

Interrogating the Liveability of Kissy Street, Freetown: A Socio-spatial Approach

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ABSTRACT

Over the last two decades, Freetown¹ has experienced an alarming increase in its population through urban growth and rapid urbanisation especially during and after its decade-long civil war. This has caused serious congestion on the city centre streets and raised serious questions about urban citizenship as squatter settlements and street markets proliferate.

Kissy Street (now Sani Abacha Street²) is where this spectacle has attracted more attention and public debate. However, lively streets may not always guarantee liveable streets. Therefore, the present study is an empirical investigation into people's attitudes and perceptions of the physical characteristics, use and management of the street. It deploys an argumentative, emancipatory framework to discuss the political, social and economic contexts that are pertinent to a holistic urban experience; using three main theoretical constructs: the theory of good city form and the liveable street paradigm, place theory and the socio-spatial theory.

The study argues for an agenda towards the liveability of Kissy street and highlights the benefits of the study to aid policy making decisions, planning and design in order to create sustainable street spaces that will guarantee optimum social interaction, economic activities and the overall street space quality. Its main focus is to interrogate the liveability and quality of living of residents of a lively, densely populated mixed-use street.

¹ The Capital of Sierra Leone.

² This study uses the old name for this street. The street has been renamed after the former Nigerian dictator Sani Abacha Street for his efforts in ending the Sierra Leone civil war – a war memorial!

The study employs the sequential mixed-method strategy. The set of data includes physical measurements, questionnaire survey, focused (semi-structured) interviews, video recording and photographs, official statistics and newspaper articles. The findings suggest a complex relationship amongst the different user groups in their everyday life and the ways in which they interact with their physical environments.

Keywords: Freetown Central Areas, Kissy Street, Urban Form, Building and Public Space Relationship, Movement, Liveable Street, Sustainability.

ÖZ

Sierra Leone'nin başkenti olan Freetown, on yıl süren iç savaş sonrasında son yirmi yılda büyük bir iç göç olarak endişe verici oranda nüfus artışı yaşamış ve hızla kentleşmiştir. Bu durum, kent merkezinde ciddi bir yaya ve trafik karmaşası oluştururken, informal yerleşimlerin ve sokak satıcılığının arttığı bir ortamda kent vatandaşlığı ile ilgili ciddi sorunlara neden olmuştur.

Freetown kentinin doğu ve batı yakasını birleştiren, stratejik bir ticari mekan ve ana trafik arteri olan Kissy Caddesi (ya da günlük dilde Sani Abacha Caddesi), bu bağlamda son dönemde yoğun ilgi ve tartışma odağı olmuştur. Bir caddenin yoğun kullanılması onun yaşanabilir olduğunu göstermez. Söz konusu cadde de çok renkli karakteri yanında aşırı kalabalık, ses kirliliği, sokak suçları, güvenlik sorunu ve sağlığa elverişsiz ortamı ile bu tartışmalı ortamı yaratmakta olup, araştırma ve sorgulamayı gerektirmektedir.

Bu tez, insanların fiziksel çevre ile ilgili algı ve davranış biçimlerini araştırarak; kamusal ve özel mekan arasındaki ilişki temelinde caddenin/sokağın politik, sosyal ve ekonomik bağlamda nasıl kullanıldığını ve yönetildiğini inceleyen deneysel bir çalışma olup, bütüncül bir kentsel deneyim için gerekli olan kamusal-özel arakesitini güçlendirecek öneriler sunmayı hedefler. Bunu üç temel paradigma, 'iyi kent' biçimi ve yaşanabilir cadde/sokak yaklaşımı, yer kuramı ve sosyo-mekansal kuram üzerine konumlandırır.

Çalışma, Freetown kent merkezinde bulunan Kissy Caddesi'nin iyileştirilmesi ile ilgili öneriler sunar; ve sosyal iletişim ve ekonomik etkinlikleri hedef alan sürdürülebilir kent mekanları yaratmak için planlama ve tasarım kararlarına etki edebilecek yasal karar mekanizmasını nasıl etkileyebileceğini tartışır. Temel amacı çok yoğun kullanımı olan karma kullanımlı bir ana caddenin yaşanabilirliğini ve orada yaşayan konut sakinlerinin yaşam kalitelerini ölçmektir.

Araştırmada ardışık karma-yöntem stratejisi benimsenmiştir. Kullanılan veriler, gözlem ve ölçümler yoluyla toplanan fiziksel veriler yanında Kissy Caddesi sakinleri ile yapılmış karşılıklı (yarı-kurgulanmış) görüşmeleri ve anket çalışmalarını, video kayıtlarını, fotoğraflamayı, resmi istatistik ve gazete makalelerinin derlenmesini içerir. Araştırmanın bulguları, günlük yaşamda farklı kullanıcıların kendi aralarında ve fiziksel çevreleri ile kurdukları ilişkilerde karmaşık bir ilişkinin varlığını ortaya koyar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Freetown kent merkezi, Kissy Caddesi, Kentsel biçim, Bina - kamusal mekan ilişkisi, Devinim, Yaşanabilir Sokak/Cadde, Sürdürülebilirlik.

DEDICATION

To the following, I heartily dedicate this work:

my wife and son,

Makiela and Lumumba;

my mother and my father,

Mamie Amara Jones and Mohamed M. Conteh;

my maternal grandmother,

late Mammy Tenneh;

my paternal grandmother;

Late Baindu Conteh (AKA Baindu Sila)

who left us on the 14th day of February, 2015;

my maternal uncle,

Late Peter Kenei Jones

whom we sadly lost to Tetanus on the 7th day of June, 2012 - during the course of this work and Mohamed Ali Bawoh (my brother-in-law) whom we sadly lost this year.

Finally, respect for and gratitude to all the men and women of Sierra Leone who, pushed to the very margins of the everyday life, continue to labour steadfastly to make ends meet.

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“It takes a village to raise a child”- an African proverb.

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Furthermore, I have put all the efforts required in this work as a culmination of years of academic enterprise and life experience; therefore, the responsibility for any shortcomings in this study, as there is bound to be in any work of this nature, is purely mine.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

It is 5:30 in the morning and petty traders, office workers, civil servants, shopkeepers, shoeshine boys, young girls and boys of school-going age (carrying their goods on their heads), pickpockets and people from all parts of Freetown have all started streaming-in into the heart of the city. The homeless and the handicapped, perennial residents, who make themselves at home only when the traders have packed their wares and headed home, give way to the day time custodians of the streets. Shops lining the sides of the street are opening their doors; the street traders are spreading their wares in every available emptiness or crevice; cars are honking their horns; pedestrians of all walks of life add to the mix negotiating their paths never in a straight line giving due credit to Newton's Law of Motion. Most of the traders are women and children of school going age. By evening it is a carnival atmosphere! The mayor and his full retinue of security officers stage their intermittent raids on defaulters of street order and sometimes why 'spare the rod and spoil the child'? Taxi drivers who do not obey traffic rules should face the full force of the mayoral whip. It is hard to miss the almost surreal mixture of things, the colours, smells, sounds, people and automobile in the melee.

It is evening time; children are playing Football, 'Ar Die' 'Touch' (the latter two games played by children by drawing lines on the ground) and all sorts of games on residential streets. Parents sit in their verandas and watch their children play. Such

street games are only interrupted by the occasional passage of an automobile or a passer-by. Here and there women are seated visiting with each other plaiting hair and talking about everything from facts to fiction and gossips and the men are in their own corners, preferably under a tree, playing games or ogling every beautiful lady that falls into their cones of vision.

Problem Statement. The short anecdote above is a descriptive panorama of life on the streets of Freetown, Sierra Leone and also a rough sketch of the various users and uses of street spaces in the city centre. The first paragraph is an imagery of life on the commercial streets while the second depicts life on the residential streets. That is to say, Sierra Leoneans literally live on the street, in their verandas; their balconies; under the trees adjacent to the streets. However, the situation on the neighbourhood street, which doubles as a residential and commercial street in the city centre, is more complex. Here, commercial activities on the street predominate making the experience seemingly chaotic. But even in the seeming chaos pockets of the homely attribute exhibited by the residential street can be seen at the storefronts, on the street and terraces on the upper floors. People can be seen sitting and chatting, playing games, barbing or plaiting hair or simply sitting and watching the phantasmagoria of street life. Kissy Street, the street under investigation, is a prime example (see figures 1 and 2).

The everyday life on Kissy Street depicts the comingling of human and vehicular traffic. At cockcrow, thanks to Freetown's highly centralised geography *vis-a-vis* its political centralisation, people of all walks of life pour into the city centre and from the eastern part of the city through the narrow confines of Kissy Street (see figure 9).



Figure 1: Women Street Traders Plaiting Hair on Kissy Street.

Geographically, this street is the major traffic artery that directly connects the two major regions of the city. It functions as an arterial and residential street by virtue of its location. In addition, it has always been Freetown's high commercial street and therefore attracts all and sundry; that is, vehicular and pedestrian traffic as well as the ever-multiplying street vendors. This has led to a densely populated and overcrowded street space. Certainly, vehicular traffic has always been a problem since the increase in car ownership in the late 70s. It has become even more acute now as Freetown like most of its African counterparts have become dumping sites for cheap, 'un-roadworthy' imported vehicles from Europe and Asia but the sheer growth of the population of the city especially during the war period has compounded the problem. Nothing prepared the city to accommodate the large number of people that pours into the city centre every day. Given the narrow streets,

narrow sidewalks, the mingling of automobiles, pedestrians and street traders (displaying their goods on the streets and sidewalks), the density of use is only expected to increase. This may have both positive and negative effects as urban growth gains momentum.



Figure 2: The Public Place as Theatre - A Group of Blind Boys' Musical Performance on Kissy Street.

A populated and lively city centre has been found desirable in light of the perceived benefits that can be gained through the stimulation and support of commercial and leisure activities, economic prosperity for businesses and property, the availability of a variety of activities, reduction in the rate of crime, enrichment of the general urban experience, among other things. Conversely, an overpopulated and lively city centre may give rise to undesirable or negative outcomes and dent people's overall

perception of space. Foremost, it can lead to congestion and the subjective feeling of overcrowding.

The crowding phenomenon described in this study is defined in terms of perceptual density, one of the essential dimensions of density. Churchman (1999) has defined it as “an individual’s perception and estimate of the number of people present in a given area, the space available and the organisation of that space” (Churchman 1999, p. 390). Like crowding, a user’s psychological experience of population density, perceptual density is a subjective quality that needs to be decoupled from its objective physical condition – density (Churchman, 1999; Oktay, 2001).

Leaning on several correlational and experimental studies and deploying the dimension of time and crowding phenomena, McClelland (1982) examines the long and short term experiences of crowding. The former describes the effect of living in densely populated housing environments while the latter characterises the time spent in densely populated public spaces. The studies show no negative health effects on living in crowded environments be they households, cities or neighbourhood units. However, this changes when people are restricted or bounded to such environments or when they are compelled to comingle with other people in such environments. Here, negative effects and/or pathologies have been reported especially due to lack of space (spatial density) or too many people in close proximity (social density), the inconclusiveness of these studies notwithstanding (McClelland 1982, pp. 206-209).

Whatever the results of the psychological effects of extreme densities of people in public settings, the physical effects like petty crimes, pick-pocketing and snatching have also been reported to thrive in overcrowded spaces. Moreover, overcrowding

hampers pedestrian and/or vehicular movement within the city as in the spectre of traffic jam at peak hours while noise pollution from car horns, screaming hawkers and other sources (perhaps the most negative outcome of overcrowding on the streets) seems to be actually killing the city centre despite the liveliness of the streets. These negative outcomes seem to affect the perception of liveability for the residents and other users of Kissy Street.



Figure 3: Map of Sierra Leone and the Location of Sierra Leone on the African Map. Source: (Mabinty L. Yilla 2006, p. 1).

During several field trips and walk-by observations, a number of physical and social issues were experienced. In physical terms, there is no proper upkeep of the streets as open drainages discharge their contents like open wounds, litter proliferates and the building facades neglected and need uplift. The visual quality of the street due to the general lack of maintenance gives the feeling of dilapidated, unkempt buildings. Socially, there is a general perception of street traders as social misfits in the socio-cultural context of the word. There is a spectacle of the offensive, detestable, unprintable orals called 'Mammy Cuss' (translated 'mother insult') in famous Sierra Leonean parlance. These are swearwords Sierra Leoneans love to hate. The actual connotation of this expression is somewhat loose; it can mean anything from a mere mention of the name of someone's mother during an altercation to a full blown obscene language often exceeding the limits of verbal debauchery. What this seems to suggest is that the patterns of use of a public space or domain does affect its relationship with the private. A crowded residential-commercial street (that is a mixed-use street that combines residential, commercial and other uses) tends to seriously hamper residential use of street. Apart from the noise and air pollution it engenders, it may also cause a negative effect on neighbourly relations, sense of place and belonging, an increase in crime and insecurity and psychological and other health problems. This condition must be ameliorated if the city has to provide healthier, liveable and responsive environment for its inhabitants.

Due to this, several attempts have been made by both the central and local governments to deal with the problems of traffic and street trading. These have yielded no results however. Out-of-centre locations have been allocated to street vendors with little or no success and a bypass motorway to ease traffic congestion.

During the course of this study, two sites in the city centre have been allocated for formalised market constructions in a bid to ‘drive’ – in the mayor’s words – street traders off the streets’. On Monday, 1st October 2007, the Standard Times Press, one of Sierra Leone’s print and online newspapers ran an article publishing the so-called Local Government Master Plan by the then Lord Mayor of the Freetown City Council (FCC), Winstanley Bankole Johnson under the flamboyant caption, “Sanity at Last! – The Mayor’s Blueprint for Freetown”. In the said blueprint, among other things, the mayor writes under the subsection, “Construction, Rehabilitation and Expansion of Markets”:

“Unless and until modern market facilities with adequate storage spaces and social amenities such as toilets and nurseries are provided, there can be no success recorded at driving traders off the streets. Multi-Storyed [sic] Markets MUST be constructed at Sewa Grounds and King Jimmy, whilst Kissy Road and Kroo Town markets should immediately be rehabilitated and extended backwards, inwards and sideways possibly with compulsory acquisition of some adjacent properties”.

In the following paragraph, the mayor concedes the politicised nature of the management of other market places “but unless markets are constructed and expanded, street trading and all other vices associated with it will continue to be a menace” (Standard Times, 2007 – see figure in appendix B).

The top-down approach or what can be better described as procrustean measures clearly expressed in this release point partly to the reasons why these forays into problem solving never come to fruition. These are attempts to formalise the so-called informal economy notwithstanding the emotive everyday realities of the

marginalised traders and the socio-economic and political dimensions that characterise their spatialities. The problems have so far proved immutable and there does not seem to be any real political will to address them (this is treated in more details in chapter 6).

Research Objectives. Numerous works have been done on the street as the most ubiquitous public space in a city. Chief amongst these works is the works of Appleyard and Lintell in their 1972 seminal and most acclaimed research on, “Livable Streets” in which they compared the liveability of three parallel residential streets with heavy, medium and light traffic volumes. In this study, they measured the effects of traffic on five major parameters: traffic hazard; noise, stress and pollution; environmental awareness; neighbourly relation and the perception of home territory. The findings confirmed an inverse correlation between high traffic and the poor liveability of residential streets. “Heavy traffic did indeed create a whole range of problems for residents...” (Appleyard 1981, pp. 15-28). In an article whose title painted yet the grimmest picture of the street as a space for the automobile, “Streets Can Kill Cities: Third World Beware”, Appleyard (1983) warns developing countries about the dangers of copying ‘western’ models of street design that have been solely built, in his words, for the automobile (Appleyard, 1983).

Following in the tracks and methods of the Appleyard and Lintell (1972) study, Bosselmann and Macdonald (1999) evaluated the liveability of three high traffic residential boulevards “with centre high speed lanes flanked by local access lanes and intervening landscape on the medians.” Like the Appleyard and Lintell study, they measured the effects of traffic on the respondents comfort on the streets, their

social interactions and their perceptions of their home territories. The findings suggested that with regards to residential boulevards, mitigating factors like landscaping and the distance of buildings from traffic noise source reduced the negative impacts of high traffic (Bosselmann and Macdonald 1999, p. 168).

In a more recent study entitled “Lively Streets: Determining Environmental Characteristics to Support Social Behaviour” Mehta (2007) explores the interrelationship between peoples behavioural responses and the environmental quality of neighbourhood commercial streets. Using a “multi-method strategy” and a variety of data collection techniques he surveyed the behaviour of “residents, workers and visitors on three neighbourhood commercial streets. His findings reveal a strong relationship between behaviour patterns and the social use of space, land use and the physical attributes of the street (Mehta 2007, p. 167).

While the Appleyard and Bosselmann studies concentrate on the effect of the automobile on residential street liveability, Mehta’s focuses on the perceptual qualities of street spaces. However, what they all have in common with other studies is their geographical bias. All the studies have paid little or no attention to streets in non-western countries.

Therefore, the present study is an empirical investigation of peoples’ attitudes and perceptions towards the physical characteristics, use and management of mixed-use street spaces in the Freetown city centre. Its focus is to measure the liveability of a lively, densely populated and ‘congested’ mixed-use street and how this affects the physical characteristics of the buildings, the social use and maintenance of street or public space. The object is to open a discourse towards an agenda for city centre street liveability in Freetown. This it is hoped will aid policy making decisions,

planning and design in order to create sustainable street spaces that will guarantee optimum social interaction, economic activities and the overall street space quality but at the same time strengthen the symbiotic relationship between the two contiguous domains of the public and private.

1.1 Theoretical Basis and Opportunity for Research

In the literature, and as is evident from the discussions above, previous studies on liveable streets have focused on the effect of the automobile on residential street liveability and as a consequence attributed the fate of the residential street to modern planning measures that took only traffic engineering as the basis for city planning (Cardenas-Jiron, 2001; Lillebye, 2001; Bosselman and Macdonald, 1999; Jacobs, 1993; Appleyard, 1983; Appleyard, 1981). Pedestrian needs as in the provision of sidewalks and pedestrian precincts have always been of marginal concern. The street has been conceived solely as a domain for automobile movement and not as a social space to stay in. The street, though, remains an important public space in which people perform their social, economic, political and cultural activities (Jacobs, 1961).

Furthermore, the overwhelming literature on urban space design stresses the importance of social activities for a successful use of urban spaces. It is believed that a mix and welter of activities in cities are indicators of its vitality and liveliness (Mehtap, 2007; Carmona, 2003; Jacobs 1993; Carr et al., 1992; Jacobs and Appleyard 1987; Bentley et al., 1985; Appleyard, 1981; Whyte, 1980; Alexander, 1979; Alexander, 1977; Gehl, 1971; Jacobs, 1961). However, lively streets may not always guarantee liveable streets for most residents on neighbourhood mixed-use streets. In the present context of study – taking into account the complex everyday spectacle - it may be hard to pin-down *prima facie* those aspects that guarantee a

liveable street environment. It is hard because if one can hypothetically sack the automobile off the mixed-use street under investigation and create a pedestrian-only precinct in its stead, there is little or no guarantee that this will enhance its liveability. Less investigated is the liveability of an overcrowded and ‘chaotic’ (the term is used here with caution) mixed-use street. But as Rapoport (2005) reminds us, an urban environment is a cultural environment that is loaded with meanings derived from its cultural milieu; but that culture in itself is not monolithic and need to be dismantled into its constituent components and investigated to understand its manifest and underlying latent aspects (Rapoport 2005; see also Rapoport, 1977). Therefore, the present study taps into the opportunity presented by the dearth of research in the liveability of an overcrowded mixed-use street. It seeks to contribute to this debate and the efforts of others in the discipline through the help of the pertinent theories by investigating a different cultural setting through a multi-pronged approach. This way it is hoped that the study will explore the totality of the urban experience with regards to the Freetown commercial (mixed-use) street.

1.2 Research Question

As can be gleaned from its focus and underlying objective, the general approach of this work is exploratory in both its structure and content. It probes the relationship between the physical buildings and the street space they define, on the one hand, and how that relationship informs the social uses of both spaces, on the other. Therefore, the central research question is, “what social, functional and physical street characteristics affect the liveability of city centre mixed-use streets and in what ways do these affect the symbiotic relationship between the private and public domains?”

1.3 Research Propositions and Assumptions

This research postulates one main proposition: that a lively but densely populated and ‘overcrowded’ mixed-use street can seriously reduce liveability for its residents and their social, physical and economic wellbeing.

Assumptions. Drawing from the above hypothesis, the following assumptions can be made:

- a lively street may not necessarily be a liveable street
- that a mix of land uses where buildings abut the floor plane (public-private) interface and the good management of this relationship guarantees a variety of social activities and a better use of street space for residents and other users.
- That the more dilute/diffused the public-private interface the better and more successful the street will work as a public space for ephemeral, lingering, sustained social interaction and the stricter the separation between the public and private spaces the lesser the social interaction, holding other micro level characteristics constant;
- That the physical quality of the city centre street spaces cannot be further improved without improvement in the socio-political and socio-economic contexts;
- That physical upgrade efforts that are grounded in the local culture and that follow a primarily bottom-up but multi-pronged approach and therefore local involvement in decision making are more likely to yield desired results;
- That locally generated solutions informed by the everyday life of users are more likely to succeed in making a liveable street;

- That after design and planning decisions have been made and implemented, creativity, imagination and innovation in the management of public space become the guiding principles.



Figure 4: Photo Showing Crowd at the Eastern Terminus - Eastern Police and Clock Tower.

1.4 The Significance of the Study Area: Kissy Street, Freetown

The Freetown city centre is located between the Government Wharf in the west and the Queen Elizabeth II Quay in the east. The geographical boundary of this area marks the original settlement called the Freetown amphitheatre; a compact and high-density area squeezed between the Sierra Leone River estuary and the peninsula mountain and becomes very narrow and assumes a linear form. Kissy Street, the study area, lies within this centre and links the square at Eastern Police Clock Tower to the east and PZ (Patterson and Zochonis) squares to the west of the city (see figures 4, 5 and 8). Historical accounts suggest that Kissy Street has always being the

great centre of native trade in Freetown (Alldridge 1910, p.55) (figures 6 & 7). This suggests the historical importance of the street as well as its significance as a major commercial artery. Why Kissy Street? Why is this street special and thus the subject of study? Are there no other streets with similar profiles? These are some of the questions that have been asked during the course of this study.

1.4.1 Historical Significance

As indicated in the colonial account above, Kissy Street long gained fame as a commercial street. However, in terms of built form, nothing remains of its early or – if one is allowed to say - original architectural image. The present buildings (architectural frame) defining the street are all modern concrete structures of little or no historical significance. One glaring exception is the circa 200 years old magnificent red-lateritic stone edifice, the Freetown Ebenezer Circuit Gibraltar Methodist Church - the only non-secular building along the entire street. As the historical images in figures 6 & 7 show, the present street space character and identity has changed dramatically over the years. Historically, the buildings were mostly constructed out of timber panels or wood sidings on a stone foundation typically out of the red laterite stone readily available in Freetown. Its major roof style is the pitched gable in a Victorian architectural heritage style locally called ‘Creole Architecture’.

Furthermore, although Kissy Street has always been a residential street some historical accounts (as mentioned earlier above) and pictorial representation (like the one in figures 6 and 7) show that it has always been a commercial street and street trading has always been part of its character albeit not on the scale and magnitude that it has become. But more importantly, its strategic location as the only artery

which directly ties the eastern half of the city to the city centre has made it a popular street in the heart of Freetown. One can also surmise that it is no accident that this is also the street that used to attract most foreign business enterprises especially that of the Syrians and their Lebanese counterparts who followed in their wake. This is said to have earned the street its sobriquet, “Small Lebanon.” According to Gleave (1997), Kissy Street was one of four “principal business thoroughfares” about 1910, the early part of the last century (Gleave (1997, p. 266).



Figure 5: Location Map Showing Kissy Street Connecting the Two Squares - the Eastern Police Square to the East and Patterson and Zochonis (PZ) Square to the West.

1.4.2 Social Significance and Everyday Life

As mentioned above, Kissy Street is the main traffic artery that links the eastern half of the city to the main city core. Due to its strategic location, it acts as the main face of the city; an attribute that has social, cultural, economic and political implications. The positions of the two main international entry points to Freetown (Sierra Leone), the seaport and airport dictate that any visitor to the country who must enter the city centre must do so through Kissy Street at least on one occasion. It is also, in a sense, Freetown's high street and thus the main commercial street. In the testimony of some inhabitants, it has sometimes over the recent past been a serious embarrassment to some sections of the Freetown citizenry and for government officials receiving foreign dignitaries, business elites etc. The current overcrowding situation, spurred by street trading mostly by women who are now a much organised group under the Women Traders Organisation adds much gravitas to its political purview.

As an important voting bloc, it wields enormous clout on the Sierra Leonean political scene. Street trading is an emotive spectacle of African cities but, by its very nature of belonging to the so-called 'informal' sector of the economy; it indisputably represents an important player in the economic calculations of most African states. It provides self-employment to many who in turn employ a large number of the unemployed. The problem of Kissy Street is a common phenomenon on most of the streets in the city centre where street markets spread seamlessly but perhaps Kissy Street is in the news because of its strategic location and function or as a convenient metaphor for all the overcrowded street markets. The so-called travelling commissioner representing the colonial government in Sierra Leone, T. J. Alldridge

captures, as it were, the image of the colonial Freetown street space – whatever his intent - when he wrote on the first impression of his voyage to the colony:

“it is the human interest that from the first imperatively demands attention. The busy crowds of men, women, and children, with their life, movement, and colour, exercise a kind of fascination over the onlooker even when he is familiar with them. And these many-coloured crowds are all intent upon one thing, various as may be their attempts to reach the universal goal. That one thing, for six days in the week, is Trade; trade in the great stores and trade in the open streets, trade from the firms who do business in thousands of pounds, down to trade by the tiny child with a calabash on its head containing a few boxes of matches or reels of thread. The native Sierra Leonean is a born trader; but it is of course, what they call “the itinerating trade” that first strikes the observer. Wherever there is a street corner with a tree and a little shade to sit under, there you may notice clusters of people and some selling” (Alldridge 1910, pp. 29-30).

Little wonder then that this spectacle has remain relatively unchanged until this day.

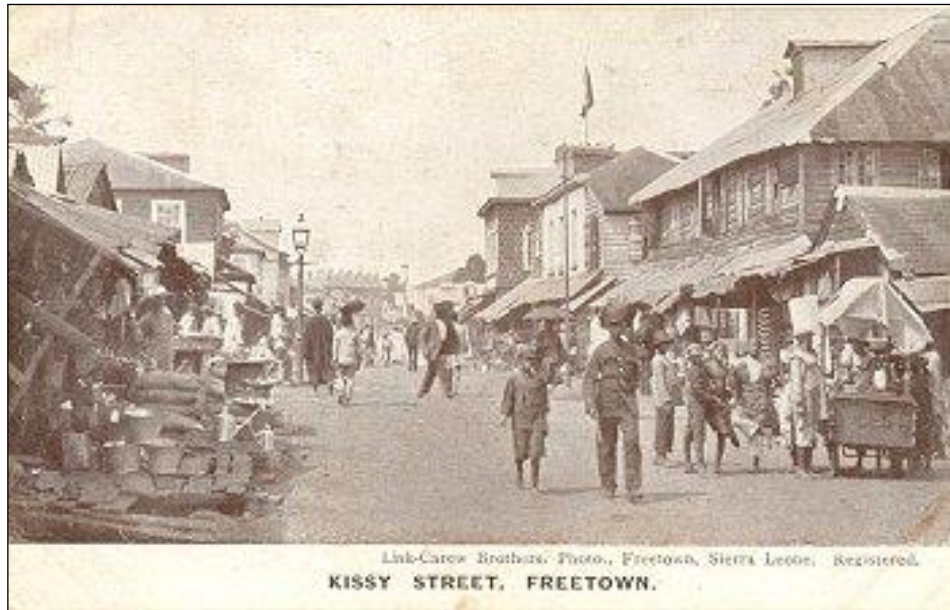


Figure 6: Historical Postcard Showing Kissy Street, circa 1906. Source: (www.sierra-leone.org).



Figure 7: An Artist's Impression of Kissy Street. Source: (www.sierra-leone.org).



Figure 8: Aerial Photo of PZ in the City Centre - the West End Terminus of Kissy Street (2008).



Figure 9: Crowding Scene at Kissy Street, the Present Condition (2008).

1.5 A Brief Historical Background of Freetown³

The modern history of Freetown (as in the written literature) is in a significant way the history of Sierra Leone⁴ hence the first point of contact with navigators, pirates, marauding slave traders and the subsequent colonial outfit. Freetown is the capital city of the Republic of Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone itself is believed to have been discovered (the term ‘discovered’ is used here with caution attesting to the habitual – (discovered but in relation to whom? By whom? For whom?) - by a Portuguese sailor called Pedro da Cintra who gave it the name Sierra Lyoa (meaning ‘Lion Mountain’) later to be corrupted to Sierra Leone. Freetown serves both as the country’s political and commercial capital. It lies on the Peninsula near the Atlantic Ocean (commonly called the Freetown Peninsula) and is host to the world’s 3rd largest natural harbour - the Queen Elizabeth II Quay. Freetown was established in 1787 as a settlement for freed enslaved Africans after the so-called abolition of the slave trade. In 1792 it became one of Britain’s first colonies in West Africa followed by the declaration of the Sierra Leone hinterland as a British protectorate in 1896. As the major centre of British rule in West Africa, Fourah Bay (pronounced frah bay) College was established in 1827 and for more than a century it was the only ‘European-styled’ University in the whole of what is called ‘Sub-Saharan’ Africa which attracted many seeking education in the region. It was later to be named the “Athens of West Africa” apparently for its strong emphasis on the study of Greek and Latin at the time.

1.5.1 The Evolution of Freetown

According to Gleave (1997) and various other sources, Freetown was originally established in 1787 as a haven for prior enslaved Africans - especially the ‘black poor’ in London - after they gained their freedom. They were brought in together

³ Population = 1,050,301 (see Appendix A, Table 14. Provisional Population Census Report).

⁴ Population = 7,075,641 (see Appendix A, Table 14. Provisional Population Census Report).

with a small group of white men and women. However, animosity with surrounding ethnic groups in the immediate vicinity saw the sacking of this settlement until 1792 when it was re-formed as a settlement by the Sierra Leone Company. The Sierra Leone Company consisted of “a small group of white settlers and administrators... sent from London followed by a larger group of freemen and freed slaves [sic] from Nova Scotia.” This group was joined further by others from the West Indies (Gleave 1997, p. 259). At the time, this settlement was restricted to a small area of raised beach which Jarrett (1956) has called the “Freetown Amphitheater” from which the town has spread ever since. This group of people with the exception of the white settlers and administrators for the most part had nothing in common with the local culture and identity⁵. These non-native groups consisted of the “Nova Scotians (1792), the Maroons (1800), and the Liberated Africans (1807). These groups of people are generally called creoles (Jarrett, 1956) and the language they speak is called Krio (an English based language incorporating Portuguese, French and other local words). Krio is now the lingua franca of Sierra Leone.

⁵ It is hard to fathom how Jarrett (1956) reached his conclusions on this.

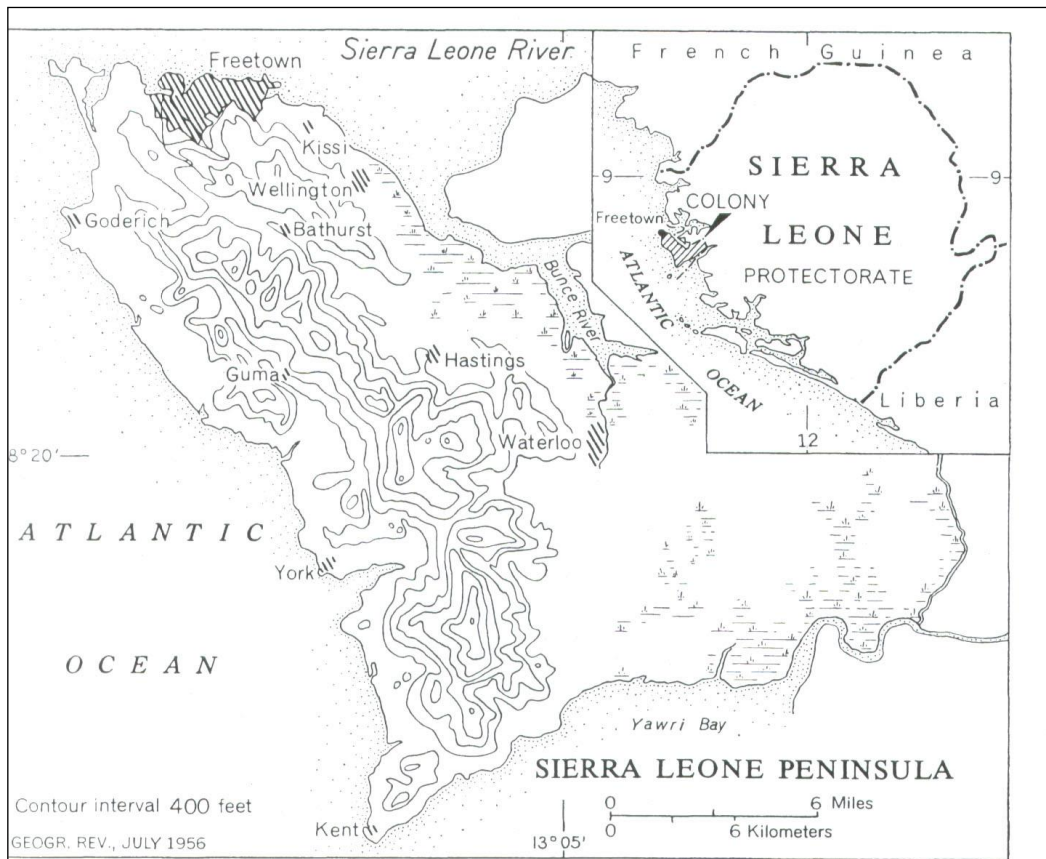


Figure 10: Location Map of Freetown Showing the Original Settlement, the Freetown Amphitheatre. Source: (Jarrett, 1956).

The settlement of these previously enslaved men and women including other groups and the local population is vital in the spatial distribution of the Freetown metropolis. Most of the areas in central Freetown and its greater metropolis are based on ethnic settlements with mostly the lower raised beach areas inhabited by indigenous communities and the higher grounds by the colonial administrators and later by government officials after independence.

The establishment of the Queen Elizabeth II Quay in the east of the city in 1954 and the activities of an earlier wharf in the west have had significant influence on the evolution of the city especially its centre areas. The area between these two ports includes the central area and has since been the central business district with

significant residential functions. It is the main area where indigenous groups whose jobs were tied to the functions of the ports were based. Also, warehouses were situated close enough to cut cost in the absence of vehicular transport in the early years of the city. Transportation was mostly by human power and hand drawn carts that would have been expensive as distance increased (Gleave, 1997). During the colonial era, spatial segregation became more of a function of social status than of ethnicity. The settlers and the Creoles occupied the high status central areas and the upcountry 'low-status' indigenous communities settled just at the fringes of the high status areas. Therefore, the indigenous areas were high density settlements that absorbed other relatives or country people as they came in. However, the post-independence period that has been characterised by increasing urban growth has phased out the ethnic and status divide (Gleave, 1997). In addition, "rapid population growth in the inner areas resulted in greater ethnic mixing than formerly and also to increasing population densities, higher occupancy rates and greater congestion leading to environmental deterioration" (Gleave 1997, p. 269). Other theorists and writers on colonial space and the colonial city have varying done comparative studies on the differences between the various approaches to spatial segregation by the leading colonial powers in Africa – the British and the French.

As a leitmotif, Goerg (1998), in his study of French and British colonial Africa – primarily basing his studies on Conakry, capital of Guinea and Freetown, capital of Sierra Leone – has dissected the differing approaches of the two colonial entities to the 'colonial city.' He finds the systematic segregation of the cities' populations into whites and natives, coloniser and colonised and this was reflected very prominently in residential space. While the French ordinance or urban policy was more in tune

with their assimilative process and therefore more mixing with the native population, the British approach was much stricter. The urban policies that were designed were pretexted varyingly on concerns of hygiene (the miasma theory of disease), fire hazards, tribe and occupation. The colonists 'colonised' the higher cooler mountainous areas of the city away from the mosquito infested low-lying coastal areas. These discriminative policies were to continue in the post-colony through the potentate as described by Achille Mbembe (2001), Franz Fanon and others discussed in chapter two below.

1.6 Readings and Summary

The lines above present a *mise en scene* of this research work. It has stated the problematics of the study, its objectives, main research question, proposition and several assumptions, the methodology and methods. It has further given reasons for the selection of Kissy Street among all the other streets in the city centre of Freetown and has argued that the street is the most prominent street in the city centre and the representative case. This is not only because of its problems of traffic jams, overcrowding, noise pollution, petty crimes etc. but also in view of its socio-economic, political and historical significance – that is, its role as the main artery that connects the East side of the city to the city centre (and the west side to the east) and the historical centre of trade since the city's constitution. It still plays this position only that its profile has gradually graduated to 'a densely populated street market.' Also, a brief historical background to the city - as a haven for formerly enslaved Africans - and its evolution have been highlighted. The following paragraphs give a brief overview of the structure of the whole thesis in chapters and their content.

Having done an in-depth study of the case and having highlighted the background to the research and reviewed the pertinent literature on the subject matter, this study has been divided into six chapters. Chapter one, the introduction chapter, touches on the research problem, the aims and objectives and the focus of the research. It discusses theories about the use of the street as urban space for both human and vehicular traffic but argues that modern planning methods skewed the use of the street in favour of the automobile, an argument that has engaged so many urban theorists, planners and designers. Having focused on the effect of the automobile on the liveability of the residential street, they gave less attention to the effect of human agency on street liveability in overcrowded situations. Following from this argument are the research question, hypothesis and assumptions. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the historical significance and social importance of Kissy Street in the everyday life of the citizens. It culminates with a brief historical background of Freetown and how it has evolved through time mainly from colonial to the postcolonial republican era.

Chapter two, understanding the street as a multidimensional context, broadens on the street as the most pervasive of all public spaces and discusses its multi-dimensional role in the life of a city and its inhabitants. It offers various theoretical definitions of what a street as a public space is and the roles it plays not only as a channel for movement but also as a social, recreational and commercial volume. The discussion is placed in three theoretical frameworks; namely, Lynch's theory of good city form in conjunction to Donald Appleyard's study on liveable streets; David Canter's theory of place and the socio-spatial theory of the new urban sociology. In chapter three, these theories in chapter two are crystallised in the conceptual

model/framework that forms the bedrock on which this study stands. Subsumed under the conceptualisations of the new urban sociology is the growing area of theory on urban informality in the planning practices of the so-called developing countries that addresses the everyday experiences of the marginalised citizens.

Chapter four, research context, deals with the research design, the methodology or theoretical perspectives and the methods or tools used to collect data. It explains the stages of data collection starting with the pilot study phase to the actual study phase. The chapter discusses the employed sequential mixed methods data collection strategy where qualitative and quantitative data are collected in sequence, analysed, interpreted and presented as findings in conjunction with other data collected during physical measurements of some street characteristics. The said data are all analysed separately but mixed at the interpretation stage where the qualitative data anchors the numerical data sets into their theoretical contexts. Here, the weight is given to the quantitative data. Finally, a theoretical model comprising the dimensions of liveability is presented followed by the random sampling strategy used, the population/sample frame and the sample size of each of the three strata in the stratified sampling.

Chapter five discusses the analysis and findings of the data collected - from the data of the physical measurements to the combined data of the qualitative survey/interviews and the quantitative questionnaire survey/interviews. Finally, chapter six discusses the findings from which the study draws general conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2

UNDERSTANDING THE STREET AS A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL CONTEXT

In 'Livable Streets', Appleyard (1981) describes the nature of streets in their roles as public spaces in the following words:

“people have always lived on streets. They have been the places where children first learned about the world, where neighbours met, the social centres of towns and cities, the rallying points for revolts, the scenes of repression. But they have also been the channels for transportation and access; noisy with...the shouts of drivers...The street has always been the scene of this conflict, between living and access, between resident and traveller, between life and the threat of death” (Appleyard 1981, p. 1).

Salient points! The above quotation from Appleyard underlines the importance of the street as a public space and by the same token, it expressly captures the complexity and multi-dimensionality of the street. It further expresses the duality that the street represents; that is, the street - in addition to its function as a space for movement - is both a place for peaceful coexistence and a place of conflicts and contestations. This duality in the character of the street as a public space has serious implications for how it is used and managed by the respective stakeholders. But in order to grasp the full spectrum of the important roles streets play in a city, it is vital to ventilate and locate its foremost character as a public space within the various theoretical,

philosophical and practical contexts. This is a very difficult endeavour for a work like this - of limited scope.

2.1 Defining Public Space

In the available literature, it has been very difficult to define what exactly constitutes a public space. The multiplicity of definitions makes it even fuzzier and fluid without a precise seam or boundary. However, it is possible to isolate some of the definitions floating around from the lay person to the specialists.

To the laity, a somewhat commonsensical definition is that a public space is a physical place that holds public gatherings. To the specialised, generally speaking, public space is perceived as the physical space that constitutes the street, the square and the park. It is the space that hosts social activities for leisure and recreation as opposed to the private space of the household (Miller, 2007; Goodsell, 2003; Lofland, 1998). When used, it conjures up terminologies like, “accessibility, comfort, activities and sociability” (Miller 2007, p. xiv). But because this conception of public space emphasises only the physical aspect of space as an entity bounded by buildings which necessitates human interaction and activities, it falls short of describing the complex picture of the public experience in the city. Important as well is the psycho-social and political aspects that define the public space. It is in light of this that definitions abound in the literature by various theorists. For instance, Madanipour (1996) describes it as, “...space that is not controlled by private individuals or organisations, and hence is open to the general public. This space is characterised by the possibility of allowing different groups of people, regardless of their class, ethnicity, gender and age, to intermingle”. He goes on to say that, “public space

cannot legally prohibit interaction with other users, only the nature of those interactions” (Madanipour 1996, pp. 144-148).

Broadly speaking, at both the city and societal scale,

“public spaces have been places outside the boundaries of individual or small group control, mediating between private spaces and used for a variety of often overlapping functional and symbolic purposes...therefore, [they] have usually been multi-purpose spaces distinguishable from, and mediating between, the demarcated territories of households and individuals.”

He concedes though that this characterisation of public space is ambiguous and the overlaps are problematic and that “the definition of the ‘public’ may depend on its context ... [and] on the way the private sphere is understood” (Madanipour 2003, p. 113).

For Carr et al. (1992) public space is: “the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds”; “also used for private purposes”; “can also be the setting for activities that threaten communities, such as crime and protest” (Carr et al. 1992, p. xi-3). This space includes “street, squares, public footpaths, parks and open spaces...riversides and seafronts” (Tibbalds 1992, p. 10). In an attempt to give a unified definition, Goodsell (2003) has defined it as “a space-time continuum for connected and interactive political discourse.” What these various definitions indicate is that public space is both a physical space and a mental space perceived corporeally and mentally (having social, cultural, economic and political dimensions) and realised through time. But why is it of such importance?

Due to the concentration of people in cities during the industrialisation period of the 19th century and its concomitant characteristics of socio-spatial segregation (Madanipour, 2003) there has been an increasing emphasis on the creation of public space for social cohesion. But this emphasis on social cohesion has in turn engendered debate across different social and political philosophies:

- ⊙ Individualism and holism (libertarians and communitarians); the conflict between the autonomy of the individual and that of the wellbeing of the community.
- ⊙ Liberal political theory which seeks the strict separation between the public and private realm with more emphasis on the public sphere.
- ⊙ Marxist critique which ceaselessly questions the “emphasis on the private ownership of property” and thus, the alienation of the vast majority of the citizenry.
- ⊙ Feminists feel that the strict separation between the public and private realm “undermines the role of women in public life as it associates the private sphere with women.
- ⊙ Postmodern critique and “the rejection of universal tendencies.” They see the “withdrawal from public sphere as a sign of self-preservation and dynamism of a society by developing new forms of communities” (Madanipour 2003, p. 219).
- ⊙ Neo-liberal policies which have seen the acceleration of private ownership of public spaces.

Again, as the above discussions demonstrate, the term ‘public space’ is at once a physical space and a socio-political space - it embodies both a material and immaterial concept. That is the material or physical space of urban planners/designers and the immaterial or abstract space of political philosophy and democratic theory. This makes the concept a tenuous and contentious one as it has attracted lots of attention in diverse fields. For it is quite easy to pin-down the activities (leisure and recreation, for instance) and the players in a public space like a street, park or square but extremely difficult to do so when it relates to issues of politics as in democratic and egalitarian principles. At this point, a throwback to the seminal works of Hannah Arendt, Jurgen Habermas and Bruce Ackerman is necessary. Benhabib (1992) reminds us that these three represent the key theoreticians within three philosophical camps on this tenuous subject. Their views represent the political philosophy and democratic theory of public space.

In one of her most acclaimed works “The Human Condition”, Arendt (1958) from a rather Archimedian point - to use Margaret Canovan’s words – (see her introduction to ‘The Human Condition, p. xvi) of Greco-Roman ideals of democratic governance, sees publicity, and by logical extension, public space in two dimensions; firstly, as a space of appearance where one sees and hears others and where one is seen and heard at the same time; a space of corporeal and aural presence as distinct, secondly, from space that constitutes the man-made world of “artifacts” or things (Arendt 1958, pp. 50-52). She perceives public space as the sphere within which action and dialogue essential for a democratic polity takes place; where the citizenry act in concert for the common good (Goodsell 2003, p. 362). However, she decries the loss of this sphere under conditions of modernity and the ascendancy of capitalism and its

ethos of the free market (Goodsell, 2003; Benhabib, 1992). Here, all the life processes which traditionally used to be situated in the private domain like the economic processes of the household have become matters for the public. In her own article on the subject, “Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jurgen Habermas”, Benhabib (1992) places the concept of ‘public space’ into three main categories: the “Agonistic View” represented by Hannah Arendt; the “legalistic model of public space” of the liberal tradition represented by Bruce Ackerman and the “discursive public space” model in the work of Jurgen Habermas (Benhabib 1992, p.73).⁶

In dialectical terms, a discussion of public space conjures-up its negation, the private space. This does not mean that, with regards to people-spaces, these two are the only possible divisions in the taxonomy of space. For instance, Henaff and Strong (2001) have defined three other spaces namely: Private, sacred and common spaces. Private Space: “a space is private when a given individual or set of individuals are recognised by others as having the right to establish criteria that must be met for anyone else to enter it” – (ownership and the setting of standards). Sacred Space: these are spaces reserved for the gods or their presence; it might be open to those who come to it but it “is not human space”; e.g., Churches, mosques, synagogues, shrines etc. In this sense, the permission to enter into such spaces cannot be contested. Common Space: it “admits no criteria; it is open to all in the same way. It is not owned or controlled; e.g., the sea, the pastures, the forest etc. The main difference then between the three is the set of criteria that one has to meet before entry.

⁶ See the different authors for further readings on these as it is impossible to go into further details in this study.

Consequently, they have defined public space as “space created by humans that is always contestable, precisely because whereas there are criteria that control admission to its purview, the right to enact and enforce those criteria is always in question. It is open to those who meet the criteria, but it is not owned in the sense of being controlled” (Henaff & Strong 2001, p. 4).

So what qualities make a space PUBLIC?

It should be “OPEN in the sense of it being clear where one is”;

It should be “a HUMAN CONSTRUCT/ ARTIFACT, the result of the attempt by human beings to shape the place and thus the nature of their interactions”;

It should be “THEATRICAL, in that it is a place which is seen and [in which one] shows oneself to others” (Henaff & Strong 2001, p. 5).

There are numerous places in the city that are open to the public and are deemed public spaces. These spaces “have a particular functional significance.” For example, restaurants, museums, libraries and theatres “...they have definite function and working hour schedule which poses its own particular set of restrictions” (ibid, p. 215). The use of public space can be free, regulated and/or controlled depending on its ownership. Even more, privatisation and hence commodification of space has introduced new and sometimes conflicting meaning to public space and its use – it both facilitates and hinders. Added to this is the primacy that has been given to the car in public space (street) that has helped to further fragment the public-private interface (fast moving cars increase the collision between hard metal and soft human tissue).

The aforementioned theories and debates notwithstanding, various other theorists have argued fervently for a thaw in the absolute dichotomy between the public-

private realms. For example, Sitte (1986) have asserted that “there was a strong relationship between the public space and the buildings around it” (quoted in Madanipour 2003, p. 201). Krier (1979) would submit that streets and squares are the alphabets to read and design urban space; Jane Jacobs (1961) talks about “creating lively and active edges”; Bentley et al. (1985) advocate for a “strong relationship between buildings and public space [by] small mixed land uses” and for Alexander et al. (1987), it is essential “to create positive urban space; that is, space enclosed by buildings”

The theorists who promote the sense of togetherness and community see public space as a mediator between private spaces which helps confront the “process of socio-spatial fragmentation”. They view public and private spaces, in practice, as a “continuum, where many semi-public or semi-private spaces can be identified, as the two realms meet through shades of privacy and publicity rather than clearly cut separation” (Madanipour 2003, p. 210).

In a nutshell, the public–private interface is like the two faces to the same coin; they are “interdependent and not mutually exclusive”. The interface between the two is one of both “separation and communication” depending on how that interface is managed.

Coming back to Madanipour (2003) one final time, he has suggested that some of the measures that can be taken to mediate between the two domains are the use of “colonnades, front porches, semi-public gateways and foyers, elaborate facades and courtyards” (Madanipour 2003, p. 211). The idea of Jacobs (1961), which promotes the creation of lively and active edges, contributes to this mediation as well.

To be helpful to the purpose of this thesis, a distinction has to be made between the terms ‘public space’ and ‘public sphere’. Certainly, as can be gathered from the discussions on the different views on the subject of public space in the preceding pages, it does appear that the two terms are interchangeable. However, the reader is left with the nuanced understanding with respect to scope; the term public sphere seems to cover a wider scope subsuming both the traditional private and public space dichotomy – as in the concept of Third Space. This notwithstanding, public space here is used to refer to the physical street space and its socio-economic character while public sphere is used in reference to the socio-political dimensions that is pertinent to the discourse in socio-spatial theory.

2.2 The Role of Street as Public Space

As has been discussed before in the introduction chapter, the major public space that is the focus of this research is the ‘street;’ street that functions as a channel for mobility and as a place for people to go and stay. This dual function has been articulated by several theorist (see for instance Appleyard, 1981; Appleyard, 1983; Carr, Francis, Rivlin, & Stone, 1992; Jacobs, 1993; Celik, 1994) amongst them Peponis et al. (1997) and Moughtin (2003). Movement, “is an aspect of liveliness, and the experience of density and diversity that characterize urban life” (Peponis et al. 1997, p. 341). “Most street activity occurs when it is convenient for large numbers of pedestrians to use the street in a variety of ways” (Moughtin 2003, p. 132).

However, three morphogenetic attributes of urban form should be considered here: according to Pacione (2005), Conzen (1960) has “divided the urban landscape into town plan, building forms and land use”. Land use is liable to change; functions of buildings can readily be changed but physical alterations are slow; but “town plan or

street layout is most resistant to change” (Pacione 2005, p. 139). In fact, land use or functional layout is one of the most important determinants of street life. Jacobs (1961) has called for the mix of primary uses to bring vitality to cities. According to her, mixed-use development guarantees an ‘eye on the street’ on a daily basis hence safety becomes at once imperative. This changing characteristic of land uses (functionality) can allow for mix of uses which can in its turn promote diversity of users and can be used as an important device to make streets liveable. Such mix and diversity could also create an inclusive city where diverse groups can interact.

The key concept of the right to the city (see Lefebvre, 1996; Harvey, 2012; Mitchell, 2003) wherein urban citizenship in a democratic society is a right accruing to all is one of the major roles of the public space and the public sphere where it must be manifest. Harvey (2008) expressed the profundity of this right in the following terms:

the right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanisation. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights (Harvey 2008, p. 23).

However, this right is not always guaranteed as spatial segregation between the formal and informal sector widens, and the allocation of a large portion of prime street space to motorists at the expense of pedestrians has become the norm. If the movement of people, as discussed above, is important in bringing vitality, vibrancy, experience and diversity to the city whose interests should precede the other: is it the

‘formal’ user or the ‘informal’ user? Is it the pedestrian or the motorist? Should there be segregation between these different categories of users? These are important questions that need to be raised in planning so-called third world cities whose peculiar experiences are mostly lost or treated marginally in the design and planning literatures and debates.

Therefore, it follows from the above that the needs of all citizens or users should be factored into the design and planning process. In the case of cities of the global south, pedestrian concerns have been primarily neglected seen in the paucity of pedestrian-only precincts as these are restricted mostly to narrow sidewalks. In most of these cities, the daily pedestrian surge far outweighs street-clogging vehicular traffic.

2.3 The Street as a Channel for Movement

There is almost a consensus among various theorists regarding the important role streets play in the experience of city life (Carmona et al. 2003, p.80). The literature also suggests a near consensus that the streets of a city represent its most outstanding image (Carmona, 2003; Fyfe, 1998; Jacobs, 1961). “Think of a city and what comes to mind? Its streets. If a city’s streets look interesting, the city looks interesting; if they look dull, the city looks dull” (Jacobs 1961, p. 147). But what exactly is a street? “A street can be seen as a road that happens to have an urban character; or as an urban place that happens to serve as a right of way” (Marshall 2005, p.22); “streets are linear three-dimensional spaces enclosed on opposite sides by buildings” (Carmona et al. 2003, p. 79); or “an enclosed, three-dimensional space between two lines of adjacent buildings” (Moughtin 2003, p. 129). This can be distinguished from a road which is basically “a thoroughfare for vehicular traffic” (Carmona et al. 2003,

p. 146) or a two-dimensional line of movement or communication between different places “or...any path, way or course to some end or journey” (Moughtin 2003, p. 129). As Moughtin (2003) maintains, it is quite possible for a street to have the character of a road but one “along which movement occurs between the adjacent houses” (Moughtin 2003, p. 129). From the definitions provided, it can be argued that two contiguous attributes qualify a street: a linear two-dimensional open space and three-dimensional physical abutments (buildings).

Here, this linear two-dimensional space called street will be treated. Firstly, its typologies then its function as space for movement and secondly, its use as social, recreational and commercial space. Streets can be defined broadly in terms of their types, functional hierarchies and movement patterns. Stephen Marshall’s (2005) “Streets and Patterns” tabulates the different typological classification of streets and argues that regardless of their differing terminological dispositions their hierarchical spectrum goes from major to minor (Marshall 2005, p.47) which in turn informs the functions they perform. Going back to basics or to historical precedents from pre-industrial times to the present, it is said that the very first “conscious” conception of a street can be traced back to a “Neolithic settlement in Cyprus called Khirokitia that dates back to the “6th millennium BC” and that an even earlier evidence of a street that goes back circa “1900-1750 BC” has been unearthed in Turkey (Lillebye 2001, p.6). During the pre-industrial period especially during the Renaissance period, the street was perceived more as an architectural phenomenon as can be seen in the conceptualisation by Vitruvius and as depicted and crystallised by Sebastiano Serlio: the ‘tragic’ scene represents classical architecture; the ‘comic’ scene as in the Gothic, and the ‘satyric’ scene depicted by the landscaped country (Lillebye, 2001;

Moughtin, 2003). These scenes though meant to represent the background to the theatre (Moughtin, 2003), were to represent a tradition of classification of streets in later periods. This became the basis for the 19th century rationalist or utopian approach to urban problems as seen in the works of Robert Owen and his idea of an ideal society; and the works of “progressive urbanists” like Arturo Soria Y. Mata.

The 20th century urban planning was far more radical in its rationalist approach. The much talked-about Athens Charter and its final product the (International Congress of Modern Architecture) ‘Congres’ Internationaux d’ Architecture Moderne (CIAM) concretised the foundational theories on which the Modern Movement in architecture and urban planning was to be based. CIAM and its emphasis on “function, structure and standardisation” came under harsh criticism which precipitated a shift to the humanistic and social factors of architecture and urban planning. The street thereafter was to be rehabilitated as “a legitimate element of civic design” (Moughtin 2003, p. 129). The common strand between the pioneers of this era is their advocacy for the strict separation between the motorway and buildings and traffic planning became the basis for urban planning. Amongst its most prominent and unyielding architects was the architect and planner Le Corbusier. In his 1922 conceptual plan for a “contemporary city for three million inhabitants” and in his 1924 plans for “the city of tomorrow” he advocated for the sacking of the traditional street as though it had lost its *raison d’etre*.

Conventional road hierarchy drew its inspiration directly from the modernists in that they are all based on the physical separation of the vehicle and the pedestrian (Lillebye, 2001; Moughtin, 2003; Marshall, 2005). For the sake of clarity at this juncture, let us indulge Stephen Marshall’s critique on Colin Buchanan’s thesis in

“Traffic in Towns” where: “basically...there are only two kinds of roads – distributors designed for movement, and access roads to serve the buildings” (quoted in Marshall 2005, p. 48). With this, Buchanan had divided the system of streets into: one, ‘traffic distributors’ where the car is the privileged occupier of the most elevated place in the hierarchy and two, ‘environmental areas’ as the domain where priority is given to environmental concerns. Marshall has likened the basic structure of this conventional road hierarchy to the plan of a hospital with corridors of movement off which branches more secluded cells. This parody notwithstanding, he suggests that this stratification has engendered a spectacle where a superstructure of traffic artery is imposed on the city while the city itself is sliced into bits (see Marshall 2005, for more details). The safety concerns for this classification are well documented; however, such strict divisions are inimical to the contemporary realities of cities. There is increasing need for shared spaces where vehicles and people come together but where the car is tamed.

2.4 The Street as a Social, Recreational and Commercial Space

Earlier, this chapter sprung out of a quotation from Donald Appleyard which to some extent summed-up the complexity of the street as a public space; it articulated the economic, social, political and recreational function of the street throughout its history. In the immediate section above (2.3) a brief historical landscape has been traversed in pinning down the meaning and function of the street from pre-industrial, modern and contemporary times. Various literatures on architecture and urban planning have thrown ample if critical light on how the modernist enterprise, through a super structural classification of traffic in cities with broad boulevards and high speed expressways, has prioritised the use of the street as a space for vehicular movement.

However, the street is not only for movement and access to building frontages but “plays a symbolic, ceremonial, social, and political roles” thus people who do not wish to socialise or be seen in public do not live in cities nor appear on streets as eloquently put by Jacobs (1993, p. 4). They remain the magnets for activities whether recreational, social, economic or political that might unite or divide people as the case may be (Carr et al., 1992; Alexander et al., 1977; Appleyard, 1981; Appleyard & Lintell, 1972; Jacobs, 1993; Gehl, 1971; Gehl, 1980; Jacobs, 1961a; Jacobs, 1961b; Bosselmann & Macdonald, 1999).

In his article “the culture of the Indian street” (chapter 14 in the “Images of the Street”) Edensor (1998) has shown how a street can represent a “spatial complex”; an urban room in a continuous state of flux with diverse activities. In sharp contrast to the ‘western’ street which has become devoid of several social qualities due to capitalist intervention and “the Apollonian urge to rationalise and regulate” he describes the Indian street as comprising a medley or motley collection of social, recreational, political, commercial as well as religious functions (Edensor, 1998).

In essence, whatever differences there are between streets in different cultural milieus in material terms, there remain constancies; while the fundamental uses of street (as described in the Indian example) may have reduced in some societies, its use as a place for social, political and religious gatherings, for commerce and a host of formal and informal uses have persisted (Deasy, 1985).

2.5 Readings and Summary

In the preceding pages above, this study has dealt with the various dimensions of the street as the foremost public space of a city. In its conceptualisation of the street as such, it has brought together and argued the various definitions (of public space) by various writers in order to reveal its multi-dimensional character. The arguments proffered suggest that the street as a public space is not just a space for vehicular movement as envisaged by modern planning practices, but that, in as much as it is a place for movement for the automobile, it is equally a place for human movement and a place to stay in and take part in the various activities it may offer. However, because, like the two sides of the same coin, it lies side by side with the private domain and shares a common interface with it, it needs to be managed in a way that guarantees the mutual coexistence between the two. This is especially so in light of the fact that oftentimes the rights to the public as enshrined in civic laws cannot be guaranteed. Citizens have the right to the public space and the right to contest and take their political grievances to the square, park and (mostly) the street but it is in these same spaces that state apparatuses unleash their own violence under the pretext of keeping law and order.

Therefore, the civic freedoms and equity that is supposed to be guaranteed by the public space actually leads to a struggle for attainment. Urban and political history is full of cases where citizens have been massacred, minority rights trampled upon by the state, its actors, individual and/or group of individuals. The public lynching of blacks in the US, the events in Cairo's Tahrir (Freedom) Square, Bahrain's Pearl Square during the so-called Arab Spring and the recent events that saw the encampment and subsequent removal of the Occupy Wall Street movement (OWS)

from public spaces like New York's Zuccotti Park and 'Black Lives Matter' in several cities in America, the May 2013 Taksim Gezi park protests and stand-off in Istanbul and so many other confrontations are struggles in and for the attainment of public space. These suggest that acceptance to the purview of the street (the most ubiquitous of all public spaces) and other public spaces, where denied, can be contested even though this is always not guaranteed.

Chapter 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Contemporary discussions on a good urban form are deeply rooted in the global emphasis on issues of sustainable development: a development highlighted in the Brundtland Report (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987), as “that [which] meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs.” This hinges on keeping - in equilibrium - all the three layers of sustainability viz, environmental sustainability, social sustainability and economic sustainability.

It is on this platform that the compact, high density urban form has been advocated by various scholars, theorists and professionals. Burgess (2000) highlights two definitions of the compact city: one, as an “attempt to increase built area and residential population densities”; two, “to intensify urban economic, social and cultural activities and to manipulate urban size, form and structure and settlement systems in pursuit of the environmental, social and global sustainability benefits derived from the concentration of urban functions” (Burgess 2000, p. 13).

As such, the compact city is believed to be an antithesis to urban sprawl; the land consumptive automobile dependent development that takes place at the urban fringe called suburbia. Its major advantages, according to its advocates, is that it preserves agricultural and biodiversity, lessens automobile use and the consumption of fossil fuel which cuts on severe air pollution but at the same time encourages walking, among other things.

However, as Burgess (2000) has asserted, both development and the lack of it can lead to deterioration of the environment. He maintains that “the sustainable use of resources and disposal of wastes” – for instance - in poverty-stricken environments “are very difficult under conditions of poverty, where survival considerations can easily outweigh those of posterity” (Burgess 2000, p. 13).

Nonetheless, the twin concepts, compact and high-density developments are very relative and there has been no universal consensus on how to measure them. Also, crowding as a negative outcome of high density is relative term. It therefore stands to reason that place and culture specific criteria be deployed to determine what these phenomena represent in particular places or cultures. This is particularly important in dealing with rapid urbanisation taking place in the developing nations of the global south. The current pace of urbanisation and urban growth have major implications for cities of the countries as the major contributing factor to the problems of their city centres.

According to UN projections, about 65 percent of the world’s population will be living in cities and that majority of this will be in developing countries by 2025. The problem will be more acute in developing countries, especially in Africa, where there is increasing urbanisation more than can be justified by the degree of economic development. Cities are crammed and congested and employment facilities are very low. This has several implications for the form and character of cities of the global south.

In order, therefore, to understand the issues to be considered in this research - in interrogating city centre street liveability – this study deploys three main theoretical

frameworks: a) the ‘Theory of Good City Form’ as envisaged by Kevin Lynch and Donald Appleyard; b) David Canter’s ‘Place Theory’ and c) Socio-spatial Theory of the New Urban Sociology. Other contributions to these main theoretical themes are deployed to simultaneously augment and stretch key ideas or arguments to some desired ends.

3.1 Theory of Good City Form: Lynch and Appleyard

Defining Liveability. The overarching question in this study is whether a lively city is always a liveable city. To throw some light on the question let us start with their lexical and common everyday usages, the words ‘lively’ and ‘liveable’ are not synonymous (that is, they are not similar in meaning). Lively means “keenly alive and spirited...[it] suggests briskness, alertness, or energy” (see Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary). Liveable, on the other hand means, “suitable for living in or with”, “endurable” (see Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary). When Mehta (2007) measured liveliness he defined it in terms of the number of people engaged in several activities, social or otherwise. He went on to develop a liveliness index from three main characteristics: a) the number of individuals engaged in activities; b) the number of people in groups; c) their duration of stay. Liveability, on the other hand, is generally seen as the measure of comfort and human functioning in the places they live.

In its specialised usage, there seem to be no agreement as to what liveability really means; it is a compendium of value statements about the needs, desires and aspirations of people cutting across a vast area; be they social, political and economic. It brings together issues about the physical environmental characteristics of a place, socioeconomic concerns and how the place is managed and governed in

the interest of its users (Frey, 1999). The Appleyard study discussed before measured liveability in terms of the effect of traffic on residents on residential streets, taking into account noise, pollution and safety concerns. He identified the following seven indicators of street liveability: the street as a safe and secure sanctuary for all users of all age groups, gender categories, physical capabilities, economic, social and political class etc.; a healthy environment – that is clean and hygienic, less noisy and pollution free; a community where communal life thrives; a sense of community and belonging; a place to play and learn for children; a historic place with a ‘special identity’ for residents or the city at large (Appleyard 1981, pp. 243-244).

Liveability can also be defined in ways that satisfy the demands of certain economic ventures and purposes. In the literature concerned with urban regeneration, it “has come to mean the ability of a centre to maintain and improve its viability and vitality.” The twin attributes express the ability of a city centre to attract continuous investment in order to keep alive (Balsas 2004, p. 101).

Leading news magazines like the Economist, Businessweek etc. publish the ranking of cities in terms of quality-of-life, quality-of-living or liveability. The Businessweek’s “World’s Top 100 Most Livable Cities” report comes from the results of studies done by Mercer, a human resource and financial consultancy firm headquartered in New York. It ranks cities according to the quality-of-living they offer expatriates and their families based on 39 key quality-of-living indicators, amongst them: political stability, currency regulations, political and media censorship, school quality, housing, the environment and public safety. In its recent ranking, Mercer (2010) ranked 221 cities “against New York as the base city”. On this list Vienna in Austria emerges as the top most liveable city in the world while

Baghdad ranked the lowest (Vienna and Baghdad still hold their respective positions in the 2016 recent rankings). There are other rankings for cities like Savageau (2007) "Places Rated Almanac" ranking the "379 officially defined metropolitan areas" in America. Its ranking is done on a scale of nine attributes that is deemed to "influence the quality of place": "ambience, housing, the local economy, transportation, education, health care, crime, recreation and climate" (Savageau 2007, p. 1). All the above studies arguably show the different claims and value judgements for different purposes and intents with regards to the quality of living. This stands to reason why liveability is a mixed bag of things to different people, organisations and contexts. This also begs the question: liveable according to whom and liveable for whom?

To attempt an answer to this rather problematic question, even a perfunctory one at that, it is perhaps instructive to create a comfort zone premised on the proposition that liveability is a relative term contingent upon context-specific criteria. But how does one reach a conclusion on such criteria? This is also problematic. In a paper for a conference titled, "State of Australian Cities 2005," Harrop (2005) observes that hitherto, there has been a tendency by people to either accept expert opinions on what liveability means or derive a meaning by popular referenda. Both methods while justifiable have shortcomings nonetheless. The expert, on the one hand, works with objective quantities and makes value assumptions out of them. On the other hand, there is hardly any meaningful consensus between people on so-called popular opinion standpoints; not everyone participates "in the value setting process" (Harrop 2005, pp. 3-4). If this can be taken as a springboard then it can be surmised that the dimensions of liveability can vary in emphasis with the scale of the built environment. That is to say, though not exclusive, the dimensions emphasized for a

country could vary with those emphasized for a city, neighbourhood or a street. This premise seems logical from both a naturalist point of view and an economic point at that. Humans always have to make choices as wants and needs are legion but the means to satisfy them are scarce. There always have to be trade-offs between the bag of things we need or want and those we can actually acquire.

In one of his major scholarly works, Lynch (1981) quizzes, “what makes a good city?” Understandably, he was asking about the attributes that make a city liveable for the human species and other living organisms in the ecosystem. He went on to discuss various components or requirements that should link the human species to its physical setting. But achieving a full blown normative theory of a good city form, Lynch believes, is constrained (see Harrop, 2005) by eight criteria: that it should be “purposeful”; that it “deals directly with settlement form and its qualities”; that values be connected to the said form; that it be robust enough to deal with both group and individual interests and of multiplicity of possibilities that come to bear now and in the future; that it should be able to respond to diversity and change over time; “that it be applicable at all scales and situations” (adaptability with time and place and not a straitjacket) (Harrop 2005, p. 5); that it “be flexible and responsive to changed values and purposes” (Harrop 2005, p. 5); it should possess the evaluative capacity to deal simultaneously with existing qualities and short term changes to match the needs and aspirations of users (Lynch 1981, pp. 49-50). With these constraints laid-out to subsume any standard theory of urban form, he sets out five performance dimensions for a normative theory of a good city form. These are: Vitality; Sense; Fit; Access; Control.

Each of these five dimensions has a number of measurable qualities “along which different groups will prefer to achieve different positions.” To these he adds two meta-criteria, efficiency and justice (Lynch 1981, pp. 111-118). It has to be added that Lynch’s contribution is based mostly on objective criteria. It seems to lack the rigour, inclusiveness and complexity of human subjectivity. That said, his is still a valid point of departure as it offers the opportunity to test these criteria subjectively as well. Balsas (2004) adds a sixth dimension: viability, “the ability [of a place] to attract continuous investment” and uses vitality and viability to define liveability; that is, [**vitality + viability = liveability**] (Balsas 2004, p. 103).

It has to be admitted that using these dimensions and/or criteria in a restricted form like the path taken in this study - measuring liveability in its most restricted form in relation to a single street that is a microcosmic representation of a city and its present socio-spatial conditions - raises more questions than answers. It is necessary nonetheless to ask some questions in line with those posed by Lynch (1981) stated earlier: what makes a liveable street? In other words, how can the normative theory of good city form subsume a set of performance dimensions for liveability of a street? How would these dimensions be derived or selected? Liveability, as already laid out, is a loaded term which may attract universal tenets if not dismantled into its constituent parts and linked to particular contexts and situations. As has been amply discussed above, liveability dimensions are closely connected and overlap with quality-of-life or quality-of-living dimensions and thus present difficulty in measurement. Furthermore, there is no universal agreement as to what liveability entails hence the multiplicity of purpose-specific and place-specific definitions.

To take the questions asked above as a point of departure, it readily emerges that Lynch's (1981) theory of good city form which directly links human values to physical form in space-time and Appleyard's liveable street dimensions are complementary. Also, Balsas' (2004) twin dimensions of liveability measured as a function of vitality and viability can be subsumed under the preceding two. These measurable dimensions with their corresponding characteristics for liveability for the purpose of this study have been drawn under the following broad categories: population demographics; management and control; shopping and retail and other community issues; perception of home territory and neighbouring; crime and safety; miscellaneous issues about Kissy Street (see chapter 4 and table 3 for more detailed discussion on this). The above liveability measures are studied and discussed within the general framework of the remaining two theories that follow respectively: place theory in section 3.2 and socio-spatial theory in section 3.3.

3.2 Place Theory

Place theory was developed in the field of environmental psychology and its development was pioneered by David Canter (1977) in his book, *The Psychology of Place*, in which he describes an environment or place as defined by its physical characteristics and the experience and understanding of it – in other words, the meanings that it carries for the people who inhabit it and the uses or activities that take place in it (Canter, 1977; Canter 1991, p. 194) (see also *Ecological Psychology* by Roger G. Barker, 1968). In his characterisation of what 'place' is, Norberg-Schulz (1980) sees it as "the concrete term for environment..." (Norberg-Schulz 1980, p. 6). It is the human dimension to space. That is to say, place is "when space is given a contextual meaning derived from cultural or regional content"; "a certain patina given by human use over time" (Trancik 1986, pp. 112-113). In the conceptions of

both Norberg-Schulz (1980) and Trancik (1986) place has a historico-spatial context as people make space as a stable system which fosters their human, social and cultural needs – the ‘*genius loci*’ or the spirit of place. Places are in a constant state of flux but as they do, their overall identity⁷, character and meaning persist. Much earlier, Tuan (1977) conceives of place in similar terms; place for him connoted “security and stability” while space meant openness and freedom. Thus “what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value”; the two complement or reinforce each other (Tuan 1977, pp. 3-6).

Place then is that space which people carve out for themselves: the niches, the streets, the neighbourhoods with distinct identities, characters and meanings that they can defend against crime, misuse and inappropriate intrusion by outsiders. These are also the spaces with distinct artefacts, smells, sounds, colours etc. that hold meaning and value for people.

3.3 Socio-spatial Theory

As it stands, the Freetown city centre is perceived as congested and chaotic as a direct result of urban growth (that is, natural growth and urban in-migration) and its attendant problems. Today’s Freetown, as in most cities the world over, is characterised by the uncontrolled and haphazard urban growth popularly referred to as sprawl a phenomenon that has been spurred by car dependency and suburban growth. In the urban design and planning literature the most serious charge against this kind of urban form is its tendency to take vitality out of the city centre to the fringes. However, the Freetown city centre experience seems to run counter to this wisdom. Although grinding poverty, unemployment, crime, poor waste disposal

⁷ It should be noted that this notion of place identity and character has come under serious challenge in the age of what Sigmunt Bauman refers to as ‘Liquid Modernity’ where life and its processes have become fleeting.

mechanisms and other urban malaises undoubtedly remain the most prominent physiognomies of the Freetown city centre streets, the city centre is nonetheless very lively.

Perhaps, the above negative aspects of a rather complex urban attributes of African cities are what led Robert D. Kaplan in his February 1994 article published in *The Atlantic Monthly*, "*The Coming Anarchy: How scarcity, crime, overpopulation, tribalism, and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet.*" In this piece, Kaplan paints a ghastly picture of African cities and suggests that they are the most chaotic and violent places to be in on earth (see Kaplan, 2000). This analysis and gory descriptions can only be understood within the broader narratives of the historical, political, social and economic production and re-production of the African postcolonial space. Certainly Kaplan is not the only one to tackle these broad themes on the violence and chaos of the African metropolis of the post-colony.

Achille Mbembe, the Cameroonian philosopher, in his book, "*The Post-colony*" projects the violence and chaos of the African metropolis as a colonial legacy that has since and still continues to bedevil postcolonial African spatiality. According to him, the potentate or the comprador elite (mainly African leadership) have supplanted the colonial project and continues its project in the post-colony. He, however, sees some order in this chaos which has become part and parcel of the African reality. Perhaps Fanon (1963) in his book "*The Wretched of the Earth*" (a remarkable contribution to colonial and postcolonial studies strikes the right chord when he suggests that, "...colonialism is not a thinking machine, nor a body endowed with reasoning faculties. It is violence in its natural state, and it will only yield when confronted with greater violence" (Fanon 1963, p. 48). On a more precise

note that has more relevance to this study is when he asserts that “we [Africans] must work out new concepts” relating to our states, institutions and societies. Why is that? He warns that we should not “pay tribute to Europe by creating states, institutions and societies which draw their inspiration from her;” because, “if we want to turn Africa into a new Europe ...then let us leave the destiny of our countries to Europeans. They will know how to do it better than the most gifted among us” (Fanon 1963, p. 254). Remember Fanon was writing in the early sixties a period in which most African nations were in Independent struggles and he was involved in the Algerian war of independence.

So Kaplan in his analysis fails to put the chaos and violence of the African city in its rightful context – colonialism and all that has followed from it that inform the postcolonial experience - as Mbembe, Fanon and countless others have done. Indeed, to understand the physical and socioeconomic structure of Freetown, a colonial city, one needs to also place it in the context of global capitalist financial architecture and its neoliberal policies. For example, the combined International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank loan conditionalities on developing countries were widely believed to have laid the foundations for financial ruin for these countries in the early 1980s to the late 1990s. Through their Structural Adjusted Programme (SAP) they instituted compulsory so-called ‘free market’ economic policy reforms through cutbacks on funding for major public institutions. The legacy of poverty left in its wake still lingers on.

In her book, *“Edge of Empire: Post colonialism and the City,”* Jacobs (1996) asks two relevant questions to this discourse (and I will repeat them verbatim here for effect):

- “What has been the role of space in colonial and postcolonial projects and how might we rethink the space of the city in these terms?” (Jacobs 1996, p. 15);
- “and how can the spatial discipline of geography move from its historical positioning of colonial complicity towards productively postcolonial spatial narratives?” (Ibid).

Behavioural analysis makes normative assumptions about what a space ‘should be’ instead of what ‘it really is’ and the prevailing knowledge claim of the ecological perspective was that the form-giver to space was the individual decisions of several actors as they interact in space; these two have been found inadequate to capture the complex nature of space at least from a political economy perspective. The new urban sociology which springs primarily from the ideas of Henri Lefebvre in his differentiation between abstract space and social space postulates a global perspective to the organisation and representation of space (see Gottdiener, 1993). It critiques the simplistic physical determinism that conceptualises physical space as the determinant of human behaviour and space as container in which human activities unfold. It argues that space does influence behaviour and people do change their environments to match their needs. In this approach, the focus does not hinge solely on the individual and class conflict analysis – especially in the case of cities of the global south - but the group or household. In this view, analysis of individual behaviour in relation to the physical attribute of space is misleading. In collectivist

societies, for instance, the interest of the household as a group takes precedence over individual interests. The logic of shared resources warrants that hardship is not left on the shoulders of individual members but sucked-in or confronted by all. This way, people manage their everyday lives as ‘coping strategies’ within the cracks that exist in the planned environments of their marginal inhabitations (Gottdiener & Hutchison 2000, pp. 290-294). This approach is called the socio-spatial approach; it recognises the dual relationship between human activities and inhabited space as reciprocal - dialectical! Its main focus includes: the everyday life of the city; a shift to a global perspective on the political economy of pull factors in urban development and the role of culture in urban life.

More recent conceptualisations on the city that share perspectival similarities - in both subject matter and analytical framework - with the socio-spatial perspective call for a dislocation and decentering of theory-making on the city and its relocation to the lived experiences of citizens and cities of the global South. This view is rooted in postcolonial theory of the city and citizenship conceptualized in the logic of ‘Urban Informality.’ In addition to its recommendations for a change of the geography of theory-making, its problematics include questions on how to deal with the informal – the unplannable - and “distributive justice” (translated as: the just allocation of space, resources, capabilities to all citizens) (Roy, 2005; Roy, 2009a; Roy, 2009b).

According to this logic, informality is a direct result of formal planning that creates an Agambenian ‘state of exception’ from the formal route to urbanisation. In this context, “state power is reproduced through the capacity to construct and reconstruct categories of legitimacy and illegitimacy...” (Roy 2005, p. 149). However, this logic provides the opportunity to strategize for spatial acquisition for the poor and

marginalised as a way to grounding the politics of the right to the city. These strategies have been conceptualised by Ananya Roy (quoted above) and many other urban theoreticians under different nomenclatures: familiarisation by Nihal Perera (2009) - contextualizing the spatial practices of marginal communities in 19th-century Colombo - Sri Lanka; here, Perera bases his conceptualisation on how people exploit the cracks in formal planning employing spontaneous tactics adapting ‘familiar activities’ to ‘new contexts’ and the emergent new activities within that context.

In his conceptualisation of ‘Gray Cities’ Oren Yiftachel (2006; 2009) takes Beer Sheva metropolitan region in Israel/Palestine as case (although by no means restricted to it), expands on the question of spaces of informality as products of a “creeping apartheid” where planning regimes order society hierarchically and inequitably. This produces spaces of insurgent citizenship but one where citizenship is suspended, undefined and unrecognised. He however, asserts that these spaces and their populations though marginalised, are not passive by-standers but very much able to coalesce to reassert and project their identities through resistance and contestations.

Insurgent Planning and Citizenship by James Holston (2009) and Faranak Miraftab (2009) also offer prognostics of the influence of modern planning and its hegemonic practices in the cities of the global south. Miraftab, for instance, takes us to South Africa and introduces us to the politics of marginal citizenship and the ‘counter-hegemonic’ practices of grassroots movements in these words:

“Insurgent movements do not constrain themselves to the spaces for citizen participation sanctioned by the authorities (invited spaces); they invent new

spaces or re-appropriate old ones where they can invoke their citizenship rights to further their counter-hegemonic interests” (Miraftab 2009, p. 35).

This allows insurgents’ movement across the spaces of hegemony and acquired spaces with ease and on their own terms (see also Holston (2009) in his case study of Brazil and the innovative ways in which marginalised citizens appropriate space).

The spectacle of these spaces of resistance, contestation and counter hegemonic practices under the many theoretical nomenclatures mentioned above (that is, familiarisation, gray cities, and insurgent spaces) is nowhere more prominent than in spaces of slum dwellers, street dwellers and street traders (hawkers or peddlers). Accordingly, Brown et al. (2009) and many other theorist on African and cities of the global south have argued how street traders – whether stationary or itinerant – are seen by elite groups as ‘other’ or nuisances whose voices must be drowned by formal strategies of urban ordering (see also Howard, 2003). These strategies are subverted by tactics employed by these marginal users of formalised space but that these users oftentimes organise under groups and associations to formalise their activities.

These predominantly banal spaces so reproduced - through spatial practices - was earlier described in the kinaesthetic language of space by de Certeau (1984). He described them as spaces reproduced by tactics as opposed to the strategic formal space of planning provided by planners or experts who, from an Archimedean vantage point, view the city as a complete whole. Here he deploys the image of the *flaneur* (in the act of walking in the city) with speech acts or linguistic ‘tropes’ (a word, phrase or image used in a new and different way in order to create an artistic effect) – in the rhetorical devices called ‘synecdoche’ and ‘asyndeton.’ Synecdoche is a figure of speech in which a part represents a whole or the other way round; it

“...re-places totalities by fragments (a less in the place of a more)...” Asyndeton stands for the omission of conjunctions or adverbs from a sentence for effect; it “...disconnects them [totalities] by eliminating the conjunctive or consecutive (nothing in place of something).” Furthermore, “a space treated in this way and shaped by practices is transformed into enlarged singularities and separate islands” (de Certeau 1984, p. 101).

To cite more exemplars to the continuation of the ideas above, several other theorists have engaged the problematics of the public sphere along similar lines. Ngugi wa Thiong’o, the celebrated African poet, playwright and social critic, in his book *“Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language and African Literature,”* conceptualised the open theatre as the true reflection of the public space and the struggles of the common people – it is in this struggle that the public space is made (see wa Thiong’o 1987, p. 60). His view of theatre as public space and public space as theatre – appearance and act – is the quintessence ‘publicness’ where any member can join in the rehearsal as both critic and actress or actor without distinction.

The contemporary moral philosopher Zygmunt Bauman (2008) echoes this state of affairs where, in a globalised, uncertain, fleeting world of ‘liquid modernity’ with a known combined fate, there are no combined efforts to act. Increasingly, the societal logic of the “greater society” that tends to bring order to sovereign states often treats certain sections of that society as “leftovers” needed to be corralled and put in their place.

3.4 Conceptual Framework

Drawing on the discussions above it can be adduced that a good city form is one which responds to the needs of its inhabitants through its physical attributes and use. The more it provides capabilities for living and well-being the more liveable it becomes. The conceptual or Clothes Line Model in figure 8 below demonstrates the relationship between characteristics of public space (the street) and its effects on user perceptions and liveability. Liveability dimensions are arranged along a continuum and users can chose from these series of attribute any combination of items that directly appeal to their sense of well-being and capabilities.

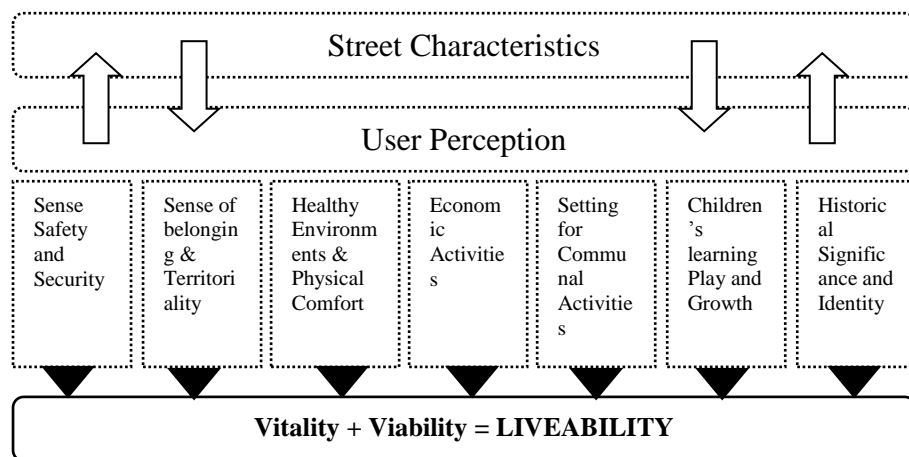


Figure 11: Conceptual 'Clothes Line' Model Showing the Effects of Street Characteristics on User Perception and Liveability.

This model also shows the two way reciprocal relationship between these attributes and the physical street space where user perception of the attributes and use of space may affect the physical; for example, in the alterations of the building facades and functions.

3.5 Readings and Summary

In the above section, liveability has been defined and its several dimensions explained. Firstly, distinctions have been made among the various definitions of liveability as they target particular interest groups - especially business interest groups. These groups mostly advertise cities as commodities and define liveability on objective criteria that mostly coincide with the ethos of commerce. On the contrary, the discuss on the street liveability has been done through the theoretical lenses of three main important theories in urban studies rooted in the humanities, namely: a) Lynch's (1981) theory of good city form which postulates five performance criteria (vitality; sense; fit; access and control) for a normative theory of a form of a city in conjunction with Appleyard's thesis on liveable streets and Balsas' viability and vitality criteria; b) place theory developed by David Canter (1977) which sees place as an environment defined by its physical characteristics and the meaning that it carries for people who inhabit it; and finally c) the socio-spatial theory of the new urban sociology which advocates a postmodern approach to the city with a wider lens from various theoretical backgrounds and the use of a mix of concepts and tools for a holistic understanding of the complex entity that a city and its inhabitants are. Other contemporary theorists have taken an approach that questions legality and illegality, formality and informality and the very question of urban citizenship. They have sought to foreground the question of agency for the everyday users of public space especially those who are likely to be marginalised.

Perhaps the key import here is the creation of an enabling environment for all users. That is, whenever a large number of people use a public space, efforts should be taken to provide them with the needed safety and other amenities that make their

activities possible. As Huchzermeyer (2003) has suggested with regards to the question of informality and illegality, perhaps the likely way of going about solving the problem of informality and illegality is to start solving problems from the perspective of those who “cope with the phenomenon on a daily basis” and by putting emphasis on “the lack of protection from infringement of rights by others, including the state” and not solely “on the contravention of laws” (Huchzermeyer 2003, p. 334) as it seems to be the case in this postcolonial *espieglerie*.

Overall, at the theoretical and conceptual levels, it has been shown that the first three amalgamated theories are complementary and therefore subsumed under Appleyard’s seven criteria for liveability. These formed the basis for interviews and questionnaire surveys of this study and the conceptual framework above. The conceptual framework exhibits the Clothes Line Model which depicts liveability indicators on a continuum. It shows the interaction amongst a three-tiered system of attributes: the physical environmental characteristics, user perceptions of those characteristics and user aspirations to the several features that directly contribute to their capabilities and well-being. Here, the said features or indicators can be removed or added in an open-ended fashion as people’s wellbeing or capabilities increase and decrease.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH CONTEXT

4.1 Research Methodology

Research design, according to Creswell (2003), involves the plan and procedure for research which begins with decisions on broad assumptions and ends with the detailed methods of data collection and analysis. To reach the decision on which design to adopt in studying a topic depends on the following: “the world view or assumptions the researcher brings to the study, procedure of enquiry called strategies, and specific methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. This further depends on “the nature of the research problem or issue being addressed, the researchers’ personal experiences, and the audience for the study” (Creswell, 2003, p. 21-23; 2008, p. 3). Furthermore, Hesse-Biber (2010) makes a distinction between methodology and method in research; methodology refers to “theoretical perspectives” while method means “tools for collecting and analysing data” (Hesse-Biber 2010, p. 156).

Available to researchers especially in the social and behavioural sciences are three types of research design strategies namely: quantitative, qualitative and mixed method strategies. They can, depending on the subject matter or case under investigation, choose either of two methods (that is, the qualitative or quantitative) or a combination of both - the mixed method strategy which is used in this research.

The quantitative method was the dominant paradigm in the first half of the 20th Century and was allied with the positivist and post-positivist traditions which lay emphasis on numerical analysis. This started to change during the latter part of the 20th Century circa, 1950-70 with the ascendancy of the qualitative mode of enquiry. This research paradigm focuses on narrative data and is strongly allied with the constructivist tradition (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2003, pp. 4-5). Obviously, the qualitative paradigm gained traction as a critique on the quantitative method; it sought to give more depth and meaning to the subject under research. However, in recent times, the mixed method mode of research is gaining increasing currency (Creswell, 2003; Creswell, 2008; Driscoll et al., 2007; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003).

The mixed methods strategy, as its name implies, draws mainly on the quantitative (positivist and post-positive) and the qualitative (constructivist) strategies but may also include other procedures within the pragmatic, transformative and emancipatory paradigms. Creswell (2008) stresses that the quantitative and qualitative strategies of inquiry should not be viewed as opposites on a spectrum but rather as different ends on a continuum where the mixed method strategy occupies the middle ground (Creswell 2008, p. 3).

4.2 The Sequential Mixed-Method Strategy

As stated above, this study employs the mixed methods approach which is associated with the pragmatic knowledge claim and/or world view in which the researcher bases the inquiry on the assumption that to understand the problem or case, diverse types of data should be collected. When mixing methods, however, the two sets of data, the qualitative and the quantitative can either be collected sequentially (one following

the other) or concurrently (collecting both at the same time). In both methods, data collected are either weighted equally or unequally (Driscoll 2007, p. 19); (also see Creswell, 2003; Creswell, 2008; Driscoll et al., 2007; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003; Hesse-Biber, 2010 and other sources for a detailed explanation).

Therefore, since the street as a public space is a complex entity to study as it requires analysis of built form as well as the quotidian life of the street and the perceptions and opinions of different groups of users, the method used in this study is the sequential mixed method. It is called sequential because it combines quantitative and qualitative data in sequence so that the overall strength of [the] study is greater than the individual strengths of the quantitative and qualitative methods respectively. It uses a theoretical perspective or lens that is expressed in the research questions or purpose of the study (Creswell 2003, p. 219). This strategy is especially important in the Sierra Leonean context where, for a variety of reasons, high quality data of any kind are extremely limited. By employing the face-to-face semi-structured interview to collect qualitative data, where respondents are asked series of questions and probed in-depth and by using the insights gained from the analysed data, it is possible to draw up a larger questionnaire survey to be able to explain various phenomena and generalise the findings. This way, the study becomes both exploratory and explanatory (see Babbie 2011, pp. 95-97). The figure (figure 12 & 13) below illustrates the basic form of collecting quantitative and qualitative data and the merging of both data at the analysis stage prior to interpretation.

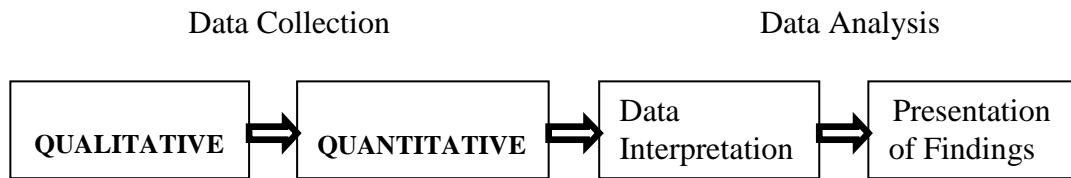


Figure 12: Model of the Sequential Mixed Method Strategy. Source: (adapted from Creswell, 2003).

Here, as illustrated (in figure 12), the qualitative data (in-depth interview) is collected first followed by the quantitative data (questionnaire survey) with priority given to the quantitative data. Lowercase letters for the qualitative data (qual) and uppercase letters for quantitative data (QUAN) illustrate the priority given to the quantitative data (in figure 13). To unify the data for interpretation, the qualitative data were used to reinforce or support the findings of the quantitative data.

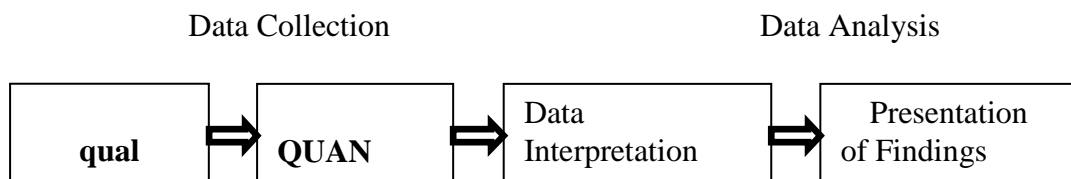


Figure 13: Model of the Sequential Mixed Method Strategy - Upper Case 'QUAN' shows Priority of the Quantitative Data over the Qualitative. Source: (adapted from Creswell, 2003).

4.2.1 Research Methods and Procedures

In accordance with the mixed method approach, the study used a variety of data collection techniques to obtain primary data from the study area. This includes physical data where in measurements of street length, street width and height to width ratio were recorded. In addition to these, walk-by and direct observation were conducted supported by field notes and photographs. Secondary data sources, which are generally absent or where available are of limited quality were also added. These include statistical data from government sources and online journal reports (the latter

were interpreted through discourse analysis). Prior to the above procedures, initial test cases or trials called ‘pilot studies’ were done in order to understand the case properly before any major decisions were taken to execute the final comprehensive questionnaire.

4.2.2 Pilot Study

Pilot studies have been referred to by van Teijlingen and Hundley (2001) to mean several things, amongst them: “feasibility studies which are “small scale version[s], or trial run[s]”, done in preparation for the major study”; it can also entail the “pretesting or ‘trying out’ of a particular research instrument”. Although conducting a pilot study “does not guarantee success in the main study...it does increase the likelihood.” The main advantage of this approach is that it might give the researcher an advance warning about potential pitfalls, faulty assumptions and whether the “proposed methods or instruments are inappropriate or too complicated” (van Teijlingen and Hundley 2001, p. 1). These trial runs were mostly done during walk-by observations and face-to-face non-structured interviews in the study area.

4.2.3 Walk- by Observation and Non-focused Interviews

The pilot study exercise involved almost daily visit to the study area and its environs. The exercise was aimed at living within and experiencing the city centre as a participant in the quotidian culture of the street rather than doing so from an Archimedean point or a ‘god’s eye view.’ This was done mostly as a pedestrian and seldom through the windows of a car.

During the direct observation of the street, several characteristics of the street and the users became apparent. It was generally difficult to study people’s behaviours and connect them to the land uses of the built form in an overcrowded space. It was also

difficult to pin down whether a particular behaviour had any direct link to the functions at street level. This first-hand information is particularly important because the study was designed initially to study, as part of the investigation of the liveability of the street, people's momentary behaviours and their sustained and lingering activities and how these were causally linked to the land uses at street level. This element of the study was abandoned in view of the new observational evidence. Another interesting spectacle that became clear while surveying people's opinions prior to the focused semi-structured interview is that people were quite responsive when discussing things in a casual manner and sometimes even enervated but were very reluctant to articulate their real feelings when asked to do so on camera or on a voice recorder. There was also the gender factor as women refused to be interviewed instead of their husbands or male family members. By rule of thumb, the socio-cultural implication of this is one that cannot be ignored in a society where traditional norms still persist - this will be dealt with later. This exercise was helpful in two important ways: firstly, it helped point to the potential pitfalls the research would have encountered had there not being a prior investigation before action; secondly, it refocused the approach of the study from the ground up, giving an insight and understanding of people's expectations and how they interact and perceive their environment and its affordances.

Consequently, both the qualitative and quantitative survey questionnaires were updated and enriched with the learning outcomes from the pilot study. It necessitated the use of the purposive or opportunistic sampling (see page 80) to conduct the focused interviews rather than the normal random sampling technique. It also brought to the fore some underlying order within the seemingly chaotic use of the

street and these variegated motifs were incorporated in the quantitative questionnaire design as well.

4.2.4 Physical Data

The street as public space is bounded by physical built form or buildings. It is the buildings (and sometimes other elements like garden walls and trees) that act as defining elements that contain the street space and the holistic quality of the space so formed is enhanced by the experiential quality of the individual buildings and/or enclosing elements. A figure-ground map reveals both the built-up areas and the open spaces between them. On a street, the main components of the figure and ground are the buildings, the street patterns and other interstitial spaces making up the capital web. It is therefore impossible to divorce the social aspect of experiential space from the physical entities that bound and give shape or form to them. The common practice in urban case studies starts with analysis of the site. This analysis mostly of the physical environment also called ‘truthing’ is done with the help of a base map in order to assess the existing conditions by recording what is available and what is not. For the purpose of this study, firstly, a checklist of available and non-available items, that is, all the physical things (minus the people) and buildings that make-up a street space on the street was prepared. This was followed by the physical measurement of the following street and buildings characteristics: street length; street width; width of sidewalk; number of blocks; length of each block; number of buildings per block; number of shops per block and their mix or variety; Degree of personalisation of storefront and projections; number of storeys per building; Degree of permeability of street front on every block; Number of community places; ‘vertical’ land uses (vertical envelope or wall of the street); rate of upper floor occupancy. The table below summarises the characteristics measured or recorded.

Table 1: Street Characteristics Measured.

#	Measured Characteristics
1	Length of street
2	Width of Street
3	Width of Sidewalk
4	Number and variety of street furniture
5	Number and variety of trees/vegetation
6	Number and length of blocks
7	Number of buildings per block
8	Number of shops per block and their mix or variety
9	Degree of personalisation of street fronts and storefront and projections
10	Number of storeys per building
11	Degree of permeability of street front on every block
12	Number of community places
13	Occupancy rate of upper floors

Measurements of Length and Width of Street, Sidewalk and Height to Width Ratio

Kissy Street is a two-way traffic street approximately 550 meters long and 14 metres wide; the buildings are three to four floors high giving a height to width ratio of 1:2. The sidewalk to either side is three metres wide incorporating drainage gutters 60 centimetres in width. Because the buildings on this street and in the city centre are perimeter buildings, the incorporated sidewalks serve both as pedestrian walkways and as storefronts. Under the current condition, they are occupied by street traders allowing pedestrians to squeeze and wiggle their ways into the shops. The drainage gutters like the one seen in figure 14 for example incorporated into (and under) the sidewalks have fallen into disrepair. They are mostly blocked by waste and at some points completely flattened causing serious drainage problems and flooding especially during the rainy seasons. They are also potential death-traps that may cause minor to fatal injuries to pedestrians.

Number of Buildings per Block and Length of Blocks

The street is composed of seven (7) perimeter blocks; the shortest block measures about 60 metres and the longest about 280 metres. Each of these blocks were coded 'K' (Kissy) and measured: K1=60m, K2=80m, K3=85m, K4=250m, K5=280m, K6=170m, and K7=85m. The length of each of these blocks has implications for the permeability of the street. Table 2 below summarises the length of each block, the number of buildings per each block, the number of shops per block and the number of openings per block.

Degree of Permeability of Street Front on Every Block

Permeability is understood as the accessibility to places and the choices a particular environment offers the user to navigate the city. At the city level there are two distinguishable types of permeability or accessibility: physical permeability; as with the choices available for physical movement to reach places and visual permeability; the seeing or 'optical preference' to reaching places (see Bentley et al. 1985). Six adjoining streets offer both entrance to and egress from Kissy Street. But the lengths of blocks K4, K5 and K6 (250m, 280m and 170m respectively) reduce this possibility for pedestrians and cars alike. However, with a total of 80 entrances or gateways to private properties or courtyards and numerous store fronts, these blocks are highly permeable albeit for residential and commercial purposes. Block level street front permeability is high (except for block K3 which has four buildings but one entrance). Quite interestingly, the gateways to the courtyards remain visible but most have now been turned into small sized shops.



Figure 14: Sidewalk and Drainage (2008).



(a)

Figure 15a: (above) First Floor of Building Overlooking the Street Given to Storage Spaces. (Below) 15b Storage Spaces Occupy the First Floor; 15c Whole Storage Spaces on two Floors (2008).



(b)



(c)

Number of Shops per Block and Their Mix or Variety

In total, there are 64 buildings defining the street including a bank and a church. Of these, there are 154 shops at street level five of which are empty, that is 97% occupancy rate. The mix or variety of uses include: commercial, office, leisure, residential and institutional uses. There are no teashops or coffee shops and no restaurants; food and drinks are mostly sold on the street. As for residential uses, there are 83 residential apartments, of these, only 65 are occupied and 18 empty, that is 78% occupancy rate. There are also 15 storage spaces overlooking the street. At street level the mix or variety of shops or other businesses (defined as the number of differentiated businesses where similar businesses are taken as a unit) is nine. A distinguishing feature of business on the street is that most shops are designated as general merchandise – a general merchandise shop sells variety of items, related and/or unrelated. Here most of the daily needs of the community and buyers can be met.

Degree of Personalisation of Street Fronts and Storefront and Projections

There are no visible uses of storefront projections either by canopies or pergolas.

However, several devices are used to personalise elevations of residences and storefronts. The use of colour and other graphics are more widespread where primary colours dominate but secondary and tertiary colours can also be seen.

Number of Storeys per Building and Occupancy Rate per Floors

The buildings are predominantly 4-storied but apart from the street level which is dominated by commercial land uses, the functions or land uses on the upper floors have been altered considerably. Although the street is still a mixed-use residential and commercial street, the present condition seems to have skewed the functional scale in favour of commercial land uses with shops at street level and other commercial functions on the first floors. Residential functions have given way to businesses as most of the upper floors have either been converted to office spaces, institutional uses or in numerous cases to storage facilities that directly support the present market and trading activities at the street level.

Whole facades overlooking the street space have been completely blanked-out with little or no openings (see figures 15a, b & c). This condition can be seen on lots of building along the street. The example in figure 15a is one of the buildings defining the PZ square. The balconies overlooking the street and the square suggest its former residential use; however, although sitting at a very strategic location, it has turned its back on both the square and the street. Similar attitudes can be seen in the other two examples (figures 15b & c). The building in figure 15c also stands right at the gateway to the square at the Eastern Police Clock Tower.

Number of Community Places

Community places are taken as buildings or spaces where community activities like religious services, meeting places and other group activities take place. Clearly the only such building on the street is the Ebenezer Circuit Gibraltar Methodist Church, the distinct red-laterite stone edifice (see figure 16). There is a mosque space at the rear of one of the residences and a football screening space. However, there may be other community places that could not be determined by physical observation alone as spaces can serve as settings for different functions or activities at different times.



Figure 16: The Ebenezer Circuit Gibraltar Methodist Church. Photo (2008).

In summary, as table 2 below shows, the measures indicate the predominance of two uses on Kissy Street: commercial and residential uses. The 97% rate of occupancy of shops indicates a viable business atmosphere and represents its dominance over

residential (with 78% occupancy rate – that is out of the limited number of buildings that still have residential uses) and other uses. This dominance is compounded by the spilling of commercial activities into the street space. The 15 storage spaces fronting the main street space also seem to augment the commercial activities. As exemplified in figures 15a, b & c, whole floor spaces of what apparently used to be residential spaces have been converted into ancillary storage spaces.

Table 2: Summary of the Characteristics of Blocks and Commercial and Residential Land Uses.

Block/length (metres)	No. of community places	No. of bldgs per block	No. of shops	Mix/Variety of shops	No. of empty shops	No. of residence occupied	No. of residence empty	No. of storage space
K1-60	-	3	12	2	-	5		1
K2-80	-	5	8	2	-	4	2	1
K3-85	-	4	17	2	-	2	1	1
K4-250	2	14	36	3	-	8	2	6
K5-280	-	20	46	8	4	26	2	2
K6-170	1	13	21	5		14	6	4
K7-85	-	5	14	5	1	6	5	-
TOTAL	3	64	154	(9)	5	66	18	15

4.3 Qualitative Data and Survey

As explained earlier, the mixed methods used in this research demands the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data sequentially. The first stage which is the qualitative data collection, analysis and interpretation included focused or semi-

structured interviews in which the interviewees were selected using non-probability sampling techniques called purposive or opportunistic sampling for the reason proffered earlier.

4.3.1 Purposive or Opportunistic Sampling

The initial research design was to do a random survey of residents to collect data for the qualitative stage but it, however, became clear during the pilot study stage that people were not willing to participate in any interview that was based on video or sound recording. Furthermore, women were very reluctant to grant any interviews without the consent of their spouses as tradition dictates. The only available alternative was to resort to a somewhat public relation tactics to cajole and convince would-be interviewees of the harmless and apolitical nature of the survey. At the end, an atypical sampling method based on the ‘willingness to participate’ was explored. This kind of qualitative, non-probability sampling technique has been described in the literature as purposive or opportunistic sampling (see Teddlie & Yu, 2007). It is a type of sampling in which “particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices (Maxwell 1998, p. 87) (see also Teddlie & Yu 2007, p.77). Although willingness to participate as a criterion can be very loose and therefore misleading, two constraints were imposed so that not every individual that was willing to participate was chosen: length of residence or stay on Kissy Street and the general relevance of the individual to the research either in terms of age or the rich source of information or knowledge they may have. The prospective interviewee was to satisfy both criteria before they were chosen for interview.

Length of residence or stay for the purpose of this research means the duration of residence on the street or where possible the individual spends most of their time of

the day on the street and is somewhat an integral member of the residency of the property. Such individual should have spent at least the past 10 years living in some capacity on the street and knows a lot about the street either in the past or the recent past. These twin criteria must be satisfied concurrently before the individual is considered relevant to the purpose of the research.

4.3.2 Focused (Semi-Structured) Interviews

To do a qualitative assessment of the liveability of Kissy Street, and to understand some of the issues that may not be obvious by ordinary observation, focused or semi-structured interviews were conducted. By definition, focused (semi-structured) interviews are face-to-face interviews where the interviewer puts down an initial outline of questions but probes with follow-up questions as the interview proceeds, giving the interviewer leeway to digress when necessary to enrich arising perspectives (Vanderstoep & Johnston 2009, p. 225). Initially, nine people agreed to participate but three pulled out citing personal reasons. One of the remaining six accepted to participate but only in written form: “it is easy to dissociate oneself from a written text” especially one done in someone else’s handwriting (the emphasis is mine). So at the end only 5 individuals, who volunteered, were interviewed. The interview (see transcripts of the interviews in Appendix D) covered six main items or categories each comprising a number of research concerns drawn as an initial guide to probe or elicit responses from the respondents regarding their feelings and perceptions of the problem. The six items are: a) residential history and demographic; b) community issues; c) local government and management issues; d) neighbouring and perception of home territory; e) crime and safety; f) miscellaneous issues about Kissy Street. These items were later adopted as the theoretical model in table 4 for investigating the case.

Residential history and demographics are important in that they allow the interviewer to discuss such attributes as: the tenure of residence – that is, whether the interviewee is an owner occupier or renter, it also asks about the age and the sex of the respondent, and above all it could provoke a wealth of information about an environment depending on the length of tenure of the respondent and, of course, the reverse may be true. If indeed it establishes that an interviewee is a long term resident, it presents an opportunity for the interviewer or researcher to probe more and probably discover or unearth information that may not have been considered before.

The community issues are raised here to probe issues and elicit answers specifically about the present economic and social condition on the street – street trading. It is interesting to investigate people's thoughts, not about the merits of street trading itself, but about its attributive outcomes, the crowd, the noise, the smells, the pollution of signs and life during daytime and night time.

Management of a space is a very important component of its liveability; thus the need to assess the role of the municipal government in managing a city. Responsibility in the urban environment is a two way, feed forward feedback endeavour. In as much as the municipal government has the responsibility of collecting taxes, the citizenry have the right to claim benefits accrued from taxation in the form of public services; services such as providing potable water, electricity, waste collection and management, public transportation etc. Also, in order to effectively or efficiently deliver to the citizenry, the municipal government has to be a body that encourages participation in decision-making of the very people it is supposed to serve.

The effect of the automobile on liveability on residential streets has been amply demonstrated in the earlier pages (see for example Appleyard, 1981; Appleyard, 1983; Bosselmann & Macdonald, 1999). The arguments were made to highlight the health hazards linked with the environmental (air and noise) pollution it produces and the corporeality of the machine in terms of the physical dangers it poses to pedestrians and its interference with movement across its purview. In a similar way, this argument can be made against an overcrowded street space for free movement both along and across such a space is severely hindered, the unending cacophony of machine and human noise disturb people's sleep (see Maslow, 1954 hierarchy of needs, physiological needs) and other bodily functions. It could also be a factor in decreasing neighbourly relations, sense of belonging and by extension, the perception of home territory (it shrinks the range in space that one may identify as one's own territory).

Safety needs have been described by Abraham Maslow (1954) as a second tier human need and sits second at the bottom of his pyramidal hierarchy. These needs, Maslow (1954) maintains, arise when physiological needs (at the bottom of the ladder) are met. They include, "(security; stability; dependency; protection; freedom from fear, from anxiety and chaos; need for structure, order, law, limits; strength in the protector; and so on)" (Maslow 1954, p. 39). In spite of the many critique levelled against Maslow's theory in reference to its inherent Eurocentric bias and valid questions about the hierarchical sequence, the assessment of this need in relation to liveability is quite a necessary one. Interviewees were probed on various questions about crime and safety. They were probed about criminal activities such as, armed robbery, petty-thievery, drug peddling and use etc. On safety, they were asked

to give their views on how the use of the street affects the old, the infirm, the handicapped, women and children.

The last item on the list – in no hierarchical fashion – is discussing lots of other varied or miscellaneous issues about Kissy Street. This was done by asking respondents to enumerate some good and bad things about the street in their own way and any other issues that may not have been asked by the interviewer(s) during the interview; they were further probed as they talked. It meant to elicit the extremities of likes and dislikes and the possible improvements and amenities they would want to see on the Kissy Street of the future (see transcripts of interviews in Appendix D).

There is obviously a plausible questioning of the reliability of generalising the result of such a small sample. However, it was a discretionary decision taken in light of the dearth of willingness of people to participate. Much later, after the completion of the questionnaire survey, additional interviews with five (5) respondents were conducted by phone. These were however respondents who had already taken part in the questionnaire survey; they were probed for more information on their answers.

Table 3: Theoretical Model for Measuring the Liveability of Kissy Street.

Category	Research Concerns
Residential History and Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sex and age of residents • Nationality • Length of stay • Tenure (owner-occupier or renter)
Community Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Street trading • Shopping opportunities • Daytime and night time life
Local Government and Management Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cleaning of street and rubbish collection • Public services provision • Participation in the decision-making process • Issues of taxation, dues and rates
Neighbouring and Perception of Home Territory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception of neighbouring relations and proximity (adjacent to or opposite across the street) • A sense of home territory • Sense of belonging
Crime and Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception of crime (petty-crime, armed robbery, rape, child abuse) • Perception of safety on the street for children, the old, the handicapped and ease of movement
Socio-spatial and Environmental Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noise, smell and pollution • Likes and dislike • Aspirations for the future of their street

4.4 Quantitative Data and Survey

As stated earlier, there are several methods of data collection at the disposal of researchers. The method employed for collecting the qualitative data is the face-to-face semi-structured interview (see above for the procedures or methods used to collect, organise and analyse the data). In a questionnaire survey, data can also be collected or administered through one of several ways: face-to-face, by mail-in, by telephone, or by the internet. However, it is sometimes impractical for researchers to employ all the available methods at the same time due to constraints; constraints of time and budget most importantly. For the purpose of this study, telephone, mail-in and internet surveys proved impractical due to the huge financial costs involved and

also the lack of readily available data on the population of the study area (albeit, some follow-up interviews were conducted with five questionnaire respondents for further clarification of certain measures). Consequently, the face-to-face survey method was preferred for the following reasons: the questionnaire is in English and may present some difficulty for some respondents hence the need to explain and clarify any difficult concepts to the respondents; dissemination and retrieval of questionnaires needed to be done in the shortest possible time; street traders are somewhat transient, therefore, the questionnaires for this group needed to be filled on the spot to increase the already anticipated low response rate. Since there was no available data on the population the data at hand is a cross-sectional data collected during field work.

4.4.1 Units of Analysis and Sampling

For reasons of time, budget and convenience, three user profiles have been identified for both the qualitative and quantitative data collection in this study, namely: the residents; the shopkeepers and the street traders; these are the three major users that occupy the street for some significant hours of the day. They can be subdivided into primary users (residents) and secondary users (shop keepers and street traders) respectively. It was quite tempting initially to focus only on residents of the street as they represent the primary group of users and they are the only ones whose profile fits all the liveability criteria derived. However, it became obvious that this starting point was already a biased position since residents are most likely to have a negative perception or views towards the use of the street as a market place and all the accompanying negativities that come with this. Therefore, as these represent three different groups of users, the stratified random sampling method was employed. This method, as its name implies, involves dividing the population or sampling frame

“into non-overlapping groups or strata” (Dattalo 2008, p. 5) where each strata is based on a “membership in a particular subgroup” from which a random sample can be selected (Vanderstoep & Johnston 2009, p. 32).

4.4.2 Description of Strata and Random Samples

Stratum 1 - Residents. This group comprises the primary group of users who are property owners and renters residing in the buildings along the street. From the data in table 3 (above), it can be gleaned that there are a total of 64 buildings along Kissy Street (on either side of the street); only 53 of these remain residential. Out of the 53 residential buildings counted there were a total of 83 floors and only 66 of these floors were occupied. The remaining buildings comprise of three non-residential buildings: a church, a bank and a police station; one dilapidated building marked with an ‘X’ sign for demolition; and seven other buildings that have no residential uses although modifications on them leave traces of their past residential functions. It is, however, very hard to quantify how many individuals there are per household as some of the residences, although having multiple floors, belong to an entire family group. The extended family system in Sierra Leone makes way for huge households. It is for this reason that every floor was taken as independent units.

The following is the breakdown of the process for the random sampling of the residential strata:

number of residential buildings = 53;

number of apartments/flats = 83;

number of occupied apartments or flats = 66.

Determined population/sampling frame (N)

= 66 respondents (one each from every apartments/floors);

Determined sample size (n)

= 40 respondents (expected to fill the questionnaires).

(Note: 40 respondents out of 66 represent 60 percent of the population/sampling frame).

Stratum 2 - *Shopkeepers/owners*. This stratum/group represents the first tier secondary group of users of the street who occupy and use the street with a degree of permanence for some significant hours of the day. The commercial functions at street level are perhaps the most important that enhance the experience of the street and an essential component of the liveability of a street. There are a total of 154 shops along and on either sides of the street (see table 3 above).

Population/sampling frame (N)

= 154 respondents (one each from every shop)

Determined Sample size (n)

= 92 respondents (expected to fill the questionnaires).

(Note: the number of the determined sample size for this stratum is calculated as 60 percent of 154).

Stratum 3 - *Street traders*. This group is the second tier of the secondary users of the street but different from the other two groups in that they are transient (not always permanent). They occupy the space immediately outside the shop fronts on the sidewalks. On average, there are four makeshift stalls in front of each and every shop making the group the largest in population. To make data collection from this group of users and to make the exercise more convenient for the surveyors, the random sampling for this group has been matched with that of the shops. That is to say, one

street trader is chosen in front every shop that has been randomly selected. Therefore, like in stratum 2, the population/sampling frame for this group is calculated as 154 people and the sample is 92 respondents. In sum, the questionnaires will be distributed to 224 respondents in all:

- Residents = 40
- Shopkeepers = 92
- Street traders = 92

Total = 224 respondents.

Drawing from the lessons learned from the observations and the focused interviews, it could be quite mistaken to do a random survey for fear of none response rate. Therefore a higher population size was necessary to compensate for the anticipated low response rate.

4.4.3 Sample Size, Data Collection and Sampling Procedures

The data for the study were collected in two phases: (a) the first phase started and ended between 10 and 30 September, 2010; during this period, the physical data, (measurements, observations, photographs etc.) and qualitative data (semi-structured interviews and video recordings) were collected; (b) in this second phase the questionnaire survey was conducted from the 11-29 January 2013. As a reminder, two sampling methods were used: purposive or opportunistic sampling for the semi-structured interview in which eleven people (three residents, seven shopkeepers and one security guard – five more interviews were conducted by phone between 20 and 22 of June 2014) and random sampling for the questionnaire survey from three user groups or strata, these are: residents, shopkeepers and street traders respectively. The table below summarises the number of strata, number of units of measurement for

each strata, Population/sampling frame (N), Determined Sample size (n), Response rate (number and percentage of questionnaires returned):

Table 4: Summary of Random samples across the Three Strata Showing Sample Sizes and Response Rates.⁸

Strata	No. of Units	Population (N)	Sample Size (n) (Determined)	Response Rate	Percentage (%)
Residents	83	66	40	30	75
Shopkeepers	154	154	92	30	32
Street Traders	-	154	92	70	76
Total			224	130	58

4.5 Readings and Summary

No one comes to a research problem with an empty head. Once an aspect is problematized or a problem has been realised, the role of a researcher becomes one of an investigator who endeavours to get a richer understanding of the case or phenomenon before them. In the social sciences and in case study methodologies especially, the case or problem is examined both in the field or context and in the literature. This is followed by a research design and the determination of the appropriate methodology or theoretical lens through which the researcher looks at the problem. This determines the corresponding methods or tools to be used to get the required data and interpret the relationship between two or more variables that

⁸ All these were calculated against 60% determined from the strata with the smallest population size – The Strata, Residents.

explain the problem. It is not always possible to have a one to one relationship between the physical environmental features and particular activities especially when intervening externalities have equal effect on the case.

This research is based on a street as a case study. As it is the norm in urban studies, a thorough analysis has been done of the study area supported by physical measurement data; these physical data represent the objective data collected from the visible characters of the street and the buildings that line it. To understand the subjective perception, views and opinions, qualitative in-depth and face-to-face interviews were conducted by taking a sample of the users of the street. Prior to initiating the qualitative survey, a pilot study was done in which some test runs were done with the respondents. This was to get familiar with the problem at hand and to detect any future potential pitfalls that may arise during the actual data collection stage. Also, quantitative data in the form of questionnaires were distributed to three disparate groups of users representing three strata of respondents. Gathering these different types of data to understand one problem is what has been termed the mixed method strategy. However, this study used the sequential mixed methods strategy in which one set of data, the qualitative was collected first followed by the quantitative including other data sources.

Due to circumstances beyond the control of the research, the response rate for the qualitative interviews was very low – only 11 (eleven) respondents were interviewed as they were the only ones who volunteered to do so hence the use of the purpose or opportunistic sampling method. This data was analysed and used to augment the findings of the quantitative data collected by a stratified sampling of 40 residents, 92 shopkeepers and 92 street traders. Consequently, the quantitative data is given more

emphasis as it is broader, more inclusive and representative of the population. The findings of the qualitative interviews and other data are used to anchor the questionnaire survey findings into their theoretical perspective thereby unifying and complementing each other.

Chapter 5

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This chapter presents the methods of analysis (that is, making sense of the data collected) of the qualitative and quantitative data collected and presents the findings. Since the two different sets of data were collected in sequence with the qualitative data collected much earlier, it was first analysed and coded and given numerical quantities before mixing it with the quantitative data. The findings of both analyses were then discussed together using the observations or findings of the qualitative data to anchor the quantitative data into its theoretical perspectives.

5.1 Methods of Analysis and Coding of Qualitative Data

There is a no shortage of literature dealing with mixed methods research and its data analysis techniques, but as Srnka & Koeszegi (2007) point out, there still remain a dearth of available “blue-prints” and handy “guidelines” for use by those who want to do this kind of research. They have listed five stages as guidelines for the qualitative analysis process, these are:

Stage 1. Data sourcing; Stage 2. Transcription; Stage 3. Unitisation; Stage 4. Categorisation; Stage 5. Coding (see Srnka & Koeszegi 2007, pp. 35-37 for more details). *Data sourcing (stage one)* involves collecting materials such as readily available documents (like text, graphics, audio and video materials); observation notes (like observing human behaviour patterns) and materials from interviews (for instance, in-depth interviews and narratives). For the purpose of this study, the data source is the video recorded face-to-face in-depth interview done with respondents.

Transcription (stage two) involves translating or transcribing a text from one language or script into another. It represents one of the trickiest and problematic stages and needs some skill and sophistication. “In terms of responses, gathering and analysing data in the respondents’ own language would provide highest validity, because language itself reflects cultural phenomena and particularities” (ibid, p. 36). In this study, three languages were used in the interview according to each respondent’s preference and the only three Sierra Leone languages the interviewer speaks with some degree perfection, these are English (official), Krio (lingua franca) and Mende (indigenous and the interviewers own ethnic language). Three respondents were interviewed in Krio and one each in English and Mende. Notes were taken as the interviewees spoke and these notes have been compared with the replay of the video to correct anomalies both in wordings and connotations. Obviously, only the Krio and Mende data needed transcription. It was fairly easy to transcribe the Krio data as it is an English-based language and the Mende data also presented little or no difficulty as the probe during the interview helped clarify some difficult expressions. *Unitisation (stage three)* is the act of choosing words, sentences or meanings from text as units of analysis and arranging them as units to construct text-based categories and codification. *Categorisation (stage four)* is the process of thematisation of words, sentences and meanings that are recurrent in a text but that can be put under one group of meaning and understanding. *Coding (stage five)* involves assigning specific codes or numbers to the units that have been categorised.

These are useful steps or procedures for quantifying qualitative data and developing theory. It is however difficult to discern emerging patterns from a group of interview transcripts without following a systematic procedure for coding to organise them

(Auerbach and Silverstein 2003, p. 31). The sequence of procedures for coding qualitative text include: the availability of raw data; sieving through the raw data to determine relevant text; looking for recurring ideas from relevant text; arranging recurring ideas under themes where recurring ideas plus themes give rise to theoretical constructs that are in turn informed by the research concerns (see Auerbach and Silverstein 2003, pp. 31-76).

5.1.1 Qualitative Data Analysis

The qualitative data was analysed using the five-stage guidelines of Srnka & Koeszegi (2007) for a grounded theory approach which include: stage 1. Data sourcing; stage 2. Transcription; stage 3. Unitisation; stage 4. Categorisation; stage 5. Coding (see Srnka & Koeszegi 2007, pp. 35-37 for more details) and Auerbach and Silverstein (2003) procedures for coding qualitative text: rawdata; relevant text; recurring ideas; themes; theoretical constructs; theoretical narratives and research concerns. The first stage data (from the interviews) comprised four documents in Krio (the lingua franca), one English and one Mende (local dialect) documents. In the second stage, the five documents in the local languages were transcribed into English. With the research concerns in mind, all the six texts were unitised by putting together all relevant texts as one document in stage three. In stage four, these texts were categorised under themes as recurring ideas (where particular ideas are repeated by various respondents) and lone ideas (ideas that occur only once in the text). These themes need to be codified as basis for theoretical constructs. These themes represent not only the research concerns of the study but the subjective opinions of the interviewees from the ground up. In all, the analysis yielded 12 themes from the recurring ideas; while five lone ideas were also identified. The twelve themes are:

1. *Vulgarity and disrespect for elders*: four out of six interviewees complained about the obscene language used by most street traders. There is a spectacle of the offensive, detestable, unprintable orals or swearwords called ‘Mammy Cuss’ (translated ‘mother insult’) in famous Sierra Leonean parlance. The elderly are the ones that are mostly, but not exclusively, affected by this vulgarity.
2. *Perception of noise and dissatisfaction with noise*: five out of six perceived of high noise levels; three of them very strongly and two of them do not see it as too much of a problem.
3. *Dirty street space and lack of general hygiene*: three of the interviewees had strong feelings about the problem of filth on the street and in the drainage gutters that is mostly blocked by dirt and foodstuffs that are sold there.
4. *Difficulty of movement*: five of the interviewees expressed deep dissatisfaction about the difficulty to move on the street and to enter or exit private property and even the shops due to the overcrowded street.
5. *Petty crimes*: there is a general perception of the problem of petty thievery as expressed by five of the interviewees. Four of them do not however see this as a big problem and do not perceive of armed robbery; only one of them feel strongly about it and armed robbery as serious problems.
6. *Perception of the street as a civic and national pride*: only two of the interviewees expressed strong feelings about the condition of the street as a national disgrace in the eyes of visitors who must traverse it as their first contact with the city centre.
7. *No outdoor play space for children and movement hazards for children, the old and the handicapped*: five of the interviewees find the street dangerous for

children, the old and the handicapped because of the crowd, vehicles and social miscreants.

8. *Negative perception of community cooperation and participation in decision-making*: three interviewees hold that there is no cooperation among residents, traders and no participation in decision-making as they do not even know the local councillor of their area.
9. *Low sales but higher taxes*: the two traders interviewed lament low sales at a time when the taxes they pay are increasing.
10. *Satisfaction with certain aspects of street – liveliness and the availability of amenities like electricity and water supply*: most (4 out of 6) of the interviewees find the liveliness of the street a positive aspect and also electricity and water supply; for one, the availability of electricity brings a sense of security, for another, liveliness makes him feel less lonely.
11. *Satisfaction with certain aspects of street management especially garbage collection*: although people do not have a favourable opinion on the job the local government is doing, they agree (4 out of 6) that they are making some effort in collecting garbage every day.
12. *Neighbouring and sense of territory*: when asked about those they considered their neighbours (with the help of base maps), the three interviewees who are residents pointed to the nearest or adjacent to their residences on their own side of the street. However, when asked about people they socialise with they pointed to people on other streets and in other parts of town. They also find their territory as the area just opposite their properties.

Some concerns raised by individual participants were added as ‘lone ideas’ (because they were expressed by only one person): i) lack of parking space; ii) sense of civic

responsibility but lack of reciprocity by city government; iii) the problem of drug use and addiction; iv) child abuse; v) rape. The next step is to organise these themes under broad categories.

From the above analyses a number of things stand out. The interviewees agree and feel strongly about certain aspects of the street while they disagree on certain aspects. For example, there is a near consensus on the perception of noise; vulgarity and disrespect for elders; petty crimes; difficulty of movement and movement hazards for children; the old and the handicapped; garbage collection and the availability of amenities like electricity and water supply. They differ on other matters like seeing the street as symbol of civic and national pride and even seeing most of the problems as very serious. This split reflect the different interest of the interviewees as the resident interviewees seem to find serious problems with the conditions of the street while the shop owners and the security guard seem to be more interested in those aspects that deal directly with them. Also, this difference in satisfaction could be a function of political proclivities as the street encapsulates the political divide in the city and the country at large.

5.1.2 Theoretical Constructs and Codification

In the preceding section, the recurring ideas from the interview transcript have been organised into 12 thematic categories and a group of lone ideas that were less recurrent. Inadequate as the interview samples may be, they however give a helpful insight into the subjective feelings of the interviewees towards their environment. To test the frequency of these feelings and their possible generalisation within the population, these insights are re-examined in the questionnaire (face-to-face) survey. The themes and lone ideas have further been organised, among other things, within

the main theoretical constructs or categories as the research concerns of the study. These conform to Appleyard’s liveability criteria of streets as a measure of Lynch’s good city form. These concerns measure people’s overall satisfaction with their environment (the street), sense of belonging to a community (perception of the street as home or just a place to live), neighbouring and perception of home territory, degree of crime and the overall perception of crime and safety concerns, healthy environment, local government and management (participation in governance and satisfaction with local government’s management of the street) and the perception of the street as a civic pride.

5.2 Quantitative Data Analysis and Findings

Overall Satisfaction with Kissy Street

This measure applies across all the three strata. Respondents were asked to rate their levels of satisfaction on a scale of 1-5 (1 being the most negative and 5 being the most positive). This was to determine whether there was a significant difference in satisfaction amongst residents, street traders and shopkeepers. The findings suggest that 61% (79 out of 130) of all respondents within the three strata are satisfied with Kissy Street; 17% (22 out of 130) are dissatisfied and 13% (17 out of 130) are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (see table 5 below).

Table 5: Overall Satisfaction with Kissy street as a Place to Live (Percentage Distribution).

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Satisfied	2	1,5	1,5	1,5
	Dissatisfied	22	16,9	16,9	18,5
	Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	17	13,1	13,1	31,5
	Satisfied	79	60,8	60,8	92,3
	Very Satisfied	10	7,7	7,7	100,0
	Total	130	100,0	100,0	

A one-way analysis of variance (table 6 below) showed a significant difference in satisfaction:

$f(2,127) = 21.1, p < 0.01$ among residents (2.8/0.9), shopkeepers (3.6/1.0) and street traders (3.9/0.6) (see table 1 above). A Post Hoc (Tukey) analysis (see table 19-20 in Appendix B) revealed no significant difference in satisfaction at $p < 0.01$ between residents and street traders and between residents and shopkeepers. There was a significant difference, however, between shopkeepers and street traders at $p < 0.05$.

Table 6: Overall satisfaction with Kissy street as a Place to Live (Percentage Distribution - Mean and Standard Deviation).

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Resident	30	2,7667	,89763	,16388
Shop Keepers	30	3,5667	,97143	,17736
Street Trader	70	3,9000	,66267	,07920
Total	130	3,5615	,91502	,08025

Table 7: Overall Satisfaction with Kissy Street (One Way Anova).

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	26,974	2	13,487	21,138	,000
Within Groups	81,033	127	,638		
Total	108,008	129			

Sense of Belonging to a Community

Perception of Street as Home

As represented in table 8 below, residents were asked to assess whether they take the street as home or just a place to live. Only 23% (7 out of 30) find it a home while 73% (22 out of 30) see it as just a place to live.

Table 8: Kissy Street as Home or Just a Place to Live - Residents' Responses (Frequency Distribution).

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid				
No answer	1	3,3	3,3	3,3
Home	7	23,3	23,3	26,7
Just a place to live	22	73,3	73,3	100,0
Total	30	100,0	100,0	

Sense of Belonging

In order to quantify how residents fared on the question of belonging to a community, they were asked a set of four questions on a five point scale (from the lowest and most negative, strongly disagree to the highest and most positive, strongly agree) namely: if they had much to do with other people on the street; if they perceive a strong sense of community; if they felt they belonged to a community; and if their neighbours are friendly people. As table 9 shows, majority of residents 57 percent (17 out of 30) are not decided but only 20 percent (6 out of 30) agree to that they feel they belong to a community.

Table 9: Residents' Perception of Belonging to a Community (Percentage Distribution).

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No Answer	1	3,3	3,3	3,3
	Strongly disagree	1	3,3	3,3	6,7
	Disagree	5	16,7	16,7	23,3
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	17	56,7	56,7	80,0
	Agree	6	20,0	20,0	100,0
	Total	30	100,0	100,0	

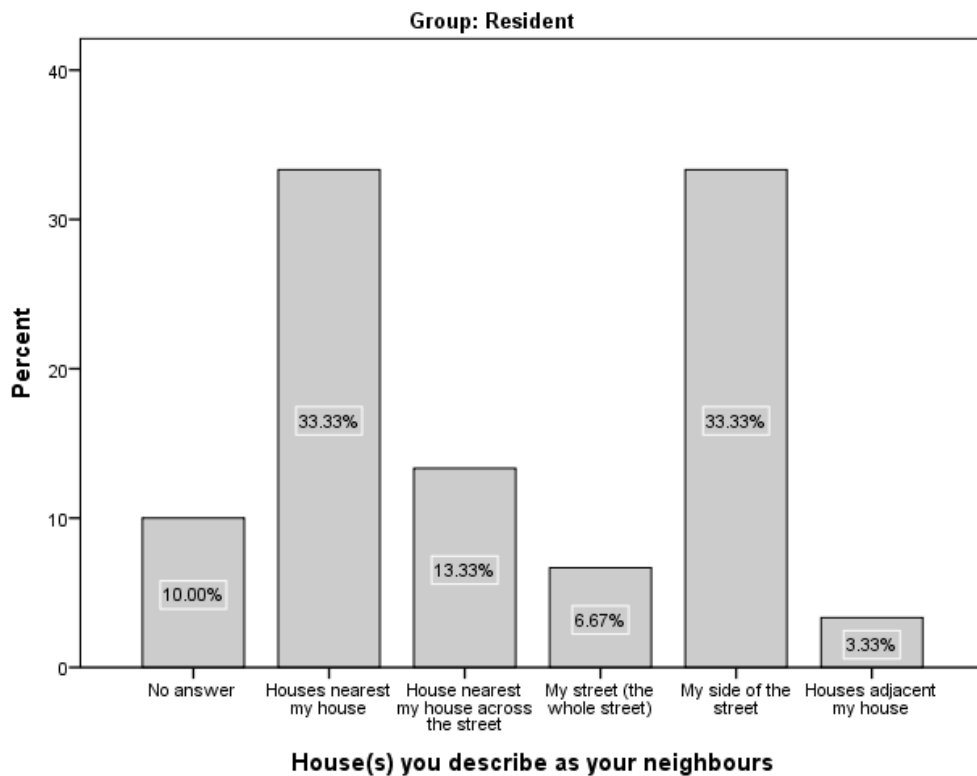


Figure 17: Houses on Kissy Street which Residents Perceive as Neighbouring Houses.

Neighbouring Perception

One of the prime elements of feeling at home and having a sense of belonging to a place is when inhabitants interact with people in their neighbourhoods. Figure 17 above depicts residents' responses when asked to describe houses along the street that they consider neighbours. Most residents chose either houses nearest their own houses or houses on their side or line of the street (not across the street); that is 33% each.

Perception of Home Territory

Like neighbouring, the psychological and physical marking of one's domain of influence is as human as it can be. It is part and parcel of belonging to a place and an integral part of engaging with others to maintain and defend space against unwarranted or conflictual intrusion and trespass. Again, residents in the study were asked to describe the range of houses or blocks that they perceive as their home territory. As figure 18 below suggests, they perceive either houses in close proximity or houses on their side of the street (interpreted as nearness) as home. There is a sudden increase in the percentage of responses which see their side of the street as their territory.

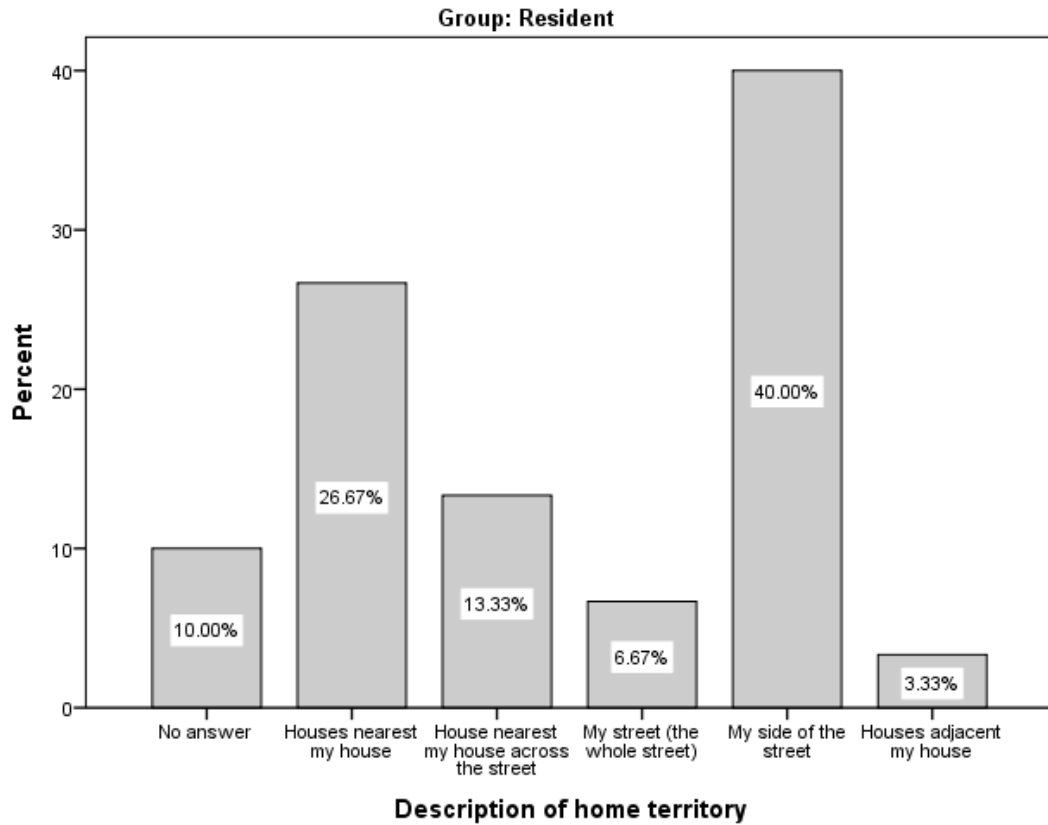


Figure 18: Range of Houses on Kissy Street which Residents Perceive as Part of their Home Territories.

Crime and Safety

Degree of Crime

Respondents at all three strata were asked to tell their opinion about the degree of crime on the street. 38% of all respondents think there is a great deal of crime while 59% think there is some crime and 3% thinking there's little crime. To determine the degree of perception of crime between gender groups a multiple comparison test - Mann-Whitney U test showed no significance difference between them (male and female) at $p < 0.05$.

Table 10: Overall Perception of Safety on Kissy Street (Percentage Distribution).

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Resident	30	14,2000	2,92905	,53477
Shop Keepers	30	15,4667	2,27025	,41449
Street Trader	70	13,2714	4,06798	,48622
Total	130	13,9923	3,56881	,31300

Overall Perception of Safety on the Street

Respondents were asked about their overall perception of safety on the street on an aggregate score. A one-way analysis of variance showed less significant difference $f(2,127) = 4.2$, $p < 0.05$ among residents (14.2/2.9), shopkeepers (15.5/2.3) and street traders (13.3/4.1) (see table 10 above). A Post Hoc (Tukey) analysis (in table 25 Appendix B) revealed the difference in significant at $p < 0.05$ between shopkeepers and street traders.

Table 11: One-way Analysis of Variance between Groups.

ANOVA					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	16778,026	2	8389,013	3,092	,049
Within Groups	344536,967	127	2712,890		
Total	361314,992	129			

Healthy Environment

Here, respondents across all three strata were asked series of questions on how their street appears to them in terms of dirty or clean air, lots or of vehicular traffic, very

noisy or very quiet, poorly or well-kept outside areas, crowded or not crowded and safe or unsafe. A one-way analysis of variance showed no significant difference at $p < 0.05$ among all groups (as shown in Table 11 above).

Community Participation in Governance

Satisfaction with Local Government Services

Considering the important role local government plays in providing services, respondents across all strata were asked (on a scale of 5 from very dissatisfied to very satisfied) to give an overall assessment of their degrees of satisfaction with the job being done by local government official on the street. Overall, 63% of residents say they are dissatisfied while 10% are satisfied. 37% of shopkeepers are dissatisfied and 33% are satisfied. And an equal number of street traders are dissatisfied (34% each).

Table 12: Residents' Contacts with City Officials (Frequency Distribution).

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1	3,3	3,3	3,3
	No	29	96,7	96,7	100,0
	Total	30	100,0	100,0	

Participation in Governance

Asked if they have contacted any city officials in the past one year, 97 % of residents said no while 3% said they have not attended any meetings or workshops with city officials in the said year (Tables 12 and 13).

Table 13: Meetings or Workshops with Government Board/Commission (Frequency Distribution).

		Freque- ncy	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No answer	1	3,3	3,3	3,3
	Yes	1	3,3	3,3	6,7
	No	28	93,3	93,3	100,0
	Total	30	100,0	100,0	

Historical Significance

One question was asked about the historical significance of the street whether it has been lost or not; 13% of residents either agree (3%) or strongly agree while 30% agree.

5.3 Reading and Summary

In this chapter, two types of data, qualitative and quantitative, were analysed. The qualitative data underwent the five stages of analysis namely, Data sourcing, Transcription, Unitisation, Categorisation and Coding. These data were vital in drawing up the larger questionnaire survey whose results and findings have been displayed above.

The results suggest that people overall are satisfied with Kissy Street as a place to live and do business. However, the perception of crime gets a somewhat mixed result but safety scores were favourable. The other variables, sense of belonging, neighbouring and territoriality, participation in governance and environmental issues were perceived negatively.

Chapter 6

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Discussions

1. Overall Satisfaction. As the findings above show, there is a significant difference among residents, shopkeepers and street traders in general satisfaction with Kissy Street. The street traders and shopkeepers are more satisfied with the street as a place to live (and do business) than the residents. With respect to the residents, this is also reflected in the fact that an overwhelming number (73%) of them do not take the street and its neighbourhood as home; meaning they do not feel they belong. This was very much expected in the context of the overall perception of the negative qualities of the street which is high among all the groups. However, during the semi-structured interviews there were varied levels of satisfaction with the conditions on the street. One older respondent had this to say when asked about noise on the street:

“for those of us living in these buildings, we are being disturbed by the noise. Yes, we do sleep about 10 – 11 pm when the street traders have packed and left. That is when I even give lessons to my children but, when they are selling there is no chance to sleep....”

Other residents, however, sympathise with the situation even though they agree the street is noisy. For instance, in the words of one interviewee:

“...too much activity... so one expects noise levels to be high. Yes, the noise is too much but there is nothing I can do about it because the people selling here are trying to earn a living because things are not easy here.”

Quite interestingly though, when residents, on the one hand, were asked to assess their relationship with the street traders, whether they perceive it as bad or good, majority of the ones who answered this particular question had a somewhat favourable outlook (as a good relationship). From the point of view of residents of Kissy Street, as shown in table 14, 53% (16 out of 30) of residents perceive a good relationship with the street traders as opposed to 23% who rate the relationship as bad. The street traders, on the other hand, also have a very high favourable or positive perception of their relationship with residents. 63% (44 out of 70) perceive the relationship as a ‘good’ one as opposed to only a meagre 3% who find the relationship bad (see table 15).

Table 14: Resident-Street Trader Inter-relationship.

<i>Relationship between residents and street traders^a</i>					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Bad	7	23.3	23.3	23.3
	Good	16	53.3	53.3	76.7
	Not sure	7	23.3	23.3	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	

a. Group = Resident

Table 15: Street Trader-Resident Relation from the Perspective of the Street Trader.

		<i>Street trader-resident relationship^a</i>			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Very Good	2	2.9	2.9	2.9
	Very Bad	2	2.9	2.9	5.7
	Good	44	62.9	62.9	68.6
	Very Good	11	15.7	15.7	84.3
	Not Sure	11	15.7	15.7	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	

a. Group = Street Trader

Overall, the inter-relationship between street trader-shopkeeper and shopkeeper-street trader is positively mutual. 47% (14 out of 30) of shopkeepers rate their inter-relationship as good but an even greater number of street traders have a very high rating of their inter-relationship with the shopkeepers: 64% (45 out of 70) rate it as good while 26% (18 out of 70) as very good, respectively (see tables 21-22 and figures 25-26 in Appendix B).

It is hard to pin-down the reason why residents' satisfaction – although positive - with Kissy is lower than the other groups but score a somewhat more favourable rating on the positive spectrum for the street traders. Is it a question of detail as in admitting one's real feelings towards others when answering a specific question that demands one to express clearly where one stands? This is not clear but one can make an informed guess that there is an overall negative feeling towards the street traders than the residents are willing to admit. Having said that, studies on human satisfaction as a utilitarian concept can be misleading. Although the present satisfaction level expressed by people on Kissy Street is a product of the questions

asked, people can be satisfied or dissatisfied with many things outside of the remit of the study area. That is, it could be a city wide phenomenon in response to a variety of personal experiences of the individual participants in the study. As a subjective feeling that varies with the emotional state, it can sometimes lead to misdiagnosis of objective externalities. As argued earlier in the liberal conception of public space where the individual is the sole arbiter of what is good and what is bad, a communitarian view that is counter to it seems quite applicable here as long as this is in line with people's view of their capabilities and how to achieve them as a group. As Nietzsche once opined, "If we have our own why in life, we shall get along with almost any how. Man does not strive for pleasure..." Even with serious hardship, one can find meaning in life and find life quite satisfying.

2. *Economic Activities.* The data findings show viable commercial activities and interaction between groups but especially so between street traders and shopkeepers. The findings further reveal that street traders buy half of the goods they sell on the streets from the shops along Kissy Street the same street on which they ply their trade (see Appendix B for table 23 and figure 27). Asked whether they perceive any hurt in terms of sales due to street trading on Kissy Street, 63% (19 out of 30) of shopkeepers agree that it is not hurting their sales while 17% (5 out of 30) suggest it does hurt their sales (see Appendix B for table 24 and figure 28). This suggests that on the economic viability front, there is mutual cooperation between the street traders and shopkeepers. This is also supported by the physical evidence of shop occupancy rate (see table, p. 78) which stands at 97% (149 out of 154 shops). Weighed against the number of residential uses (83 residential apartments with 78 % occupancy rate – 65 occupied apartments out of a total of 83) commercial uses dominate. Most of the

space on the upper floors have either been converted or constructed as storage spaces or offices. The storage spaces directly facilitate or support the commercial activities at street level. This has also had its reciprocal effect on the buildings that line the street as storage space (15 of them) front and overlook the street. There are more blank walls and very few eyes on the street! Jane Jacobs suggested the latter is vital to keep crime off the street.

3. Crime and Safety. The perception of crime and safety though seem to be less of a concern for respondents across all strata and even gender groups. This is likely because commonplace petty crimes like shoplifting, bag snatching and pickpocketing are not taken as serious crimes like armed robbery, murder, rape etc. Safety from other harms and hazardous situations like car accidents and/or other forms of injury is also an important indicator of liveability. Three categories of people tend to be particularly vulnerable to these kinds of insecurities: children, the old, the physically challenged (handicapped⁹ – for lack of a better word).

Table 16: Perception of Women's Safety on Kissy Street.

<i>Safety for women to use the street</i>					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very unsafe	20	15.4	15.4	15.4
	Reasonably safe	46	35.4	35.4	50.8
	Somewhat safe	49	37.7	37.7	88.5
	Very safe	15	11.5	11.5	100.0
	Total	130	100.0	100.0	

⁹ The word handicapped is used as a linguistic placeholder; no intent to cause harm to people who have lost some amount of physical capacities – the English Language is impoverished now on this front.

The data set for this variable comprised 70 males (54%) and 60 females (46%). The overall perception of women’s safety is quite high taking into account the values on the safe spectrum (85% overall) as seen in figure 19 and table 17). This perception is fairly distributed among the population.

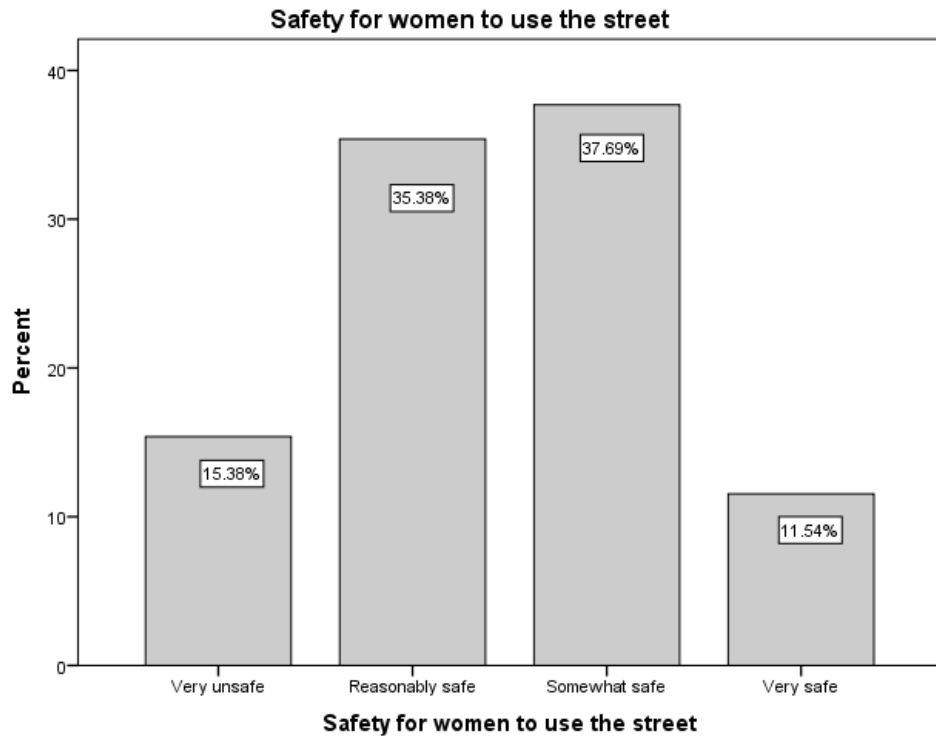


Figure 19: Chart Representing Perception of Women's Safety on Kissy Street (Percentage Distribution).

Table 17: Women's Perception of their Safety on Kissy Street.

		<i>Safety for women to use the street^a</i>			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very unsafe	12	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Reasonably safe	16	26.7	26.7	46.7
	Somewhat safe	23	38.3	38.3	85.0
	Very safe	9	15.0	15.0	100.0
Total		60	100.0	100.0	

a. Sex = Female

The same goes for the other three aforementioned categories viz., children, the old and the handicapped with a total of 88% (see tables 26-28 and figures 29-31 in Appendix B). Although these security and safety concerns were highlighted as some of the problems on Kissy Street, the much wider quantitative analysis cannot confirm this in the wider population – a mix picture emerges. However, due to some of the setbacks in gathering this data (mentioned much earlier), it is hard to categorically suggest that this gives a clear idea about the perceptions of the group of users included in this category. Except the women who answered the questionnaires by themselves, the data for the other three categories reflect only the views of other survey participants about safety of children, the old and the handicapped.

4. *Participation in Governance.* On the question of governance and user participation in decision-making, the findings point to a high dissatisfaction with local government services provision and lack of citizen participation in governance of the street. The overwhelming majority of users have never being contacted or consulted on matters of their street or neighbourhood. Nonetheless, views on service provision by local government are suspiciously nuanced. Political affiliations may account for this as glimpses of this were manifest in the in-depth interviews. For instance, one shopkeeper fumed about high taxation:

“They do nothing; all they are interested in is to collect taxes every year without giving anything back. If one defaults on payment, they threaten one with closure of one’s shop violently. They even come to collect taxes without notice.”

Another was more positive since in his view the street is cleaned daily: “Yes they are ok. Because [every day] they clean the street at night.”

5. Sense of Belonging. Also, when one looks at the responses of residents on the street as home or just a place to live, an overwhelming number (73%) do not take the street and its neighbourhood as home. The results have also shown high dissatisfaction with local government services provision and lack of citizen participation in governance of the street. Humans are social animals and exhibit a high sense of territoriality. This is exhibited on Kissy Street physically by how people give different decorative patterns to their building facades, colours and other devices for personalisation. However, residents of Kissy Street (those who responded to the questionnaire) chose either their own side of the street or houses closer to them as both neighbouring and territory. Two things may account for this: a) the availability of city wide networks where one's friends and socialisation circles live outside one's neighbourhood; b) that the condition on the street does not allow for friendly interaction across the street or further down the street. A densely populated street does hamper easy and frequent across street interaction. It may also reduce one's claim to place and by extension the sense of territory.

It should be noted that majority of the tenants now living at Kissy Street and renters or other (mostly caretakers) not owner occupiers (see figure 20 below). Most home owners who were predominantly Lebanese traders had either fled during the war or simply relocated to other parts of the city.

6. Environmental Issues. Noise is the most problematic issue for residents and other users on Kissy Street. People across all strata complained about noise, air pollution and waste. This however, is not restricted to Kissy Street as it is a city-wide problem. Also, there are simply no effective waste disposal and treatment mechanism in Freetown, where they exist, they are ineffective.

The street infrastructure has also suffered a lot as macadam kerbs are broken, so are drainage slabs (see figure 14). The latter are hazardous death traps during floods or during the night.

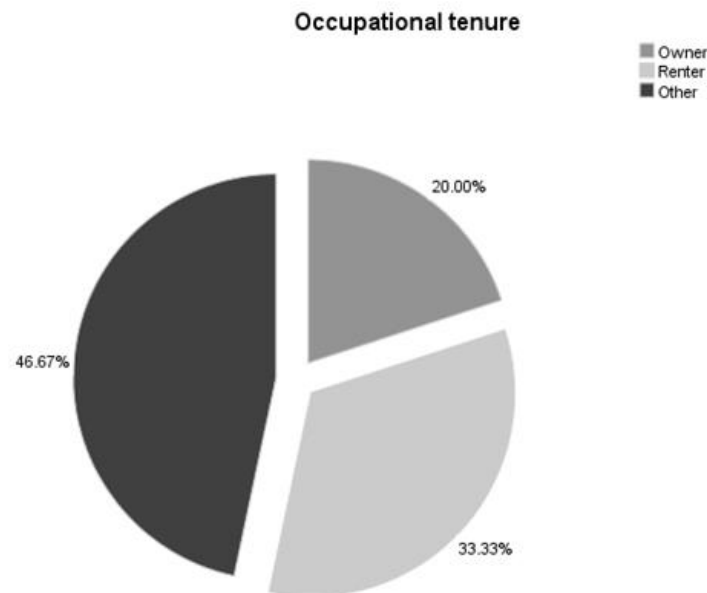


Figure 20: Pie Chart Showing Occupational Tenure of Kissy Street Residences (Percentage Distribution).

6.2 Conclusions

A populated and lively city centre has been found desirable in light of the perceived benefits that can be gained through the stimulation and support of commercial and leisure activities, economic prosperity for businesses and property, the availability of a variety of activities, reduction in the rate of crime, enrichment of the general urban experience, among other things. Conversely, an overpopulated and lively city centre can give rise to undesirable or negative outcomes and dent people's overall perception of space. Foremost, it can lead to congestion and the subjective feeling of overcrowding. Petty crimes like pick-pocketing and snatching have also been reported to thrive in overcrowded spaces. In the context of Freetown, overcrowding is believed to hamper pedestrian and/or vehicular movement within the city as in the spectre of traffic jam at peak hours while noise pollution from car horns, screaming

hawkers (and other sources), perhaps the most negative outcome of overcrowding on commercial streets, seems to be actually killing the Freetown city centre despite the liveliness of the streets. These negative outcomes seem to affect the perception of liveability for the residents and other users of Kissy Street. These were the initial foundational problematics on which this study was grounded. However, the result and findings of the analysis give quite a mixed picture.

At this juncture, in anticipation of the concluding remarks, restating the research question, proposition and assumptions would be helpful.

Research question:

“what social, functional and physical street characteristics affect the liveability of city centre mixed-use streets and in what ways do these affect the symbiotic relationship between the private and public domains?” This has already been answered in the liveability measures in the ‘cloth-line’ model which can be subsumed under the three qualities expressed in the question: social qualities; physical qualities and land use qualities.

The question is how these qualities can be enhanced or rather perceived by all users in overcrowded settings. In line with the discussions and the key findings above, it appears the proposition “that a lively but densely populated and ‘overcrowded’ mixed-use street can seriously reduce liveability for residents and other users and their social, physical and economic wellbeing” is quite plausible if very hard to pin down given the mixed results of this study.

Also, complementary to the above question and proposition, the following assumptions were made: that a lively street may not necessarily be a liveable street; that a mix of land uses where buildings abut the floor plane (public-private) interface and the good management of this relationship guarantees a variety of social activities and a better use of street space; that the more dilute/diffused the public-private interface the better and more successful the street will work as a public space for ephemeral, lingering, sustained social interaction and the stricter the separation between the public and private spaces the lesser the social interaction, holding other micro level characteristics constant; that the less cars use a street space the better it serves as a pedestrian-friendly precinct; that the physical quality of the city centre street spaces cannot be further improved without improvement in the socio-political and socio-economic contexts; that physical upgrade efforts that are grounded in the local culture and that follow a primarily bottom-up but multi-pronged approach and therefore local involvement in decision making are more likely to yield desired results; that locally generated solutions informed by the everyday life of users are more likely to succeed in making a liveable street; that after design and planning decisions have been made and implemented, creativity, imagination and innovation in the management of public space become the guiding principles. These, with the exception of the first assumption, need to be further investigated.

This study has highlighted the importance of the multi-dimensional role played by the street as the prime public space in a city; arguing that this multi-dimensional role is even more pronounced in the city centres of developing countries where the street accommodates a welter of activities that cut across the public-private domains. The study has questioned the liveability of such streets even though their characteristic

liveliness has been admired and recommended profusely. It has postulated that while such public spaces may be lively, they may conflict with the aspirations and quality of living of residents and other users who might find them chaotic, insecure and uninteresting. Such environments are hardly responsive to the needs of children, old and 'handicapped' people although the results and findings suggest otherwise.

Based on Appleyard's (1981) study of street liveability and Lynch's (1984) study of good city form and using a mixed methodology, the study has identified five main indicators of liveability and some of the problems that affect the liveability of Kissy Street (a de facto street market). Because the street is predominantly a crowded street market, noise pollution, spatial congestion, and the untidiness that are characteristics of crowded spaces are perceived as the most negative spatial experience for residents, street traders and shopkeepers. Since these three strata also represent different interests their satisfaction levels are differ. Resident users appear mostly ambivalent about their satisfaction with their environment. Ambivalent because the data suggests that they have mostly negative perception of other aspects of life on the street like the sense of belonging and feeling at home; territorial perception and reach, noisy and unhealthy street environment yet score somewhat positively on the satisfaction scale.

But the experience of space can be highly subjective and liveability is a mixed bag of items to choose from. What follows from this is that one is free to choose any mix of well-being or capability sets on the liveability continuum. And the satisfaction or lack thereof with one's environment is an indication of whether one's environment enhances one's capabilities for a better life or not. For this reason, and other socio-cultural dynamics which dictates dependency and cooperation among groups and

individuals, there seem to be lots of compromises, trade-offs and negotiations of the rights and opportunities that accrue to all. Therefore to make a place like Kissy Street conducive, responsive and truly inclusive for its users, design decisions that provide opportunities for all user groups and ensure that some uses do not encroach upon other uses thereby creating discord should be employed.

The use of the street as a market and the overcrowding it causes is the most contested use of Kissy Street. This use, however, needs to be put in its rightful context as the image of the socio-economic, political and cultural manifestations of space making in Freetown and cities in other developing countries. Although it may seem to dent the liveability of the street, it also raises pertinent questions about urban citizenship and the contestation of space. The formal logic of de-legitimisation only affirms the logic of informality as the marginalised reassert their claim to citizenship, their claim to the city and therefore to the public space. In the Sierra Leonean context, for instance, these traders pay daily market dues even when their very presence is a non-presence.

The very logic of street trading defies the formalisation drives being implemented by city authorities. The city government must eschew the appeal to mere convenience in favour of resourcefulness. Prudence also demands that laws alone cannot deliver the required results especially when what is at stake is social justice and equity – Justice and convenience are not synonymous. The street traders continue to sell on Kissy Street and all the other streets in the city centre because that is where their trade flourishes – that is the essential logic. Therefore, a radical approach rooted in the twin logic of asyndetic and synecdochic spatial appropriations will accommodate

rather than isolate and marginalise these users. That is, spaces should be physically carved out in line with the spatial logic of their spatial practices. ‘**Asyndetic extractions**’ and ‘**pleonastic extensions**’ will serve as organising tools of the everyday life – a feat, unsettling, subversive and sometimes precarious! That should be the hallmark of an agenda for liveable city centres of the global south where this spectacle remains the complex realities of the everyday life experiences of marginal inhabitants.

6.3 Recommendations

Although overcrowding does not forestall an all-inclusive public space, reducing the phenomena through the following recommended measures will go a long way to increase the liveability (with all the contradictions and imperfections) of Kissy Street and other city centre streets with similar profiles.

Upgrading the:

Physical Qualities

- Responsible relocation of street traders by the providing of market spaces (at little cost) in the city centre to allow street traders full access to customers and not pushed to peripheral areas as has been the norm.
- This can be done by providing pedestrian only precincts and city centre wide promenade; other niches can be provided by radically carving them out of the existing fabric – what ‘I will’ call here ‘Pleonastic Extensions.’¹⁰

¹⁰ This is after Lefebvre’s ‘Asyndetic Spatial Language’ of omitting parts without losing the meaning of the whole. ‘Pleonastic Extensions’ would mean the profuse and radical use of these to accommodate the informal logic of space.

- the city can take advantage of its coastal waters as a highway or main street providing alternative transportation thereby reducing car traffic from the inner city areas and reducing congestion.
- Proper waste management mechanisms should be instituted to ensure a cleaner city. Freetown can learn from Curitiba's creative example of attaching monetary value to dirt.
- Provide incentives to house owners to upgrade the quality of their building fronts by renovating and planting trees and flowers this will bring back civic pride, residential functions, some sense of belonging and territorial behaviour.
- Broken kerbs and drainage slabs should be replaced to increase the environmental qualities and prevent accidents especially for the old, handicapped and children.
- Make Kissy Street a one-way street to reduce the traffic jam especially at peak hours.

Functional Qualities

- Functional varieties (mixed uses) need to be increased so that the street does not lose its commercial and social viability and vitality. This will encourage the spill over of internal functions and encourage sustained outdoor sitting and lingering. Mixed uses can also bring back the eye on the street and improve the safety and security of the street.
- Increase storefront permeability and allow personalisation of them.

Social Qualities

- Increase community spaces and third spaces for increased interaction between users in a non-crowded environment.

- User participation in decision-making and management of the street should be encouraged for a more equitable and liveable street.
- Taxes and daily market duties collected from the street and its neighbourhood should be ploughed back into the community to provide better facilities and a cleaner quality environment. This will empower people, give them control over their environment and engender in them a sense of belonging.

6.4 Limitations of the Study

This study is limited to Kissy Street which is in the centre of the Sierra Leonean capital, Freetown. It is a study about the liveability of a city centre residential and commercial street. Initially, the intent was to do a comparative study of three different streets. However, due to the limitation of time for the field work and the unavailability of funds, the study was only done on one street.

Moreover, the dearth of prior urban studies and readily available data on Sierra Leonean cities, availability of time, inadequate finance and cultural constraints presented the main difficulties of this study. This is reflected in the sample size, low response rates in the resident and shopkeeper strata and the huge number of missing values. Moreover, the study has laid more emphasis on the questionnaire survey leaving very little room to report the full findings of the in-depth interviews that would have anchored the study fully into its theoretical context and therefore a wider perspective on the measures. Nonetheless, the study has raised some important questions about liveability and urban qualities of overcrowded city centres. Further investigation of the main indicators of street liveability and probably a liveability index in a comparative study of streets and a bigger sample will show a complete picture of the effects of overcrowding on mixed use streets.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Statistical Tables and Newspaper Clippings

Table 18. Provisional Population Census Report. Source: Statistics Sierra Leone (2015).

ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT	1963 POPULATION			1974 POPULATION			1985 POPULATION			2004 POPULATION			2015 POPULATION		
	N	%	SEXR	N	%	SEXR	N	%	SEXR	N	%	SEXR	N	%	SEXR
Kailahun District	150,236	6.9	87	180,365	6.6	92	233,839	6.7	96	358,190	7.2	94	525,372	7.4	98
Kenema District	227,428	10.4	117	266,636	9.8	105	337,055	9.6	104	497,948	10.0	102	609,873	8.6	97
Kono District	167,915	7.7	118	328,930	12.0	126	389,657	11.1	112	335,401	6.7	106	505,767	7.2	99
Bombali District	198,776	9.1	85	233,626	8.5	88	317,729	9.0	92	408,390	8.2	93	606,183	8.6	95
Kambia District	137,806	6.3	92	155,341	5.7	91	186,231	5.3	91	270,462	5.4	90	343,686	4.9	91
Koinadugu District	129,061	5.9	93	158,626	5.8	92	183,286	5.2	92	265,758	5.3	88	408,097	5.8	99
Port Loko District	247,463	11.4	95	292,244	10.7	93	329,344	9.4	92	453,746	9.1	88	614,063	8.7	92
Tonkolili District	184,460	8.5	89	206,321	7.5	91	243,051	6.9	96	347,197	7.0	87	530,776	7.5	98
Bo District	209,754	9.6	104	217,711	8.0	95	268,671	7.6	97	463,668	9.3	96	574,201	8.1	95
Bonthe District	80,139	3.7	95	87,561	3.2	95	105,007	3.0	97	139,687	2.8	93	200,730	2.8	97
Moyamba District	167,425	7.7	94	188,745	6.9	94	250,514	7.1	94	260,910	5.2	90	318,064	4.5	93
Pujehun District	84,869	3.9	89	102,741	3.8	90	117,185	3.3	92	228,392	4.6	93	345,577	4.9	95
Western Rural	67,106	3.1	113	40,065	1.5	105	84,467	2.4	107	174,249	3.5	95	442,951	6.3	98
Western Urban	127,917	5.9	111	276,247	10.1	112	469,776	13.4	108	772,873	15.5	98	1,050,301	14.8	99
SIERRA LEONE	2,180,355	100.0	98	2,735,159	100.0	99	3,515,812	100.0	99	4,976,871	100	94	7,075,641	100.0	96

N=Number of Persons

% = Percentage Distribution of Total Population

SEXR=Number of Males per 100 Female

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NEWS

Sanity At Last!! - The Mayor's Blueprint For Freetown

Posted by Winstanley.R.Bankole.Johnson (JP, CO) on Oct 1, 2007, 15:42

The theory of good democratic governance through effective and efficient municipal services delivery can best impact on the lives of our citizenry via a direct, overt and evident central government support for Local Government structures, as the acceptable vehicle social services delivery.

For much too long, government has been far removed from the governed. Everyone agrees that Freetown is not Sierra Leone, but even though 90% of the political leadership hails from the provinces, none of them has ever taken the risk to invest in any project outside Freetown. If local communities constitute the heartbeat or key performance indicator of successful governance, it follows therefore that the needs of each local community should not be underestimated.

I have read a number of articles proffering advice as to how President Koroma should define his cabinet. For my part, the only means of taking government to the electorate is by strengthening the capacity of Local Councils so as to be able to deliver the services for

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Figure 21: Mayor Proclaims a Solution to Abolishing Street Trading - Electronic Print Media Clipping. Source: www.Standardtimespress.org (2007).

Petty traders turn Sani Abacha war memorial to illegal flea market

By **Vickie Remoe** - July 12, 2012

1002 1

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Figure 22: Bemoaning Kissy Street Flea market - Electronic Print Media Clipping.
Source: www.switsalone.com (2012).

Mayor determined to end trading on Abacha Street

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By Ibrahim Jaffa Condeh

Public Relations Officer of the Freetown City Council (FCC), Cyril Mattia, has disclosed to Concord Times that council will not relent in its determination to remove traders from all major streets in Freetown, including the notorious Sani Abacha Street.

Traders at the busy thoroughfare, named after the former Nigerian dictator General Sani Abacha in recognition of his unwavering support to the ousted democratically elected government of President Kabbah in 1997, have been up in arms recently after moves by the municipal council to remove them from the street.

The traders, who are predominantly women, have used political patronage to remain on the street. They took to the streets of Freetown last week to complain about the Mayor's ultimatum for them to vacate the street by 6th January. They went to the Inspector-General of Police, who reportedly refused to grant them audience, and later to the Minister of Trade, Alhaji Usu Boie Kamara, who addressed the irate traders and assured them that government will find an amicable solution to the matter.

According to Mr. Mattia, the council is determined to stem lawlessness on the streets of the municipality, not least Abacha Street.

"His Worship the Mayor of Freetown, Bode Gibson, is determined to work day and night to see that street traders adhere to the council's rules and regulations," he said, adding that plans are in progress to put an end to street trading along the busy streets of Freetown.

However, a petty trader at the popular street, Musu Kamara, said street trading is an occupation for most of them as proceeds from sales are used to take care of their families.

"We call on the Freetown City Council to allow us do our business on Abacha Street as we are all peaceful citizens of Sierra Leone," she said defiantly.

Figure 23: Attempt at Clearing Kissy Street of Street Traders
- Electronic Print Media Clipping. Source: slconcordtimes.com (2016).

Search



Sat October 1, 2016 08:08PM



"We make every effort to see that our actions live up to our words and be vigilant with regards to our behavior." - Thomas Sankara

On the re-opening of SLPP Office ... "We would never encourage violence" John Benjamin...

Polls

Sorry, there are no polls available at the moment.

FRONT PAGE 30092016



AWOKO BIZ 26092016



FRONT PAGE 26092016

Operation WID under threat as... Abacha Street turns garbage dumpsite



What was described as a typical demonstration of unpatriotic behaviour was seen yesterday at the centre of Sani Abacha Street, when a huge pile of garbage was set ablaze by unidentified persons. Staff of the First International Bank who almost suffered suffocation as the burning garbage was blown directly into their premises from the opposite side of the bank's branch at Abacha Street, could

hardly carry out their duties, as customers hurriedly left the scene unable to carry out their business.

Vehicular movements were equally disrupted, owing to the smoke, as a result of the blazing garbage strategically occupying the intersections of ECOWAS and East Brook Streets respectively, leaving drivers with no alternative but to meander between traders and pedestrians, through the already congested street.

Some Abacha traders themselves could not fathom who might have set the garbage on fire, and were desperately collecting water from drainages to pour over the burning garbage to put out the fire

Their effort was partly successful, but the thick smoke was very offensive even to commuters.

Efforts to identify the offenders proved futile, as bystanders claim that the act might have been done by some shop owners at Abacha overnight, while the shop owners in turn heaped blame on the street traders.

As a way of justifying the act, those gathered around the smoking rubbish dumped in the middle of the street, blamed it on the alleged negligence of the Freetown City Council to put garbage containers on the street.

They said when garbage is collected, they are piled at respective points, hoping that the Freetown Waste Management Company, the Council or whoever, would collect it. But they claim that the garbage, when gathered, will be left abandoned for days, apparently giving cause for the burning.

However, the Public Relations Officer of Freetown City Council, Cyril Mattia, has considered the act of burning garbage on a main street as "a total show of lawlessness and an unsanitary act", and assured that whoever found culpable of the act, will be dealt with accordingly.

He explained that the FCC does not put garbage cans along Streets like Abacha, as they will be filled to the brim until it overflows.

Therefore, he said, that they allow them to gather the garbage at one point and then their garbage collectors, whom he claimed are constantly moving around, will collect it and deposit at major dumpsites. As a result, he said, the action such as the one done at Abacha St., was a show of sabotage on the already instituted efforts by the council and other stakeholders to sanitize the city: "The council would not take lightly any effort that would undermine the progress we have made so far, and will go in search of those who have perpetrated such action", he asserted.

By Poindexter Sama

Comments are closed.

Figure 24: Paper Proclaims Operation WID under Threat - Electronic Print Media Clipping. Source: www.awoko.org (2016).

Appendix B: Supplementary Tables

Table 19: Overall Satisfaction with Kissy Street (Multiple Comparisons- A Post Hoc Tukey Test).

(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval
					Lower Bound
Resident	Shop Keepers	-,80000*	,20625	,000	-1,2891
	Street Trader	-1,13333*	,17431	,000	-1,5467
Shop Keepers	Resident	,80000*	,20625	,000	,3109
	Street Trader	-,33333	,17431	,139	-,7467
Street Trader	Resident	1,13333*	,17431	,000	,7200
	Shop Keepers	,33333	,17431	,139	-,0800

Table 20: Overall Satisfaction with Kissy Street (Multiple Comparison A Post Hoc Tukey Test).

Tukey HSD

(I) Group	(J) Group	95% Confidence Interval
		Upper Bound
Resident	Shop Keepers	-,3109
Shop Keepers	Street Trader	-,7200
	Resident	1,2891
Street Trader	Street Trader	,0800
	Resident	1,5467
	Shop Keepers	,7467

Table 21: Shopkeeper-Street Trader Inter-relationship from the Perspective of the Shopkeeper.

<i>Shopkeeper-street traders relationship^a</i>					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Very Good	11	36.7	36.7	36.7
	Very Bad	1	3.3	3.3	40.0
	Good	14	46.7	46.7	86.7
	Very Good	2	6.7	6.7	93.3
	Not Sure	2	6.7	6.7	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	
	a. Group = Shop Keepers				

Table 22: Street Trader-Shopkeeper Inter-relationship from the Perspective of the Street Trader.

<i>Street trader-shopkeeper relationship^a</i>					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Very Good	1	1.4	1.4	1.4
	Good	45	64.3	64.3	65.7
	Very Good	18	25.7	25.7	91.4
	Not Sure	6	8.6	8.6	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	
a. Group = Street Trader					



Figure 25: Chart Representing Shopkeeper-Street Trader Inter-relationship (Percentage Distribution).



Figure 26: Chart Representing Street Trader-Shopkeeper Inter-relationship (Percentage Distribution).

Table 23: Street Trader -Shopkeeper Trade Relations on Kissy Street.

Where street traders buy the goods they sell ^a					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	From shops on this street	28	40.0	40.0	40.0
	From somewhere else	28	40.0	40.0	80.0
	From here and somewhere else	14	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total		70	100.0	100.0	

a. Group = Street Trader

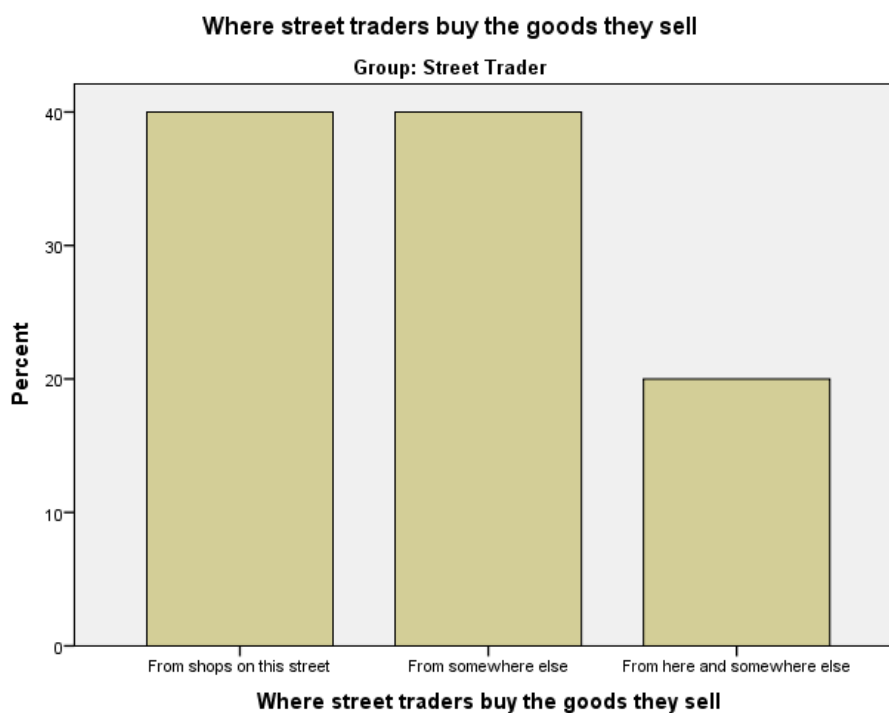


Figure 27: Chart Representing Street Trader-Shopkeeper Inter-relationship on Kissy Street (Percentage Distribution).

Table 24: Perception of the Effect of Street Trading on Shopkeeper Sales on Kissy Street.

Street trading effects on shopkeeper sales ^a					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Hurting My Sales	19	63.3	63.3	63.3
	Hurting My Sales	5	16.7	16.7	80.0
	I Am Not Sure	6	20.0	20.0	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	

a. Group = Shop Keepers



Figure 28: Chart Representing the Perception of the Effect of Street Trading on Overall Shopkeeper Sales (Percentage Distribution).

Table 25: Overall Perception of Crime on Kissy Street (Multiple Comparisons between Groups).

Dependent Variable: Perception of User Safety						
Tukey HSD						
(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Resident	Shop Keepers	-1,26667	,89914	,339	-3,3990	,8657
	Street Trader	,92857	,75991	,442	-,8736	2,7307
Shop Keepers	Resident	1,26667	,89914	,339	-,8657	3,3990
	Street Trader	2,19524*	,75991	,013	,3931	3,9974
Street Trader	Resident	-,92857	,75991	,442	-2,7307	,8736
	Shop Keepers	-2,19524*	,75991	,013	-3,9974	-,3931

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 26: Perception of Safety for the Old on Kissy Street.

<i>Safety for old people to use the street</i>						
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid safe	Very unsafe	16	2.3	12.3	1	1
	Reasonably	51	9.2	39.2	5	5
	Somewhat safe	46	5.4	35.4	8	8
	Very safe	17	3.1	13.1	1	1
	Total	130	00.0	100.0	1	100.0



Figure 29: Chart Representing Safety Perception for the Old on Kissy Street (Percentage Distribution).

Table 27: Perception of Safety for Children on Kissy Street (Percentage Distribution).

<i>Safety for children to use the street</i>					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very unsafe	14	10.8	10.8	10.8
	Reasonably safe	48	36.9	36.9	47.7
	Somewhat safe	44	33.8	33.8	81.5
	Very safe	24	18.5	18.5	100.0
	Total	130	100.0	100.0	

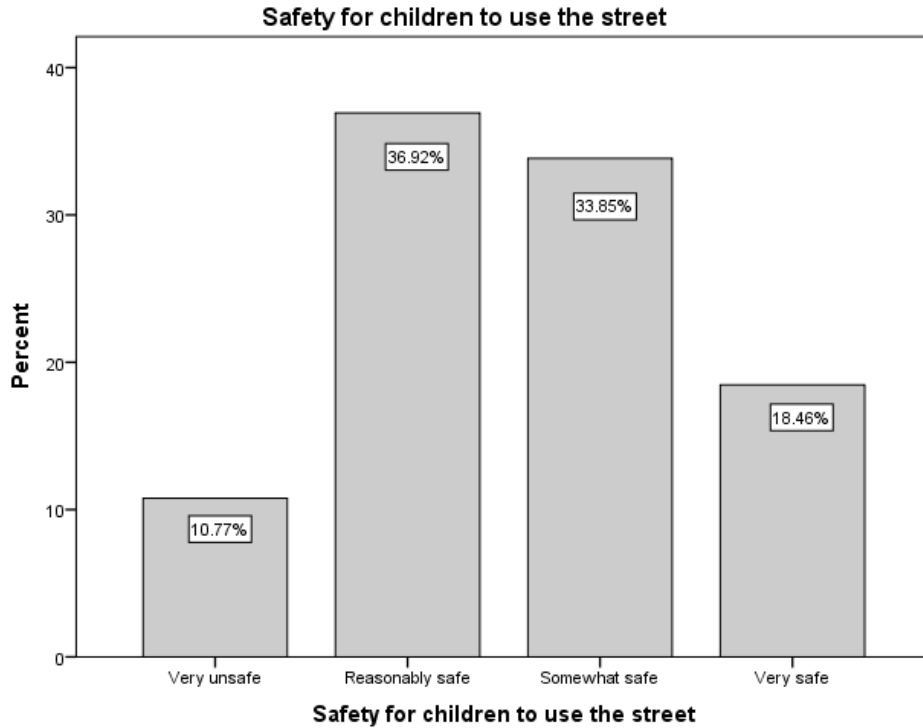


Figure 30: Chart Representing the Perception of Children's Safety on Kissy Street (Percentage Distribution).

Table 28: User Perception of Safety for the Handicapped on Kissy Street (Percentage Distribution).

<i>Safety for handicapped people to use the street</i>					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very unsafe	26	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Reasonably safe	43	33.1	33.1	53.1
	Somewhat safe	43	33.1	33.1	86.2
	Very safe	18	13.8	13.8	100.0
	Total	130	100.0	100.0	



Figure 31: Chart Representing Perception of Safety for the Handicapped on Kissy Street (Percentage Distribution).

Appendix C: Introduction Letter and Informed Consent Form

Introduction Letter

Kushe! My name is **Fodei Moiwai Conteh**. I am a doctoral (Ph.D.) candidate in the Urban Design and Architecture programme at the Department of Architecture, Eastern Mediterranean University in Famagusta – Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

As part of my research (in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy), I am studying people's ideas and perceptions about living on Kissy Street. That is why I have prepared a set of closed-ended and open-ended questions.

Your responses to all the questions in this questionnaire and anything you say will be kept strictly confidential. The data I am collecting are from many sources and other people who live and use Kissy Street. So, although your name will be connected to your own data, I am going to combine all these data and make them into one huge data. For example, in reporting the data, I will say, so and so percent (%) of people said so and so; or the number of people who said so and so is... without mentioning any names.

In this interview, I am going to ask you some questions about Kissy Street. I am not asking questions that will test your general knowledge about Kissy Street. So, there are no right or wrong answers; all I am interested in is your own opinion about living on or using Kissy Street.

I am grateful for your participation in this survey. There is a Consent Form attached to this letter, please read and sign it. Thank you.

Yours Truly,

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Informed Consent Form

Thesis Title: Towards a Rehabilitation Strategy for Kissy Street, Freetown: A Socio-spatial Analysis of Building and Public Space Relationship

This survey is done by Fodei M. Conteh, a student pursuing his Ph. D. studies. It is about the people living in the neighbourhood of Freetown City Centre along Kissy Street and how they feel about life in their street and community. Particularly, the researcher hopes to obtain normative data on whether a densely populated and lively street is a liveable street. Therefore, the survey asks for your opinions and about your experiences living on this street. **Your responses to all the questions in this questionnaire and anything you say will be kept strictly confidential. Although your name will be connected to your own data, I am going to combine all these data and make them into one huge data.**

Filling-in these questionnaires and answering the open-ended questions should take approximately ... minutes. However, you have certain rights as a participant. These include:

1. Volunteering to take part in this research.
2. Refusing to participate (partly or fully) without paying any penalties whatsoever.
3. Withdrawing from taking part at any time without any penalties.

If you begin the questionnaire and decide not to continue please let the researcher know by telling him/her so.

By agreeing to participate in this research you confirm that:

1. You are 18 years old and above.
2. You have read and understood all the information written above.
3. You voluntarily agree to participate in this research.
4. You agree to complete this questionnaire and interview by yourself and that you will answer the questions provided honestly.
5. You understand that you are free to withdraw from taking part at any time without any penalties.

If you have any questions about this study or comments/ suggestions about your participation in this research, please contact Fodei M. Conteh (Tel. No: 033-53-47-88). This study has been approved by the Department of Architecture Thesis Committee and the Institute of Graduate Studies at the Eastern Mediterranean University in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

If you agree to the terms noted above, please sign and print your name below:

.....
Signature

.....
Printed Name

Appendix D: Transcripts of In-Depth Interviews

RESPONDENT ONE

Name & Surname: [REDACTED] (Mr.)

Employment/ Occupation: Driver

Age: 46

Sex: Male

House Number: 1A Sani Abacha Street

Duration of Interview: 18:40-18:58 (18.02 minutes)

Section A: Residential History & Tenure

Interviewer: Good evening and how are you doing?

Respondent: Am fine.

Interviewer: How long have you live on this street?

Respondent: I have been living here for 20 yrs.

Interviewer: How would you describe your tenure in this house? Owner/ renter etc.

Respondent: I am the care-taker.

Interviewer: You mean you just take care of this residence or you live here as well?

Respondent: Yes I live here (Not the owner of the house.)

Interviewer: Since you say you have lived here for 20 years, what can you tell me about Kissy Street? Has the street always been like the way it is now? Is this (crowd) a recent development?

Respondent: When I came here I met street traders selling here as they continue to do.

Interviewer: When you say they have been selling since you came to live here, I want to know if the street trading has always been like this. (Re-stated)

Respondent: (restates former response). But the way street trading is today is different from what it used to be.

Interviewer: So how was it before?

Respondent: In the past, the sellers were intelligent, they did not use abusive language (meaning) they were not rude, they comported themselves, they respected elders. Most of the children (youth) who are selling today are quick to heap insults on you in the event that you mistakenly come in contact with their wares, that's one. Secondly, they have been given the side of the street to spread their wares but they push their wares into the middle of the street blocking people's path or right of way.

Interviewer: When you came here was the crowd on the street this much or it was less?

Respondent: It was crowded but still the traders respected people.

Interviewer: Is that all you can tell me about your length of stay on this street?

(Respondent stops someone entering through the gate as I interviewed)

Respondent: Yes

Section B: Community Issues

Interviewer: I want to ask you more about this street trading. Do you want this street trading to continue or it should (finish) or stop what is your view?

Respondent: As far as I am concerned, I do not want it to continue because, for those of us living in these buildings, we are being disturbed by the noise. (2) The (drainage) gutter is filthy. The filth is not generated by any other persons but these people who sell here.

Interviewer: Are these the only problems you have with street trading?

Respondent: (1) they block the entrances to our houses making it difficult for us to enter and exit our houses. To even park your car is a problem because people have their wares along the parking areas (sides of the street), so if you park a bit towards the street, you are given a ticket (fine). And just today, this Wednesday the police and traffic wardens ticketed me costing 30,000 Leones which I will have to pay. I told them that I was loading some things, they did not care but they don't tell the traders not to spread their wares along the parking spaces, we are the ones they accuse of flouting the law, they either give you a ticket or tow your vehicle. This problem is caused by the traders - we do not have parking space.

Section C: Local Government and Management Issues

Interviewer: You said just today you were ticketed for parking wrongly, I would like to ask you about local government and the job they are doing; are they doing well or not?

Respondent: No good work because of traders, local tax is Le5,000 yearly, city rate is Le250 approx. (not sure). It is the law.

- Gutters are cleaned and paid for by us.
- Streets are cleaned by them.
- We pack the rubbish on the streets and they (City Council) clear them.

Well, no, I don't see any other good work with these traders on the street (someone blows ashes over us from a hearth along the path)

Interviewer: Are you taxed?

Respondent: We are taxed, local tax which we are required to pay.

Interviewer: Is it a high tax?

Respondent: (1) 5000 (2) city rate 250,000 I think (hesitates).

Interviewer: Is this local tax yearly or what?

Respondent: Yearly.

Interviewer: What about the city rate?

Respondent: Not sure.

Interviewer: Are both these taxes low or high in your view?

Respondent: Well, since I am employed, whether it is low/high, since it is government law I have to pay.

Interviewer: You pay taxes as you have said, what does the city council do for you in return in terms of cleaning, garbage collection, public transportation or what do you people ask the city council to do for you? Do you involve in decision making?

Respondent: Well, now, they have the right to tell people to clean the drainage gutters but not to sweep the street.

- We pay for the cleaning the gutters, they only clean the street space itself.
- We pay them the taxes to clean the street. So we clean the gutters and pack the dirt along the street for them to clear. See the example there on the street (interviewee gestures/ points to the street).

Section D: Neighbouring and Perception of Home Territory

Interviewer: You say conditions are not bearable here, can you tell me if you have neighbours here with whom you socialise.

Respondent: Yes, next house neighbour on the right (No. 3 Kissy Street).

Interviewer: Do you really socialise with your neighbour?

Respondent: Well, he is a frequent traveller to Guinea and back but whenever he is here he greets me and we socialise most of the time, I have no problems with him.

Interviewer: Do you have any other neighbours over the street?

Respondent: Yes, just along the street but we do not meet often, we are not used to each other. The only neighbourly relationships I have are friends that I go to away from this street with whom I socialise.

Section E: Crime and Safety

Interviewer: I want to ask you about crime and safety along the street. Do you perceive of crime or the street is safe for people?

Respondent: Before, crime was a difficult problem until I was called in to come and clear the area. Then I came and dealt with the problem, and I was told to stay and be a caretaker for this building. Since one or two years ago we started seeing petty thievery like snatching mobile phones on the street, that situation still continues.

Interviewer: So you mean the only crime problem you have is petty thievery but no armed robbers?

Respondent: Yes

Interviewer: Well, what about other crimes like drug use?

Respondent: I don't smoke cigarette, I don't drink rum (alcohol), so I don't have time with those who do. When you do these things you will know the secrets of it, but what I have told you about crime is all I know. Even yesterday, there was an incident of mobile phone snatching.

Interviewer: What about life at night, do you sleep soundly? or during daytime do you find it comfortable to rest?

Respondent: Yes we do sleep about 10 – 11 pm when the street traders have packed and left. That is when I even give lessons to my children but, when they are selling there is no chance to sleep.

Interviewer: how about play space for your children; do they have a space for play?

Respondent: Yes inside. Because the space is tight, it is difficult for them to play on the street. If they happen to knock over someone's wares it becomes a problem as they will insult me, so I don't allow my children to go out there to play. Instead, I keep them in and review their lessons with them. Most of these people on the streets are not educated and do not value education that much. They take their trades higher than education. So, I don't want a situation wherein someone will abuse me without responding to them. It takes two to quarrel; that is why I do my best to avoid it. Just two days ago, one of my children was in this situation while he was sent to go and buy something, he knocked over somebody's wares and the person resorted to insults so I told my boy to come back in because I did not want to get involved in such palavers.

Section F: Miscellaneous Issues about Kissy Street

Interviewer: If you are asked to name some good and some bad things about this street, what will they be?

Respondent: Why I like here is that it is a nice place to stay.

Interviewer: What do you mean by nice place to stay?

Respondent: Nice in the sense that if someone wants to harm you 2/3 people will see and come to your help but in the (dark) corner that is not possible there will be no one to help. But here, there is light (electricity), here is open so, I like to stay here – I don't talk for others.

Interviewer: What would you say is the bad side?

Respondent: This street-trading; people placing their wares by the side and middle of the streets and blocking movement of people. And the fact that they are used to using

foul language anytime, there is a little problem. I am elderly and I don't want a child to fight me or molest me. If you knock over someone's wares mistakenly, you are asked to pay, if not you will be molested by five or so of them until you pay. So let them be cleared here and given a market place.

Interviewer: How about rents now, are they high or low now compared to the past?

Respondent: They are still high, some residents are even asking for two years rent upfront.

Interviewer: So you say two floors of your own building are empty.

Respondent: Yes

Interviewer: Is it because there are no people to rent them?

Respondent: No, it is because we want to repair them.

Interviewer: Is there anything you would like to add, that I have not asked you in this interview?

Respondent: You know, they were collecting tax from street traders, did you ask me?

Interviewer: From the street traders? No. So the municipality collects tax from them?

Respondent: Yes

Interviewer: How much?

Respondent: Le600 (Six Hundred Leones) daily (300 in the morning and 300 in the evening).

Interviewer: Thank you

Interviewee: You are welcome!

RESPONDENT TWO

Name & Surname: [REDACTED] (Mrs.)

Employment/ Occupation: Trader

Age: 53

Sex: Female

House Number: 61 Sani Abacha Street (Shop #2)

Duration of Interview: 12:55-13:30 (12.35 minutes)

Section A: Residential History & Tenure

Interviewer: Do you live here?

Respondent: No. I mean I do not sleep here but I spend my day here selling.

Interviewer: I see that you are a trader along Kissy Street, how long have you been trading here?

Respondent: I have been trading here for the past four years.

Interviewer: Is there any difference between the time you started business here and now?

Respondent: Yes, there is a difference in business.

Interviewer: What is the difference now?

Respondent: It was good before, now it is slow, for two years in a row.

Interviewer: What do you mean by the business was good, is it in terms of profit or what?

Respondent: I mean in terms of sales, sales were high, now sales are low.

Interviewer: What do you think could be responsible for this? Is it due to the present conditions on the street or the general economic situation in the country?

Respondent: Both – there is no money if there is enough money in circulation business could be better.

Section B: Community Issues

Interviewer: If we could come to the taxes you are talking about, you as a trader pays city council fees (tax) do you think the tax is low or high?

Respondent: Taxes are high.

Interviewer: When you say high what exactly do you mean?

Respondent: I do not order a container (that is her way of saying she does not get her goods from abroad) I am a retailer but I pay all my taxes, income tax, G.S.T (Goods and Service Tax), city tax is too high considering the low sales, no customers because taxes are high and prices are high too.

Interviewer: In collecting all these taxes what do you think is the function of the city council towards you?

Respondent: They do nothing; all they are interested in is to collect taxes every year, without giving anything back. If one defaults on payment, they threaten one with closure of one's shop violently. They even come to collect taxes without notice.

Interviewer: What does the city council do about rubbish collection?

Respondent: We pay to waste management for garbage monthly.

Interviewer: How often do they clear garbage?

Respondent: They clear them everyday unless sometimes when workers are on strike.

Interviewer: I would like to know how you come and go from work? Do you come by public transport or private car?

Respondent: By public transport but it is strenuous due to traffic congestion and also I have to pay double transport (to come and go) because I live at Kissy.

Interviewer: Do you discuss all these problems with the local counsellor?

Respondent: They are even hard to see so we do not even know who the local counsellor for this area is. They are not reliable. They and the police connive with these drivers who block these roads, they take money from them (Corruption!)

Section C: Local Government and Management Issues

Interviewer: I would like to know how you are affected by street trading wherein people sell food and sorts of items (respondents ask for clarification) (do you mean before my shop or outside on the street)

Respondent: Well, the one selling in front of our shop are selling the same items we are selling as they help buy our goods and re-sell them on the street. But the traffic problem is the one that is affecting sales here too much especially these delivery vans; they come and block passage and view to our shops. When you protest, they get angry, arguing that it is a common street (public space) so they have equal rights to do as they please. But we pay all the required taxation; income tax, G.S.T., customs, city council licenses. In view of this, the city council should be fighting for our rights.

Section D: Neighbouring and Perception of Home Territory

(Not applicable as respondent is not resident in the real sense of the word)

Section E: Crime and Safety

Interviewer: As someone who comes and goes, do you face any problems of crime?

Respondent: Only pick-pockets like is the case in every big city. But if you have your wits about you or you are careful, you don't normally have any problem and there is a security guard who looks over our shop when we are away.

Section F: Miscellaneous Issues about Kissy Street

Interviewer: If I ask you to tell me some good things about Kissy Street, what would you say?

Respondent: Well, the street is open, active, and lively; people go up and down all day; it is not lonesome.

Interviewer: And if I ask you to tell me the things you find bad about this street what would you tell me?

Respondent: The high rental costs, delivery van blocking our shops, rudeness by sellers 'mammy cuss' and smoking.

Interviewer: When you say smoking what do you mean?

Respondent: Drugs and drug addicts. But the delivery vans that block the entrance to our shops are the most annoying. Even you, yourself can see now what we are talking about.

Interviewer: thank you Mama Isatu for this interview

Interviewee: Thank you, you are welcome.

RESPONDENT THREE

Name & Surname: [REDACTED]

Employment/ Occupation: Caretaker

Age: born 1932 (78yrs)

Sex: Male

House Number: 23 Sani Abacha Street

Duration of Interview: 10:25-10:40 (15 minutes)

Section A: Residential History & Tenure

Interviewer: Hello Pa Momoh, how are you?

Respondent: I am fine, but I would like to ask you, where have you come from to ask us about conditions on our street and neighbourhood?

Interviewer: I am coming from Cyprus where I am presently doing PhD studies (he pushes a boy away from the camera) and I am studying about how people feel living on this street – how liveable it is. This street and conditions prevailing along it has been in the news for some time so I have come to investigate if these conditions are in vogue with the aspiration of you people living along it or not.

Respondent: I would like to thank you for what you have initiated, I can tell you a lot about this street and the things that I see happening. There are times that we cannot sleep at night due to the thieves (burglars) throwing stones or pelting peoples' houses, and we hear women shouting: "oh my people come I am being carried away".

Interviewer: What do you think is the reason for these screams and who do you think is responsible?

Respondent: It is the women who shout when they fall victim to these thieves and rapists. This happens frequently from Fisher Street and (love?) Street going towards the market, this is their vocation. They assault people and snatch away their mobile phones and assault women and snatch their bags. So if you guys are investigating these problems, I would suggest that the government stops their buses from leaving very early in the morning and to shift the time to 8:00 o'clock in the morning so that people leaving early in the morning to the bus terminal are not assaulted and harmed by thieves – they tell people to “offload themselves and stand straight, offload”. They take their victim’s belongings and leave them empty. Lots of them!

Interviewer: At night?

Respondent: Yes at night – this happens (emphasis)

Interviewer: Since you have been leaving on this street for a long time, is this something new to this street or it was happening in the past?

Respondent: It used to happen seldom but now it has multiplied many folds. Why has it multiplied? These guys who were once rebels (fighting the government during the civil war), these battle-hardened boys who survived the war who do not have jobs and no places to live/sleep are the ones who have joined other street boys; they are the ones causing these havocs. But sometimes you do see some hefty guys who are heftier than me who do these things sometimes with knife. They can either knife you or gang up on you and beat you mercilessly – we do see these things happen (emphasis). When they beat and mug you, they even tell you where to go and lodge your complaint – they tell you to go and report them to your government. If you want to shout, well, we know how to shout more than you – they shout in chorus (unison) (he mimics their hollering) – that way people who are far away would not detect/hear what is really happening – reiterates the need for buses not to be leaving as early as

5:30 / 7:30 am. One of the results of this is that the Lebanese people who were living on this street have left; this street was dominated first by Syrian business men (in the past) after Fayad a brother of theirs came to settle here first, they followed in his foot-steps but most of them left until their numbers decreased to less than twenty. Then the Lebanese followed but have since started leaving and I think their number is not up to two hundred now except you count those in Kenema or Bo but, they are not up to two hundred in number now in the whole of Freetown – they leaving out of fear. But we are seeing Indians and Fullas coming in to dominate the economic scene. This main road (Kissy Street – he means) that used to be called ‘Lebanon’ was dominated by the Lebanese but now Fullas are buying properties along this street and the Indians are renting and buying as well. Things are changing fast. But the Lebanese were better than these two groups that have invaded this country. The Lebanese are builders and developers of a town (in terms of building). But the Fullas are very discriminating (ethnically) they only help their Fulla brothers. We are just sitting and waiting to see what God has planned for us.

Section B: Community Issues

Interviewer: Now let me ask you about this street in terms of the street trading that is going on, the noise, the crowd what do you think about these?

Respondent: I can and cannot talk much about this market and the noise because it is caused by the government. This kind of crowd was never seen on this street – until this time (puts in proverb). They allow them to put these tables on this street but now they do not even sit at the level of the tables, they have gone into the middle of the street where cars pass. As a result, cars find it difficult to pass, they block the road until they are forcefully pushed back by the cars before they allow them to pass – it is

not very good thing – you see, today they were cleared from the street a little but you see, they have even gone further onto the tarmac (centre of the street). It is imperative that the government clears all of them here (passionately).

I once witnessed a scene where they wanted to clear these people but, the wife of the vice-president came and stopped them doing so – because they were supporting the present government during the election (my interpretation of his graphic and rather unprintable verbiage) – these are the people; the bad ones; you see them (he points to their direction). These people should be cleared from this place. If not, what will happen when visitors and foreign dignitaries come to this city - is it not a national disgrace? Look at these gutters, how dirty they are due to their activities – it can hardly be cleaned. The only government which enforced the cleaning of this gutter was the Strasser regime (military). The gutters were cleaned every Saturday. But recently the president declared free medical service [to pregnant women and under fives – my emphasis] but the diseases are more than the free medical services – it cannot cure any disease – the gutters are dirty and the smell that emanates from them makes one hold one's nose tight when passing on the street – what free medical service are you talking about – these are the points I can enumerate on this issue. But, you observe yourself and see if I am saying a lie (something to the contrary).

Interviewer: We are observing.

Respondent: Ok.

Interviewer: I would like to know, (you know you are now an old man, I am not old yet – I know but the years have gone by a little – yes) You are not much of a youth now (he agrees). How is it easy for you to use or walk along this street at your age?

Respondent: When I come out and sit here, it is difficult to go to Eastern Police (Clock Tower) – I cannot. It is overcrowded and when you jump over some one's

(trader's) wares, they insult you ('mammy cus'). If you knock their wares over it is 'mammy cus' – if you touch them or whatever you do results in bitter quarrel, how would you walk? There is no access. You will see on your way back from here – it will be total confusion for you until you go beyond Eastern Police. If there was to be a stampede it will leave in its wake more dead than alive. All these people came from their villages to this city – what can you do? If you protest they say this government belong to all of us and they are right. But let us all including the government help take these people off the street. Even those of us who live on this street are business people but this new situation is too much. It will bring national disgrace in the future. If a foreign guest was coming on a visit like the 'mammy queen' (Queen Elisabeth) was to come like she will do during Sierra Leone's 50th anniversary of independence, will it not be a disgrace to the government and people of this country?

Section F: Miscellaneous Issues about Kissy Street

Interviewer: Is there anything good that you would say about this street?

Respondent: About this street at this moment? No! As I told you when we talked before, the time these modern houses were not built and we had a bit of bush around here, and wharves down the river there, we used to be in festive mood always. The streets were narrow – (no cars) we pedestrians used to mingle a lot but since they widened the street and after people have encroached upon it in the manner that they have done, there is nothing good that has come out of it. All you can do is enter a shop, buy what you want and leave; that is all. All those good times have gone even festivities and processions now are difficult as there is no room for movement.

Interviewer: If you were asked to enumerate the things that you hate most about this street what would you say?

Respondent: What I hate most is this crowd (1) because overcrowding does not put things in order, it creates disorder. If you have 2 – 3 – 5 people on the street, you can go out and run some errands fast and come back but with this crowd, where do you go and where do you pass?

Secondly, these gutters are hardly cleaned apart from the time they were cleaned during the Strasser era. Now when there is flood all the dirt and the pumice and germs enter our houses. Now why do you think this sewer is bursting here? It is because the gutter with which it connects is blocked with dirt – those are the two things that I find disgusting about this street. Interviewer: This is how much we can go for now, thank you very much – I will try to see the next time I come back.

RESPONDENT FOUR

Name & Surname [REDACTED]

Employment/ Occupation: Caretaker

Age: 57

Sex: Male

House Number: 61 Sani Abacha Street

Duration of Interview: 13:55-14:11 (16 minutes)

Section A: Residential History & Tenure

Interviewer: Kushe Mr. Turay, am happy to see you.

I would like to start by asking how long you have been living on this street.

Respondent: I have been living here since 1988 (22 years).

Interviewer: But you are here as a care-taker isn't it?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: That means you live here permanently?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: So staying here means you know a lot about this street from 1988 to now? That is approximately 22 years.

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: What can you tell me about what Kissy Street used to be and what it is now?

Respondent: The only changes that have happened between the Kissy Street in the past and the Kissy Street of now is that it used to be called Kissy Street and was renamed Sani Abacha Street after the war; after the intervention.

Interviewer: The change you are talking about is just in terms of the name, what about the changes on the street in terms of use and activities?

Respondent: I see more improvement now than the way it used to be.

Interviewer: When you say improvement what do you mean?

Respondent: The improvement that have taken place is that there have been developments, like the buildings that were here are not the building that are here now, they are modernised. They have re-surfaced and widened the street. The street used to be narrow in the past.

Interviewer: Are these the changes you have seen? And, in your opinion, these are positive changes?

Respondent: Yes.

Section B: Community Issues

Interviewer: If I would ask you about the traffic on the street and street traders and the overcrowded street, since you say there have been improvement what would you say?

Respondent: Before the street was not very congested compared to now. Now there are more cars on the street and a lot of school leavers on the street doing petty trade.

Interviewer: Do you see this as an improvement?

Respondent: Yes, I see it as a development (positive).

Interviewer: Is this because of the activities and liveliness of the street?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Where do you do your shopping?

Respondent: I do all my shopping on Abacha Street.

Interviewer: Most people are complaining that because of the traffic noise, the noise from the crowd they are not able to sleep in the day time and are not able to do so until late at night.

Respondent: In the day time of course it is noisy because there is a lot of activity and liveliness and people are going about their business and you sometimes have loud speakers making announcements but during the night it is seldom for the place to be noisy.

Interviewer: So you don't find this as a problem?

Respondent: Yes, it is not a problem for me.

Interviewer: What about night life on the street?

Respondent: Well, we don't have any pubs, night clubs and discos in this area, so it is a quiet place at night.

Interviewer: But would you like to see such things on Kissy Street; Pubs, cinemas etc?

Respondent: No, we are content with the way it is at the moment.

Section C: Local Government and Management Issues

Interviewer: I would to ask you about the local government and the job they are doing in managing the street. Are they doing a good job or not?

Respondent: Yes they are ok. Because [every day] they clean the street at night.

Interviewer: Are they doing this every night?

Respondent: Yes every night.

Interviewer: So what about public transportation along Kissy Street?

Respondent: It is ok.

Interviewer: You mean it is ok along Kissy Street or other places.

Respondent: Along Kissy Street, because, taxis run up and down, day and night. That is if they have somebody to bring to Kissy Street.

Interviewer: As people living around Kissy Street, do you have anywhere to lodge complaints when there is a problem in the community? Like a local councillor that you can discuss matters with?

Respondent: No, but we have the nearest police station that handles all matters.

Interviewer: What about matters that deals with the local government?

Respondent: Well, I haven't come across any matters that deal with the local government.

Interviewer: Do you pay taxes?

Respondent: Am paying all the taxes that I am supposed to pay. I pay the local tax.

Interviewer: Are the taxes high or low for you?

Respondent: Well Le5000 is not too much so it is not high.

Interviewer: So you pay Le5000 local tax as a citizen?

Respondent: Yes.

Section D: Neighbouring and Perception of Home Territory

(Reserved for Questionnaire)

Section E: Crime and Safety

Interviewer: Well, I would like to ask you about crime and safety. Most people are complaining about petty thieves, people snatching phones, what would you say about that?

Respondent: Well, if such things are happening then it is not down here on our own part of the street, maybe it is the upper part. The police are always alert to take care of these problems we even have plain-clothed police around here.

Interviewer: This situation that I am talking about, is it something that used to happen in the past.

Respondent: It never used to happen like this before, but after the war, you have to expect things like this to happen, but, it is not as high to the extent to which people are saying.

Interviewer: We are talking about day-time what about during the night?

Respondent: Even that is not very serious, it is very seldom at night, like snatching phones and petty thievery, the police have taken care of it; it is a thing of the past.

Interviewer: Do you have children?

Respondent: Yes I have children.

Interviewer: So how do they play, do they play on the street - do they go outside to play?

Respondent: No they play within the court-yard here.

Interviewer: So they don't go to the street at all?

Respondent: No, I don't allow them to go to the street.

Section F: Miscellaneous Issues about Kissy Street

Interviewer: If you are asked to say one or two good things about Kissy Street what would you say?

Respondent: The good thing for me is that we have constant flow of electricity and water.

Interviewer: Is that the best thing about living on this street?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: If I were to ask to tell me one or two bad things about Kissy Street what would they be?

Respondent: There are two things I don't want to see happening on Kissy Street ever! Child-abuse [sic] and pick-pockets.

Interviewer: When you say child-abuse what do you mean?

Respondent: Well, to say a middle-aged man 'miss-using' (in a sexual manner) a child and being cruel to the child, that is what I mean.

Interviewer: Thank you

Respondent: You are welcome.

RESPONDENT FIVE

Name & Surname: [REDACTED]

Employment/ Occupation: Security Guard

Age: 27

Sex: Male

House Number: 36 Sani Abacha Street

Duration of Interview: 16:30-16:42 (12 minutes)

Section A: Residential History & Tenure

Interviewer: Welcome to the interview Mr. Suma.

Respondent: Welcome.

Interviewer: I would like to know whether you live here or you live somewhere else.

Respondent: I live somewhere else in the outskirts of town.

Interviewer: How long have you been working here?

Respondent: I have been working here for about four years but for 2 – 3 months duration now I have been working in other places as well – we are rotated around some of the time.

Interviewer: For the time that you have lived and worked here, how do you find the situation on this street?

Respondent: I find no problem, it is peaceful here; we all live together.

Section B: Community Issues

Interviewer: I would like to ask you about some community issues; there are lots of people on the street selling all sorts of goods, what do you think about the noise levels, the crowd and life generally on the street during day time and night time?

Respondent: Noise levels are too much (high).

Interviewer: When you say too much what do you mean?

Respondent: Too much activities and liveliness so one expects noise levels to be high.

Interviewer: Does that make you comfortable working here?

Respondent: Yes, the noise is too much but there is nothing I can do about it because the people selling here are trying to earn a living because things are not easy here.

Interviewer: Do you work here at night?

Respondent: I am here only in the day time.

Interviewer: Do you find moving along the street a difficult experience or it is easy.

Respondent: Movement is very difficult along the street. It is difficult to come to work and it is difficult to go home as well.

Interviewer: Why is that?

Respondent: Because the street is overcrowded.

Section C: Local Government and Management Issues

Interviewer: I would like to ask you about local government and management issues. You know that the Freetown City council is responsible for managing the streets in Freetown, so you as someone who uses the street, how do you think the local government is doing in this respect?

Respondent: They always come to inspect the street so when they are coming all the people selling on the street remove their wares from the street. Only then, the street will be free, because as you see, the street is so congested with them in the middle.

Interviewer: Having said that they come and drive people away from the street because they are selling illegally, do they tax them in any way?

Respondent: Yes, I see them collecting tax, Le300 daily.

Interviewer: What do you think the local government is doing about garbage collection?

Respondent: I don't know about the rest of the street but around here, the traders clean the street at the end of the day.

Interviewer: Is it the traders who clean the street or the municipality?

Respondent: The traders themselves, not the municipality.

Interviewer: Let's go back to the taxes; do you think the taxes are low or high?

Respondent: The tax [sic] well it's not too high, it may be high for some people because of the living condition of the people but not everyone.

Section D: Neighbouring and Perception of Home Territory

(Reserved for Questionnaire)

Section E: Crime and Safety

Interviewer: It is interesting that you are a security guard here, what would you say about crime and safety?

Respondent: As a security guard I am here to secure the life and property of my employer so I am bound to intervene in any situation that compromises the security around here. Like when I see people fighting around here, I go to stop it or I call the police.

Interviewer: Talking about fighting, that is more about security issue, what about crime itself, have you witnessed any of such?

Respondent: I haven't confronted any crime problems since I have been working here.

Interviewer: In your view, although you don't live here, how do you see old people and children use the street?

Respondent: It is difficult for children to use the street but for old people, since they can sense danger, it easier for them to avoid it. But it is also difficult for them to use the street because of these motor bikes and vehicles plying the street.

Section F: Miscellaneous Issues about Kissy Street

Interviewer: What are the good things you find generally about Kissy Street?

Respondent: I enjoy this atmosphere of buying and selling, I enjoy being part of it.

Interviewer: And if someone asked you about the things that are bad about this street, what would you say?

Respondent: As far as I am concerned, there is nothing bad about the day time, I don't know about night as I am not here, so I can say anything about the night time.

Interviewer: Thank you very much Mr. Suma for contributing to this survey.

Respondent: You are welcome.

RESPONDENT SIX

Name & Surname: [REDACTED]

Employment/ Occupation: Businessman

Age: 40

Sex: Male

House Number: 14 Sani Abacha Street

Duration of Interview: 09:45-09:55 (10 minutes)

Section A: Residential History & Tenure

Interviewer: Welcome to the interview Mr. Skaikay.

Respondent: Welcome.

Interviewer: I would like to know whether you live here or you live somewhere else.

Respondent: I am a citizen, born in Freetown on this street but left since the last 10 years because of the condition on the street.

Interviewer: For the time that you have been here and worked here, how do you find the situation on this street?

Respondent: It was good, no traders, no noise and clean; that is before the war.

Section B: Community Issues

Interviewer: I would like to ask you about some community issues; there are lots of people on the street selling all sorts of goods, what do you think about the noise levels, the crowd and life generally on the street during day time and night time?

Respondent: (The situation is) very bad (expressed strongly); especially food, it is a very terrible condition for people consuming such foods; the government should do something about it.

Interviewer: You own a shop on this street, where do you do your shopping?

Respondent: I do all my shopping on this street except for buying food (cooked).

Interviewer: Are you comfortable working here?

Respondent: No, it is noisy, crowded, smelling. Also, there are lots of insults and all sorts of foul language for slight disturbances etc; Until 12:00 to 01:00 am (twelve to one) midnight there's no good time to rest and at 6 am the day begins with the traders coming-in; no respect for residents. 'Africell' mobile company always comes here talking loudly and noisily blaring music from their loudspeakers. There are also lots of thieves and crooks.

Note: children under the age of ten selling goods (child labour); they are being used by people as labourers – it persists to this day!

Section C: Local Government and Management Issues

Interviewer: I would like to ask you about local government and management issues. You know that the Freetown City council is responsible for managing the streets in Freetown, so you as someone who uses the street, how do you think the local government is doing in this respect?

Respondent: There is no problem with electricity but water is a problem. Why are we rich in water resources but no water supply?

Interviewer: What do you think the local government is doing about garbage collection?

Respondent: City council collects garbage everyday for which we pay about Le 20,000 monthly.

Interviewer: What about public transportation, do you use public transport to come and go?

Respondent: I do not use public transportation; I walk.

Interviewer: Let us talk about taxes, do you pay taxes and if so are they low or high in your view?

Respondent: We pay business tax; it is a bit high but it may not matter if business is good.

Interviewer: Do you face any problems on this street and if so, how do resolve the problems?

Respondent: There is a problem of street traders but these problems are solved by individuals (by the individuals concerned) and not as a block/club/organisation.

Section D: Neighbouring and Perception of Home Territory

(Reserved for Questionnaire)

Section E: Crime and Safety

Interviewer: What would you say about crime and safety along this street?

Respondent: Last year it was bad especially armed robbery but things have calmed down at the moment. But yes, there are petty thieves but that is not considered as a big problem now.

Interviewer: What about the use of the street by the handicapped, the old and invalids? The handicapped are at liberty to do whatever they want on this street. For the old, they have no respect on this street; they are disrespected most of the time – there is no help for them.

Interviewer: what do you mean by disrespect?

Respondent: I mean they are not treated with the respect they deserve as senior citizens; they are insult (mammy cus) and all sorts of obscenities you cannot imagine

on this street if they bump into someone's wares or stand in their way- that is very bad!

Section F: Miscellaneous Issues about Kissy Street

Interviewer: If I were to ask you to name some good and bad things about this street what will they be?

Respondent: It is all bad around here. If the present conditions remain (the street trading and the congestion), many people will pack-up and leave. The street is clogged-up and this is the first impression to visitors from the airport to the inner city. And this street is Kissy Street since I was born why has it been renamed after a tyrant from Nigeria? Think about it!

ANALYSIS

Relevant texts (RT)

RT1

When I came here I met street traders selling here as they continue to do.

But the way street trading is today is different from what it used to be.

In the past, the sellers were intelligent, they did not use abusive language (meaning) they were not rude, they comported themselves, they respected elders. Most of the children (youth) who are selling today are quick to heap insults on you in the event that you mistakenly come in contact with their wares, that's one. Secondly, they have been given the side of the street to spread their wares but they push their wares into the middle of the street blocking people's path or right of way.

It was crowded but still the traders respected people.

As far as I am concerned, I do not want it to continue because, for those of us living in these buildings, we are being disturbed by the noise. The (drainage) gutter is filthy. The filth is not generated by any other persons but these people who sell here.

They block the entrances to our houses making it difficult for us to enter and exit our houses. To even park your car is a problem because people have their wares along the parking areas (sides of the street), so if you park a bit towards the street, you are given a ticket (fine). And just today, this Wednesday the police and traffic wardens ticketed me costing 30,000 Leones which I will have to pay. I told them that I was loading some things, they did not care but they don't tell the traders not to spread their wares along the parking spaces, we are the ones they accuse of flouting the law, they either give you a ticket or tow your vehicle. This problem is caused by the traders - we do not have parking space.

No good work because of traders, local tax is Le5,000 yearly, city rate is Le250 approx. (not sure). It is the law.

- Gutters are cleaned and paid for by us.
- Streets are cleaned by them.
- We pack the rubbish on the streets and they (City Council) clear them.

Well, no, I don't see any other good work with these traders on the street (someone blows ashes over us from a hearth along the path).

We are taxed, local tax which we are required to pay.

(1) Local tax Le5000 (2) city rate Le250, 000 I think. Yearly.

Well, since I am employed, whether it is low/high, since it is government law I have to pay.

Well, now, they have the right to tell people to clean the drainage gutters but not to sweep the street.

We pay for cleaning the gutters, they only clean the street space itself. We pay them the taxes to clean the street. So we clean the gutters and pack the dirt along the street for them to clear. See the example there on the street (interviewee gestures/ points to the street).

Yes (I have neighbours), next house neighbour on the right (No. 3 Kissy Street). Whenever he is here he greets me and we socialise most of the time, I have no problems with him.

Yes (I have other neighbours), just along the street but we do not meet often, we are not used to each other. The only neighbourly relationships I have are friends that I go to away from this street with whom I socialise.

Before, crime was a difficult problem. Since one or two years ago we started seeing petty thievery like snatching mobile phones on the street, that situation still continues.

Yes (no armed robbery). Even yesterday, there was an incident of mobile phone snatching.

Yes, we do sleep about 10 – 11 pm when the street traders have packed and left. That is when I even give lessons to my children but, when they are selling there is no chance to sleep.

Yes (they have a space for play) inside. Because the space is tight, it is difficult for them to play on the street. If they happen to knock over someone's wares it becomes a problem as they will insult me, so I don't allow my children to go out there to play. Instead, I keep them in and review their lessons with them. Most of these people on the streets are not educated and do not value education that much. They take their trades higher than education. So, I don't want a situation wherein someone will abuse me without responding to them. It takes two to quarrel; that is why I do my best to avoid it. Just two days ago, one of my children was in this situation while he was sent to go and buy something, he knocked over somebody's wares and the person resorted to insults so I told my boy to come back in because I did not want to get involved in such palavers.

Why I like here is that it is a nice place to stay.

Nice in the sense that if someone wants to harm you 2 or 3 people will see and come to your help but in the (dark) corner that is not possible there will be no one to help. But here, there is light (electricity), here is open so, I like to stay here – I don't talk for others.

This street-trading; people placing their wares by the side and middle of the streets and blocking movement of people. And the fact that they are used to using foul language anytime, there is a little problem. I am elderly and I don't want a child to fight me or molest me. If you knock over someone's wares mistakenly, you are asked to pay, if not you will be molested by five or so of them until you pay. So let them be cleared here and given a market place.

They (rents) are still high, some residents are even asking for two years rent upfront. You know, they were collecting tax from street traders.

(Six Hundred Leones) daily (300 in the morning and 300 in the evening).

RT2

Yes, there is a difference in business.

It was good before, now it is slow, for two years in a row.

I mean in terms of sales, sales were high, now sales are low.

Both – there is no money if there is enough money in circulation business could be better.

Taxes are high.

I do not order a container (that is her way of saying she does not get her goods from abroad) I am a retailer but I pay all my taxes, income tax, G.S.T (Goods and Service Tax), city tax is too high considering the low sales, no customers because taxes are high and prices are high too.

They do nothing; all they are interested in is to collect taxes every year, without giving anything back. If one defaults on payment, they threaten one with closure of one's shop violently. They even come to collect taxes without notice.

We pay to waste management for garbage monthly.

They clear them every day unless sometimes when workers are on strike.

By public transport but it is strenuous due to traffic congestion and also I have to pay double transport (to come and go) because I live at Kissy.

They are even hard to see so we do not even know who the local counsellor for this area is. They are not reliable. They and the police connive with these drivers who block these roads, they take money from them. (Corruption!)

Well, the one selling in front of our shop are selling the same items we are selling as they help buy our goods and re-sell them on the street. But the traffic problem is the one that is affecting sales here too much especially these delivery vans; they come and block passage and view to our shops. When you protest, they get angry, arguing that it is a common street (public space) so they have equal rights to do as they please. But we pay all the required taxation; income tax, G.S.T., customs, city council licenses. In view of this, the city council should be fighting for our rights.

Only pick-pockets like is the case in every big city. But if you have your wits about you or you are careful, you don't normally have any problem and there is a security guard who looks over our shop when we are away.

Well, the street is open, active, and lively; people go up and down all day; it is not lonesome.

The high rental costs, delivery van blocking our shops, rudeness by sellers 'mammy cuss' and smoking.

Drugs and drug addicts. But the delivery vans that block the entrance to our shops are the most annoying. Even you, yourself can see now what we are talking about.

RT3

I would like to thank you for what you have initiated, I can tell you a lot about this street and the things that I see happening. There are times that we cannot sleep at night due to the thieves (burglars) throwing stones or pelting peoples' houses, and we hear women shouting: "oh my people come they are carrying me away".

It is the women who shout when they fall victim to these thieves and rapists. This happens frequently from Fisher Street and (love?) Street going towards the market, this is their vocation. They assault people and snatch away their mobile phones and assault women and snatch their bags. So if you guys are investigating these problems, I would suggest that the government stops their buses from leaving very early in the morning and to shift the time to 8:00 o'clock in the morning so that people leaving early in the morning to the bus terminal are not assaulted and harmed by thieves – they tell people to "offload themselves and stand straight, offload". They take their victim's belongings and leave them empty. Lots of them!

Yes at night – this happens (emphasis)

It used to happen seldom but now it has multiplied many folds. Why has it multiplied? These guys who were once rebels (fighting the government during the civil war), these battle-hardened boys who survived the war who do not have jobs and no places to live/sleep are the ones who have joined other street boys; they are the ones causing these havocs. But sometimes you do see some hefty guys who are heftier than me who do these things sometimes with knife. They can either knife you or gang up on you and beat you mercilessly – we do see these things happen (emphasis). When they beat and mug you, they even tell you where to go and lodge your complaint – they tell you to go and report them to your government. If you want to shout, well, we know how to shout more than you – they shout in chorus (unison) (he mimics their hollering) – that way people who are far away would not detect/hear what is really happening – reiterates the need for buses not to be leaving as early as 5:30 / 7:30 am. One of the results of this is that the Lebanese people who were living on this street have left; this street was dominated first by Syrian business men (in the past) after Fayad a brother of theirs came to settle here first, they followed in his foot-steps but most of them left until their numbers decreased to less than twenty. Then the Lebanese followed but have since started leaving and I think their number is not up to two hundred now except you count those in Kenema or Bo but, they are not up to two hundred in number now in the whole of Freetown – they leaving out of fear. But we are seeing Indians and Fullas coming in to dominate the economic scene. This main road (Kissy Street – he means) that used to be called ‘Lebanon’ was dominated by the Lebanese but now Fullas are buying properties along this street and the Indians are renting and buying as well. Things are changing fast. But

the Lebanese were better than these two groups that have invaded this country. The Lebanese are builders and developers of a town (in terms of building). But the Fullas are very discriminating (ethnically) they only help their Fulla brothers. We are just sitting and waiting to see what God has planned for us.

I can and cannot talk much about this market and the noise because it is caused by the government. This kind of crowd was never seen on this street – until this time (puts in proverb). They allow them to put these tables on this street but now they do not even sit at the level of the tables, they have gone into the middle of the street where cars pass. As a result, cars find it difficult to pass, they block the road until they are forcefully pushed back by the cars before they allow them to pass – it is not very good thing – you see, today they were cleared from the street a little but you see, they have even gone further onto the tarmac (centre of the street). It is imperative that the government clears all of them here (passionately).

I once witnessed a scene where they wanted to clear these people but, the wife of the vice-president came and stopped them doing so – because they were supporting the present government during the election [my interpretation of his graphic and rather unprintable verbiage] – these are the people; the bad ones; you see them [he points to their direction]. These people should be cleared from this place. If not, what will happen when visitors and foreign dignitaries come to this city - is it not a national disgrace? Look at these gutters, how dirty they are due to their activities – it can hardly be cleaned. The only government which enforced the cleaning of this gutter was the Strasser regime (military). The gutters were cleaned every Saturday. But recently the president declared free medical service [to pregnant women and under fives – my emphasis] but the diseases are more than the free medical services – it cannot cure any disease – the gutters are dirty and the smell that emanates from them

makes one hold one's nose tight when passing on the street – what free medical service are you talking about – these are the points I can enumerate on this issue. But, you observe yourself and see if I am saying a lie (something to the contrary).

When I come out and sit here, it is difficult to go to Eastern Police (Clock Tower) – I cannot. It is overcrowded and when you jump over some one's (trader's) wares, they insult you ('mammy cuss'). If you knock their wares over it is 'mammy cuss' – if you touch them or whatever you do results in bitter quarrel, how would you walk? There is no access. You will see on your way back from here – it will be total confusion for you until you go beyond Eastern Police. If there was to be a stampede it will leave in its wake more dead than alive. All these people came from their villages to this city – what can you do? If you protest they say this government belong to all of us and they are right. But let us all including the government help take these people off the street. Even those of us who live on this street are business people but this new situation is too much. It will bring national disgrace in the future. If a foreign guest was coming on a visit like the 'mammy queen' (Queen Elisabeth) was to come like she will do during Sierra Leone's 50th anniversary of independence, will it not be a disgrace to the government and people of this country?

About this street at this moment? No! As I told you when we talked before, the time these modern houses were not built and we had a bit of bush around here, and wharves down the river there, we used to be in festive mood always. The streets were narrow – (no cars) we pedestrians used to mingle a lot but since they widened the street and after people have encroached upon it in the manner that they have done, there is nothing good that has come out of it. All you can do is enter a shop, buy what

you want and leave; that is all. All those good times have gone even festivities and processions now are difficult as there is no room for movement.

What I hate most is this crowd (1) because overcrowding does not put things in order, it creates disorder. If you have 2 – 3 – 5 people on the street, you can go out and run some errands fast and come back but with this crowd, where do you go and where do you pass?

Secondly, these gutters are hardly cleaned apart from the time they were cleaned during the Strasser era. Now when there is flood all the dirt and the pumice and germs enter our houses. Now why do you think this sewer is bursting here? It is because the gutter with which it connects is blocked with dirt – those are the two things that I find disgusting about this street.

RT4

The only changes that have happened between the Kissy Street in the past and the Kissy Street of now is that it used to be called Kissy Street and was renamed Sani Abacha Street after the war; after the intervention.

I see more improvement now than the way it used to be.

The improvement that have taken place is that there have been developments, like the buildings that were here are not the building that are here now, they are modernised. They have re-surfaced and widened the street. The street used to be narrow in the past.

Before the street was not very congested compared to now. Now there are more cars on the street and a lot of school leavers on the street doing petty trade.

Yes, I see it as a development (positive).

I do all my shopping on Abacha Street.

In the day time of course it is noisy because there is a lot of activity and liveliness and people are going about their business and you sometimes have loud speakers making announcements but during the night it is seldom for the place to be noisy.

Yes, it is not a problem for me.

Well, we don't have any pubs, night clubs and discos in this area, so it is a quiet place at night.

No, we are content with the way it is at the moment.

Yes they are ok. Because [every day] they clean the street at night.

Yes every night.

Transportation along Kissy Street is ok, because, taxis run up and down, day and night. That is if they have somebody to bring to Kissy Street.

No, but we have the nearest police station that handles all matters.

Well, I haven't come across any matters that deal with the local government.

I am paying all the taxes that I am supposed to pay. I pay the local tax.

Well, Le5000 is not too much so it is not high.

Well, if such things (crime: petty thieves and armed robbery) are happening then it is not down here on our own part of the street, maybe it is the upper part. The police are

always alert to take care of these problems we even have plain-clothed police around here.

It never used to happen like this before, but after the war, you have to expect things like this to happen, but, it is not as high to the extent to which people are saying.

Even that is not very serious, it is very seldom at night, like snatching phones and petty thievery, the police have taken care of it; it is a thing of the past.

Yes, I have children.

No, they play within the court-yard here.

No, I don't allow them to go to the street.

The good thing for me is that we have constant flow of electricity and water.

There are two things I don't want to see happening on Kissy Street ever! Child-abuse [sic] and pick-pockets. Well, to say a middle-aged man 'misusing' (in a sexual manner) a child and being cruel to the child, that is what I mean.

RT5

I find no problem, it is peaceful here; we all live together. Noise levels are too much (high).

Too much activities and liveliness so one expects noise levels to be high.

Yes, the noise is too much but there is nothing I can do about it because the people selling here are trying to earn a living because things are not easy here.

I am here only in the day time.

Movement is very difficult along the street. It is difficult to come to work and it is difficult to go home as well.

Because the street is overcrowded.

They always come to inspect the street so when they are coming all the people selling on the street remove their wares from the street. Only then, the street will be free, because as you see, the street is so congested with them in the middle.

Yes, I see them collecting tax, Le300 daily.

I don't know about the rest of the street but around here, the traders clean the street at the end of the day.

The traders themselves, not the municipality.

The tax [sic] well it's not too high, it may be high for some people because of the living condition of the people but not everyone.

As a security guard I am here to secure the life and property of my employer so I am bound to intervene in any situation that compromises the security around here. Like when I see people fighting around here, I go to stop it or I call the police.

I haven't confronted any crime problems since I have been working here.

It is difficult for children to use the street but for old people, since they can sense danger, it easier for them to avoid it. But it is also difficult for them to use the street because of these motor bikes and vehicles plying the street.

I enjoy this atmosphere of buying and selling, I enjoy being part of it.

As far as I am concerned, there is nothing bad about the day time, I don't know about night as I am not here, so I can say anything about the night time.

RT6

It was good, no traders, no noise and clean; that is before the war.

(The situation is) very bad (expressed strongly); especially food, it is a very terrible condition for people consuming such foods; the government should do something about it.

I do all my shopping on this street except for buying food (cooked).

No, it is noisy, crowded, smelling. Also, there are lots of insults and all sorts of foul language for slight disturbances etc; Until 12:00 to 01:00 am (twelve to one) midnight there's no good time to rest and at 6 am the day begins with the traders coming-in; no respect for residents. 'Africell' mobile company always comes here talking loudly and noisily blaring music from their loudspeakers. There are also lots of thieves and crooks.

Note: children under the age of ten selling goods (child labour); they are being used by people as labourers – it persists to this day!

There is no problem with electricity but water is a problem. Why are we rich in water resources but no water supply?

City council collects garbage every day for which we pay about Le 20,000 monthly.

I do not use public transportation; I walk.

We pay business tax; it is a bit high but it may not matter if business is good.

There is a problem of street traders but these problems are solved by individuals (by the individuals concerned) and not as a block/club/organisation.

Last year it was bad especially armed robbery but things have calmed down at the moment. But yes, there are petty thieves but that is not considered as a big problem now.

The handicapped are at liberty to do whatever they want on this street. For the old, they have no respect on this street; they are disrespected most of the time – there is no help for them.

I mean they are not treated with the respect they deserve as senior citizens; they are insult (mammy cuss) and all sorts of obscenities you cannot imagine on this street if they bump into someone's wares or stand in their way- that is very bad!

It is all bad around here. If the present conditions remain (the street trading and the congestion), many people will pack-up and leave. The street is clogged-up and this is the first impression to visitors from the airport to the inner city. And this street is Kissy Street since I was born why has it been renamed after a tyrant from Nigeria? Think about it!

COMPENDIUM OF RECURRING IDEAS

Recurring Ideas #1- Vulgarity and disrespect for elders by street traders (in a society where respect for elders is a virtue).

Respondent #1.

In the past, the sellers were intelligent, they did not use abusive language [meaning] they were not rude, they comported themselves, they respected elders. Most of the children [youth] who are selling today are quick to heap insults on you in the event that you mistakenly come in contact with their wares.

It was crowded but still the traders respected people.

Yes (they have a space for play) inside. Because the space is tight, it is difficult for them to play on the street. If they happen to knock over someone's wares it becomes a problem as they will insult me, so I don't allow my children to go out there to play. Instead, I keep them in and review their lessons with them. Most of these people on the streets are not educated and do not value education that much. They take their trades higher than education. So, I don't want a situation wherein someone will abuse me without responding to them. It takes two to quarrel; that is why I do my best to avoid it. Just two days ago, one of my children was in this situation while he was sent to go and buy something, he knocked over somebody's wares and the person resorted to insults so I told my boy to come back in because I did not want to get involved in such palavers.

These street-traders are placing their wares by the side and middle of the streets and blocking movement of people. And the fact that they are used to using foul language anytime, there is a little problem. I am elderly and I don't want a child to fight me or molest me. If you knock over someone's wares mistakenly, you are asked to pay, if

not you will be molested by five or so of them until you pay. So let them be cleared here and given a market place.

Respondent #2.

The high rental costs, delivery van blocking our shops, rudeness by sellers ‘mammy cuss’ and smoking.

Respondent #3.

When I come out and sit here, it is difficult to go to Eastern Police (Clock Tower) – I cannot. It is overcrowded and when you jump over someone’s [trader’s] wares, they insult you (‘mammy cuss’). If you knock their wares over it is ‘mammy cuss’ – if you touch them or whatever you do results in bitter quarrel, how would you walk?

Respondent #6.

For the old, they have no respect on this street; they are disrespected most of the time – there is no help for them.

I mean they are not treated with the respect they deserve as senior citizens; they are insulted (mammy cuss) and all sorts of obscenities you cannot imagine on this street if they bump into someone’s wares or stand in their way- that is very bad!

Recurring Ideas #2 – Perception of and dissatisfaction with noise by residents

Respondent #1.

For those of us living in these buildings, we are being disturbed by the noise.

Yes, we do sleep about 10 – 11 pm when the street traders have packed and left. That is when I even give lessons to my children but, when they are selling there is no chance to sleep.

Respondent #3.

I can and cannot talk much about this market and the noise because it is caused by the government. This kind of crowd was never seen on this street – until this time

Respondent #4.

In the day time of course it is noisy because there is a lot of activity and liveliness and people are going about their business and you sometimes have loud speakers making announcements but during the night it is seldom for the place to be noisy.

Respondent #5.

Noise levels are too much (high). Too much activities and liveliness so one expects noise levels to be high. Yes, the noise is too much but there is nothing I can do about it because the people selling here are trying to earn a living because things are not easy here.

Respondent #6.

No, it is noisy, crowded, smelling.

Recurring Idea #3 – Blaming dirtiness of street space and lack of hygiene on traders and management

Respondent #1.

The (drainage) gutter is filthy. The filth is not generated by any other persons but these people who sell here.

So we clean the gutters and pack the dirt along the street for them to clear. See the example there on the street (interviewee gestures/ points to the street).

Respondent #3

Look at these gutters, how dirty they are due to their activities – it can hardly be cleaned. The only government which enforced the cleaning of this gutter was the Strasser regime (military). The gutters were cleaned every Saturday. But recently the president declared free medical service [to pregnant women and under fives – my emphasis] but the diseases are more than the free medical services – it cannot cure any disease – the gutters are dirty and the smell that emanates from them makes one hold one's nose tight when passing on the street – what free medical service are you talking about.

These gutters are hardly cleaned apart from the time they were cleaned during the Strasser era. Now when there is flood all the dirt and the pumice and germs enter our houses. Now why do you think this sewer is bursting here? It is because the gutter with which it connects is blocked with dirt.

Respondent #6

(The situation is) very bad (expressed strongly); especially food, it is a very terrible condition for people consuming such foods; the government should do something about it.

I do all my shopping on this street except for buying food (cooked)

(Note: links disease to poor hygiene and dirt in gutters).

Recurring Ideas # 4 – Difficulty of entering and exiting Residences and shops/Difficulty of movement

Respondent #1.

They block the entrances to our houses making it difficult for us to enter and exit our houses.

This street-trading; people placing their wares by the side and middle of the streets and blocking movement of people.

Respondent #2.

But the traffic problem is the one that is affecting sales here too much especially these delivery vans; they come and block passage and view to our shops. When you protest, they get angry, arguing that it is a common street (public space) so they have equal rights to do as they please.

But the delivery vans that block the entrance to our shops are the most annoying.

(Note: Vehicles parking on side of street blocking both access and view to businesses).

Respondent #3.

When I come out and sit here, it is difficult to go to Eastern Police (Clock Tower) – I cannot. It is overcrowded and when you jump over some one's (trader's) wares, they insult you ('mammy cuss'). If you knock their wares over it is 'mammy cuss' – if you touch them or whatever you do results in bitter quarrel, how would you walk? There is no access. You will see on your way back from here – it will be total confusion for you until you go beyond Eastern Police.

Respondent #5.

Movement is very difficult along the street. It is difficult to come to work and it is difficult to go home as well. Because the street is overcrowded.

Respondent #6.

The street is clogged-up and this is the first impression to visitors from the airport to the inner city.

Recurring Idea #5 – Negative perception of petty crimes but no armed robbery

Respondent #1.

Before, crime was a difficult problem. Since one or two years ago we started seeing petty thievery like snatching mobile phones on the street, that situation still continues. Yes (no armed robbery). Even yesterday, there was an incident of mobile phone snatching.

Respondent #2.

Only pick-pockets like is the case in every big city. But if you have your wits about you or you are careful, you don't normally have any problem and there is a security guard who looks over our shop when we are away.

(Note: This is not seen as a very serious problem; it is inevitable in any big city especially in crowded situations).

Respondent #3.

There are times that we cannot sleep at night due to the thieves (burglars) throwing stones or pelting peoples' houses, and we hear women shouting: "oh my people come they are carrying me away".

It is the women who shout when they fall victim to these thieves and rapists. This happens frequently from Fisher Street and (love?) Street going towards the market, this is their vocation. They assault people and snatch away their mobile phones and assault women and snatch their bags.

They tell people to "offload themselves and stand straight, offload". They take their victim's belongings and leave them empty. Lots of them!

(Note: incident of petty thieves, muggers and [armed robbers and rapists – orphaned texts]).

Respondent #4.

It never used to happen like this before, but after the war, you have to expect things like this to happen, but, it is not as high to the extent to which people are saying.

Even that is not very serious, it is very seldom at night, like snatching phones and petty thievery, the police have taken care of it; it is a thing of the past.

(Note: admits incidents of petty crime but not as a very serious problem)

Respondent #6.

Last year it was bad especially armed robbery but things have calmed down at the moment. But yes, there are petty thieves but that is not considered as a big problem now.

Recurring Ideas #6 – Perception of the street as a symbol of civic/national pride but which has been eroded

Respondent #3.

These people should be cleared from this place. If not, what will happen when visitors and foreign dignitaries come to this city - is it not a national disgrace?

But let us all including the government help take these people off the street. Even those of us who live on this street are business people but this new situation is too much. It will bring national disgrace in the future. If a foreign guest was coming on a visit like the 'mammy queen' (Queen Elisabeth) was to come like she will do during Sierra Leone's 50th anniversary of independence, will it not be a disgrace to the government and people of this country?

(Note: the crowding and its attendant characteristics are perceived as a national disgrace as the street is the main artery and one that must be used by any visitor to and from the country).

Respondent #6.

The street is clogged-up and this is the first impression to visitors from the airport to the inner city.

Recurring Ideas #7 - Satisfaction with certain aspects of the street: liveliness and the availability of amenities – electricity and water supply with some reservations

Respondent #1.

Nice in the sense that if someone wants to harm you 2 or 3 people will see and come to your help but in the (dark) corner that is not possible there will be no one to help. But here, there is light (electricity), here is open so, I like to stay here.

Respondent #2.

Well, the street is open, active, and lively; people go up and down all day; it is not lonesome

Respondent #4.

The good thing for me is that we have constant flow of electricity and [water].

Respondent #6.

There is no problem with electricity but [water is a problem]. Why are we rich in water resources but no water supply?

Recurring Idea #8 - Satisfaction with certain aspects of street management especially garbage collection

Respondent #1

We pay for cleaning the gutters, they only clean the street space itself. We pay them the taxes to clean the street. So we clean the gutters and pack the dirt along the street for them to clear.

(This means they are doing their job of collecting garbage and people are satisfied with the little they are doing

Respondent #2

We pay to waste management for garbage monthly.

They clear them everyday unless sometimes when workers are on strike.

Respondent #4

Yes they are ok. Because [every day] they clean the street at night.

Respondent #6

City council collects garbage everyday for which we pay about Le 20,000 monthly.

Recurring Idea #9 – Difficulty for children’s use of street space for play and movement hazards for children, the old and the handicapped

Respondent #1.

Yes (they have a space for play) inside. Because the space is tight, it is difficult for them to play on the street.

Respondent #3

When I come out and sit here, it is difficult to go to Eastern Police (Clock Tower) – I cannot. You will see on your way back from here – it will be total confusion for you until you go beyond Eastern Police.

Respondent #4

Yes, I have children. No, they play within the court-yard here. No, I don't allow them to go to the street.

Respondent #5

It is difficult for children to use the street but for old people, since they can sense danger, it easier for them to avoid it. But it is also difficult for them to use the street because of these motor bikes and vehicles plying the street.

Respondent #6

For the old, they have no respect on this street; they are disrespected most of the time – there is no help for them. I mean they are not treated with the respect they deserve as senior citizens;

(Puts the difficulty of using the street for the old on disrespect if they get into somebody's way)

Recurring Idea #10 – Satisfaction with most aspects of the street: noise, crime, the crowd and street trading generally

Respondent #4

Before the street was not very congested compared to now. Now there are more cars on the street and a lot of school leavers on the street doing petty trade.

Yes, I see it as a development (positive).

In the day time of course it is noisy because there is a lot of activity and liveliness and people are going about their business and you sometimes have loud speakers making announcements but during the night it is seldom for the place to be noisy.

Yes, it is not a problem for me.

Well, if such things (crime: petty thieves and armed robbery) are happening then it is not down here on our own part of the street, maybe it is the upper part. The police are always alert to take care of these problems we even have plain-clothed police around here.

(Concedes it does occur but does not see it as a problem)

It never used to happen like this before, but after the war, you have to expect things like this to happen, but, it is not as high to the extent to which people are saying.

Even that is not very serious, it is very seldom at night, like snatching phones and petty thievery, the police have taken care of it; it is a thing of the past.

Respondent #5

I find no problem, it is peaceful here; we all live together. Noise levels are too much (high). Too much activities and liveliness so one expects noise levels to be high. Yes, the noise is too much but there is nothing I can do about it because the people selling here are trying to earn a living because things are not easy here.

I haven't confronted any crime problems since I have been working here.

I enjoy this atmosphere of buying and selling, I enjoy being part of it. As far as I am concerned, there is nothing bad about the day time, I don't know about night as I am not here, so I can say anything about the night time.

Recurring Idea #11 – Sales have plummeted but taxes remain high

Respondent #2.

Yes, there is a difference in business. It was good before, now it is slow, for two years in a row. I mean in terms of sales, sales were high, now sales are low. Both –

there is no money if there is enough money in circulation business could be better.

Taxes are high.

Respondent #6.

We pay business tax; it is a bit high but it may not matter if business is good.

Recurring Idea 12 – Negative perception of community participation in decision-making

Respondent #2.

They are even hard to see so we do not even know who the local counsellor for this area is. They are not reliable. They and the police connive with these drivers who block these roads, they take money from them.

Respondent #4

No, but we have the nearest police station that handles all matters. Well, I haven't come across any matters that deal with the local government.

Respondent #6.

There is a problem of street traders but these problems are solved by individuals (by the individuals concerned) and not as a block/club/organisation.

COMPENDIUM OF LONE IDEAS

Lone Idea #1 – Lack of parking space and fines for parking recklessly (unfair treatment)

Respondent #1.

To even park your car is a problem because people have their wares along the parking areas (sides of the street), so if you park a bit towards the street, you are given a ticket (fine). And just today, this Wednesday the police and traffic wardens ticketed me costing 30,000 Leones which I will have to pay. I told them that I was loading some things, they did not care but they don't tell the traders not to spread their wares along the parking spaces, we are the ones they accuse of flouting the law, they either give you a ticket or tow your vehicle. This problem is caused by the traders - we do not have parking space.

Lone Idea #2 – Sense of civic responsibility but lack of reciprocity by city government

Respondent #2.

They do nothing; all they are interested in is to collect taxes every year, without giving anything back. If one defaults on payment, they threaten one with closure of one's shop violently. They even come to collect taxes without notice.

Lone Idea #3 – Problem of drug use and drug addicts

Respondent #2

The high rental costs, delivery van blocking our shops, rudeness by sellers ‘mammy cuss’ and smoking. Drugs and drug addicts. But the delivery vans that block the entrance to our shops are the most annoying.

Lone Idea #4 – Child abuse

Respondent #4

There are two things I don’t want to see happening on Kissy Street ever! Child-abuse [sic] and pick-pockets. Well, to see a middle-aged man ‘misusing’ (in a sexual manner) a child and being cruel to the child, that is what I mean.

Lone Idea #5 – Rape

Respondent #3

There are times that we cannot sleep at night due to the thieves (burglars) throwing stones or pelting peoples’ houses, and we hear women shouting: “oh my people come they are carrying me away”. It is the women who shout when they fall victim to these thieves and rapists. This happens frequently from Fisher Street and (love?) Street going towards the market, this is their vocation. They assault people and snatch away their mobile phones and assault women and snatch their bags.

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

FOR RESIDENTS OF KISSY STREET

Preamble:

This survey is done by Fodei M. Conteh, a student pursuing his Ph. D. studies. It is about the people living in the Freetown City Centre along Kissy Street and how they feel about life on their street and community. It asks for your opinions and about your experiences living on this street.

I think you will find the questions interesting and your answers are important to the thesis project. There are no right or wrong answers and the questionnaire is completely voluntary and your answers will be kept confidential. If we should come to any question you do not want to answer, just go on to the next question.

I greatly appreciate your participation in this important study.

Section A: Residential History & Demographics

Exact time now: _____

A1. SEX OF RESPONDENT!

1. MALE 2. FEMALE

A2. AGE OF RESPONDENT! -----

A3. NATIONALITY OF RESPONDENT

1. SIERRA LEONEAN 2. OTHER

A4. How would you describe yourself in terms of occupational tenure in this house/apartment?

1. Owner 2. Renter

A5. And how long have you lived in this house/apartment?

_____ YEARS OR SINCE: _____ OR ALL OF LIFE _____
(YEAR)

A6. What is your age? -----

A6. Do you live on this street?

1. YES 2. NO

A8. It is important to know people's financial situation in this survey, so we need to know approximately your total household income before taxes from all sources in 2011. Would you please just give me the number next to the category that best describes your total household income last year?

1.	2.	3.	4.
LESS THAN \$750 (3m LE)	\$750-1,500 (3M-6m LE)	\$1,500-3,600 (6M-14.4m LE)	\$3,600-9,000 or more (14.4m-36m + LE)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section B: Government and Taxes

B1. Now I have some questions about local government. How satisfied are you with the job being done on Kissy Street by the local government officials of Freetown on this street?

1. VERY DISSATISFIED	2. DIS-SATISFIED	3. NEITHER SATISFIED NOR SATISFIED	4. SATISFI ED	5. VERY SATISFIED
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B2. Considering the services provided by the Municipality (garbage collection, public transportation, etc.), are the taxes high or low?

1. I am not sure whether the tax collection system works regularly	2. VERY LOW	3. NORMAL	4. HIGH	5. VERY HIGH
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B3. Now I'm going to read you some statements about government and taxes. Please tell me whether you strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, or strongly agree with each statement.

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
B3a Public officials in FREETOWN pay attention to what people think. How much do you agree or disagree?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B3b People around here can influence government decisions affecting their neighbourhood. How much do you agree or disagree?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B4. You would be willing to pay more in taxes if the money would go...

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
B4a To creating better shopping and recreational facilities on this street	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4b To improving sanitary conditions on this street including waste/garbage collection and clean water provision.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4c To improving the quality and overall image of the street.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4d To providing improved mechanisms that will lessen crime.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4e To improving the quality of the Kissy Street environment.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4f To relieving traffic congestion on Kissy Street.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section C: Shopping and Other Community Issues

C1. Now I am going to ask you some questions about street trading on this street. There are street traders selling food, crafts, clothing and all sorts of goods on this street. How is your relationship with them?

1.Bad 2. Good
 ↓ ↓
 Go to C2 **Go to C3**

C2. Would you say your relationship with them is bad because of:

1.The Noise 2.The Rubbish they Generate 3.Mammy Cuss/Rudeness 4. The Crowd

C3. During the past year, have you purchased any goods from a street vendor on this street?

1.YES 2. NO

C4. Where do you do your major shopping for food?

C4a GROCERY SHOPS AND MARKETS ON KISSY STREET

name: _____

C4b OPEN MARKETS

name: _____

C4c SUPERMARKET

name: _____

C4d OTHER (SPECIFY)

C5. Do you think the quality of food available in markets/grocery shops around here is worse, better, or about the same as in most other parts of the Freetown area?

1. Worse Here 2. About the Same 3. Better Here 4. No Good Food Stores around Here

C6. Where do you do your shopping for clothes?

1. Stores/Boutiques in this City
2. Stores/Boutiques on Kissy Street
3. Stores/Boutiques in Other Cities in Sa. Leone
4. Other Count -ries
5. Mix of these

C7. Here is a sheet, which we would like you to fill out to describe Kissy Street as it appears to you.

	1	2	3	4	5	
UNATTRACTIVE						ATTRACTIVE
VERY POOR PLACE TO LIVE						VERY GOOD PLACE TO LIVE
UNPLEASANT						PLEASANT
NOTHING TO DO						LOTS OF THINGS TO DO
HARD TO GET AROUND IN						EASY TO GET AROUND IN
BAD PLACE TO RAISE CHILDREN						GOOD PLACE TO RAISE CHILDREN
DIRTY AIR						CLEAN AIR
LOTS OF VEHICULAR TRAFFIC						LITTLE VEHICULAR TRAFFIC
VERY NOISY						VERY QUIET
UNFRIENDLY PEOPLE						FRIENDLY PEOPLE
DWELLINGS ARE VERY POORLY KEPT-UP						DWELLINGS ARE VERY WELL KEPT-UP
OUTSIDE AREAS ARE VERY POORLY KEPT-UP						OUTSIDE AREAS ARE VERY WELL KEPT-UP
PEOPLE ARE NOT LIKE ME						PEOPLE ARE LIKE ME
CROWDED						NOT CROWDED
NO TREES						TREES
UNSAFE						SAFE
BAD NEIGHBOURS						GOOD NEIGHBOURS
LOTS OF VANDALISM						NO VANDALISM

C8. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is completely dissatisfied and 5 is completely satisfied, how satisfied overall are you with Kissy Street as a place to live?

1. VERY DISSATISFIED
2. DIS-SATISFIED
3. NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DIS-SATISFIED
4. SATISFIED
5. VERY SATISFIED

C9. What do you think about the future of this street in, say the next five years – do you think it will get better, stay about the same, or get worse?

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 1.
GET BETTER
<input type="checkbox"/> | 2.
STAY SAME
<input type="checkbox"/> | 3.
GET WORSE
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|--|---|---|

C10. What if for some reason you had to move away from Kissy Street? Would you be sorry or glad to leave?

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| 1. SORRY TO
LEAVE
<input type="checkbox"/> | 2. NEITHER, OR
BOTH
<input type="checkbox"/> | HAPPY TO LEAVE
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|--|--|--|

Section D: Community Participation & Involvement

D1. I am going to read some things that people might do to deal with problems facing their community or neighbourhood. For each one, please tell me whether or not you have done it during the past year.

D1a. Are you aware of any neighbourhood associations or block clubs in this neighbourhood?

1. YES 2. NO

D1b. Contact government officials or city hall.

1. YES 2. NO

D1c. Attend a meeting/workshop of a government board, commission.

1. YES 2. NO

D1d. Meet informally with neighbours to discuss a problem on your street.

1. YES 2. NO

D2. Whom do you contact if there is a problem on your street?

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 1.
COUNCILLOR/NEIGHBOU
RHOOD ADMINISTRATOR
<input type="checkbox"/> | 2.
MUNICIPALIT
Y
<input type="checkbox"/> | 3.
OTHER
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|--|--|---|

Section E: Neighbouring & Perception of Home Territory

Now I have some questions about what it is like to live on your neighbourhood street.

E1. Please tell me which of these best describes your “neighbours” as it seems to you (Provide visual base maps with house numbers and INDICATE which house/houses!).

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
| 5-6 | HOUSE | MY STREET | MY SECTION | HOUSES |
| NEAREST | NEARES | (the whole | OF | ADJACENT |
| HOUSE | T MY | street) | STREET | MY HOUSE |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | HOUSE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | ACROSS | | | |
| | THE | | | |
| | STREET | | | |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |

E2. Please tell me which of these best describes your “home territory” as it seems to you (Provide visual base maps with house numbers and ENCIRCLE the house/houses!).

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
| 5-6 | HOUSE | MY STREET | MY SIDE OF | HOUSES |
| NEAREST | NEAREST | (the whole | THE STREET | ADJACENT |
| HOUSE | MY | street) | <input type="checkbox"/> | MY HOUSE |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | HOUSE | <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | ACROSS | | | |
| | THE | | | |
| | STREET | | | |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |

E3. Do you think of this street as your home, or just a place you happen to live in?

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. HOME | 2. JUST A PLACE TO |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | LIVE |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> |

E4. I am going to read a list of problems that exist in the Freetown central areas. For each, please tell me what you think of them in relation to your street (Kissy Street).

		1. BIG PROBLE M	2. SOMEWH AT OF A PROBLEM	3. NOT A PROBLE M
E4a	Armed robbery	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E4b	Not enough play space for children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E4c	Too many unsupervised teenagers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E4d	Illegal drugs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E4e	Difficulty of movement for children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E4f	Difficulty of movement for old people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E4g	Difficulty of movement for handicapped people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E4h	Child abuse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E4i	Petty crimes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E4j	Poorly kept streets	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E4k	Rape	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E4l	No parking spaces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E4k	Noisy neighbours.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E4l	Noisy street.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

E5. How many friends do you have who live on this street?

- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|--|--|
| 1. NONE
<input type="checkbox"/> | 2. ONE OR TWO
<input type="checkbox"/> | 3. THREE TO FIVE
<input type="checkbox"/> | 4. SIX TO NINE
<input type="checkbox"/> | 5. TEN OR MORE
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|--|--|

E6. Now I'd like to ask you about your close neighbours. I mean the people or families living nearest to you. How many of the adults would you know by name if you met them on the street?

- | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. ALL
<input type="checkbox"/> | 2. ALMOST ALL
<input type="checkbox"/> | 3. MORE THAN HALF
<input type="checkbox"/> | 4. ABOUT HALF
<input type="checkbox"/> | 5. LESS THAN HALF
<input type="checkbox"/> | 6. ALMOST NONE
<input type="checkbox"/> | 7. NONE
<input type="checkbox"/> |
|------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|--|-------------------------------------|
- ↓

GO TO E8

E7. How often do you visit any of these neighbours just to chat or for a social visit?

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| 1. DAILY OR
ALMOST
EVERY DAY | OR | 2.1-3
TIMES
WEEK | A | 3.1-3
TIMES
MONTH | A | 4. LESS THAN
ONCE
MONTH | A | 5. NEVER |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> |

E8. Here are some statements about neighbours and neighbourhoods. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, or strongly agree?

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
E8 a You have little to do with people who live on this street	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E8 b There is a strong 'sense of community' on this street.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E8 c Parking is a problem on this street.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E8 d There is too much traffic around here.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E8 e You feel like you belong to a community.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E8 f Your neighbours are friendly people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E8 g This street is very crowded.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section F: Safety & Crime

Here are some questions about crime around here.

F1. How much crime would you say there is on your street?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. A GREAT
DEAL | 2. SOME | 3. VERY
LITTLE | 4. NONE AT
ALL |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

F2. Within the past 15-20 years, do you think that crime on this street has increased, decreased or remained about the same?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| 1. INCREASED | 2. REMAINED
ABOUT THE
SAME | 3. DECREASED | 4. I HAVE NOT
LIVED HERE FOR
THAT LONG YET |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

F3. How safe do you feel about being out alone on this street during the day?

1. VERY UNSAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT SAFE	4. VERY SAFE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

F4. How about at night -- how safe do you feel about being out alone on this street at night?

1. VERY UNSAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT SAFE	4. VERY SAFE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

F5. How safe is this street for women to go out at night?

1. VERY UNSAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT SAFE	4. VERY SAFE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

F6. How safe is this street for children to use the street?

1. VERY UNSAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT SAFE	4. VERY SAFE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

F7. How safe is this street for old people to use the street?

1. VERY UNSAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT SAFE	4. VERY SAFE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

F8. How safe is this street for handicapped people to use the street?

1. VERY UNSAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT SAFE	4. VERY SAFE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

F9. How satisfied are you with your personal safety on this street?

1. VERY DISSATISFI ED	2. DISSATISFI ED	3. NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DIS-SATISFIED	4. SATISFIED	5. VERY SATISFIED
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section G: Socio-spatial and Environmental Issues about Kissy Street

The next set of questions covers your thoughts about the Kissy Street and its future.

G1. Here is a set of statements about the present and future of Kissy Street. Again, I would like to know how strongly you disagree or agree with the statement. (Do you strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, or strongly agree?)

		1	2	3	4	5
		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
G1a.	Having a vibrant and active commercial and residential street is important to your overall quality of life and liveability	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1b.	You would like a less congested/crowded street with more facilities and amenities.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1c.	You would like a vendor-free street with opportunities for leisure facilities and amenities.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1d.	Strong vibrant economic and shopping facilities will depend on rehabilitating Kissy Street as a better place to live and work.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1e.	Kissy Street has the potential of being a great street with a strong image, character and identity.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1f.	Kissy Street is a 24hr street but for the wrong reasons.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1g.	Kissy Street can be a pedestrian-only street with a mix of recreational opportunities (shopping, sports, restaurants, festivals, etc.) for you and your family.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1h.	Now, Kissy Street has lots of recreational opportunities for you and your family.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

G1i. Kissy Street has lost its historic significance.

G1j. Public transit that is reliable and safe can be important to the liveability of Kissy Street for its residents.

G1k. Kissy Street is a safe street at the moment.

G1l. Kissy Street has lots of green scenery.

G2. Which of the following would you like to have to increase the mix of functions on this street?

G2a. Hair/beauty salons

G2b. Children’s day care

G2c. Bookshops

G2f. Sport/games salons

G2g. Art galleries

G2h. Bars/Pubs

G2j. Restaurants/cafes

G2l. Disco

Exact time now-----

THANK YOU FOR YOUR INVALUABLE CONTRIBUTION!!!

QUESTIONNAIRE 2

FOR SHOPKEEPERS OF KISSY STREET

Preamble:

This survey is done by Fodei M. Conteh, a student pursuing his Ph. D. studies. It is about the people living in the Freetown City Centre along Kissy Street and how they feel about life on their street and community. It asks for your opinions and about your experiences living on this street.

I think you will find the questions interesting and your answers are important to the thesis project. There are no right or wrong answers and the questionnaire is completely voluntary and your answers will be kept confidential. If we should come to any question you do not want to answer, just go on to the next question.

I greatly appreciate your participation in this important study.

Section A: Occupational History & Demographics

Exact time now: _____

A1. SEX OF RESPONDENT!

1. MALE 2. FEMALE

A2. AGE OF RESPONDENT! -----

A3. NATIONALITY OF RESPONDENT

1. SIERRA LEONEAN 2. OTHER

A4. How would you describe yourself in terms of ownership of this shop?

- 1.Owner 2. Renter

B3. Now I'm going to read you some statements about government and taxes. Please tell me whether you strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, or strongly agree with each statement.

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
B3 a Public officials in FREETOWN pay attention to what people think. How much do you agree or disagree?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B3 b People around here can influence government decisions affecting their street/neighbourhood. How much do you agree or disagree?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B4. You would be willing to pay more in taxes if the money would go...

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
B4a To creating better shopping and recreational facilities on this street	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4b To improving sanitary conditions on this street including waste/garbage collection and clean water provision.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4c To improving the quality and overall image of the street.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4d To providing improved mechanisms that will lessen crime.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4e To improving the quality of the Kissy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

C5. Here is a sheet, which we would like you to fill out to describe Kissy Street as it appears to you.

	1	2	3	4	5	
UNATTRACTIVE						ATTRACTIVE
VERY POOR PLACE TO LIVE						VERY GOOD PLACE TO LIVE
UNPLEASANT						PLEASANT
NOTHING TO DO						LOTS OF THINGS TO DO
HARD TO GET AROUND IN						EASY TO GET AROUND IN
DIRTY AIR						CLEAN AIR
LOTS OF VEHICULAR TRAFFIC						LITTLE VEHICULAR TRAFFIC
VERY NOISY						VERY QUIET
UNFRIENDLY PEOPLE						FRIENDLY PEOPLE
DWELLINGS ARE VERY POORLY KEPT-UP						DWELLINGS ARE VERY WELL KEPT-UP
OUTSIDE AREAS ARE VERY POORLY KEPT-UP						OUTSIDE AREAS ARE VERY WELL KEPT-UP
PEOPLE ARE NOT LIKE ME						PEOPLE ARE LIKE ME
CROWDED						NOT CROWDED
NO TREES						TREES
UNSAFE						SAFE
LOTS OF VANDALISM						NO VANDALISM

C8. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is completely dissatisfied and 5 is completely satisfied, how satisfied overall are you with Kissy Street as a place to do business?

1. VERY DISSATISFIED 2. DIS-SATISFIED 3. NEITHER SATISFIED NOR SATISFIED 4. SATISFIED DIS-D 5. VERY SATISFIED

C9. What do you think about the future of this street in, say the next five years – do you think it will get worse, get better or stay about the same?

1. GET WORSE 2. GET BETTER 3. STAY THE SAME

Section D: Safety & Crime

Here are some questions about crime around here.

D1. How much crime would you say there is on your street?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. A GREAT DEAL | 2. SOME | 3. VERY LITTLE | 4. NONE AT ALL |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

D2. Within the past 15-20years, do you think that crime on this street has increased, decreased or remained about the same?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| 1. INCREASED | 2. REMAINED ABOUT THE SAME | 3. DECREASED | 4. I HAVE NOT LIVED HERE FOR THAT LONG YET |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

D3. How safe do you feel about walking along this street during the day?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. VERY UNSAFE | 2. REASONABLY SAFE | 3. SOMEWHAT SAFE | 4. VERY SAFE |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

D4. How about at night -- how safe do you walking along this street?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. VERY UNSAFE | 2. REASONABLY SAFE | 3. SOMEWHAT SAFE | 4. VERY SAFE |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

D5. In your opinion, how accessible is this street for people in wheel chairs?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. NOT VERY ACCESSIBLE | 2. REASONABLY ACCESSIBLE | 3. SOMEWHAT ACCESSIBLE | 4. VERY ACCESSIBLE |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

D6. In your opinion, how accessible is this street for women with babies?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. NOT VERY ACCESSIBLE | 2. REASONABLY ACCESSIBLE | 3. SOMEWHAT ACCESSIBLE | 4. VERY ACCESSIBLE |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

D7. In your opinion, how safe is it for women to use this street?

1. VERY UNSAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT SAFE	4. VERY SAFE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D8. In your opinion, how safe is it for children to use this street?

1. VERY UNSAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT SAFE	4. VERY SAFE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D9. In your opinion, how safe is it for old people to use this street?

1. VERY UNSAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT SAFE	4. VERY SAFE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D10. In your opinion, how safe is it for handicapped people to use this street?

1. VERY UNSAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT SAFE	4. VERY SAFE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D11. How satisfied are you with your personal safety on this street?

1. VERY DISSATISFI ED	2. DISSATISF IED	3. NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DIS- SATISFIED	4. SATISFIE D	5. VERY SATISFIED
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section E: Socio-spatial and Environmental Issues about Kissy Street

The next set of questions covers your thoughts about the Kissy Street and its future.

E1. Here is a set of statements about the present and future of Kissy Street. Again, I would like to know how strongly you disagree or agree with the statement. (Do you strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, or strongly agree?)

		1	2	3	4	5
		Stro ngly Disa gree	Di sag ree	Neither Agree Nor disagre e	Agre e	Stron gly Agree
G1 a.	Having a vibrant and active commercial and residential street is important to your overall quality of life and liveability	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1 b.	You would like a less congested/crowded street with more facilities and amenities.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1 c.	You would like a vendor-free street with opportunities for leisure facilities and amenities.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1 d.	Strong vibrant economic and shopping facilities will depend on rehabilitating Kissy Street as a better place to live and work.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1 e.	Kissy Street has the potential of being a great street with a strong image, character and identity.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1 f.	Kissy Street is a 24hr street but for the wrong reasons.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1 g.	Kissy Street can be a pedestrian-only street with a mix of recreational opportunities (shopping, sports, restaurants, festivals, etc.) for you and your family.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1 h.	Now, Kissy Street has lots of recreational opportunities for you and your family.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1 i.	Kissy Street has lost its historic significance.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1 j.	Public transit that is reliable and safe can be important to the liveability of	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kissy Street for its residents.

G1 k.	Kissy Street is a safe street at the moment.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1 l.	Kissy Street has lots of green scenery.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1 m.	Kissy Street as a tree-lined street	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1 n.	Kissy Street with street lights	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1 o.	Kissy Street with street furniture (benches and seats)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G1 p.	Kissy Street with proper side walks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

G2. Which of the following would you like to have to increase the mix of functions on this street?

G2a.	Hair/beauty salons	<input type="checkbox"/>
G2b.	Children's day care	<input type="checkbox"/>
G2c.	Bookshops	<input type="checkbox"/>
G2f.	Sport/games salons	<input type="checkbox"/>
G2g.	Art galleries	<input type="checkbox"/>
G2h.	Bars/Pubs	<input type="checkbox"/>
G2j.	Restaurants/cafes	<input type="checkbox"/>
G2l.	Disco	<input type="checkbox"/>

Exact time now-----

THANK YOU FOR YOUR INVALUABLE CONTRIBUTION!!!

A6. Do you live on Kissy Street?

1. YES 2. NO

Section B: Government Services and Taxes

B1. Are you satisfied with the job being done by the city council officials of Freetown on this street?

- | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------|--------------------------|------|--------------------------|---------|----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | VERY | 2. | DIS- | 3. | NEITHER | 4. | 5 | VERY |
| DISSATISFIED | | SATISFIED | | SATISFIED | | SATISFIE | SATISFIED | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | NOR | DIS- | D | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | | | SATISFIED | | | | |
| | | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | |

B2. How much do you pay as market duty daily?

-----Leones

B3. Do you think the duties are normal, low or high?

- | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. I am not sure whether the tax collection system works regularly | 2. VERY LOW | 3. NORMAL | 4. HIGH | 5. VERY HIGH |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

B4. You would be willing to pay more in taxes/market duties if the money would go...

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
B4a To creating better shopping and recreational facilities on this street	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4b To improving sanitary conditions on this street including waste/garbage collection and clean water provision.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4c To improving the quality and overall	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	image of the street.					
B4d	To providing improved mechanisms that will lessen crime.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4e	To improving the quality of the Kissy Street environment.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B4f	To relieving traffic congestion on Kissy Street.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B5. Please tell me whether you strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, or strongly agree with each statement below:

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
B5a	Public officials in FREETOWN pay attention to what people think. How much do you agree or disagree?				
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B5b	People around here can influence government decisions affecting their street/neighbourhood. How much do you agree or disagree?				
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section C: Trading and Other Community Issues

C1. How would you describe your relationship with residents on this street?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. NOT VERYGOOD | 2. VERY BAD | 3. GOOD | 4. VERY GOOD |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

C2. How would you describe your relationship with shop owners on this street?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. NOT VERYGOOD | 2. VERY BAD | 3. GOOD | 4. VERY GOOD |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

C3. Where do you buy the goods you sell on this street?

- | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. FROM SHOPS ON THIS STREET | 2. FROM SOMEWHERE ELSE | FROM HERE AND SOMEWHERE ELSE |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Go to C5 | |

C4. You sell goods on the street; would you say, you buy from the shop keepers and resell/sell some of their goods for them/do not help them?

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. DO NOT HELP THEM | 2. BUY FROM THEM AND RESELL | 3. SELL SOME OF THEIR GOODS ON THE STREET FOR A CO |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

C5. Would you say you sell on this street because (NOTE: you can choose more than one reason):

- C5a.** There is no market provided for you
- C5b.** We don't have money to rent a shop
- C5c.** Selling is better here more than other streets
- C5d.** I live on this street

C6. Can you say under which of the following conditions you might decide to move if a marketplace was provided for you?

- C6a.** I won't move under any condition
- C6b.** I would move if the marketplace is within the city centre
- C6c.** I would move if the marketplace is cheap to rent
- C6d.** I would move if the marketplace is within the city centre and cheap to rent
- C6e.** I would move if the marketplace is within the city centre and cheap to rent

C7. Here is a sheet, which we would like you to fill out to describe Kissy Street as it appears to you.

	1	2	3	4	5	
UNATTRACTIVE						ATTRACTIVE
VERY POOR PLACE TO LIVE						VERY GOOD PLACE TO LIVE
UNPLEASANT						PLEASANT
NOTHING TO DO						LOTS OF THINGS TO DO
HARD TO GET AROUND IN						EASY TO GET AROUND IN
DIRTY AIR						CLEAN AIR
LOTS OF VEHICULAR TRAFFIC						LITTLE VEHICULAR TRAFFIC
VERY NOISY						VERY QUIET
UNFRIENDLY PEOPLE						FRIENDLY PEOPLE
DWELLINGS ARE VERY POORLY KEPT-UP						DWELLINGS ARE VERY WELL KEPT-UP
OUTSIDE AREAS ARE VERY POORLY KEPT-UP						OUTSIDE AREAS ARE VERY WELL KEPT-UP
PEOPLE ARE NOT LIKE ME						PEOPLE ARE LIKE ME
CROWDED						NOT CROWDED
NO TREES						TREES
UNSAFE						SAFE
LOTS OF VANDALISM						NO VANDALISM

C8. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is completely dissatisfied and 5 is completely satisfied, how satisfied overall are you with Kissy Street as a place to sell/trade?

1. VERY DISSATISFIED 2. DIS-SATISFIED 3. NEITHER NOR SATISFIED 4. SATISFIED 5. VERY SATISFIED

C9. What do you think about the future of this street in, say the next five years – do you think it will get worse, get better or stay about the same?

1. GET WORSE 2. GET BETTER 3. STAY THE SAME

C10. Do you think you have the right to sell on this street?

1. YES 2. NO

Section D: Safety & Crime

Here are some questions about crime around here.

D1. How much crime would you say there is on your street?

1. A GREAT DEAL	2. SOME	3. VERY LITTLE	4. NONE AT ALL
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D2. Within the past 15-20 years, do you think that crime on this street has increased, decreased or remained about the same?

1. INCREASED	2. REMAINED ABOUT THE SAME	3. DECREASED	4. I HAVE NOT LIVED HERE FOR THAT LONG YET
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D3. How safe do you feel about walking along this street during the day?

1. VERY UNSAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT SAFE	4. VERY SAFE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D4. How about at night -- how safe do you walking along this street?

1. VERY UNSAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT SAFE	4. VERY SAFE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D5. In your opinion, how safe is this street for children to use the street?

1. VERY UNSAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT SAFE	4. VERY SAFE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D6. In your opinion, how safe is this street for old people to use the street?

1. VERY UNSAFE	2. REASONABLY SAFE	3. SOMEWHAT SAFE	4. VERY SAFE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D7. In your opinion, how safe is this street for handicapped people to use the street?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. VERY UNSAFE | 2. REASONABLY SAFE | 3. SOMEWHAT SAFE | 4. VERY SAFE |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

D8. How satisfied are you with your personal safety on this street?

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. VERY DISSATISFI
ED | 2. DISSATIS
FIED | 3. NEITHER
SATISFIED
NOR
SATISFIED | 4. DIS-
SATISFIED | 5. VERY
SATISFIED |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Exact time now-----

THANK YOU FOR YOUR INVALUABLE CONTRIBUTION!!!