changing. Today, some high streets that are situated within Johannesburg's suburbs have become popular entertainment and leisure spaces. These streets are a representation of social interaction and are sites where consumer culture is expressed in public spaces.

In Johannesburg, despite the number of high streets that are located in some suburbs, literature and research on this type of street is surprisingly sparse. A definition of a high street in the South African context is yet to be culminated. Therefore, as implied in the heading, one of the main aims of this dissertation is to explore high streets in suburban Johannesburg. Another focal point of this research is to ascertain the entertainment and leisure activities prominent on the high street. Traditionally, the high street's main function was its retail component. This research considers the street to be a place of great diversity where social interactions occur on a daily basis. A place where the street is thought of as the "social centres of towns and cities" (Appleyard, 1981, p. 1). Mumford argues that facilitating social encounters is considered to be a central role of the city; permitting and encouraging encounters and meetings between different individuals and groups. He describes the city as "a theatre of social action" (Mumford, 1937, p. 91). Jane Jacobs echoes this sentiment by describing the street to be a "street ballet" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 106).

> *"Streets are places of social and commercial encounter and exchange. They are where you meet people- which are a basic reason to have cities in any case"* (Jacobs, 1993, p. 4).

Streets can be the “ingredients of city life” (Montgomery, 1998, p. 108). The street provides a space for the simultaneous interaction of individuals whereby they can carry out their daily activities of shopping, socializing, wining and dining. A good street is one that represents the social life of a city and is a “quintessential social public space of the city” (Mehta, 2013, p. 10). Town planners and architects can create or enable spaces that provide platforms for social interaction. A good urban place is after all judged by its street life (Montgomery, 1998).

> “*Sociability is a large part of why cities exist and streets are a major if not the only public place for that sociability to develop”* (Jacobs, 1993, p. 4).

The street can provide meaningful public space for social interaction (Mehta, 2006). These interactions can take place in restaurants, sidewalk cafes, bars and lounges. Some streets have become destination points; they are symbolic of social life. They are more than routes of transportation from A to B. They represent “places of pleasure and anxiety” (Fyfe, 1998, p. 1).

The three high streets that are explored in this research/dissertation include 7th Street in Melville, 4th Avenue in Parkhurst and Rockey/Raleigh Street in Greater Yeoville. The entertainment and leisure activities that contribute towards a stimulating environment on the street range from restaurants, to bars/lounges, to sidewalk cafes. These suburban spaces in Johannesburg offer platforms for social activities and interaction. What adds to their character is that they are situated within the heart of the suburb.

> *“The biggest competitive advantage of neighbourhood streets is their ability to support social interaction”* (Mehta, 2006).

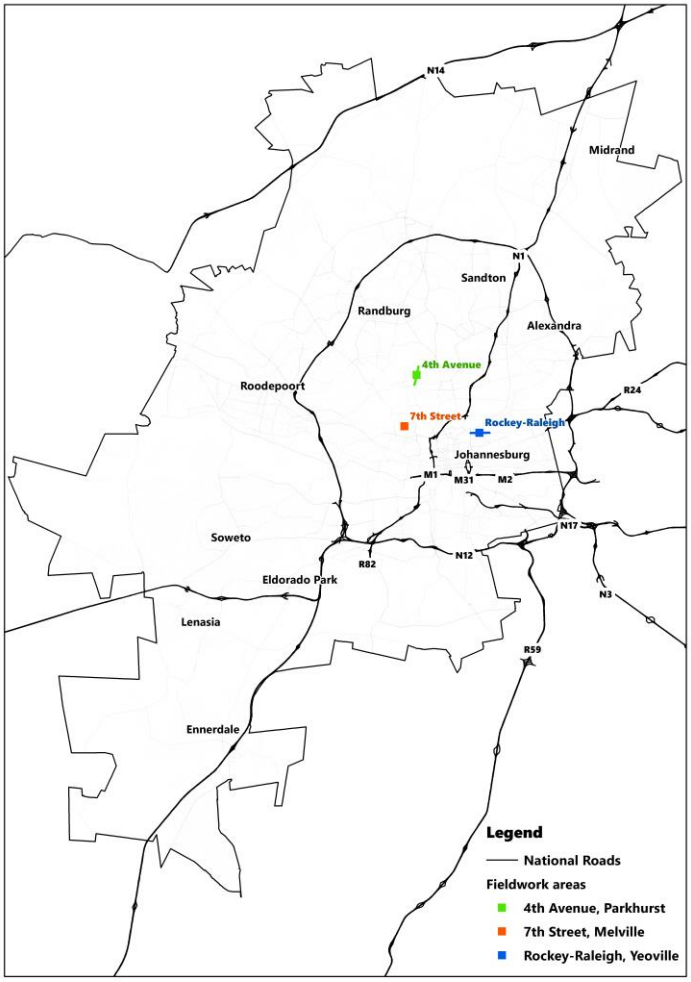


Figure 1 Locality Map of High Streets

These trendy streets are attractive to visitors or people that do not reside in the suburb or catchment area. This makes the street busier on weekends and evenings. Not much is known of the role of entertainment and leisure activities on the high street and this research aims to address that issue. This research demonstrates how entertainment and leisure activities are regulated by municipal by-laws and licensing (or the lack thereof); how business owners respond to regulations and how residents are affected. Some business owners neglect to implement city by-laws and to comply with licensing regulations often perpetuating unfavourable circumstances for residents in the suburb. Noise, petty crime and parking constraints detract from the streets allure. Alternatively, some residents enjoy easy access to the street's activities.

1.2 The Main Research Question

What is the role of entertainment and leisure activities on the suburban high street in Johannesburg?

1.2.1 Subsidiary Questions

How are high streets being used?

Which activities are dominating?

Which activities are people attracted to on the high street?

To what extent are entertainment and leisure activities threatening or enhancing the residential amenity?

How does the role of regulations and liquor licensing influence the prominence of entertainment and leisure activities on high streets?

How are entertainment and leisure activities experienced by;

- The patron?
- The resident of the suburb?
- The business owners?

1.3 Overview of Dissertation

The Introduction of this dissertation introduces the high street, looks at the research questions that guided the study and then looks at the methodology and research design incorporated into the study.

Chapter 2, 'Components of the High Street', looks broadly at some defining elements of the high street that are relatively unexplored. Firstly, a definition of a high street that is apt for Johannesburg is provided. Secondly, the components, including the suburban context, public life on the high street and entertainment and leisure on the high street are explored.

Chapter 3, 'Street Activities: Entertainment and Leisure on the High Street' explores the case study high streets that are part of this study; 7th Street, 4th Avenue and Rockey/Raleigh Street. A description of the streets and detailed discussion of the activities prominent on each high street are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 4, 'High Street Experiences: Perceptions, Regulations and Tensions' provide an in-depth analysis of the people that use or are affected by the high street's activities. Namely, this includes the patrons, the residents and business owners. This chapter explores how the entertainment and leisure activities on the high street are regulated, and some of the tensions that can arise from the activities on the high street.

The conclusion of this dissertation includes some of the core arguments fleshed out in this dissertation

1.4 The Case Study Streets

In order to investigate the phenomenon of entertainment and leisure activities on high streets in suburban Johannesburg, three case studies were utilized. The use of case studies in this research was identified because they are particularly suited for investigating contemporary phenomenon in real life contexts (Yin, 2009).

Adopting case studies as a research method has been viewed to lack rigour and objectivity (Rowley, 2002). Typically, case study research is limited to one case study. To overcome these perceptions, three case studies rather than one are incorporated into this dissertation.

The method of being able to apply the research methods and research design to each street allowed a deeper exploration of phenomena and aspects of the street to be studied in greater detail (Rowley, 2002). Although a comparative study was not necessarily intended, the use of three case studies provided a more accurate depiction of the types of activities that are happening on the respective streets.

Having three case studies allowed for more generalizable trends to emerge. This is desired to have more effective research outcomes that can be applicable to more high streets in Johannesburg.

There are a number of existing suburban streets in Johannesburg offering an eclectic mix of restaurants, cafes and bars. Gleneagles Road in Greenside, Tyrone Avenue in Parkview, Mint Street in Fordsburg, and Grant Avenue in Norwood to name a few. These suburban spaces in Johannesburg offer platforms for social activities and interaction that may be expressed at the restaurants, clubs, cafes and bars. It was discussed at length with academics in seminars and my supervisor, as to which case studies to select.

The three case study streets selected for this dissertation included;

- 7th Street in Melville
- 4th Avenue in Parkhurst
- Rockey/Raleigh Street in Greater Yeoville

Distinguishable features of these streets are that they are situated within the heart of the suburb; their high streets intersect the suburb allowing more frequent intersections and thus the opportunity for corner shops. All three selected high streets were historically planned to be high streets. More importantly, all three high streets have prominent entertainment and leisure activities.

The suburbs and high streets were established during the late 1800s and early 1900s, thus are all older, more established suburbs in Johannesburg. They are streets of heritage and culture. Each chosen street varies in detail and richness. They differ in demographics and are located within close proximity to different amenities. The ambience of all three streets differs. 7th Street is a smaller street within close proximity to universities, attracting more students. 4th Avenue is situated within Parkhurst, one of the more affluent suburbs in Johannesburg and this high street attracts more of an affluent crowd. Rockey/Raleigh Street has a rich history especially with it being one of Johannesburg's hot spots for entertainment and leisure activities in the pre democratic phase of South Africa, now attracting predominantly African Nationals. These high streets cater for different markets and different people and therefore thrive on different aspects. They are a good representation of high streets in suburbia.

The differences in these high streets are explored in much greater detail in Chapter 3. These three high streets offer stimulating environments bustling with social interaction within the suburbs. Only three streets were explored because of time constraints. These high streets differ in terms of their respective locations in Johannesburg and accessibility by different population groups to these high streets differ. These nuances are further explored in Chapter 3.

1.5 Research Design

For an in-depth exploration of the high streets, a range of research methods were incorporated into the study. The research design that informed the structure of enquiry was implemented on all three streets. The research design was implemented simultaneously over a period of 6 months, June 2014-November 2014.



Figure 2 Research Design Diagram Representation

The diagram is representative of the research methods that were implemented on each street. Firstly the high street profile enabled a detailed account of the activities prominent on the high street. Secondly, key informant interviews were administered with the social contributors of the high street, namely patrons, residents and business owners. Thirdly, surveys were administered on each high street to enable quick responses from people on the high streets. Lastly, observation was incorporated throughout the study. The research methods that form part of the research design are meant to complement one another to provide more credible forms of analysis. These are explored in greater detail in the next section.

1.6 The Research Methods

1.6.1 High Street Profile (Land Use Survey)

A detailed survey of the activities on each high street was administered. This research method captured what was happening on each high street and highlighted the different types of activities taking place. Literally walking up and down the high street, each establishment, the type of establishment, name of establishment was documented on pieces of paper. This information was then transferred to an excel spreadsheet to determine the contribution of each activity on each high street.

The different land uses are depicted by the following:

- Entertainment and Leisure activities

  -Night clubs

  -Restaurants

  -Cafes/sidewalk cafes

  -Bars/lounges

- Retail
- Amenities and Services
- Commercial
- Residential

This research method also enabled an assessment of the extent to which entertainment and leisure activities dominated on the high streets. The categories needed to be representative of what the research intended to establish. This is why entertainment and leisure activities are further broken down into night clubs, restaurants, cafes/sidewalk cafes, bars/lounges. These categories were determined by the activities prominent on the high street or, in

general, entertainment and leisure activities. While the proper terminology for some establishments included bistros, taverns, coffee houses or pubs, for categorization purposes and analysis it was better to include these into the four entertainment and leisure sections outlined above.

Night club in this research refers to any establishment that provides dancing and musical entertainment as well as the consumption of alcohol. Restaurants in this research refer to premises where meals are served regularly to guests and at some establishments alcoholic beverages are served. Cafes and sidewalk cafes refer to establishments named cafe where light meals, snacks and coffees are served. Sidewalk cafes refer to cafes having tables and chairs on the pavement. Bars and lounges refer to an establishment that serves alcoholic drinks as well as light snacks. Bars/lounges may have music but they are not necessarily clubs.

Retail Activities refers to any commodities or goods, big or small, that are sold in the establishment. For example, grocery stores, supermarkets, butcheries, hardware stores, boutiques, clothing stores are referred to as retail in this study.

Amenities and Services were grouped together because they are useful for users or have features that exist to provide a benefit/service. Some of the amenities/services are desirable for some residents as they are located on the high street and provide easy access to banks or community centres. In this study, amenities and services were identified as banks, beauty salons, repair shops, parks, community centres and so forth. While a restaurant establishment is providing a service, this was grouped separately as this research is focused on entertainment and leisure activities.

The commercial establishments that are referred to in this study include estate agencies or import and export companies. It was decided to group these types of businesses together because although estate agencies or import/export companies provide a service, it is not necessarily beneficial for the surrounding suburb or resident. These are transactions you would not necessarily require every day or weekly.

Lastly the residential component refers to flats, apartments and housing, where people live.

Although this research method depicts the type of activity on the street, it does not account for the changes that occur on the high streets. For example, even a week after visiting the street a new shop may have appeared or a name may have changed.

The signage in front of each establishment in particular was mapped and while one sign might read “Hair Salon” other activities such as retail could be seen within the establishment. Furthermore, on Rockey/Raleigh Street when people were asked what exactly import/exporting is, they were unable to answer.

This becomes important to highlight as many restaurants although named or titled *insert name* cafe or *Insert name* restaurant were operating more like a bar and no food was being sold or served. *Insert name* is placed between asterisks deliberately, in order not to name the restaurants/cafes or bars responsible for this, as it would be unethical. This is discussed in more detail in section 4.3 titled ‘By- Laws, Licenses and Regulations’.

1.6.2 Key Informant Interviews

Once all the high streets' activities were documented, key informant interviews commenced. This is a qualitative research method that encouraged participants to express their subjective thoughts, insights and perceptions about the high streets. A total of 40 in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants. Semi-structured interviews were conducted once participants agreed to a formal interview. The interviews ranged from 5 minutes to 120 minutes depending on the key informant. One of the characteristics of the semi-structured interview included having an interview guide with a list of questions and topics that needed to be covered within the duration of the conversation (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). Depending on their response rate and desire to

engage with the topic I was able to elicit more information. Open ended questions were asked as it provided me, the researcher, with the opportunity to identify new ways of perceiving and engaging with the topic and themes at hand (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006).

As well as taking notes, all interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Interviews were audio recorded as it is difficult to focus on conducting the interview and jot notes (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). Having an audio tape enabled a better rapport between interviewer and interviewee (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). A thematic analysis was incorporated to identify and then analyse core themes that emerged from in-depth interviews. Analysis of the in-depth interviews was particularly useful in adding a social context to the high street profile.

A variety of sampling methods was adopted to contact research participants. This was mainly because each sampling group was so different and some groups and there were more access barriers for some groups. Snowball and emergent/opportunistic sampling assisted in who was interviewed. The main sampling types are as follows:

This research identified the following key informants per high street

- Three Patrons
- Three entertainment/leisure business owners
- One non entertainment/leisure business owner
- Three residents in suburb
- One member from the respective residents' association
- One city ward councillor
- One estate agent

While this method allowed for the adequate selection of participants with the appropriate characteristics for the research design, it's not possible to prove that these samples are representative of the population or applicable to all high streets in suburban Johannesburg (Black, 1999, p. 118).

Snowball sampling was incorporated for participants who were more difficult to access. This type of sampling is also referred to as chain referral sampling. In this method, informants referred me to other people who could be contacted for participation in my research. Some respondents from Rockey/Raleigh Street were contacted via the snowball sampling method.

The advantages of this sampling method include being able to access participants who were hard to come by. However there is no way of knowing whether participants used in this research are representative of the population (Black, 1999).

Opportunistic/emergent sampling was used for some participants who were interviewed. Opportunistic or emergent sampling takes advantage of leads during fieldwork and is flexible (Nastasi, n.d.). In essence this type of sampling method emphasizes the street's ability to facilitate encounters,

> *"Maybe a particular street unlocks memories or offers expectations of something pleasant to be seen or the possibility of meeting someone, known or new; the possibility of an encounter"* (Jacobs, 1993, p. 2).

Interviewing the patron on the street reveals what 'visitors' like or dislike about the street. The business owners reflect the business perspective of being on the street and the residents convey what they like/dislike about the street as the street is somewhat part of their livelihood. Each offers different perspectives that were explored in this research.

In-depth interviews were conducted with nine patrons; three patrons on each street. Opportunistic or Emergent sampling was used for patrons on 7th Street. While I was conducting fieldwork on 7th I randomly bumped into people I knew

and asked them for an interview. This highlights the high street's capacity for social interaction as well as its ability to facilitate unplanned encounters. Patrons that were interviewed on 4th Avenue were people that I knew liked the street, either by conversing with them on another day about my research, or seeing them posting pictures on social media of the street and them enjoying themselves at a restaurant or cafe.

They were able to express what they like about the street, suggest improvements and give reasons why they were on the street. (See interview sheet attached in appendix).

Nine owners of entertainment and leisure activities were interviewed; three business owners from each street. The method of acquiring business owners was the same for each street. I would approach business owners and ask if they would be willing to take part in my study. The reluctance of some business owners to participate in my study (as many declined) could be linked to their establishments not having the adequate licensing to run the establishment. This is a possibility as suggested by informal conversations held with business owners that participated in the study. The adequate licensing, or lack thereof, however, is an issue that will be further explored in the dissertation.

Business owners were asked why they chose to have a business on the respective street, how long they have been open and whether or not they have had words or conflict with their residential associations or residents in their area.

Three business owners that are non-entertainment and leisure were also approached and interviewed, mainly to assess whether having entertainment/leisure on the street impacts or influences their business. Entertainment and leisure business owners were approached and asked if they would be willing to take part in my study.

Nine residents within the catchment area were interviewed; three from each area. The residents that were interviewed in Melville were people I knew.

Parkhurst and Greater Yeoville residents were contacted using snowball sampling and opportunistic/emergent sampling.

Residents were asked if the entertainment and leisure activity had a positive or negative impact on them as a resident. They were also asked how often they visit the street and for what reasons.

Interviews were conducted with the Chair of the Melville Residents Association, the Chair of the Parkhurst's Residents Association and the Chair of Yeoville Bellevue Community Trust. They were contacted telephonically as well as emailed and dates and places were set up and interviews were then conducted. The Chairs of the residents associations were asked about their role in the suburb and the street, the type of complaints residents had and so forth.

The respective city Ward Councillors for each suburb were contacted telephonically, dates for interviews set up and interviews conducted. Rockey/ Raleigh Street has two Ward Councillors as the street falls within different suburb regions.

Estate agents were contacted telephonically as well as emailed. Estate agents provided details of the types of people buying or renting property in the suburbs and whether they thought the respective streets were influencing purchasing or renting in the area.

1.6.3 Surveys

(Creswell, 1994), describes quantitative research as employing numerical data to explain phenomena that are analysed using for the most part mathematical methods. This method of analysis differs from qualitative methods as the phenomena will be explained using mathematically based methods rather than thematic analysis of data. By doing so, both research methods, in-depth interviews as well as surveys, forms a pivotal role in data analysis.

The survey research method involved the collection of responses from people on the high streets through their responses to questions (Sage Publications, n.d). A total of 60 surveys were administered, 20 surveys on each high street. Surveys as a research method was used to supplement the in-depth interviews held with key informants. The survey differed from interviews held with key informants, as it was more efficient and less time consuming than interviews. Surveys enabled quicker responses from participants. The time taken to complete the survey was about 1- 5 minutes, as opposed to in-depth interviews where meetings and dates had to be set up to interview respondents for an unknown period of time. Furthermore, interviews did not have to be set up, rather they were administered on weekends by being on the high streets and asking people if they would participate in the study. Participants were able to convey why they were on the high street, what they liked about the high street and how often they visited the high street.

1.6.4 Participant Observation

Participant observation was incorporated while conducting the research methods outlined above. This entailed first hand involvement in viewing the social settings as well as being on the high streets to observe activity. More importantly, observing the street, and how people interact on it. Observing the times of the day, week or weekend when social activity is more prominent on the high street.

This meant personally spending time at entertainment and leisure establishments. This method enabled a more thorough understanding of why people liked or used the high streets. Furthermore, being on the high street enabled me to engage in informal conversations with business owners or other patrons on the street.

Participant observation allowed me, as the researcher, to gain a sense of familiarity of surroundings, i.e. at what times the high street was busier, when

parking was more constrained and when there were more people on the high street, which were all noted. This research method was also supplementary to the other research methods.

1.7 Desired Outcomes

This dissertation intends to shed light upon the high street within a Johannesburg context - a relatively unexplored field in urban studies. In South Africa access to entertainment and leisure activities has been limited by segregation policies. The entertainment and leisure aspect on the suburban high street is a relatively contemporary phenomenon and can be enjoyed by all people of all races. Many cities and towns have invested funds into enabling streets that exude public life. The entertainment and leisure activities prominent on these high streets have developed organically, and this dissertation hopes to illuminate the social capacity of the high street and how they contribute towards public space. These type of activities are appealing for users, less so for residents in the suburbs. This dissertation hopes to explore these dynamics further.

2 COMPONENTS OF THE HIGH STREET

2.1 Introduction

The first section in components of the high street outlines some definitions of the high street and the main street and adapts a definition for the context of high streets in Johannesburg. Thereafter, this chapter explores some of the components of the high street. Challenges facing the high street look at the decline of the high street and shopping preferences. The challenges facing the high street is indicative of why entertainment and leisure is playing a more prominent role on the high street and shopping preferences highlights some differences between the high street and shopping mall. The suburban context of the high street looks at the relationship between the high street and suburb. Public life on the high street fleshes out some literature pertaining to the public realm and the street and, lastly, entertainment and leisure is explored to provide context for the tensions that can arise between these activities and the residential aspect of the suburb.

2.2 High Street Definitions

The term 'high street' derives from Britain, where it carries cultural connotations of a suburban neighbourhood that is characterized "by social stability and enduring local identity" (Griffiths , et al., 2008, p. 1). The popular image of the high street purports a communal hub; a place where neighbours 'bump' into each other on their way to the post office or where the local gossip is exchanged at the bus stop (Griffiths , et al., 2008). More importantly, the high street functions as a place providing easy pedestrian access to everyday goods and services that are prominent on the street (Griffiths , et al., 2008).

A Joseph Rowntree Foundation commissioned report titled 'Rediscovering Mixed-Use Streets' (Jones, et al., 2007) avoids cultural specificity by using the term 'mixed use' as opposed to high street. These terms are however more or less synonymous (Griffiths , et al., 2008). Mixed use in the commissioned report implies fine grain scale of development that "incorporates buildings of

comparatively narrow width with different uses configured both vertically and horizontally" (Jones, et al., 2007, p. 1). This becomes important when considering a definition of the high street for Johannesburg. In the commissioned report the focus is on "the traditional high street, outside of the main town or city centre, where a mix of retail, business and public service uses are intermingled with residential dwellings, either above or in close proximity" (Jones, et al., 2007, p. 1).

High Streets are places of great diversity and complexity and no two high streets are the same (GENECON, 2011). Scale, geography and catchment, function and form perpetuate the high street (GENECON, 2011). The UK has more than 5400 places named high street (GENECON, 2011).

Broadly, the common characteristics of a high street include:

- Leisure, retail, entertainment and cultural facilities;
- Business, office and other employment opportunities;
- Public and private services;
- Mixed-use developments;
- Quality, design, sense of place and focus on public realm;
- A place for the local (and other) community.

(GENECON, 2011, p. 4).

The role of the high street being the centre of community activity and that the high street is physically embedded within a suburb are distinguishing features of the high street (Griffiths , et al., 2008). Contrastingly, the American 'Main Street' activity is mainly concentrated along major highways and transit routes (Griffiths , et al., 2008). A broad definition of a 'Main Street' includes;

> *"All highways and streets whose adjacent land uses require accommodation of pedestrians and bicyclists, serious consideration of street aesthetics, and a degree of traffic calming"* (Ewing, et al., 2005, p. 273).

Another definition of a main street to consider includes what the authors refer to as a "traditional classification of main street" (Pendola & Gen, 2008, p. 550). "A pedestrian-orientated shopping street, fronted by buildings typically less than three stories in height, that serves as the principal commercial corridor of a small town" (Pendola & Gen, 2008, p. 550).

What is important to note with the main street definitions is the absence of the suburb component of the street that is prominent in the British definitions. The more traditional classification of Main Street includes the shopping component of the street. This aspect of the main street is shared with the high street.

More importantly, the origins of the high street and the main street differ. The British high street is viewed "as a local centre hosting a variety of commercial and communal functions embodies a degree of continuity in land use with the pre-urban settlement form" (Griffiths , et al., 2008, p. 4). Shopping malls in the USA has had a more prolific relationship with suburb expansion than the Main Street, dominating the main street (Griffiths , et al., 2008).

What these definitions lack and what is explored in this dissertation is a focus on the entertainment and leisure aspect of the high street, rather than analysing the high street through a shopping or retail scope.

America does however have a rich history with the development of restaurants that line their highways today (Liebs, 1995). The burgeoning of restaurants, ice cream parlours, diners go hand in hand with the automobile boom that occurred in the early 1900s (Liebs, 1995). The car allowed for people being more mobile and going out to eat became a form of recreation (Liebs, 1995). "The restaurant could serve both the hungry motorist and provide an opportunity to make a trip in the car more pleasant" (Liebs, 1995, p. 196).

In Johannesburg, academic literature pertaining to high streets is surprisingly thin. Similarly, (Pendola & Gen, 2008), point to the same issue regarding literature on the main street. Generally there is a research gap existing on streets in South Africa.

The following descriptions convey what is known about high streets in Johannesburg;

> *"In every suburb there is one street that was the main focus point for the suburb, in that street there usually would be a baker, a butcher, a barber the local haberdashery, the green grocer etc. These local shops were a place where a person could do their weekly shopping and can be found in almost every suburb"* (le Roux & Muindisi, 2013, p. 3).

This insert emphasizes the more traditional role of the high street in Johannesburg.

Or,

> *"Several of Joburg's more established suburbs boast a 'high street' of sorts – a central, often formerly residential, thoroughfare boasting shops, restaurants and filling stations. While some of these (such as those in Melville, Greenside and Parkhurst) have become well-known focal points of Joburg's scattered, suburban social scene, others have settled into lowest-common-denominator retail nodes whereas yet others serve niche interests or retain a village-like, small town community feel"* (Coggin, et al., 2014).

This insert highlights the more contemporary uses of the Johannesburg high streets. It is after all the entertainment and leisure activities that are contributing towards the suburban social scene. It was in the 1990s and early 2000s that high streets saw the emergence of restaurants (le Roux & Muindisi, 2013). This is a fairly recent phenomenon that is being researched.

The definition of high street that will be used in this dissertation is adapted from the various abovementioned discussions of high streets. This includes:

A high street is a small scale street with activities (entertainment and leisure, retail, commercial and amenities/services) concentrated in a linear pattern along both sides of the street, with residential dwellings above or in close proximity, where the street is an essential part of the suburb's identity.

The UK definitions of a high street hinge on the high street having a form of local enduring community and joint relationship with the suburb. In Johannesburg the urban disposition differs slightly. Firstly, high streets in Johannesburg have not had as much time to develop as the British high streets, as suburb formation in South Africa started much later. Secondly, the urban fabric of Johannesburg is very much vehicle orientated. This can be demonstrated by high streets being less prevalent in the newer suburbs in Johannesburg.

More traditional roles of the high street enabled easily accessible points of exchange of goods and services for residents in the suburb. While this might still be the case today, the role of mobility and shopping malls have influenced the development of the high street. Furthermore, high street performance tends to be evaluated through the lens of retail and this does not account for the high street's diversity (GENECON, 2011).

Retail activities attracted residents to the high street and was one of the main traditional roles of the high street. Entertainment and leisure activities are appealing for socializing and eating out and are attractive activities for anyone, not just residents, to engage in. Entertainment and leisure activities on the high street and their role are the focal point of this dissertation. Not much is known how these types of activities are influencing the suburb and high street.

The consensus amongst some authors is that high streets are incorporating more mixed uses to adapt to consumer and citizen needs of the 21st century (Griffiths et al, 2008; Jones et al 2007), indicating that high streets are able to adapt to user needs.

> *"A high street is more than a shopping location, playing a crucial role at the heart of the community. As our communities continue to evolve, the High Street is likely to be a very different place to that of 20 or 30 years ago…"* (British Retail Consortium, 2009, p. 6).

The use of out-of-town centres is increasing and corporate retailers' continued expansion is undermining the independent high street traders (Griffiths , et al., 2008). Ultimately the popular image of the typical high street is steadily deteriorating (Griffiths , et al., 2008).

In general high streets have been overlooked and undervalued by the traffic engineer and town planner, both noteworthy custodians of the street (Jones, et al., 2007). Intellectual, social and economic factors undermining high streets are modernist approaches to urban development, car dominance and fragmentation in the management of urban areas (Jones, et al., 2007). Furthermore, the UK economy and its retail market have experienced changes that have influenced where people shop and have contributed to the decline of the high street (GENECON, 2011).

2.3 Challenges Facing the High Street

2.3.1 The Decline of the High Street

A street's potential to perform various functions has been undervalued. Modernist planning undermines the characteristic mix of the traditional high street by deploying large, isolated blocks to separate buildings from streets, traffic from pedestrians and different land uses from each other (Griffiths , et al., 2008, p. 8; Jones, et al., 2007).

Planning policy and legislation has also favoured vehicle movement over pedestrians (Jones, et al., 2007). This is in line with the traditional perception of the street being viewed as a traffic thoroughfare rather than a place or destination (Jones, et al., 2007). Car ownership increased during the late 20th century, impacting the traditional high street through increased car volumes (Jones, et al., 2007). Furthermore, car ownership meant that people were no longer spatially bound to their catchment areas and could travel to do some shopping. The high street began losing customers to 'out-of-town[1]' retail developments (Jones, et al., 2007).

The out-of-town retail development relies on the economy of scale that improved communication systems can support so that 'chain stores' flourish and dominate. Independent retailers have smaller profit margins and changes can price them out of existence to be replaced by chain stores very quickly (Jones, et al., 2007). Investment in the retail sector is also concentrated in major shopping centres and traditional market stalls are phasing out to new developments (Jones, et al., 2007).

[1]Out- of- town implying developments not on the high street or within close proximity of the suburb.

> *"Historically, high streets have looked after themselves, and brought immense social as well as economic benefits to British towns. But so many of us leave our communities to do our shopping and our socializing these days" (Portas, 2011)*.

High street economies are being displaced (Portas, 2011). Where people in their suburb once did their shopping and socializing on the high street, they are now going elsewhere. The author of 'The Portas Review: An independent review into the future of our high streets' believes that high streets have reached a crisis point (Portas, 2011). The recession, retailers needing fewer shops, 21st Century urban entertainment centres, the rise of the supermarket, are identified in the Portas review as factors that are contributing to the changes on the high street.

More importantly,

> *"The trust of a city street is formed over time from many, many little public sidewalk contacts. It grows out of people stopping by at the bar for a beer, getting advice from the grocer, giving advice to the newsstand man, comparing opinions with other customers at the bakery and nodding hello to the two boys drinking pop on the stoop and borrowing a dollar from the druggist…Most of it is ostensibly utterly trivial, but the sum is not trivial at all. The sum of such casual, public contact at the local level - most of it fortuitous, most of it associated with errands- is a feeling for the public identity of people, a web of public respect and trust, and a resource in time of personal or neighbourhood need"* (Jacobs, 1961, p. 56).

These interactions and social encounters are being lost to newer age forms of shopping and socializing at malls or out of the community area.

The UK economy and its retail market have experienced changes that have influenced where people shop, and this has also contributed to the changes on high streets (GENECON, 2011). The recession has brought on more value

conscious consumers and in general consumers have had less money to spend (Portas, 2011). Increasing retail and property values have inadvertently allowed bigger and more established businesses to purchase 'look alike' stores on every high street and have pushed out smaller independent businesses that are incapable of competing with these rivals (Portas, 2011).

Establishments on high streets are struggling to adapt to 'time poor yet experienced rich' consumers (Portas, 2011). This is ultimately causing the high street experience decline and stagnation with them being unable to adapt to 21st Century needs (Portas, 2011). The number of town centre stores falling by 15 000 between 2000 and 2009 with an estimated further 10 000 losses over the last few years (GENECON, 2011). Almost one in six shops are vacant, and the high street foot traffic has fallen by approximately 10% in the last three years, with independent retailers closing and no new retailers entering the market (Portas, 2011).

The lack of adaption is reducing foot traffic in the area which further weakens the performance of nearby stores, where the surrounding area weakens and this increases the likelihood of more stores closing (Portas, 2011).

Internet and cellular communication mean that the consumer can now purchase goods online (Portas, 2011). This is steadily increasing year by year. This is also decreasing the need for high streets.

21st Century urban entertainment centres have cinemas, world class restaurants, bowling alleys, art galleries and luxury brands (Portas, 2011). These urban entertainment centres have raised consumer's expectations of high streets and people are visiting these places rather than the high street (Portas, 2011).

In Johannesburg, despite the number of high streets located in the city, Gleneagles Road in Greenside, Tyrone Avenue in Parkview, Mint Street in Fordsburg, and Grant Avenue in Norwood to name a few, limited literature exists. There are a few points that can be learnt from the UK high street

however. Firstly, foot traffic is important to sustain businesses on the high street. Reduction in foot traffic weakens the performance of nearby stores which further weakens the surrounding businesses (Portas, 2011). Secondly, it is important for the high street to adapt to user needs (Portas, 2011).

Despite the evidence suggesting that changes on high streets are causing them to decline, the case studies utilized in 'Rediscovering Mixed Use Streets' demonstrates the current and potential of mixed use streets (Jones, et al., 2007).

High streets encourage more sustainable travel because their streets are surrounded by residential catchment areas that encourage residents to walk or cycle to retail leisure and public facilities in their local area (Jones, et al., 2007). For economic survival however these streets do depend on customers from further away (Jones, et al., 2007). High streets also encourage economically sustainable centres (Jones, et al., 2007). Transport links contribute to the economic sustainability of the local high street by providing access for customers from wider catchment areas (Jones, et al., 2007). Vibrant centres with local business activity contribute to sustaining local economies (Jones, et al., 2007).

> *"Well balanced mixed-use local high streets are able to achieve high levels of satisfaction among their local and visitor populations in terms of the services they provide"* (Jones, et al., 2007, p. 106).

High streets also assist in facilitating social inclusion by attracting a wide range of population groups that differ in terms of age or ethnicity who are both representative of the catchment area (Jones, et al., 2007).

These streets also provide community focus and local identity. These streets stimulate social encounters by providing places for social activity (Jones, et al., 2007). The local high street becomes the heart of the community providing a sense of local identity (Jones, et al., 2007).

> *"Mixed- use streets provide a natural focal point where local people can meet friends, both formally and informally, by appointment or by chance. They offer many opportunities for unplanned encounters, and enable people to expand their personal horizons by observing those from other cultures and with other perspectives, in a non -threatening environment"* (Jones, et al., 2007, p. 106).

High streets contribute to encouraging sustainable travel, assist with local businesses, facilitate social inclusion by offering relatively safe and accessible environments to diverse populations and offer a natural locus for neighbourhood identity (Jones, et al., 2007, pp. 105-107).

In the UK, USA and South Africa shopping malls have dominated over the high street or main street. These retail spaces are increasingly becoming more appealing for consumers. The street is becoming attractive for other attributes.

2.3.2 Shopping Preferences: High Street versus Shopping Mall

In South Africa, the shopping mall phenomenon picked up as suburb expansion moved further away from the city centre (Toffah, 2008). "Early shopping centres tended to be fairly uniform designed to satisfy more of the mass merchandise demands while offering the convenience of one stop shopping" (Prinsloo, 2010, p. 73) . In Johannesburg, there are plenty of shopping malls populated over the city. This section explores some elemental differences of the high street and shopping mall and highlights the appeal of each. As well as a brief discussion of Melrose Arch, a development in Johannesburg influenced by the principles of 'new urbanism' (Dirsuweit, 2007). Melrose arch has also been classified as a 'lifestyle centre' that exhibits aspects of both the street and shopping mall.

One of the elemental differences between the shopping street and mall is that malls are generally managed by a single unit by centre management (Teller, 2008). There is a fragmentation in the management of these spaces (Jones, et al.,

2007), the street on the other hand lacks concerted management and there are several stakeholders that may comprise of people living there, politicians and landlords (Teller, 2008).

Malls have structures that can accommodate air-conditioning, easily accessible parking for vehicles, food courts and most of all multi-brands and grocery outlets (Perennial Inc. , 2013). For most shoppers, a mall is convenience all-in-one. On the other hand, the high street can be more appealing for consumers that either can't afford a car or don't want to use vehicles for their shopping trips, they can just walk to their streets (Teller, 2008).

The environment of a shopping mall can be very artificial and sterile. Incorporating more natural features such as trees or fountains and waterfalls are attempts to 'naturalise' the environment (Jackson, 1998). A street on the other hand has more natural features as it is not enclosed and in the open with fresh air (Jackson, 1998).

Malls are busy during the day but towards night time they die, this can be associated with the lack of community that exists around the mall (Baer, 2010). Some streets benefit from having a strong local community contributing to having vibrant streets in the evenings (Baer, 2010). Jane Jacobs offers an optimistic view of the traditional urban street and its diverse uses (Browning, et al., 2010). Foot traffic will be attracted across a large proportion of neighbourhood streets and neighbourhoods with residential density that is diverse will be more likely to experience pedestrians going about their day to day activities (passing the street on the way to work, running errands or visiting restaurants or other entertainment venues). Mixed use neighbourhoods provide a space for informal social control of public space as what is referred to as 'eyes on the street' (Browning, et al., 2010). 'Active' streets in neighbourhoods can create environments with social ecologies that are conducive for neighbourhood-based trust. A 'web of public respect and trust' is developed by active streets that draw participation from residents, business owners and regular street users

(Browning, et al., 2010). These interactions with the street contribute to a lively town centre (Baer, 2010).

Most malls have similar structures and can be overwhelmingly monotonous (Baer, 2010). The artificial element of the mall is also connected with people's feelings regarding the increasing artificiality of the social relations of consumption (Jackson, 1998). "We're going to become isolated, somehow we're never going to really know Chris who sells stamps at the post office anymore… it's human contact you want, isn't it?" (Jackson, 1998, p. 182). This too is where the street differs, streets demonstrate the ability to come together to do more than just shopping (Baer, 2010).

> *"Perhaps due to the organic growth over time there is richness in all these aspects without one feeling a lack of coherence in the street"* (Baer, 2010, p. 58).

Although the establishments on the street are fragmented between companies or owners, streets have had more time to develop. Contrastingly, the mall is a newer retail entity that is consciously planned, built and managed centrally (Teller, 2008).

> *"As they have been formed over a lengthy period of time, there is a lot of richness, layering and variety in these streets, which lacks in the singular development of a mall. In these streets, people are given the chance to explore new aspects over a period of time, giving them reason to come back over and over again"* (Baer, 2010, p.59).

A few reasons why the mall is more appealing for consumers are that building structures on the street do not compare with the huge mall structure and that streets lack low-floor space for large scale retailers, poorer accessibility by car and parking facilities, traffic congestion and the lack of infrastructure in terms of toilets (Teller, 2008). This leads to street spaces losing attractiveness for customers as well as retailers (Teller, 2008).

The mall might be a more recent development that adequately caters for people's shopping needs but its monotonous structure is leading developers to alternative trends such as lifestyle centres that try to incorporate the appealing features of the street (Baer, 2010).Melrose Arch is a mixed use precinct located in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg (Dirsuweit, 2007). Melrose Arch is classified in the 'Classification and Hierarchy of Retail Facilities in South Africa' as being a lifestyle centre. Where, "The role of a lifestyle centre is to offer a unique retail shopping and entertainment experience in a relaxed and attractive environment. The emphasis is mostly on restaurants, entertainment and a more focused retail offering," (Prinsloo, 2010, p. 40). Some characteristics of Melrose Arch are that it is a privately owned and managed urban space and it has a mall dimension with a mixed use environment (Cabaret, 2012). However, "Melrose Arch is the first private development that offers accessible public space on wide streets with a number of 'third places' in which people can interact" (Dirsuweit, 2007, p. 8).

On a high street activities (retail or entertainment and leisure) are typically ordered in a linear fashion along both sides of the street. Similarly, Melrose Arch literally has a street named 'High Street' where some activities are aligned on both sides of the street, not unlike the high street described above. This 'High Street' in Melrose Arch offers an accessible public space in which people can interact (Dirsuweit, 2007). However, Melrose Arch is not only comprised of the high street and has a shopping mall element to it as well. Although Melrose Arch has spaces that encourage interaction, arguably these spaces are regulated and controlled (Dirsuweit, 2007).

"Melrose Arch offers an urban environment that has never been seen anywhere else in Johannesburg" (Cabaret, 2012, p. 13). Melrose Arch has features that resonate with the high street as well as a shopping mall and illustrates a more privatized approach to the high street.

2.4 The Suburban Context of the High Street

Despite concepts like the neighbourhood unit and the Garden City Movement, suburbs have been criticized for being bland and monotonous (Giles, 2004; Madanipour, 2003). Arguably, the high street has the capacity to address the needs of the residents in the suburb as well as bringing life and diversity to suburban lifestyles.

In the twentieth century creating neighbourhoods or villages was a focal point in design and planning (Landman, 2003). The industrial revolution, degradation of the city environment from congestion and distances from shopping and recreational activities were factors that assisted in the development of the concept of the neighbourhood unit (Shambharkar, 2008). The main protagonists of neighbourhood developments include Ebenezer Howard and Clarence Perry (Landman, 2003). Clarence Perry's Neighbourhood Unit concept emulates communities whereby the fundamental needs of family life will be met (Shambharkar, 2008). This includes recreational and community activities within close proximity to the home as well as easily accessible shopping facilities, street layout design and patterns that encourage quiet, safe and low volume traffic movement to enable and preserve a residential atmosphere (Shambharkar, 2008).

Suburbia has been criticised for the uniformity of housing, lack of aesthetic qualities and being monotonous and bland (Giles, 2004; Madanipour, 2003). "A multitude of uniform, unidentifiable houses, line up inflexibly, at uniform distances on uniform roads, in a treeless communal waste, inhabited by people of the same class, the same income, the same age-group" (Giles, 2004, p. 29). Furthermore, despite efforts to design and promote inclusive suburbs and neighbourhoods, suburbia has been subjected to criticism at the lack of creating communities (Madanipour, 2003). Micro-urbanist trends promote the design of small-scale neighbourhoods of which public space plays a crucial role of recreating small scale neighbourhoods of the past (Madanipour, 2003).

The Millennium Village and New Urbanism trends have been developed to address suburbs that "have failed, for they have lacked the fundamental qualities of real towns: pedestrian scale, an identifiable centre and edge, integrated diversity of use and population and defined public space" (Madanipour, 2003, p. 139). These trends encourage public space that can assist in enforcing a sense of safety and community (Madanipour, 2003).

2.4.1 Suburbs in Johannesburg

Suburb formation in Johannesburg was largely influenced by Victorian England's concepts of city development (Parker, 2008). Ebenezer Howard's method of urban planning called the 'Garden City Movement' played a prominent role in the development of Johannesburg's suburbs. Apartheid protagonists honed in on the principles of the neighbourhood concept and the garden city movement to advance and implement the apartheid ideology (Landman, 2003). This resulted in suburbs being spatially separated and segregated by race groups (Landman, 2003). South Africa's history of segregation and institutionalized racialism thus infiltrated to suburbs in Johannesburg (Landman, 2006). Model neighbourhoods were developed whereby the white population resided around central business district nearer to job opportunities while black people were allocated to townships on the peripheries of the city (Landman, 2006).

> *"The traditional Johannesburg suburb values the individual and independence, while shunning public spaces and the social contact associated with these spaces. The streets are reserved for vehicles only. Traditionally, suburbs in Johannesburg have not encouraged social interaction and community associations, even in areas which were formerly homogenous by law"* (Parker, 2008, p. 21).

In post- apartheid South Africa the main aim has been to address the spatial, social and institutional injustices of apartheid (Landman, 2003).

2.5 Public Life on High Streets

The high street has immense potential for social interaction and provides a platform for public social life to take place. The city is characterized by an assortment of social psychological spaces (Lofland, 1989). Private, parochial and public realms offer different platforms for co-existence. While the private realm is more typically associated with ties of intimacy among primary group members located within households and personal networks, the parochial realm provides a platform of commonality among acquaintances and neighbourhoods located within communities (Lofland, 1989). The public realm is associated with non-private sectors of urban areas in which individuals in each other's presence tend to be personally unknown or categorically unknown to one another (Lofland, 1989).

To summarise, the private realm is the world of the household and intimate network. The parochial realm is the world of the neighbourhood/workplace. The public realm is the world of the street.

Bianchini refers to the public realm as

> *"the realm of social relations going beyond one's own circle of family, professional and social relations… the idea of the public realm is bound up with the ideas of discovery, of expanding one's mental horizons, of the unknown, of surprise, of experiment, of adventure*" (Bianchini, 1990, p. 4).

Where 'public social life' is "the interacting of socializing or sociability that occurs within the public realm" (Bianchini, 1990, p. 4). Gehl argues that the role of the public realm in cities has performed three roles, namely, as places to meet other people socially, as market-places to transact in and as channels of movement (Montgomery, 1997). Furthermore, 'good' public spaces can be judged by whether or not people are engaged in optional and or social activities such as having a conversation, sitting or watching others (Montgomery, 1997). The public realm essentially provides a space for public social life to take place (Montgomery, 1997).

During apartheid in South Africa, public space was highly regulated. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act segregated the use of public amenities, public buildings and public transport between race groups. The Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-Ordination of Documents) commonly known as Pass Laws restricted access of black people into urban areas (Boddy-Evans, n.d). In the post-apartheid era and with the abolition of these apartheid laws, people of all races enjoy legal access to anywhere in the city, although in reality access is hindered by continued inequality and poor public transport. Ideally, a well-designed social street is one that welcomes people of all genders, age, race from all socio-economic levels (Re:Streets, 2010-2015). Public spaces in Johannesburg range from the township streets, to inner city streets, to public squares to shopping malls. Mary Fitzgerald Square in Newtown Johannesburg, hosts numerous concerts and festivals. Nelson Mandela Square which is located at Sandton City Mall is surrounded by a multitude of restaurants and cafes. These spaces may differ in location, size and demographics, but they have one thing in common, they "are spaces in which cocoons of private worlds are exited for a while, to meet friends, rub shoulders with strangers and construct public life of the city" (Bremner, 2006, p. 1).

Streets can be the "ingredients of city life" (Montgomery, 1998, p. 108). The street provides a space for the simultaneous interaction of individuals whereby they can carry out their daily activities of shopping, socializing, wining and dining. A good street is one that represents the social life of a city and is a "quintessential social public space of the city" (Mehta, 2013, p. 10). Town planners and architects can create or enable spaces that provide platforms for social interaction. A good urban place is after all judged by its street life (Montgomery, 1998).

> *"Streets that cater to the functional, social, and leisure needs of people have been positively associated with economic growth, physical health of people, and a sense of community" (Mehta, 2006, p. 1)*.

Streets within public spaces can contribute towards urban culture and vibrant city life. The street as an urban public space has two important social functions: instrumental and expressive social functions (Gencel & Velibeyoglu, 2006). The instrumental aspect focuses on streets providing a physical link between buildings and land uses where the space is used for marketing, manufacturing, administrative and transportation activities (Gencel & Velibeyoglu, 2006). The expressive social function facilitates communication and interaction thus binding links between people and facilities. This influences the social order of local communities by creating spaces for social interaction including leisure and entertainment. Moreover, streets as public spaces are a representation of social, cultural and economic facets of urban life.

Streets are a major part of the city's public realm (Mehta, 2013; Montgomery, 1998). They provide spaces for people to network and interact. They contribute towards the built environment; furthermore they can represent meaning and identity (Montgomery, 1998). Public space provides a platform for identities to be formed and expressed (Dirsuweit, 2009). They are social spaces where social encounters can, and do take place (Dirsuweit, 2009).

Similarly,

> *"suburban high streets could be considered as examples of 'live centres' that is public space that disproportionally attracts movement, whether pedestrian, vehicular or both, owing to a high degree of spatial accessibility within the urban grid*" (Griffiths , et al., 2008, pp. 4-5).

2.6 Entertainment and Leisure on the High Street

As mentioned before, high street performance tends to be evaluated through the lens of retail performance. While there is some literature exploring the impact of entertainment and leisure activities within close proximity of residential dwellings, much less research has focused on entertainment and leisure activities in the suburb. This section looks at a definition of entertainment and leisure activities and provides context for the underlying tensions that can emerge between neighbours, business owners and patrons.

Entertainment and leisure destinations, evening economies or 24 hour City concepts are some initiatives that cities incorporate to 're-centre' cities or bring back their lost vitality (Montgomery, 1997; Kitsinger, 2014; Carmona, 2010). Redesigning plazas or parks and more importantly streets, have been a focal point for urban designers (Oosterman, 1992). These public spaces are indented to have a social impact by encouraging more active social life in urban public space (Oosterman, 1992).

'Entertainment and Leisure' in this dissertation refers to

> *"activities that involve traversing and utilizing spaces open to the public (whether publicly or privately owned) for the purpose of engaging in pleasurable, generally non work-related or after-hours pursuits, many of which entail the sort of face-to-face interaction that carries the potential for identity group formation and political mobilization. Leisure, so defined, takes place in a variety of public venues, ranging from live-performance spaces like concert halls and clubs, to participant sports venues like skating rinks and basketball courts, to public streets that are suitable for strolling, cruising, playing, parading, partying, or simply moving about"* (Austin, 1998, p. 668).

The entertainment and leisure activities explored in this dissertation include restaurants, bars/lounges, cafes, and sidewalk cafes. Patrons revelling in fun, pleasure and play on a high street consequentially bring life to suburbia. This contrasts with the monotonous suburban lifestyle. Entertainment and leisure

activities are associated with evening economies, or during the day, the sidewalk cafe culture. Both of which have caused tensions and conflict, more so if these activities are in close proximity of residential dwellings.

Jane Jacobs identifies streets and their sidewalks as being one of the main public spaces of the city where sidewalks, its uses and their users are the active participants in the drama of civilization (Jacobs, 1961). Urban public spaces have the capacity to promote and facilitate public life that serves as a "counterpart to private, home and work spaces to satisfy our need for contact, communication, play and relaxation" (Mehta, 2006, p. 5). In a leisure time society, public spaces are important as they are easily accessible and provide a space for meeting other people and participate in public life (Gehl, 1989). Many people in a mixed-use neighbourhood depend on streets for functional, social and leisure activities, for travel, shopping, play, meeting and interaction with other people (Mehta, 2006). Life in public spaces is a source of individual amusement, pleasure and play (Oosterman, 1992).

In Binghamton, New York, new downtowns are being built on daytime attractions and night-time entertainment (Kitsinger, 2014). "Restaurants and nightclubs bring life back to downtowns" (Kitsinger, 2014, p. 1). Using entertainment and leisure activities is a form of revitalization for dormant areas in the city.

These types of activities are not always welcomed by residents who dwell in the same vicinity as the activity (Kitsinger, 2014; Carmona, 2010). The main conflict arises around the "needs of local residents VS those of the revellers and local businesses serving the evening economy" (Carmona, 2010, p. 126). Noise from the activities in entertainment and leisure destinations brings conflict between residents and nightlife (Kitsinger, 2014). Furthermore, these spaces have "brought with it forms of behaviour that even the perpetrators would feel is unacceptable in their own neighbourhoods" (Carmona, 2010, p. 126).

Oosterman's study of sidewalk cafes also demonstrates that the phenomenon of the sidewalk cafe culture led to a clash of interests with regard to their management and control (Oosterman, 1992). Residents and street users complained about the blocking of the street, noise and dirt (Oosterman, 1992). More importantly however, the sidewalk cafe symbolizes social interaction within a public space.

Some of the activities that took place at the sidewalk cafe included drinking, relaxing, enjoying the sunshine which are all social activities taking place within a public setting (Oosterman, 1992). Firstly, respondents' favourite activities to do at a sidewalk cafe was to "watch people go by, to be entertained by street life and to inhale the atmosphere of the city" (Oosterman, 1992, p. 161). Secondly, the sidewalk cafe was used to meet people as the sidewalk cafe presents a perfect opportunity to meet people accidently (Oosterman, 1992). Thirdly, respondents used the sidewalk cafe as a platform to show off, either popularity, beauty or to draw attention from people walking by (Oosterman, 1992). Lastly the sidewalk was used to meet strangers (Oosterman, 1992).

In general, people's reasons for eating out ranged from "doing or experiencing something different from the everyday, getting a break from cooking and serving, relaxing, having a treat, socializing, celebrating, a liking for food, and preventing hunger" (Warde & Martens, 2000, p. 47). The entertainment and leisure activities on the high street provide the platform for this. Entertainment and leisure activities on the high street provide the opportunity for people to engage in public life.

2.7 Conclusion

High Streets are places of great diversity. Academic literature on the high street in South Africa, let alone Johannesburg is surprisingly thin and a definition is yet to be culminated. While the historical, social and economic climate is not similar to that of the UK, there are lessons to be learnt from High Streets in the UK. The traditional use of high street enabled residents to gain easy access to goods and services prominent on the high street. The focus of high street performance in the UK also tends to be through the focus of its retail performance. In Johannesburg, as will be demonstrated in the chapters to follow, high streets are becoming more appealing for entertainment and leisure activities and this is attracting not only residents, but people residing outside the suburb.

Suburban lifestyle can be monotonous and arguably the high streets are bringing people and diversity to the suburb. The public life on a high street demonstrates the different types of social activities people can engage in on the high street.

Entertainment and leisure activities on the high street brings with it patrons, noise and life. Because of the high street's close proximity to the suburb, these activities are not always aligned with the suburban residential environment. Tensions can arise between the revellers, business owners and residents.

3 STREET ACTIVITIES: ENTERTAINMENT AND LEISURE ON THE HIGH STREET

3.1 Introduction

The entertainment and leisure, retail, amenities/services and commercial activities prominent on the street contribute towards the street's character and make for a vibrant street. The three high streets that form part of the study are places within their suburbs that exhibit components that echo social and commercial aspects of the city. 7th Street, 4th Avenue and Rockey/Raleigh Street portray the drama of city life and these streets display social interaction and exchange.

These streets have attributes that contribute towards the street being lively. The components and street activity prominent on each street is unpacked in this chapter. The activities prominent on the street indicate the nature of the street, as well as the reasons why people are on the street.

This chapter looks at the suburbs and streets that are part of the study. Secondly the activities on the high street are discussed; thereafter entertainment and leisure activities are contextualized. Shopping malls influence where people do their shopping and this is looked at in relation to the high street activities. The chapter explores the activities offered on high streets and what this means for the high street and entertainment and leisure activities.

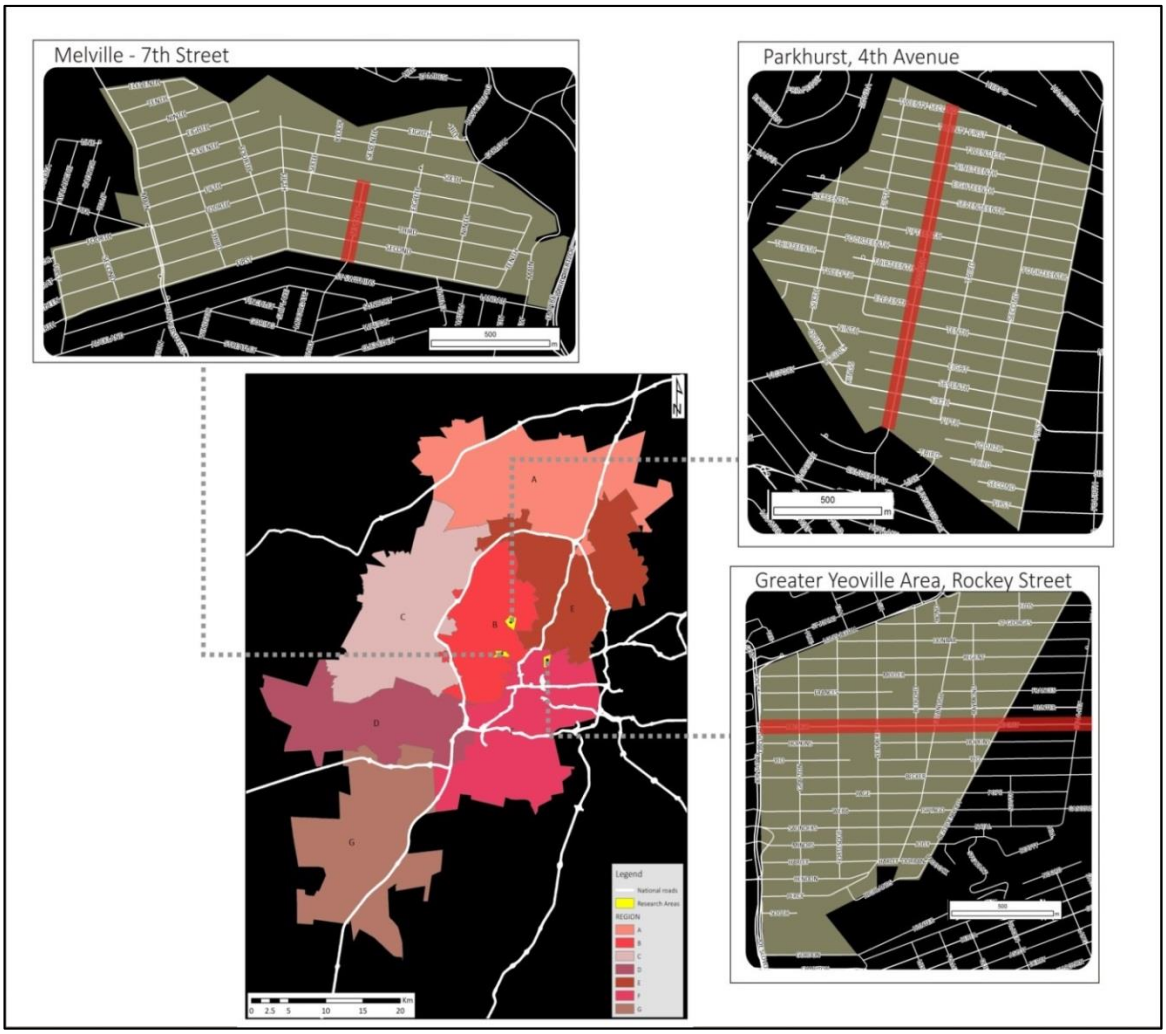


Figure 3 Johannesburg and the Case Study Streets and Suburbs

3.2 The Suburbs and their High Streets

3.2.1 Melville and 7th Street

Melville is situated west of Johannesburg's CBD and can be found between Barry Hertzog Avenue and Main Road, between the M5 and M16. Melville is part of ward 88 and the designated city ward councillor is Amanda Forsythe. Melville is part of the Regional Spatial Development Framework B. The total population density for Melville is 1954.153212 (People per Square Km); with its inhabitants being predominantly white and black African with a few coloured and Indian/Asian population groups (Stats SA, 2015). The total population count for the Melville suburb is 3355 (Stats SA, 2015). Of the three case study areas this

suburb is the most diverse in terms of the different population groups that inhabit the suburb. This is based on the Census data from 2011 (Stats SA, 2015).

This suburb was established in 1896 as a white working class suburb. This area enjoys high amenities and is subject to strong pressures for commercial, office and mixed use development (Joburg, 2006/7). Melville today is regarded as being well-established and trendy (Dirsuweit, 2009). Melville has symbolised a changing city with its original working class history then gentrifying and changing to a cultural hub in the city (Pre Brixton Community, 2013).

In terms of public transport, this area is well located with having the Rea Vaya transit system, Metrobus and major taxi routes. These factors contribute towards the suburb being easily accessible. Situated on 7th Street is a Metrobus bus stop. Approximately 800 metres away from 7th Street one can find the Rea Vaya bus transit, Campus Square (shopping centre) as well as other established commercial centres (the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] and Media 24). Furthermore this area has natural amenities. The Melville Koppies is a nature reserve site with important botanical and geographical features. Melville is also situated close to Johannesburg Botanical Gardens, Emmarentia Dam and Melville Koppies - one of Johannesburg's nature reserves and heritage sites.

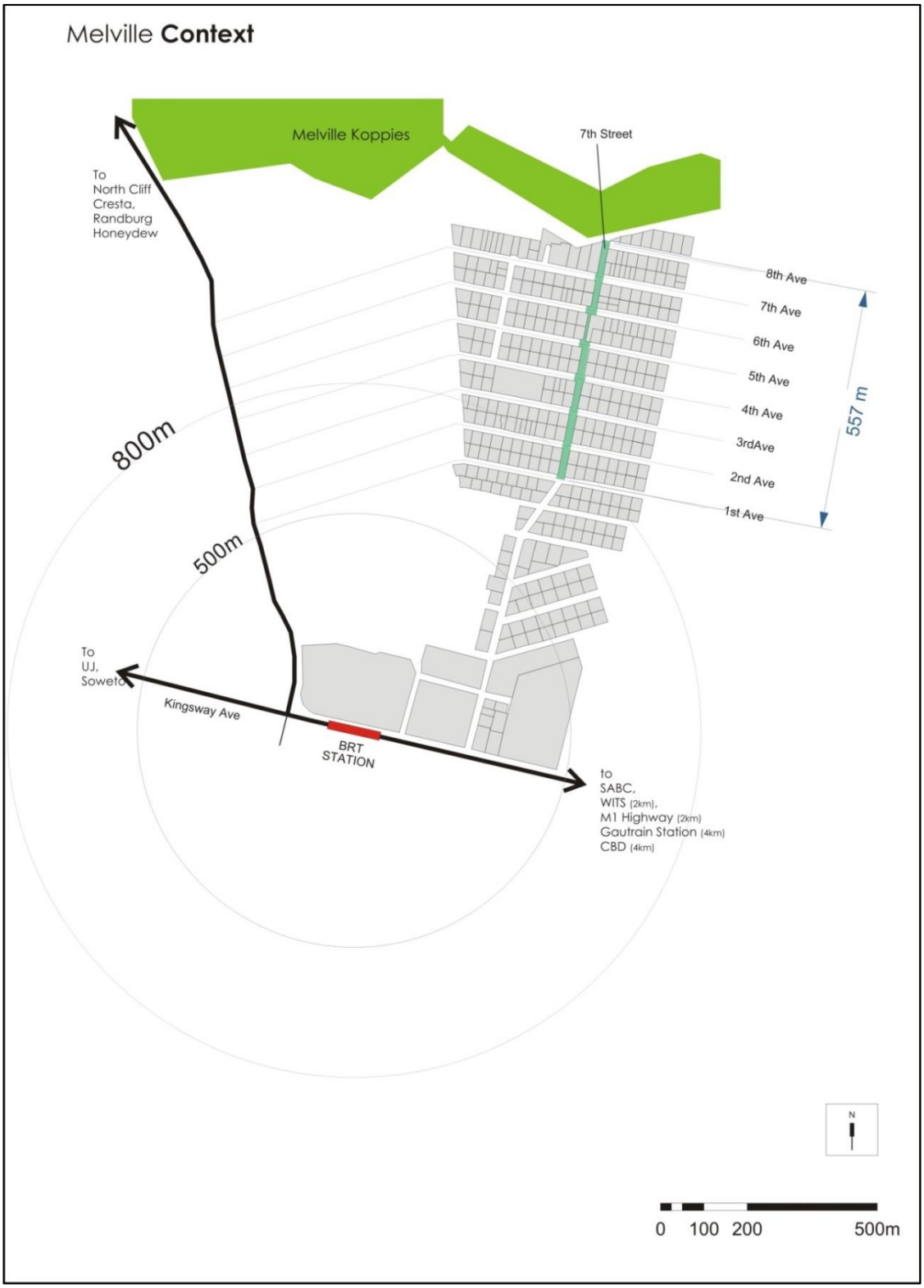


Figure 4 Melville Context Map

There are two prominent streets that can be found in Melville. Main Road is situated just off Kingsway Avenue and is one of the busier commercial nodes in the area. This street contains a Spar, Catz Pyjamas (a restaurant open 24/7) a medical centre and many fast food outlets. Two of the perceived negative business activities on this street are an Adult World, which is a store specializing in adult entertainment and Paul's Tavern which is a bar. These activities are perceived to be problematic for residents as they think it threatens the amenity of the area (Chair of the Melville Residents Association, 2014). The residents association hopes to change the character of Main Road as this type of activity on the street is deemed undesirable for residents in the neighbourhood (Chair of the Melville Residents Association, 2014) .

Although Main Road in Melville is more amenable than 7th Street in terms of having more reputable shopping and grocery outlets (Spar included), a medical practice as well as having some entertainment and leisure activities, 7th Street is smaller and differs in ambience and the places on 7th are more attractive if one wants to 'chill out' (Melville Resident 1, 2014). Melville is one of Johannesburg's trendier suburbs and its character as being a bohemian village is ideally associated with 7th Street (Corrigall, 2012).

In the late seventies and eighties 7th Street and Melville was described as having a village-like atmosphere that had a sense of community (Corrigall, 2012). During this period, the street was a service hub for its residents, and a suburb where neighbours knew each other as well as the business owners on the street (Corrigall, 2012). This type of atmosphere inspired Danie Odendaal who created a soap opera based on his experiences in Melville. 7th Street is the opening scene of this popular television show in South Africa. The soap opera is called 7de Laan[2]. The show and characters and their interactions in 'Hillside', the fictional suburb created for the show, emphasize the village-like atmosphere that is

[2] Afrikaans for 7th Street

prominent in Melville. These qualities contributed towards Melville being a desirable and attractive suburb to be and live in (Corrigall, 2012).



Figure 5 Heading of the popular soap opera **(Genever, 2015).**

The 'bohemian' character of this suburb can be attributed to the establishment of RAU (formerly Rand Afrikaans University now University of Johannesburg, UJ) and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) in the 1970s (Corrigall, 2012). These establishments resulted in an influx of intellectuals and creatives that started residing in the suburb. Today, this remains the situation. Melville is a suburb populated with academics, students, musicians and aspiring and fallen stars. Some business owners interviewed enjoy the suburb too.

Melville is within close proximity to both University of Johannesburg as well as the University of the Witwatersrand. The suburb also has Campus Square, a shopping centre that caters for the students and residents in the surrounding catchment area. Campus Square has all the daily essential needs that one can purchase, as opposed to 7th Street which is entertainment and leisure orientated. An interesting development, which some business owners believe might influence business activity on 7th Street, is the development of a shipping container shopping centre. 27 Boxes is said to "inject life into the suburb of Melville" (Samakosky, 2015). The shopping centre has since opened, with some places still under construction. A few stores already open include; a bookstore,

patisserie, boutique tea store, artist studios and galleries to name a few. This type of development is one of its kind and the developers hope to encourage a culture of enjoying the city (Samakosky, 2015). Another key informant envisages this development to be beneficial for Melville as well as 7th Street as it is suggested that business will filter through the whole suburb.



Figure 6 27 Boxes development prominent on 4th Avenue just off 7th Street (Kok, 2015).

Melville also has a large number of guest houses which makes it appealing to travellers and is a popular tourist destination. One establishment, on 7th Street, Lucky Bean, is both a guest house and a restaurant. 7th Street today has held the attention of many bloggers, authors and writers who write about the quaintness and atmosphere of the street. And, although there are conflicting statements from some respondents that refer to 7th Street declining, 7th Street's environment is sustained by the entertainment and leisure activities on the street that provide ample choice for patrons.

3.2.2 Parkhurst and 4th Avenue

Geographically Parkhurst is situated in the northern part of Johannesburg, just north of Rosebank, and is part of ward 117 and Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF) B. The city councillor for this ward is Tim Truluck. The total population density for Parkhurst is approximately 2952.405009 (People per Square Km) (Stats SA, 2015). The majority of inhabitants in Parkhurst are white, contributing 73.6% of the total population. The total population count for the suburb is 4851 (Stats SA, 2015). This suburb was established in 1904. Parkhurst was previously a working class neighbourhood but is now an area with higher income residents (Nenzen, 2013).

Parkhurst enjoys amenities such as Verity Park where the residents association has improved the children's play area and where residents take their dogs for a walk (Parkhurst was also referred to as 'Bark Hurst' by one of the research respondents for the love of dogs) (Ward Councillor 117, 2014). Furthermore, there is a primary school, community clinic and library which are all desirable amenities and is also located near the Braamfontein Spruit.

Parkhurst, in comparison to the two other case study areas, is not as easily accessible or well located in terms of being near either Universities or highways. The suburb is, however, within close proximity to Greenside which also has a high street that boasts an abundance of restaurants and bars, as well as being close to Rosebank that has a shopping mall and the Gautrain. Public transport in Parkhurst could definitely be improved. Metrobus is the only form of transportation that comes to the area and even this service is soon to end (Chair of Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014). What is likely to occur in its place are mini shuttles that will travel from the suburb to Rosebank and other surrounding areas (Chair of Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014). This initiative will take time to materialize however.

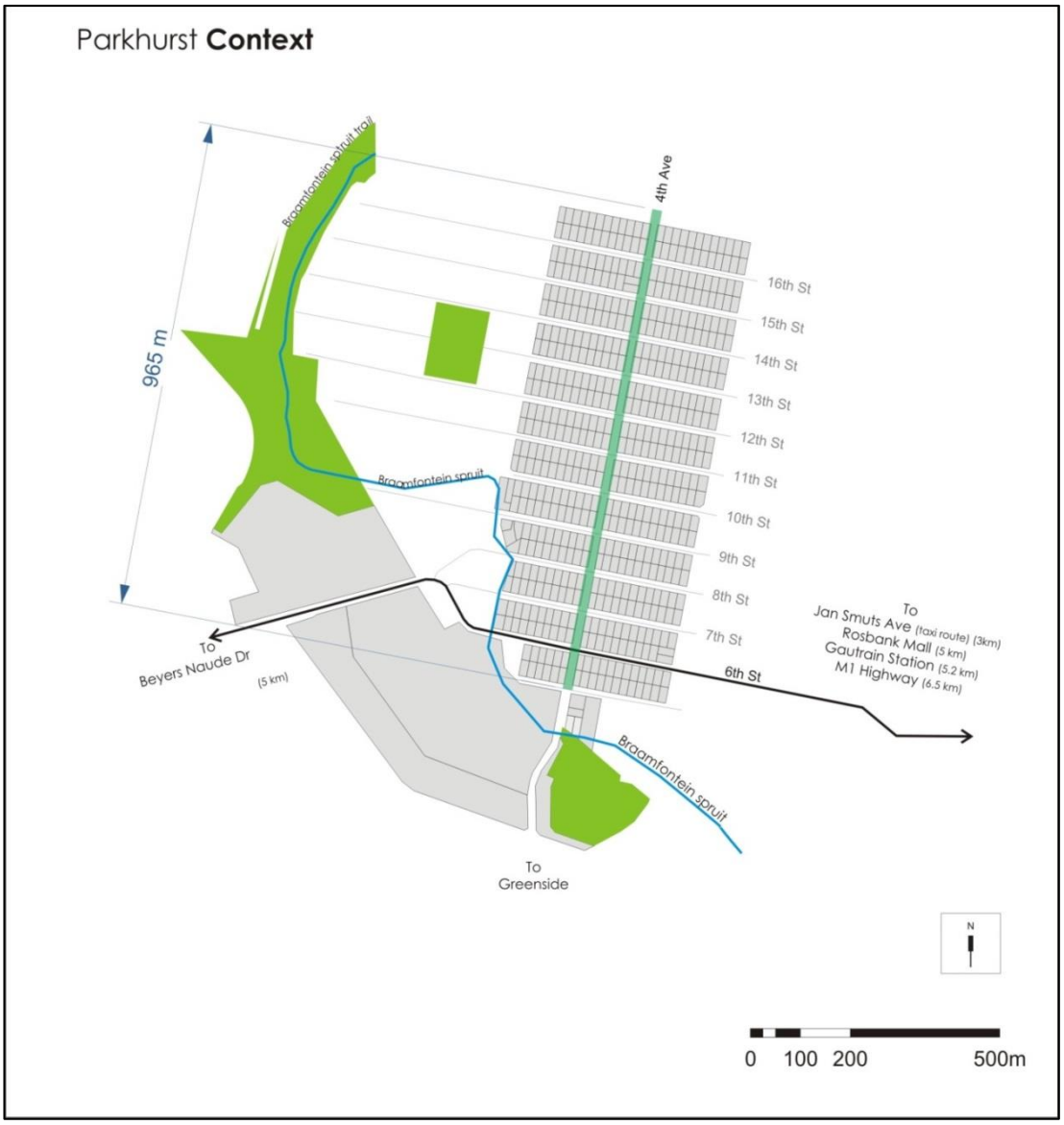


Figure 7 Parkhurst Context Map

Parkhurst is one of the more affluent suburbs in which to reside in Johannesburg, with comparatively higher and competitive property values (Ward Councillor 117, 2014). This suburb was originally developed for white working class citizens whose servicemen had just returned from WW II, who were being reintegrated into society (Estate Agent Parkhurst, 2014; Chair of Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014). Although a lot of white South Africans during this time were accustomed to well-developed housing with larger plot sizes, these houses are relatively smaller, with about 2200 plots averaging about 500 square meters (Estate Agent Parkhurst, 2014; South African Tourism, 2015).

One of the appealing characteristics of Parkhurst is its community type of environment which is preferred over the golf estate environment that is confined by rules and regulations (Chair of Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014). Another appealing aspect of the suburb is its perception of safety, as residents are able to 'lock up and go' (Chair of Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014).

> *"Don't look for the stately mansions of the old Randlords – those exist closer to the heart of the city – but expect quaint cottages and small houses that have been lovingly restored by their present owners. Colourful walls, tiny cheerful gardens and narrow streets are the order of the day"* (South African Tourism, 2015).

4th Avenue intersects the middle of the suburb and in the past 4th Avenue was a street that contained a butcher, bakery, grocery store and a number of antique stores. While some of these activities are still prominent on the street, 4th Avenue has become an increasingly popular destination point for wining, dining and socializing. Although the entertainment and leisure activities on 4th Avenue and the crowds they attract to the street are not always favourable for residents, the street has added to the character and ambience of Parkhurst and has contributed towards the perception of the suburb's village feel.

> *"4th Avenue is a unique street in itself, the street is lined with unique craft shops, restaurants and boutique shops that are difficult to find elsewhere in Johannesburg. While the shops are very modern an old school way of shopping and doing things in Parkhurst has prevailed maintaining a village feel in the suburb with one storey shops still in original tin roofs, low densities, low traffic densities which allows restaurant patrons to dine in relatively low traffic noise which gives the street a different ambience from the other main streets*" (le Roux & Muindisi, 2013, p. 3).

3.2.3 Greater Yeoville and Rockey/Raleigh Street

Yeoville/ Bellevue, or what most people refer to as Yeoville and what is referred to in this study as Greater Yeoville, comprises of six suburbs, namely Yeoville, Bellevue, Bellevue East, the upper part of Lorentzville and Highlands and Randview (Smithers, 2013). Historically this area has been an important civic, economic, social and entertainment node for the local community and the city (Johannesburg Development Agency , 2004). Recently however, this area has become associated with negativity and inappropriate land uses; these factors have aggravated the deterioration and created a negative perception about the area (Johannesburg Development Agency , 2004).

Yeoville is part of Regional Administrative Region F, where Rockey/Raleigh Street falls under two different wards. The streets fall under different wards with different city councillors. Raleigh Street falls under Ward 67 and the ward overseer is Councillor Sihwele Myeki. Rockey Street is part of Ward 66 whose councillor is Carlos DA Rocha. Yeoville is a high density residential suburb (Johannesburg Development Agency , 2004) Yeoville's, population density is approximately 19440.86695 (People per Square Km) (Stats SA, 2015). The stand size for this area is approximately 500 square meters. The majority of inhabitants In Rockey/Raleigh are black African people (Stats SA, 2015). The population total for Yeoville is 18882. This is a significantly higher number of people inhabiting this suburb in comparison to Melville or Parkhurst whose suburbs are much less dense. Whereas in Parkhurst the majority of inhabitants are white, the majority of people residing in this suburb are black.

Well located near to the CBD and Rosebank, and within easy striking distance of Sandton, the suburb is easily accessible for people and vehicles (Smithers, 2013). Raleigh Street is connected to Joe Slovo Drive and Louis Botha Avenue and both are important transport nodes in Johannesburg as they lead to the CBD. Furthermore Louis Botha is a major taxi route. Rea Vaya also operates in this area. Proximity to the CBD also makes the suburb a popular choice for residents.



Figure 8 Yeoville Context Map

Foreign nationals have always gravitated towards this suburb. In the past Yeoville was mainly a Jewish neighbourhood with a large number of Eastern European immigrants settling in the community (Heller & Kracker, 2010). The inhabitants of the suburb at this time were predominantly a white and largely lower-middle class population. They were within close proximity to the CBD and resources of the city (Heller & Kracker, 2010). For the most part of the 20th century, Yeoville was a quieter neighbourhood but not one where people would settle for a long period of time as residents would gain wealth and social mobility and move to Johannesburg's more prestigious northern suburbs (Heller & Kracker, 2010).

Towards the end of the 1970s the relatively quiet neighbourhood's character started to change. Nightclubs, art galleries and other popular entertainment businesses such as the Black Sun theatre, Coffee Society, Scandalos and Tandoor (a popular bar which is still on Rockey Street today, referred to as House of Tandoor in section 3.3.3) relocated their businesses on Rockey/Raleigh Street. Most of these businesses had been situated in Hillbrow but, upon decline of this suburb, moved and Greater Yeoville became the social hub for the 'Avant garde' (Smithers, 2013). Yeoville adopted a reputation, both locally and internationally, as being the premier nightspot in Johannesburg (Heller & Kracker, 2010).

> *"In the 1980s, it became a haven for young writers and film makers. The growth of nightlife in Yeoville largely came at the expense of the community streets and shops that were driven out by rising rents or were bought and converted into clubs and cafes, thus altering the types of goods and services available along Yeoville's main commercial strip and changing the overall atmosphere of the community"* (Heller & Kracker, 2010, p. 2).

Local community shops were driven out by high rentals and replaced or bought and renovated into clubs or cafes. These shifts altered the types of goods and services available to the street and largely influenced the suburb's atmosphere and feel. The 'Avant garde' character of Yeoville also influenced the racial and political dynamics of the neighbourhood (Heller & Kracker, 2010). In the 1980s, the racial composition of the suburb started to experience changes and although

the Group Areas Act institutionally segregated and spatialized race groups, inhabitants of Yeoville, Hillbrow and Berea became unofficially relaxed and Yeoville became one of the first 'grey' areas in South Africa (Heller & Kracker, 2010).

Many exiled political activists, upon returning to South Africa, would reside in Yeoville because of the political and cultural reputation of the community (Heller & Kracker, 2010). At this time however, various social and economic changes perpetuated a change in the racial composition in Yeoville. The area went from having predominantly white people to black people. The displacement of the CBD as the city's economic centre resulted in a movement of entertainment nodes towards other developing night spots areas such as Melville, Norwood, Melrose Arch, Rosebank, Stanley 44 and so on (Smithers, 2013).

> *"Most long-standing entertainment moved out of the CBD, Joubert Park and Hillbrow (and Yeoville Bellevue) and into the malls and newly-developed nightspot areas such as Melville, Queens Street in Kensington, Norwood, Melrose Arch, Rosebank, Bruma, the Randburg Waterfront, 44 Stanley Avenue, Edenvale and others"* (Smithers, 2013, p. 50).

With its distinct pan-African character 'Little Africa' has reputedly more than 30 African countries' representatives that inhabit Greater Yeoville (Smithers, 2013). Greater Yeoville today is now occupied by African nationals.

Rockey/Raleigh Street has always been a popular entertainment node in Johannesburg. Although the nightlife in Greater Yeoville is still abundant the suburb has developed an increasingly negative profile that is associated with crime and violence (Smithers, 2013). "The 'black intelligentsia' famous for sitting in Ekhaya (a restaurant) and Times Square (mixed use development containing entertainment and leisure activities) and planning ways to 'restore Yeoville Bellevue to its former glory', eventually moved to places like Melville and Rosebank" (Smithers, 2013, p. 51).

3.3 The High Streets' Activities

3.3.1 7th Street

There are four blocks that run from 1st Avenue to 5th Avenue that were documented. Towards 5th Avenue the street becomes residential. The street is 557 metres long, comprising mostly of business activities. The main access point to get onto 7th Street is entering from 1st Avenue, which is connected to Lothbury Avenue and Lothbury Avenue is just off Kingsway Avenue, a major transportation node.

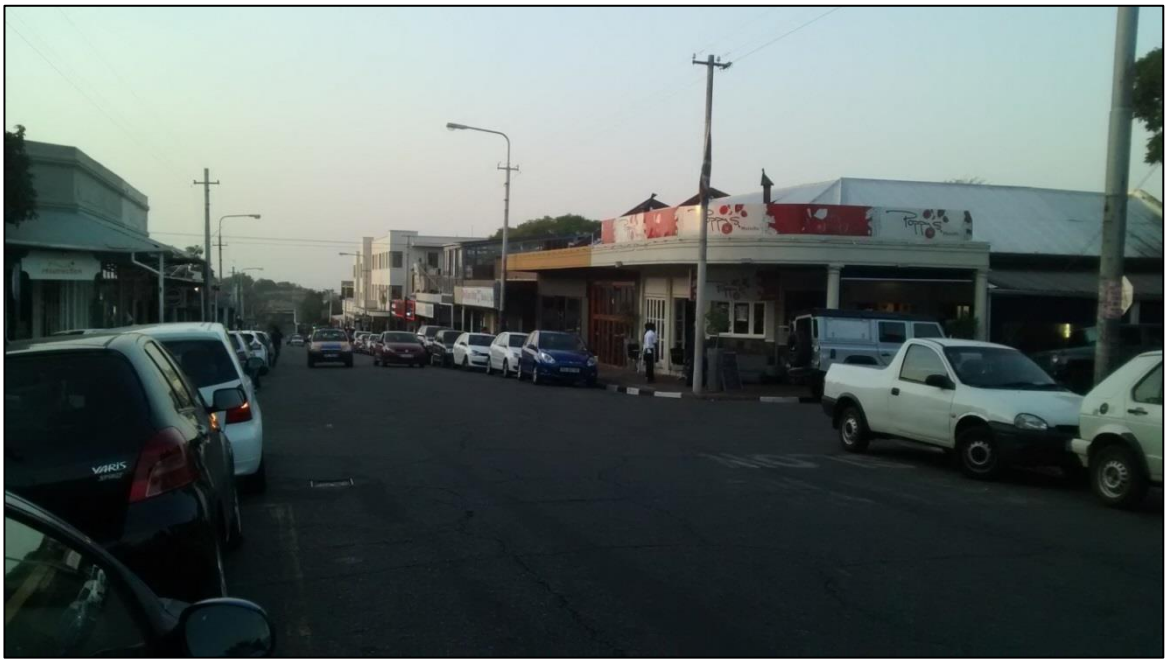


Figure 9 7th Street Panoramic (Kok, 2015)

Of the three case study streets, 7th Street is the shortest street with the least number of establishments and businesses prominent on the street. The types of activity found on 7th Street range from amenities/services to retail to entertainment and leisure activities.

Overall there were 44 establishments counted on 7th Street. The entertainment and leisure establishments counted included 19 restaurants, bars and sidewalk cafes. To break it down further, 7th Street had 6 restaurants, 4 cafes/sidewalk cafes, 8 bars/lounges and 1 club. The one establishment documented as a club,

named ‘Dollar Table’ has since closed down. This establishment in particular caused tension with the residents association. The sidewalk tables and chairs have also caused protest with a business owner on the street who said that the JMPD/SAPS just came to remove their tables and chairs off the sidewalk and said that it was just a problem for their establishment because other places on the street has tables and chairs too (Melville Business Owner 3 , 2014) . The tensions elicited from entertainment and leisure activities, as well as business owners' perspectives are explored further in further in Chapter 4.

The restaurant scene in Johannesburg is not short of variety, with many vibrant places to choose from. ‘EATOUT’[3] recommends at least two establishments to visit that are located on 7th Street. This is significant because it indicates that places on the street are appealing for other people and not just residents from Melville (see chapter 4). The recommendations for Johannesburg include an array of different restaurant types varying from Bistros, Cafes, Asian, and Italian to popular steakhouses. A recent exploration of restaurants in Johannesburg titled “The best restaurants in Jo’burg: where to eat out in 2015” (Donnelly, 2015), as the title implies, provides an array of restaurants for fine wining and dining. The one restaurant is praised for its Italian food, and the other is categorized under ‘modern’. The ‘modern ’type of establishment is a guest house as well as a restaurant.

The retail and amenities/services activities on 7th Street range from clothing boutique stores, including bridal wear, to art and framing galleries, to a body shop (a store specializing in scented fragrances in the form of soaps, bath salts

[3] ‘Eat Out’ is an online restaurant and culinary expert; with over 40 000 twitter followers, and 20 000 likes on Facebook, the site recommends and critiques restaurants in South Africa. From Durban to Cape Town and Johannesburg, this site has explored all types of restaurants and assessed the best places to visit and eat at.

and so forth) and antique stores. Although there is a convenience store, it is fairly small. The amenities and services include hairdressers, an electronic fix-it store, and a pharmacy.

On 7th Street you can have your hair done, do some laundry, pop in to the corner supermarket for some minor items. While having a coffee and a treat you can use the internet at the IT corner. If you are looking for a book, you can do so at the Melville Bookdealer store. It is a quaint, small-scale street. This street specializes in quaint stores and they are unique in the sense that there are no chain stores prominent on the street. The street does not cater for mass consumption as there are no supermarkets, rather a mini-market. It is a small-scale street that enables one to possibly buy a gift at the curio store, browse around the antique store or art galleries, buy scented soaps at the body shop, or even buy a fashion item at one of the clothing boutique stores.

Although entertainment and leisure activities contribute towards approximately 43% of the high street's activities, retail activities dominate with 45%. These activities are close contenders on the high street. Of the three case study streets, 7th Street has the most entertainment and leisure activities in proportion to the other activities on the street. To summarise, 7th Street is the shortest street, with the fewest number of business activities but the most entertainment and leisure activities in proportion to the other activities prominent on the street.

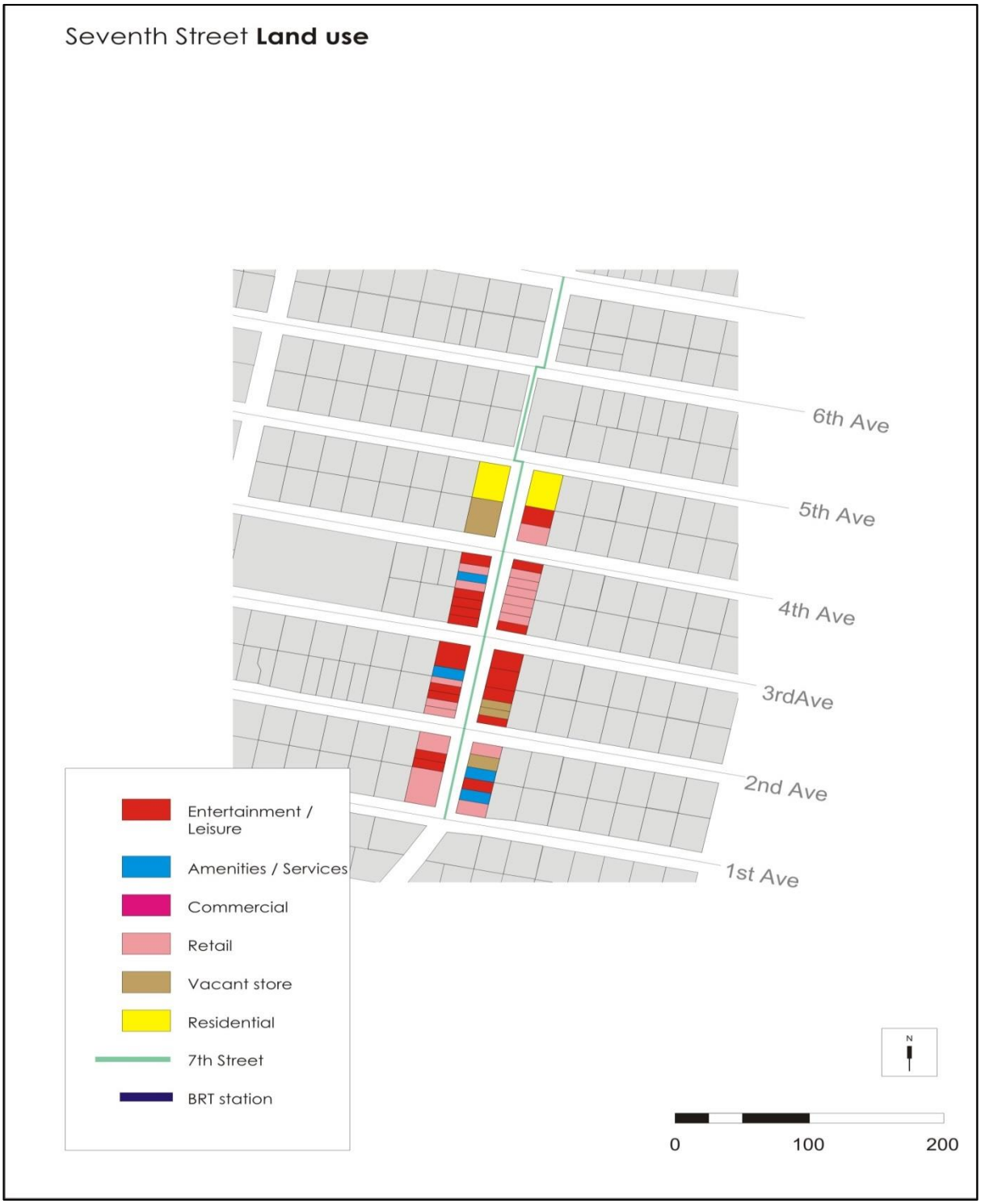


Figure 10 7th Street Land Use Map

3.3.2 4th Avenue

4th Avenue is about 965m long, almost double the size of 7th Street. There are 10 blocks of business activity. After 14th Street the area becomes predominantly residential. The main access point to 4th Avenue is from 6th Street whose street links Parkhurst to other suburbs such as Greenside, Parktown North and Rosebank.



Figure 11 Images of 4th Avenue Parkhurst (Kok, 2015)

"The character and feel of the street in Parkhurst for example is an affluent feel with a few designer shops and upper end shops and restaurants" (le Roux & Muindisi, 2013, p. 11). The types of activities prominent on the street echo this statement, priding itself upon having an eclectic mix of exclusive stores, restaurants and cafes. The art galleries, interior decorating studios and beauty and slimming salons speak to the aesthetic and affluent consumer. Other appealing land uses for users on 4th Avenue include a butchery, hardware store, pharmacy, hair salons, bookshops, a pet store, toy store as well as a bakery–come-cafe where residents can buy freshly made bread.

Although 7th Street had 2 antiques stores, 4th Avenue has had a reputation of having "the highest density, of antique dealers in the southern hemisphere" (Parkhurst Business Owner 4, 2014). On 4th Avenue today, only about 8 antique

stores are established on the street. A more precise number of antique stores is not provided because during fieldwork, although establishments were documented as 'Antique stores', there were For Sale signs present in front of some buildings. Whether they are still operating as antique stores today or not is unknown.

Overall, 4th Avenue's business activities comprised of 84 establishments. The retail component dominates 4th Avenue having at least 44 retail establishments documented, with 20 entertainment and leisure activities, 4 commercial activities and 16 amenities/services. 4th Avenue has two centres namely Cobbles Centre and Parkhurst Square. Cobbles Centre is situated on the corner of 11th Street as indicated by the mixed use key on the map. Parkhurst Square is located between 13th and 14th Street and is a mixture of offices, restaurants as well as an aesthetic centre. Parkhurst Square was designed to enhance the 'look and feel' of 4th Avenue (Hinton, 2010). Although some residents were concerned about new developments interfering with the village atmosphere of Parkhurst and the impact it would have on the feel of the street, these developments have arguably enhanced the character of 4th Avenue (Ward Councillor 117, 2014). There is also a new development made up of boutiques, an exclusive salon and a design furniture store that was being built while conducting fieldwork, which is situated between the block on 11th and 12th street. This development has since opened and is operating.

With its eclectic mix of establishments, based on the land use survey, the street is predominantly retail. As classifed, retail consists of any place that is selling goods. 4th Avenue has an array of slimming salons as well as beauty treatment centres. From vintage stores to maternity wear, to lingerie and tattoo parlours, 4th Avenue has it.

4th Avenue has 9 restaurants, 9 cafes and 2 bars/lounges. The aforementioned two bars are situated on the corner of 6th Street, one on each end, facing one another. These bar type of establishments are also reffered to as pubs, with one

bar popular for its pizza specials where you can get two-for-one pizza specials on a Sunday and a Wednesday. The environment on this end of 4th Avenue attracts a younger crowd than that on the opposite end of the street, with the cafe being arguably more pristine and expensive. For the next two blocks the activities aligned along the street are predominantly retail with a few amenities and services. 9th Street through to 14th Street on 4th Avenue is where most of the entertainment and leisure places are situated.

The shift from commercial mixed use to restaurants began in the 1990s when a restaurant Cobbles moved to 4th Avenue (le Roux & Muindisi, 2013). This was then followed by a wave of antique shops which attracted middle class consumers and this had a ripple effect on attracting higher rentals (le Roux & Muindisi, 2013). This shift resulted in lower end services such as the post office moving to the periphery of the suburb and at the same time the local butcher and baker began competing with bigger supermarkets. Ultimately the smaller stores lost customers as supermarkets gained popularity (le Roux & Muindisi, 2013). This contributed towards the burgeoning of restaurants on 4th Avenue.

According to EATOUT (Donnelly, 2015), 4th Avenue has 9 of the best restaurants in Johannesburg. These are 9 of the 108 selected best restuarants in Johannesburg. A large number considering the size of Johannesburg. 4th Avenue prides itself on having a diverse number of eating places to choose from. From sidewalk cafes, to Italian, to Asian, to fine dining to simple pubs offering a beer and a place to watch a sports game. Furthermore, the street also has a fairly high retail component to it in the sense that there are a lot of establishments that are not predominantly entertainment and leisure orientated.

4th Avenue is an upmarket street. In comparison to 7th Street, 4th Avenue has more boutiques, more art galleries as well as more antique stores. Another distinct difference of 4th Avenue from the other two high streets is the laser boutiques and slimming salons. These types of service are not located on 7th Street nor on Rockey/Raleigh Street.

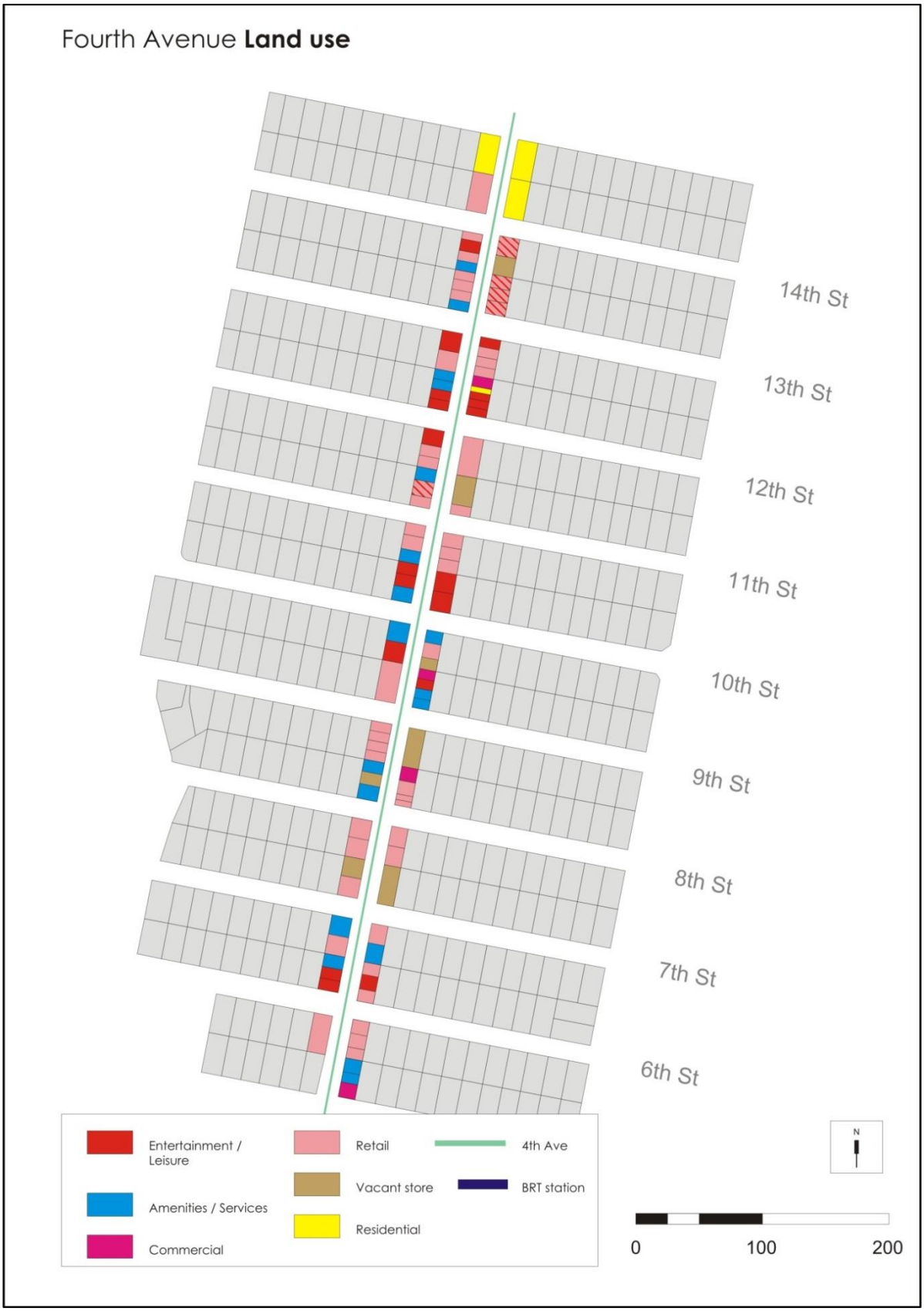


Figure 12 4th Avenue Land Use Map

3.3.3 Rockey/Raleigh Street

Rockey Street and Raleigh Street combined is approximately 1.5kms long and Cavendish Road intersects and 'separates' them. This street has 8 blocks of business activity documented. Raleigh Street is connected to Joe Slovo Drive and Louis Botha Avenue that are both important transport nodes. These streets lead into the CBD.



Figure 13 Rockey/Raleigh Street panoramic (Kok, 2015)

Overall, Rockey/Raleigh Street had 231 establishments. There were 43 entertainment and leisure establishments, 109 retail establishments, 14 commercial establishments and 65 amenities/services documented on Rockey/Raleigh Street. This street is longer than 4th Avenue and 7th Street with significantly more business activities prominent on the street. 7th Street had 44 establishments; 4th Avenue had 84, Rockey/Raleigh Street doubles, triples and quadruples these figures. Rockey/Raleigh Street has more of everything.

Fastfood outlets are abundant on Rockey/Raleigh Street, while 4th Avenue and 7th Street also lack these types of restaurants. McDonald's, Debonairs, Nando's are all popular fast food outlets and commercial chain stores in South Africa and are present on the street. Rockey/Raleigh Street also has a Shoprite, Pep and Jet store, all prominent chain stores in South Africa providing groceries and clothing. This is significant because it indicates that there is business incentive to have these types of places on the street - stores that appeal to mass consumers and where one can do mass shopping. There is enough foot traffic to sustain these businesses. The foot traffic flow could also be linked to Greater Yeoville being a high density suburb in comparison to the other suburbs. There are many more people in this suburb and this filters through to the high street.

Rockey/Raleigh Street also has Timesquare, Rockey Alley and Rockey Corner prominent on the street. These are mixed-use developments, indicated as mixed use on the map. They house different types of activities (retail, entertainment and leisure), including residential flats and apartments. Timesquare is situated on the corner of Fortesque Road and Raleigh Street, Rockey Alley on the corner of Raymond Street and Rockey Street and Rockey Corner on the corner of Bezuidenhout Street and Rockey Street.

Unique to the street, that are not prominent on 4th Avenue or 7th Street, are the spaza[4] shops. These micro enterprises are the livelihoods for many people on the street. A lot of the houses that have been converted into stores have further been split into two or three spaces whereby people can sell their goods. The hair salons are plentiful and despite the formalized market there are many street vendors selling their goods on the pavements. As opposed to 7th Street and 4th Avenue that have sidewalk cafes, Rockey/Raleigh Street does not.

On this street you even get to listen to music that is emanating from some cars and the market and some shops, use an internet cafe, stop for lunch or a drink.

[4] A spaza shop is an informal, unofficial store that is based and operates from a house that has been converted to trade goods.

The retail and amenities/services on Rockey/Raleigh have almost anything. The type of retail stores on Rockey/Raleigh Street differ significantly to that of 7th Street and 4th Avenue. 7th Street and 4th Avenue have art galleries, clothing boutique stores and shops of a smaller scale. Rockey/Raleigh Street has no limits, from buying and exchanging gold, purchasing a used car, microwave or fridge, buying or even fixing electronics, Rockey/Raleigh Street has it all. There are approximately twice as many butcheries on Rockey/Raleigh Street as opposed to 4th Avenue that has only one. While 7th Street only has one superette, Rockey/Raleigh Street has one on every corner. The different types of activity on the street provide easy access for residents and people to meet their daily needs as well as opportunity for small businesses to thrive. The entertainment and leisure activities on Rockey/Raleigh Street are not the main attraction for people being on the street. Rather, entertainment and leisure on Rockey/Raleigh Street co-exists with the retail, amenities/services, and commercial aspects of the street. The number of retail activities indicate that this street is more retail orientated.

Rockey/Raleigh Street has always been a popular entertainment node and some places have been operating for years (House of Tandoor see section 3.2.3). On this street there are 26 Restaurants, 5 cafes and 6 bars/lounges. In total there are 37 entertainment and leisure type of activities. This street has the most entertainment and leisure establishments in comparison to 7th Street and 4th Avenue. However, it has a smaller contribution in proportion to the total number of businesses on the street. Timesquare itself houses more than 3 entertainment and leisure establishments.

On the opposite end of the street, on Raleigh Street there is also a popular establishment that is known for its live jazz music on Sundays. This place was recently renovated. The new owner was a former patron and decided to buy the place and is excited at the prospect of doing business on the street (Yeoville

Business Owner 1 , 2014). This place is ideal for enjoying a meal while listening to jazz.

Rockey/Raleigh Street is the longest street, with the most business activity prominent on the street. While this street has the most number of entertainment and leisure activities, in proportion to the other activities on the street, entertainment and leisure only contribute towards 18% of total activities on the street.

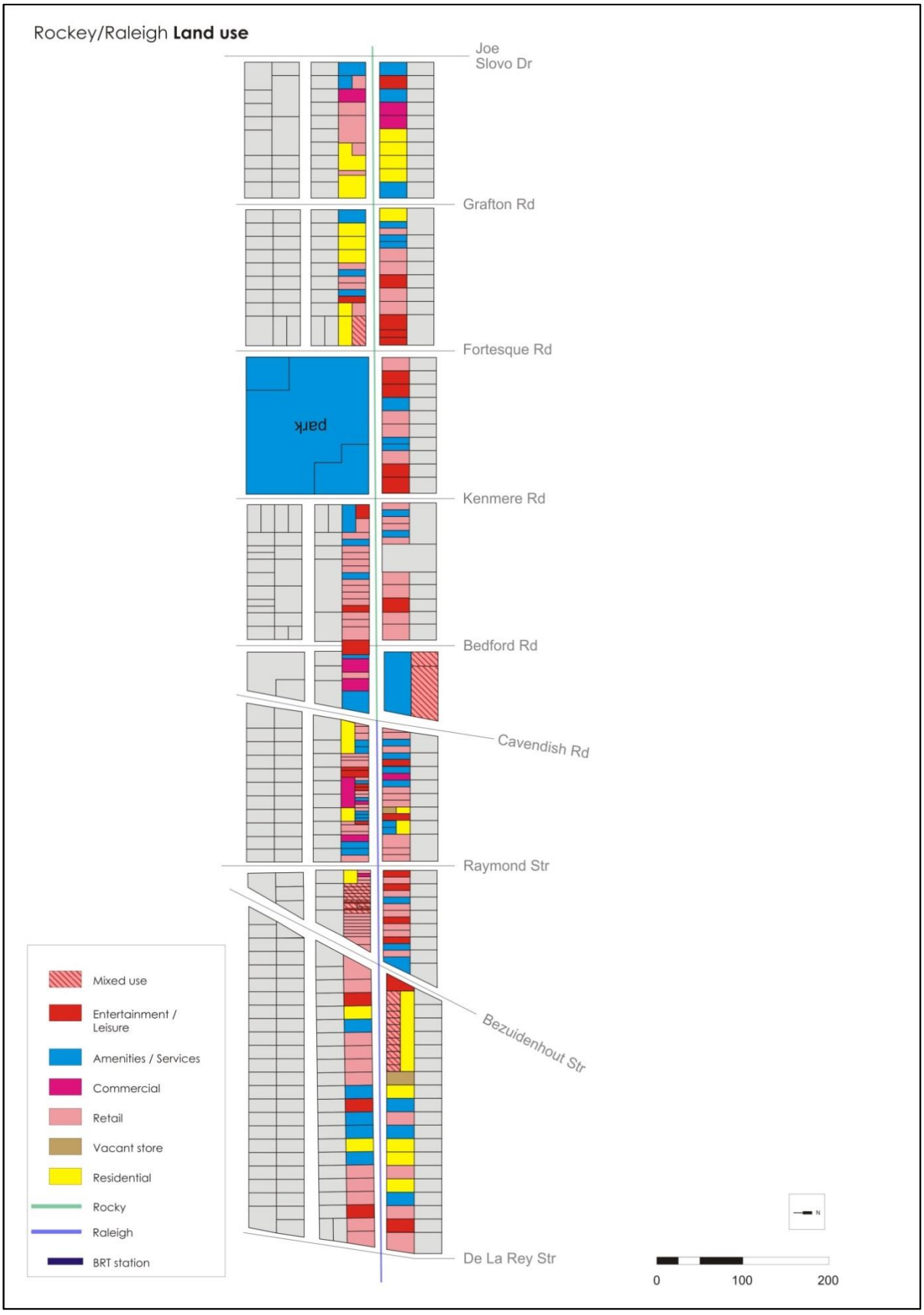


Figure 14 Rockey/Raleigh Street Land Use Map

3.4 Contextualizing Entertainment and Leisure Activity on the High Street

Activities prominent on the street can be indicators of when the street is busy and reasons as to when, and why people are on the street. Entertainment and leisure activities thrive on different hours in comparison to retail or amenities/service hours. The former thrives during the evening, between the hours of 6pm and the early hours of the morning as well as on weekends. The latter's trading hours are between 9am and 5pm. This is significant to note, as these hours determine when the street is busy (See Chapter 4 Patron section).

Prior to the land use survey that was administered on each street, it was anticipated that entertainment and leisure activities would dominate on all streets. This perception was informed by the streets being busy during evenings and weekends or friends talking about visiting restaurants or bars on the streets (see section 3.4 and patrons' responses in Chapter 4). Once the survey was administered, it became clear that this was not the case.

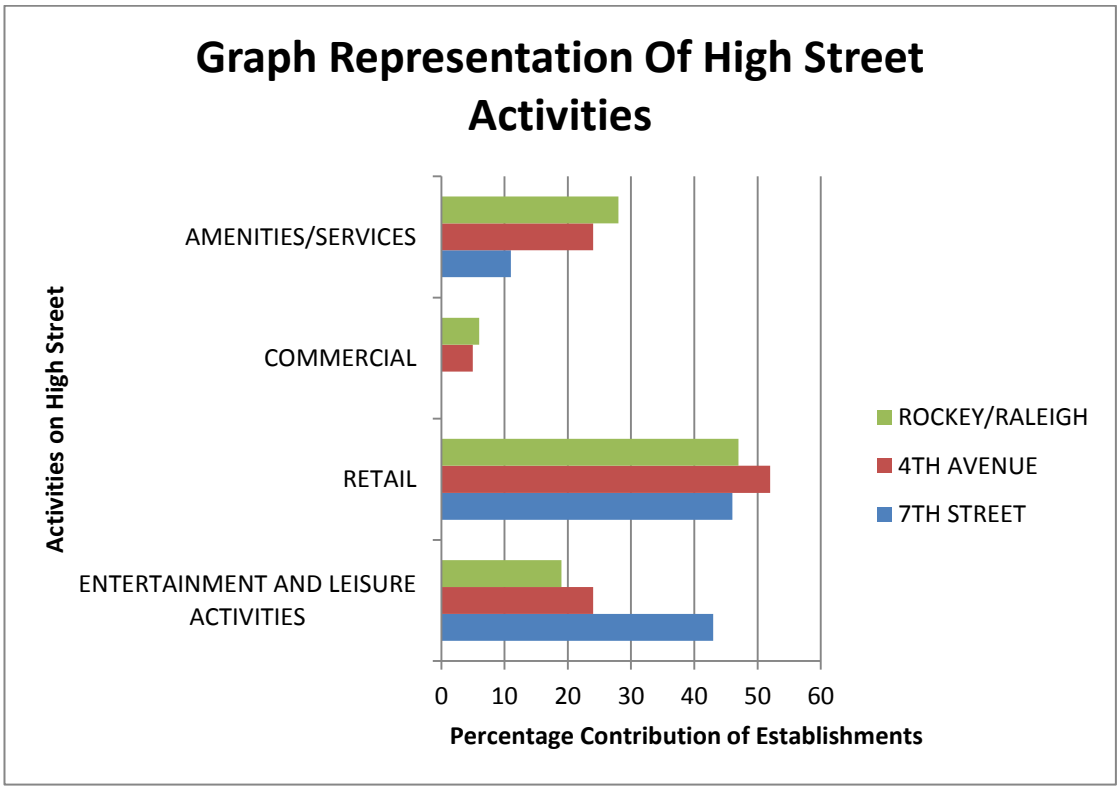


Figure 15 Bar Graph Representation of High Street Activities

7th Street is the shortest street by length (557meters), with the most entertainment and leisure activities in proportion to the other activities prominent on the street, in comparison to the two other streets. This means that 7th Street is more entertainment and leisure orientated, contributing to at least 43% of the high street's activities in comparison to the two other high streets. 4th Avenue entertainment and leisure activities contribute 23% towards all the street's activities. Although 4th Avenue has a retail component of 52% of the street, most respondents from 4th Avenue indicated that they were on the street or liked the street for its entertainment and leisure activities. This is true for 7th Street as well, but this is not as surprising as 43% of activities are entertainment and leisure. Patrons' reasons for being on the street are related to the street's activities. Patrons' attraction for the high streets is discussed further in Chapter 4. Respondents indicated that they were either on the street for entertainment and leisure, or that they liked the entertainment and leisure and this explains why the streets are busier towards evenings and on weekends.

Mornings and brunch 8am-12pm on 7th Street are fairly quiet with some patrons at breakfast spots either for work meetings or to have breakfast before work. Mornings on 7th Street are relatively quiet, with only a few establishments open, ready to serve a coffee or breakfast if desired. Some entertainment/leisure establishments open later during the day as they have been operating into the early hours of the morning. The car guards are loitering on the side of the road chatting to one another, some waitresses are cleaning around their area where they work or setting up for the lunch time rush. Mostly the retail establishments are operating. In one clothing boutique store there is a seamstress sewing garments, or some owners having a smoke outside waiting for customers. It is only around lunch time that the street picks up - when all the establishments are open. Someone is handing out flyers advertising festivities for the week.

4th Avenue on the other hand is a street where the entertainment and leisure activities prominent on the street are favoured for breakfasts and appealing for work meetings. It's busy on the street but still quiet enough to get parking. The atmosphere on 4th avenue at this time is not as relaxed as 7th Street. On 7th Street restaurants are still opening. In comparison to 7th Street and 4th Avenue, Rockey/Raleigh Street is busier. This is likely because there are more retail, commercial and amenities/services prominent on Rockey/Raleigh Street.

Rockey/Raleigh Street had the most number of entertainment and leisure activities in comparison with the two other streets, however only 18% of street activity contributed to entertainment and leisure activities. In the past Rockey/Raleigh Street was a popular entertainment node. This reputation continues (Smithers, 2013), but retail dominates the street contributing 47% of the streets activities. Rockey/Raleigh also has the highest percentage of amenities/services that come in the form of a library, community pool and recreation centre as well as a park situated just off Raleigh Street. 7th Street and 4th Avenue lack these components. The high number of retail activities also indicates why Rockey/Raleigh Street is busier throughout the day, and the entertainment and leisure activities indicate why the street is busy during evenings and weekends.

Retail activities dominated on all three streets. However only respondents from Rockey/Raleigh Street indicated they were on the street mainly for work or shopping. Because of the nature of activities on Rockey/Raleigh Street, respondents indicated they visit the street on a daily basis contrasting with 7th Street and 4th Avenue whose respondents said they visit the street on a monthly basis. This makes sense because one is not likely to visit the street every day for wining and dining as is the nature of 7th Street and 4th Avenue. Rather one is likely to visit the street for work or shopping as is the nature of Rockey/Raleigh Street.

Rockey/Raleigh Street is more diverse in terms of the uses that can be found on the street, as opposed to 4th Avenue and 7th Street whose primary use is associated with the restaurant culture in Johannesburg. As indicated by the land use profile, the street is a multi-use service centre for residents. For this reason, the street is always active. Mornings, afternoons and evenings the street is busy and full of people.

During the week, evenings on 7th Street and 4th Avenue have just enough buzz to take your mind off of a hard day's work or to have dinner with friends and colleagues. 4th Avenue has plenty of higher end, exclusive restaurants, but if you would like a drink and watch some sport there are 2 bars on the corner of 4th Avenue and 6th Street. While you might not be tempted to stop at restaurants like you might on 4th Avenue or 7th Street, just taking a walk down Rockey/Raleigh Street during the day is exciting. On this street you're more likely to purchase some fruit and vegetables. There is so much happening at once. Cars hooting, people walking, and music playing.

On 7th Street the establishments are abuzz from Friday lunch time with people and activity picking up towards evenings. Establishments become packed with people and parking becomes a nightmare. Friday and Saturday nights on 7th are full of life and entertainment. 4th Avenue is a popular breakfast and lunch street with activity also picking up towards evenings. However on 4th Avenue, even Sundays are popular. Rockey/Raleigh is busy too, the street that never sleeps. Loud music is being played from establishments and there are many cars and people. While 7th Street and 4th Avenue's peak times are on weekends, Rockey/Raleigh Street may peak on weekends but in terms of activity throughout the week and weekends the activity is more consistent and this street is most likely to be busy throughout the day and night.

3.4.1 Significance of Shopping Malls

Shopping malls have influenced where people do their shopping. A high street that provides easily accessible goods and services and fulfils a similar function to that of a shopping mall ultimately competes with the shopping mall's clientele. The continued popularity and significant number of retail activities offered in a shopping mall has prompted a shift in the nature/function of the high street. Most people do their shopping at the mall. The process that is being investigated is that if a high street is entertainment and leisure orientated, they are not competing with the shopping mall as the high street is appealing to other needs such as entertainment and leisure or purposes other than shopping. This ultimately signifies the high streets ability to adapt.

In Johannesburg, by the end of the 1950s the most significant shopping nodes existed outside of the CBD in the middle and lower reaches of Hillbrow (Beavon, 2004). Consumers tended to shop either in large departmental stores or in the city centre (Toffah, 2008). In South Africa the mall phenomenon picked up during the economic boom of the 1960s (Toffah, 2008). Killarney Shopping Mall was one of the first malls established in Johannesburg in 1961 (Smithers, 2013). Shortly after in 1969 Hyde Park was built followed by Sandton City, South Africa's first 'regional' shopping centre which opened its doors in 1973 (Toffah, 2008). Rosebank Mall was developed in 1976 (Smithers, 2013). Sandton City influenced the economic and cultural dominance of the CBD and was one of the catalysts for the city centre's decentralization (Smithers, 2013; Toffah, 2008).

Of the three streets, only one suburb, Melville, has a shopping centre named Campus Square. This mall is situated approximately 1.2 Kms from 7th Street. Rosebank mall is situated about 3.6 Kms from 4th Avenue and Sandton City is situated about 7kms from 4th Avenue.

> *"In a time where most suburbs have a mall or a smaller shopping centre to their main street Parkhurst has remained immune to that trend as it still has the individual shops standing next to each other in an old fashioned line"* (le Roux & Muindisi, 2013, p. 3).

Lastly, Killarney Mall is situated 4.1 Kms from Rockey/Raleigh Street and Eastgate approximately 6kms.

Perhaps the reason for Rockey/Raleigh Street being significantly retail orientated in comparison with 7th Street and 4th Avenue is that there is no shopping mall situated within close proximity of the suburb. As mentioned earlier, Rockey/Raleigh Street sells almost anything, whereas establishments on 7th Street and 4th Avenue are more limited. A possible reason for this is that people that visit 7th Street and 4th Avenue have better access to private vehicles and can easily drive to a shopping mall for all goods needed. They are more mobile. This is also backed up by the surveys administered, where most people on these streets were not from the catchment area (discussed in Chapter 4).

Inhabitants of Greater Yeoville are from a lower income demographic and are more inclined to use public transport. Walking to Rockey/Raleigh Street is easier to acquire daily essentials. This is affirmed by the surveys where most people on Rockey/Raleigh Street said they reside in the suburb.

What the interviews revealed was that respondents like 7th Street and 4th Avenue for the atmosphere and entertainment and leisure activities whereas some see the mall to be too commercialized and rigid.

> *" I mean for me it's a place to hang out. I can't really hang out at a mall. If I go to a mall it has to be for something specific. I don't go to just hang out at a mall so… basically why I prefer 7th Street"* (Melville Resident 1, 2014).

This respondent prefers the high street because it is perceived as a space where you can 'hang out'.

> *"I think I prefer the street for its mix of uses and variety. So a mall is just a mall. It has a very rigid sort of set up. It's not lively. A mall could have the same number of shops or type of shops that a street has, but I would think that the mall is so, I don't know… commercialized. There's no life that you would see on the street. And I think a street like this one and the mix of users and the guys selling arts and crafts on the streets and the shops, and people; I think it's more lively than the mall"* (Melville Resident 2, 2014).

These respondents like the streets because of the atmosphere and the life that the street has. Respondents from Rockey/Raleigh Street however, in many instances referred to Rockey/Raleigh Street for its convenience. Rockey/Raleigh Street was attractive to respondents because there are certain goods that cannot be purchased at malls, but can be found on the street. Furthermore they enjoyed the likelihood of bumping into someone they know on the street. But the latter is possible on 4th Avenue and 7th Street too. The possibility of bumping into someone you know is one of the social aspects of the high street and is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

> *"And that I can buy the things I like, especially things from African other, other African countries than the mall. Because I know at the mall, what I can get there is even in Yeoville. But what I can get in Yeoville I can't get in a mall. Especially the food"* (Yeoville Resident 3, 2014).

7th Street and 4th Avenue on the other hand lacks these types of conveniences. People from these suburbs commented that they would like more convenience stores.

> *"On a high street you wouldn't find, a supermarket like PnP, Checkers or Clicks. A butchery, where you can buy your food at reasonable prices. The high street here, the shops are pricey. With the recession, not everyone can afford to dine out every week. The glowing, the beauty salons, that way out of my pocket, that's why I never go into these shops"* (Parkhurst Resident 1, 2014).

In the surveys administered on each street, respondents were asked whether they preferred a high street or shopping mall. The findings are as follows,

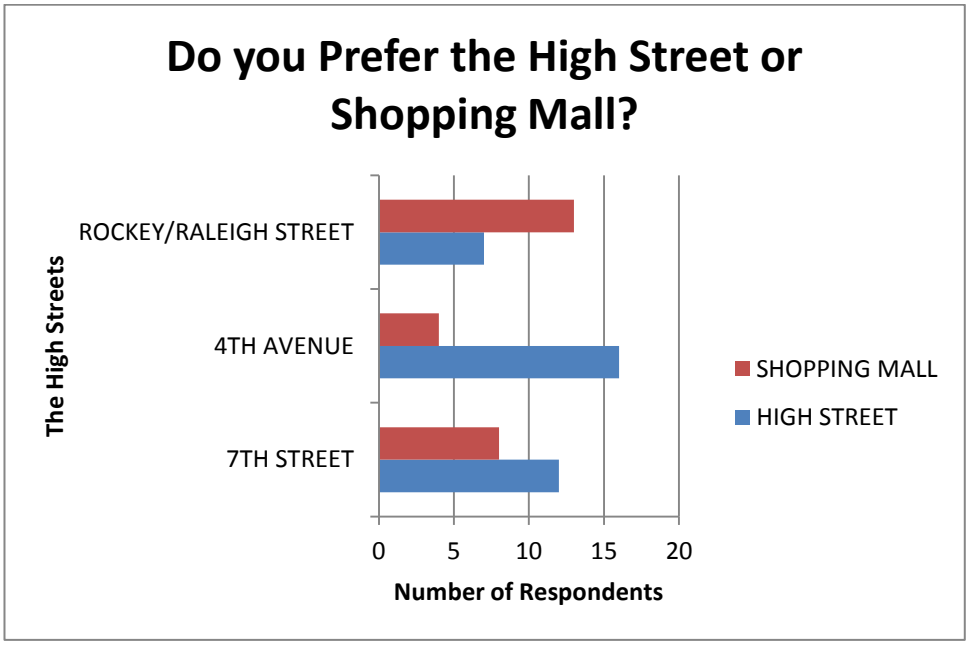


Figure 16 High Street or Shopping Mall Survey Responses

Most respondents from 7th Street and 4th Avenue preferred the high street and on Rockey/Raleigh Street people preferred the shopping mall. This is interesting because of the three case study areas, the malls are situated the furthest from Rockey/Raleigh Street, yet people prefer it. This is also significant because it highlights the appeal of the shopping mall. Even though respondents have easier access to Rockey/Raleigh Street they prefer a mall.

Overall, most respondents from the quantitative and qualitative interviews preferred the high street. This indicates that the high streets are performing a valuable function for the suburbs. More importantly, it demonstrates that high streets are able to compete adequately with shopping malls. While 4th Avenue and 7th Street might lack in shopping facilities, people still like to visit and be there. The street also provides more opportunity to meet and socialize with people. On 7th Street, 4th Avenue and Rockey/Raleigh Street the street provides value for its users, whether it be retail or entertainment and leisure.

3.5 Recurrent Themes on the High Streets

All three streets are at the heart of their respective suburbs with frequent street intersections that allow for the opportunity of more corner shops. Furthermore the street activity on the case study streets are expanding onto side streets and the side streets to these streets are becoming increasingly more commercial. Although a land use survey was not administered on the street adjacent to the high streets as it was not part of the scope of this study, business activities are encroaching onto the side streets.

One of 7th Street in Melville's side streets, 4th Avenue[5] is becoming more commercialized and restaurant friendly. Popular restaurants such as Bambanani, Cafe Mexicho and The Leopard can be found on 4th Avenue in Melville. Another block of business activities, 27 Boxes (See section 3.2.1) is also a fairly recent development on 4th Avenue in Melville.

[5] This 4th Avenue is one of the side streets of 7th Street in Melville. Not the 4th Avenue case study street in Parkhurst.



Figure 17 Image Illustrating Encroaching of Activity onto 4th Avenue Side Street of 7th Street in Melville (Kok, 2015)

In Parkhurst, the street that leads into 4th Avenue (case study high street) from Rosebank, 6th Street, at the southern end of 4th Avenue, is also becoming more commercial. In terms of side street activity however, Rockey/Raleigh has the most activity encroaching on to its side streets, with activity occurring on almost all of its side streets. This suggests the relative success of the high street as it is creating a domino effect. The activity prominent on the high street is so appealing that side street activity is being created and is able to feed off of the high street's foot traffic and appeal. Essentially the high street is sustaining itself and is able to provide opportunity for side street activity.

Another noteworthy theme on all the high streets was change. Since conducting fieldwork in mid-year 2014 to 2015, in the three streets that were studied, frequent changes have been observed. Many spaces marked as vacant in the land use survey became occupied by activity by 2015. While doing fieldwork on 7th street the space formerly marked as vacant is now occupied by a popular restaurant/bar called Hell's Kitchen, situated on the corner of 2nd Avenue. The restaurant is extremely popular now - people in my immediate circle have

recommended the food, want to go there, always complain how busy it is, as well as conduct business meetings there. Furthermore, the owner of an organic cafe that was interviewed on 7th Street for this research also mentioned that he would be moving to another spot on 7th Street.

On 4th Avenue a newly developed building discernible by its brick faced and red design now occupies a block between 11th and 12th Street. The activity prominent in the building includes an interior design store, high end fashion clothing boutiques as well as a beauty salon.



Figure 18 More Recent Development on 4th Avenue (Kok, 2015)

On Rockey/Raleigh Street establishments' names had changed or moved to another location on the street. On this street, however, it is arguably more challenging to notice changes because of the sheer number and density of activities.

The high streets are susceptible to change and are attracting business activity to their side streets. This is arguably adding variety to the suburb. The more problematic aspect of entertainment and leisure on the street and in the suburb is that it brings nuisances for residents. Where the business activity fades out, the streets become predominantly residential. Music, noisy patrons, alcohol are some of the nuisances for residents.

3.6 Concluding with the 'Balance' of Activities

The Chairpersons of the residents' associations and Ward Councillors from Melville and Parkhurst both commented on the streets having an 'imbalance' of activities or that the streets' activities are overly orientated towards entertainment and leisure activities. Ideally, the streets should be more 'balanced' in terms of the activities available on the street (Chair of the Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014; Melville Residents Association, 2014; Ward Councillor 87, 2014; Ward Councillor 117, 2014).

> *"In 7th Street, the problem is once again that we have an imbalance in terms of the mix of business in 7th Street. We have a lot of restaurant/bar and eating places. But we have relatively few retail operations"* (Chair of the Melville Residents Association, 2014).

The perception is that there are too many entertainment and leisure activities on 7th Street. However, based on the land use survey, retail activities contribute towards more than entertainment and leisure on all three streets. The most representative street with all activities and the least contribution of entertainment and leisure activities is Rockey/Raleigh Street (see 3.3 pie representation charts). In fact, 7th Street has the most 'balanced' representation of entertainment and leisure versus retail activities.

Hype surrounding the high street and the complaints from residents are contributing to the perception that entertainment and leisure activities are dominating on 7th Street and 4th Avenue. (See section 3.3 and Chapter 4, patron response). Activity on 4th Avenue and 7th Street peaks during evenings and on weekends. 7th Street is a street where the most entertainment and leisure activities are represented on the street. This results in the street being very busy towards evenings and during weekends. During the day however, some establishments are closed and this contributes towards the street being empty.

> *"You have closed premises and they only open later in the evening and they only open late at night. And that causes a bit of a problem because it makes the area look dead during the day- which is not good"* (Melville Residents Association, 2014).

4th Avenue on the other hand has more retail activities on the street which contributes to the street being busier during the day and peaking in the evenings. The Ward Councillor for Parkhurst, as well as the Chair of the residents association have both commented that there should be no more entertainment and leisure activities on the street (Chair of the Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014; Ward Councillor 117, 2014). A simple reason for this is that there is not enough parking space to accommodate for the entertainment and leisure activities (Chair of the Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014; Ward Councillor 117, 2014).

> *"It is however one of the worst fears for most Parkhurst residents that 4th Avenue will end up like Melville 7th Street which is now considered to attract the wrong kind of crowd because of the numerous clubs and bars which have replaced the more respectable shops and restaurants… Parkhurst however has in its favour a strong sense of community and its distance from tertiary educational institutions will to some extent protect it from the seedy bars and clubs which do attract the wrong kind of crowd. However it should be noted a*

> *change in usage of the restaurants in 4th Avenue will change the feel and the character of the street"* (le Roux & Muindisi, 2013, p. 11).

This quote also suggests that there should be no more entertainment and leisure activities on 4th Avenue in fear of these activities attracting the wrong crowd. 7th Street in Melville is situated within close proximity of two universities. Arguably 7th Street is more accessible for students, whom 4th Avenue considers to be the wrong type of crowd. This speaks to 4th Avenue and Parkhurst being more affluent by nature.

All three high streets have a higher contribution of retail activities than entertainment and leisure activities. 7th Street is the shortest street, with the most contribution of entertainment and leisure activities on the high street in comparison to 4th Avenue and Rockey/Raleigh Street. This could be because it is appealing to a niche market of students as 7th Street is situated within close proximity of universities. 4th Avenue had the most high end type of establishments, i.e. antique stores, boutiques, art galleries, slimming salons and laser boutiques. Slimming salons and laser boutiques are unique to 4th Avenue and are not prominent on the other two high streets. Rockey/Raleigh Street is the longest high street, with the most business activity. Although Rockey/Raleigh Street had the most number of entertainment and leisure activities, this high street's entertainment and leisure activities only contributed towards 18% of the total high street activities.

In essence, these types of streets exist within residential areas. For this reason, one needs to be cognizant of the entertainment and leisure activities prominent on the high street. The hype, problems and tensions resulting from the entertainment and leisure activities is influencing the perception that these activities are dominating the high streets.

> *"You need a healthy mix of tenants along your high street because it's not a food court… it's a community high street"* (Chair of the Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014).

Entertainment and leisure activities prominent on the street are attractive to visitors from outside of the neighbourhood and the fact that the street is situated near residents is overlooked by some business owners and patrons. This is discussed in more detail in the chapter to follow.

It is not clear what defines the 'balance' of activities, as views from in-depth interviews and the land use survey contrast. This could be indicative of the impact of entertainment and leisure activities - that it takes one loud restaurant or incident of murder to create the perception that there is an imbalance and entertainment and leisure activities dominate the high street. These issues are further explored in the next chapter.

4 HIGH STREET EXPERIENCES: PERCEPTIONS, REGULATIONS AND TENSIONS

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 demonstrated the activities that are prominent on the respective high streets. The activities prominent on the street reveal a lot about the nature of the street and how it functions. As will be revealed in this chapter, the reason people are on the high street relates to the activities prominent on the high street.

This chapter contains two sections. Social Aspects of the High Street (Section 4.2) outlines perspectives from the users of the high street. Patrons, residents and business owners all have different motivations for being on the high street. Their presence on the street highlights how people are using the high streets and the tensions that can arise. This section also demonstrates the high street's capacity for social interaction and the convenience of the high street.

The next section, By-laws, Licenses and Regulations (Section 4.3) explores some of the municipal by-laws surrounding the use of the pavement and sidewalk cafes and the liquor licensing that regulates entertainment and leisure activities on the high street. A structural issue such as parking (or lack thereof) is discussed as well as safety and crime. Noise, one of the biggest consequences of the entertainment and leisure activities prominent on the high streets, is also examined.

4.2 Social Aspects of the High Street

The people that use the activities on the high streets or are affected by the high streets' activities are discussed in this section. Using the perceptions from the patrons, business owners and residents it will be demonstrated how these high streets enable social interaction, how the high streets are convenient and why they are appealing for the people that use the streets, for the people that have businesses on the streets and for the people that reside close to the streets.

4.2.1 Patrons

Patrons are the foot traffic of high streets. A patron contributes towards the appeal of the high street in the following ways; firstly, one person on a street does not make for an interesting street. Having a large number of people on a street provokes the question: What are they doing there? What is happening? This is related to the activities prominent on the street. But more importantly, patrons add to the hype of the street. A street can have many activities prominent on it, but with no patrons, businesses will ultimately run at a loss. Secondly, patrons' business is required to sustain the activities on the street. If an establishment only has one patron, there is no incentive to have a business. Therefore, a patron's role on the high street is that they are needed to sustain activities on the high street, and contribute to the street's vibrancy and attractiveness. Why patrons are on the street and how often they frequent the street also reveals how the high streets are being used.

The uses of the street, what people like and the reasons for being on the high street can be demonstrated through the in-depth interviews held with patrons. Through the patrons' perceptions it is demonstrated how the activities on the high streets influence social interaction, and also how often the patrons visit the street suggests the nature of the high street.

"This is where my people are at… This is where I end up linking with most of my friends. The vibe that we seem to enjoy. Never been rushed at all. I've never felt rushed as well at 7th Street. And I don't think there's another street, or high street in Johannesburg like it. There might be other high streets… but none like 7th" (Melville Patron 1 , 2014).

This patron enjoys 7th Street for its relaxed environment and uses the street for social interaction. What this quote says is that 7th Street provides a common ground for himself and friends to meet up. Furthermore, "I usually use this street as my 'wine down' spot. Like once the week is finished and the Friday I've done all my work, come around to Melville, meet my friends we go chill, drink and then we see where we take it from there" (Melville Patron 1 , 2014).

Another Melville patron that was interviewed, who is based in Cape Town, stays in 12 Stars Lifestyle Apartments which is situated on the corner of 7th and 4th Avenue when coming to Johannesburg for business trips. This patron enjoys the restaurants' and cafes' ability to accommodate meetings with colleagues if one does not feel like the office environment (Melville Patron 2 , 2014). This patron also does not mind the abundance of entertainment and leisure activities on 7th Street as it is part of the atmosphere. The apartments have balconies that overlook 7th Street.

*"I mean I was sitting here on a Sunday night, worried about something. And there were 3 or 4 people who had had their fair share of whatever. And they were having a conversation on the corner. And I was laughing and giggling my heart out. And I think it removed me from my own… whatever I was working on. So I wouldn't have been able to pick up that conversation that was going nowhere. You know when people have had a little bit more to drink, they repeat themselves and they think they very smart. The conversation was going nowhere. But it was a very important conversation to them- after they've been to the club. And then they went back…*laughs*"* (Melville Patron 2 , 2014).

This quote from this patron highlights the street's capacity for interaction:

> *"For it is in streets as multipurpose spaces that all the ingredients of city life are combined: public contact, public social life, people-watching, promenading, transacting, natural surveillance and culture. Streets bring together people who do not know each other in an intimate, private social sense, including strangers"* (Montgomery, 1998, pp. 108-109).

This quote also demonstrates the different uses of the high street. Firstly, people conversing on the corner of the street highlight the street's capacity for social interaction and secondly, the residential proximity of the high street and how residents are able to immerse with what is happening on the street. The abovementioned patron is not a permanent resident of Melville, and only visits and is not exposed to the noise from establishments on a daily basis. This might also influence his/her opinion about entertainment and leisure on the high street.

Another patron interviewed on 7th Street, rarely visits 7th Street unless it is to meet with colleagues or pop into the Melville Bookdealer store. However, this patron recognizes that the street has variety and options. "You can club hop, restaurant hop, you can do a lot of things. And especially on this high street. There's not just clubs and bars, there's also shops. Clothing shops you can buy clothes, so you can go shopping, go to a restaurant go to a bar, so you can spend the whole day here" (Melville Patron 3 , 2014).

In Parkhurst, 4th Avenue reminded two patrons of streets they had been to overseas. "What I do love is the freedom of choice when it comes to food and eating places the relaxed energy and the actual, Europe feel. I love the Europe feel" (Parkhurst Patron 3, 2014).

"I love it because it kind of reminds me of overseas… When I was in Australia, they had this everywhere. Everywhere there is a street that is completely exactly like this. Filled with restaurants, shops… like delis or whatever.[…] So I think it gives you that sort of overseas feel… something that's new and you kind of enjoy. I think the outside experience is nice. Because it's in a sort of urban area… it's not exactly town" (Parkhurst Patron 2, 2014).

These patrons enjoy the feel of 4th Avenue, that it is outdoors and not dominated by huge buildings which are quite prominent in the CBD. This is one of the appeals of the high street that it is "in a sort of urban area… not exactly town" (Parkhurst Patron 2, 2014). This is associated with the fact that the high street is embedded in a suburb, and this is one of the appeals of its environment.

"I like 4th Avenue because it's a very busy street. And why it's busy is because it has a lot of restaurants, which is something that is kind of a hobby to do in Johannesburg. Because we don't have beaches and we don't have other kind of scenic natury things… we're in a city, so the best thing, popular thing to do is go to a restaurant. And this street is filled with a lot of restaurants. And besides that they really trendy. They sort of go for a very contemporary Jo'burg feel about the whole street which I think is what also attracts it. It's very urban, very new…" (Parkhurst Patron 2, 2014).

While 4th Avenue is not situated within the heart of the city, rather within the suburb of Parkhurst, the street still appears to be 'urban'. Another appealing aspect of the high street is that it is in a suburban area. The fact that the high street is part of the suburban environment is appealing.

"I find with high streets there's more of a vibe. More of a… it's a crowd that I enjoy… more chilled, fun-loving people… I don't know. I like the atmosphere and it's not as retail orientated" (Parkhurst Patron 3, 2014).

This patron perceives the high street as being "not as retail orientated". As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the land use survey indicates that 4th Avenue has

more retail activities than it does entertainment and leisure activities. However, the perception is that the atmosphere of the high street does not feel commercial. This is because the entertainment and leisure activities prominent on the street convey a different atmosphere (See section 3.3 and 3.6).

A patron from Rockey/Raleigh Street lives in close proximity of the high street and therefore finds the street easily accessible and he visits every day. Whether it is to do research or use one of the internet cafes, he says "I'm a feature in Rockey Street from where it begins its Raleigh St and until where it ends" (Yeoville Patron 1, 2014). What he likes about Rockey/Raleigh Street are the different cultures and being able to talk to people from different African countries in the respective restaurants.

> *"So I like there, and they like chatting about where they come from… and to me interesting to hear various cultures. I also go to Congolese. I've never distinguished between Brazzaville and DRC*[6] *I just go to their restaurants. Mostly to go and drink something but to be objective to me it's to chat to them"* (Yeoville Patron 1, 2014).

Being a 'feature' on Rockey/Raleigh Street evokes a sense of familiarity with the people and the happenings of the street. The fact that this patron visits the street daily as well as to speak to people conveys the street's ability to promote social interaction and the high street being a social space to interact with other people. Furthermore, he says:

> *"It's vibey. If you're down it brings you up. The nights are long. I spent most of the night almost half of the night in Rockey Street"* (Yeoville Patron 1, 2014).

Another patron from Rockey/Raleigh Street also visits the high street for meeting or 'bumping' into people.

[6] Respondent is not referring to a restaurant named DRC, he is referring to people from the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The high streets are being used as places to connect or bump into other people. Thus affirming the streets' capacity for social interaction (Mehta, 2006). The entertainment and leisure establishments on the streets are providing a platform for social interaction and attracting people to the street.

The surveys administered on the high streets demonstrate what patrons like about the high streets, the different uses between the high street and how often patrons visit the high street. While conducting the surveys on the respective streets, respondents from Rockey/Raleigh appeared to be preoccupied, busy and pressed for time. Many more people seemed to be flustered and too busy to take a survey. This contrasts with the patrons from 7th Street and 4th Avenue, who took the time to participate in the survey. This is significant because it emphasizes the nature of the respective high streets. People on Rockey/Raleigh Street appeared busier because they were not necessarily on the street for entertainment and leisure. Rockey/Raleigh Street has more activities and respondents on the street were busy. Patrons from 4th Avenue and 7th Street however were not as busy; possibly because they had more [leisure] time to participate. More importantly, respondent dynamics of being on the high street were different.

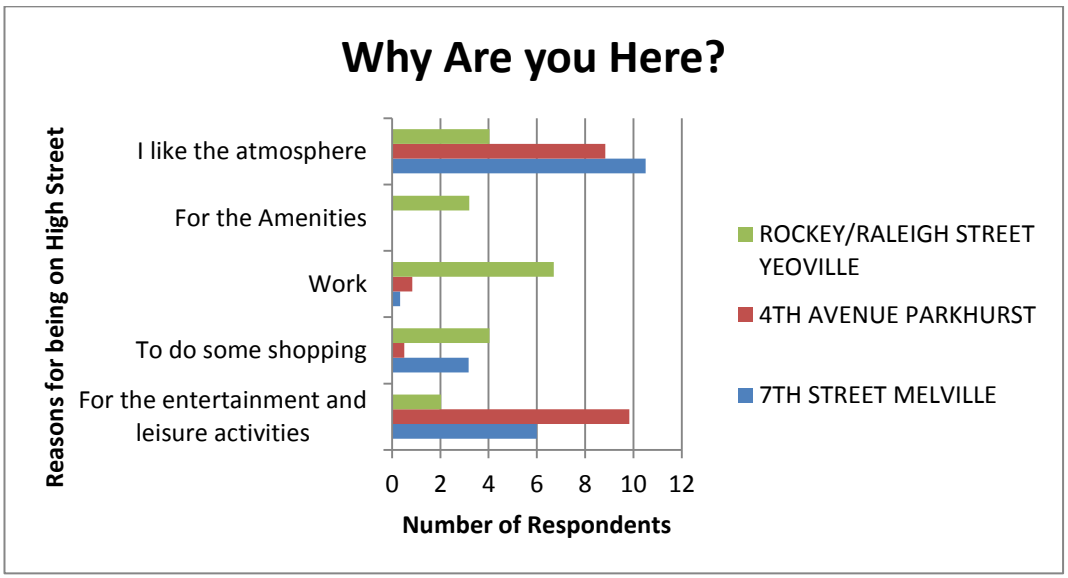


Figure 19 'Why Are you Here?' Survey Responses

When respondents were asked why they were on the street, most people from 7th Street and then 4th Avenue said they were there for the atmosphere. Patrons from 7th Street and 4th Avenue also said they were there for the entertainment and leisure activities. This further proves that the entertainment and leisure activities on the high street contribute towards the atmosphere.

> *"I like the environment; I like the atmosphere, the buzz, its hype, it's happening. That you can still retreat, you don't have to participate, you don't feel intruded, you can still maintain and you can join in if you feel like it. So it's a kind of, a kind of an interesting vibe that you pick up. It's the vibe. I can't… I don't have any better way to put it"* (Melville Patron 2 , 2014).

What is interesting is that most people on Rockey/Raleigh Street said they were on the street for work. This can be explained by the large number of informal traders, cab drivers that were on the street as well as the large number of businesses on the street. Furthermore many people were using the street as a place to catch a taxi.

Unlike 7th Street patrons and 4th Avenue patrons where there is a distinct preference for entertainment and leisure activities over other activities, Rockey/Raleigh patrons expressed more or less equal preference for being on the street. This could be because there is so much more to do on the street (See section 3.3.3). Unlike 7th Street and 4th Avenue patrons who demonstrated clear reasons for being on the high street, on Rockey/Raleigh Street there was a more equal distribution of preferences for reasons for being on the street. This suggests that there are many reasons to use and be on the street, and reasons are not just limited to entertainment and leisure activities.

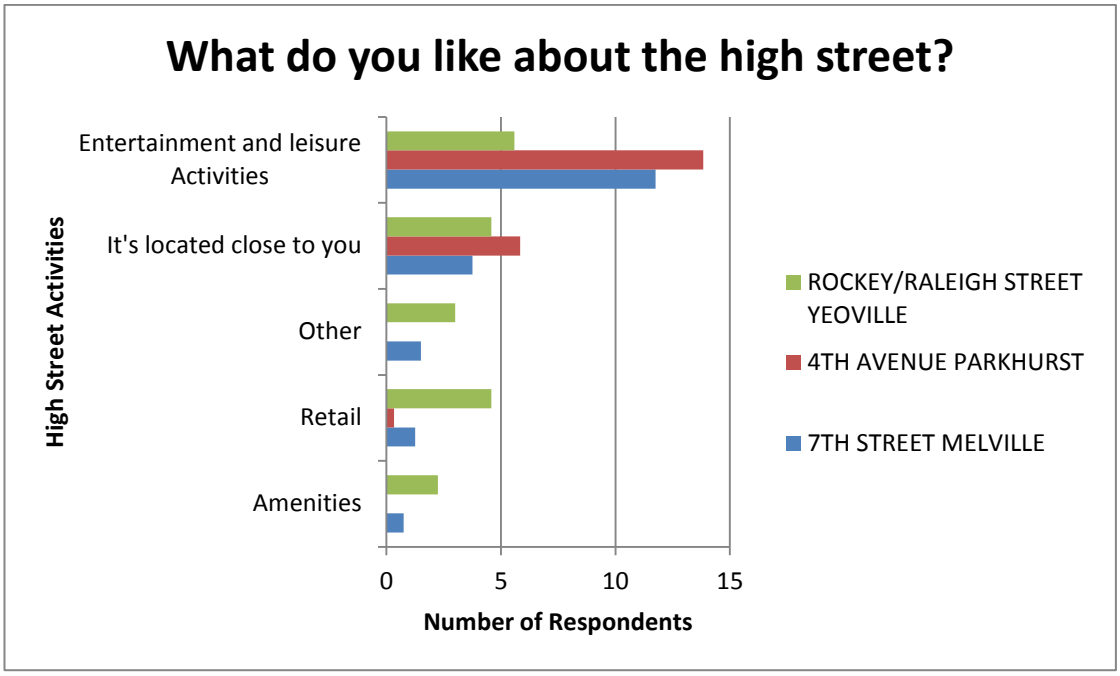


Figure 20 'What do you like about the High Street?' Survey Responses

When respondents were asked what they like about the street, the highest number of responses from all three streets was the entertainment and leisure activities. Users like this aspect of the street most.

Patrons on Rockey/Raleigh Street also had a preference for retail on the street. This is not surprising as the street does not lack for an abundance of retail establishments. Rockey/Raleigh Street is distinguished from 7th Street and 4th Avenue in this way. To further clarify, patrons interviewed from Rockey/Raleigh Street indicated they use the high street for purposes other than entertainment and leisure. This is not to say they did not use Rockey/Raleigh Street for entertainment and leisure though.

> *"I either come here to get some things. So I might come here to use the post office, or sometimes I'll come have a drink at one of these places"* (Yeoville Patron 3, 2014).

Respondents from in-depth interviews referred more to Rockey/Raleigh Street as being a street of convenience in the sense that they use the street for shopping, the post office and not just entertainment and leisure. 4th Avenue and 7th Street respondents however referred to the high street for its entertainment and leisure.

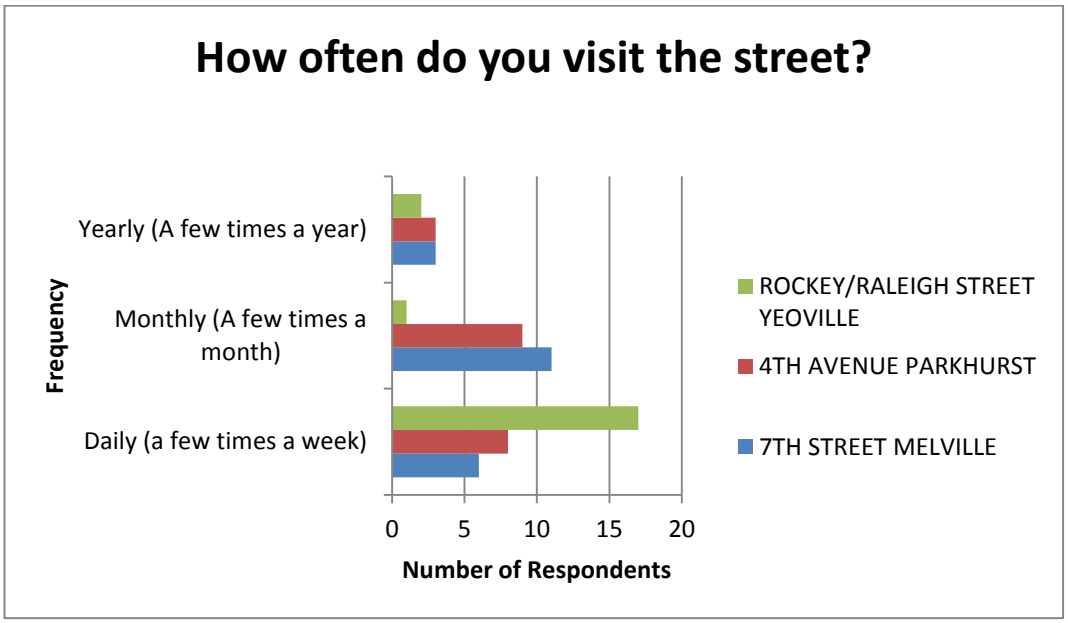


Figure 21 'How often do you visit the Street? 'Survey Responses

How often patrons visit the street indicates a lot about the nature of the street. As mentioned above, respondents from Rockey/Raleigh Street indicated they were on the street mainly for work or shopping. Because of the nature of activities on Rockey/Raleigh Street, respondents indicated they visit the street on a daily basis more than they do monthly. This contrasts with 7th Street and 4th Avenue whose respondents said they visit the street more on a monthly basis.

This makes sense because one is not likely to visit the street every day for wining and dining as is the nature of 7th Street and 4th Avenue. Rather one is likely to visit the street for work or shopping as is the nature of Rockey/Raleigh Street.

A possible reason why patrons from Rockey/Raleigh visit the street more is that the street activities are more diverse in comparison with the other two streets. One can get virtually anything on the street, a used car; fridge and so forth (see section 3.3.3). Rockey/Raleigh provides easy access to daily goods, more so than 4th Avenue or 7th Street. Another indicator for visiting the street more often is that the demographic of Yeoville means that some people do not have access to vehicles as is the demographic of people from Melville or Parkhurst. One of the findings from a web-based survey of 1000 consumers representing a typical urban central European retail market was as follows:

> *"Consumers who are not able, cannot afford or simply don't want to use or need cars for their shopping trips may find the central location more attractive"* (Teller, 2008, p. 11).

One also has to consider that maybe respondents do not visit 7th Street or 4th Avenue because despite the dominance of retail activity on these streets they do not have a Pick n Pay, Shoprite or Spar (See section 3.3). The retail types of activities prominent on these streets include art galleries and clothing boutique stores, whereas there is more variety of retail activities prominent on Rockey/Raleigh Street.

Patrons enjoy the atmosphere of the high streets. Based on the responses of patrons from 7th Street and 4th Avenue, they use and like the high streets for the entertainment and leisure activities. The entertainment and leisure activities contribute towards the high streets' atmosphere. Rockey/Raleigh patrons also indicated that they like the entertainment and leisure activities, however, respondents also referred to the street for its convenience. All three streets however are appealing to their users.

Most respondents, from all three high streets liked the streets for their entertainment and leisure activities. The high streets are being used to connect with people and this demonstrates the social capacity of the high street. One of the appeals of the high street is that it is situated within a suburb. The

atmosphere of the high streets, even though all three streets have a higher retail contribution, feels more festive and leisurely.

Despite the significant contribution of retail activities on the high streets, patrons from all three high streets liked the entertainment and leisure activities prominent on the high streets. Chapter 3 also demonstrated the abundance of activities on the high streets. The variety of entertainment and leisure establishments also means that patrons do not have to be limited to one venue. There is the option of walking up and down the high street before choosing a place to socialize and dine with colleagues, friends or family. This adds to the attractiveness of the street for its users and is part of the high street's built-in fabric. The high street has the ability to draw you in to visit again if perhaps you saw another establishment on the street you would like to visit.

On Rockey/Raleigh Street most patrons were people that resided in the suburb. Indicating that this high street is convenient, as patrons would visit the post office, an internet cafe or do some shopping. This contrasts with patrons from 7th Street and 4th Avenue who were not necessarily from the suburb. Most people that participated in the surveys on 7th Street and 4th Avenue were from other suburbs in Johannesburg, Gauteng or South Africa. This demonstrates the high street is attracting people from all over, and not just the suburb. These streets are referred to more for their entertainment and leisure activities and patrons on these streets were mostly on the high street for the entertainment and leisure activities.

Entertainment and leisure activities on the high streets are creating an atmosphere that patrons enjoy. More often than not, the traditional use of the high street has been with retail activities. However, what respondents indicated here was that they like the high street for its atmosphere and entertainment and leisure activities.

4.2.2 Business Owners

By providing spaces for patrons to interact and socialize, business owners have created establishments that contribute towards the high street's character and appeal. Whether it is light music emanating from a restaurant or bar or tables and chairs decorating the pavement, patrons enjoy the entertainment and leisure establishments on the high street.

Entertainment and leisure activities contribute to the street's atmosphere and attract foot traffic which are positive spin offs for business. Business also benefits from having other businesses within close proximity as establishments must remain competitive for their clients. While some businesses have been operating for years, other business owners interviewed were newly established having opened up on the respective high streets because of the street's reputation where the street is synonymous with restaurants (Parkhurst Business Owner 2, 2014).

Entertainment and leisure business, as with any other business the incentive is to make profit. In this sense the street provides an opportunity to do that. Furthermore, some business owners have converted places into a restaurant, bar or sidewalk cafe because, "you can make more money out of a restaurant and a coffee shop than you can selling furniture" (Ward Councillor 117, 2014). In this way, business owners have played a prominent role in facilitating the burgeoning of cafes, restaurants on high streets.

The business incentives (such as music, drink specials, sidewalk tables and chairs) involved, to attract and maintain customers and foot traffic, oftentimes conflicts with residents' needs. "There are some businesses in this neighbourhood that are just here to make money regardless of the impact on the community" (Chair of the Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014). And while business is good for the suburb, "You don't want to stunt business. You want to see a successful business continuing. But you do need there to be a respect, between the commercial

identity and residential space" (Chair of the Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014).

Business owners on all streets agree that having other businesses on the street has a positive impact on their business and although there are some competitive and jealous business owners, overall the street activity is good for business. This is referred to as 'co-opetition' where businesses cooperate and compete with each other at the same time (Teller, 2008). Having many restaurants on the street as opposed to just one or two adds to the competitive advantage of each establishment. Business owners are incorporating ways to stay relevant and attract customers:

> *"So what we've done is events on every night to create the foot traffic. So Monday we have comedy, Tuesday we have an intellectual evening which is normally a debate or screening of movie or documentary, on a Wednesday we do poetry sessions on a Thursday we do acoustic sessions on Friday we got the guys from the Academy of sound engineering, that come and do a small performance- sorry that's Saturday, and on Friday we got guys that are called Lion stars that come and run a performance. And on Sunday again a jazzy acoustic set up. So we just follow that to maintain the foot traffic…"* (Melville Business Owner 1 , 2014).

This is an example from a business owner of the types of activities incorporated into an organic cafe to make it more profitable. Other examples included live jazz evenings or guest deejays. These activities are not always favourable for residents nor do some establishments have adequate licensing to host these types of activities; however, they are profitable for business owners.

Another factor influencing business on the street is the rental of properties. For example, at least two business owners on 7th Street have said they have relocated to another place on the street. One of the reasons being was that rent was more affordable with another landlord. This means that landlords are more flexible with rent and there is no standardized rent price for each establishment

on the street. This is regarded as another advantage from a business owner who says that there is the ability to negotiate with the landlord on the street for better rates (Parkhurst Business Owner 2, 2014). Furthermore, rental of property is cheaper on the street, as opposed to a mall where the rent becomes 'excessive' (Parkhurst Business Owner 2, 2014).

In the United Kingdom, high streets have larger businesses with standardized stores on each high street. This has driven smaller independent businesses off the high streets as smaller businesses are unable to compete with increasing rentals (Portas, 2011).

In comparison, on 7th Street, 4th Avenue and Rockey/Raleigh Street based on the fact that some entertainment and leisure establishments have been operating for years, these smaller businesses have flourished. These high streets are more synonymous with independent authentic and smaller restaurants, cafes or bars as opposed to franchised, commercialized chain entertainment and leisure activities. For example, business owners interviewed in Melville on 7th Street include owners of an organic cafe, a cocktail bar, a Portuguese restaurant. In Parkhurst business owners included a craft burger bar, a bistro, an Italian restaurant, business owners on Rockey/Raleigh Street ranged from a jazz bar, a Congolese restaurant, and a bar as well as an owner of a hardware store.

> *"You get more of an eclectic mix. In a mall the rentals tend to be very high. So you're getting a lot of franchises in malls. People want to steer away from franchises, because they appear a certain vibe and they and its mass production. Whereas in a high street- it's a generalization, you're going to get individual operators. So you're going to get authentic, unique, interesting mix" (Parkhurst Business Owner 2, 2014).*

Non entertainment and leisure business owners that were interviewed ranged from owners of a beauty store on 7th Street, an Antique store on 4th Avenue and a hardware store on Rockey/Raleigh Street. The owner of the beauty store, when interviewed, had been open for 9 months and indicated that she opened her

business based on 7th Street's reputation and that the entertainment and leisure activities are good for her business as it brings foot traffic (Melville Business Owner 4, 2014). The owner of the antique store on 4th Avenue has been operating on the street for 15 years and refers to 4th Avenue as being an old antique hub (Parkhurst Business Owner 4, 2014). As mentioned in Chapter 3, when the store was originally opened, Parkhurst had the reputation of having "the highest density, of antique dealers in the southern hemisphere" (Parkhurst Business Owner 4, 2014).This is interesting as it suggests the change of nature of 4th Avenue and how it has shifted towards entertainment and leisure activities. Back then, people used to visit the street to look at and buy antiques. Today, 4th Avenue's appeal is its entertainment and leisure activities. While the other antique stores have closed down, this establishment remains and the owner is nostalgic about the 'antiques by candlelight' which was the activity before it was replaced by Christmas in July (Parkhurst Business Owner 4, 2014). As this business owner has been prominent on the street for 15 years he also mentioned how volatile the entertainment and leisure business can be, with places opening and closing frequently on the street (See also section 3.5).

The street's reputation, available foot traffic, co-opetition and business incentives are reasons for the prominence of entertainment and leisure activities on high streets. These establishments contribute to the vitality of the high street. Some measures adopted by business owners to provide the competitive edge include playing music; having elaborate menu and drink specials to attract patrons. Furthermore these activities are profitable for the establishments and attractive for customers. Business owner's establishments are clearly addressing a need for its users as some have been operating for years, while the newer establishments have joined because of the street's reputation. This continues the cycle of older establishments closing and newer establishments replacing them.

4.2.3 Residents

The residents' role in contributing towards the high street is less explicit than that of the patrons; who enter and exit the suburb for activities on the high street and business owners who sometimes engage in activities that are not always favourable for the residential environment. The high street and suburb are part of the residents' daily environment. The tensions that arise are explored further in this section.

Residents referred to their high streets as being convenient and easily accessible. Some respondents said that the activity on the high street also provided a sense of safety. Less impressed respondents said some of the disadvantages of the activities on the high street included the noise and the high street's incapacity to accommodate people visiting the street. This is discussed in more detail in the parking section.

Some residents enjoy the benefits associated with living close to a lively street, while others are more belligerent about the high street's activities. All three residents interviewed from Melville visited the street daily. Sometimes it's to meet with friends, or to get a meal or drink or do some quick shopping. One respondent sometimes works in a cafe: "Either I meet other friends who are also residents in Melville… You know Melville is a community" (Melville Resident 3, 2014). The suburb is perceived to be a community and perhaps the high street provides a meeting space for neighbours to interact.

This is also significant because these residents resemble users of the high street. They refer to the street being convenient for them. "It's fairly close proximity to everything I need, like 7th is where I live" (Melville Resident 1, 2014). Generally they have good things to say about the street, "There's no other street like it. Or other streets that have the same vibe" (Melville Resident 1, 2014). One resident enjoys the mix of users on the street and walking in and out to get some items (Melville Resident 2, 2014).

> *"Firstly it's more convenient area. It's close proximity to my work area. So not only my work area but also my children they go to school not far from Yeoville. My daughter she's at Houghton primary school which is about radius, 3-5 kms. And then my son is at Family College which is on Oxford it's also in the radius 5-8 kms. It's in the vicinity"* (Yeoville Resident 2, 2014).

Rockey/ Raleigh Street is three minute's' walk away from the respondents home and "I think it's got all the basic requirements that someone would want to have" (Yeoville Resident 2, 2014). This respondent uses the street on a daily basis, either as a means to get to and from work, but also to buy daily essentials (Yeoville Resident 2, 2014). (Yeoville Resident 3, 2014) Resides in Bellevue East as his workplace is situated on Rockey/Raleigh Street. This respondent meets many people on the street and that's what he finds convenient about the street. "When you are walking it's likely you can meet someone, you know or knew before…" (Yeoville Resident 3, 2014).

One respondent spoke about the street activity giving her a sense of safety, and chose to live in Melville, close to 7th Street because of the street's liveliness.

> *"In a way being on the corner of 7th, every time when I was feeling alone it was enough just to go out and see people in the street and, you know it was good"* (Melville Resident 3, 2014).

The activity on the high street and people on the high street are providing this resident with a sense of safety. This is referred to by Jane Jacobs as 'eyes on the street', where people on the street provide a sense of natural surveillance (Browning, et al., 2010). This is discussed further in the Section 'Safety and Crime'.

The entertainment and leisure activities contribute towards a lively high street. In the same breath, it is these activities that are causing conflict for residents in the surrounding areas. The main tensions exist because of entertainment and leisure activities. This is explored further in the next section.

> *"Also if you live too close to it [4th Avenue], it then causes problems for you. And not everywhere in Parkhurst is as desirable to live as some other parts. For instance here you're going to get noise. You're going to get people parking in the streets. You're going to get some congestion. You're going to get maybe some smells from the coffee roaster... The problem you have is when people bought 10, 20, 30 years ago when it was very quiet, they're now stuck"* (Ward Councillor 117, 2014).

This quote reveals some of the negative attributes of living in close proximity of 4th Avenue. One resident from Parkhurst, who has been living in Parkhurst for 23 years, has expressed disdain about living close to 4th Avenue. As a Parkhurst resident does not necessarily reap the benefits of the street activity. This Parkhurst resident doesn't want to move because of the convenience of the area.

> *"Can you imagine, 50 people, all intoxicated, all talking at once? Even worse when there is something on TV, or a sports event. It flows right through the whole house. I have raised the wall, I've got back up curtaining, I have a door there and nothing seems to keep the noise away*" (Parkhurst Resident 1, 2014).

The entertainment and leisure establishments are bringing noise to her household and the resident finds no comfort in this (see also section 4.3.5 titled Noise). 4th Avenue is normally associated with coffee cafes or restaurants offering a fine wine and dining experience, however, this resident is "so anti the hype around here. I have too much of it every night" (Parkhurst Resident 1, 2014)

This resident also speaks towards the street's incapacity to accommodate people visiting the high street. Firstly, that the entertainment and leisure establishments on the high street do not have the adequate facilities to accommodate the huge numbers of people that visit the high street.

> *"I just want to mention most importantly, that people are wining and dining being surrounded by bacteria because there is raw sewage flowing from a building housing a restaurant, that doesn't have adequate toilet facilities for their patrons"* (Parkhurst Resident 3, 2014).

And secondly, because of parking constraints, patrons park their cars in front of residents' gates and litter on their lawns.

Other concerns included petty crime, "yes, there is crime. Especially when there is a woman walking alone back to her car from the restaurant. We hear the odd scream" (Parkhurst Resident 3, 2014). This comment contrasts with the comment from a Melville resident who said the street activity and people on the high street evoked a sense of safety.

Establishments are providing easily accessible places on the high street where residents can do some work at an internet cafe, have a meal, meet or connect with people, or do some quick shopping. Others enjoy their suburb for its perceived convenience as they live close to where they work or where their kids go to school. Rockey/Raleigh Street in particular, as mentioned before, is more often than not referred to as a street of convenience by residents.

Despite the immediate benefits of being located in close proximity of the high street, residents expressed the most dissatisfaction with activities prominent on the high street. These issues included noise, parking and safety; all of which will be discussed in greater detail in section 4.3 sections Safety and Crime, Noise and Parking.

4.2.4 Street Festivals

The street festivals that are discussed in this section demonstrate the ability for patrons, business owners and residents to come together. Patrons attend the street festival, business owners make profit and residents have to consent to the activity on the street.

Festivals are a source of unity and participation from people who attend them. 4th Avenue and 7th Street both host public festivals that take place on their streets. The street festival hosted on 4th Avenue is smaller in comparison to 7th Street's Fete De La Musiq, but they both succeed in attracting people to the street for the festival and possibly to visit the street's entertainment and leisure activities on another day.

Christmas in July is hosted by the Traders Association of Parkhurst whose role is to support and promote the businesses in Parkhurst (Chair of the Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014). Christmas in July is held on 4th Avenue. Prior to Christmas in July, "we used to have antiques by candlelight… not Christmas in July like we have now…" (Parkhurst Business Owner 4, 2014). This is basically where patrons on the street shop by candlelight. "Candlelight, that's good… That also brings people in. The idea is to get residents up to walk" (Ward Councillor 117, 2014). The street is not closed off for Christmas in July; restaurants just stay open a bit later than usual for the shopper's convenience. 4th Avenue however does not close the street off because "To close the street down costs between R100 000 and R200 000 and takes a lot of effort and planning" (Ward Councillor 117, 2014).

> *"I attended it and I liked it because again it brings people to the street, it was a full day event, so it was like families in the morning and at night more clubby. And I think it brings some different, like a festival atmosphere to the street. It does get a bit crowded but I like it. For a once a year event I think it's nice and I really enjoy it"* (Melville Resident 2, 2014).

7th Street hosts the Fete De La Musiq festival which attracts people from all over the city to Melville and 7th Street becomes populated with people. Having attended one in 2013 and 2014 this festival is entertaining and a rare occurrence for streets in Johannesburg.

> *"Fete De La Musiq "was a great idea to get people back into Melville and attract the right kind of crowd, a cultural event"* (Ward Councillor 87, 2014).



Figure 22 Fete De La Musiq Festivities (Kok, 2015)

The stakeholders behind the popular festival include the Melville Residents Association, The Melville Business Association as well as the Alliance Francaise (Chair of the Melville Residents Association, 2014). Fete De La Musiq is inspired by the concept of every town and village in France that would have a music festival on the 21 June, which in the Northern Hemisphere is the longest day of the year. The festival would encourage musicians in the area to perform and people would watch and participate. Alliance Francaise wanted to replicate that festival here in Johannesburg, where Melville would make the perfect venue to host the cultural event (Ward Councillor 87, 2014).

The various stakeholders involved liaise to put procedures in place to minimize disruption, as the residents are affected by the street's activities (Chair of the Melville Residents Association, 2014). Part of hosting the festival includes closing the street off, ensuring that the street is effectively policed to manage the large crowd attending the festival as well as cleaning up after the event (Chair of the

Melville Residents Association, 2014). The costs incurred from the festival are extremely high. The budget for the one held in 2014 was about R700 000. Fete de la Musiq is also dependent on sponsorship. In 2015 the festival was held in Newtown Precinct and there are several possible reasons as to why it was held in the inner city and not in Melville.

> "*We think it's beneficial, there's a lot of publicity… also brings in a wide mix of people, and they leave with a positive image of Melville, which is good and encourages them to come back and eat at the pubs and restaurants"* (Chair of the Melville Residents Association, 2014).

The festival acts as tourism for the suburb increasing the look and feel of the suburb, locally as well as internationally. Furthermore, the festival assisted in boosting Melville's image. Prior to the festival there were about 7 or 8 vacant stores on 7th Street attracting vagrants, illegal car guards, informal traders where the spaces generally become neglected that nobody wants to go to (Ward Councillor 87, 2014). As soon as new businesses move in the look and feel of the suburb improves (Ward Councillor 87, 2014). The Ward Councillor of Melville said that the festival has assisted in occupying vacant stores on 7th Street and, overall, has contributed to the look and feel of 7th Street.

> *"And after we had the fete De La Musiq, during which there were so many people who told me or others, 'Wow! We haven't been in Melville for years. I can't believe how great it is'… and we had businesses come to us afterwards to say, 'How do I get a shop in Melville?' And now we don't have not one shop empty… none"* (Ward Councillor 87, 2014).

The business owners also enjoy the festival as it boosts their revenue:

> *"Went down very well. It was a very good day. Our best day that we had here. So we would like more of them!"* (Melville Business Owner 1 , 2014).

Overall consensus of the Fete De La Musiq festival is that people enjoy it. Residents and business owners interviewed expressed enthusiasm and would like to attend more.

Street festivals are a good way to promote the high streets and attract foot traffic. They can also provide more effective platforms for social interaction to occur on the high street. They can be an effective tool to revitalize the high street and the surrounding suburb by attracting people from all over the city to visit the street.

4.2.5 Pedestrianization of 7th Street?

Paving 7th Street with cobble stones and making it a pedestrian friendly street is a desire shared between the Chair of Melville Residents Association as well as the ward councillor of Ward 87. Both advocated pedestrianizing 7th Street as a way to improve the overall well-being of the suburb and street as well as a suggested way to address the parking situation.

> *"What I would like to do, is to have 7th Street closed off and pedestrianized. It's something I've been talking about for a while and some of the businesses have bought into the idea. And so, what we might need to do initially is to have a soft closure, where for example just on weekends, so say on a Friday evening at 6 o clock, bollards, some up here on 4th and on 1st and then on a Monday morning they go down and it becomes a normal street again*" (Ward Councillor 87, 2014).

The impediments are that traffic would have to be re-routed as well as the public transport bus stop that is prominent on the street (Ward Councillor 87, 2014).

Furthermore, pedestrianizing the street would enable restaurants to use the pavements for sidewalk cafes and people would not be forced to walk on the road.

Pedestrianizing the street would also alleviate the problem of 'boot parties' (Chair of the Melville Residents Association, 2014). Boot parties are where people with their vehicles park on the road and drink alcohol taken from the boot of their cars and end up partying on the street (Chair of the Melville Residents Association, 2014). This is unregulated and illegal as people are not causing havoc in the restaurants per se, but rather on the street.

The Social Aspect of the high street emphasizes the life on and around the high street and how activities on the high street are sources of pleasure and sometimes angst. This section has demonstrated how the high street is being used by patrons, business owners and residents. This section has also outlined the social capacity of the high street and the appeal of the high street. Entertainment and leisure activities on the high street are appealing and the hype surrounding the high streets convey the perception that they dominate over the retail aspect of the street. Entertainment and leisure activities are also attracting people from all over the city and bringing people to the suburb. This often conflicts with the residential component of the high street.

4.3 By-Laws, Licenses and Regulations

One of the prominent themes that emerged from in-depth interviews with respondents was the neglect or lack of enforcement regarding by-laws on the high street and in establishments. This is either a product of unclear rules and regulations to abide by, or the lack of enforcement in upholding the by-laws that exist.

The purpose of municipal by-laws is to address issues pertaining to local community concerns (The City of Calgary, 2015). They are public regulatory laws that apply to the Johannesburg area (Johannesburg Tourism , 2012). By-laws cover various local government issues such as public roads, parking grounds, public open spaces, street trading, public health, cemeteries and crematoria, emergency services, culture and recreation services, and encroachment on

property (Johannesburg Tourism , 2012). These by-laws serve to protect the environment of public and private properties while ensuring public health and to maintain orderly appearances of the community and city (The City of Calgary, 2015).

By-law enforcement and regulations on the high street become particularly important as all the activity prominent on the street is within close proximity of the suburb. These activities can spur conflict over noise, vandalism and social disorder (Kitsinger, 2014). The main challenge involves managing a commercial space that is small scale and does not necessarily have the infrastructure to support the cars and patrons entering the street and suburb, while supporting the local businesses prominent on the street and promoting a liveable environment for residents (Kitsinger, 2014; Chair of the Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014).

The consequence of establishments not abiding to by-laws and regulations of entertainment and leisure activities is that it impacts and disrupts residents in the suburb. The entertainment and leisure activities are meant to be regulated in such a way to be cognisant of this.

This section looks at the tensions and consequences of the entertainment and leisure aspect on the high street.

4.3.1 By-Laws and the use of the Pavement

Sidewalk cafes and informal trading are both activities that contribute towards the high street's atmosphere although they occur in different concentrations in each case study. Both activities occur on the pavement, have by-laws that regulate them and are sometimes a nuisance for users.

SIDEWALK CAFES

One of the main features of entertainment and leisure activities prominent on the high street is the use of sidewalk cafes by some business owners. Ambiguous regulations regulate how sidewalks can and are used and this often causes

tension between business owners, the JMPD[7], patrons and residential associations.

Encroachment on property by-laws state that " 'encroachment' means any physical object which intrudes on or over municipal property, or property which the Council has control over or other property in respect of which a servitude or other property right has been registered in favour of the council" (City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, 2004, p. 2). And "no person may, without prior written permission of the Council, make or construct any colonnade, veranda, balcony, bay window, pavement light, showcase or other encroachment on or over any part of a public road, and pavement opening in or under any public road" (City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, 2004, p. 3).

A city councillor, Tim Truluck has investigated the issue of encroachment of traders and restaurants onto sidewalks in Parkhurst and sums up the issues succinctly;

> *"What became clear is that the City has no clear policy or simple set of by-laws/rules regarding this encroachment by registered businesses. By-laws are cherry picked or 'interpreted'. Some businesses have tried unsuccessfully to obtain city permission by filling out various applications to use the sidewalk. And sometimes, either in ignorance or defiance, the traders and restaurants just colonise the sidewalk outside their property and wait for the City to do something about it. Thus for years the City has abrogated its responsibility, and, apart from the occasional bully boy JMPD blitz, has condoned the current situation. But with the proliferation of, especially, the restaurants in 4th Avenue and businesses in 6th Street, the issue of sidewalk use needs to be addressed. And this situation repeats itself throughout the City*" (Truluck, 2013).

[7] Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department

On 7th Street in Melville and 4th Avenue in Parkhurst sidewalk cafes decorate the pavement. Sidewalk cafes are increasingly appealing for patrons who get to enjoy their meal outside in the sun as well as an opportunity to immerse themselves in the street and for some to reminisce about the overseas culture of having sidewalk cafes (Estate Agent Parkhurst, 2014; Parkhurst Resident 2, 2014).

> *"So I think it gives you that sort of overseas feel… something that's new and you kind of enjoy. I think the outside experience is nice"* (Parkhurst Resident 2, 2014).

For business owners sidewalk cafes provide an opportunity to advertise as well as utilize extended space of the pavement for which they are not necessarily paying rent. "And the fact that we can use the pavement, also a positive spin off. It gives us a little bit more breathing space" (Parkhurst Business Owner 3, 2014). Business owners have also advocated the use of sidewalk cafes as it is an effective means of attracting customers and adds to the vibrancy of the street (Parkhurst Business Owner 3, 2014; Parkhurst Business Owner 1, 2014; Melville Business Owner 4, 2014; Melville Business Owner 3 , 2014). The only time these types of places suffer is during the winter season when the temperatures keep customers inside (Parkhurst Business Owner 1, 2014; Parkhurst Business Owner 3, 2014). Another pertinent issue is that the sidewalk cafes are vulnerable to inconsistent police raids.

> *"There are fines. It depends which by-laws they are using on the day… so if they saying let's look at street trading by-laws, you can sell tomatoes and apricots and potatoes, you're not allowed to have this so were taking away your tables and chairs. Then tomorrow they come in then they say., oh as long as you leave 1.5 m for pedestrians to get past it's fine but these tables, so outside they supposed to be taking those… you just actually don't know what you're going to be faced with and that's very difficult for the restaurant owners"* (Chair of the Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014).

Another issue is that business owners are easily able to pay fines and in many instances continue with what they were penalized for once the fine has been paid.

> *"There was a restaurant, -it's closed and become something different - where the owner would completely obstruct the pavement and they would have glass doors closing the pavement and you had to walk on the road. And he said: 'look if they fine me 5- 10 000 Rand I make that up in less than a night, so I actually don't care.' "* (Chair of the Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014).

The problem stems from tables and chairs that impede on the pavement, making it hard for pedestrians to walk on the pavement and oftentimes they are forced to use the street. "People complain about our tables and chairs which are on the sidewalks…" (Melville Business Owner 3, 2014).

However a business owner states that, "You have a certain amount of space that you need to put the tables. But I mean, if you look at the decency, we leave a huge space for people to walk past. We cannot do anything if people feel embarrassed about walking past, and choose to walk on the opposite side of the road" (Melville Business Owner 3, 2014).

The sidewalk cafe chairs and tables also become a contested terrain amongst business owners as it provides opportunities for 'jealous' and competitive business owners to snitch to the residents association in a manner that forces the owners of the sidewalk cafes to remove their tables and chairs (Melville Business Owner 3 , 2014; Parkhurst Business Owner 2, 2014).

Despite ambiguous by-laws, and competing business owners, people enjoy sidewalk cafes.

> *"I love cafe society. But unfortunately the pavements in Melville were not built with that in mind*" (Ward Councillor 87, 2014).

The Ward Councillor makes a good point. 7th Streets pavements were not designed for the use of sidewalk cafe culture. This has not stopped business owners however.

> *"Even though places still do put out tables and chairs, there's not enough space and often people have to walk in the road. And that's dangerous, that's the reason why the by-law exists to protect the pedestrian space on the pavement so that people don't endanger their lives walking in the road"* (Ward Councillor 87, 2014)

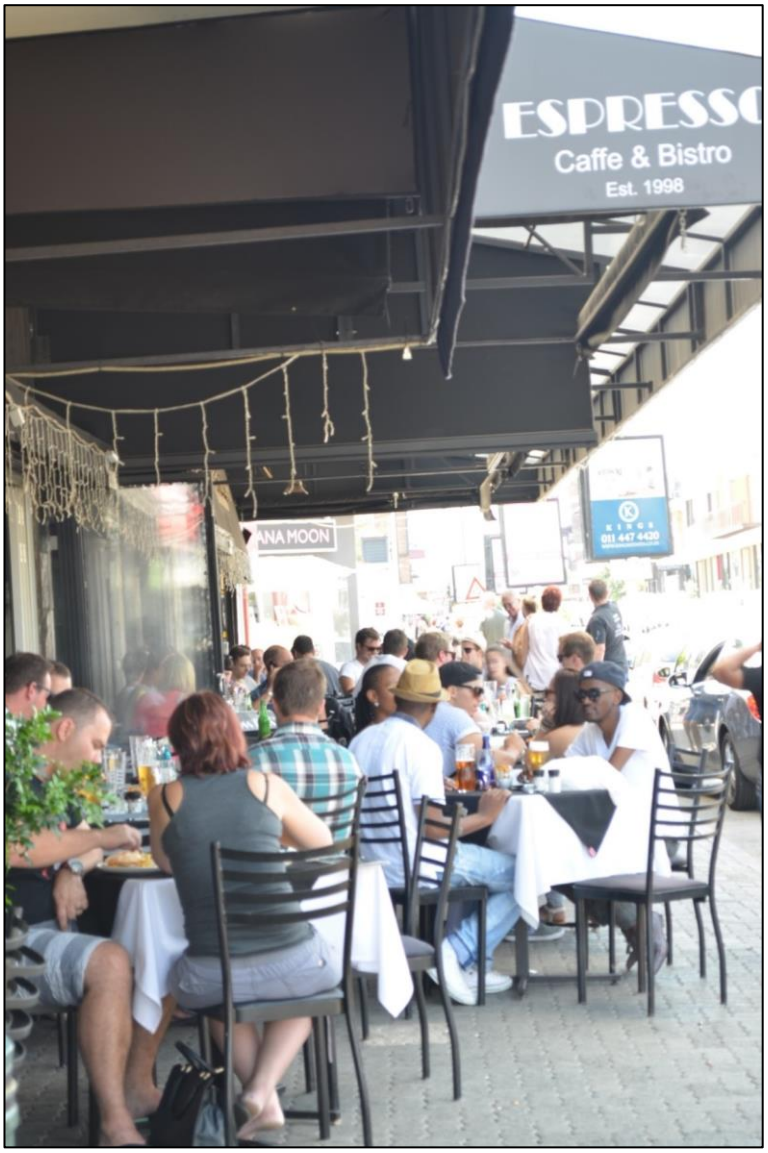


Figure 23 Sidewalk Tables and Chairs on the Pavement (Kok, 2015)



Figure 24 Sidewalk Entertainment on 4th Avenue (Kok, 2015)

INFORMAL TRADING

Contrastingly, while 7th Street and 4th Avenue have sidewalk cafes encroaching on the pavement, Rockey/Raleigh Street is occupied by informal traders (Councillor Ward 67, 2014).

> *"And unlike in Melville, we don't have that problem where the restaurants spill out on the streets. They are all contained. We don't have that same problem there…"* (Ward Councillor 67, 2014).

Informal trading is a vital part of Rockey/Raleigh's character and respondents emphasized that some goods can only be purchased in Rockey/Raleigh. Not only does it provide a livelihood for the people that are selling their goods, but also opportunity for people to purchase cheaper goods and vegetables. Research conducted on Rockey/Raleigh Street by students in Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand revealed that residents also view street trading as being convenient and friendly, with shop keepers arguing that 'without them Yeoville is like a ghost town' (Benit-Gbaffou, 2013).

> "*Because that is the value of the Yeoville market. Because when you go there you see goods that are not normally available here. Now remember, one of the councillors I go… we were attending classes together and he says to me, can you bring me this, it's a… I don't know… it's a lotion. Whether it is skin lightening lotion I don't know. But you could only get it here in Yeoville."* (Councillor Ward 67, 2014).

Street trading in Johannesburg has been viewed as a challenge by the City of Johannesburg. Although on-street trading has been banned, informal trading continues on the street with occasional raids form the JMPD (Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department) (Yeovue News, 2011). While a formal trading market exists on the street, street trading continues. Market traders pay rent for their place in the formal market whereas street traders do not pay for their sites (Yeovue News, 2011). This has contributed to tensions as market traders have a higher mark-up price on their goods as opposed to street traders who don't have to pay for their site (Yeovue News, 2011).

The City of Johannesburg has informal trading by-laws designed to promote social and economic development, to promote a safe and healthy environment and municipal planning, trading regulations, licensing and control of undertakings that sell food to the public, markets, public places, municipal roads and street trading (City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, 2000).

Informal trading on the pavement and sidewalk cafes are both examples of social activity on a high street. However, sidewalk cafes are more entertainment and leisure orientated than informal trading that takes place on Rockey/Raleigh Street. Furthermore, more active enforcement and by-laws exist to regulate people trading on the pavement.



Figure 25 Street Vendors on Rockey/Raleigh Street

4.3.2 Regulations and Rules

Liquor licenses and entertainment licenses exist to assist in minimizing the negative impacts associated with alcohol consumption. Drinking has been associated with the night-time economy, club cultures, youth cultures, pub life, post-industrial identities and lifestyles and, more importantly, as a key accelerator of lawlessness and violence, heightened fear of crime and, in response, zero tolerance policing (Jayne, et al., 2006). For establishments to sell liquor in Johannesburg there are legislation and municipal by-laws whereby establishments need to comply to be able to sell liquor (City of Johannesburg, 2015). Before obtaining a liquor license the following regulations have to be abided by: town planning requirements, environmental health requirements, emergency management services as well as building regulation requirements (City of Johannesburg, 2015). Liquor outlets can only be run legally if it is zoned for the type of liquor outlets being applied for (City of Johannesburg, 2015). Town planning schemes establish the zoning of a piece of land that regulates the permitted land uses on all properties of the City (City of Johannesburg, 2015). The aim of zoning is to ensure the ordered and viable development of the urban areas while maintaining environmental standards (City of Johannesburg, 2015).

The environmental health requirements include the following: firstly, the food premises requirements in terms of the Health Act (63 of 1977), Tobacco Products Control Act (83 of 1993), Licences required in terms of the Business Act (71 of 1999), Foodstuffs, Cosmetics and Disinfectants Act (54 of 1972), Public Health By-Laws L.A.N 830 of 21 May 2004 and, lastly, the regulation that most impacts on the suburb is the noise regulations in terms of the Environment Conservation Act (73 of 1989) (City of Johannesburg, 2015). The Emergency Management Services Requirements require establishments to have fire equipment, fire escape doors, escape routes and limited flammable liquids on site (City of Johannesburg, 2015). All buildings must also comply with the requirements of the National Building Regulations and Building Standards Act 103 of 1977 (City of Johannesburg, 2015).

Active management and by-law enforcement needs to be implemented on high streets with entertainment and leisure activities to avoid disorderly behaviour that harbour negative effects for the suburb and residents.

4.3.3 Establishments and Licensing

Respondents that were interviewed raised the issue of liquor licensing and the implications of false or illegitimate licensing and that business owners do not always necessarily comply with the stipulated regulations.

> *"The other problem too is where there's big problem, is with liquor license"* (Chair of the Melville Residents Association, 2014).

And,

> *"And the liquor license thing is very corrupt and inefficient"* (Ward Councillor 117, 2014).

Alcohol consumption is one of the many reasons why people go out, or visit establishments. If this isn't regulated, there are implications in terms of lawlessness and noise in the suburb. The latter is discussed in the next section.

With a valid 'on consumption'[8] liquor license establishments are permitted to sell alcohol between 10am and 2am, with night clubs only being allowed to sell between 6pm and 2am. Holders of a restaurant license may only supply alcohol where meals are regularly supplied to guests (Provincial Legislature of Gauteng, 2003). To have a pub license (bar/lounge) the establishment has to ensure that liquor is sold and consumed on the premises together with the provision of light snacks or meals (Provincial Legislature of Gauteng, 2003). A night club is licensed to have the provision of light meals, dancing and entertainment with alcohol prohibited from leaving the premises (Provincial Legislature of Gauteng, 2003). Furthermore, to run a nightclub an entertainment license[9] is also required.

One of the main concerns from the residents associations in all three areas is the lack of control over liquor licenses. "We tell the liquor board all the time… They make all these decisions to give licenses to people then they don't enforce the law after that" (Chair of Yeoville Bellevue Development Trust, 2014).

Liquor licenses should only be granted to establishments that adhere to the abovementioned regulations. But as mentioned in interviews, this is not always the case. Another issue is that some establishments have obtained a restaurant license but operate as a club (Melville Residents Association, 2014). As explained above, a restaurant license should only be issued if there are meals regularly being supplied to customers. These types of places operate under the guise of the restaurant yet just play loud music and sell liquor.

[8] The main licence that is explored here is the 'On Consumption Liquor Licence'. This type of license allows liquor to be consumed on the premises (Liebenberg, 2015).

[9] For health facilities or more importantly entertainment facilities, you need a licence for: Turkish baths, saunas and health baths; massage or infra-red treatments; male and female escorts; three or more slot machines and electronic games; three or more snooker or billiard tables; nightclubs and discotheques, where live or loud music is played; cinemas and theatres; and adult premises (City of Johannesburg, 2015).

While conducting fieldwork there was an incident that took place that highlights how unregulated licenses can escalate into undesirable problems. On the first Sunday morning of October in 2014, police discovered the body of a former Lions Rugby player dumped on the corner of 7th Street and 3rd Avenue (Chair of the Melville Residents Association, 2014; Gibbs, 2014). The owner of Dollar Table allegedly attacked and stabbed the victim on the premises and proceeded to drag the body to the corner of the street to divert accusation. The in-depth interview with the Melville residents association was held on the 8 of October; hence the incident was still fresh in everyone's minds.

Dollar Table was categorized as a club in the land use survey, as it was always playing music and serving drinks. As an occasional patron of the establishment the incident came as a surprise. This also highlights how patrons are somewhat dissociated with what is happening behind closed doors. As a patron you are just there for the atmosphere and good times.

> *"The place is clearly a club, and needs an entertainment license to operate – which the owner does not have*" (Gibbs, 2014).

Prior to the incident, a police raid that was administered on 7th Street to identify establishments operating with inappropriate licensing identified Dollar Table as trading illegally (Chair of the Melville Residents Association, 2014). The establishment had a restaurant license, but was not serving any food (Ward Councillor 87, 2014). A restaurant license, as discussed above, permits the selling of alcohol with meals. The establishment also played loud music, and this should only be permitted if one has an entertainment license.

> *"There had been moves for some time to try get the city and liquor board to do something about Dollar Table… And I should also emphasize that it's not that Melville in itself is dangerous or anything… because this incident took place in Dollar Table. Dollar table had a bad name" "* (Chair of the Melville Residents Association, 2014).

The ramifications of the incident have negative impacts on the perception of the suburb. The incident also highlights worst case scenarios of the impact of unregulated entertainment and leisure establishments. The murder also highlights how criminal activity is associated with the high street.

4.3.4 Safety and Crime

Entertainment and leisure activities on the high street enable a '24 hour' street. At night this contributes to the street being busy during evenings and not just the day time. Besides the murder highlighted in section 4.3.3, petty crime, stolen cars, break-ins into establishments are some of the criminal activities mentioned by respondents that take place on or within close range of the high street.

In all three areas there was contrasting feedback, especially from respondents from Yeoville.

> *"Actually, I like… because Rockey Street is not actually, it's not unsafe. It's a safe street" (Yeoville Resident 3, 2014). The same respondent mentioned a bit later on in the interview that, "after 2009 is not also to stay around, to live around Yeoville Rockey street. Because of the noise, because it's also overcrowded and there's also some criminal activity…"* (Yeoville Resident 3, 2014).

Or a contrasting view from a Yeoville resident,

> *"That's a very dangerous area, to be driving a car like the Audi. I will never drive that car in Yeoville"* (Yeoville Resident 1, 2014).

Some business owners reported break-ins into their establishments. On 4th Avenue, both the Italian restaurant and antique shop owners had their places broken into. “It’s just that we had burglar bars on the back window and two guards came in, it was a good computer and the guys went through the window and out very quickly… they came and took the electronic equipment…” (Parkhurst Business Owner 4, 2014). In Melville, a business owner witnessed hi-jackings. “There’s crime. We’ve had 2 hi-jackings, in the last… we’ve had English reporters got hi-jacked right outside the shop last Friday” (Melville Business Owner 3 , 2014).

Some petty crime issues, “Also because of the fact that there are restaurants everywhere, a lot of muggings have taken place, also because of at the end of this road, there’s a gate at the bottom of this road, and that leads to Victory Park, so, what they would do is that they would take a bag, they would run down, once you out through the gate out of Parkhurst, then you gone and they can’t find you” (Parkhurst Resident 2, 2014).

Some respondents liked the fact that the activity is prominent because it made them feel safe. One resident from Melville chose the suburb for its perceived sense of safety “Without feeling isolated as in many other suburbs with huge walls and streets with nobody walking on the street. Melville, there’s always someone, even at night walking around. And that makes me feel safe (Melville Resident 3, 2014).

While walking down Rockey/Raleigh away from the activity and more towards the residential side of the street with a respondent, he commented how even though the street is quieter on the residential end it is not necessarily safer. This point is reminiscent of Jane Jacobs where ‘eye on the street ’can create a certain type of surveillance and safety for users (Browning, et al., 2010).

> *"Because it's I can say it's 24 hours… And the street is how I can say. When the street is crowded it's nice, for security. Because when the street is crowded, even the police will be more alert on that street than quiet places… ja. For me I think we need more such streets in Johannesburg. Because it is difficult for crime to take place with a lot of people"* (Yeoville Business Owner 2, 2014).

On the other hand, Taylor argues that that when businesses are closed this is also a potential crime risk (Browning, et al., 2010). Business owners will not be present to enforce or protect their territorial form of control. Therefore these spaces become vulnerable to potential offenders (Browning, et al., 2010). This point is more apt for business owners susceptible to robberies.

Social activity on the high street means more 'eyes on the street' (Browning, et al., 2010) . While 'eyes on the street' provides natural surveillance in the form of having many people able to watch activity, this does not necessarily decrease on crime levels. In some instances the entertainment and leisure activities also introduce crime, for example, boot parties (see section 4.2.5) by-law infringement, parking violations and murder. One of the respondents also mentioned that some entertainment and leisure establishments on Rockey/Raleigh Street attract prostitution. There are guest houses within close proximity of the entertainment and leisure activities that patrons and prostitutes frequent. This is more undercover entertainment and leisure activity prominent on the high street not thoroughly investigated or highlighted in this dissertation.

4.3.5 Noise

Noise is one of the biggest contributors to tension between residents and business owners.

> *"The biggest complaint of all is noise. Noise from pubs, from restaurants that are registered, got license as restaurants and then they turn them into discos"* (Councillor Ward 66, 2014).

In all three suburb areas, establishments can be the biggest perpetuator of noise. Most establishments are registered as a restaurant, but to play music an entertainment license is required. Entertainment licenses are needed for nightclubs and discotheques, where live or loud music is played (City of Johannesburg, 2015). However, most establishments do not comply with this by-law.

> *"And entertainment licenses are what are required when you run a club or you have a place where you regularly have deejays and live bands and that kind of stuff. You require an entertainment license. Not one single venue along this strip has an entertainment license. Even though we all know that some offer deejays and live music and all of that"* (Ward Councillor 87, 2014).

During interviews most business owners were more aware of the liquor licensing requirements than of the entertainment licensing requirements.

> *"To have a restaurant you need a restaurant license. And a restaurant license is not the same as a place of entertainment license. If you have a place of entertainment license, it means you're allowed to have live music"* (Chair of the Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014).

Business owners from 7th Street and 4th Avenue have had to cancel their respective jazz nights because of complaints. This could be because they didn't have an entertainment license, but this was not mentioned in the interviews. They both mentioned how much the patrons enjoyed these evenings.

> *"We've stopped it because of, because of the residents complaining about the noise. And we don't go ridiculously loud. And it's just for 3-4 hours. Lots of people in the neighbourhood love the jazz"* (Melville Business Owner 3, 2014).

On Rockey/Raleigh Street one of the business owners interviewed classified his establishment as being a jazz bar. I attended one Sunday night. It was a pleasant experience. He also didn't mention complaints from people about hosting jazz evenings. This could be because he is a recent owner of the establishment, having only been open for 3 days, when asked for an interview. However, the establishment had been operating as a jazz bar prior to his owning the place.

Another concern mentioned from respondents in in-depth interviews is the noise generated in some establishments that resonates through the neighbourhood. The noise emitted from establishments is sometimes problematic for residents:

> *"Even worse when there is something on TV, or a sports event. It flows right through the whole house. I have raised the wall, I've got back up curtaining, I have a door there and nothing seems to keep the noise away. It's the 8th year I have to go through that"* (Parkhurst Resident 1, 2014).

And,

> *"Basically the noise is so bad that it actually reaches out like 5-6 blocks like in the dead of night. You can hear the boom boom because there's so many. And if you drive, you must actually see what It's like at night, if you drive from one end of Rockey street to another, it's actually the noise is unbearable. And what happens is that the residents call me up complaining about it…"* (Councillor Ward 66, 2014).

Or residents from Melville and Parkhurst that recognize there is noise but aren't too perturbed, "Sometimes on the weekend there's lots of noise at night. But fortunately, the way my house is shaped and the bedroom is entered. Yes I feel it, I hear it, but it's not so terrible" (Melville Resident 3, 2014). Or, "obviously

this is the popular street where everyone comes and jols and makes a noise" (Parkhurst Resident 2, 2014).

Once again some restaurants are the perpetrators here. Loud music is emitted from the establishment or live deejays and jazz bands are hired. Some establishments that are the perpetrators of noise continue despite fines. "The fine ranges between R2 000 and R3 000 but because, remember they've got large clientele and make that within one day. For them there's more incentive to keep continuing the noise because that's what attracts the clientele" (Ward Councillor 66, 2014).

> *"Raids are administered, and warnings are administered to stop the noise, establishments will sometimes close for the night, but the next day it's the same situation"* (Ward Councillor 66, 2014).

When asked how the residents association manages noise levels, this was the response: "Once again we complain, because that's also under the city council. It's under their department of health. So what we do is we raise the issue, now and again the city does go in and inspect and check what's happening. And once again that's quite difficult. Because they have to go at a time when the noise levels are being exceeded. So often what happens is the inspector will come along when they aren't being exceeded then nothing happens obviously. What we would like to see, is perhaps to say, because I don't think there are any prescriptions in the legislations… I may be wrong, what we would like to see, they include that when they grant a license that there are actual requirements of sound proofing the establishments that are enforced" (Chair of the Melville Residents Association, 2014).

A councillor from Rockey/Raleigh Street echoed the same sentiment: "But we've indicated as well, that one of the requirements should have been that, where there are supposed to play music, the area should have noise insulation. Because I would imagine that there are clubs in areas like Rosebank and Sandton, and I don't think that people are up in arms because they hear noise. Because what

we've always indicated to the liquor board is this is a major failure is that people are allowed to have these parties without noise insulation a certificate of noise insulation" (Ward Councillor 67, 2014).

> "*For the most part, most of the restaurants are good, they do try, and everyone slips up from time to time. But there are some businesses in this neighbourhood that are just here to make money regardless of the impact on the community. And that's what we try and moderate. You don't want to stunt business. You want to see a successful business continuing. But you do need there to be a respect, between the commercial identity and residential space"* (Chair of the Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014).

Noise comes from the entertainment and leisure venues on the high streets. While some business owners are aware they are operating businesses within a residential area, others are less cognisant. Playing loud music attracts patrons and is profitable. Regulating noise levels is therefore important for residents in the suburb.

4.3.6 Parking

Parking, or the lack thereof, on the high street can be indicative of the nature of the street. There are parking constraints on each high street. However, people attending establishments for entertainment and leisure activities exacerbate the situation. Parking constraints heighten during peak hours (evenings and weekends). The three case study areas were not necessarily designed to accommodate for the influx of cars and people. Parking on the street or on side streets and walking to establishments, as a few respondents have commented, is part of the hype of the street and what makes it even more active.

Parking constraints on 7th Street and 4th Avenue reveals much about the nature of the street. As discussed earlier, most people from the surveys were on these streets for the entertainment and leisure activities. The surveys also revealed that most people on 7th Street and 4th Avenue were not from the suburbs Melville and Parkhurst, rather from other suburbs in Johannesburg. This is

significant because it means that these streets are attracting city-wide users and not just local residents as per the usage of the traditional high street. Furthermore, this means more vehicles entering the suburb and street and not residents walking to the streets. The streets' capacity to handle all the cars is limited.

> *"Then we also have things against speaking to capacity and infrastructure where patrons coming in from outside tend for example to park their cars wherever they choose and very often it's across peoples' driveways and they can't get into the front of their houses"* (Chair of the Parkhurst Residents Association, 2014).

Rockey/Raleigh Street on the other hand, in many ways still emulates the traditional high street, as the street still caters predominantly for those residing in the area. Most people on Rockey/Raleigh Street who participated in the street survey reside in Yeoville.

Parking has come up as a suggested improvement by many respondents from all three case study areas. When there is no parking left or available on the street, people tend to park up the side streets. This is a hindrance for some residents. Some respondents from 4th Avenue and 7th Street also complained about car guards where some either deal drugs or scratch cars if not remunerated sufficiently.

A presentation was devised in 2013 for the mayoral visit to Parkhurst whereby the project looked at 25 small nodes with parking problems and possible solutions. Some challenges that emerged from their parking audit, that are not unlike the parking challenges experienced on 7th Street in Melville, 4th Avenue in Parkhurst and Rockey/Raleigh in Yeoville include: blockage of business and residential accesses by illegally parked vehicles. Cars illegally parking in loading zones strained the traffic flow as well as hindered trucks from quick access to establishments. In general there is an insufficient supply of parking bays.

Pedestrian safety is also compromised by vehicles parked illegally on sidewalks and by poor markings and signage (Seftel, 2013).



Figure 26 Example of Loading Van that is Problematic during Peak Hours

During the day and during the week, the parking constraints on 7th Street and 4th Avenue are minimal - one is still able to find a parking spot. Parking constraints on these high streets peak during evenings and on weekends. The duration of how long the parking spaces are utilized also becomes extended. For example, one is more likely to have dinner and drinks for hours, as opposed to doing retail shopping which is likely to take up less time on the high street.

There is more parking availability on 7th Street and 4th Avenue during the week and during the day. During peak hours when people are accessing entertainment and leisure activities during evenings and weekends, parking availability becomes limited. The duration of how long people park during peak hours is also extended. One is more likely to park for longer hours when going for breakfast, lunch or dinner as opposed to just using short term on-street parking to quickly pop into the shop. Hence movement during peak hours is slow.

On Rockey/Raleigh Street where the street is busier throughout the day, parking constraints are constant, but there is more frequent movement of traffic. Parking constraints peak when people are returning home from work:

> *"I don't know if you can call them peak times. Especially after hours, by afterhours I mean by 5pm when people knock off. There's quite some traffic. It may go up to 7pm where you find that there a chain of cars. Traffic jump. People have parked along the side; people are still looking for parking. It's a challenge perceived there. There's no ample parking. You will find that people end up parking by the road side or next to the designated parking which jumps the traffic so it's quite a challenge to have access"* (Yeoville Resident 2, 2014).

This point also speaks to the use of the street, where 4th Avenue and 7th Street are more entertainment and leisure orientated and that is a major influence on parking, whereas Rockey/Raleigh people are driving past not necessarily for entertainment and leisure activities.

On 7th Street there are designated on-street parking bays. Signage and markings of the designated parking bays are not marked clearly enough which might add to confusion for people. During the day and mornings these parking bays suffice, but during peak hours there are not enough spaces for patrons, thus forcing them to park up the side streets and interfere with residential areas. Furthermore, people park in loading zones obstructing off-loaders from easy access to establishments.

Two patrons from 7th Street commented that parking or the lack thereof is part of the atmosphere of the street, but they recognize that there is a problem. "That whole parking thing is part of the vibe. But if it was up to me I'd like parking to be better organized" (Melville Patron 1, 2014). "Parking is also definitely a con. But once you're in and around the area of the high street it's very easy just to walk there. Even if you find a parking a block or 2 blocks down, it's in a residential area" (Melville Patron 1, 2014). "The street life is what people

come here for. They don't want a parking bay that's 75 streets away. It takes away the entire energy. So it's more like, how do you… Without… I mean land is a problem I can see. I mean here… I don't know how one would do it. I'm not a developer. But I wouldn't want to change this" (Melville Patron 2, 2014). Patron 3 from 7th Street is less enthusiastic about the parking situation: "On this street… Because there are no parking facilities that are designed specifically for people visiting the high street, criminals have more chances of breaking into your car, although there are guards… I always struggle to find parking here" (Melville Patron 3, 2014).

A resident that lives on the corner of 7th said that "I like the fact that if I have guests they can park outside because there's lots of other cars parked outside, and there's the guys that watch the cars. And so it's safe also for people that comes to visit me because I don't have space for other cars that park outside the house… yeah sometimes you know these guys are drunk, especially the car watchers… they pee or shit in the pot in front of my gate" (Melville Resident 3, 2014).

In Parkhurst there are more allocated parking bays where the street curves inward and there are parking spaces available. These parking bays do not narrow the road; however people still tend to park on street and up side streets. Peak hour traffic is a nightmare. Towards 6th Street traffic becomes congested as this is the main point of entrance and exit of 4th Avenue. There is an enclosed parking lot that is situated at Parkhurst Timesquare. In an in-depth interview I pointed it out but the Ward Councillor said: "See that's the contention. It's actually not. It should be for us. People that use it. Members of public. But this difficult to control it. It costs you R300 000- R400 000 to buy a machine that issues the tickets. That a lot of money for parking. He's closed it off for tenants. But he's not allowed to. When you put in his application you say so much parking for shops. And you have to have extra parking. Take into account that you got staff and people visiting. For retail and for restaurants. So it's a contentious

issue. He's got parking behind. And it's interesting to note that this is on 4 stands. Essentially he's built this on 2 stands. But he's got 2 behind the parking. And if you look at how much 22 parking bays takes up. It takes up, it takes up 2 stands. So it's very difficult to provide onsite parking if anything in Parkhurst. More than 3 or four bays in the front" (Ward Councillor 117, 2014).

PAID PARKING SCHEME IN PARKHURST

From 2011, Parkhurst had a parking initiative underway - if you visited the street, no matter the time parked, you had to pay for parking. Paid parking affected businesses as people would no longer be able to just stop and go, as they would have to pay for parking. This deterred many people from visiting some establishments on the high street as no one would want to pop into the bookstore and so forth.

The paid parking scheme in Parkhurst also caused more people to park up the side streets to avoid paying for their parking space. In interviews respondents expressed their relief at the scheme coming to an end.

> *"If you look on the side roads. I can't think of any specifically, but I do know along the side roads there are problems with parking spaces because all the traffic goes up there"* (Estate Agent Parkhurst, 2014).

The Chair of the residents association expressed her displeasure about the paid parking scheme on 4th Avenue:

> *"We were the ones who stopped it from rolling out from the rest of Jo'burg. The city got a big, it's still going but now part of the reasoning we didn't like it was where's, what's the rationale of putting into Parkhurst anyway? What can it do more than getting more JMPD offices to march up and down to ticket people for illegally parking. So the rationale was that it would have a better turnover, help with the paid parking, and help with parking, congestion. And we said it didn't. Obviously it didn't it was virtually empty on the day, they all parked on side streets and weekends and evenings when it*

wasn't running, everything would be parked up and congested anyway. Now we haven't got it. How congested is this? It can get more congested on a Friday afternoon. But we didn't need it. What we need is better by-law enforcement" (Ward Councillor 117, 2014).

At the launch of the Johannesburg Road Agency's R2 billion project to rehabilitate approximately 435kms of the city's roads, Mayor Parks Tau announced that paid parking in suburban business nodes would be relooked at (Cox, 2013). This ultimately also coincided with the end of the unpopular paid parking scheme in Parkhurst.

On Rockey/Raleigh Street there are on-street, but inward designated, parking bays as well as a parking lot. There is more parking space provided on Rockey/Raleigh Street but throughout the day and night the street is busy and one can struggle to find parking.

"Due to existence on Rockey/Raleigh of Rea Vaya, there's, and also that there's these restaurants you will find that the clientele they park on both sides of the street so it narrows the street. Rea Vaya struggles to go through there. And Rockey/Raleigh should be made a no Parking area. But they were of the intention that it would kill businesses around the area" (Councillor Ward 67, 2014).

There are parking constraints on each high street. However, car constraints become more prominent on 7th Street and 4th Avenue during evenings and on weekends. This is indicative of people visiting the suburb for entertainment and leisure activities, when people are vising the restaurants, cafes and so forth. On Rockey/Raleigh Street parking constraints are more-or-less constant. The small-scale components of the high streets were also not designed for the mass numbers of people entering the high street. Space is therefore limited.

4.4 Conclusion

'Social Aspects of the High Street' demonstrated that patrons enjoyed the atmosphere of the high street and the entertainment and leisure activities on the high street. Business owners on the high street are benefitting from the reputation of the high street and the foot traffic. Residents expressed the most dissatisfaction with the activities prominent on the high street.

All three high streets exhibit signs of social interaction and exchange. However, 7th Street and 4th Avenue are more entertainment and leisure orientated than Rockey/Raleigh Street. This is demonstrated by what respondents have said, prominent sidewalk cafes, as well as when parking constraints peak. There are no sidewalk cafes on Rockey/Raleigh Street, rather street vendors. Secondly, parking constraints on Rockey/Raleigh Street are more consistent, and do not peak during evenings or weekends like on 7th Street or 4th Avenue.

Respondents refer more to Rockey/Raleigh Street as being convenient and easily accessible. Also, most respondents interviewed from the survey were people from the suburb area. This indicates that the traditional use of the high street is still very prominent on Rockey/Raleigh Street. The high street is providing easily accessible goods and services for its residents. Respondents also indicated however, that they like the entertainment and leisure aspect of the high street. Rockey/Raleigh High Street activities are also in abundance.

Despite the contribution of retail activities on 7th Street and 4th Avenue, which is higher than the entertainment and leisure activities, respondents were visiting these high streets for entertainment and leisure activities. Survey respondents from these high streets were mostly not from the suburb, rather from all over Johannesburg. Entertainment and leisure activities on these high streets are also conveying the perception that these activities are dominant. However, based on the land-use survey, retail is the predominant activity. This means that entertainment and leisure activities are altering the atmosphere and character of the high street. Entertainment and leisure activities are providing platforms for

social activity, attracting people to the high street and are influencing the environment and atmosphere of the high street.

Most patron respondents are visiting the high street for the entertainment and leisure activities. It is these activities that are problematic for residents. The trading hours of retail activities differ to that of entertainment and leisure activities, and retail activities do not involve drinking, music or patrons becoming noisy. Liquor licensing and by-law enforcement becomes an important issue in regulating these activities. As demonstrated, respondents have said enforcement is lacking on all three high streets. Some business owners do not comply with regulations as it is more profitable not to do so. This impacts on residents.

5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

5.1 Synopsis of Chapters

The introductory chapter introduced the research question, and provided the research design and research methods that structured the form of enquiry. The research design includes: The land use survey (high street profile), in-depth interviews, surveys and participant observation that assisted in exploring the role of entertainment and leisure activities on the suburban high street in Johannesburg.

Components of the High Street focused on the different elements of the high street. Since there is no existing definition of a high street in the South African context; this chapter looked at literature pertaining to the high street in the UK and the Main Street in the USA to devise an appropriate definition for Johannesburg high streets. The suburb is one of the core elements of the high street. Public space on the high street also plays a prominent role in facilitating social interaction on the high street. However, the residential aspect of the high street and public space provide a context for conflict and tension to emerge. This is especially true for the entertainment and leisure activities prominent on the high street; where noise causes conflicts with residents within close proximity. One needs to be cognisant of regulating these types of spaces because the needs of the local residents as well as those of the patrons and businesses serving the evening economy need to be met.

Street Activities: Entertainment and Leisure on the High Street explores the case study high streets in great detail. 7th Street in Melville, 4th Avenue in Parkhurst and Rockey/Raleigh Street are all high streets that have entertainment and leisure activities prominent on the high street. Retail activities, on all three high streets, contribute towards more than the entertainment and leisure activities on the high streets. The perception however, is that there needs to be more of a balance of activities and that there are too many entertainment and leisure

activities. What is defined as balanced is not distinct, as views (from in-depth interviews) that informed this perception and the land use survey differ. It can be argued that the prominence of the entertainment and leisure activities overshadow the other activities prominent on the high streets and perhaps it takes one loud restaurant, or a murder incident to suggest that entertainment and leisure activities are dominating.

High Street Experiences: Perceptions, Regulations and Tensions focused on two sections that outlined the social aspects of the high street and secondly, how entertainment and leisure activities are regulated by by-laws and liquor licensing. Patrons contribute towards the hype and activity on the high street. They provide foot traffic and are needed to sustain businesses on the high street. Business owners thrive on the high streets reputation and available foot traffic. Entertainment and leisure activities enhance the high streets atmosphere by offering menu/drink specials, music and sidewalk cafes that attract patrons. This is sometimes at the residents' expense. The residential component of the high street does however add to the character of the high street.

5.2 Discussion of the Case Study High Streets

Entertainment and leisure activities are attracting people to the high street and providing a space that exudes public life. 7th Street in Melville, 4th Avenue in Parkhurst and Rockey/Raleigh Street in Greater Yeoville may differ in location, size and accessibility but their high streets all exhibit sites of commercial and social exchange within the suburb. 7th Street, the shortest case study high street had the highest proportion of entertainment and leisure activities in comparison to the two other high streets. Rockey/Raleigh Street, the longest case study high street, had the highest number of entertainment and leisure activities with the smallest proportion of entertainment and leisure activities prominent on the high street.

Despite all three high streets having a higher retail contribution than entertainment and leisure activities, patrons were attracted and liked entertainment and leisure activities. The entertainment and leisure activities on the high street are also creating a perception of a less retail dominated street. The hype and tensions surrounding entertainment and leisure activities on the high street have assisted this perception.

Rockey/Raleigh Street fulfils the more traditional function of a high street, enabling easily accessible pedestrian access to goods and services for residents. This point was demonstrated by respondents referring to this high street as being convenient, parking constraints being more consistent and survey respondents where most people on the high street were people that resided in the area. The land use survey of Rockey/Raleigh Street also demonstrated the wide variety of goods and services attainable on this high street. The high density of Greater Yeoville assists in providing sustainable foot traffic to keep businesses operating. The entertainment and leisure activities on this high street co-exist with the other activities on the high street.

7th Street and 4th Avenue are more entertainment and leisure orientated high streets. This assertion however is not based on the actual overall contribution of entertainment and leisure on the high streets. The entertainment and leisure activities are attracting people from all over, and many survey respondents indicated they were not from the neighbouring/surrounding suburbs. Respondents also indicated that they liked the entertainment and leisure activities or were on the high street for these activities. This means that entertainment and leisure activities are appealing to a wider market and not just residents. Parking constraints on these two high streets would peak during evenings and on weekends. This is unlike Rockey/Raleigh Street whose parking constraints remained constant, day or night. This further affirms these high streets orientation towards entertainment and leisure activities. Respondents from 7th Street and 4th Avenue also commented on the lack of convenience

stores. This is different to Rockey/Raleigh Street. The use of the pavements on these high streets is also indicative of the nature of these high streets. 7th Street and 4th Avenue have sidewalk cafes; contrastingly, Rockey/Raleigh Street has informal traders. These uses also emphasize the nature of the high streets.

What is shared with these case study high streets was the tensions regulating liquor licensing and by- law enforcement. Noise from entertainment and leisure establishments was a disruptive factor for residents in all three high streets. Playing music on any high street attracts patrons and is profitable for business owners. The lack of by-law enforcement and inconsistent liquor license inspections is an issue identified by multiple respondents from all three high streets.

5.3 Contextualizing High Streets in Johannesburg

Traditionally, the high street provided access to goods and services for residents in the surrounding areas and its function was predominantly retail. This is reminiscent of the British High Street. In the United Kingdom however, the use of high streets is declining as the popularity of out-of-town retail developments increases. Furthermore, chain stores are able to compete with competitive rentals thus pushing independent retailers out of the high street. In contrast to the current trends in the UK, the high streets in Johannesburg have provided opportunities for smaller, independent businesses to thrive.

The high street has the ability to adapt to its users' needs. Shopping malls in Johannesburg are already fulfilling retail and shopping functions by providing ample spaces for people to do their shopping. Entertainment and leisure on the high street is fulfilling a different need. One that enables social interaction between people by providing a platform for people to meet, eat, socialize, relax, people-watch, walk, talk and just engage with the public aspects of a street.

Despite the historical apartheid legacies and continued criticisms of the suburb as being anti- social spaces these high streets are bringing people and diversity to the suburb. This research has shown that users from the case study high streets are predominantly from the whole city region, not just users from the surrounding suburban area. What is prompting the shift of users is the entertainment and leisure activities prominent on the high street that are appealing to a broader catchment area. This means that entertainment and leisure activities are changing how the high streets are being used by people.

Entertainment and leisure activities are playing a role in attracting people to the high street. These activities thrive on different hours in comparison to the typical 8am- 5pm retail hours. Establishments that serve the evening economy thrive on the high street's ambience. Patrons visit the street for socializing, music, chatting or popular drink/meal specials. Business owners and patrons feed off one another creating a space where one would like to visit, and the appeal is such that you want to come back. Although parking constraints are a major hindrance, it is not only indicative of the popularity of the high street but also of patrons' reliance on private motor vehicles.

The popularity of the high streets does not always fare well with residents. Entertainment and leisure activities on the high street introduce nuisances such as patrons parking up side streets in front of resident's' yards, noise and in some instances petty crime. However, the residential component of the high street is one of the appeals of the high street.

This research has raised a number of planning and enforcement issues specifically around the suburban context. The current by-laws, liquor licensing and entertainment licensing need to be more developed to address the different needs of patrons, business owners and residents, while still enabling these public spaces to thrive.

5.4 Recommendations

This research has demonstrated how entertainment and leisure activities are attracting people to the suburb and high street. Entertainment and leisure activities on the high street are a vital way of attracting foot traffic and pedestrian activity. The main concerns from respondents, with regards to entertainment and leisure activities on the high street (as outlined in Chapter 4.3 titled 'By-Laws, Licenses and Regulations') were the lack of by-law enforcement, licensing of establishments, noise and parking. To enhance the high streets' potential, recommendations for this dissertation include suggestions on how to mitigate the negative impacts of the activities on the high street. The City of Johannesburg, city officials and residential associations, are a few counterparts that can aid in the development of the high street.

With regards to by-law enforcement and the use of the pavement for sidewalk cafés, it was noted that there is no clear policy defining the rules or by-laws pertaining to the use of the pavement for sidewalk cafes. In order to dispel confusion or inconsistent police raids, the city needs to develop a clear set of guidelines for businesses that have, or are considering the use of sidewalk cafes. As said by Mayor Parks Tau,

> *"Joburgers should be sitting outdoors, enjoying the city's pavement cafés and restaurants, says the mayor"* (Cox, 2013).

The use of the pavement by sidewalk cafes is both enjoyable for users and beneficial for business owners. 7th Street and 4th Avenue in particular are providing a space for people to enjoy the city's pavement cafes and restaurants.

The main licenses that regulate entertainment and leisure activities on the high street were the liquor license, and the entertainment license. While establishments may have a liquor license, business owners on the high street are not necessarily complying with regulations. To regulate establishments that

serve alcohol and play loud music, it is recommended that establishments that are granted a liquor license be subject to regular inspections. Officials should inspect establishments that have been granted a liquor license to ensure that establishments are in order and comply with city regulations. Another suggestion is to include a system of monitoring that allows complaints to be responded to promptly.

The entertainment license is needed to play loud music. Although the City of Johannesburg website does acknowledge the need for an entertainment license,

> *"Health and entertainment facilities you need a licence for: Turkish baths, saunas and health baths; massage or infra-red treatments; male and female escorts; three or more slot machines and electronic games; three or more snooker or billiard tables; nightclubs and discotheques, where live or loud music is played; cinemas and theatres; and adult premises"* (City of Johannesburg, 2015).

This requirement is not very clear for a business owner that is operating as a bar/ lounge and is not necessarily a discotheque or nightclub. Much clearer guidelines need to be outlined for establishments that are not night clubs or discotheques. For establishments that play loud music, have live bands or deejays, regulations need to be established for business owners to adhere to.

Noise was another concern from residents that were interviewed. Recommendations to alleviate noise levels include encouraging businesses to sound proof their establishments. Another suggestion is to allow music or live entertainment in establishments until a certain time. This will allow patrons to enjoy the high street while still setting some boundaries.

Although residential associations can act as a voice for residents residing close to the high street, the city needs to acknowledge concerns and respond accordingly. There should be a greater discussion and negotiation around the development of high streets and defining boundaries between the residential

aspects of the neighbourhood and the mixed use areas. A greater public participation is needed in planning in suburban areas and high streets. The city and residential associations should be working together to plan around the issues and concerns that surround activities on the high street.

To alleviate parking constraints prominent on the high street, overall the city needs better public transport systems. If there were more efficient ways of entering and exiting the high streets not using vehicles this would enable less traffic congestion. However, the overdependence on vehicles is not unique to high streets. It is a city wide problem.

The City of Johannesburg's 'Complete Streets' initiative aims to create streets in the suburbs that are safe, comfortable and accessible to all modes of transport (Cox, 2013). This initiative seeks to create more inclusive streets for pedestrians and cyclists (City of Johannesburg , n.d). It is envisioned that this type of street design will enable more liveable communities.

One of the principles outlined in the manual is to

> *"Contribute to liveable communities by providing public open space that integrates amenities including street trees and landscaping, street and sidewalk lighting, public transport facilities, street furniture, water features, and public art work*" (City of Johannesburg , n.d, p. 4).

And,

> *"Promote neighbourhood vitality through infrastructural improvements that attract private investment and encourage pedestrian activity"* (City of Johannesburg , n.d, p. 4).

With respect to the development of the high street, improving public transport routes would assist in alleviating parking constraints on the high street. Other suggestions that would alleviate parking constraints as well as encourage people to use the high street as a public space includes pedestrianizing the high street or

closing the streets' off to vehicles once a month. Including more trees and landscaping would enhance qualities of the high street as well.

The second quote is more or less reminiscent of the high street. Private investment would be encouraged by the small businesses thriving on the high street. The high street is enabling these types of developments.

The 'Complete Streets' initiative would enable "more liveable communities" (City of Johannesburg , n.d, p. 3). However, suburbs that have an active high street need to be more carefully considered when negotiating residential space versus mixed use space. The recommendations that pertain to improving the overall qualities of the high street are already intentions of the council, and are yet to be enacted. While respondents were able to identify issues surrounding entertainment and leisure activities on the high street, clearer guidelines need to be in place to regulate these activities more efficiently.

5.5 Research Limitations

Although this dissertation addressed a research gap to administer the study, lack of existing academic research and literature on the high street in Johannesburg meant working with some unknown variables. This research has sought to explore the suburban high street in Johannesburg looking at the role of entertainment and leisure on the high street. This is only a fraction of what could be uncovered about the suburban high street. The physicality of a high street in Johannesburg, a definition , exploration of building heights on the high street, the economic sustainability of a high street in Johannesburg, are just examples of more studies that could be administered on the high street in Johannesburg.

The retail component of the high street demonstrated that it was a crucial component of all three high street case study areas. A form of research bias (shared by some research participants) was that entertainment and leisure

activities were dominant on the high streets. However, this point was only discovered after administering the land use survey, after having constructed the fieldwork stage of the research. Including some more questions orientated around retail, or where people do their shopping could, have added a more nuanced perspective of the shopping retail versus entertainment and leisure on the high street.

5.6 Cultivating the High Street

One of the most significant features of the high street, and what distinguishes the high street from other streets, is its suburban component. This feature of the high street becomes especially important when considering the role of entertainment and leisure on the high street. Firstly, the traditional function of the high street was more retail orientated and catered for its residents within the suburb. The prominence of entertainment and leisure activities on the high street is however attracting patrons that are not just residents. This means that more people are entering and exiting the suburb and high street. Secondly, entertainment and leisure activities are associated with noise from patrons, music from establishments which is more damaging to the residential amenity than activities elicited from the retail function of the high street.

These high streets are successful public spaces and the entertainment and leisure activities are enabling this by attracting people from all over. The local high street is becoming less local and more effective mechanisms need to be employed to regulate entertainment and leisure activities on the high street. The challenge in Johannesburg involves mitigating the negative impacts of entertainment and leisure activities for a healthy residential environment, and at the same time allowing local businesses to prosper and patrons to enjoy the high street and its activities.

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APPENDIX A INDEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Type of user, i.e. resident, business owner or patron.

If business owner, why locate business here?

Classify business i.e. cafe, restaurant, etc.

What is the appeal of your establishment?

How long have you been running your business here?

What are the pros and cons of having your business here?

If resident, what are the pros and cons of living close to the street?

2. Are you from Johannesburg? How long have you been living in Johannesburg?
3. Where do you live?
4. Do you know what a high street is?
5. How often do you visit the street? Why?
6. Who do you meet on the high street? Family? Friends? Colleagues?
7. Do you prefer the high street or shopping mall? Why?
8. Is the high street easily accessible? Can you walk here/drive here easily?
9. What do you find appealing about the high street?
10. What improvements do you suggest for uplifting the high street?
11. Do you like the fact that there are restaurants, bars in the area? If so, why? Or why not?
12. Do you think Johannesburg needs more streets like these?

APPENDIX B SURVEY QUESTIONS

Gender

Male Female

Age

>18

18-25

26-35

36-45

46-65

Where are you from?

Do you prefer the high street or shopping mall?

High Street Shopping mall

Why are you here?

For the restaurants For the amenities (Library, post office, doctor)

To do some shopping I like the atmosphere

Work

How often do you visit the street?

Daily (Few times a week) Monthly (Few times a month)

Yearly (Few times a year)

Who do you meet here?

Friends Family

Alone Business partners, associates, colleagues

What do you like about the high street?

It's located close to you

The restaurants, clubs and cafes

The amenities (Library, post office, doctor, dentist etc.)

Retail (shopping)

Other

Do you think Johannesburg needs more streets like these?

Yes No