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Cabaret, Alice

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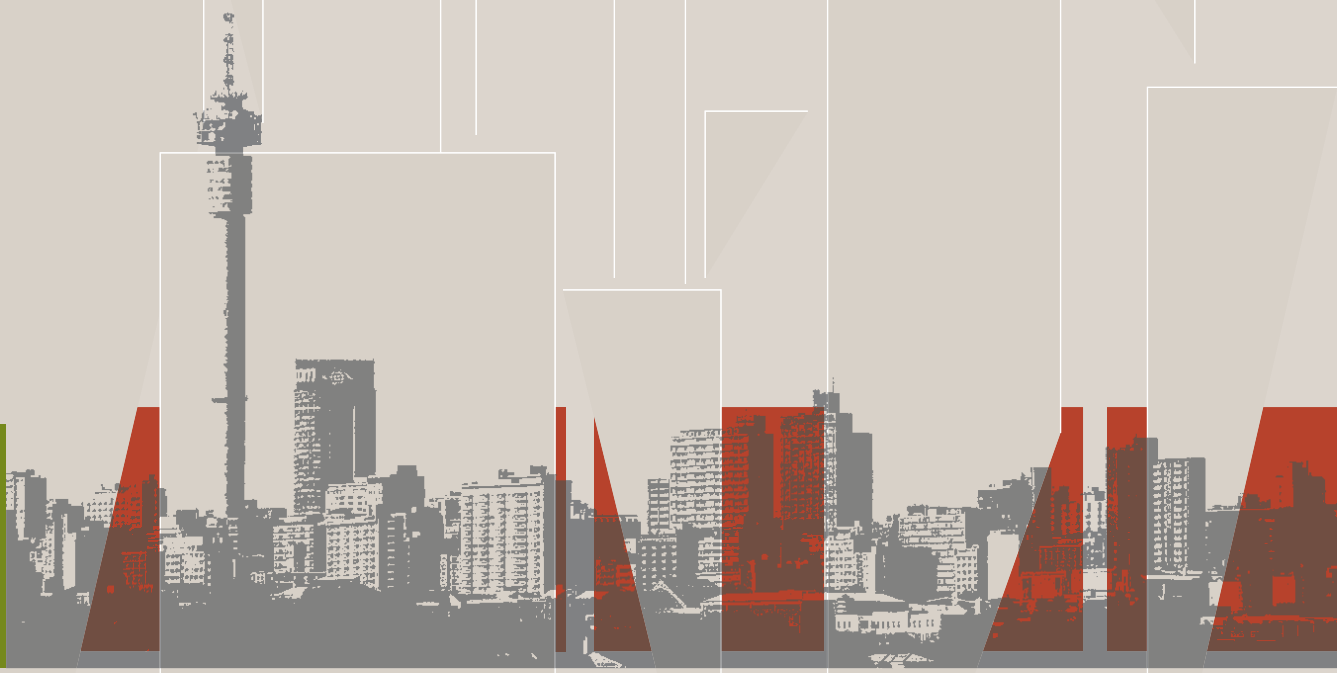
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BACK TO THE STREETS

Exploratory research on pedestrian life and walking spaces in the Greater Johannesburg area

ALICE CABARET



2

Report Series produced by the South African Research Chair in Development Planning and Modelling, School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand.

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND JOHANNESBURG

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AUGUST 2012

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SECTION 1

SUMMARY

The aim of this exploratory research is to identify the different aspects and trends of the pedestrian practices in the Greater Johannesburg area. This has been achieved by the use of "street models" encapsulating the different socio-demographic profiles of pedestrians as well as their uses of space, based on site visits and social surveys. In a context of significant evolution of socio-spatial dynamics and urban frames of reference (eg: increasing "green" consciousness), the hypothesis was, therefore, as follows:

i. The demands and habits in the use of pedestrian spaces are highly disparate amongst street users, thus introducing a high level of heterogeneity between the different street models observed. This brings about challenges for the future in respect of the development of integrated and mixed pedestrian spaces;

ii. The recent changes in urban policies, as well as new developments and projects headed by both the public and the private sectors, are indicative of a renewed social demand for pedestrian spaces. These policies and projects seem not only to respond to this demand, but also seem to create it.

The outcome of the research has, in some respect, confirmed or given precision to the hypothesis, while raising extremely complex questions. It has been observed that:

i. A **change of paradigm** regarding pedestrian spaces is indeed occurring, with demand for open, safe, walkable spaces having been observed. This seems to come from very different social profiles of Johannesburg, including from the northern suburbs, inner city and townships. A variety of factors that explain this change have been observed (i.e. demographic, economic and cultural).

ii. Nevertheless, the current pedestrian areas - and even the new urban developments - are still **highly differentiated** in terms of pedestrian profiles and practices (mirroring the image of a divided city). Historical reasons, as well as recent economic motivations, explain the present situation. In addition, extremely different and implicit rules and norms seem to apply within every street model observed, thus contributing to this differentiation.

The analysis of the different street models has indeed revealed a dichotomy between the major general evolutions that occurred (socio-demographic and political change - more precisely in terms of urban governance, with the increasing role of private stakeholders) and the current conservatism of most of the pedestrian patterns. These have become more and more adapted to specific social use or aspirations. The challenge is to prevent this gap from widening by taking advantage of the recent change of paradigm. This is illustrated, for example, by the major shift in the City's urban policies towards increased and improved pedestrian public spaces. At the same time, it is necessary to acknowledge the extreme complexity of the existing dynamics that raise challenges as informality, conflicts of power and social tensions.

SECTION 2

INTRODUCTION

"There are no streets in Johannesburg", **B., 26, Sandton.**

ABOUT THE RESEARCH

"Nobody walks in Johannesburg". "We can only walk in malls". Or even, "there are no streets in Johannesburg".

These are only a few of the statements I heard about pedestrian life in Johannesburg when I moved to this city in 2011. During my first months in the city, I commuted by car wherever I went and walked only in malls. Week after week, the physical need to walk in a public space made me decide to start walking in Sandton streets. Only thing is that car drivers would often stop close to me and ask if "*everything was fine*".

They were right: something was, or felt, wrong. Why was I the only white person walking along these northern suburb avenues? Why was everybody looking at me as if I was lost or crazy?

I soon realised that Johannesburg actually was a walking city. Only, it seemed that *different* people walked in *different* places, for *different* reasons and in a *different* way. Clearly defined street models appeared to exist, with their dominant social profile, their own logics, as well as their explicit and implicit rules and norms.

This research aims at being exploratory and at providing a first understanding of pedestrian life and walking spaces in Johannesburg. It also looks at the challenges to their development, based on the comparative analysis of street models. The research provided provisional answers to questions posed, but also raised additional complex questions to be interrogated. The research method itself assumes that the findings cannot be perfectly representative: rather they serve as a base for preliminary conclusions and further research.

A CITY WITHOUT STREETS?

A street is a *"public road"*, according to the Oxford dictionary. Johannesburg does have "public roads" – quite a lot of them. How can someone then say that Johannesburg is a "*city without streets*"?

Rather than focusing on the "how", it would be more useful to look at the "who" - the person who shared this opinion. This provides more relevant insights about the Johannesburg situation. In a city with thousands of streets and where one-third of all journeys are made by foot, **it is worth understanding this gap between perceptions and reality by questioning the social practices and uses of the streets**. A part of the Johannesburg population considers the streets as being unwalkable areas. They wonder why nobody walks in what appears to be a walkable street. Research on social profiles and norms applied can help understanding why.

THE GREATER JOHANNESBURG: Back to the Streets?

"I never walk in Jo'burg, unless I'm armed", **D. 55, whom we met in Montecasino.**

There are **numerous challenges** that impede the development of the South African pedestrian streets: urban (car-dependent model of city[1]; urban sprawl), social (criminality and fear), historical (apartheid and spatial segregation), legal (notion of ownership). As a consequence, street planning has been unappreciated for a long time. It now appears that only "those who can't afford a car" walk in the streets. A majority of Johannesburg's streets are now considered either "empty" or "dangerous".

Times have changed.

Raising consciousness about the following **issues** leads to a new positive mindset about the streets:

- **pollution, traffic congestion:** they are catalysts for the drive towards soft transport systems, increasing the interest in pedestrian planning. Cars lead to visual and noise pollution. Moreover, the high rate of deadly accidents involving pedestrians underlines the inadequate infrastructure for this category of street users[2].
- **social demand** for walkable spaces:
  - *From the "Jo'burgers"*: frustration about the lack of basic pedestrian amenities (cf. Case study III. The Township Street), about the indoor mall culture (cf. Case study I. The Private Street - Melrose Arch). The quality of pedestrian spaces is a rising priority in a "*post-post-apartheid*" context.
  - *From the foreigners:* South Africa attracts an increasing number of residents from abroad, including people from Europe, who have specific standards in terms of pedestrian spaces.
  - *From the young people:* Those who can't drive/don't have access to a car, but enjoy the social opportunities offered by public spaces including the streets.

A renewed interest in Johannesburg pedestrian planning.

The recent urban projects in Johannesburg seem to illustrate an apparent renewed interest in pedestrian planning. From Melrose Arch to Main Street Mall (Johannesburg inner-city), the private- and public-led urban projects in Johannesburg tend to invest into the "street life" development:

> (i) The **City of Jo'burg**'s recent urban policies reveal this willingness to develop and promote pedestrian urban forms (cf. SDF[3] promoting the Non-Motorised Transport and Transit Oriented Development; the 8-to-80 cities programme[4]; or the recent declarations of Mayor Parks Tau[5] and MMC Rehana Moosajee[6]). Moreover, events such as the Transport Month[7] contribute to raise consciousness about the walkability of the city. According to Sharon Lewis, executive manager for planning and strategy at the JDA, a clear shift in the planning mentalities at the level of the City Planning Department occurred 5 years ago. Both the imperatives of reshaping the space economy of the city and promoting a sustainable city in terms of energy-use led to a transit-oriented development. The 2010 World Cup also played an important role in furthering and accelerating the shift of policies.

The **Johannesburg Development Agency** (JDA) is a major stakeholder in the inner-city pedestrian planning: "*An integral part of the JDA's vision for Johannesburg's core is that it should be a 24-hour city that is vibrant, walkable and central to the metropolis's cultural life*". As reminded by Sharon Lewis: "*From the beginning, improving the pedestrian environment has been a focus for the JDA*". JDA's strategy is "*to create a pedestrian-friendly and walkable urban environment through the establishment of a network of public spaces*"[8]. In 2010 the JDA published a major study: the "*Johannesburg Inner City Traffic & Transportation Study*".

Other South African municipalities, such as Cape Town[9], also showed their willingness to create more walkable spaces.

The vision is here: the political involvement concerning the importance of pedestrian spaces is visible and audible; and a lot of projects and initiatives seem to be underway. What are the challenges to the implementation of such projects?

(ii) The **private sector** also appears to be increasingly involved in the creation of pedestrian spaces. According to Eric Itzkin, Head of Heritage at the City of Johannesburg, some private developments actually even encouraged the city to launch determined policies. For example, the refurbishment of Gandhi Square had an impact on the last 10 years of policies of the city. Private-public partnerships also contribute to the making of pedestrian spaces. Private developments or managements create a new dynamic in terms of the offer of specific walkable spaces: Main Street Mall (Johannesburg inner city), Montecasino, Melrose Arch. The latest's branding is that "*life pulsates on the streets once again*"[10]... What is the social profile of the people attracted to these spaces and what are the streets being used for? To what demands are they answering and what needs are they creating? What are the benefits and limits on the long-term perspective? Are these spaces really *open* to other uses, other profiles and other surrounding spaces?

(iii) The **culture and arts sector** also plays a role in questioning the uses and perceptions about the streets. Street spaces and pedestrian experiences inspire multiple artists via plastic work (eg: Marcus Neustetter and Stephen Hobbs), experimental (eg: Vaughn Sadie) or dramatic representations. These are only a few of the works that question our experiences of the city as pedestrians. Moreover, the development of tourism initiatives such as street tours and sightseeing buses reveals the renewed interest for discovering areas that have been avoided for a long time by some of the population.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What typology can result from the study of the different pedestrian areas in the Greater Johannesburg area in terms of social profile, street uses, as well as implicit or explicit norms and rules?
- Is the pedestrian- and street-focused development of new planning policies and projects in the Greater Johannesburg area representative of a renewed need for walkable streets? Have the recent social, political and cultural changes been catalysts for this need? If so, from whom and for what model of street?

The main aim of this exploratory research was to define a typology (via the drawing up of models and patterns) of the different pedestrian practices in the Greater Johannesburg area, based on an academic and empiric analysis of socio-spatial dynamics.

HYPOTHESIS

Two hypotheses were formulated prior to the research:

i. The demand and habits in the use of pedestrian spaces are highly disparate amongst street users, thus introducing a high level of heterogeneity between the different street models observed. This brings about challenges for the future in respect of the development of integrated and mixed pedestrian spaces.

ii. The recent changes in urban policies, as well as new developments and projects headed by both the public and the private sectors, are indicative of a renewed social demand for pedestrian spaces. These seem both to have responded to the demands and also appear to have created them.

RESEARCH METHOD

The site visits and surveys aimed at finding possible answers to the questions:

- Who is using these pedestrian spaces? When? Where? How?
- Who is excluded, implicitly or practically (limited access for disabled, mothers, young people, etc)?
- Can this be explained by rules and codes which differ greatly between these areas?

1. Site visits

After identification of main street models (cf. below – Introduction - Case studies), site visits were conducted for every district, based on observation of the urban environment, of the flow of pedestrians and their visual social types (cf. Introduction – Social Survey - Counting tool). Some of the streets were visited during the week and the weekends, in order to reveal differences in terms of population of the areas and frequency of visits to them.

2. Social surveys

Two main tools were used for the social surveys:

- ***Tool n°1: Questionnaire***

A research approach based on direct interviews with a random selection of people in the streets has been adopted:

- *Quantitative* part of the questionnaire was necessary in order to collect information to draw up the socio-demographic profile of the pedestrians: demographic data (age, gender); residential district; occupation.
- *Qualitative* part regarding the pedestrians' experience of the place. Analysis of the type of pedestrian mobility, their motivation and how they intended to use the area (leisure walking, jogging, wandering, shopping, begging, etc). Questions about the frequency of visits to the district; attention was given to whether they chose to walk in the area or whether it was compulsory that they walk in the streets (eg: no access to private transport). It provides information on the profile of the street users (worker, tourist, stroller, consumer, etc), their habits and needs. The questionnaire is also useful to identify what aspects of the area are deemed to be positive or negative by the pedestrian.

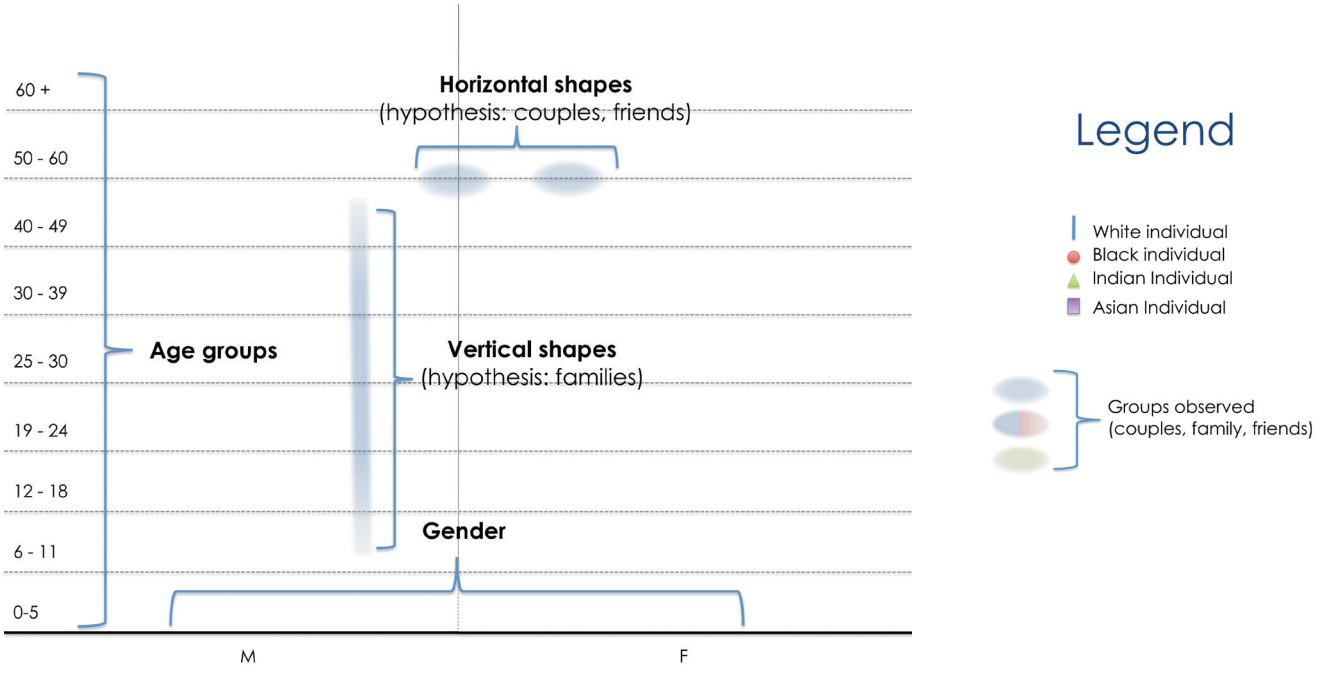
A more general advantage of the questionnaire approach is that it creates awareness among the population about their own pedestrian practices.

- ***Tool n°2: Counting tool***

CF. ANNEXURE I. TOOLS

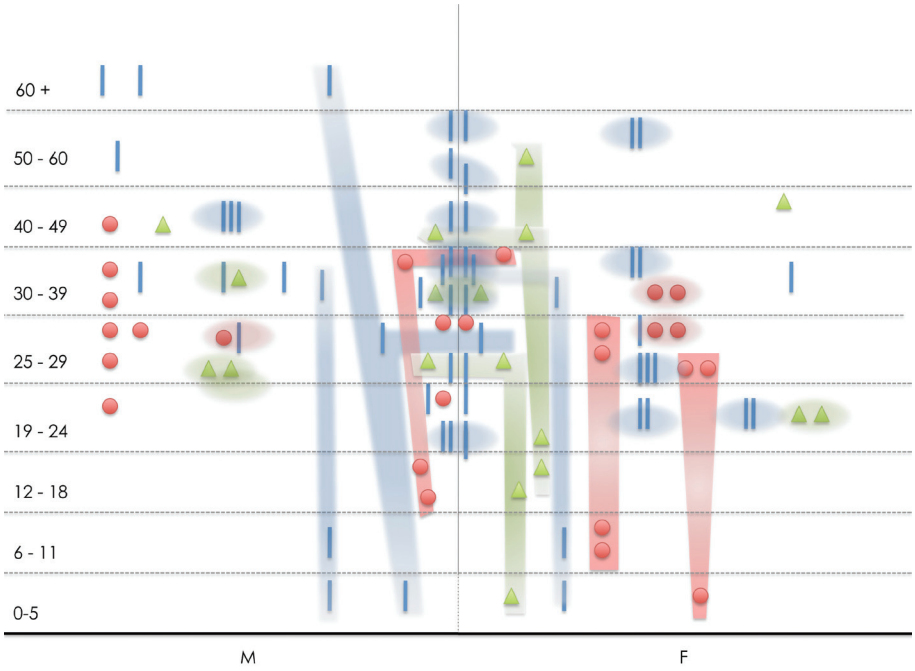
An innovative tool has been invented and used for this research. It is based on the manual counting which has been conducted in each area studied, generally at different times of the week (weekdays and weekends). The tool aims at providing an overview of the visible social profile of the pedestrian population studied: gender, age and race. The race element was included because of the relevance of a study about visible racial diversity in a post-apartheid context.

The graphic reads as follows:



Example: In the case of Melrose Arch, the graphic easily provides the following information:

- *Numerous vertical forms: a strong family frequentation.*
- *Diverse colours: a quite racially diverse population.*
- *Spread of points between the two sides: a notable gender balance.*
- *A concentration of the points corresponding to the 25-39 age groups.*



The short period of time of the research did not allow us to conduct a more detailed population survey on a larger number of pedestrians. In addition, these "social snapshots" (for they are based on counting pedestrians on very specific days and at certain times) don't aim at being perfectly representative. The results obtained nevertheless underline some critical dynamics, which would be interesting to continue investigating during further research.

The "foreign factor"

With me being French and, therefore, a foreigner in South Africa turned out to be quite helpful for the survey process. Not being from Johannesburg provided me with the asset of appearing "neutral". This appeared to be very useful when getting perspectives from the people interviewed. I was once told: "I can tell you, because you are not South African...". Interviewees tended also to provide more details about the area studied, as if I was new in the country, thus sharing easily their perspectives about the city.

3. Academic research

An academic research (South-African and international literature) has been conducted on the following themes:

- History of Johannesburg;
- Urban planning in Johannesburg and specific urban forms - malls, gated communities;
- Costs and benefits of pedestrian spaces;
- Policies to develop pedestrian spaces;
- Sociological impacts of pedestrian spaces;
- Philosophy of walking.

CF. BIBLIOGRAPHY

4. Special interviews

The street analysis is largely based on the results of interviews with random pedestrians encountered in the areas studied. A few interviews with key stakeholders in the districts concerned were also conducted:

City of Johannesburg:

- Eric Itzkin, Head of Heritage at the City of Johannesburg;
- Peter Ahmad, Department of Development Planning and Urban Management.

Johannesburg Development Agency:

- Sharon Lewis, Executive Manager of the Planning and the Strategy.

Residents associations:

- Parkview Resident Association; Steve Lenahan, Chairman;
- Parkhurst Village Resident association: Cheryl Labuschagne, Chairwoman;

Melrose Arch:

- Graham Wilson, Osmond Lange Architects and Planners

Rosebank:

- Barbara Perry, Marketing Division of the Zone.

Inner city:

- Jo Buitendach, CEO of PAST Experiences, inner-city tour company.

Alexandra:

- Mabel Dikobe, Association Mveledzo.

SECTION 3

CASE STUDIES

Urban types and social profiles of pedestrian spaces in the Greater Johannesburg area

In order to conduct an analysis of the different street types and the social profiles of pedestrians in the Greater Johannesburg area, a typology based on social and urban analysis has been defined: this research focuses on **6 models** of the different street types identified in the Greater Johannesburg area.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE CHOICE OF THE DISTRICTS

The idea was to identify the main walking areas in the Greater Johannesburg area, from the gated to the ghetto, from the suburbs to the inner city, from the residential districts to the "open" malls.

Specific areas were identified on the basis of:

- intensity of the pedestrian activity;
- and/or involvement of the urban planning environment in favour of pedestrian use of the space.

Each case study generally focuses on one particular street (case study for Parkhurst, or Main Street mall in the inner city). Some comparative examples have been used for a few street models (eg: Rosebank for Melrose Arch; Diepsloot for Alexandra). The direct urban environment has always been taken into account in the analysis.

Due to the short-term period of the research, a drastic selection of the districts had to be made. This research did not focus on "walking areas" relevant for the topic but which had already largely been studied (eg: Fordsburg, Yeoville, Maboneng Precinct), nor on the closed mall type (eg: Sandton City mall). The initial aim was to conduct a research on open, outdoor pedestrian spaces.

Additional information about the research method and data findings is given in the annexures.

TABLE 1. Presentation of the different street models

Private Street	Village Main Street	Inner City Street	Township Street	Fake Street
				
				
• Privately owned and managed urban space • Mall dimension • Mixed-use environment	• Concentration of restaurants, bars, cafés, shops in a single street located in residential areas • Sense of community • Social amenities (parks, public libraries…)	• Located in the inner city • Proximity with offices, shops, businesses, transport • Informality and control	• Un-walkability of the streets • High walking densities • Large pedestrian population	• Themed street "décor" • Privately owned • Entertainment and gambling
From Medieval town to urban antidote	Sharing and managing the street	Control, norms and transgression	Informality, survival and conflicts	Fantasy world

I. "THE PRIVATE STREET"

Case Study: Melrose Arch

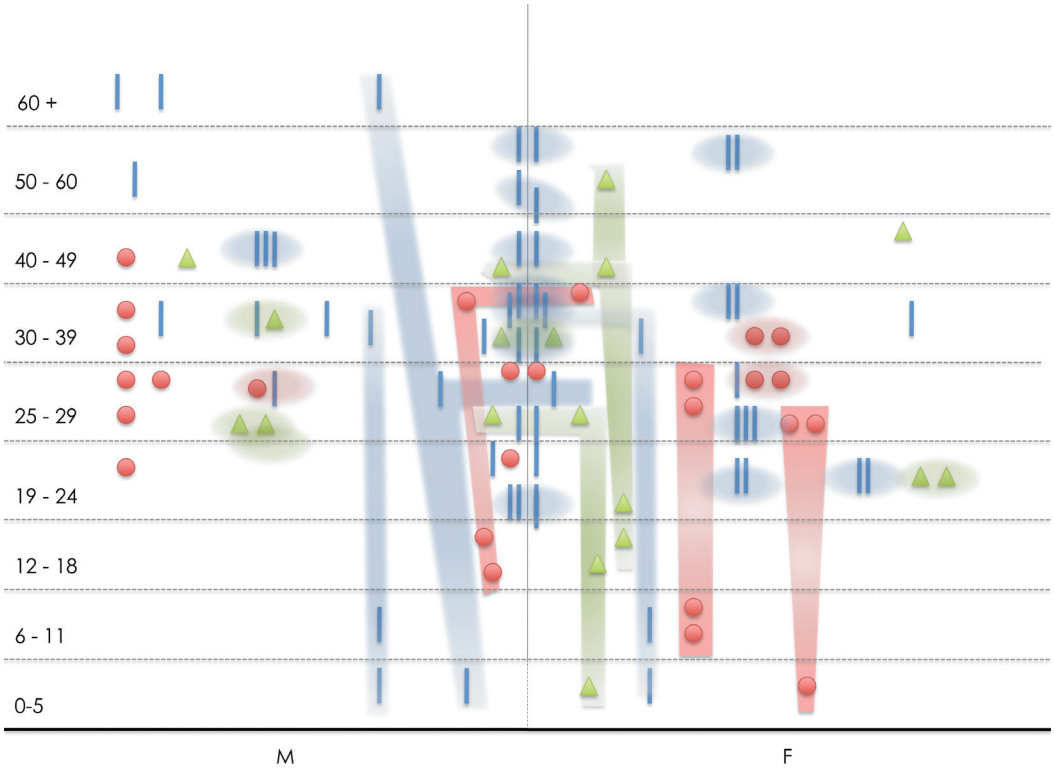
Comparative example: Rosebank

Model characteristics:

- Privately owned and managed urban space
- Mall dimension
- Mixed-use environment

Cf. Annexure II. Research information – Melrose Arch

"Pedestrians social snapshot" based on site visit counting:



CASE STUDY: MELROSE ARCH

The mixed-use development "Melrose Arch" established in 2001 is very often mentioned as one of the main walkable areas of Johannesburg. In the spirit of New Urbanism (or "good urbanism", as its architect Graham Wilson prefers to call it), this 200,000 square metres of mixed-use development includes offices, shops, restaurants, hotels, a gym, residential units in a quality environment, 2 "piazzas" and a pedestrian-only area. Melrose Arch is a "pedestrian haven"11 where the "right of admission is reserved"...

A private development

The Mines Pension Fund is at the origin of the project, which was initially supposed to be an office development with a few retail spaces. The aim of the Fund was to "control a node" in order not to lose any tenants, as explained by one of the architects of Melrose Arch, Graham Wilson[12]. Residential spaces were only integrated into the plans in 1995, under pressure from the City Council following the national policy of housing delivery. The Melrose Arch development was initially conceived to answer to the needs of the office workers: retail spaces, restaurants and amenities such as a gym and a crèche.

The fact that a Pension Fund was leading the project had an impact in terms of urban planning: its main objective was to keep the *value* of its investment. This was ensured from the beginning thanks to the high capacity of control of the space and a long-term development perspective (a walkable urban environment was considered as sustainable). The estate agents and property owners in Melrose Arch have considerable influence in terms of decision making, which impacts on the urban environment[13]. Now the "*boring piece of land close to the highway*"[14] has turned into an exclusive development with some of the highest rentals in South Africa.

Power of the image

The interviews conducted and the field study regarding pedestrian practices reveal an **interesting tension between the "image" and the "identity" of the space**. The pedestrian streets hide a huge basement parking; the public spaces are actually selective and the whole is described as "*private pretending to be public*"[15]. Interestingly, the interviews underline this omnipresence of the themes of appearance in the pedestrian speeches. Melrose Arch pedestrians "act as if" they are part of what appears to be the "upper class crowd". Thus "*the image of Melrose Arch is* very high [sic]*, as emphasis has been placed on the creation of an efficient and convenient urban lifestyle within a safe and attractive public environment*"[16].

"*The change (...) is palpable*", Melrose Arch.

Melrose Arch offers an urban environment that has never been seen anywhere else in Johannesburg. In this regard it most probably triggers a change in the perception of the urban life by some of the Johannesburg residents: a more walkable, more integrated, denser space has turned to reality.

Melrose Arch is a "spectacle" (from the Latin word *spectare*, which means "looking at") in itself: "*Melrose Arch* invites *you into a sophisticated 21st century environment*"[17]; its "*vibrant* atmosphere" is "*simply* out of this world". It is a perfect "decor" for the pedestrians, who have the leading role, to act on its "open air *stage*"[18] and watch the passing parade. The visual dimension is omnipresent, whether you are "looking at"- the stores, the architecture, the people - or "showing off". But Melrose Arch is also "watching out" for its territory and "keeping an eye" on the visitors: the access is controlled and the surveillance is everywhere.

AN OUTDOOR MALL?

"The world's most exclusive brands are available at Melrose Arch and here you will see the most beautiful people, walking down the passageways and sidewalks with designer label shopping bags stuffed to the brink", **Gerald Garner**[19].

Pedestrians of the Arch: a consumer profile

The interviews reveal that Melrose Arch is distinctly identified as a space for consuming, shopping, spending. To the question "*why are you here today*?", 75% of the interviewees declared it was for shopping reasons.

A "wealthy" type of people. Interestingly enough, to the open question: "*What type of people come here?",* nearly all the answers are given in terms of income: "*Rich*", "*wealthy*", "*high income*", "*higher class people come here*". One interviewee cynically added: "*People who are wealthy – or who are trying to get wealthy…".* However, the majority of the interviewees, particularly those met during the weekends, don't describe themselves as wealthy. It is sometimes revealed in their paradoxical answers: "*I think only rich people come here, because it is very expensive*". A lot of the interviews conducted reveal that the people spend more time than money at Melrose Arch. An elegant lady once stopped me while walking on one of the Melrose Arch streets. She discreetly asked me if I had some money, or a job, for her. When I asked her why she was asking the people here in particular, she answered: "*I know the people are rich here. I could get a better pay*." Melrose Arch has managed successfully to create an "*upper class identity*" for itself. This is confirmed by use of the words "*high in*"" district contained in nearly all the answers from interviewees.

"*Sandtoverdose*". When interviewed about where else in Johannesburg they walk, Melrose Arch pedestrians often mention other malls: Rosebank, for example. It is often in comparison with the other "closed" malls that people justify their presence in Melrose Arch: "*I am here today because Sandton is crowded and it is indoors. It's painful to shop in Sandton*". These sisters in their 30's from Midrand directly justify their presence not by positive aspects of what Melrose Arch is – and how it should be attractive for its own qualities - but in a "negative" comparison to other malls. The same thing for a young mother who explained she was at Melrose Arch because she thought "s*hopping would be* quieter *than in Norwood Mall, where I usually go".* Melrose Arch, is in this case, considered to be a sort of "*upgraded, open*" mall, perfect for "*outdoor shopping*".

The mall identity is overwhelming in a consumption-oriented environment. Melrose Arch has succeeded in creating a space which satisfies the demands of a part of the population tired of closed mall shopping. It has proved the possibility of a city life with "public spaces" (or seemingly public spaces), where walking is safe and streets are not dominated by cars. This can help people to become aware of their urban lifestyles and can impact on their demands for similar spaces.

AESTHETIC OR EXPERIENCE OF THE STREET?

"At Melrose Arch even the streets appear polished", Gerald Garner20.

The environment is an essential part of the success of the development: the streets were developed at the same stage as the buildings; the urban environment was already adapted to the surrounding buildings. The arrival of the pedestrians was the final touch of an already perfect picture, raising the question of "who" is going to come, walk and live in this already built environment. The initial strategy of developing the space as a whole, closed environment raises questions in terms of linkages and integration.

A "high standard" pedestrian environment

Melrose Arch is referred to as a "*pedestrian haven*"[21] for good reason. It has a well thought-out pedestrianised system, traffic regulated by the entrance gates and road planning, safe intersections with robots

and zebra crossings, excellent quality of the sidewalks, as well as a good physical and cognitive (district map boards) infrastructure. As mentioned by the Regional Spatial Development Framework: "*The interface between the buildings and streets is good with tree-lined boulevards, public squares, street-front shops and street cafes. The legibility around the central boulevard with public squares is of a high standard*". The urban environment is of a "*quality not encountered in this region for ages*"[22].

The environment is generally appreciated by the population as was evidenced in the interviews: "*It is lovely*", "*it is a nice area*". Simple enjoyment of the place was sometimes mentioned as a reason for being there: "*I'm here because it is a very nice place*"; "*I'm here because it's a nice day*". This revealed that the fact they could enjoy the open air was the only reason to stroll in this area. The open air is then a decisive attractive aspect of the environment as interviewees often mention the "*fresh air*", the "*outdoors*" environment, etc.

The only negative aspect mentioned by pedestrians interviewed is paradoxically related to the parking. According to some of the interviewees, there weren't enough free parking bays on the ground level.

An accessible node

The accessibility of Melrose Arch is often mentioned as another reason why the people flock there. This is thanks to its good positioning with regard to transport (Gautrain buses, proximity to the M1 highway). High visibility is also useful – for example the eastern façade is visible for thousands of drivers on the M1 highway to see every day. Moreover, the place is often located between the workplace and the home of some of the interviewees. It was also considered as a stopping point on the way to the airport by a group of young people. 36% of the interviewees directly stated that they were there because of accessibility reasons. At last, a significant part of the interviewees (27%) come from the adjacent districts (like Melrose).

European inspiration, African influence

"Alfresco style", "café culture" - the marketing of Melrose Arch is directly referencing to the European street culture. As presented by Gerald Garner, "*Continental Europe has come to Johannesburg in the form of Melrose Arch*". European architecture has indeed had a strong influence on Melrose Arch from conception, as explained by the architect Graham Wilson, whilst mentioning the architects' missions in Paris, Berlin, and London. "*Its architectural styles form an eclectic assortment of borrowed images – Hundertwasser drawings, Buenos Aires modernism, Postdamer Platz-tableaux that style consumption with elegance and sophistication by alluding to imaginary elsewheres*"[23]. A certain African touch is also perceivable in the decor of Melrose Arch. "*Pan African names, with black-consciousness township jazzy beat architecture to suggest modern African chic*"[24].

"*There is what Leon Krige calls "*strongly unified street language*"; street lines of boundary buildings that respond in an Edwardian way to corners and intersections. There is uniform street furniture in a 18C manner: bollards, light standards, the equivalent of cobbled streets, oval street sign – The High Street, the Crescent and even a Parisian boulevard*", all of this leading to an impression of "*a certain amount of contrived urban chaos*"[25].

If the aesthetic of the place is finely designed, it is worth mentioning that some of the basic community services are not offered here. In spite of its "integrated and mixed-use" outlook, it actually lacks basic elements of city life such as green spaces, openness in terms of people profiles, services, etc.

The defined and precise image of Melrose Arch has an unquestionable power of attraction. A success proven by the high or regular visit frequency of those interviewed. Most of them had been visiting the area "since Melrose Arch has been opened". The high visiting frequency rate is also due to the fact that a consequent number of people interviewed live close by. However, all who were in this situation still preferred to use

their cars to go to Melrose Arch, thus indicating there is no continuous, easy or attractive pedestrian path between the node and its surroundings.

Modern or Medieval mini-ville?

We have mentioned before the strong image of "exclusivity" prevailing in the words of the interviewees ("High Standard", "upper class", etc). However, there is a fine line between being "exclusive" and "excluding". Under its very modern aspects, the precinct seems to follow the Medieval town model in many ways. It is walled, it is under surveillance and its "arches", such as those of a Medieval town, control the flow for economy during the day and are ready to be closed at the first sight of an "assailant".

"Right of admission reserved"

The panels "*You are entering into a private property – The right of admission is reserved"* welcome visitors at the entrance of the complex.

"Security is our top priority" [26]

The Melrose Arch environment is highly secured, with cameras positioned at every street corner and guards patrolling on foot. The precinct promotes its "*marvellous sense of space, freedom and personal safety"*[27]. To this end, there is access control at the 3 entrance gates. "*There is no arch at the entrance of Melrose Arch; only a security barrier to what turns out to be another gated community in a protection zone*"[28]. As in the medieval city, most of the gates are closed at night. The analogy with the medieval city model is also evident from one of its private gardens overlooking the highway, just like a medieval castle would be located on the highest point of a hill. What looks like a gigantic "castle wall" constitutes the eastern boundary of the development, visible from the highway. The Sandspruit, like a moat, represents an additional physical barrier to accessing Melrose Arch.

But if the other function of the medieval city gate is to be closed to protect inhabitants from the assailants and invaders, the interviews with the security guards seemed to prove that Melrose Arch's strategy was the opposite. "*If there is a robbery, we will close the gates and the criminals will be locked inside of the area*!", explained one of the guards at the entrance.

Can everyone pass through the arch? A revealing test

I enquired, without success, about the specific rules which allowed the "right of admission" mentioned on the panels. Who has the right to enter Melrose Arch? Are some people denied access to Melrose Arch only because of the way they look?

To find the answer, I decided to carry out an experiment. J. is a 25 year old man whom I greet almost every day at the crossroads close to my home – he sells diverse things to motorists. He agreed to try and enter through one of the gates of Melrose Arch. We carried out th t e test at lunchtime, on a weekday. J. was dressed with clean short pants, shirt and a cap. He did not look like a businessman nor a trendy young man. I was parked inside Melrose Arch to observe the scene. As expected, the guards stopped him at the entrance. J. explained to me later that the guards asked him: "*What do you want?*" ("*o nyaka eeng*", in Setswana). He answered he was looking for the Pick and Pay. "*There is no Pick and Pay in here*", they apparently replied. They eventually let him in, but he was *watched* so that, if he was to do anything wrong, he could be "locked into" the gated city (cf "Security is our top priority" paragraph above).

I'm not sure whether definitive conclusions can be drawn from this incident. Nevertheless, it strongly reveals that the gate has a "discouraging" aspect, making it uninviting for some pedestrians to pass through it. It is also acts as a filter for those who don't "*look*" like the typical consumer as profiled previously (see point above: "an outdoor mall"). It is also evident that the control exerted by management of a privately owned space, is extremely different to the controls in place in an open, public street where everyone would be *allowed* to walk.

An Exclusive Island?

"*The development does not fully interact [with], or embrace, the surrounding area - i.e. [it] focuses in on itself*". As raised by this document of the City of Johannesburg[29], many aspects tend to describe Melrose Arch as totally independent from its direct environment. The description of "*A Precinct Integrated Engineering Centre overseeing access control, air-conditioning, landscaping, etc. on a 24-hour basis privately manages the Melrose Arch development as a single entity*" strangely evokes an image of an overseeing power that would entirely "rule" the precinct, just like the medieval citadel overlooks its enclosed territory. In terms of pedestrian planning, it means that Melrose Arch is a *destination* above all.

CONCLUSION – MELROSE ARCH

"I also go to Melrose Arch, because it is safer than in the streets", **J., 55, interviewed at Montecasino.**

Melrose Arch is an enjoyable space from a pedestrian point of view: high walkability, unfailing safety and perfect cleanliness. The exclusivity characteristic which is strongly promoted in the marketing of Melrose Arch and largely assimilated by its pedestrians, as proved by the interviews, contribute to the success of the development. The project is one of the first attempts to create a mixed-use, integrated, pedestrian-focused programme in Johannesburg. In this sense, it plays a major role in changing the paradigm on street practices.

Nevertheless, strong norms apply in this space. Melrose Arch is an "exclusive" space, in every sense of the word. Not everybody is "invited"[30] to the Arch. The "right of admission" is reserved, preferably for those whose dress code is "business" or "customer" labelled. Those who are – or, more importantly, who look – "upper" and "high" (class / income / profile).

COMPARATIVE EXAMPLE: ROSEBANK

"A thriving and successful urban street life", **The Zone of Rosebank[31].**

The Mall of Rosebank is an interesting comparative example of the "private street" model, and is complementary to the Melrose Arch case study.

"Vibey urban feel and mix of old-world character with cutting-edge cosmopolitan". This is how the 2008 Precinct Plan describes the Rosebank district, also presented as one of the "most sought-after business hubs in the country". The former Rosemill Orchards farm gave way to a 35,000 square metre Mall, established in 1976. Funnily enough, the Rosebank precinct mall document published a picture of Melrose Arch as an illustration for its "Objectives, Principles and Standards" chapter, which contributes to underlining the proximity between the two precincts.

The following common points with the Melrose Arch district were identified:

An open mall

The Zone mall's slogan "*brand yourself*" underlines the straightforward commercial identity of the area. According to the Marketing Department of The Zone, it will be replaced in 2012 by the slogan: "*Be the centre of attention*". This slogan plays on the word "centre", referring to both a "shopping centre" and an "individualistic" perception. As in Melrose Arch, the pedestrian of Rosebank is a consumer above all.

A highly walkable district, a finely-worked and quality environment

Rosebank is a highly walkable district. The City of Jo'burg's Rosebank precinct document assesses that "*the node has a distinct image, identity and sense of place due to the strong pedestrian character of the central area*". A City Improvement District has been established for the area: "*Rosebank is outdoors and pedestrian friendly. Due to its compact size, visitors, residents and employees are able to walk the area, enjoying the outdoor atmosphere, en route to their destination.*"[32].

Relevant to the city's involvement in the creation of more pedestrian spaces, the Precinct Plan 2008 is willing to enforce this value. It emphasises that "*the node needs improved pedestrian links. The current pedestrian environments need upgrading*". It therefore stipulates that "*Design for pedestrian walkways, sidewalks, and their interface with roads and the surrounding built environment must prioritise pedestrian safety, comfort and convenience. Wide paths for pedestrians are a non-negotiable*".

Urban furniture abounds: benches, fountains and public art contribute to the aesthetic quality and comfort of the space. Moreover, as in Melrose Arch, it is stipulated that the environment should not create "anxiety", as mentioned by the design guidelines for pedestrian walkways. They suggest that "*High walls and fences should not dominate streets*" and that "*safe routes through natural surveillance*" should be developed.

Also, street animation has been provided since October 2011 with saxophonists, fire dancers and jugglers entertaining consumers. These entertainers contribute to the atmosphere and the vibrancy of the place, as explained by the Marketing Manager of The Zone of Rosebank.

Integrated and open?

When asked about the community development of the area, a person responsible for The Zone answers: "*We do community development by allowing the buskers to perform here… We provide them with a black shirt so they can look better*".

Just as in Melrose Arch, the "image", "aesthetics" and "appearance" of the environment is essential and strictly under control. I experienced it in a way when a security guard stopped me as I was taking a picture of the information centre. He asked me either to delete the picture or ask Management for permission to keep it.

CONCLUSION ON THE PRIVATE STREET MODEL – AESTHETIC AND ORDER

The pedestrian design is cautiously elaborated in Melrose Arch as it is in the Rosebank Mall. The whole environment, in its smallest details, is finely controlled to provide the "best street experience": a convenient, safe, enjoyable pedestrian area. But for whom? The commercial purpose of these areas, which are privately owned and managed, is clearly stated and marketed. The pedestrians are to *enjoy* the quality environment and *take action* through their consumer behaviour. In one way or another, a selection is made about who should be allowed to enjoy these spaces, because the public is part of the aesthetics of the environment. This implies that those whose profile or behaviour differs from the "typical consumer type" can expect to be denied access to the space, or at least be kept under serious surveillance by security personnel.

II. "THE VILLAGE MAIN STREET"

Case Study: Parkhurst – 4th Avenue

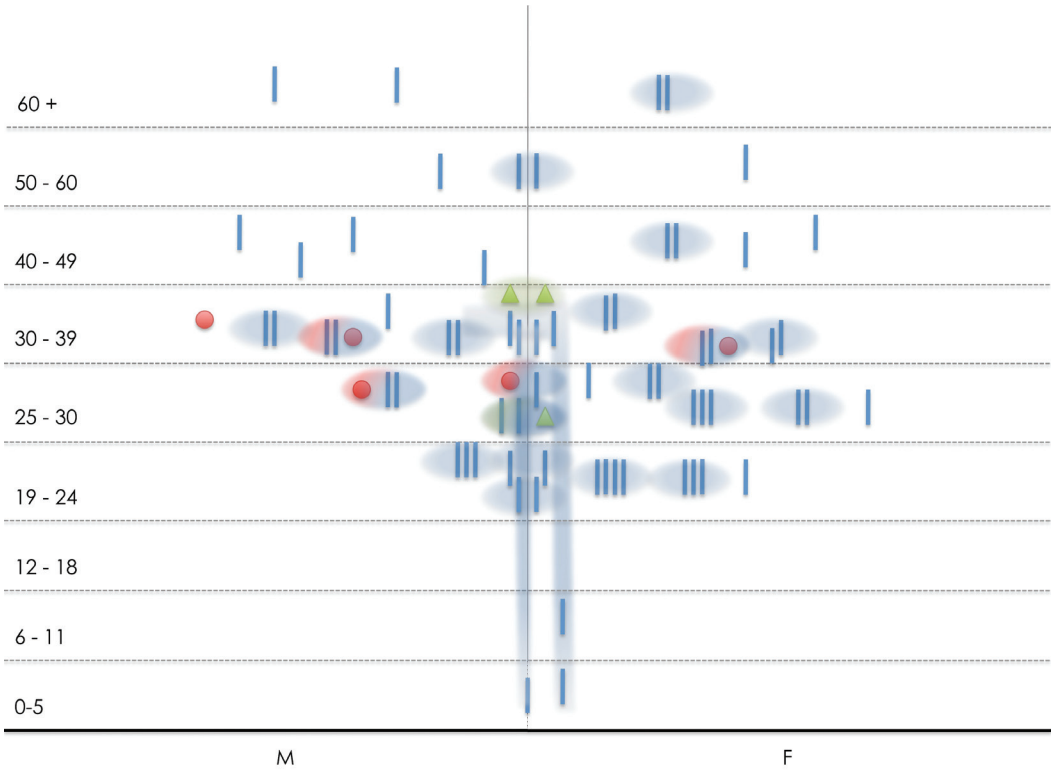
Comparative example: Parkview – Tyrone Avenue

Model characteristics:

- concentration of restaurants, bars, cafés, shops in a single street located in residential areas
- sense of community
- social amenities (parks, public libraries, etc)

Cf. Annexure II. Research information – Parkhurst

"Pedestrians social snapshot" based on site counting:



CASE STUDY: PARKHURST – 4TH AVENUE

"Here you can stroll along the sidewalks and window-browse or enjoy a coffee while engaging in people-watching", **Gerald Garner**[33].

"The trendiest of Jo'burg's villages"[34]

4th Avenue in Parkhurst is often referred to by Northern Jo'burgers as a place enjoyable for its cafés, restaurants and animated street life. The "village" of Parkhurst has, indeed, changed dramatically since it was established in 1904. Its "Main Street", 4th Avenue, is now more renowned for its trendy cafés and restaurants than for its antique shops. According to the residents, the number of retail places began to increase 10 years ago with - in particular – a burgeoning of cafés and restaurants. In a nutshell, Parkhurst is now praised for its "*vibrant European sidewalk cafe culture with some of the best restaurants in Jo'burg*"[35].

This evolution has had multiple consequences on the neighbourhood. First of all the property values have increased considerably in this quite dense[36] residential area of 162,3 hectares, counting "*over 2,200 plots each typically occupying an area of about 500m²*"[37]. New challenges have also appeared: increasing noise pollution, problematic traffic and competing interests, to name a few. These issues have been raised by the residents and taken into account in the recent Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF). The document underlines the "*distinct character*" of Parkhurst, which is "*regarded as a pedestrian-friendly environment*"; and aims at "*enhancing the character of Parkhurst*" by "*promoting (its) pedestrian friendly nature*" and by "*providing pedestrian linkages across Parkhurst*". Parkhurst is also currently working on its Precinct Plan (to be delivered in 2012) and is involving the community in the conception of the plan.

Active Resident Associations: key stakeholders of the "village street model"

The Parkhurst Village Resident Association (PVRA) describes itself as "the volunteer elected representative body of the residents of Parkhurst. The PVRA also represents the 4th tier of government - acting as the link between the residents and the various authorities that run the city and the country". Residents are encouraged to "play an active role in moulding the suburb and managing changes that affect our lives".

The PVRA recently worked on its branding in order to be more representative of the Parkhurst residents. The new logo of the Association aims to be more modern and underlines the heritage of the district ("established 1904").

High street, high value

The value of the street and street life are particularly appreciated in these pedestrian-friendly areas. The street is an essential part of the identity of the *neighbourhood*. The word neighbourhood is meaningful: according to the Oxford dictionary, "neighbourhood" refers to the "*district or community within a town or city*". This definition emphasizes the link between the "place" and the "people". The high value of 4th Avenue (born from an economic dynamic and a social interest for this space) impacts on the property values, on the way of life of the residents (notions of village and community) and on the safety of the area. The street is, in many way, considered to be a stake around which is linked different interests and necessities such as sharing, managing, protecting, upgrading. The plurality of the stakeholders makes the challenge even more difficult. It is then with a "*united we stand, divided we fall*" spirit that the community associations – particularly the residents associations - tend to reinforce their position and are involved in the management of the area, sometimes to a surprisingly large degree.

The interviews (week days and weekends) and site visits conducted on 4th Avenue underline interesting dynamics in terms of the diversity of social profiles of the pedestrians encountered the area. A strong differentiation between week days and weekend has been observed. **"Sharing the Street"** thus represents a first issue revealed by the case study. Moreover, interviews conducted with the PVRA also provided interesting inputs in terms of governance of the area and challenges regarding pedestrian development. **"Upgrading the street"** is then the second stake that has been identified.

"Sharing the Street"

Research underlined an interesting dynamic between two of Parkhurst's pedestrian profiles: the "resident" and the "visitor".

The Residents: An "eclectic neighbourhood" for a "place of choice"...[38]

"A suburb for the newlywed and the nearly dead" is a famous way of describing Parkhurst amongst its residents. According to Cheryl Labuschagne, chairman of the PVRA, Parkhurst's resident population is very much like "*Yuppies, couples – including gay couples, with an international component*". The international component does have relevance in terms of liveliness of the area. According to Cheryl, some of the Parkhurst residents formerly lived abroad for a long time and "*the way they think about space has changed*". This is one of the reasons why they enjoy Parkhurst walkability and contribute so actively to the pedestrian dynamic of the neighbourhood. A survey was conducted by the PVRA in order to draw up a social profile of the Parkhurst community: 89% of the residents describe themselves as "*progressive*" and only 11% as "*conventional*". "*Warm*", "*unorthodox*", "*rounded*" were the most quoted adjectives to describe this neighbourhood which, in a nutshell, identifies itself as: **"*A village community*" and a "*place of choice*".**

The proximity of neighbours, their common interests and the sense of community are emphasised by the PVRA which describes a **"Real Village Community"**[39]: "*We are neighbours who know each others' names and greet each other while having breakfast at the local coffee shop on Saturday mornings. Our children play in the streets and local park and we LOVE our dogs"*. The notion of community implies that something is "common". In the case of Parkhurst, the residents share - or would like to share - more than a common address: values and interests, as revealed during one of the meeting of PVRA. The importance of "common values" was underlined during this meeting at which approximately 50 residents gathered[40]. Proximity is considered as cement for the village community. Emphasis was placed on the importance of knowing one's neighbour and establishing links with the other "communities" of Parkhurst. One member of the PVRA pointed out: "*The problem in Parkhurst is that we have 4-5 different communities* [residents, business, visitors, domestic workers] *with nothing to share. We have no idea who they are! We have to start forging links with the others*".

The residents of Parkhurst are aware of the value of "their" 4th Avenue, one of the most popular streets of Johannesburg. The fact that 4th Avenue is a walking, and walkable, street is a rare quality and is appreciated in these residential environments. The residents know how much this impacts positively on their property values; as it does on their way of life. It might be an explanation as to why they are trying to preserve it or to create a "sense of community", enhanced by common values and interests.

The Visitors: Sundown Beer, Sunday Brunch.

Interestingly, the concerns of proximity and common interests which characterise the Parkhurst residents whom we interviewed contrast with the interests of the trendy Johannesburg crowds which visit the area during the evenings and weekends. These visitors are what Gerald Garner describes as a "*Jo'burg fashion-conscious throng*". Interviews conducted on weekends revealed that most of the non-resident pedestrians are between 25 and 35 years old and consist of friends, couples and young families. The reason for their presence is to have drinks, coffee or to eat at the restaurants.

4th Avenue is a big attraction for the Northern suburbs residents for one major reason: its café culture and long walkable street. As stated in the interviews: "*It is an area where you can walk to everything*", "*Everything*

is accessible", "*You can walk around*". This need for walkable and lively open spaces, is relevant in terms of the analysis of the demands of pedestrians.

Competing interests

However, the increase of visitors to the area in a condensed time period raises some issues:

- Traffic and parking problems (visitors park in the adjacent streets) led to the approval of the construction of a parking lot which replaced a former petrol station on 4th Avenue. Traffic is a major problem in the area during weekends and the PVRA recently considered introducing innovative small-scale public transports (similar to tuk-tuks).
- The bars are generally viewed by residents in an extremely bad light because of the noise pollution they generate and their impact on street littering.

The dichotomous dynamics underlined by the study reveal strong competing interests. An angry resident resentfully explained: "*We can't call Parkhurst a village anymore. 25, 30 years ago Parkhurst was full of antiques, there was a post office… Now it turns into an "*eating street*"! The same happened for Melville.* ***Residents are not benefiting from what is going on in Parkhurst".*** The changes that have occurred in the area certainly reinforce the concerns of the residents who want to "*protect the street as it is now*". Numerous interviews with former residents display a certain nostalgia about former community shops and the bank, that have now disappeared.

Previous findings also illustrate competing interests between residential and commercial areas. The PVRA is very active in terms of a zoning overview of the district. No more businesses will be allowed in some parts of the area and the PVRA will be a strong stakeholder in the legislation process. As stated by one of the residents: "*We* have *to protect the resident component of Parkhurst*."

Parkhurst Domestic workers

Site visits highlighted that the presence of domestic workers in the community was noticeable in 4th Avenue on weekdays, particularly at lunchtime. Domestic staff meet and have conversations whilst buying food at a grocery shop located on the northern extremity of the street. An interview with a group of them was interesting in terms of the perceptions of the neighbourhood. According to them, only "people who work here" walked in this area. No mention was made of Parkhurst residents or visitors.

Parkhurst recently registered for a "Domestic Crime Watch Programme". This initiative is supported by the security company (ADT) and is implemented on a large scale in Johannesburg. Any domestic worker may be registered for the programme by the resident they work. They may then attend meetings where advice is given on how to fight crime. During a massive ceremony that acknowledged the progress made in terms of security, gifts were given by residents to the police station of their district. These were given as a sign of their appreciation for the protection afforded by the police. The gesture may show that they do not take the assistance of the police for granted. This contrasts with the idea that public protection and assistance is a right, not a reward. This initiative may also be interpreted as proof of the willingness of residents to encourage collaboration between domestic staff and security stakeholders in order to protect their interests and safety. It may also be a sign of their desire to strengthen the identity of the area (which is perceived as endangered by the recent changes) and its feeling of belonging to a community.

Upgrading the Street

A challenge for Parkhurst residents whom we met during the research is to develop and revitalise the district without endangering its village identity. The PVRA is strongly committed to develop a managed, clean, safe environment. In this regard it contributes to raising consciousness about the value of pedestrian practices in the neighbourhood.

Urban commitment: improve the walkability of the area

The PVRA contributes actively to the preparation of the Precinct Plan document that will be delivered in 2012. The city made community involvement in this process obligatory. The meetings to prepare the Parkhurst Precinct Plan can be seen as the concrete application of the recent paradigm shift towards pedestrian and integrated planning. It is interesting to assess its impact on the population representation regarding pedestrian practices. "*It is all about shared space and the community vision*", which is how Cheryl presented it to the residents. Numerous issues (noise, pollution) are linked to the increasing traffic pressure on the district.

Amongst a a ll the issues raised, pavements appeared to be a central question. Quite surprisingly for a street that is famous across Johannesburg for its walkability, a member of the PVRA assesses that "*90% of the pavements in our neighbourhood are not suitable for pedestrians*". This information is largely "confirmed" by the assembly in general and, in particular, by two residents whom we interviewed: "*We can't walk in our streets*"; "*There is no way for people and kids to walk*" (for more information on the pavement topic, see box below: "Who is in charge of the pavements?"). **The increasing use of street space, as well as the rising consciousness of its value, leads to higher standards regarding the quality of street planning.**

According to Parkhurst's residents, control of the environment is also highly important for security reasons. A member of the PVRA illustrates, based on "*environmental criminology*" references, how the environment impacts on crime. According to him, well maintained, controlled environment would reduce the incidents of crime. Therefore the street environment seems to be understood by residents in terms of security before being understood in terms of aesthetics and social values. It has never been mentioned in the PVRA meeting that the pedestrian population itself could also contribute significantly to the safety of the area, simply by their presence and by being the eyes of the community (this relates to Jane Jacobs' famous "eyes on the street" theory).

COMPARATIVE EXAMPLE: PARKVIEW, TYRONE AVENUE

"Jo'burg's quintessential village"[41], **Gerald Garner.**

Tyrone Avenue may be the closest example to Parkhurst's 4th Avenue, with which it shares a number of similarities:

It is renowned for its pedestrian practices: Gerald Garner appealingly describes Parkview as being *"One of Jo'burg's finest suburbs for simply walking. Here you can take pleasure in strolling for several hours along tree-lined avenues*", with Tyrone Avenue being *"a village street through and through"*. A strong point that is also mentioned on the Parkview resident association's website: "*Parkview is one of the few remaining suburbs where you can walk, jog…* ".

It is a village with a "*sense of community*": "*People are proud to live in Parkview and the suburb has a strong community spirit, created in part by a combination of the village atmosphere (…) and a police station that has traditionally been highly rated for its service delivery*". Security will be one of the aspects that is different from the Parkhurst case, as shown below (cf. Paragraph below - Managing the street). The small plots and the amenities (6 schools, George Hay Park, a village library) are similar to Parkhurst. The churches are also numerous, including the famous St Columba's Presbyterian Church. A supermarket, doctor offices, nice restaurants and a trendy café contribute to the attractiveness of the area. However, the resident's profile as described by Parkview resident association's chairman (Steve Lenahan) is slightly different from the one in Parkhurst: 35 to 45 year old couples with children; and 55 to 75 year old people[42].

It has a power of attraction: St Columba's Presbyterian Church boasts thousands of congregation members. The park, as revealed in the interviews, attracts families from other suburbs (eg: Parktown North) and the guesthouses have a regular flow of tourists.

However, compared to the Parkhurst case study, two additional intensive dynamics were found during the research, both of which refer to the implication of the community in the street management.

Managing the street

The Parkview Resident Association (PRA) is a powerful organisation which consists of 500 members from the 1,000 houses in the district. It is very involved in developing and maintaining the area. The chairman underlines the responsibilities of the residents (eg: looking after their pavements). He makes it clear that the role of the PRA "i*s not about control, it is about responsibility*. *If the Council doesn't fix the road, I'll do it by myself. It is my* obligation *to do it that way*". The PRA is also very involved in the preservation of heritage. For example, the residents repaired the police station themselves. They also planted trees and employed gardeners to maintain the park, which is normally under the management of City Parks. The community is "*trying to make linkages"* with the Council*: "You can't privatise the area, you have to work with the government*"[43]. Interestingly enough, **the pedestrian improvement of the area is, in this case, considered an investment for the district**: "*The more people you get to walk in the street, the better it's for a sustainable improvement of your district. They notice and interact more with their environment*".

Protecting/securing the street

The PRA chairman also points out that: "***Security has to be back in the streets.*** *We have to take people into the streets, so they can take ownership of the suburb behind their walls*". Meanwhile, "Safe Parkview", Parkview Security Company, has been established to look after the area.

"Who is in charge of the pavements?"

It seems that the City's by-laws about pavements are not always well known by the "Village Main Street" model residents. It is, nevertheless, a critical question in these residential environments - which are organised around a business stripe - in terms of management, property and responsibilities. In Parkhurst, residents are uncertain about the pavements regulations; whereas in Parkview, the resident association insinuates that the pavements are the property of the residents.

Pavements, according to the Johannesburg Municipality by-laws, are part of the "road reserve". Thus they are shared spaces and their management is the responsibility of the Johannesburg Road Agency.

Individuals or private organisations are not entitled to take ownership of the pavements. However, some of them do (eg: restaurants for business purposes or residents, who argue that they are contributing to the improvement of the environment). The regulations do stipulate that there must be sufficient space for the pedestrian to walk.

Pavements are key stakes in the two village suburbs studied, where two major problems have been identified: (i) pavements are not well managed or repaired when necessary; (ii) some private individuals take over the pavements, cutting out some space for pedestrian use. Some initiatives are not making it easier in terms of clarifying the regulations about pavements. For example, the pavements competition organised by property company, Nan Robert Estates - which "prides itself in being very much involved in Community Affairs"[44] - aims at motivating the residents to take care of their front pavements. Whilst this led to the development of beautiful pavements, it also resulted in reduced walking spaces for pedestrians, thus making a walk through the neighbourhood more difficult.

CONCLUSIONS ON THE VILLAGE MODEL: SHARING THE STREET, FACING THE CHANGE

1. Village communities facing the change

- The increasing popularity of the "Village Main Street" pedestrian areas (such as Parkhurst and Parkview) may be linked to a renewed interest in open, human-scaled, walkable streets.
- The cases of Melville and Greenside are often mentioned by village residents as counter-examples of a good development of this type of suburban areas. It would be interesting to conduct further research to assess how the scarcity of this street type in the Northern areas leads to an increased demand as well as big challenges in terms of development.
- The need for "linkages" with the other communities and with the city stakeholders (eg: City Council) represents a challenge for these areas.
- Pedestrian development is generally accepted to be a way to sustain and improve the district.
- The strong involvement of the residents groups may be a reaction to the changing environment and a **desire to manage better the development of the area, to defend their interests and to protect their assets**. In the case of Parkview, this is illustrated by an unquestioned "community responsibility" on a wide number of issues. The residents' associations prefer to say they are not imposing any form of control on residents of the area, but rather use the word "*commitment*". **"***The challenge is not to be a Big Daddy, but to preserve what we have got*"[45]. This feeling of responsibility is, in any case, linked to a reflection on the issues of "*property*" and "*ownership*".

2. Challenges on the long-term perspective

- Inequality of interest and resources ("social capital" more particularly; different involvements according to the type of ownership) between residents; lack of representativeness of the neighbourhood.
- Possible decrease of involvement of the City Council in terms of its basic services, due to the success of community initiatives?

III. "THE TOWNSHIP STREET"

Case Study: Parkhurst – Alexandra

Comparative example: Diepsloot

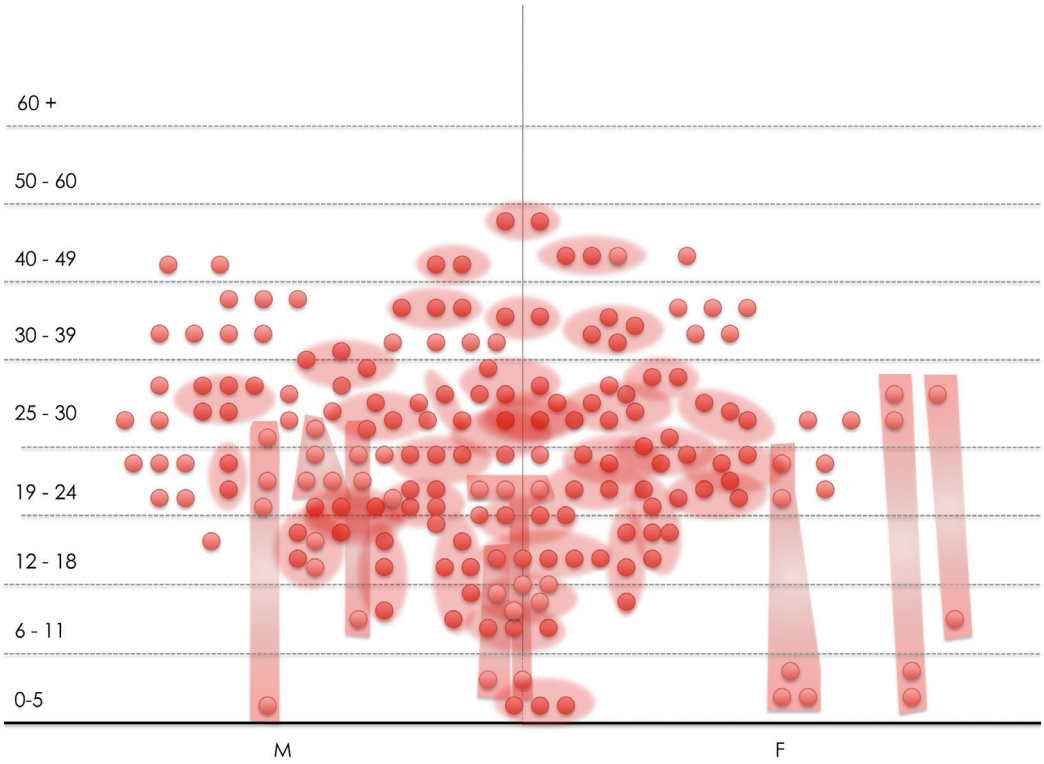
"I am blessed to have a car!", **M., 34, Alexandra.**

Model characteristics:

- high walking density
- extremely large pedestrian population
- lack of walking comfort and security
- sense of belonging, conflicts and responsibilities

Cf. Annexure II. Research information – Alexandra

"Pedestrians social snapshot" of Alexandra based on site counting:



Alexandra and Diepsloot were selected because of their extremely high density of population and the presence of informal housing, which have an influence on informal street patterns. Two main roads were identified and studied, based on the interviews with township dwellers. These are Reverend Sam Buti Street (named Selborne Street before 2007) in Alexandra; and Main Road in Diepsloot. Sam Buti Street has been described by residents whom we interviewed as one of the busiest streets in Alexandra. This street is an East-West road located at the centre of the township. The activity on Sam Buti Street can partly be explained by the presence of a community centre, a police station and a taxi rank in its heart, between 12th and 15th Avenues.

The research was based on informal interviews with inhabitants of these areas (cf Annexure: Research Information – The Township Street). It also included an interview with one of the Directors of "Mveledzo"[46], an NGO established in 2005 to deal with environmental, recycling and social project matters. The discussions offered the opportunity to carry forward a general reflection on the township streets, by going beyond the case study streets which were selected.

Alexandra and Diepsloot are areas with urban challenges beyond comparison in the Johannesburg area:

- **Extremely high population densities:**
  - Alexandra: between 45,000 and 81,000 people per square km[47].
  - Diepsloot: 170 households per hectare[48], or 17,000 per square km.
- **A massive pedestrian population:** due to demographics (significant numbers of young people (Cf. Annexure II. Research Information - Demographic graphs Diepsloot) and economics (no access to alternative modes of transport).
- **High level of informality** in housing (eg: 17,096 shacks in Diepsloot) and trade. The number of informal trading outlets is also indicative of the "pedestrian market" in these areas.

CASE STUDY: ALEXANDRA

"What problems do I see in the street here? Every problems!", **L., 39, Alexandra.**

According to the research conducted, **a majority of the township pedestrians don't walk out of choice in these unwalkable areas.** The township streets raise complex questions in terms of conflicts and security, with ownership and informality as underlying aspects.

The deadly street

"Everything is dangerous", **N., 37, Alexandra.**

The major issue of pedestrian safety.

A common trend noticed in Alexandra and Diepsloot informal settlements is the lack of safety for pedestrians. The absence of sidewalks and the intensity of traffic make walking dangerous, especially for vulnerable population groups. This was explained by an Alexandra resident as follows: "*The way Alexandra is congested! Because of that, a lot of people and kids get knocked down by cars, every day*". The safety issue is also shared by other townships such as Soweto, as shown in an article from *The Times*[49] newspaper: "*Pedestrians use our roads at their peril as motorists show no inclination to share them (...). The pavements are disappearing*". **Sharing the street is not only a source of conflict, but also of death in the townships**.

Moreover, as revealed in Alexandra by Mabel Dikobe, Director of the NGO Mveledzo, the streets are dirty and represent a danger - especially for the health of the children who play outside. The same NGO has started organising trash collections and recycling, proving that the community itself can contribute to a better street environment. However, this raises the question of: whose role is it to look after the township streets? Who is in charge of the informal street maintenance?

From everybody's to nobody's street: ownership and responsibilities in the informal street

"*Nobody's streets*". This is how Lucy, a resident of Alexandra, describes the streets in the township in which she lives. **The state of the streets is a mirror of the state of the settlements: informality and illegality are prevailing trends when it comes to street management and maintenance**. According to the interviews which we conducted, nobody is willing, or designated, to take responsibility for the streets. This then leads to conflict and power struggles and ultimately to a chaotic situation in terms of hygiene and safety.

Role, interests and power conflicts

As seen previously, a street is a space with competing interests. This aspect can take a violent turn in townships, where informality and the constantly evolving residential component question everybody's role and responsibilities. The lack of a sense of belonging and the absence of legitimacy to stay and live in the township is presented as an explanation for the general disclaim of responsibility: "*Why would* [*the residents*] *take care of the street? Alexandra is nobody's home. You can see it at Christmas: nobody is here! They are all gone to their real home. Here, it is nobody's home*", explains an Alexandra resident.

The lack of feeling of ownership regarding the settlement and the street as well c, form , fan be explained by three factors: (i) the informal status of the shacks; (ii) the impression that these homes are only transitional; (iii) the absence of housing alternatives. Alexandra residents often feel they are "forced" to live in the township. The consequent lack of maintenance of the common areas remind one of what happened in the "*grands ensembles*" - large housing projects built after the Second World War in Europe - where the residents considered their flats as transitional accommodation. The spatial proximity, which doesn't lead to social proximity[50], especially under tough conditions of living, contributes to the feeling of resentment and frustration. **The "Township Street" model thus appears as opposite to the "Village Street" model, characterised by the strong involvement of its inhabitants in street management and maintenance, in order to secure and protect their property investments (high level of formality in a "*place of choice*", cf. *Parkhurst case study*).**

Conflicts of power in terms of street management responsibilities are also articulated around xenophobic tensions, described as increasing by both townships' residents. In Alexandra, even the positive aspects of walking as mentioned by a few residents (eg: opportunity for social relationships) seem to be tarnished by the recent demographic changes that have occurred in the township. These include an intense population growth, with a majority of them being immigrants. A resident explains: "*A long time ago we could recognise people in the streets; now there are so many people from different countries. This creates tensions because there is a competition for the houses and some people think:* '**They are taking our jobs and our wives**'".

Township residents emphasise the impossibility for "foreigners" (ie non-South African residents and South Africans who were not born in Alexandra – both groups represent an overwhelming majority of residents) living in the township to express themselves. A resident explains: "*When somebody wants to complain to his neighbour about garbage or sewerage, the neighbour answers:* 'You are coming from Limpopo (or Zimbabwe, or Lesotho, etc), so this is not your place, you can't tell me what to do!'. *One day I complained to my neighbour because he was throwing water in my yard and he answered:* 'If you are not happy here, go to the suburbs'. *What can I answer to that?*". **This increases social tensions, constantly weakens the sense of belonging to to a place and a community, and consequently does not encourage anybody to take responsibility for maintenance of the streets.**

Regulating the informal street

Tensions between residents and difficulties to define roles, obligations and responsibilities seem to be only rarely regulated by official intervention. "*The police helps sometimes, but only when they want to*", complains Precious, who lives in Alexandra. According to some stories told by residents, the legal figures of authority sometimes even encourage residents to break the law. The most significant example was told by Lucy: "*I went to the police because my neighbour was listening to music very loud, all the time. The officer told me to put my music louder...".* Examples similar to this one contribute to blur boundaries between legal

and illegal, formal and informal, respect and disrespect in the township. This can lead to increase in feelings of anger, misunderstanding and injustice amongst residents: "*My neighbour doesn't pay for electricity and enjoys it 24 hours a day. Me, I always pay, but the electricity stops all the time!*".

Even in the case of formal and legal interventions on the street space, informality tends to take control back on the space. Alexandra dwellers emphasise a major issue caused by the informal businesses or shacks on the sidewalks that prevent people from walking safely. Mabele mentions: "*Sometimes, the City comes and demolishes some of the shacks on the sidewalks, so the people can walk… But soon after, '*they' *build the shacks again!*".

Forced to walk

For the people interviewed in Alexandra and Diepsloot, walking is more of a painful experience since: (i) the people don't walk out of choice; (ii) very few pedestrian amenities make the walk easier in these areas; (iii) the car conveys an attractive image, making driving more appealing.

Driving, a luxury

To the question "*Do you often walk?*", one resident passionately answered: *"Luckily not! I share a company car*". For a lot of township residents walking is not at all considered as a pleasant activity. Most of the people don't walk out of choice. A massive part of the active population of Alexandra works in Sandton: "*Sometimes when there is a taxi strike, we have to walk to Sandton, it takes one hour from here*". In Diepsloot, some dwellers underlined the "social power" brought about by a car: "*I prefer living in a small shack and having a beautiful car, a BMW, than having a big house and no car somewhere*".

The right to walk

The former apartheid policies illustrate to what extent the pavements represent a democratic stake. As reminded by Eric Itzkin, Head of Heritage at the City of Jo'burg, the pavements have been, for a long time, forbidden to African people by the former regimes. The use of public space and enjoyment of walkable areas was denied to populations who were discriminated against. Having access to walkable areas is, then, linked to the full application of one's citizenship rights. The creation of proper pavements for all shows respect for, and confers dignity on, the population - "Streets are what poor people lack the most"[51].

Enrique Penalosa[52] has strong views on this topic: *"Pavements (…) show respect for human dignity and begin at least to compensate for inequality in other realms. Cars parked on pavements (…) are symbols of a democratic deficit and a lack of respect for human dignity. It shows the needs of citizens with a car are considered more carefully than the needs of people who walk. A quality pavement shows respect for pedestrians and for human dignity, regardless of the level of economic development of a society".*

It is absolutely critical that a **deep reflection about walkable spaces be carried out and followed by implementation of decisive policies in order to improve the state and status of streets in the townships.**

Coming changes? Pedestrian plans for the townships

Improving pedestrian accessibility is a common objective of the regeneration projects or urban plans of both townships.

A pedestrian vision for Alexandra

The proposals for Alexandra pedestrian planning are embodied in the RSDF (one of its aim being to "*improve pedestrian access within Alexandra and between Alexandra and its neighbouring townships"*) and the **Alexandra Renewal Project**[53] which includes a section entitled "*Planning and Environment*" which is related

to pedestrian improvement. However, the plan seems to be welcomed by the population with reservations, as shown in the interview with one resident involved in community projects: "*It seems there are no plans! Plus we don't understand why some people who just arrived in the district are benefiting from a house and the others who have been staying here for longer don't*". A march has been organised against the project. Regarding pedestrian safety, it is worth noting that speed bumps have been implemented in a few main roads, such as Reverend Sam Buti. However, most of the residents believe that these speed bumps are rather inefficient as they don't manage to slow down cars and they cause a lot of noise.

Diepsloot's plans

An analysis of the city's planning documents (precinct plan, RSDF) reveals a determined strategy towards improvement of pedestrian spaces as follows:

> (i) the Transit Oriented Development (TOD) refers to pedestrian upgrading around public transport nodes (eg: BRT stations): "*Walkable design with pedestrians is the highest priority*". The strategy is to develop integrated spaces "*locating a mix of work, community and higher-density residential uses at these stations, thus creating a one-stop service area for commuters*";
>
> (ii) A sustainable development plan has been set (its Objective 6, "*Increase density and compactness*", promotes "*walkability through the development of pedestrian-friendly street design, such as placing buildings close to streets, tree-lining streets, providing on-street parking, hiding parking lots and constructing narrow/slow-speed streets*");
>
> (iii) The nodal design insists on "*giving preference to pedestrians*"; "*planning for pedestrians and public modes of transportation must receive priority*".

Some projects have already been completed in Diepsloot (eg: bridges funded by the JDA or the refurbishment of the taxi rank).

CONCLUSION ON THE TOWNSHIP STREET: PEDESTRIAN PLANNING AS A HUMAN EMERGENCY

Lack of feeling of belonging to a community and to a place; weakness of ownership; strength of informality and encouragement of illegal behaviours; blurring of the frontiers of responsibility. All of this contributes to the lack of involvement of township residents in street maintenance, by discouraging them from assuming responsibilities they don't consider as theirs.

Yet, there seems to be an urgent need for pedestrian planning in these walking areas which are often risky and not walker-friendly – while an overwhelming majority of township residents have no other choice than to commute by foot. These challenges seem to have been taken into consideration by the City, as proven by the recent planning documents. The increasing social tensions and conflicts between residents should, nevertheless, be seriously taken into account, as they appear to be extremely powerful dynamics in township pedestrian life.

IV. "THE SPECIAL INNER-CITY STREET"

Case Study: Main Street – Johannesburg CBD

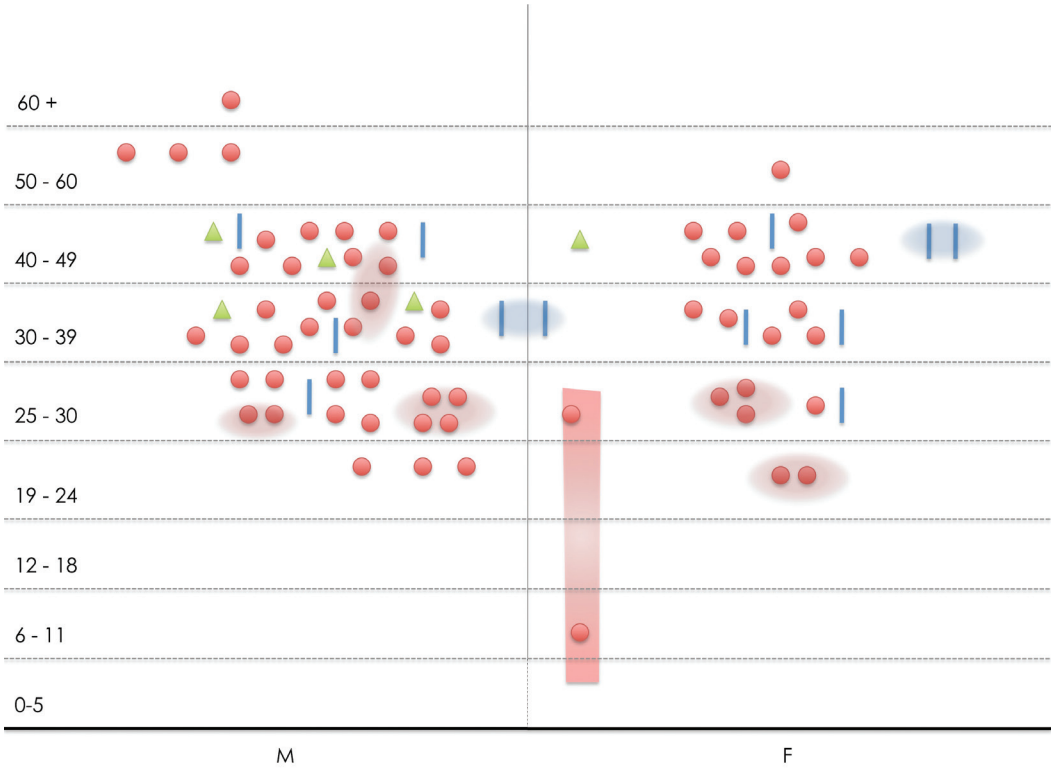
Model characteristics:

- located in Johannesburg inner city
- regeneration project
- proximity to offices, shops, businesses, transport

Cf. Annexure II. Research information – The Special Downtown Street

"A pedestrianised street is a welcome haven among the city hustle and bustle", Gerald Garner.

"Pedestrians social snapshot" based on site counting:



CASE STUDY: MAIN STREET – JOHANNESBURG INNER-CITY

As reminded by Eric Itzkin, head of Heritage at the City of Jo'burg, the tight grid of the city and its lack of public spaces, including wide pavements, are the consequence of the initial absence of a long-term planning strategy for a city which was initially considered as a temporary town. Today, Johannesburg municipality and the JDA are involved in the re-generation of the inner city, more particularly in terms of walkability (the Inner City Urban Design Implementation Development Framework (2009) mentions the objective to "Create a walkable, accessible inner-city").

A Special Street

"Main Street Mall" is one of the examples of a recently driven u upgrade of an inner-city street – but not just any street, as shown below – in terms of pedestrian planning, with the private sector as a key stakeholder in this project. The success of the refurbishment of Gandhi Square (1995-2000) was a trigger element in the process. "*It was good news for pedestrians*", summarises Eric Itzkin. In 2003, a Section 21 was established to represent the property owners in order to manage the place. The initial idea was to link up the mining and financial campus located on the Western section of Main Street (from Maclaren Street to Ntemi Piliso Street) to the new Gandhi Square. Thus the Chamber of Mines and the mining companies have been very active in creating a quality corporate environment.

"Main Street" is a name that suits the development well. The street is lined with trees and shops; car traffic is slowed down by slight road curves; street furniture has been finely designed (on the model of the former historical street lights). Public art is also a major part of a section of the street (cf. Hollard Street), with references to the history of the City of Gold. In other words, **a traditional "Main Street" was created in the centre of town**. The research conducted attests to the quality of the environment that is appreciated by a representative part of the pedestrians whom we met. This is proven by 66% of the answers to the question "*What do you like in this street?*". Words that came up often in the interviews included "*clean*" and "*tidy*", as well as sentences such as: "*It looks beautiful*".

Main Street is, in many ways, an island of quietness, cleanliness and pedestrian comfort in the Johannesburg inner city. Interviews tend to confirm this, for the advantages of Main Street are, most of the time, mentioned *in comparison* to the environment.

As interestingly described by *The Joburg Book*[54]: *"These gentrified spaces are attractive quiet areas provided with ample greenery and fountains, **bringing stability to the CBD**. (...) Hawkers are banished from this spine and the intention is to create a 24h space there"*. Only one street vendor, a shoemaker, was allowed to continue doing business in this street after it was refurbished. However, he operates in a kiosk in order to fit in with the new image of the street.

Pedestrian dynamics: An uneven link

The urban shape of Main Street is relevant in terms of analysis of the spatial dynamics in the area. The street is aesthetically divided in two sections, each of them with different urban dynamics:

i. The *Eastern section* from Gandhi Square to Maclaren Street corresponds to the Main Street Mall. It is a pedestrian-friendly area lined with trees and retail spaces (restaurants, super-market, shops).

ii. The *Western section* from Maclaren Street to Ntemi Piliso corresponds to the AngloGold zone. One cannot find any benches or resting amenities in this pedestrian-only street. The street landscape is dotted with very visible "camera trees" (cf Annexure III. Pictures) and aesthetic plant compositions. These, however, compared to open green spaces, do not

encourage activities such as walking, resting, or even stopping. The message is clear: don't hang around this place. The control dimension in the form of cameras is omnipresent and the **pedestrian is only encouraged to walk on, or to walk away**.

The research raised the notions of "centrality" and "periphery" as relevant main spatial dynamics of the area.

A central business street during the week

Main Street mirrors the surrounding renowned offices of government departments, banking and mining companies. The street aims at answering the needs of the numerous office workers in the area. Different types of restaurants offer the workers the possibility to choose from a sandwich on-the-go to a business lunch. Interviews conducted on a weekday at lunchtime seem to confirm that the profile of the people is very much business-oriented, with a lot of office workers walking in this street during the week, especially at lunchtime.

The visit frequency is often daily for the people working here. This explains the short amount of time spent on the street (average: 15 minutes during week days). Weekday pedestrians often just buy lunch before going back to their offices. As explained by an office worker: "*All shops you need are here; our companies are here*": in other words, **there is apparently "no need" to venture into the streets surrounding Main Street Mall**.

A "safer" place

The security aspect tells a lot about the attractiveness of the place. 80% of the interviewees referred to the safety of the place when asked about what they generally enjoy in Main Street. It has to be put into perspective with the surrounding urban environment. This place is actually not seen as safe in itself, but "*safer*" (source: interviews with office workers and Johannesburg southern residents). Some of the pedestrians interviewed clearly pointed out that is out of question for them to walk around. They park their cars near the office, sometimes go out to buy lunch and then return home directly at the end of the day.

Interviews revealed that some pedestrians used this street to commute from one place to another, because of its nice(r) environment. This is the case for an old woman we met during one of the site visits. She had great difficulty walking and had come from the medical centre to Gandhi Square to catch a bus. She complained about the dust and the lack of space on the "other *streets*".

Thus, during the week, Main Street appears as an "island of comfort and safety", always described *in comparison* to the surrounding streets. This serves the interests of the local companies (secures their property investments), their employees (offers them a "safe" place to shop and walk, when they are not familiar with the inner-city) and random inner-city pedestrians (who appreciate the comfort and cleanliness of the street, especially when they are disabled or with children).

A peripheral street on the weekends

On Saturday afternoons the street looks much emptier. Those who come to, or rather, who *transit* via Main Street are residents, weekend workers, young people and peripheral shoppers from the other streets.

Tourists also visit for a short time as part of a wider inner city tour. For example, Main Street is mentioned on the JDA Inner City Tour map; and private tour companies (eg: PAST experiences) also take their clients there.

Interviews reveal that a substantial number of interviewees (60% of the pedestrians interviewed on weekends) commute through Main Street when they shop and walk in the streets of the inner city on weekends – and generally they come from Soweto. The proximity of Main Street to a renowned bar in Gandhi Square is one of the factors that attracts pedestrians to Main Street.

CONCLUSION ON THE SPECIAL INNER CITY STREET: A SPECIAL STREET SERVING SPECIFIC INTERESTS

Interesting dynamics in terms of the openness, centrality and connectivity of the area have emerged from the research. Main Street "island" of the weekdays tends to turn into a "passage" street when the offices close. Whatever the spatial dynamics, the quality of the environment and its walkability make Main Street Mall a place that is enjoyed by business people, district dwellers and Jo'burg residents alike.

Nevertheless, Main Street Mall (and its eastern extension) appears like **an island of order and tidiness, strongly contrasting with other inner city streets**. The intention and ideology that led to its refurbishment were based on the protection of private, capitalistic interests. At the heart of the project is a clear willingness to create a pedestrian space which would meet the supposed expectations of a specific pedestrian profile - most of whom are office workers unfamiliar with the inner-city. This resulted in a tailor-made "open enclave" **created to answer very specific needs and interests of a very specific part of the population**. By over-controlling urban life (regulation of traffic, businesses and of pedestrian flow), this street contrasts dramatically with the surrounding urban environment. It creates an impression of safe - because of *controlled* - social interactions. This very "special" street takes its value not for its own, essential quality, but in comparison to the rest of the inner-city. This raises the question: for whom, and by whom, should the streets be created and managed? Does it answer existing needs, or does it create new expectations? **How far can street management go to attempt to answer the specific needs and interests of a certain group, perhaps at the expense of the needs of other groups?**

Making the Northern suburb residents walk in the Jo'burg inner-city

As previously mentioned, Main Street Mall refurbishment project was conducted with the intention of making this place a touristic hotspot, as shown by the public artwork and touristic information located on this street. Multiple incentives have been developed during the past years to encourage people to walk "in the city".

Tour Power: the case of P.A.S.T. Experiences

"We bring 40 new people into the city every weekend", **P.A.S.T. Experiences**[55].

P.A.S.T. Experiences is a registered South African Tourism company which organises walking tours in Johannesburg. It presents its tours as a "truly unique way" to discover the city, "by getting you back on the streets of Joburg with the locals. (...) We encourage our guests to interact with the city, use its walkways, and (...) its public transport infrastructure. We want you to EXPERIENCE the city, not the bus that is driving you through it"[56].

P.A.S.T. Experiences' weekly walks, whether they are general tours of the inner city (including visits to the City Hall, the Carlton Centre, the Johannesburg Art Gallery) or thematic tours (fashion, food), are always booked. Jo, who founded the company, noticed an evolution regarding her clients' profiles. "The very first participants formed quite a young crowd and it is only very recently that our groups have started becoming progressively more mixed in terms of ages". Young Jo'burgers still represent a major portion of the people attending the tours (10 to 25 people on weekends), "probably because they are more optimistic and positive about the city", according to Jo. People from overseas, most generally foreigners residing in South Africa, represent approximately 25% of the clients. "A lot of them are from Europe. They arrive in Johannesburg and they don't understand why they can't walk!". In general, people attending the tours are "open-minded. They are really cool South Africans". Jo also has some clients who formerly worked, or even lived, in the inner city during the 1970's and the 1980's (especially in Hillbrow. "They seem to feel a certain nostalgia about their time in the city. They perfectly remember some of the places they used to go to – as the coffee shop, the library, etc".

Nevertheless, some people don't understand this initiative. "When I present what I'm doing, I'm often asked: "Why?". People don't realise what Johannesburg has to offer in terms of culture: its mixed-African culture, its history...". Or they may not be interested yet in walking in what they still consider to be a no-go area.

The interview with P.A.S.T Experiences emphasises the existing and possibly rising demand for walking in the inner city. This demand comes in particular from the younger generation, former city workers/dwellers and resident foreigners. It is highly representative of recent changes in perceptions about the inner city. This trend is confirmed by the very recent development of other companies offering walking tours such as "Mainstreet Walks". This company introduces itself as "a concept that encourages people to rediscover the inner city and ultimately Johannesburg. The best way to explore these spaces, like any other city in the world, is by foot and public transport"[57]. These initiatives also strongly contribute to a change of perception of the city. Walking in the inner city as a tourist on a tour could be a first step towards more independent use of the streets. The development of walking tours in Johannesburg takes place as part of the more general trend of developing inner-city tourism. This is evident from recent initiatives such as the creation of the Jo'burg City Tourism Association and the forthcoming launch of City-Sightseeing red buses.

The Event and the Street: how do temporary events contribute to a long-lasting change of perceptions?

Events that appeal to people who are unfamiliar with the inner city could attract them to the area and encourage them to explore it. This could then contribute to a change of their perceptions about these urban spaces.

The face of Braamfontein has changed dramatically in just a few years. A pedestrian network is linking the hotspots and thereby attracting a young, yuppy, hipster crowd from the Northern suburbs. Regular afterwork drinks at the Lamunu hotel, parties at the Kitcheners... Events such as the Neighbourgoods Market on Saturday mornings, or the annual night of the 1,000 Drawings that took place in November 2011 in Braamfontein. All these offer powerful incentives to encourage the Northern suburbs population to visit and walk in these places. These events also play an important role in bringing people downtown and encouraging them to walk in the area.

Events such as Run Jozi (a running event through the inner city, organised on the 21th of March 2012) also play an incentivising role in changing practices and perceptions of the city. Runners interviewed after the race were amazed by the vibe and surprised by the environment: "It's not as bad as I thought"[58].

However, whilst these events may bring large numbers of visitors to the inner city, only some of those visitors would venture into the surrounding areas, or return to the area alone at another time.

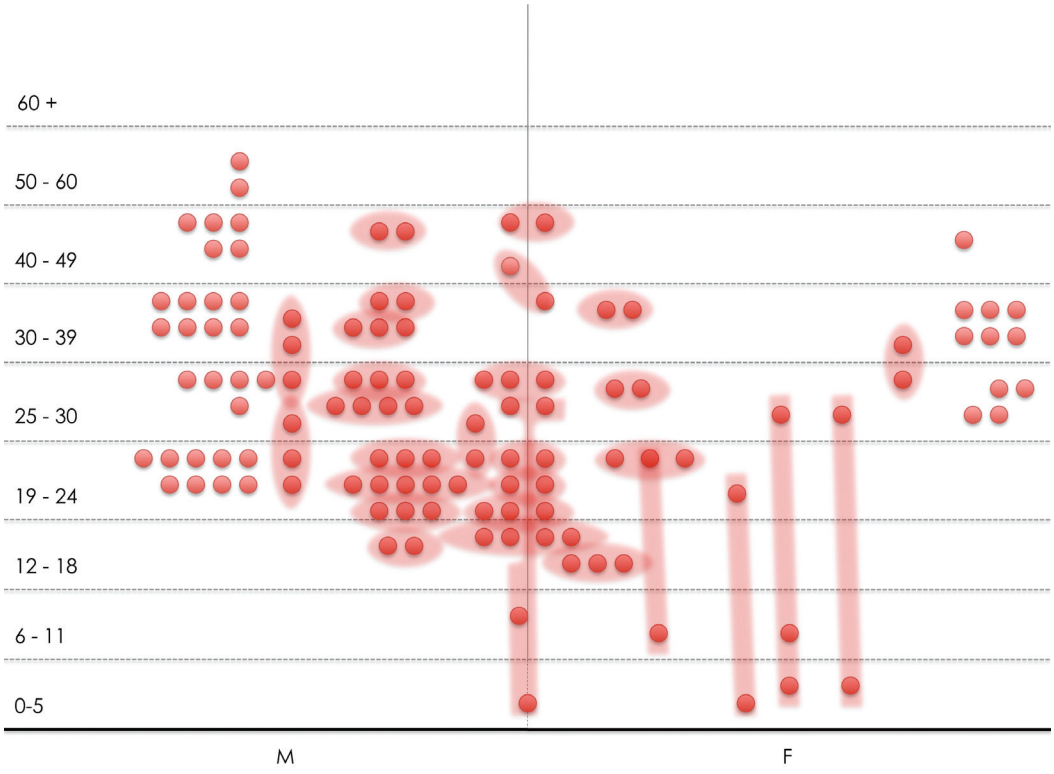
V. "I-BIZ & BUSY STREET": THE INNER-CITY HUB

Case Study: Noord Street

Model characteristics:

- located in Johannesburg inner-city
- proximity to major transport nodes
- extremely dense foot-traffic

"Pedestrians social snapshot" based on site counting:



CASE STUDY: NOORD STREET

Studying Noord Street has been a key step in the research. The concentration of dynamics as intense as illegality, informality and criminality raises a lot of complex questions such as: What are the implicit logics that organise the street life, despite the seeming disorder? What is the influence of our perceptions and representations on our capacity to accept and understand urban spaces? Does the disrespect of legal rules necessarily imply the absence of norms and codes? If not, who establishes them and how powerful are they?

The field study in Noord Street has been a memorable experience and very revealing of the logics of the space. The Noord Street case study is, therefore, key in this experimental research as it provides critical perspectives on the other street models studied (cf. Conclusion – Comparative analysis).

"The busiest street in Africa": living and making a living on Noord Street

The case study is focused on the section of Noord Street that is close to the corner of Klein Street. This section is located in the Johannesburg inner-city and has been chosen for its extraordinary level of foot passage, because of its direct proximity to major road and rail transport nodes in Johannesburg:

- Train lines: the section Noord/Klein is located between Doornfontein and Park train stations (Park is only located within 400 metres on the East side of the section); Noord Street borders the southern part of the central railway lines of the city.
- Minibus taxi ranks: Noord Taxi Rank is in the direct proximity of Noord and Klein streets; Park Central taxi rank is located within less than 300 metres on the West from Noord/Klein section.

Every day thousands of pedestrians walk through this major commuting area – implying a high concentration of foot traffic, businesses...and also crime. Commuters and vendors from all over Africa share the pavements of Noord Street. Indeed, the transport nodes in the nearby area directly connect to local, regional, but also national and international destinations. All of this makes Noord Street appear like "the busiest street in Africa", as described by a few of its pedestrians whom we met during the research.

I-biz: sell or die.

"I-biz", the "business", dominates this street, as explained by the pedestrians and vendors interviewed. Market stalls are located in the centre of the Noord Street section located between Wanderers and Twist streets. Moreover, informal business stalls are organised all along the pavements, particularly on Klein and Twist streets. In this area, street vendors sell food, electronics, travel accessories, clothes, etc.

Noord Street hustle and bustle both attracts - and is caused by - a lot of people whose jobs involve commuting, such as trolley pushers and queue marshals[59]. "*I come here because it is busy*", explains T., a street hawker. A few street artists also perform daily in the street in order to benefit from the extremely high flow of pedestrian traffic (eg: mime – cf. Annexure III. Pictures).

"Sell or Steal to Survive" could be a credo for Noord St. Interviews with street vendors reveal that business opportunities on extremely busy streets such as Noord Street were essential to their survival. Noord Street attracts a huge number of people who look at making enough money to survive; and this is done more or less legally. All interviewees mentioned the unpredictability of their income. "*Making a* living" has a literal meaning in Noord Street. Most of the vendors indeed live in the immediate surroundings, in the flats or in the streets. The street is where they work and where they live – or survive. This may explain why their position regarding this place is generally ambivalent: according to the interviews, they "hate" and "love" Noord Street. In contrast to the other case studies, no mention is made of the aesthetic aspects of the place. It is rather about its functionality and its role in their lives that the place is described. This "transit" place

for commuters is also considered as a "transitional" step in the hawkers' lives, in particular for those who have just arrived in South Africa. "*Now I make money here, but when I get enough money, I will go to the suburbs*", explains Tumi, 24. In the same way, G., 32, explains that Noord Street is where he installed his first stall, just after he arrived in South Africa from Zimbabwe. He considers his job as a "transition job" before he is able to get a job he likes (in his case: owning a truck company): "*Only the situation forces me to be here*".

If Noord Street is considered a place of opportunities, it is also described as a place of omnipresent danger, conflict and inconveniences. K., a street vendor, expresses this dichotomous feeling: "*Life is hectic. But at the end of the day you can get what you want*". Unlike other case studies, aesthetic and comfort dimensions of the street have not been mentioned by any of the interviewees we met in Noord Street. What could appear as **disorder, density and disorganisation are not considered as issues, but as opportunities: because they are the conditions for daily street survival strategies.**

Official law vs. unofficial rules: conflicts of power and interests

Noord Street is a place where a lot of people try to make a living and it represents a stepping stone for people who have recently arrived in South Africa – sometimes as illegal migrants. Therefore, a huge part of the Noord Street population operates in the informal sector. If making a living within a legal frame is not possible, survival strategies will drift to the informal sector. To make a living, anything goes: hawking, stealing, robbing.

The transport system surrounding the area is also affected by illegality. A lot of minibus taxis operate illicitly and a few commuters whom we interviewed mentioned they came with the "free train" (without paying for a ticket).

The field study and discussions with daily users of the street reveal that the public figures of law are often mentioned as enemies to be wary of and to fight against. Very often, the "Metro" (a term used for the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police) is described as the principal "issue" in the area. "*The Metro is making life really difficult here*", says H., 29, "*they are destroying our stalls and stealing our products. They come all the time, always!*". The "volunteers" who assist the Metropolitan Police are also described as causes of conflict in the area: "*They are friends with the Metro…*", explains A., 23. I witnessed an operation of the Metropolitan Police during one of the site visits. I saw the violence between hawkers and the Metro, when goods belonging to the street vendors were confiscated in a few seconds. One of the hawkers lost all his possessions in less than one minute. This event raised violent reactions from the interviewees. "*I feel disrespected here! There is too much harassment, people are scared. They should teach them* [the police] *how to behave with people!*", shouted T., a vendor from Zimbabwe. Some of the hawkers we met believe that the police confiscate the products to sell them and make money for themselves. This reinforces the feeling of anger ab a out the situation. Everyday life is described as a continuous fight between trying to make a living, avoiding the Metro, being safe and staying alive.

Noord Street is a space of conflict of power and interests: surviving versus observing the law; using the pavement for selling versus using it for commuting (eg: a street vendor we met lost a leg in an accident when a taxi bumped into him as it was trying to park on the pavement where he was selling his goods). No wonder then that a "no holds barred" state of mind is widely shared by a part of its daily population.

"Other" codes and norms apply

Noord Street appears to be a space of conflicts, because different norms apply. The everyday struggle of street hawkers or users whom we interviewed sometimes forces them to cross legal boundaries. **Survival strategies question the boundaries of legality**.

However, **the disrespect for legal regulation doesn't mean the absence of rules**. On the contrary, norms and codes of another nature apply instead in these spaces. This makes the areas scary for those who are not aware of the codes and norms.

Recent news items illustrated the power of arbitrary rules established by non-legal figures. The most relevant examples may be the "miniskirt affairs": women were assaulted by groups of men at Noord Station in 2008 and in 2012, only because they were wearing miniskirts. Also frequently mentioned are issues with queue marshals harassing and not respecting commuters. This raises the question of how and why these people are able to impose their own rules in contradiction to the State and to human rights. Another question is how and why are they able to use violence to enforce respect for themselves and their rules. The fact that massive groups of up to 50 men gather to participate in violent incidents, more than revealing their lack of respect for human rights and dignity, can also be seen as proof of their unquestioning involvement in following rules implicitly and locally enacted. It can also be explained by their submission to a flocal figures of authority, which may have the power to sanction them in case of disobedience.

CONCLUSION ON THE INNER CITY HUB: COMPETITION, CONFLICTS AND CHALLENGES

As revealed by the site visits, Noord Street is, for a huge number of its daily population, a space of opportunities which implies conflicts and competition. In this area, legal and implicit norms clash violently. Winning the everyday struggle for street survival sometimes requires a no holds barred approach.

Nevertheless, the seemingly chaotic daily game is actually led by clearly defined players: Metro, hawkers, commuters. Entering the ring without knowing the rules is obviously risky and might be a reason why people fear coming into the area and participating in the "inner-city street game". It is, nevertheless, absolutely critical to generate interest in this street model game and its complex rules. This is possibly the most challenging part; and may be the only way to question and influence the rules.

A revealing research experience

Conducting research in some parts of Johannesburg inner city as a young, white, French woman has been very revealing in terms of the reactions of the pedestrians.

In particular, my presence in Noord Street provoked a gathering of 15 to 20 people around me. This raised the interest of the Police who decided to watch us closely. Pedestrians interviewed in Noord Street, principally hawkers, were both curious about, and interested in, the questions and the research. All of them were eager to answer the research questionnaire and to share their opinions about the area.

The reactions of the Noord Street population whom we interviewed contrasted dramatically with the cool reception we received from Montecasino interviewees (cf. VI. The Fake Street - Montecasino case study). It was extremely difficult to find anyone at Montecasino willing to answer the questionnaire. An explanation could lie in the fact that, in Noord Street, **my profile appeared very unusual, thus raising the curiosity of pedestrians in a space dominated by routine and daily survival strategies** (as illustrated previously). On the contrary, Montecasino pedestrians seemed to avoid my presence because my profile probably appeared "too" ordinary, as per my research intention. Taking time to answer the questionnaire about "real life" topics would have taken them away from the intention of their visit - that is to say a maximum entertainment in another reality space.

VI. THE FAKE STREET"

Case Study: Montecasino

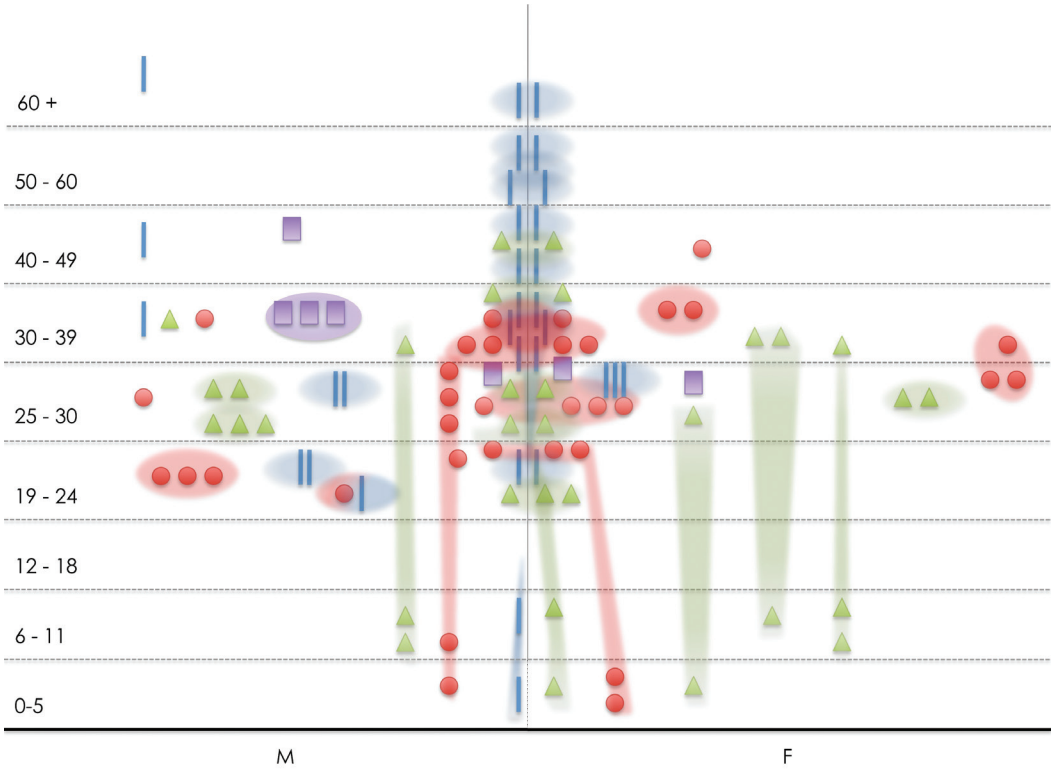
"Gauteng's no 1 entertainment destination", **Montecasino's slogan.**

Model characteristics:

- Themed street "decor"
- Privately owned and managed space
- "Shoppentertainment"

Cf. Annexure II. Research information – Montecasino

"Pedestrians social snapshot" based on site counting:



CASE STUDY: MONTECASINO

Montecasino was initially selected for this research as one of the potential "street models". However, after site visits and a social survey, it appeared that the dynamics observed were too specific to be relevantly comparable with the other street models. Yet, the Montecasino case study raises interesting questions, such as ultra-reality and entertainment escape.

Opened in 2000 (and expanded in 2007), Montecasino is a 29,526 square metre entertainment place "*built in the image of a tumbledown Tuscan village*[60]". Retail spaces, entertainment places and restaurants are integrated into the giant open air Piazza, fake houses and narrow Italian streets. The study focuses on the indoor area surrounding the gambling space. In this section pedestrians are under the umbrella of a fake sky with lighting that imitates different times of day in different parts of the complex. Pedestrians are totally spatially and temporally disconnected from the outside world.

A challenging research

In every research, the availability of the people to answer a survey provides a lot of information about the social dynamics taking place in the area. In Montecasino, only a few people agreed to take the survey. Others would answer "*No, thank you*", as if I was offering them a *service*.

This revealing attitude can be explained by the enchanting and appealing surrounding environment. "*Shoppertainment*"[61] is the reason why people are there (100% of the survey answers mention entertainment as a reason for their visit). Most of the people visiting the place probably go there to receive a "shot of entertainment": the maximum of fun in the minimum of time. This is illustrated by the vocabulary used by the few people we surveyed: "*a* lot *of entertainment*"; "*a* lot *of people*"; "*there are* lots *of things happening here*". The pedestrians of Montecasino are caught up in the fast pace of a place offering them "*a lot*" to try, see and buy, without the opportunity to pause (people interviewed spend an average of 3 hours in this place). Montecasino "pedestrians" seem to want to enjoy their own individual or familial time, without seeking any other social contacts at all. A hypothesis to explain the small number of people from this population who were willing to be interviewed could then be their unwillingness to be taken out of the entertainment dynamic created by Montecasino. **The prefix "Monte" is only a realistic mask to what is the true essence of the place: a "Casino", a gambling place.** A lot of people visit Montecasino with the only aim of gambling. This certainly seemed to have an impact on their availability to complete the questionnaire.

Environment = Entertainment

The hypothesis was that Montecasino pedestrians were, in a way, looking for an European experience of the street. The realistic decor therefore helped to make the visitors feel as if they were part of a busy, pedestrian street. Paradoxically, the few interviews conducted revealed that the people were actually not paying a lot of attention to the decor: fake facades, fake river, fake animals. **Actually, the more the pedestrian pays attention to the "realistic" decor, the more he will "realise" its distance from "reality"**. In Montecasino, it is night and day at the same time. In one part of the complex, pedestrians can simultaneously walk under a night sky and admire a Tuscan landscape in the daylight! Pedestrians are not naïve and it would be wrong to declare that they come to Montecasino to enjoy an European urban experience, an improved "street life" to what they are used to in Johannesburg. The Montecasino environment is rather considered as a part of the "entertainment show" which its pedestrians are attending. They are looking for another world, another place to disconnect themselves from their everyday reality. The conflict between reality and ultra-reality is summarised in one sentence by this young mother with her two children: "*Look at the pavement! It is not at all convenient for prams*". By complaining about the fake cobblestones on the floor, she was pointing out **the**

paradox of an over-aesthethic but under-functional space, that only my presence and my question brought to her attention.

Mimicking the real street life flaws? What Montecasino tells us about urban order

The previous case studies (eg: the Township Street; the Private Street; etc) revealed the inherent relationship between street space and norms and rules – legal or illegal.

One can find references to public life and regulations in Montecasino's decor: flags, emblems, public buildings, municipality posters. The presence of the "Comune di Montecasino" is visible everywhere.

Interestingly enough, Montecasino's ultra-realism is also based on disorganisation and disobedience inherent in city life. The most interesting example may be the bicycles parked under a fake panel which states that bicycles may not park there (cf. Annexure III. Pictures). **The "Comune di Montecasino" uses the daily transgressions and flaws of city life to create realism**.

CONCLUSIONS ON THE "FAKE STREET" MODEL

Many elements tend to prove that the Montecasino street cannot be compared with any relevance with the other street models which were studied. The entertainment dimension and the strong mall-casino identity are factors of very differentiated dynamics which are, nevertheless, interesting. As suggested by the perspective of A. Membe62: "The theatrical spectacle of the Tuscan village offers opportunities to forget the racial city and recompose the present by gazing in to a magical mirror of a frozen and imaginary past". The "social snapshot" based on counting, interestingly highlights a higher diversity in terms of demographic profiles and practices (cf Annexure II. Research Data - Montecasino) in comparison to the other streets studied.

Nevertheless, it also questions essential aspects of the street experience. By reproducing symbols of strong public identity, as well as elements of disorder to contribute to the "realism" of its decor, Montecasino tells us that both are inherent in city life. However, Montecasino does not aim at "being real". It only aims at appearing "real enough" to invite its visitors to dream, to better disconnect themselves from their "normal life", the notion of time and their everyday responsibilities (which is crucial in a gambling environment). Montecasino even turns city life's deviations into something fun (eg: the parked bicycles, as mentioned above). It is, therefore, very different from Melrose Arch, which refers to existing realities (eg: references to existing European cities), fixed in a Johannesburg context (open air, walls, everyday shopping and service places). Paradoxically, Melrose Arch will not allow any form of transgression or disorder in its fortified space – not even for aesthetic purposes, as is the case in Montecasino.

SECTION 4

GENERAL FINDINGS AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF THE STREET MODELS

I. GENERAL FINDINGS

1. Towards a paradigm shift : from a car-dependant to a more walkable city

- Increased interest in a "café culture" rather than a "shopping centre culture" was expressed by some of the Johannesburg Northern suburbs residents whom we met during this research. This could explain the success of new urban spaces: Melrose Arch visitors want to escape the symptoms of "Sandtophobia" (weariness for large, indoor malls); and the Village Streets attract people who want an alternative to "shopping-centre orientated lifestyles".
- Success of initiatives such as walking tours in the inner city.
- 94% of the interviewees would like to walk more in Johannesburg.
- A more pedestrian-focused **vision** from the City, translated in theory in the planning documents and in practice in a few areas. "It is still early days", says Sharon Lewis (JDA).
- The economic value of the walkable street is increasingly taken into account by a few private stakeholders.

2. Strong differentiation between the street models established

Findings: Different worlds in the same city.

- The study reveals a **strong differentiation of the "street models"** at the level of the Greater Johannesburg area: heterogeneity of the social profiles, diversity in the intensity of street use, variance of motivations and activities.
- Nevertheless, there is more diversity in terms of (i) social profiles of the users, (ii) frequency of the walks, (iii) reason given for walking is observed in "open-air and open access" street patterns (eg: the Village Street; Inner City Street cases. Exception: the Township Street). This underlines the influence of the nature of the management of the street (public, private) on the urban form and consecutive use dynamics. Open models are more fruitful in terms of a diversification of the street space.
- Walking in the streets is still an exceptional, irregular activity for most of Johannesburg motorists. Generally, entertainment is the incentive for such practices (eg: tours, events, sport). Those who don't have access to a car consider walking as an necessity rather than a choice. Thus the question of choice is crucial in terms of pedestrian analysis. A significant number of interviewees whose exclusive mode of transport is the car use this mode for the

reason that "they don't have the choice". They say they don't have the choice of another convenient mode of transport nor do they have the choice to walk safely (because crime or fear of crime). In contrast, those who commute daily by car also feel they don't have the choice to do otherwise. "Equal access to mobility" is then a central issue in Johannesburg today. The development of walkable spaces and walking incentives, as well as the improvement of the public transport, are priorities towards more homogeneous mobility habits amongst Jo'burgers.

Hypothesis: Laws, rules and norms: explaining factors of the heterogeneity of pedestrian spaces.

- The different street models which were observed all relate to the question of legality and norms. What is the nature of these rules? Who edicts them – the law, the company, the local leaders? What is the place of informality in every case study? What is allowed, what is not allowed and by who? What is the tolerance for behaviours that disrespect the norms which are implicitly or explicitly established? What are the consequences: exclusion (Melrose Arch), sanction (Noord Street)?
- The history of the urban evolution of Johannesburg and the influence of apartheid policies produced extremely diverse spaces - as diverse as the population of the city. The different frames of reference used in the street models studied seem to answer, or create, specific aspirations for a part of the population. References are made to overseas pedestrian atmospheres (eg: Melrose Arch), to traditional village life organisation (eg: Parkhurst), to a fake entertainment world (eg: Montecasino). **These contrast greatly with urban spaces shaped by the influence of survival strategies and alternative rules to those of the law (eg: Alexandra; Noord).**
- Thus, very different rules and norms apply in the street cases studied in Johannesburg. What could be considered as an opportunity for a vibrant city, is actually a major obstacle to a pacified pedestrian life in Johannesburg. **Different worlds co-exist in the same city.** The huge differences between these worlds may discourage some people from visiting or spending time in worlds other than "theirs", for the reason it challenges their understanding and adaptation capacities. Instead, they feel that they "don't have anything to do in these areas" – proving the success of street spaces that are supposed to answer their aspirations. This might be a hypothesis of why the pedestrian practices are still extremely differentiated amongst Jo'burgers. Yet visits to urban areas by more diverse groups may be likely to lead to a re-modelling of the norms and rules which exist in these spaces – not only via conflict, but also due to exchanges.
- **Today, while a part of the Johannesburg population dreams of "being able" to walk safely and independently in the city streets, another section dreams of "being able" to drive a car.** The walk is accessible to all and thus should be the norm. Incentivising and encouraging motorists to walk is the first step towards more equal and inclusive urban practices.

Concept: a pole rather than a link model

The high differentiation of the models makes Johannesburg walking streets appear like poles rather than linkages. Streets which are considered as the most "walkable" in the city are actually a destination. The Johannesburg street doesn't lead somewhere – as a street normally does.

If the street is an interface, then it must be understood as having a role of interconnectivity: between the spaces, and between the people. The backlog of development of new, attractive and convenient pedestrian spaces tends to reinforce the dynamic of polarity. The recent urban projects also conceive the streets in terms of poles (eg: Melrose Arch).

This is partly explained by the "patchwork" shape of Johannesburg itself: the highly differentiated spaces answer to highly differentiated uses and needs. The recent strategy of the city is to create a few "points of contact", such as Gandhi Square or Newtown.

There is a consequent interesting dynamic between local residents and visitors to these spaces. In Montecasino and Melrose Arch external visitors are essential to the space; whereas in the village street it leads to competing interests within the area.

3. Safety considered as a condition for - and a consequence of - walking practice

- 82% of all the interviewees refer to security concerns when discussing their walking habits.
- Security worries do still have an effect on pedestrian practices in Johannesburg. Firstly there is crime, or the fear of crime, that prevents some people from walking to what they perceive as unsafe places. Secondly people are discouraged from walking in certain areas because of the power of dissuasion and exclusion exerted by security guards or checkpoints (eg: Melrose Arch).
- **A change of paradigm: from a private to a street security**. The village residents associations advocate the "security back to the streets, instead of walls and wires". Security must concern the neighbourhood as a whole, rather than individuals. Pedestrian activity plays a major role in this process as explained in the model of the "eyes upon the streets" (Jane Jacobs). These days it seems that only "ADT is watching" in some suburbs. Jacob Dlamini, a South African writer, mentioned that he "discovered that nothing made a street safer than fellow pedestrians. There was nothing like seeing fellow pedestrians going about their business to make me feel safe in my wanderings" . Lively, dense streets convey a sense of safety in a crowd.
- This legitimates the necessity to **overcome a paradox**. Security is often presented as a required condition to the pedestrian practices, but it is also the outcome of a more pedestrian-friendly area. In this sense, developing pedestrian spaces can actually be a tool for a safer Johannesburg.

II. WHAT WE LEARN FROM THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF STREET MODELS

Why every street model mirrors the others

The current mosaic of extremely differentiated street models is actually explained by a hidden logic. It has been found that some street models in Johannesburg were developed in reaction to other models.

(i) The urban antidote

In particular, Melrose Arch aims at being the "antidote for Johannesburg urban poison", by aiming at counteracting four main "venoms":

- the car dependancy;
- the "sandtophobia";
- the disorder;
- the insecurity.

Melrose Arch aims to offer an alternative pedestrian place to a group of the population who feel scared, uneasy and uncomfortable in walking spaces such as the township or Noord Street. It accomplishes this by providing "legible" norms and "visible" order. Melrose Arch also aims at healing the rising epidemic of "sandtophobia" - the fear of indoor malls - by providing customers with an open-air shopping experience.

However, an antidote is sometimes a poison itself. For example, in reaction to developments at Melrose Arch, the Village street model tries hard to maintain an identity which offers an alternative to the indoor or outdoor mall spaces which have conquered Johannesburg.

(ii) From an other to another reality

Montecasino aims to offer an entertainment world disconnected from all aspects of everyday life: work, responsibilities, even time are non-existent dimensions in the Commune di Montecasino.

In a city where a major part of the population struggles every day to make a living, Montecasino offers the opportunity to forget everyday problems – and promises wealth and happiness. It is not surprising, then, that a massive number of Montecasino gamblers are caretakers living in townships. They visit there after work to take a chance to win the jackpot and change their lives. Montecasino works because it is the exact opposite of street models such as the Township street or Noord street, where the Ordinary rules. Work, survival, commuting are part of the everyday struggles of the population and these are all very influential dimensions on the organisation of the spaces.

Melrose Arch targets another sector of the population by offering them another street reality, based on what exists elsewhere. However, this is not completely disconnected from the real world. The open air space allows Melrose Arch visitors to feel the Johannesburg weather and see the time pass. The robots and zebra crossings are common aspects in the environment. It simply provides pedestrians with a special experience, one of walking in a safe environment, with all useful services within walking distance – an experience which Jo'burgers may have considered impossible in the city.

SECTION 5

RECOMMENDATIONS

The study raised extremely complex questions about pedestrian life in Johannesburg. These questions deserve to be investigated in further research, in order to continue reflecting on adequate and adapted solutions. The whole concept of the nature and function of the street has to be questioned in the light of Johannesburg's history and current tendencies - without fear of facing complexity.

1. ACCOMPANY THE CHANGE OF PARADIGM

The policies and the vision of the city, the interest of the private sector, as well as the involvement of some communities are already excellent contributing factors for a renewed pedestrian life in Johannesburg.

There is, today, a need to take advantage of the current dynamics and opportunities in terms of pedestrian planning. The following key elements have been brought to the fore by the research:

Draw attention to private developments. The private sector is a major stakeholder of urban change in Johannesburg. Its benefits as well as its limits must be acknowledged in order better to prevent the potential drawbacks in an integrated, long term perspective.

Be conscious of the strong involvement and power of action of some communities (cf. Village Street model), and the influence of local rules (cf. Noord Street).

Work on the representations. "Some people think "street" is a dirty word", says Graham Wilson, Melrose Arch architect65. There is a noteworthy feeling of suspicion against the streets in Johannesburg, a city where people who walk in the streets are perceived as being either poor or crazy. The challenge is huge and it is not by widening and polishing the sidewalks that the population will walk again. There must be incentives to "take people into the Streets". Some initiatives appear to be complementary to the current voluntarism of pedestrian planning policies.

Introducing the culture of walking in the streets ...

As mentioned by this resident born in Parkhurst: "*The new Parkhurst residents from Jo'burg don't have a walking culture! They always use their cars*!". Developing a walking culture would contribute greatly to the success of pedestrian spaces. In particular, events could play an important role in this respect. The study has shown that the practices of the street are still a rare "event" for many people. Thus event types initiatives such as clubs and activities are worth considering (cf "Urban Trails" developed in 1990 by the City; or Joburg

Photo Walkers). Work on the imagination and the emotions is another solution (eg: make people think about the question: "*What if I could walk safely in my street?*"; "Jo'burg re-imagined" is also one of the slogans of the Maboneng Precinct), such as encouraging walking by using visual tools[66] and by promoting temporary actions[67] (eg: pedestrian-only streets on weekends).

-... Implies to deal with the chicken and egg issue of safety... (cf. General Findings).

Natural street surveillance comes from the people[68]; but the people won't walk in the streets if they are empty. Public safety via the enhancement of street pedestrian frequentation is a serious option to consider in a city where the n°1 concern is security.

-... and find daring incentives to trigger the shift to different modes of transport.

The objective is to offer a convenient transport service for those who have no cars and make it very attractive for those who have. The MABO'*go* transport agency from the Maboneng Precinct aims to answer the second aspect by offering a very attractive alternative and an incentive to car users to use public transport (eg: thanks to the "MABO'*go*" shuttle, a Collaborative Moving Space, connecting with public transport lines).

Art and the Street

Art can also contribute to, and influence, Johannesburg street spaces and pedestrian habits.

Various artists focus their work on the use of street spaces, for example Stephen Hobbes and Marcus Neustetter. In addition, exhibitions around live happenings in the street interrogate our relationship with the space. For example, Vaughn Sadie[69] organised walks in derelict districts in Jeppestown to question our relationship with public street lights and street life (May 2012).

2. TAKE INTO ACCOUNT JOHANNESBURG'S SPECIFIC CHALLENGES

Before being lively, Johannesburg streets have to be liveable.

- **Challenge of the density:** issue of promoting walking in a sprawled city;
- **A "world class" *and* an "inclusive" city**: find the balance between creating prestigious, attractive spaces and answering basic needs in terms of walkability. Obtain a better knowledge of the needs of the different groups and try to find opportunities for integrated developments.

3. TAKE ADVANTAGE OF URBAN OPPORTUNITIES

Work on the connectivity...

- The research has proved that Johannesburg streets are functioning as poles rather than as links. This is a challenge in the long-term perspective and raises the need to enhance connectivity between the identified nodes.
- This topic is also linked to the need for an efficient public transport system.
- Necessity for an overall pedestrian network (eg: specific plan).
- Objective of "sharing the street": between different types of people and between different types of transport.

... Is a vital emergency...

- Necessity to provide walkable space in areas where walking can be life threatening (cf. Case Study III. The Township street).

... As well as a long-term investment

- Pedestrian developments are a secure urban investment (as already understood by the private sector: eg investment of Mine's Pension Fund into Melrose Arch).
- *"Much more than a faddish amenity, walkability is an ecological imperative and, to an increasing extent, as fuel and time costs continue to climb, a financial one as well"* (Richard Florida[70]).

SECTION 6

CONCLUSION: from a change of paradigm to a spatial change

Thanks to the analysis of pedestrian dynamics in Johannesburg, this exploratory research underlined a critical tension in terms of spatial change in Johannesburg.

The massive political, social and economic post-apartheid evolutions have led, but paradoxically only recently, to a new "*change of paradigm*" regarding the streets in Johannesburg. Pedestrian planning is now a visible concern for the Municipality, as the street itself still embodies all the challenges of a former racially segregated city – planning issues, access to basic services and crime concerns.

It seems that Johannesburg is now in a "transition" period in which the public "vision" is just beginning its practical implementation. In this particular short space of time, dramatic improvements could be made for the future of the city in terms of pedestrian planning. Since the street is by nature a political topic, the first challenge will probably be to deal with the tensions and competing interests of the increasingly diverse stakeholders of the city. These include the private sector (as seen in the Private model), local communities (as seen in the Village model) and NGOs (as seen in the Township model). Relationships between these stakeholders also tell a lot about their position and power of action in the pace of change. For example the private sector was a visionary and invested in pedestrian planning a long time ago. An integrated strategy is required, as well as innovative social initiatives to complement the planning policies and to back up the change of paradigm towards a "walking culture".

Recent social, cultural and political evolutions seem to be in line for better pedestrian planning. The question now is how to trigger the *spatial change* of highly differentiated pedestrian spaces and practices in the Greater Johannesburg area.

To achieve this, we need to continue reflecting on the deep and complex issues at the heart of pedestrian life in Johannesburg. Extremely complex aspects such as norms and legality, but also frames of reference and aspirations, have been brought to our attention by this exploratory research. **The recent projects illustrate the attempt both to satisfy and create aspirations for specific population groups (eg: Melrose Arch); while other spaces sink violently into community tensions (eg: Alexandra) and intolerance (eg: Noord Street)**. It is definitely time to face the reality of extremely heterogeneous spaces in the Johannesburg street landscape and to use a reflection on walking as a tool to promote fairer, more democratic and more inclusive pedestrian practices and models.

ANNEXURE

I. TOOLS

- Presentation of the questionnaire
- Presentation of the counting tool
- Comparative tool: Walk Notes

II. RESEARCH INFORMATION – FOR EVERY CASE STUDY

1. Survey statistics

- Sample profile
- Map: District of residence

2. Counting profiles

III. PICTURES

- Selection of pictures of the different districts studied

ANNEXURE I. TOOLS

1. Pedestrian survey - Questionnaire

Aim of the survey: to collect quantitative and qualitative information regarding the socio-demographic profile of the pedestrians of each street studied and their perceptions of the space.

Advantages of a questionnaire-based survey:

- the best way to obtain socio-demographic information about the people at different times.
- the availability of the people in the areas can be a relevant indication about the social dynamics in the district studied.

Categories of questions and nature of information obtained (cf. Doc 1 - Questionnaire below):

- Reasons for the presence: 1, 2.
- Frequency: 2,3.
- Personal feelings about the space: 4,5. Question 5: "*According to you, what type of people come here*?" is intentionally open in order to analyse on what aspects (income, race, age) the answers are focused.
- Personal practice of the walk: 6,7,8.
- Interest / demand for walking: 9.

Socio-demographic data:

- Demographic profile: age, gender, sex.
- Information about the residences: helpful for understanding the trajectories (potentially useful to determine the power of attraction of the area and the diversity in terms of social profiles). Maps based on this information are available in Annexure II. Research Information.
- The question of the "income" was challenging. It was considered sensitive to ask the people directly about their level of income. The system +, ++ or +++ (asking the people to choose one category to describe their level of income) was adopted in some interviews, even if it gave very interesting results about the social representations of the area. (Eg: Main Street: "*I would say I'm ++, like the majority of the people here... The +++ are in Sandton*!"). It has, however, been decided not to draw any conclusion in terms of level of income from these very subjective answers. Potential further research on this topic should definitely look closer at the question of assessing people's income, with consideration for the constraints of the different survey contexts.

At least 10 interviews were conducted in each district studied. It turned out to be more challenging to obtain results from the Montecasino pedestrian population – only 5 interviews (cf Case Study – Montecasino). In addition, for practical reasons, no formal questionnaires were completed in the "township street" model districts. Informal interviews with the same questions were, nevertheless, conducted. It would be interesting to identify the strengths and weaknesses of this experimental research method for further research purposes.

Doc. 1. Questionnaire

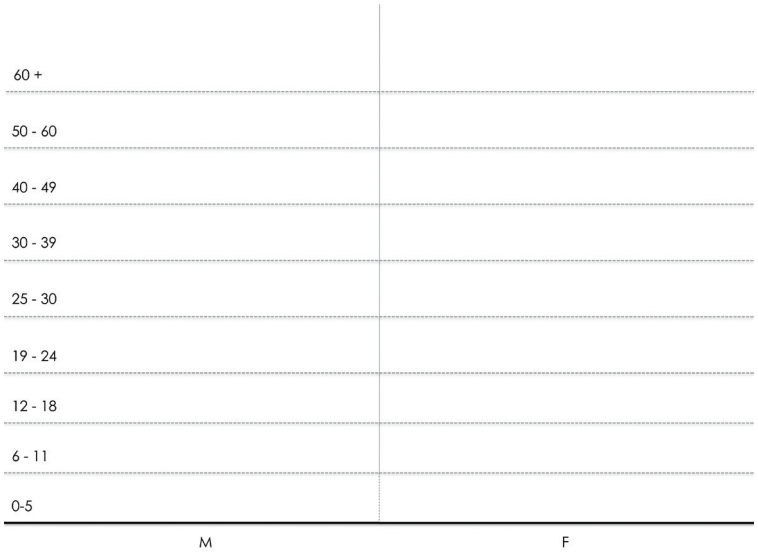
1.	Why are you here today? Why did you choose to come here in particular?
2.	Is it the first time you are visiting this place? If yes, what made you come? If no, when was the first time? How many times have you been here before? Generally: On what days? At what time?
3.	For how long have you been in this place today? When do you think you will be leaving?
4.	Do you enjoy this place? What do you like? Is there something you don't like?
5.	According to you, what type of people come here?
6.	Do you enjoy walking in the street?
7.	Where are other places one can walk in Johannesburg?
8.	Do you walk in Johannesburg on weekends? If so, where?
9.	Would you like to walk more in Johannesburg? What areas could be developed? How?

PROFILE
Name / Initials:
Age:
Gender: Male Female
Occupation:
Income: + ++ +++
If accompanied: Relationship?
Disability (o, + or ++) Eye Ear Walk
Since when have you been living in Johannesburg?
District and Street if possible:
Housing type: House Flat Other:
Mobility habits
Driving licence yes no
Access to : car (personal/familial) motor bike bicycle
Everyday mode of transport: car bus train bicycle motorcycle walking only Why?
Other:

2. Counting Tool

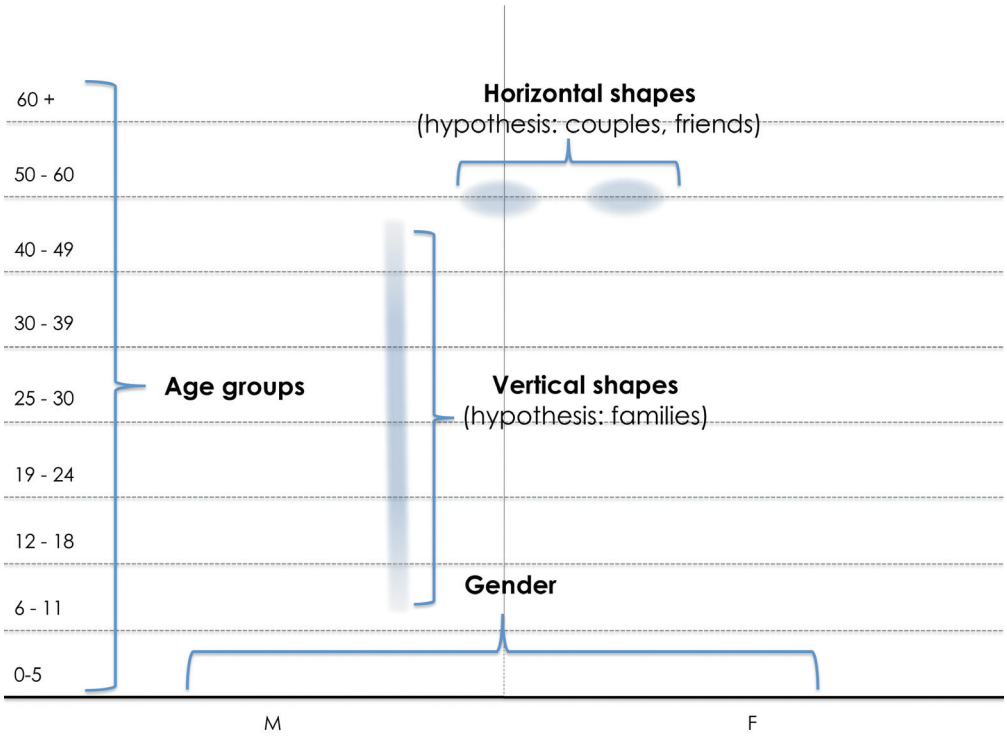
- **Aim of the counting tool:** to provide an overview of the visible social profile of the population: gender, age and race. The race element was included because of the relevance of visible racial diversity in a post-apartheid context.
- **An innovative tool:** I invented this tool based on my experience of the different sites. The objective was to find a convenient tool that could allow me quickly to note down the profiles of the flow of the population studied.
- In addition to the individual information (gender, age, race), the element **"group or individual"** was taken into account, in order to assess if the place was frequented by families, couples, friends, or by single individuals.
- **Presentation of the tool:**

1. Blank sheet used for the counting, divided in two parts (male, female) and vertical levels (age groups). Individuals are then represented with a specific form that provides a third piece of information (about the race). Finally, groups of people (family, friends, couples, etc) are circled.



2. Reading information.

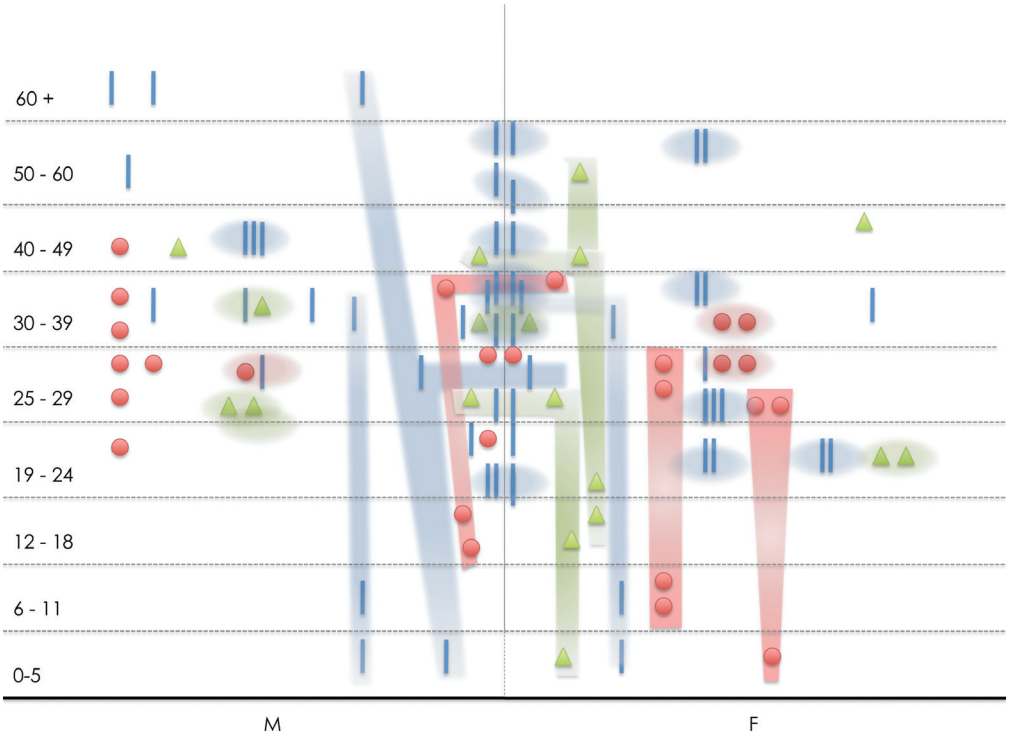




3. Example: Melrose Arch

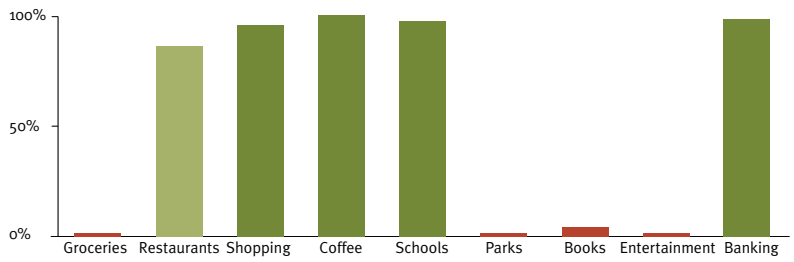
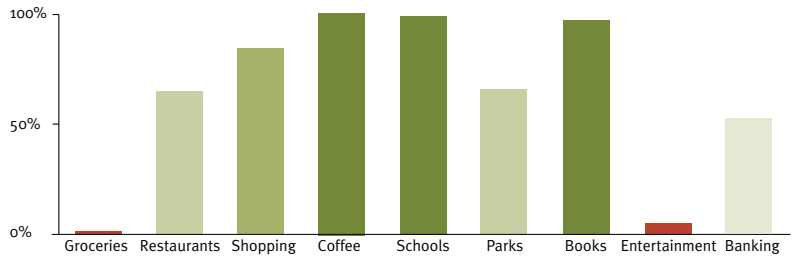
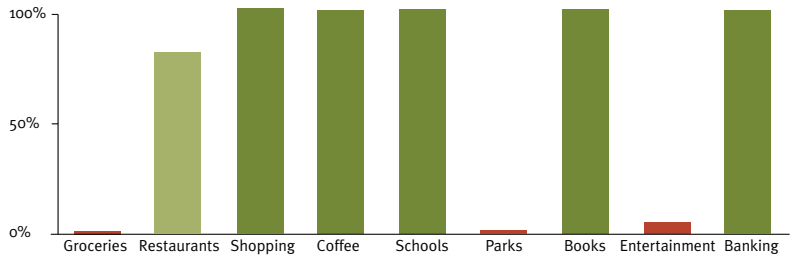
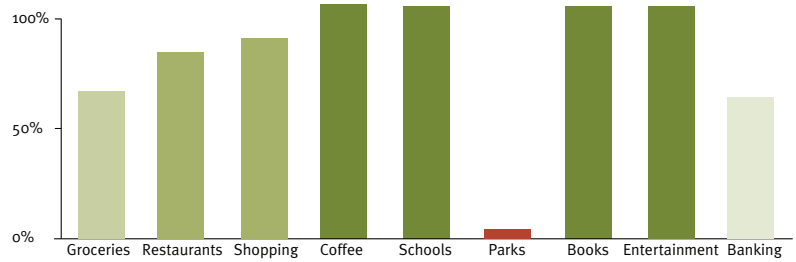
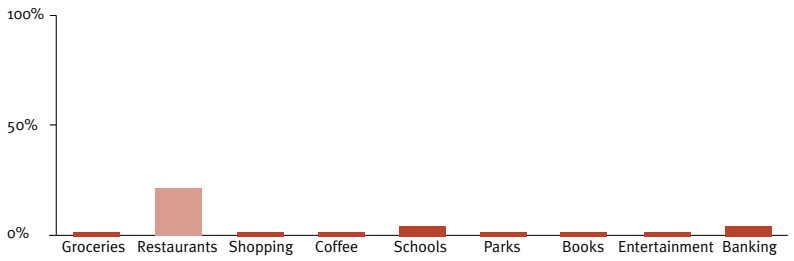
A simple overview of the scheme obtained reveals interesting dynamics:

- Numerous vertical forms: a strong family frequentation.
- Diverse colours: a quite racially diverse population.
- Spread of points between the two sides: A notable gender balance.
- A concentration of the points corresponding to the 25-39 age groups.



3. A comparative tool: Walk Score

The tool Walk Score (cf http://www.walkscore.com), which assesses the walkability of urban spaces, has been tested for the different streets studied. Walk Score is an interesting example of the renewed interest in the walkable areas and proof of their economic value (eg: property). This tool is based on information available on the Internet and the potential comments or modifications from the tool users. It thus has limits. For example, it doesn't take into account the informal sector. It is, nevertheless, interesting to compare the results obtained for the different areas:

The Private Street Melrose Arch	Score: 57/100 "Somewhat Walkable"	
The Village Street 4th Avenue (Parkhurst)	Score: 52/100 "Somewhat Walkable"	
The Special Downtown Street Main Street	Score: 65/100 "Somewhat Walkable"	
The "Fake Street" Montecasino	Score: 7 9/100 "Very Walkable"	
The Township Street Diepsloot	Score: 7/100 "Car Dependant"	

ANNEXURE II. RESEARCH INFORMATION

I. THE PRIVATE STREET: MELROSE ARCH - RESEARCH DATA

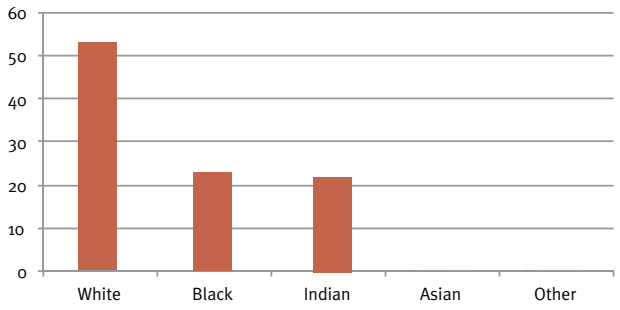
A. Interviews

Profile of the interviewee's sample

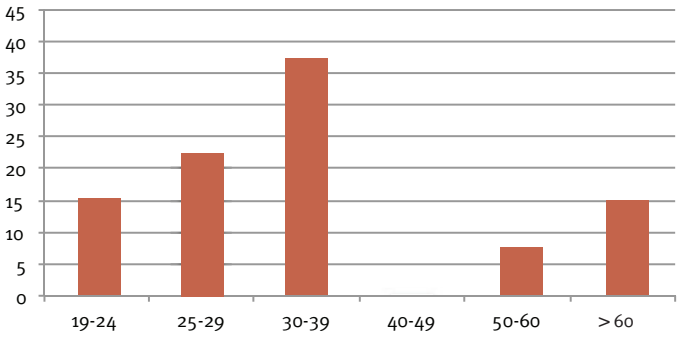
Gender



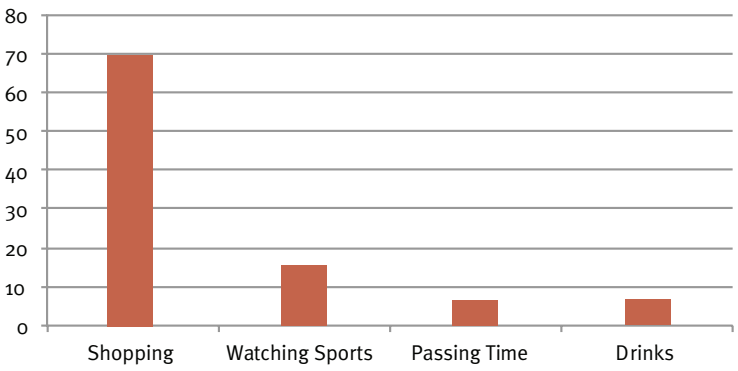
Race



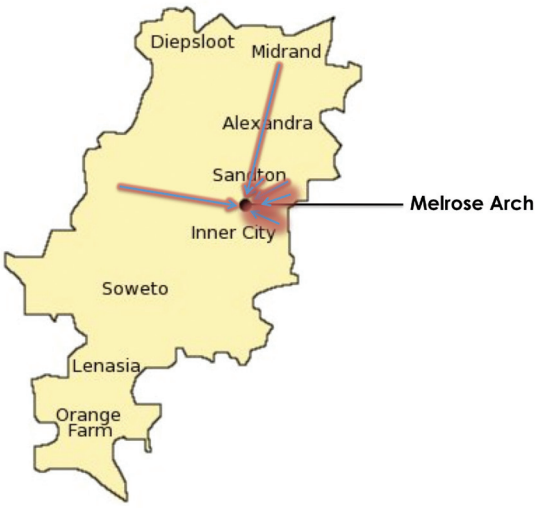
Age



Activity

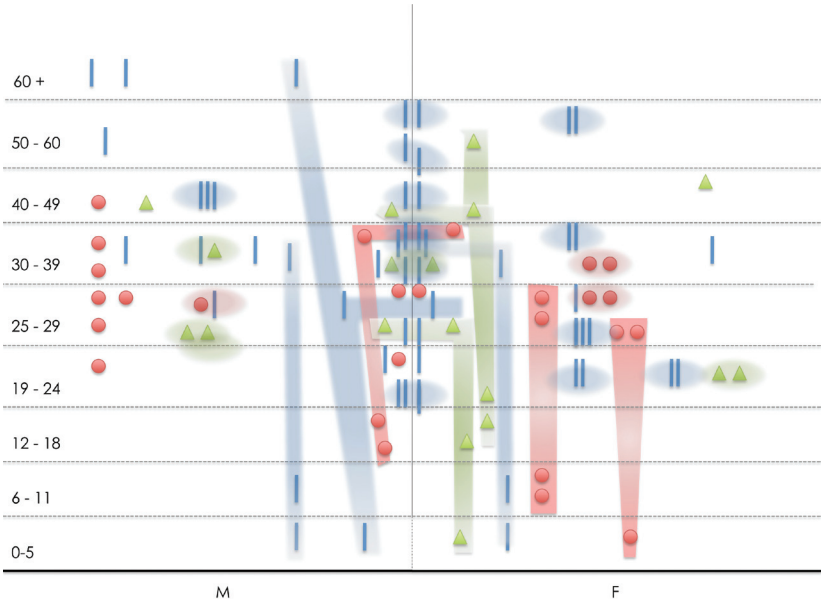


District of residence



B. Counting profile

- **Place of counting:** Melrose Arch Piazza
- Date and time: Sunday – 11h00
- Number of people counted in 10 min: 97



Analysis:

- strong family frequentation
- concentration of 25-39 group
- certain diversity in terms of race

II. THE VILLAGE STREET: 4TH AVENUE– RESEARCH DATA

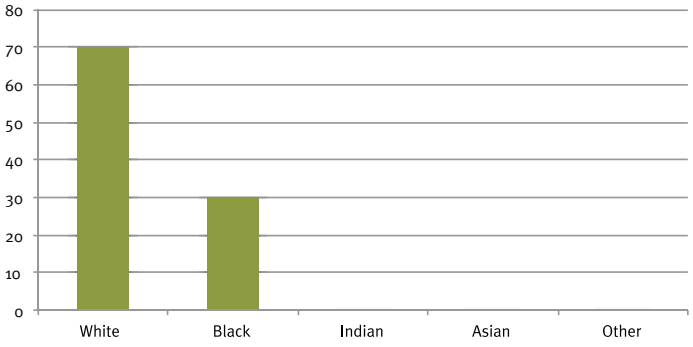
A. Interviews

Profile of the interviewee's sample

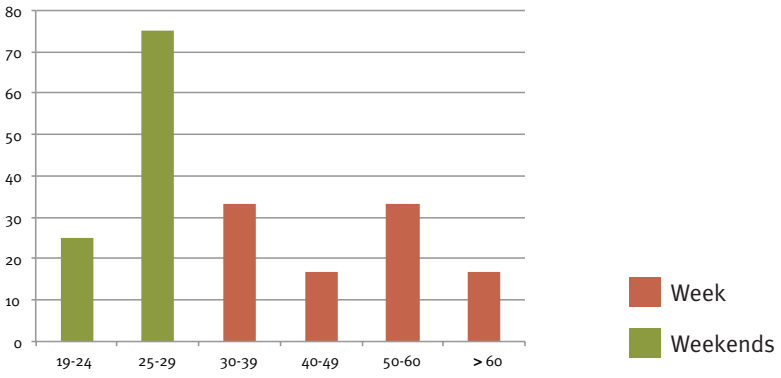
Gender



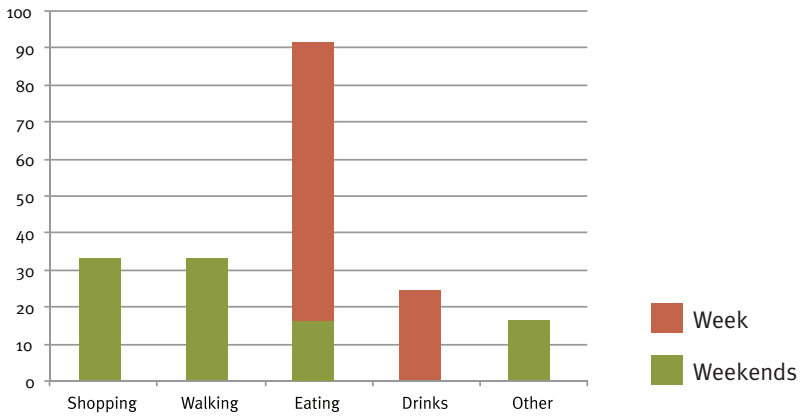
Race



Age



Activity

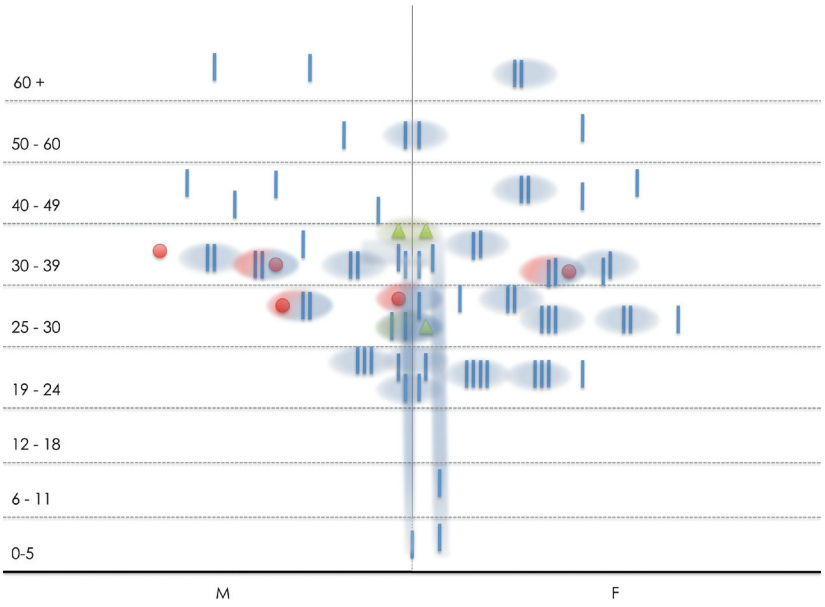


District of residence



B. Counting profile

- **Place of counting:** Parkhurst – corner 4th Avenue and 12th Street
- **Date and time:** Saturday – 10h00 (Cf big differences between weekdays and weekends regarding pedestrian population)
- **Number of people counted in 10 min:** 74



Analysis:

- Predominantly White population
- Small groups (friends, couples). A few families.
- Pronounced presence of 19-39 years old group, but a noticeable presence of older people too

III. THE TOWNSHIP STREET- RESEARCH DATA

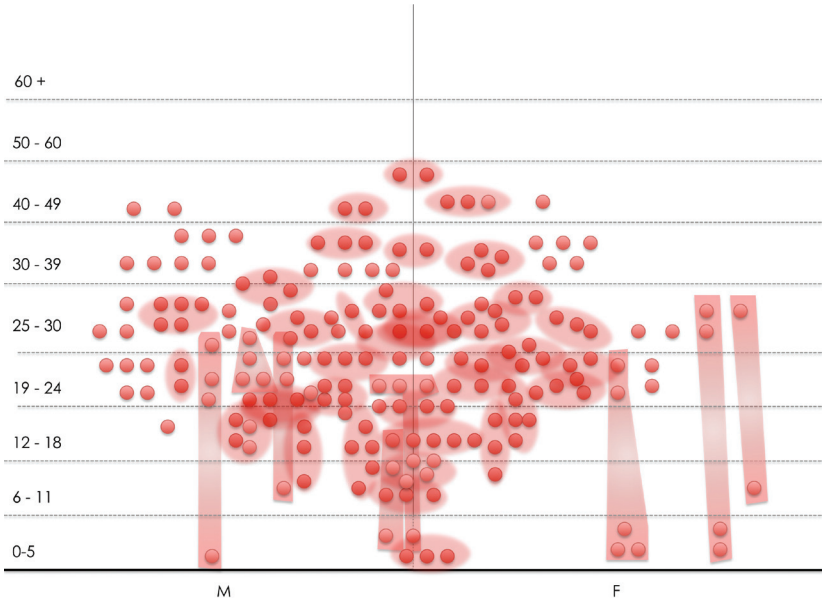
As previously mentioned (cf Annexure I. Questionnaire presentation), formal questionnaires were not used with the population. However, the same questions used in the questionnaires were asked verbally. All the information obtained from the various discussions is mentioned in the case study (cf Case study – The Township Street).

Population counting was conducted in Diepsloot (Main Road – Diepsloot 2) and in Alexandra (see below).

A. Counting profile

- **Place of counting:** Alexandra – Reverend Sam Buti Street, corner 15th street
- **Date and time:** Saturday – 16h00
- **Number of people counted in 5 min:** 183

  In 10 minutes, more than 360 pedestrians were counted (4 times more than the average number in other areas studied)



Analysis:

- Extremely high pedestrian density
- No racial diversity observed (100% Black population)
- Predominance of the 19-30 age group

B. Other information

- Statistics regarding pedestrians in Diepsloot (source: SDF)

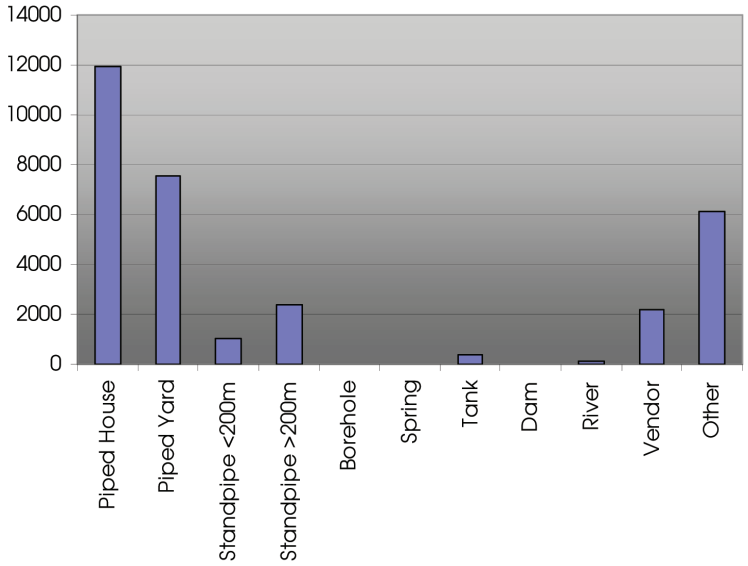


DIAGRAM 1 Age Profile
Source: Census 2001

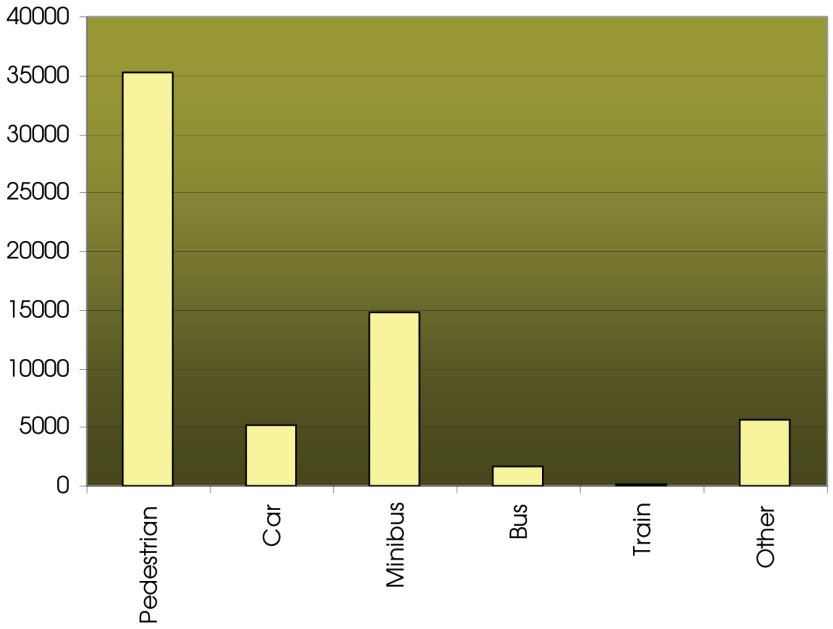
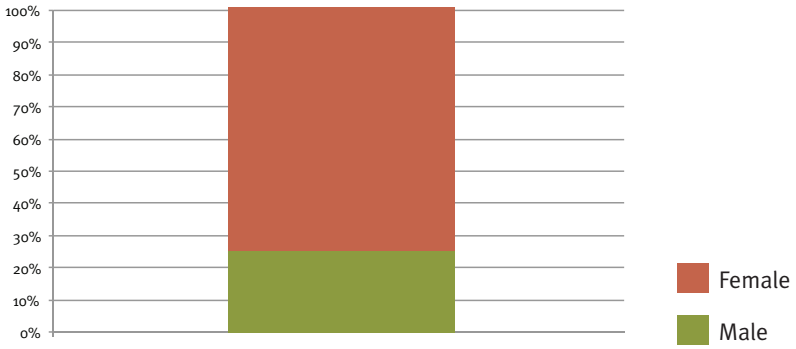
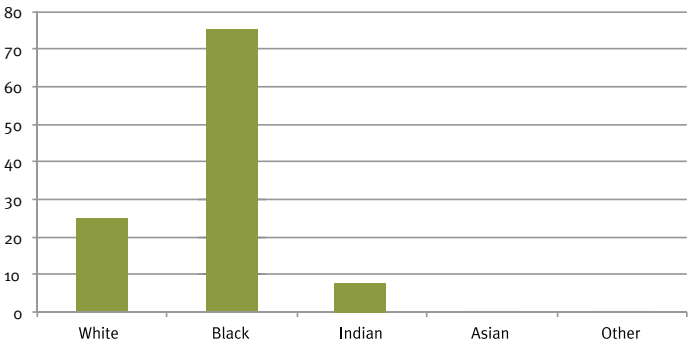
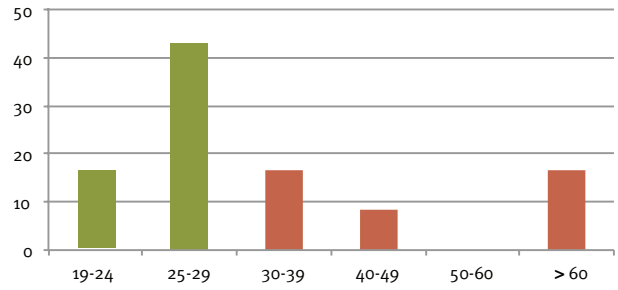
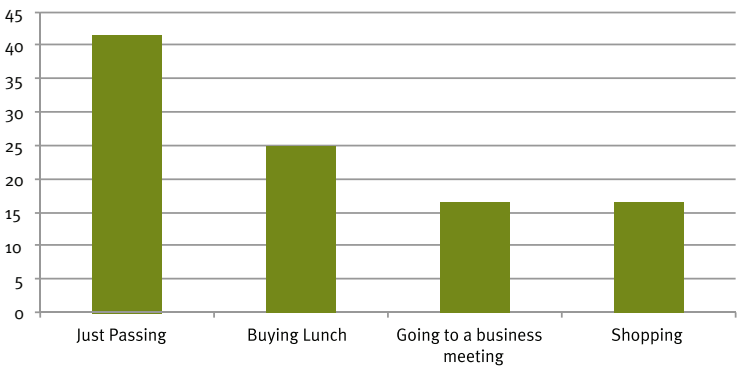


DIAGRAM 2 Mode of Transport
Source: Census 2001

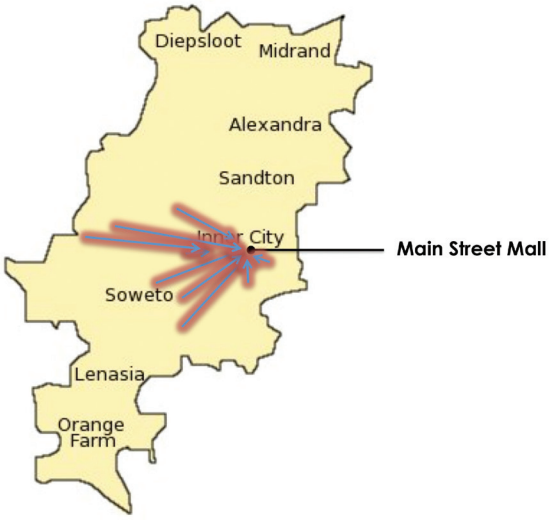
IV. THE SPECIAL DOWTOWN STREET: MAIN STREET - RESEARCH DATA

Gender	
Race	
Age	

Activity

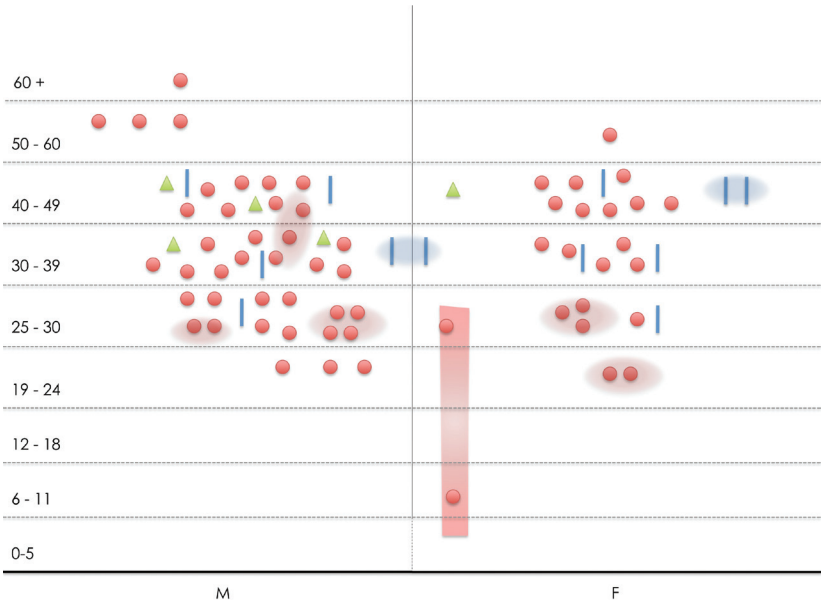


District of residence



A. Counting profile

- **Place of counting:** Main Street – in front of Zurich building
- **Date and time:** Tuesday – 12h00
- **Number of people counted in 10 min:** 80

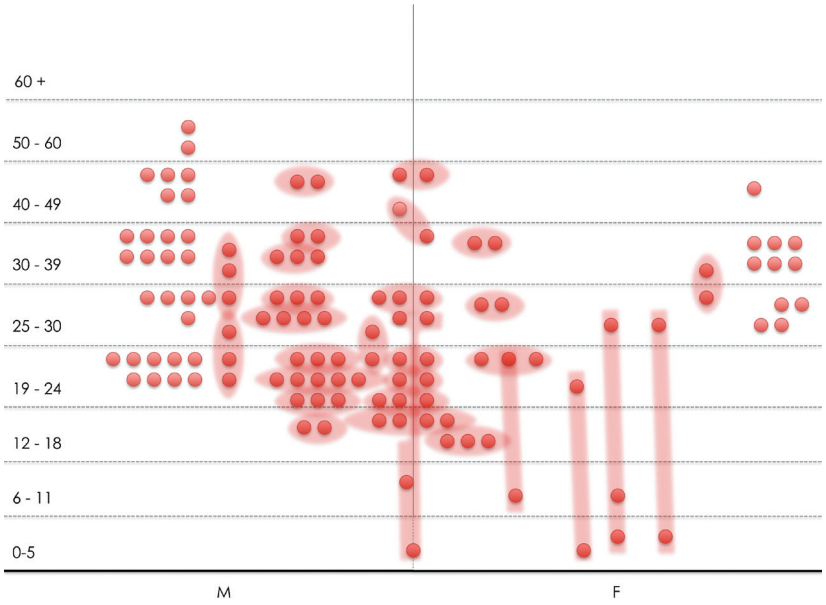


Analysis:

- strong individual pedestrian practices
- 25-49 age group is predominant
- visibly more men than women
- Black population is larger than the other groups

VI. I-BIZ AND BUSY STREET – NOORD STREET - RESEARCH DATA

- **Place of counting:** Corner Klein and Noord Street
- **Date and time:** Tuesday – 12h00
- **Number of people counted in 10 min:** 117



Analysis:

- Large number of individual commuters
- Stronger presence of men than women
- Only a few children
- Black population is dominant

VI. THE FAKE STREET: MONTECASINO - RESEARCH DATA

As previously mentioned (cf Annexure I. Questionnaire presentation) Montecasino was a challenging case for the research: the following data may not be representative.

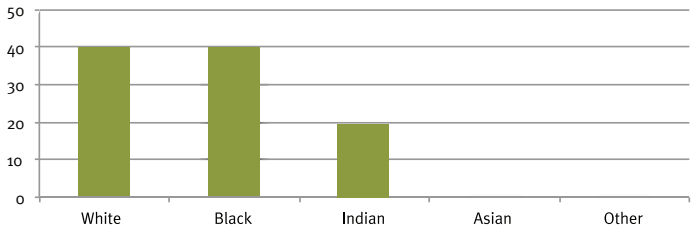
A. Interviews

Profile of the interviewee's sample

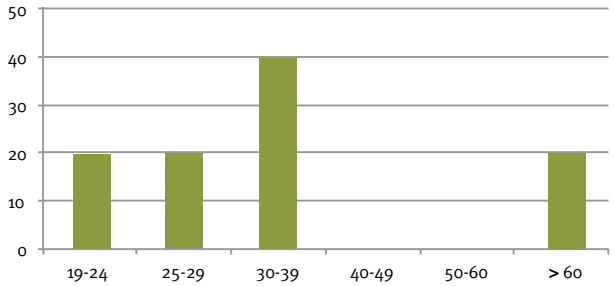
Gender



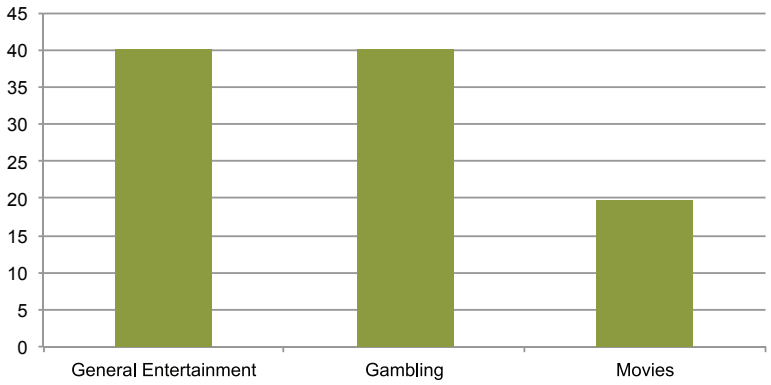
Race



Age

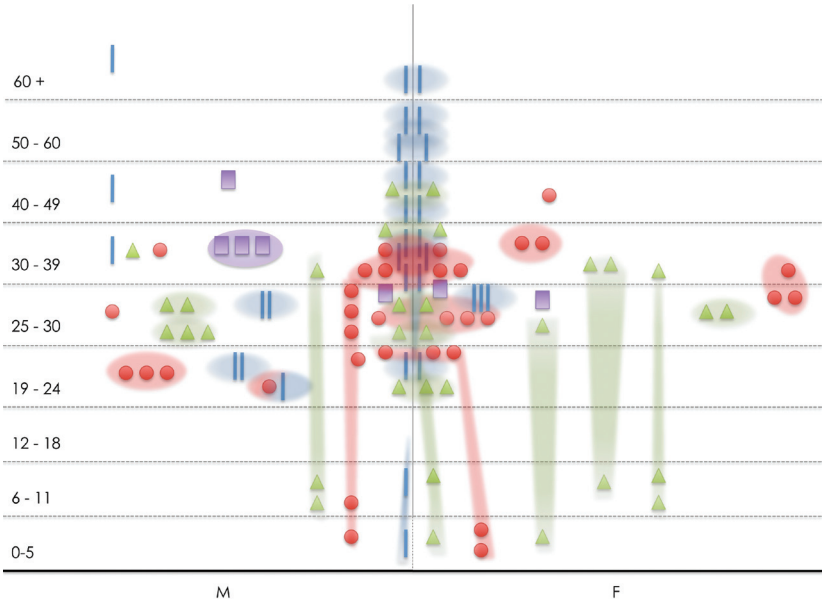


Activity



B. Counting profile

- **Place of counting:** Top of the Grand Staircase – Main Entrance
- **Date and time:** Sunday – 16h00
- **Number of people counted in 10 min:** 108



Analysis:

- The more diverse model:
  - In terms of age
  - In terms of race (33% Black people; 28% White people; 31% Indian people)
- A noticeable differentiation of group dynamics in terms of race (visit to Montecasino by Black and Indian families; and by White couples)

ANNEXURE III. PICTURES OF THE DISTRICTS STUDIED

I. THE PRIVATE STREET







II. THE VILLAGE STREET





III. THE TOWNSHIP STREET







IV. THE SPECIAL INNER CITY STREET







V. I-BIZ AND BUSY STREET – NOORD STREE









VI. THE FAKE STREET







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NOTES

1 Cf. *La Dépendance automobile*, G. Dupuy, collection « Villes », editions Anthropos, 1999.

2 Source : Road Accident Fund : http://www.raf.co.za/publication/Documents/RAF%20AR%202010_Web.pdf

3 The **Spatial Development Framework**, which is the "legislated component of the City's IDP that prescribes development strategies and policy guidelines to re-structure and re-engineer the City's urban form", supports for example the development of "*Non- Motorised Transport (NMT) modes*", including pedestrian and cycling practices. 10 priority areas for the NMT implementation have been designated, including the inner city, Soweto, Alexandra, Rosebank and Diepsloot. "*Pedestrian movement*" is also part of the **Nodal Management Guidelines**, suggesting that it "*should dominate within the nodes*". At last, all the **Precincts Plans** have to consider "*Pedestrian access, linkages and movement*".

4 The **8-80 cities programme** developed by the City of Jo'burg Transport Department is inspired by the "8-80 cities" non-profit organisation based in Canada and aiming at promoting walking and cycling activities in public spaces.

5 **Launch of the Growth and Development Livable Theme** http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=7018&catid=96&Itemid=114#ixzz1dlJbY66s

6 **Transport Month Launch**. MMC Rehana Moosajee stated: "*We want to draw people out of their cars. We want to get them comfortable with the idea of public transport*". http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5736&catid=88&Itemid=340#ixzz1eKJ811iM

7 Cf **Transport Month Launch, 2010** http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5736&catid=88&Itemid=340#ixzz1eKJ811iM

8 *"A pedestrian-friendly and walkable urban environment is the vision for Jo'burg's inner city, with wider pavements and a network of public spaces. (...)Joy Jacobs, a development manager at the JDA, explains: "As the city is experiencing considerable congestion, the concept of a 'walkable urban environment' is significantly hindered."* Source: *Plans for walkable Joburg*, Romaana Naidoo, 05 May 2011 http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6566&catid=88&Itemid=266#ixzz1dlIrg1O5

9 Source: Andrew Boraine - http://www.andrewboraine.com/2010/11/walking-blues-or-how-to-make-cape-town-a-more-walkable-city/

10 Source: www.melrosearch.co.za/

11 Source: *Spaces and Places*, G. Garner, 2010.

12 Source: Interview with G. Wilson, November 2011.

13 The development has been owned and managed by AMDEC since 2005.

14 Source: Interview with G. Wilson, November 2011.

15 Sarah Calburn, quoted in *Johannesburg Transition*, by Clive M. Chipkin.

16 City of Johannesburg – Melrose Precinct document

17 www.melrosearch.co.zo

18 www.melrosearch.co.zo

19 *Spaces and Places Johannesburg*, Gerald Garner, 2010.

20 *Spaces and places* Johannesburg, Gerald Garner, 2010.

21 *Spaces and places* Johannesburg, Gerald Garner, 2010.

22 Leon Krige, quoted in *Johannesburg Transition*, by Clive M. Chipkin. 2008.

23 *Johannesburg Transition*, by Clive M. Chipkin. 2008.

24 *Johannesburg Transition*, by Clive M. Chipkin. 2008.

25 *Johannesburg Transition*, by Clive M. Chipkin. 2008.

26 www.melrosearch.co.za

27 www.melrosearch.co.za

28 *Johannesburg Transition*, by Clive M. Chipkin. 2008.

29 City of Johannesburg – Melrose Precinct document

30 Source: www.melrosearch.co.za

31 http://www.thezoneatrosebank.co.za/

32 Source : Rosebank management district - http://www.rosebank.co.za/

33 *Spaces and places* Johannesburg, Gerald Garner, 2010.

34 *Spaces and places* Johannesburg, Gerald Garner, 2010.

35 Source : www.parkhurst.org.za

36 The density of the area is explained by the division of a slice of the original farm Braamfontein into 2,147 stands that were sold for £100 each (source : http://www.joburg.org.za/).
37 Source : www.parkhurst.org.za
38 Source : www.parkhurst.org.za - November 2011
39 Source : www.parkhurst.org.za - November 2011
40 PVRA meeting, November 2011.
41 *Spaces and places* Johannesburg, Gerald Garner, 2010.
42 Source: Interview with the Chairman of the Parkhurst Resident Association, November 2011.
43 Source: Interview with the Chairman of the Parkhurst Resident Association, November 2011.
45 Source: Interview with the Chairman of the Parkhurst Residents Association, November 2011.
46 For more information: http://www.mveledzo.org.za
47 *The Endless City*, The urban age project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Banl's Alfred Herrhausen Society, ed. Phaidon, 2007.
48 Source: SDF of Diepsloot.
49 "*Life in the fast lane*", The Times, 29/11/2011.
50 Source: *Proximité spatiale et distance sociale,* J-C Chamboredon and M. Lemaire, 1970.
53 http://www.alexandra.co.za/
54 *The Joburg Book,* N. Brodie, p.82
59 A queue marshal is "*a person designated by a taxi association to regulate minibus taxi-type services*" (Source: http://www.joburg-archive.co.za/bylaws/taxi_by-laws.pdf). Queue marshals generally control the entry of passengers into minibuses.
60 *The Endless City*, The urban age project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Banl's Alfred Herrhausen Society, ed. Phaidon, 2007.
61 *The Endless City*, The urban age project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Banl's Alfred Herrhausen Society, ed. Phaidon, 2007.
62 "*Aesthetics of superfluity*", Public culture vol. 16. Quoted in *The Endless City*, The urban age project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Banl's Alfred Herrhausen Society, ed. Phaidon, 2007.
63 Slogan from the ADT security company: "*ADT is watching you*".
64 Jacob DLAMINI: *The joys of a peregrination in an anxious city,* 2010.
65 Source: Interview with G. Wilson, 2011.
66 Cf. work of *Urban Advantage* on this topic: http://www.urban-advantage.com/images.html The company creates striking photo montages of pedestrian-friendly spaces (even if the final impression is that these spaces all look the same...).
67 It is the aim of the current "Exhibition road" in London, a kerb-free single surface without barriers or street clutter.
68 Cf "eyes upon the street" theory from Jane Jacobs.
70 "*Why Walkable Cities Aren't Always the Ones You'd Think*", Richard Florida, 2011.

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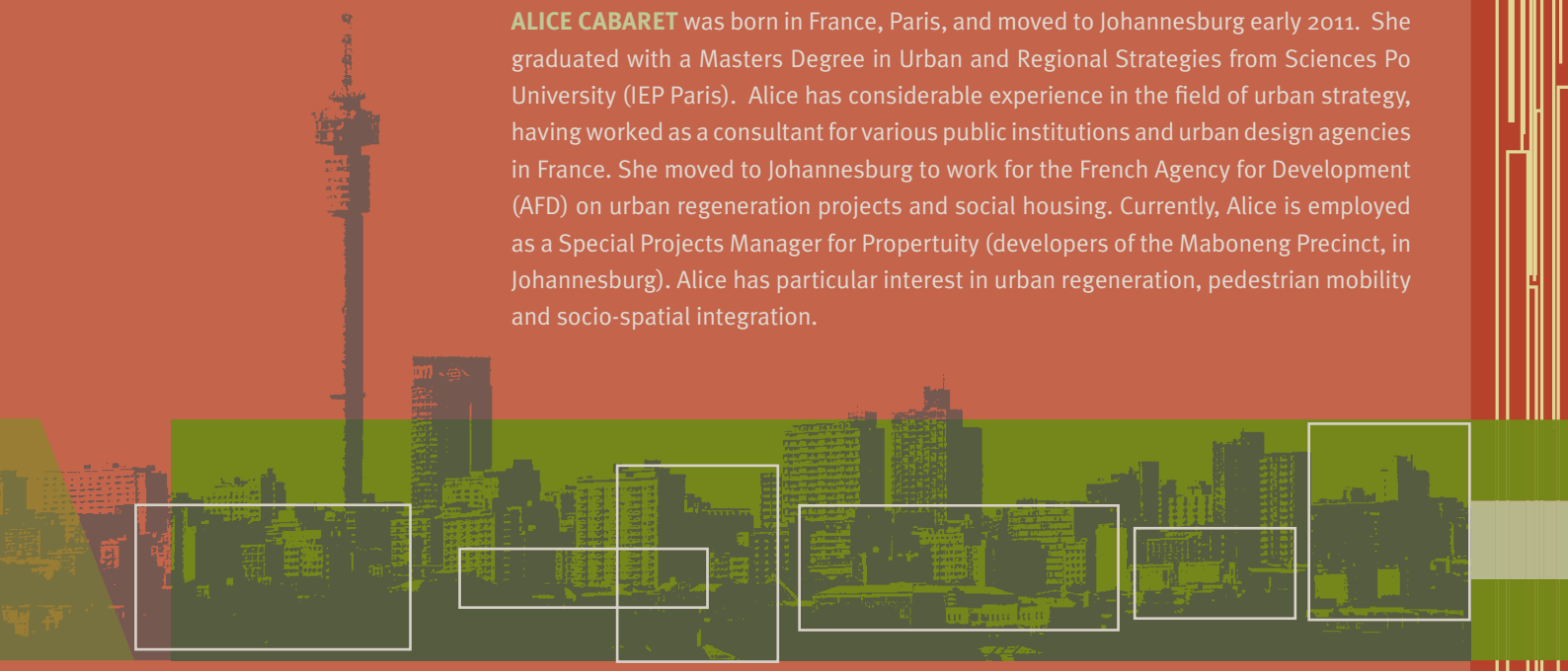
http://www.wits.ac.za/academic/ebe/archplan/14488/sarchi.html

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Research Chair under the NRF South African Research Chairs Initiative (SARChI)

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ALICE CABARET was born in France, Paris, and moved to Johannesburg early 2011. She graduated with a Masters Degree in Urban and Regional Strategies from Sciences Po University (IEP Paris). Alice has considerable experience in the field of urban strategy, having worked as a consultant for various public institutions and urban design agencies in France. She moved to Johannesburg to work for the French Agency for Development (AFD) on urban regeneration projects and social housing. Currently, Alice is employed as a Special Projects Manager for Propertuity (developers of the Maboneng Precinct, in Johannesburg). Alice has particular interest in urban regeneration, pedestrian mobility and socio-spatial integration.



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