



Workingⁱⁿ Warwick

Including street traders in
urban plans

Richard Dobson and Caroline Skinner
with Jillian Nicholson

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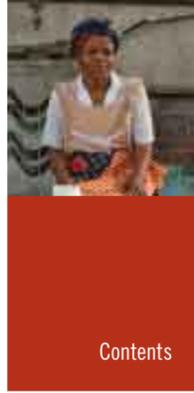
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Introduction: From decay to renewal - the triumph of Warwick

The Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project¹ has received domestic and international acclaim for its active support for street traders. This local authority project was tasked with tackling urban management and design challenges in the area surrounding the primary transport node in Durban, South Africa. Since there are very few examples in South African or internationally where street traders are incorporated into urban planning, the story of Warwick is one worth telling.

Historically South African local authorities kept street traders away from city centres and tourist areas and generally regarded them as a nuisance rather than an asset. There are many cases of sometimes violent mass evictions of street traders. This Project recognised that street trading was an important part of the city, contributing to its economy and to employment. Although incomes are often low, the economic benefits to the municipality and the turnover generated by traders in Warwick, far outweigh the relatively small capital costs of the Project. In addition the profits from these activities go back into poor communities where traders often support large families – yet another incentive to create street trading spaces.

In responding with vigour and enthusiasm, Durban's municipality has added a new and exciting dimension to the city. Warwick is an example of enhancing rather than hindering the livelihoods of street traders, and of paying attention to their needs rather than building infrastructure that is inappropriate and, in other local authorities, often unused.

Much of the success of the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project, which was set up in 1995, is due to the way in which the council² was prepared to suspend conventional management practices in favour of a participative inter-departmental approach. This combined the skills and knowledge of officials in the renewal process and in ongoing management of the area. Street traders and their organisations were integrally involved in shaping this change and in raising key issues. Through this process innovative solutions were found to urban management, architectural and design challenges.

The regeneration process was, inevitably, not always plain sailing. The Project experienced failures and disappointments as well as successes. These gave rise to lessons and reflections that are an important component of the book and are helpful both for initiating change as well as for ongoing planning and management. The principal lesson was the realisation that success required real and continuous commitment on the

part of those working in the Project.

This book is more than a documentation of the Project. It aims to demonstrate the benefits for local authorities and their citizens of integrating street traders into urban plans and to excite interest in implementing some of the initiatives described here. Its primary message to all those in a position to effect positive change in this sector, particularly for those in local government, is 'your city can do this too'. While the scale of the renewal process of Warwick was significant, it grew incrementally and so should not deter others from embarking on smaller initiatives.

During the writing of this book the city started to consider plans to redevelop parts of Warwick. This has introduced some uncertainty about the future of Warwick's street and market traders. In contrast to the approach of the Project, there has been little consultation with traders. This book, therefore, is also a call to the city to continue its inclusive and consultative approach which provides an inspiring example for other cities.

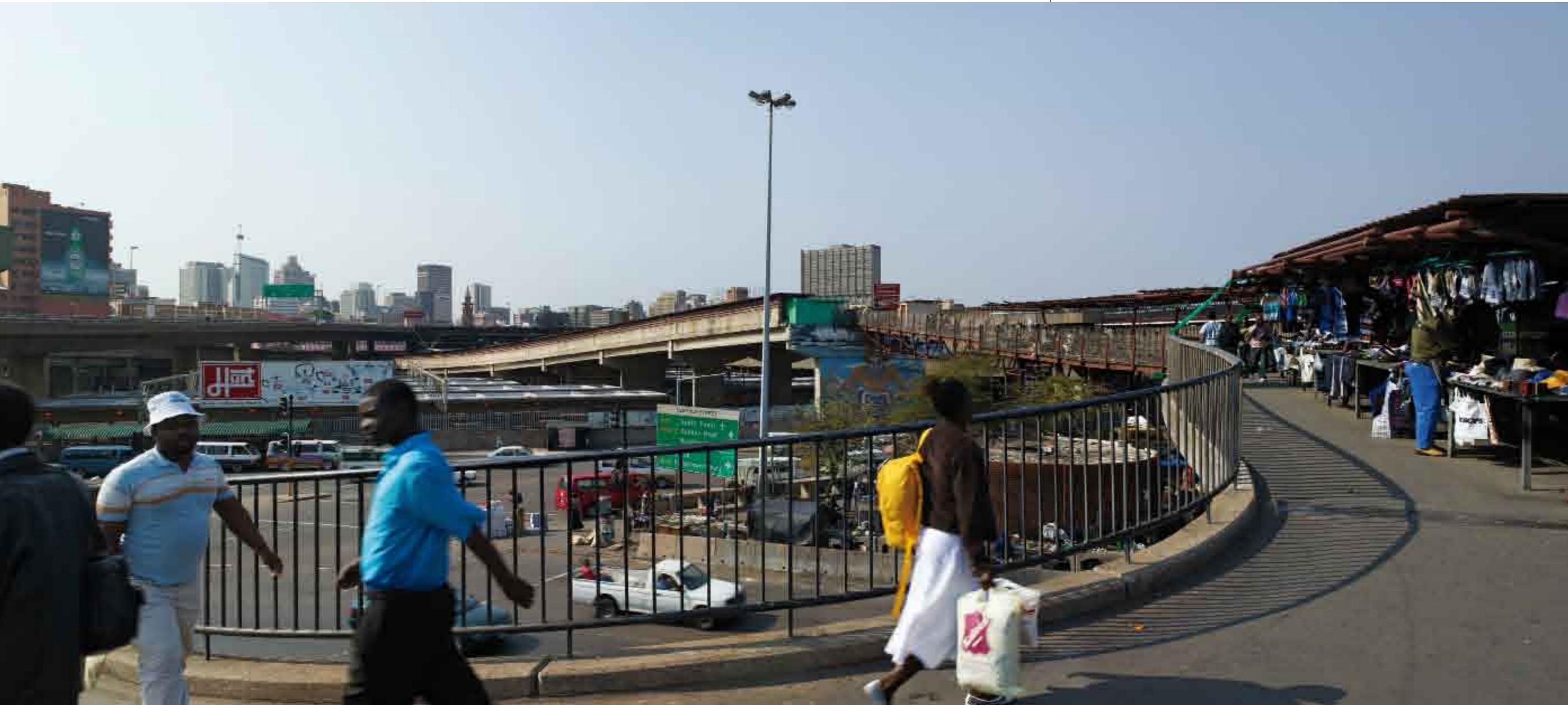
Awards and nominations

- Mail and Guardian Green Trust Award for urban renewal, 2000
- KwaZulu-Natal Institute of Architects' Heritage Award for renovation of the Project Centre, 2000
- Nominated for the IBM Innovations in Government Award in 2007
- South African Institute of Architects' President's Award 2007/2008
- UN Habitat / Dubai International Award for Good Practice for the Brook Street Market, 2008.

¹Throughout the book this is referred to as 'the Project'.

²Council refers to the local administrative body. It is made up of both elected representatives or councillors, and bureaucrats or officials. The terms 'council', 'local authority' and 'local government' are used interchangeably.





Chapter 1

A walk through Warwick



The Traditional Medicine Market

Chapter 1: A walk through Warwick³

A walk through Warwick is an experience unlikely to be encountered anywhere else in the world, not only for its kaleidoscope of colour and overwhelming sights and sounds, but also for the way that the great diversity of street traders have been accommodated.

Its attraction for street traders is the fact that thousands of commuters arrive and depart from here each day, making use of a main railway station, five bus terminals and nineteen taxi ranks. Roads, walkways and pedestrian bridges crisscross the area, which is only ten minutes from the city centre.

Walking through the myriad of stalls and markets and over bridges and byways is the only way to fully appreciate the market in all its facets.

This chapter attempts, however, to provide a 'virtual' tour of Warwick.



³The term 'Warwick' incorporates three distinct areas – the Warwick Triangle which is the old residential area; Grey Street and the cluster of streets branching off from it where there is more formal business and the main street trade and transport hub which through the Project's life became known as 'Warwick Junction'. The Junction is the area that this book deals with.



TRANSPORT AND TRADING IN WARWICK

These facts and figures indicate the scale of activity in the area:

- 460 000 people walk through it every day.
- 300 buses and 1 550 mini bus taxis depart from here each day.
- 166 000 public transport passengers use Warwick.
- 38 000 vehicles drive through it each day.
- Between 5000 and 8000 people trade informally here, earning between R1000⁴ and R8000 a month.

⁴To calculate approximate U.S. dollar values, rand amounts should be divided by 10. R10 to U.S. 1 dollar was the average for the first three months of 2009.



6
A walk through
Warwick



A note on street names: Since 2007 there has been a process of renaming Durban streets. This map reflects both the old and new names.



1
The Project Centre



2
Fresh Produce



3
The Bovine Head Market



4
Mixed trading strip



5
The Early Morning Market



6
The Music Bridge



7
The Traditional Medicine Market



8
The Brook Street Market

-  food
-  barbering
-  sewing
-  clothing
-  fresh produce
-  clay
-  cows' heads
-  mealies
-  music
-  chickens
-  shoe repairs
-  traditional medicine
-  beads
-  taxis and buses



7
A walk through



The Warwick Junction Project Centre

1. The Project Centre

A good place to start is the Project Centre, right in the heart of Warwick. Built in 1920, this converted warehouse is where Project teams meet to discuss, plan and consult with each other and with traders and trader organisations. It is central to the Project's area-based approach, which brings local government officials from a variety of departments to the traders rather than the other way around. (There is more about area-based management in Chapter 2).

In stark contrast to the quiet of the Centre is the noise and bustle of the streets outside, lined with a mix of formal and informal shops and stalls. Hardware items, chips (crisps), shoes, umbrellas, brooms, cigarettes and a host of other items are for sale along these pavements⁵.

⁵This is the paved path at the side of the road, in other contexts known as a sidewalk.



Traders in front of formal shops



2. Fresh produce

Down from the formal shops, towards Warwick Avenue⁶, are trucks piled high with fresh mealies (corn on the cob). They are bought by the vegetable traders and particularly by the sellers of cooked mealies who turn over R1 million a week providing commuters with a hot 'pick-up-and-go' snack. (See Chapter 3 for more about this trade.)

The taxi ranks that line the three busy roads intersecting here make this an ideal spot to attract customers with limited incomes who are hurrying through to catch their transport. Produce is presented in small piles for the convenience of those who do not have refrigeration at home and who must squeeze into a crowded taxi.

As in other areas of Warwick, small fresh produce traders are amongst the poorest. Most of them are women who can take their produce back to their households if it is not sold. There are no shelters or trading counters along these pavements, but painted squares outline individual sites. For hygienic reasons traders who do bring tables onto their sites must cover them with thick plastic and they must be able to fold them away at night so the pavements can be cleaned. A carpenter in Warwick supplies benches and fold-away tables: just one example of the employment opportunities generated by these activities.

The importance of indicating individual trading sites authorising traders to use the space for themselves was brought home to the Project team by a delegation of street traders from Kenya which visited Durban. A woman asked, 'Do these lines allow a trader to conduct her business here?' When she was told that they did, she bent down and stroked the lines with her hand.

The stalls are colourful, the produce is inviting, and the women are friendly, but the daily grind of this work should be recognised. The women must estimate how much produce they need for the day so that not much is left over, buy the produce, run their stalls,

⁶Warwick Avenue was renamed Julius Nyerere Avenue in 2008.

pack up at the end of the day or earlier if it rains, and frequently face a long trip home. If they live too far away or have not made sufficient income in the day to pay for transport home, they face a night sleeping on the streets.

WOMEN TRADERS

- In Durban and other South African cities it is estimated that six out of every ten street traders are women.
- Women are often involved in less profitable trades such as fresh fruit and vegetables.
- Research shows that women are more likely to spend their earnings on household necessities like food, clothing and education.
- Women street traders often have specific needs, like access to child care facilities.





The Bovine Head Market and general food court

3. The Bovine Head Market and general food court

Noticing cows' heads defrosting in the sun, some people might think it better to avoid this market where cows' heads are boiled and prepared as a Zulu delicacy. But it is well worth a visit as it is one of the places in Warwick where old customs and practices have continued in a modern urban context.

Traditionally the meat from a cow's head was prepared and eaten only by men, but by far the majority of the cooks at this market – about 30 – are now women. Although there are men and women customers, it is only the men who sit down at the long trestle tables provided to enjoy their meal. For women, it's a takeaway!

The day starts with the arrival of the trolley (pushcart) operators who have collected fresh or frozen heads from suppliers. Another set of porters – the barrow operators – deliver large wooden crates from the storage facility. These are used to store cooking pots and utensils and sometimes serve as mini-kitchens where the meat is boiled on a primus stove (a portable paraffin cooking stove) inside the crate to shelter it from the wind.



Each cook has her own cubicle for preparing and cooking the meat. Preparation begins with skinning and chopping the head and removing the meat which is then boiled quickly. Portions are laid out for customers along counters that line the front of the cooking area. Condiments are provided and some cooks also add bread or dumplings to the meal.



Sketch design of the Bovine Head Market

Designed by architect Joanne Lees

This is an example of a facility designed specifically for one activity. Before the intervention of the Project team the heads had been boiled on fires along the pavements. Water and grease was going into storm water drains and endangering Durban's recreational water. The diagram shows the cooking cubicles, serving tables and drain running between the two.

The bovine head cooks contribute to a number of employment opportunities in Warwick. In addition to the porters, other service suppliers include water bailiffs, cooks' assistants who skin the meat and cut it off the bone, and a paraffin (kerosene) supplier.

Support and cooperation amongst the cooks

Although the cooks work alongside one another and are all competing for custom, there is a high level of cooperation amongst them.

We work well together. There are so many reasons why people could have bad relationships – the spaces are small so your water can splash your neighbour, customers use other traders' utensils ... but we don't fight about all that. We help each other a lot.

Cook at the Bovine Head Market

This kind of support is evident throughout the market, as in a case where a trader had died and her neighbour ran her business for over a month while the deceased trader's mother arranged to take over the trading site.

The general food court

The photo on page 12 shows the general food court to the right, alongside the Bovine Head Market.

Here customers can choose to sit down for a meal or pick up a takeaway (sandwiches of processed meat between thick slices of white bread, for example). Some of the cooks here expand their business by taking lunch time orders from traders throughout Warwick. Runners deliver these carefully wrapped plated meals together with a cup of tea.





Fresh produce trade outside the Bovine Head Market

4. Mixed trading strip

Along from the food court is a busy and often noisy section of the road where traders sell a variety of goods and perishables, ranging from cigarettes and snacks for the rush hour pedestrians, to hand lotions, music, crockery, small hardware items and even rat poison!

Items and quantities for sale vary depending on the time of day and the needs of potential customers. In the early morning items are geared to people going to work who may want to pick up something on the way - a cigarette or a packet of chips. By the middle of the day stalls are set out to attract customers looking for specific items, such as hardware or music and other more durable goods. At the end of the day the emphasis has once again shifted to attract customers needing something to buy for the evening meal or other immediate household needs. Sometimes traders share the same site at different times of the day. This trading strip demonstrates how responsive street traders are to the needs of their customers. This is what gives them a competitive edge over formal shops.

PERMITS AND RENTALS IN WARWICK

To secure rights to a site in Warwick, traders have to fill in a permit form, that is the equivalent of a lease agreement with the city, and pay a monthly rental. Rents vary depending on what facilities are provided. The highest rates are for sites in built markets.

Throughout Durban's inner city, including in Warwick, in 2008 street traders with shelter paid R68.90 while those without shelter paid R39.90 a month for a 2 metre by 1 metre site. Rentals used to be paid monthly. In 2007 the city introduced a new ruling that rentals be paid 6 or 12 months in advance. Advance payment is often difficult for poorer traders.

Although traders complain about having to pay in advance and that the cost of rent is too high, in general they prefer to have permits as it gives them legitimacy. As one longstanding trader noted:

The permits have been very important for us. If you have a permit you can eat. You trade the way you want to trade. No one disturbs you.

Traditional medicine trader





Inside the Early Morning Market

5. The Early Morning Market

Beside the mixed trading strip is the Early Morning Market. In the late 1990's the city's Department of Markets spent R13 million renovating this lovely old building and now light filters through the new roof onto a daunting number of stalls filled with fruit, vegetables and other staple food items, as well as fresh flowers.

The old market was very hot. The fruit and vegetables would spoil quickly. This new market allows the air to move. It is much better.

Early Morning Market trader

There are over 670 stalls in the market, specially designed for fresh produce trading. They have wire enclosures that can be locked at night and the market itself is also locked, so there is no need to find overnight storage.

Most traders buy their goods either directly from farmers or from the primary bulk fresh produce market south of the inner city. They sell in bulk to street traders and also to individual customers. When the market closes at 3.00 p.m. street traders up their prices as they are then the only source of fresh produce. Over the years, and for obvious reasons, moves to extend market trading hours have met with strong opposition from street traders.

Chicken traders

Chickens are for sale inside the Early Morning Market and also just outside it. Unlike those in the supermarkets these are not battery fed fowls but have scratched around for food in the yards of their owners. Most of them are sold live, packed up in a cardboard box for the buyer. The common white fowls are bought to be eaten while others, especially the black and white ones, are sold for ceremonial purposes. Animal slaughter is an important part of local traditional rituals.





WORKING AS A CHICKEN TRADER

Thandi Nxumalo⁷

Thandi Nxumalo is 64 and has been trading in chickens in Warwick for over 20 years. This is the only income generating work she has ever done. Her home is too far away to return to each day so she stays in a women's hostel in the city until the weekend.

She and 12 other women trade outside the Early Morning Market. Many of these traders come from the same area down the South Coast. Having traded here for years, these traders have built up a strong relationship. She says 'we get on very well' adding 'we are all here for the same purpose, to make a living.'

During the refurbishment of the Early Morning Market, a large chicken coop was constructed. The coop is a simple airy structure which can be locked up at night. Thandi says she does not worry about her stock been stolen since there is a night watchman at the market. She pays R7 a day for rent, and says she has no reason to complain about this. She is happy with her location as it is busy. She would however, like a shelter outside the coop to protect her and her fellow traders from the sun and rain.

The chicken coop has between 50 and 80 chickens at any one time. They are bought from local farmers. She sells the small black fowls, which are used for ritual purposes, for R35 and the larger white ones, which are for cooking, for R40. With rising prices the costs of both chickens and food have risen. At the end of each month custom is good but at other times she has to go through Warwick looking for buyers.

Street trader incomes in Warwick vary greatly. Thandi is one among a group of poorer, largely older women traders earning about R1 000 a month.

She is a widow and has six children and four grandchildren to support. Many of her fellow traders' husbands have also died.



Street trader incomes in Warwick vary greatly. Thandi is one among a group of poorer, largely older women traders earning about R1 000 a month.

⁷The names of all those who have contributed to these personal accounts have been changed.



Barrow operators taking a break

The porters of Warwick

The porters of Warwick need a special mention. Anyone walking in Warwick – and particularly around the Early Morning Market – will not fail to notice them. Used by wholesalers, street traders and customers alike, they weave through the crowds transferring goods around the city and to and from the multiple storage sites.

Their working days can stretch from 4 a.m. until after 9 p.m. In the middle of the day, when work slows down, they often chat, smoke or sleep outside the Early Morning Market. Two groups of porters offer different services. Shopping trolley operators tend to move lighter and less bulky goods, whereas barrow operators work with much larger loads. These men have developed huge physical strength as a loaded barrow can weigh up to 300 kilograms.

Each porter has multiple clients and so must remember where everyone's goods are stored – not only in which storage site, but whereabouts in the site. If a porter delivers goods before a trader arrives at work in the morning, fellow traders will ensure they are not stolen.

There is a street norm that if you are seen touching other people's barrows there will be trouble.

Council official

As a way of supplementing their incomes, porters sometimes guard goods themselves instead of paying for the storage facility. Late at night they can be seen sleeping in groups around their heavily laden trolleys.



Trolley operator delivering goods to a customer



The Music Bridge

6. The Music Bridge

The next stop in this walk is the Music Bridge – a wide pedestrian way connecting the Early Morning Market with the bus terminal and the station. It is now also a thriving trading area used mainly by young men selling music, hats, small hardware and other goods. The shelving along the bridge is specially designed to slope back at an angle to maximise the CD displays and make it easier for customers to make selections.

Vusi Nzimande, a music trader on the bridge, buys his CDs from the small formal retail shops in the area for about R40. He sells them for R80 each and estimates that he makes up to R500 on a bad day, but when trading is good he can make as much as R700. Vusi stores his goods in the Brook Street storage facility. Although he values his stock at about R35 000, he says he does not worry about its safety there.

A conversation is almost impossible as the bridge pulsates with maskanda (Zulu folk music), gospel music and the latest hits. Battery technology improved in recent years so that most sound systems run off battery power.

Before it was renovated the bridge was notorious for crime. It was what urban designers describe as a canyon – pedestrians could be trapped, as there was only one entrance and exit point. The lack of proper barriers along the edge also made the bridge unsafe and at one point officials thought they had no option but to prohibit trading on the bridge.

However, the bridge was redesigned to address these safety concerns (see Chapter 5 for more detail on how to reduce crime through urban design) and traders themselves undertook to reduce crime.

In the consultation process the traders asked 'What is the issue with trading here?' We explained that the city was worried about safety. Through the consultation process the traders agreed that if they were allowed to stay they would make sure that there are no incidents on the bridge. Since the redesign in June 2001 I'm not aware of any incident on that bridge.

Project leader





The Nomkhubulwana mural

Connecting the west side of Warwick with the east

Opposite the Music Bridge, and originally separated by a busy road, is the Traditional Medicine Market. The Zulu word for medicine is 'muthi' so this market has become known as the 'Muthi Market'. The market was developed along two incomplete freeway glide offs or spurs that run over railway lines, join together and then end with a sheer drop into the road below – a drop that was subsequently painted with the mural described below. There was no way to move onto these spurs from the Music Bridge without going on a long detour through the station, across the railway lines and then across a road.

The photograph below shows the freeway spurs before they became the Muthi Market.



The solution was to build a pedestrian bridge connecting the Music Bridge to the Muthi Market. This redesign reduced congestion and gave pedestrians an easier route over the roads and station. In addition it gave traditional medicine a standing in the city that it had previously not had.



The team responsible for the mural

THE NOMKHUBULWANA MURAL:

The wall created by the end of the freeway spurs was once unsightly concrete. It is now a dramatic mural depicting Nomkhubulwana – or the Rain Queen – the provider and protector of Africa. Her towering figure surrounded by street traders is a symbolic presence in Warwick, promoting a sense of pride and identity and indicating the importance of street trading to the city.

The mural was an initiative of the Community Mural Projects Trust. It was originally painted in 1994 to commemorate South Africa's first democratic elections. In 2001 it was renovated by a team of artists and trainees.

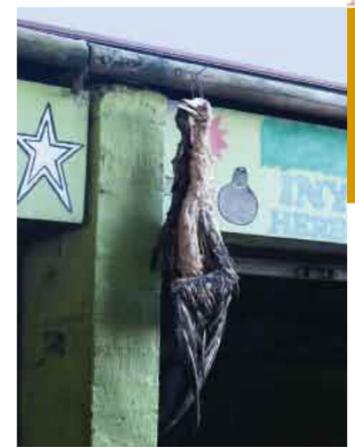


7. The Traditional Medicine Market

Crossing the bridge from music to *muthi* is to move from new to old, from amplified sound and bustle to quiet respect for ancient medicine and traditional forms of healing. This is a place where people come for a specific purpose: to buy, to get advice and not just to stare – it is the equivalent of a modern pharmacy.

The market now has over 700 traders whose stalls are piled with herbs, roots, dried plants, bulbs and bark. There is the sound of chopping and grinding as assistants help to mix and process medicines for customers. *Izinyanga* (traditional healers) consult from the privacy of small kiosks, while herbalists and healers dispense and sometimes give on-site diagnoses. Traders have gradually shifted from wearing western dress to traditional clothing, more appropriate for the work that they do.

It is remarkable that this thriving market is located at the heart of the city. It signals the recognition of traditional practices so long denounced and repressed by the apartheid government. (See Chapter 3 for more about this trade.)





Foreign barbers

Barber booths, advertising the variety of hairstyles available to customers, are found in many parts of the market, often away from other trading areas. The space underneath the spurs is one of them.

Most of the barbers in Warwick are foreigners, predominantly refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo. Although they have a range of vocational or professional skills, many of them have been unable to find work using this expertise. Engineers, teachers and tradesmen are just some examples of the men who are now attending to the hairstyles of their customers.

Foreigner traders contribute to the informal economy by bringing in new ideas, skills and knowledge about new products and their marketing, all of which add diversity to local markets. The account by Michael Lumumba shows how the foreign barbers of Warwick have been quick to recognise the benefits of investing in battery driven clippers as opposed to hand clippers. This enables them to offer a better service to their customers. Local traders however, sometimes resent this type of innovation.





Foreign barbers operating at a Warwick bus rank

WORKING AS A BARBER

Michael Lumumba

Michael Lumumba left the Congo to escape war and poverty and to find a better place for his family. He took a risky and lonely journey to South Africa and only brought his family to live with him once he was established in his work. He now has a residence permit which gives him the right to work legally in the country. He was a primary school teacher in the Congo but his professional training is not recognised in South Africa.

A fellow Congolese trained Michael in barbering. He now has his own booth in Warwick where he has been working for over ten years. Some of the South African barbers still use hand clippers, which restricts the types of haircuts. Foreign barbers have come into this market and are now offering a better service. They are prepared to invest in battery driven clippers and are able to give customers any style of cut that they want.

Many of Michael's fellow barbers are harassed by some South Africans. Michael says he is one of the lucky few who have not had these problems. This is because he has been trading there for so long that he has established a good relationship with the South African traders working around him. He says this is also because he has made the effort to learn Zulu.

Like other barbers working in Durban's inner city, Michael charges R10 for a haircut and an extra R3 to trim a beard. On a busy day he will have up to 20 customers, on a quiet day there can be as few as four customers. To cope with the increasing cost of living Michael works from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. Monday to Saturday and for part of Sunday. He earns about R2 500 a month.

Michael is a member of an organisation of barbers that has been lobbying for their rights. This organisation has been an important source of support for him. They meet regularly at the Project Centre. Michael says:

We need a place to meet and talk about our trade. We used to have to meet outside. Now we meet at the Project Centre. We don't have to pay. You just go and ask to book the hall. If no one else is using it they say yes, even if we want to meet over the weekend. This is a big change for us. We are happy about this.

Michael is the main provider for his extended family of seven. There is only one school in Durban where his children can attend, a private school, because a South African identity document is necessary to register a child in a government school. This same problem applies to applications for training or loans to set up small businesses.



Michael is a member of an organisation of barbers that has been lobbying for their rights. This organisation has been an important source of support for him.



The Brook Street Market

8. The Brook Street Market

The Brook Street Market presents a startling contrast to the rest of Warwick. Anyone walking in here from the *Muthi* Market, over a curved purple pedestrian bridge will want to stop and gaze down over the vast and bustling shopping mall below: a concourse that is in essence a wide street, a few hundred metres long, with a high roof covering it.

The market is a colourful hive of activity, so different to the quiet of the cemetery running down its east side. It provides a variety of types of trading spaces including kiosks for more sophisticated small businesses, and a food court. Tailor-made storage facilities line one section of the walkway.

One end of the market runs under the highway bridges and it is here that customers go to buy the clay used for traditional purposes. Zodwa Nene's account of her work explains more about this unique wholesale trade.

The goods available to shoppers along this concourse are too extensive to list and are best captured in the photographs which illustrate just a small selection of the purchasing opportunities on offer for those who wander through this inviting section of Warwick. (See Chapter 4 for a fuller account of how Brook Street was transformed.)





The wholesale clay market

WORKING AS A CLAY WHOLESALER

Zodwa Nene

Zodwa Nene is a clay wholesaler. Unlike most other traders at Warwick she does not obtain her product from a formal shop. She mines, prepares and sells the balls of red or white clay, shown in the photographs. These are used in traditional practices to spread onto the face or parts of the body, or to be eaten. Red clay is for trainee traditional healers and white for those who have completed their training. Faith healers use it to prepare a healing drink for people who have bad dreams.

Zodwa is 51 years old and has been trading in clay since 1995. She lives two hours from Durban in rural Ndwedwe, where all the other clay sellers in Brook Street come from. There are five people in her household whom she and her son support. In addition both her sisters have passed away leaving six children whom she tries to support when she can. Although the work is physically very demanding for a middle-aged woman, she says she has no alternative with so many people depending on her.

To obtain the clay she must dig it out of pits deep in the ground. She explains:

You have to be very strong to collect the clay. You have to dig deep to get to the proper clay and also need to be strong to get the bags out of the mine. You have to take extra precautions when you go down to make sure that the mine doesn't close on you.

The clay sellers occupy a section of the market away from the main concourse. As they all have to spend time at home preparing the clay, the number of people at the trading site varies from day to day. These women do not rely on 'passing feet' for their sales as their customers specifically seek them out. 'Our customers know where we are and they leave home knowing that this is where they are coming. They come from all over the province.'

In the week that Zodwa comes to Durban to sell her products, she sleeps at the trading site but feels much safer than she used to now that gates have been erected at each end of the part of Brook Street where they trade.

Zodwa sells her clay balls for R5.50 each. Her income often depends on how many other women are trading at the site. On a good month her turnover is R5 000 and in a bad month R1 000.



'You have to be very strong to collect the clay. You have to dig deep to get to the proper clay and also need to be strong to get the bags out of the mine. You have to take extra precautions when you go down to make sure that the mine doesn't close on you.'



Formal and informal retailers in the Grey Street area

The Grey Street area

From the Brook Street Market the walk continues into another area that is part of Warwick Junction – the Grey Street area⁶. This is known for its fascinating mix of informal and formal trading and for its connection with the first Indian people to set up businesses in Durban in the late 1800s.

Shops here are mostly small privately owned businesses, some of which have been operating for decades with their owners still living above the shops. Trade is diverse and many shops accommodate the needs of street traders, selling pinafore material, cooking utensils, cell phones, small hardware items, watches and much else that can be found in Warwick.

This area links Warwick to the city centre with its shops, offices, City Hall, main library, High Court and other landmarks.



⁶Grey Street was recently renamed after the anti-apartheid activist Dr Yusuf Dadoo. However, the area around this street, which includes a number of others running towards Brook Street, is still referred to as 'the Grey Street area'.



Chapter 2

Turning Warwick around



Some trader leaders and Project officials

Chapter 2: Turning Warwick around

The Warwick area described in the previous chapter is a relatively recent phenomenon. Its history is steeped in racial discrimination, exclusion and infrastructural neglect. Until the early 1990s an all white local authority imposed social, political and economic restrictions on the black inhabitants of the city. Government at all levels passed laws that permitted this repression, which was enforced through fines, raids, the confiscation of goods and the removal of residents and traders.

That this bitter history has given way to a vibrant, profitable and non-racial trading area makes its success all the more remarkable.

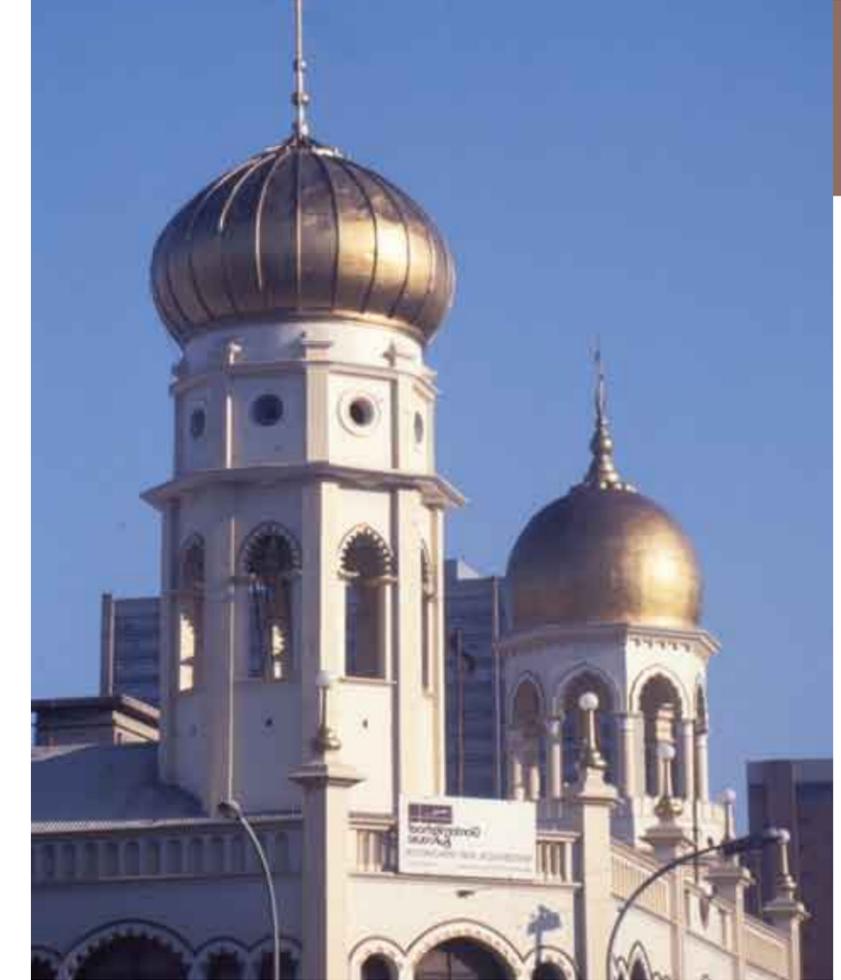
Warwick from the mid-1880s to the mid-1990s

The early history of Warwick centres around the Indian community, as more than 300 migrants arrived in South Africa in November 1860 to work as indentured labourers in what was then the Natal Colony. After two five-year spells of indenture they were given permanent residence in the country.

One such immigrant, Aboobaker Jhaveri, played a central role in establishing Indian business in Durban. In 1872 he set up the first trading store in the Grey Street area and later opened a bazaar there. Jhaveri's buildings still grace the area.

Jhaveri also donated land for the building of the Juma Masjid Mosque – often referred to as the Grey Street Mosque – which is one of the oldest and largest in the southern hemisphere and integral to the atmosphere of Warwick Junction. These initiatives encouraged Indian people to take up residence in the area and to set up small formal trading and service businesses.

In time rural African people moved to the city to set up trading sites not far from Grey Street along the pavements around the railway station and bus terminal. Although congested and lacking basic services, an integrated and viable community began to develop. By the 1930s the Warwick area was the dominant shopping, trading and business destination for a large proportion of Durban's population. At this point, however, it was declared a slum and the local authority began a campaign to clear the area and divide the community.



The Juma Masjid Mosque



Traditional medicine trading conditions before the Project interventions

The apartheid years of oppression and exclusion

When the National Party, with its apartheid ideology, came to power in 1948 it enacted ruthless legislation aimed at restricting black economic activity in so-called 'white areas'. By 1960s street trading had been prohibited in Durban, and traders harshly punished and evicted if found in the city.

A daily newspaper recorded that nearly 500 people had been charged with illegal trading in less than six months in 1966.

In the early 1970s police were described as 'fighting a running battle' against illegal traders. This continued until the introduction of the Natal Ordinance in 1973. The ordinance allowed very limited trading which was regulated by what became known as the 'move on' laws: traders were only allowed to occupy a spot for 15 minutes, and trading of goods was restricted to within 100 metres of a formal business.

The Hawker's Action Committee, formed in the late 1970s, mounted a campaign against the city authorities to protest about the harassment of hawkers in the area.

Harassed fruit and vegetable hawkers in the Grey Street Complex have vowed 'to declare war' on the Durban City Police whom they say are determined to force them out of business.

Daily News, 5 February 1981

When I first started trading in Warwick in 1982 it was a terrible place. It was the time of the blackjacks. Blackjacks, that's what we called the City Police... They were harassing us. On the street, it was very bad. You couldn't sit where you wanted to sit. The blackjacks were everywhere. We were running with our bags. All the traders... were running like hell. The blackjacks would come and take all of our goods.

Traditional medicine trader



Shifting the approach to street trading

As the 1980s progressed government authorities were beginning to feel the pressure from anti-apartheid organisations both within and outside the country. In the early 1980s the more liberal Progressive Federal Party took over Durban's local government from the National Party. The new council commissioned a survey on street traders in the inner city. The results of the survey, and the report that followed, were milestones that saw the start of a new attitude on the part of local government towards the informal economy in general, and street traders in particular.

Following the production of the Hawker Report... the city council recognised the need to make allowance for the economic needs of at least some of the more than 100 000 people flocking to the peripheries of the city every year in the hope of finding work in a shrinking urban job market.

The Daily News, 18 June 1987

Traders were finally acknowledged not only as a permanent part of the city but also for their economic contribution. However, the management of this new dispensation was daunting. By the early 1990s the national laws restricting 'black' economic activity were relaxed and thousands of people moved into the city to look for work and to trade informally where business was favourable, and pavement space available. Communities settled informally in open spaces near their places of trade. In Durban an estimated 4 000 street traders moved into the Warwick area alone. There was no management of these activities, nor were facilities provided and there was a very real threat of slum conditions developing.

The council was forced to rethink its approach. It formed a sub-committee to draw up recommendations for a new policy. In 1991 the Department of Informal Trade and Small Business Opportunities (DITSBO) was established to manage and facilitate this process.

National government gave local governments the power to pass street trading bylaws. National legislation attempted to ensure that these bylaws should regulate rather than inhibit inner city trading. While prohibiting trading in some zones and restricting it in others, the Durban City Council did pass bylaws that allowed street traders to operate in most of the inner city. In contrast, many other South African cities declared some of the most viable trading areas as prohibited trade zones.



Brook Street trading conditions before the Project interventions

Post-1994: Setting up the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project

When South Africans elected their first democratic government in 1994, transformation became a priority at all government levels. The new Constitution created three spheres of government – national, provincial and local⁹ – and gave the local sphere much greater independence than it had enjoyed in the past, as well as new tasks. Not only was it a time of elation and excitement throughout the country, but also of anticipation. The gates were open for long-awaited change.

This book cannot give a comprehensive account of the multi-levelled structure and highly detailed planning that led to Warwick Junction's internationally acclaimed turnaround. The sections that follow provide an outline of how the Project was structured, the broad approach it adopted and an overview of its achievements. This is offered with a view to help others grappling with the task of incorporating the informal economy into urban plans.

Initial challenges for the Project

At the start, the Project faced seemingly insurmountable difficulties. Due to years of apartheid planning that aimed to separate different race groups, the area was poorly designed. The ever-increasing number of traders caused congestion and overtrading, which in turn led to declining incomes. Crime was also rife in Warwick.

The area was divided politically and economically, with the more affluent traders in Grey Street and the poorer in Warwick Junction. Further, during the early 1990s the province of KwaZulu Natal was racked by political violence between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Many of the traders were migrants fleeing from this with the result that those operating in Warwick lacked trust in one another. Given the apartheid history they also lacked trust in local government officials.

The Project started and was implemented in the context of the political and administrative restructuring of local government. Under apartheid local administrative areas were divided on the basis of race. In Durban there were 48 racially separate local authorities that were in the mid-1990s combined into an expanded metropolitan area with six sub-authorities. In turn, these were combined into one larger municipality, named the eThekweni Municipality, in 2001. The Project was thus faced with an ever-changing institutional environment.

From this challenging point of departure, the Project reversed the status of Warwick in three years. A perceived centre of 'crime and grime' became a flourishing part of the inner city.

⁹In other contexts what is termed national government in South Africa, would be called federal government and what is called provincial government would be called state government.

A head start

Local government officials had already begun work to improve trading conditions for street traders so the Project was well placed to maximise the historical moment. The earlier survey had paved the way for a major reversal in the municipality's approach to street traders. This involved a change to working with, rather than against, the interests of street traders, and the subsequent incorporation of this approach into new plans for the Warwick area.

The city's health department had started working with street traders. They set up health and safety awareness training to introduce minimum health requirements. They had also compiled a preliminary database of street traders detailing their activities and documenting what infrastructure they wanted.

Street traders also started to become better organised. In 1994 the Self Employed Women's Union (SEWU) was launched, modelled on the Self Employed Women's Association in India. Its national office was in Durban and one of its first and most consistently active branches was of street traders working in Warwick.

SEWU brought to the forefront the particular concerns of women traders – issues such as child care provision and the lack of overnight accommodation. A SEWU leader and long-standing trader working in Warwick noted:

We women must be there. Any meeting, any policy, they must think about women. The women must be there.

She reflected on her experience in SEWU:

SEWU's done a lot for me. If I hadn't joined SEWU I would not be in this site now. SEWU opened my mind. I knock at the doors and the doors open.

A number of other street trader organisations were active in the 1980s and early 1990s. The Informal Traders Management Board (ITMB) was set up in 1995 to represent trader organisations and serve as the umbrella body that the council could negotiate with. By the time the Project began its work the ITMB had earned the support of the majority of street traders in the area. It is still active in the area and has played a role in exerting pressure on local government to incorporate traders into city planning.

In addition to the street traders' organisations, there were also street or area committees (more or less loosely structured in form).

When the local authority shifted its approach, these organising initiatives meant there were already negotiating partners for Project staff to work with.



Informal settlement in Brook Street, prior to the Project interventions

First task: operation cleanup

There was something mysterious in the way that this regular group of officials, called together for a routine task, chose to act in a collaborative, consultative and frankly compassionate manner. Perhaps the daunting prospect of engaging in such a notorious part of the city urged them beyond these tentative beginnings into a relationship of growing reciprocal respect between street traders and themselves.

Project leader

By 1996 the council recognised that daily maintenance in Warwick was proving almost impossible because of years of accumulated waste along the pavements, and it allocated a sum of money for an initial cleanup of the area.

Unwanted material was to be removed from the street and the whole area scoured with high pressure hoses. To carry this out successfully, traders would be disrupted temporarily and so their cooperation was essential. The cleaning process took place area by area and traders were consulted at each point through a trader organisation, a street or trade committee. In hindsight the Project staff realised that not only was the cleanup achieved but, more importantly, it started the process of understanding the area dynamics.

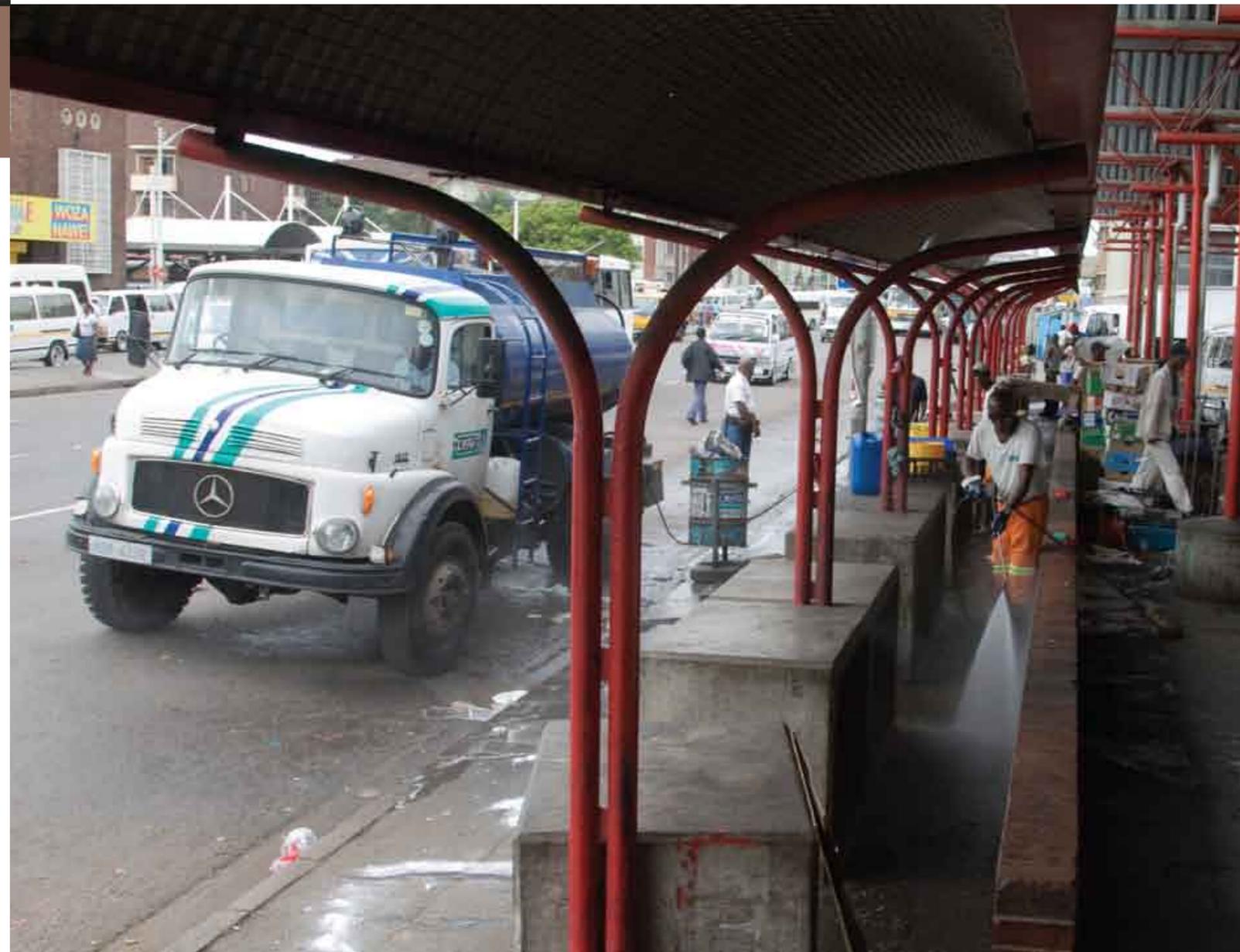
Durban Solid Waste, the city's waste collection and cleaning department, initially took charge of the operation, assisted by officials from a range of other departments, including City Health, the City Police, Traffic and Transport, and DITSBO. Although scheduled for three months, it eventually lasted for six.

This 'face-lift' operation was a milestone in the regeneration of Warwick in that it showed what could be achieved through inter-departmental cooperation. Instead of reverting to the old response of simply removing traders, departments' staff had begun to work together to solve problems more creatively. Some of the officials involved at this early stage later became part of the Project's operations team. This inter-departmental approach was subsequently adopted as a format for the Project as a whole.

As was so often the case in the work of the Project, one set of objectives exposed further challenges that required urgent attention. Allowing for this type of organic development has been central to the way in which project teams operate.

There is more detail in Chapter 5 about this initial cleanup as well





Durban Solid Waste pressure-cleaning trader stalls

Project structure and way of working

In 1995 the council set aside R4.72 million to make a start on the regeneration of Warwick Junction and establish a structure for operating at an inter-departmental level.

The Project's aims

The main aim was expressed in a 1995 report:

... to improve the overall quality of the urban environment in the Greater Warwick Avenue and Grey Street area in terms of safety, security, cleanliness, functionality and the promotion of economic opportunities. The redevelopment of the Warwick Avenue area, specifically, should be geared towards promoting its primary role and function as a major regional hub for public trading and transportation, with a particular focus on the needs of the urban poor.

The Project was part of a city-wide experiment with integrated area-based development. This meant that planning and the management of public resources would be decentralised to a geographical area and that the various departments responsible for managing the area would work together rather than in isolation. Area-based development also allows for participation of the citizens of the area in all aspects of development planning.

Institutional location

Initially two options were considered for the institutional location of the Project. It could be an agency located alongside the council, with dedicated staff; or it could be located directly under the council, drawing on department staff. The latter option was chosen and has proved to have many advantages:

- It gave the Project access to an invaluable range of human and technical resources from a wide range of departments in the city. This has been crucial for the success of the multi-faceted projects that have been undertaken.
- It facilitated cooperative teamwork within and between council departments. It ensured that the council and its departments were an integral part of the Project's work.
- Officials responsible for the ongoing management of projects were involved from the start and understood what would be needed to sustain each project.

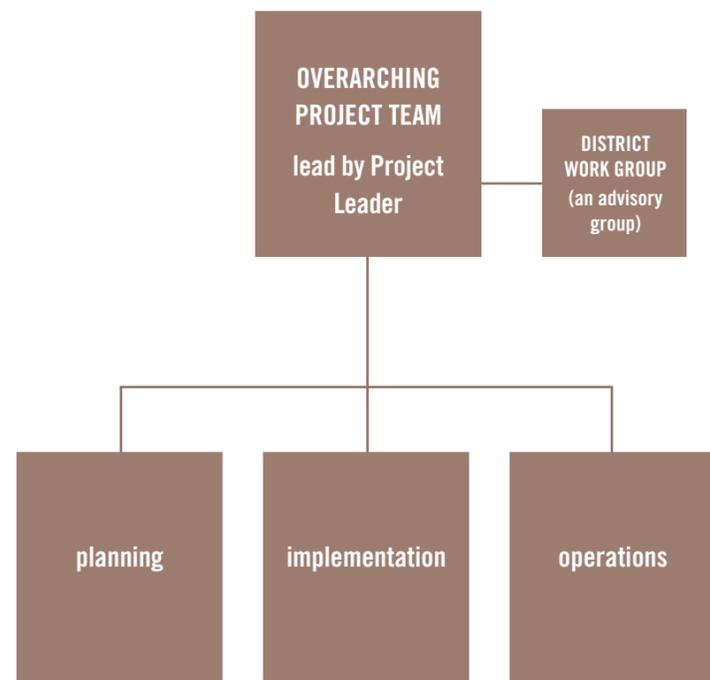
The Project staff

A few individuals drove the Project in its early years. The first Project leader was located in the Urban Design Department. A planner by training, she was responsible for setting the Project up and headed the planning team. In 1995 Architectural Services employed an architect as the team leader responsible for implementing capital works projects¹⁰ and an experienced environmental health officer was drawn in from City Health to oversee the urban management team.

A number of other council officials, already working in Warwick, were drawn into the Project team. In some cases they had worked there for some time and had established a rapport with stakeholders in the area. For example both the DITSBO and City Health had assigned staff to the area.

In amongst this group were some seasoned council officials who knew how to take Project initiatives through the correct reporting procedures within the council. This was critical for the functioning of area-based development.

¹⁰ In time, as the focus of the work shifted from planning to implementation, the architect became the Project leader. The quotes attributed to the Project leader throughout this book stem from the second rather than the first Project leader.



Examples of planning tasks:

- Road network plan
- Public transport study
- District urban design framework
- Economic strategy

Examples of implementation projects:

- Traditional Medicine Market
- Brook Street Market
- Cannongate and Alice Street shelters

Examples of task teams:

- Water delivery and management
- Public toilets
- Street lighting
- Mini-bus taxi washing and rank management
- Childcare facilities
- Mealie cooking
- Bovine head cooking
- Cardboard salvaging

The operating structure

It was not an entity, it was a series of tasks that had to be done and had to achieve a set of outcomes. This was the catalyst to interlink departments.

Project leader

The Project, from its position within local government, had to develop a structure that was appropriate to the wide range of issues arising in the area. As the account of the cleaning initiative shows, the structure also had to allow for new and unforeseen issues for which it would have to find creative solutions. All this called for a flexible structure that was appropriately linked to the council.

The diagram shows that the Project was structured around three core tasks. Officials drawn from a range of departments were grouped into project teams associated with these.

- The planning team was responsible for overall planning and urban design of the area. They focused on macro-planning and thereby identified projects requiring capital expenditure.
- The implementation team implemented the plans formulated by the planning team. These were often packaged in discrete projects – for example the redevelopment of the Traditional Medicine Market. This team oversaw each stage of development from detailed project design to final completion.
- The operations team saw to the maintenance, service delivery and the general day-to-day management of Warwick as well as the integration and ongoing management of any new developments. Under the Operations team a number of smaller focused task teams were set up to deal with specific urban maintenance and management problems. Over 30 such teams were established to deal with issues as diverse as kerbside cleaning, ablution facilities, childcare facilities and pavement sleeping.

Depending on the nature of the work, officials working on all of these multiple teams were drawn in from the appropriate council departments.

Council officials working on Project initiatives

Over time, and in different teams, officials were drawn from the following local government departments¹¹:

- Architectural Services
- City Health
- City Police
- Development and Planning
- Drainage and Coastal Engineering
- Durban Solid Waste
- Electronics
- Housing
- Informal Trade and Small Business Opportunities
- Licensing
- Parks
- Protection Services
- Real Estate
- Roads
- Traffic and Transportation
- Urban Design
- Waste Water Management.

Officials involved in the three core teams formed an overarching project team which met weekly to share progress, information and identify further issues that required attention. This ensured that the planning, implementation and operations work informed each other.

A council official involved in a number of teams described the process as follows:

Individual department staff were working in the area and observing the dynamics. They had often established relationships with people using the area. What we would do once an issue was identified was to get council staff around the table to pool existing information and observations. It was this process of hearing often incidental observations, gathering ideas and going back onto the streets to test them, which led to us finding solutions.

¹¹Through the restructuring processes within local government, the names of many local government departments changed. For example, City Police became Metro Police, Traffic and Transportation became the eThekweni Transport Authority (ETA) and the Department of Informal Trade and Small Business



Through this project structure a cohesive group formed that worked within and across departments. This was unlike the conventional structure of local authorities in which departments work in parallel.

At times I would go and sit on the pavement for an hour. People would think I was mad. I was just watching how people were doing things within the space.

Project leader

A walkabout with any council staff working on the Project is characterised by many greetings and conversations. This stems from their having spent so much time on the streets. The DITSBO area manager and his three community liaison officers spent the better part of every day on the streets while the Project leader himself spent between two and three hours a day walking the streets. This allowed for developing relationships but also on site observation. An interest, enthusiasm and curiosity developed among staff about what was happening in the area and their ability to improve conditions.

Funding and accountability

Funds for the Project came from the municipality, although provincial and national government allocated amounts for specific projects such as road infrastructure or public transport. The National Department of Transport, for example, funded the establishment of taxi ranks. The European Commission routed funding through the municipality and contributed 11% of the municipality's total allocation to the Project.

The Project was ultimately answerable to the elected representatives in council, the councillors. These politicians approved funding allocations and received regular reports. In the early years the Project leader reported on developments in Warwick to the subcommittee of councillors responsible for planning. Officials working in the Project reported to the heads of their departments who in turn reported to their respective subcommittees of councillors. The final element of political oversight of the process was through the formation of the District Working Group. This advisory body of stakeholders and officials included between three and four councillors. Although there were differences of opinion on some issues, the Project operated in a broadly supportive political environment.

Opportunities (DITSBO) became Informal Trade and Small Business Opportunities (ITSBO) and then Business Support. Departmental names are used in line with what the department was called for the majority of the time being referred to.



The newly renovated Project Centre

Opening a Project Centre

A project building was opened early on. The Project Centre is a converted old warehouse, centrally located and with large and small meeting venues and offices for council staff. Both Project staff and department officials working mainly in Warwick were – and continue to be – located there.

For street traders, an important advantage of locating the Project in Warwick, was the proximity of council officials to their sites, should they want to raise a problem or discuss a concern. The centre not only provides rooms for consultation between council staff and traders, but also space for trader organisations to meet and discuss their concerns independent of council interference.

THE PROJECT CENTRE – A VENUE FOR MEETINGS

There are three meeting venues in the Project Centre – a small discussion room that accommodates up to ten people, a larger meeting venue that accommodates up to 30 people and a large hall that comfortably accommodates 200 people.

These venues are and have been used for:

- Internal council meetings especially planning, implementation and operations meetings.
- Broad consultation meetings between council officials and stakeholder groups in the area – residents, formal and informal business e.g. the District Working Group.
- Project-specific consultation meetings between officials and recipients;
- the Community Policing Forum.
- Training sessions run by the City Health Department for food and traditional medicine traders.
- Regular meeting slots for a number of trader organisations. Both leadership and members meet. For example the Informal Traders' Management Board holds their weekly executive and general meetings here, and Traders Against Crime and the organisation of street barbers, Siyagunda, meets here regularly.
- Various independent initiatives (by arrangement). People living near the Project Centre have used the hall for celebrations and memorial services and groups of artists have displayed their works there.



The building that was converted into the Project Centre



An example of Warwick Junction signage

Marketing the 'new' Warwick: changing people's perceptions

The common perception of Warwick as a run-down, dirty and crime-ridden area had to be turned around. Early on, the Project established a communications team that aimed to change the perceptions of the area among the users, council officials, politicians, the private sector and the public at large. A marketing company was employed to assist with this and through a consultative process a common project image was developed. The Project then made use of billboards, posters, brochures and t-shirts to promote the 'new' Warwick.

Attention was also paid to getting the media to cover what was happening in the area – with some success. In addition the Project leader made numerous public presentations to business and professional bodies.

This exercise was important for traders and commuters as it enhanced a sense of ownership and pride in the area. City officials and councillors started to take the area seriously and acknowledge the role it played in the city. For the public at large as well as the powerful private sector interests in the city this campaign was critical in changing perceptions, not only of the area, but also of the contribution made by informal activities to the city economy.





A community meeting in the Project Centre hall

Two Project fundamentals

Looking back over the Project period, two inter-related Project fundamentals that were critical to the success of the Project can be identified: the area-based and inter-departmental project structure, and the commitment to participation and consultation.

Our approach was the opposite of a hierarchical process where decisions are made at the top without taking into account the knowledge and requirements of those – both traders but also officials – working in the area. This top-down approach is neither viable nor sustainable.

Project leader

Area-based and inter-departmental

The Project concentrated on a specific geographical area. This, combined with the working style of the Project staff, meant that both high- and lower-level officials spent the better part of every day either on the streets or engaging with stakeholders. As a result responses or interventions carried out in the area were based on a firm understanding of specific local conditions.

The Project was integrated closely into existing council departmental activities. Only the Project leader and his assistant were dedicated Project staff. All other council staff working on the Project were drawn from existing council departments and accountable both to the Project and the heads of their departments. Instead of city officials from separate departments managing their areas of responsibility in isolation from other officials, all were brought in at the start of the regeneration process, together with the traders and their representatives.

An environmental health officer who has been working in Warwick since the early 1990s commented:

Area-based management is a good way of working because it helps officials know what other departments are doing... If another department official sees that traders are exposing their foodstuffs on the streets they won't say 'Oh well, this is for the health department and it is not my job'. Now they know the work of the health department so they will just go there and advise the traders. It also helps that even if I am not able to resolve a particular problem, I know who to call... We often complain about there not being enough staff, but I know that I can just contact somebody and then we can look at the problem... We are

all equally responsible for making our city a successful one and together we are able to conquer... That is how we should look at our informal economy.

This approach resolved coordination problems between departments and allowed for a close link between planning and implementation. It was put to the test in the Project's first big initiative – the building of the herb and medicine market – and progressed as the Project gained experience.

Commitment to participation and consultation

As the quotes below show, the participation of all stakeholders was fundamental to the way in which the Project operated.

To build up trust and support for the Project's work, it was essential to negotiate with all stakeholders rather than superimpose any plans; we needed to bring everyone on board.

Project leader

The most important thing is communication. The council doesn't come and tell us what to do – at least not in the area I trade. We talk about things. When I raise issues the council respects that.

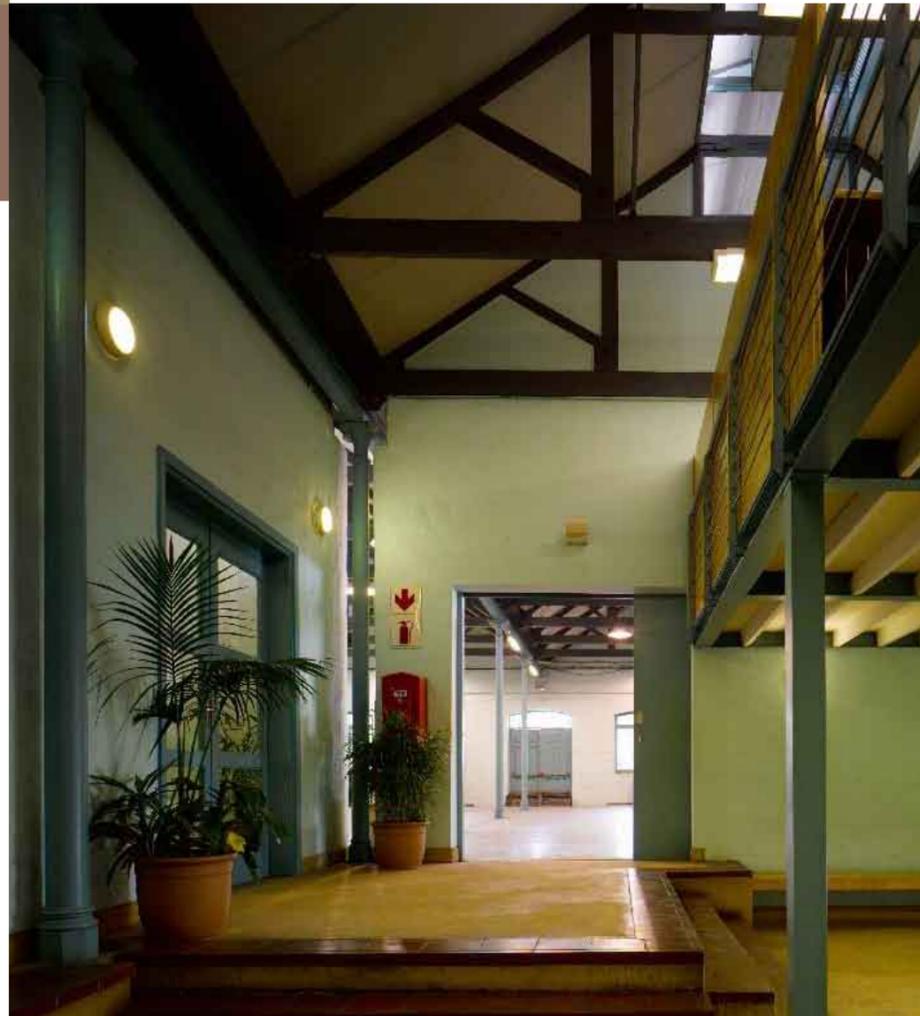
Trader leader, trading in Brook Street

The area manager would come to your site. He liked to sit down and explain things and get your point of view.

Trader leader, music seller

If you make an appointment with the Project manager, he gives you a chance to come and sit with him. He takes your issues seriously. He is a good man. You know if you go to him he will deal with your problem. In the Muthi Market we would go and sit down with him and everything went well.

Trader leader, trading in the Traditional Medicine Market



Inside the Project Centre

Consultation occurred at a number of levels – area-wide, with specific groups, and with individuals.

The District Working Group consisted of council officials and councillors combined with representatives from formal business, informal business and residents in Warwick. This consultative forum met monthly and received report backs from the Planning, Implementation and Operations team leaders. It was an opportunity for all parties to share information and concerns.

As mentioned, trader organisations and committees were active in the area at the Project inception and both these organisations and the council officials working with them developed consultation and negotiation skills as the work of the Project progressed.

Particularly intensive consultation occurred when new projects were identified. Language and cultural diversity meant that this was often very challenging. Many council officials were not fluent in Zulu – the dominant language among the traders – and so meetings with traders took place either in Zulu or in English with Zulu translation. Some of the techniques used to address these and other challenges to achieve consensus positions are discussed in detail in the next two chapters

The Project Centre played an important role in facilitating both the formal and informal consultation processes. Officials were close to traders and vice versa while the different sized meeting venues allowed for meeting small groups but also holding mass meetings.

An overview of completed projects

Within three years of the Project being set up, the area had changed dramatically. Different Project interventions are dealt with in some depth in the chapters that follow. The timeline below gives an overview of the key Project milestones between 1995 and the present.

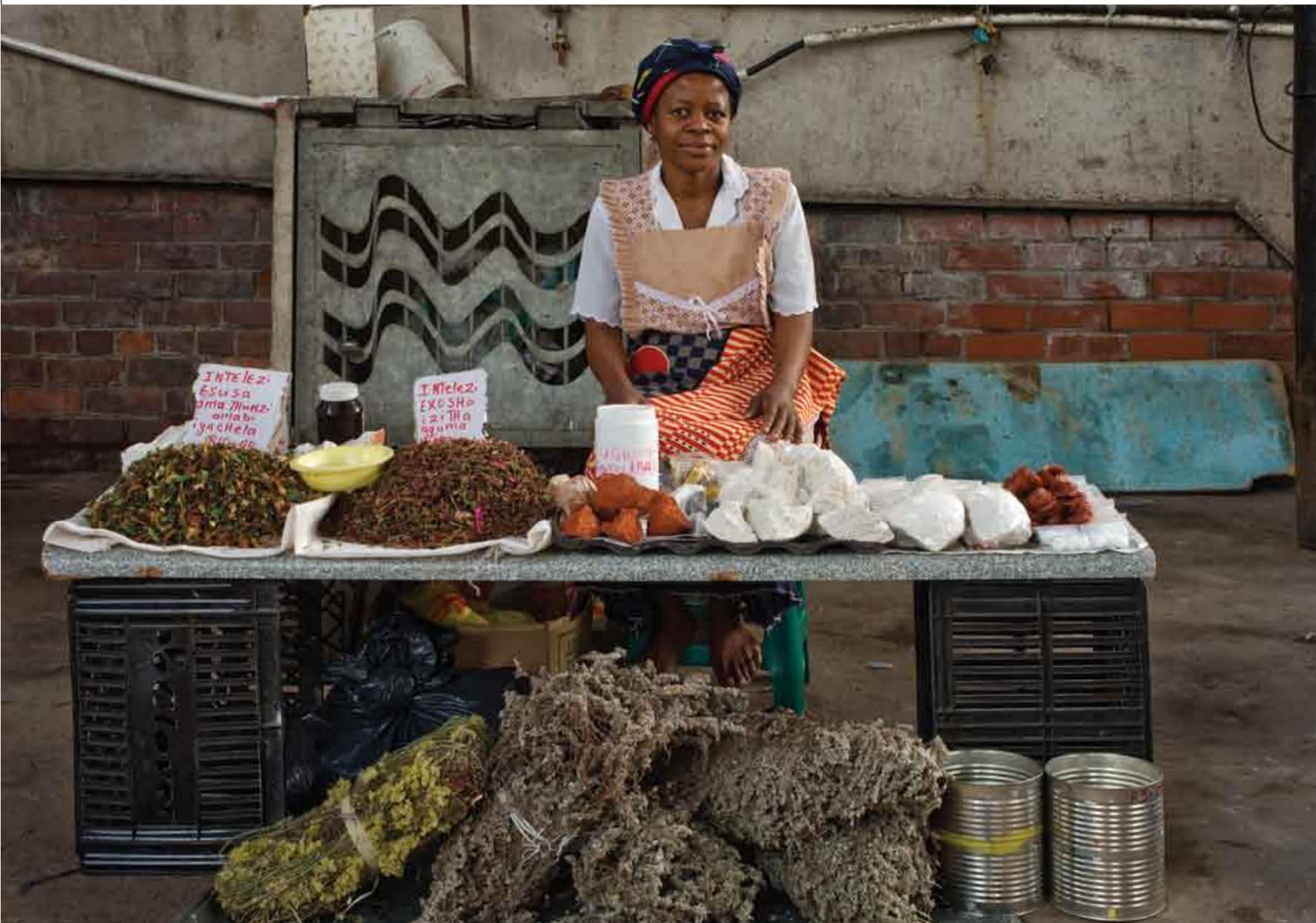
Timeline of Project milestones

1995	Project initiation report submitted to the council.					
1996	The Project given authority to proceed and funds allocated for planning studies.					
1997	Approval of funds for a three-year implementation program.	The Traditional Medicine Market planned, designed and completed.	The refurbishment of the Early Morning Market.	Over 30 task teams established to deal with sector specific issues as well as management issues.	Five off-street taxi ranks planned, designed and completed.	Brook Street Market planned, designed and completed. More recent phases include the provision of storage facilities, establishment of kiosks and the substantial extension of the roof.
1998		The Warwick Junction Project Centre renovated and in operation.				
1999	Facility for bead sellers and corn on the cob cooks planned, designed and completed.					
2000	The Project receives two awards - the Mail and Guardian Green Trust award for urban renewal and the KwaZulu-Natal Institute of Architects Heritage Award for the renovation of the Project Centre.		Facility for cardboard collectors planned, designed and completed.			Development of city-wide Informal Economy Policy largely informed by the Warwick experience.
2001	The eThekweni Council adopts the Informal Economy Policy.					
2002	The expansion of the Warwick Junction Project model into the entire inner city through the formation of the Inner Thekweni Regeneration and Urban Management Programme, iTRUMP. The Warwick Project leader is contracted to lead iTRUMP.					
2003	Facility for bovine head cooks planned, designed and completed.					
↓						
2008	Nominated for the IBM Innovations in Government Award in 2007. South African Institute of Architects' President's Award 2007/2008. UN Habitat / Dubai International Award for Good Practice for the Brook Street Market, 2008.					



Chapter 3

Different sectors,
different challenges



Chapter 3: Different sectors, different challenges

Traditional medicine traders, mealie (corn on the cob) cooks and cardboard collectors have very little in common as far as their business requirements go: one group needs 'passing feet', space to display goods and in some cases privacy; another needs to be able to build large wood fires and distribute their goods throughout the inner city; yet another brings its goods to a central depot and needs a place to weigh and store them. To optimise these and other similar businesses the Project designed sector-specific interventions.

It is clear, in these instances – as in most others in Warwick – that the livelihoods of traders are best advanced by first understanding how trade is carried out in each sector and then by designing interventions to meet specific needs.

This chapter details the challenges that faced the Project team as it developed this sectoral approach. It shows why an area-based, inter-departmental and consultative approach was critical to its success, and how the businesses of traders improved as a result of this.

The Traditional Medicine Market: The first major sector-based initiative

Writing for the Sunday Times, architect Silberman placed the Traditional Medicine Market under the banner of 'the Best of the Century'. She states:

This is one of the first South African structures which addresses – and celebrates – the informal traders who have come to dominate our city centres.

Sunday Times, 19 December 1999

As the description in Chapter 1 indicates, the *Muthi* Market is one of the most fascinating parts of Warwick, steeped in traditions and customs and with a quiet and focused atmosphere. It is also a very visible sign of the recognition of traditional medicine traders and healers who – for nearly a century – fought for the right to bring traditional healing into the city. They were harassed and repressed by local authorities, who in 1957 passed the Witchcraft Suppression Act, which made it impossible to trade openly. Only in the 1980s did traders begin to return to the streets, although they were still faced with the hostility of the local officials that all street traders faced at the time.

In reflecting back on the past one trader commented:

Then trading conditions were very bad. You couldn't sit where you wanted to sit. The police would come and take all of your stuff. You couldn't trade on the street but we still did. Now everyone has got a site to trade, that's the big, big, big difference.

Traditional medicine trader

Muthi suppliers, traders and healers

The *muthi* trade involves large numbers of herbs, roots, bulbs, bark and other plants as well as animal products such as fats, skins and carcasses. The three main groups involved in the trade are suppliers, herbalists who trade in these products, and *izinyanga* and 'sangomas', who specialise in medical and spiritual healing.

It requires great knowledge and skill to identify the countless numbers of traditional medicines, to grind or mix them and to dispense them appropriately. Treatments and preparation techniques have been practised and passed down from generation to generation for centuries and a rigorous training process is required where trainees serve as apprentices to healers for long periods.





The Traditional Medicine Market

WORKING AS A TRADITIONAL MEDICINE TRADER

Nonhlanhla Zuma

Nonhlanhla Zuma is a 64 year old traditional medicine trader who lives about 40 kilometres away from the city and travels to work each day in a taxi. She has known Warwick since 1982 and began trading in the years of severe harassment when she would have to run from the police and watch her goods being removed. It would take months to build up the stock she had lost. As restrictions slowly lifted she worked along an exposed street pavement where there was a constant risk of her goods being damaged or stolen. At the time the city provided no basic amenities for traders.

In 1998 Nonhlanhla moved into the *Muthi* Market where she finally had shelter, water and toilets. More recently she moved her business to a kiosk in Brook Street that has water and lighting and a roll-up metal door that she can lock at night. This kiosk is close to her friends in the *Muthi* Market. She feels this is important as she and other traders have built up high levels of trust and support for one another. If she does not have a product she refers her customer to someone who does sell it, or she may even pick it up and sell it on behalf of the other trader.

The kiosk has made a great difference to Nonhlanhla's business. She has more trading space and, with lock-up facilities she no longer has to limit her stock to the quantities that can be moved and stored in the general storage facilities. Both of these factors have greatly improved her income. She estimates that the stock that she can now lock away in the kiosk is worth R30 000 and that on a good week she would have a turnover of up to R7 000.



The kiosk has made a great difference in Nonhlanhla's business. She has more trading space and with lock-up facilities she no longer has to limit her stock to the quantities that can be moved and stored in the general storage facilities.



The disused freeway off-ramps that became the Traditional Medicine Market

Early work with the *muthi* traders

As Nonhlanhla Zuma's account of her life shows, trading conditions before the market was established were congested, unhealthy and dangerous. As there was no storage, many traders protected their goods by sleeping alongside them. Any specialised market for traders would, at the very least, have to remedy these conditions and would have to provide spaces for the different types of activities carried out in the trade.

Chapter 2 mentions the early work done by the health department to introduce health awareness and minimum health requirements. An official in the department had compiled a preliminary database of traders and documented what infrastructure traders preferred. The health department had also begun working with the 12 different traditional medicine traders' organisations. A committee of traders had been established to negotiate with officials on matters of concern, such as the conservation of plants and animals used for medicinal purposes. This same committee represented the traders in the building of the market.

All this provided a solid base on which the Project could build.

ESTIMATES FOR THE TRADITIONAL MEDICINE SECTOR

- Nearly 80% of black South Africans are estimated to use traditional medicine often in parallel with biomedicine.
- In total over 30 000 people in the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province were estimated to work in the traditional medicine sector in 2003, mainly rural women harvesting from communal lands.
- Over 8 000 of these gatherers sell their goods to traders in Durban.
- R61 million worth of medicinal plant material is traded in KZN annually, mainly in Durban.
- Over 700 plant species are traded in South Africa.
- 4 500 tons of plant material is traded annually in KZN, with 1 500 tons traded in Durban alone. The total for KZN is about a third of the value of maize harvest in the province.

Drawn from Mander (1998) and Institute for Natural Resources (2003)

Funding for capital works

When the council gave the go-ahead for the construction of the market in 1997 it was a signal that it had accepted both *muthi* traders and the informal economy as a permanent feature in the city. The market was developed in phases and took two years to complete at a cost of R4 million. At the time no other local authority was considering an informal economy investment of this magnitude but, with a turnover of R170 million in the first year of trading, the investment was more than justified: traders had demonstrated their significant contribution to the local economy.

Finding a location for the market

Finding an unused space in such a congested area was a huge challenge, but an essential first step. Several people claim to have had the 'brilliant' idea to build the market on the unused flyovers described in Chapter 1 and to link it to the Music Bridge, via a pedestrian bridge. Whoever the suggestion came from, it was the solution that the Project was looking for.

It was the key that unlocked the spatial congestion experienced in the District. In addition, because this was previously unutilized space, the construction sequence was seamless.

Project leader

As the photograph on page 68 shows, the spurs were originally dirty and unsafe, inhabited by traders (who were often harassed by authorities) in very temporary shelters.

THE TASK TEAM FOR THIS PROJECT CONSISTED OF OFFICIALS FROM:

- Architectural Services
- City Health
- Informal Trade and Small Business Opportunities
- Markets
- Traffic and Transportation
- Warwick Junction Project Team.





An aerial view of the Traditional Medicine Market

Designing the market

There was no precedent to help guide the design of this market. The implementation team approached this task through a combination of observation, snap surveys and consultation, all of which contributed to an appropriate market design.

A lot of time was spent observing the dynamics of the trade: how were products delivered and stored; how were they processed and displayed; did the use of space change at different times of day? For example when business was slow some traders used sunny areas to dry out their plant material while at busier times their sites were converted back to display goods to passers-by. An important consideration was whether the traders relied on lots of pedestrians or whether customers would actively seek out the market for a specific purpose.

The team noticed that traders used the pavement space to chop and crush the plant products, so any surfaces for the new market would have to be robust enough to withstand this type of treatment.

Another challenge was to find out how many traders the new market should cater for.

The area manager conducted a snap survey of who traded in the area and the pavement space used for trading was measured. Lots of photographs were taken which were later useful for resolving conflicts about which traders were present where.

DITSBO commissioned the work and the implementation team provided area-based facilitation and led the ground-level consultation process with the traders.

Consulting

Team members were very conscious of the need to design a market that catered for all the factors that made for a successful trade. This was not possible without extensive consultation and a detailed understanding of the trade, so a multi-departmental consultation team, with a broad range of skills, was set up. It consulted widely and fed information back to the design team.

Before getting final feedback and consensus, the Project team went to a lot of trouble to make sure that traders had a good sense of what they would be getting. They presented architects' plans in the form of a large model constructed out of cardboard. There were on-site demonstrations and, where possible, traders were shown examples of similar infrastructure in other parts of the market.

Consultations included mass meetings, meetings with leaders and

individual meetings. The team worked on the principle that all voices should be heard, so if certain groups or individuals were silent at meetings Project staff often went to speak to these people at their sites.

Through the work of SEWU the women, who constituted the majority of traders, were a much stronger presence in the consultation process. This was a feature that extended to projects throughout Warwick and meant that issues that might have been overlooked by male traders were brought to the forefront.

Project leader

Trader leaders in particular spent a lot of time convincing traders to support the proposal so it was critical that they were not undermined through the ill-considered changing of ideas.

The process moved forward incrementally as details were discussed and approved at each step. Once the overall idea had been accepted the Project worked on the details of the stalls and then had another consultation round to discuss the way that traders wanted to display their goods. In such instances a full scale mock-up was used to demonstrate, for example, different display options. When big decisions had to be taken, traders were given time to reflect and come back to the next meeting with feedback. Particularly at the start, the approach of the Project was to reach consensus no matter how long it took.

It was a slow process, but one that avoided costly mistakes, as the team found that if consultations broke down there was inevitably a substantial reason for this.

The final product

When it was completed the market provided:

- 232 roofed stalls along the length of the space, each about 6 square metres.
- 103 open-air spaces about 2 square metres each.
- 48 semi-enclosed *izinyanga* kiosks with metal roll-down doors that could be locked. (There is more about kiosks in Chapter 4.)
- Basic services – such as water taps and toilets.
- Lockup storage – the market itself is locked at night and patrolled by a security guard. This means that traders do not have to sleep at their sites to guard their goods.

The construction materials used were mostly treated timber poles and pre-painted corrugated metal sheeting.





Allocating sites for the new market

Once sites were ready to be allocated, it was clear that there were going to be more traders wanting space in the market than the Project had catered for. Some had not registered on the database compiled by the health officials; others emerged from isolated parts of the city, wanting a site; and seasonal trading also skewed numbers.

Eventually the traders decided to hold a public 'roll call' to identify those who had been long-standing traders – and would therefore qualify for a site. The roll call took a day as an official called out names one by one and traders stood up to be identified. Contested decisions were set down for negotiation and others simply accepted the decision of the community. A council official described the event:

There was a general air of understanding and the day passed without incident – a tribute to the community's involvement with, and commitment to, the Project.

The Project leader explains the eventual solution to the thorny issue of who was assigned which site.

The next challenge was who goes where? Clearly, there were some stalls that were considered more prime than others. At one meeting, and mostly out of desperation, I started brainstorming stall allocation options. One was to put all the names in a 'hat' with stall numbers in another, the idea being that the traders would have their names drawn and matched to a stall.

I can still recall the mass groan of utter disapproval at this suggestion! What I had not realized was how important past relationships from the pavement days were. You depended on your neighbour for survival on the streets. In hindsight it is embarrassingly obvious!

So, the eventual stall allocation generally retained the relationships that had existed before the move, which I believe contributed to the harmonious transition into the new market.

Combining sector support with the protection of natural resources

An innovative and exciting project developed between *muthi* traders, DITSBO and the Institute for Natural Resources. Its aim was to provide economically informed sector support while at the same time protecting natural resources that were being stripped as a result of the trade.

The Institute was commissioned to analyse all stages in the production process for *muthi* products and to make suggestions to the city and the province about how best to support traders in this sector. A major concern was that the natural reserves of *muthi* products were and are being denuded. For example, wild ginger and the pepper-bark tree, both popular for the preparation of medicine, are now extinct outside of protected areas in KwaZulu-Natal.

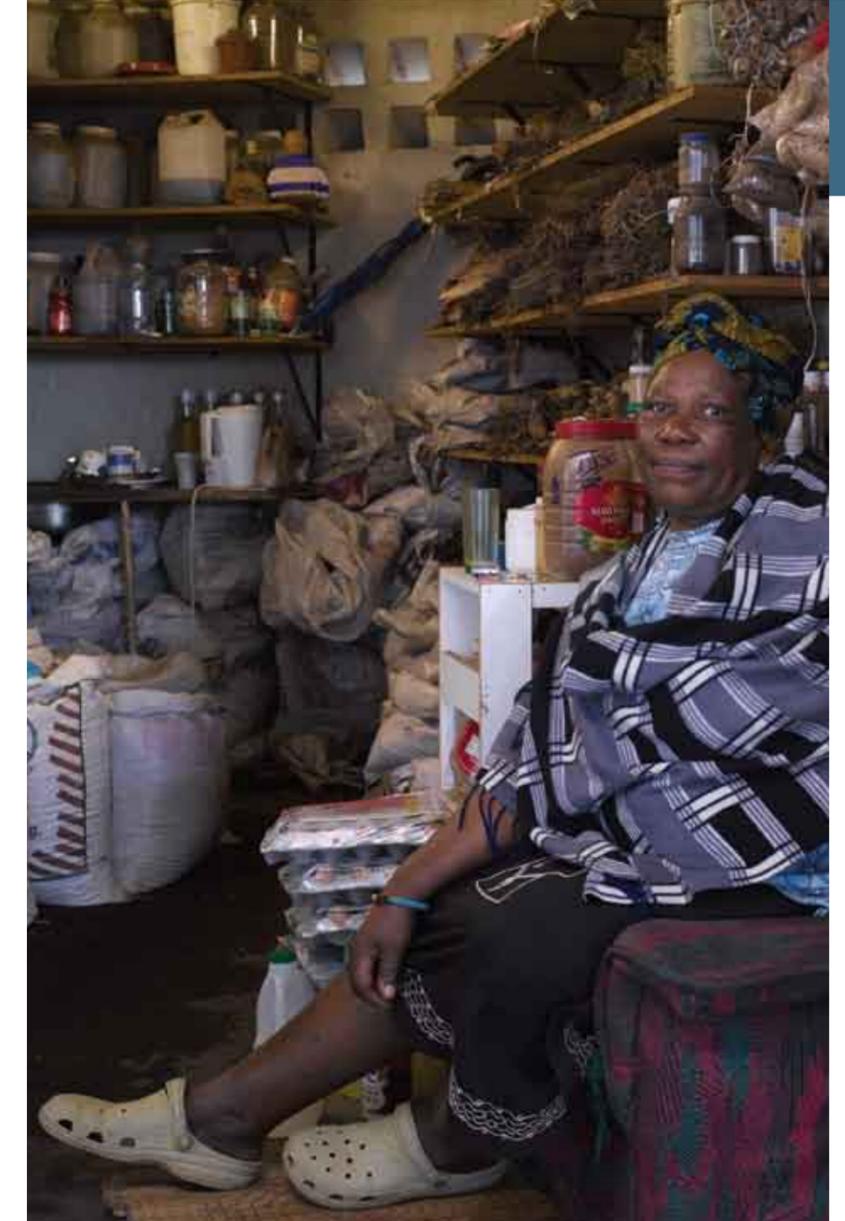
Having conducted a careful analysis of the chain of activities from start to finish, the researchers identified possible interventions at the point of cultivation or gathering of popular products and improvements in processing and marketing.

The council, alongside provincial government, established a project that included:

- Training gatherers in sustainable harvesting techniques. This led to the establishment of a bark harvesters' association, the first of its kind in South Africa.
- Setting up a medicinal plant nursery to produce seedlings for farmers and to train traditional healers in growing methods.
- Setting up five additional pilot nurseries to produce seedlings for subsistence food crops and landscaping plants that are bought by the municipality's landscaping department.
- Experimenting with improved processing, packaging and marketing so as to service existing customers better, and enter into new national and international markets.

Looking back

The market was a significant achievement. It improved the working conditions of traders and gave them much greater recognition. It also raised the standing of the Project in the eyes of both previously distrustful street traders and the council; and opened up possibilities for new initiatives. Officials realised the importance of their contribution in the construction of a market that was unique in South Africa. They had gained new insights that would influence their work in future projects and had become more enthusiastic about their involvement in the Project.





Mealie cooking conditions prior to project interventions

Cooked mealies: a hazardous trade with a high turnover

A few years back it was calculated that in mealie season between 120 and 140 people were involved in this activity and between 26 and 28 tons of mealies were sold on Durban's inner city streets a day. The gross turnover from this informal activity was calculated as over R1 million a week.

Former trading conditions

The method used for boiling mealies involves building large wood fires around 200 litre steel drums – a potentially dangerous process if carried out along sidewalks filled with pedestrians. Initially, however, this is where it took place. If the Project had not found a solution to this the council would have had to close down an activity that was making a substantial contribution to the economy as well as providing a low cost fast food.

The mealie cooks operated from three areas in Warwick, two on paved sidewalks and the other from a large vacant site. The heat from the fires damaged the pavements and ash and mealie leaves clogged up the storm water drains. The vacant site was saturated with the wastewater and a potential health risk. The mealie cooks needed to be relocated. An interdepartmental task team was put together to work with the cooks to find a solution.

The story of how a solution was found that satisfied both the mealie cooks and the municipality makes for interesting reading.

The 'cook-off'

THE TASK TEAM FOR THIS PROJECT CONSISTED OF OFFICIALS FROM:

- Architectural and Building
- City Health
- Emergency Services (Fire)
- Real Estate
- Storm Water Management
- Urban Design
- Warwick Junction Project Team.

Understanding the cooking process

Before attempting to find a solution it was necessary to understand the whole process of cooking mealies. In one of the first meetings with the cooks the Project leader designed a process to help him with this. Using beans to symbolise the mealies, little plastic containers for the drums and matches for firewood, the mealie sellers took him through all the stages involved in cooking their mealies.

The first problem to address was the use of open wood fires and the team suggested using low-pressure gas instead. The cooks were adamant that this would not work and when explanations failed, they suggested an experiment where they would cook on their fires and a Project member would use gas.

This 'cook-off' was to determine the future of inner city mealie cooking.

A 'recipe' for bulk mealie cooking

- Pack 13 dozen (156 mealies) into the drum and put in 50 litres of fresh water.
- Add 45 grams of bicarbonate of soda.
- Build a very hot wood fire, large enough to surround a 200 litre steel drum. Cover the top of the drum with a polythene bag and bring to the boil.
- Boil for one and a quarter hours.
- Remove mealies and place into large poly bags.
- Place these bags inside other larger bags and fill the space between the two bags with some of the boiling water.
- Place the bags in a supermarket trolley ready for hawking throughout the inner city.



Mealie cooking at the new site

The 'cook-off' took place on the vacant site with a group of cooks, the Project leader and some officials from the task team. The women had agreed to provide all the necessities for the experiment, with the exception of the gas. They paid someone to deliver the two 200 litre drums to the site, both filled with 50 litres of water. A second operator delivered firewood and kindling. Barrow operators brought the fresh mealies. Finally the mealie cook arrived with her supermarket trolley and polythene bags, two of which were used to cover the tops of the drums.

Once the drums were packed, one was placed on the top of the gas burner and connected to a 40 kilogram bottle of gas and the other on the wood. The kindling and the gas burner were lit.

In 20 minutes the water in the mealie cook's drum was boiling while the gas heated water was only lukewarm at the bottom. The mealie cooks had proved their point. The Project leader described the demonstration as "polite, non-verbal and utterly conclusive".

The cooking process was finally understood as a result of an innovative suggestion that arose from the mealie cooks and that the Project team was prepared to engage with. A final solution to what was becoming an intractable negotiation was only reached because the team respected this knowledge and experience.

Another reason why the matter was finally resolved was that a high level of trust had already been developed between the two parties. This had been achieved through numerous consultations. As a result the women were prepared to demonstrate the process, trusting that the Project team would be prepared to change its proposed solution if necessary.

A solution to pavement cooking

Once the process was understood the municipality agreed that the wood fires could continue, provided the cooks relocated to a safer part of Warwick away from shops and pedestrians. A portion of municipal owned land was set aside and fenced. The Project team designed a system of grates, fixed to the drainage outlet, that stopped the leaves and ash from entering the underground pipes. Its simple yet robust design enabled the cooks to maintain this system. Since wood smokes less when it is dry, a wood shelter was constructed. This helped to reduce the air pollution generated by cooking mealies. In total the facility cost R65 000.

Working in Warwick: Cooking and Selling Mealies

WORKING AS A MEALIE COOK

Tandekile Ngcobo

Tandekile Ngcobo is 46 years old and has been in the business of cooking mealies in Warwick for over 20 years. When she started cooking she was in what she describes as an 'awkward space' near one of the bus ranks. She is now operating out of the area provided for mealie cooks. She says 'Although it took them a long time, they have now built us a good place for cooking'.

She explained how in 1999 there were a number of meetings with council officials about mealie trading. When she recalled the day of the 'cook-off' she laughed and laughed. She said:

The gas took a long time to start burning whereas the firewood was quick. We were actually a bit disappointed because we were excited about using gas. The idea of using gas seemed more modern.

When they moved to the new facility there were two groups of mealie cooks who did not know each other. She explained how at first they would quarrel a lot but that now this was largely forgotten – 'we really support each other'. When they first moved into the facility there were 44 cooks but she explained that 10 of her peers have since died.

On the whole Tandekile is satisfied with the new vicinity for the cooks although she says that the council should now build an extra shelter so the cooks are better protected from the sun and rain.

She explained how mealie cooks bought mealies from traders who buy them directly from farmers all over the province. The vans now come to the facility so they no longer have to employ barrow operators to fetch the mealies. Mealies used to be available only from November to April but since 2004 are available all year round.

Tandekile employs two people to hawk her mealies around the town. In season mealies are sold for R5 and in the off season for R6 each. On a busy day Tandekile can expect to sell about 60 mealies. On hot days people don't buy as many mealies and she only sells about 40.

With the profits from mealie cooking she has managed to educate her children. One child is currently at university. She and one other income earner in her household, support eight children and one grandchild.



With the profits from mealie cooking Tandekile Ngcobo has managed to educate her children.



Cardboard collectors waiting to sell materials salvaged from the neighbourhood

Cardboard collectors: dealing with exploitation

Informal cardboard collectors operate at the bottom of a chain of employment. They supply larger collectors who in turn deliver the paper to be recycled by large formal recycling companies – in this case the multinational paper company, Mondi. The problems associated with this sector presented the Project with a set of challenges quite unlike those posed by other sectors.

Working conditions for cardboard collectors

Cardboard collectors are amongst the poorest of informal operators yet are very visible presences in the city, searching for waste and carrying or wheeling their large bundles to a depot. Working throughout the inner city and its surrounds, over 500 women and men collect about 30 tons of cardboard a day, yet their value to the city and its environment had gone largely unrecognised.

In the mid-1990s the Self Employed Women's Union (SEWU) started organising cardboard collectors. SEWU approached the Project staff, outlining a number of the problems the women faced. They found that the person purchasing the cardboard from the collectors often paid them much less than the market value. He insisted on weighing the goods at the end of the day, often at twilight, when it was difficult to read the scale. In addition few of these women were numerate and some suffered from substance addiction and were thus vulnerable to being exploited.

The collection point used by this middleman was in Brook Street and since the collectors had nowhere to store their goods during the day, cardboard was left along the pavements all round this area. This caused an urban management problem as the goods obstructed pedestrians.

Improving working conditions and livelihoods

The Project assembled a team of officials to assess the trading conditions in this sector and to find a way of helping the collectors break the cycle of poverty in which they worked and lived. As a start the team established a database of people and activities involved in the collecting. They also looked at the commercial buy-back centres used by the Keep Durban Beautiful Association¹² and linked up with a waste minimisation campaign driven by Durban Solid Waste. This campaign not only wanted to minimise waste going into the landfill site but also to recognise that this was a livelihood for many Durban residents.

¹²This is now called the Association for Clean Communities.

The team decided to establish a buy-back centre in Brook Street as part of a public-private-community partnership. The city council provided a small plot of land, centrally located at the end of Brook Street, to set up the centre, and Mondi agreed to provide the scales, storage containers for the cardboard and trolleys for the collectors. SEWU worked alongside city officials to design the intervention and train the cardboard collectors on how to weigh their cardboard. SEWU also helped identify one of the collectors who was trained to manage the site. Through this intervention the collectors sold their cardboard directly to the recycling company.

The site was paved, fenced and gated and was only open during the day. A converted shipping container, painted with the South African flag, served as a container for the material. A scale was suspended from its doors for weighing the bundles, and cardboard could be stored overnight if necessary.

Establishing the Brook Street buy-back centre cost the city approximately R30 000, an intervention that more than doubled the (albeit still low) incomes of the waste collectors operating in the inner city.

THE TASK TEAM FOR THIS PROJECT CONSISTED OF OFFICIALS FROM:

- Architectural Services
- City Health
- Durban Solid Waste
- Informal Trade and Small Business Opportunities
- Keep Durban Beautiful Association
- Warwick Junction Project Team
- Traffic and Transportation
- Urban Design.



The cardboard buy-back centre in action

Problems encountered in implementation

The Project faced a number of problems in implementing the buy-back centre. First there was a dispute over the land. An official from the Metro Police had made an idle commitment to the taxi operators that this land would be developed into a taxi rank. This delayed implementation for over a year but was eventually resolved. Greater communication could have avoided these delays. Another problem was the reluctance of the middleman and Mondi to cooperate in this venture. The middleman strongly resisted this initiative as he stood to lose his income and Mondi refused to pick up cardboard directly from the buy-back centre because they claimed their trucks could not get through the narrow streets surrounding the centre. In addition the woman assigned to manage the site needed a cash float or bridging finance to pay the collectors.

In the end the solution was to involve the middleman in the buy-back centre. He had a small truck and could then deliver the goods directly to the recycling companies. He also agreed to put up the finance so the collectors could be paid immediately. He charged a standard mark-up for these services.

Although this initiative did not go altogether as planned, the average price paid to the collector rose from 18 to 45 cents per kilogram – an increase of 250%. This significantly improved the status of the cardboard collectors.

This Project demonstrates how a small intervention, informed by an understanding of the economics of an informal activity, can lead to a significant increase in incomes. The key factor is understanding where informal operators fit into a broader set of economic processes.

WORK AS A CARDBOARD COLLECTOR

Mpume Khumulo

Mpume Khumulo worked at a clothing factory for eight years until she was retrenched. For the past eight months she has collected cardboard in the Warwick area. Mpume starts work at 7.00 a.m. when she begins a round of the stores in the Warwick area. Sometimes the owners of the stores keep boxes aside for her but she also looks for boxes along the pavements and outside stores.

The work is tiring, she says, but bearable, 'because at home we do just as much'. However, there are aspects of the work that she enjoys. As she puts it:

I enjoy my working days because I work for myself at my own pace. It is just me and my cardboard. There is nobody who bothers me. I do not have to report to anyone.

Mpume's earnings fluctuate. Fridays and Saturdays are good days for collections and she can bring in about R120 but there are not many boxes from Monday to Thursday when she is lucky if she gets R70 a day.

Of her earnings, Mpume says, 'it is better than nothing'. One of her children receives a disability grant¹³ and with this money and her meagre income from cardboard collecting, she supports seven children and four grandchildren.



'I enjoy my working days because I work for myself at my own pace.'

¹³In South Africa state grants are available to parents of young children and to the disabled. There is a state pension for citizens over 60.



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Different sectors,
different challenges



Household goods trading outside the Early Morning Market

A closing reflection

Street traders are one point in a chain of economic activities. While they have many needs in common such as the right to operate and access to basic infrastructure, financial services and training, other requirements vary depending on the nature of their trade and their position within the chain. This chapter has used three sector-specific trades to show how diverse these requirements can be. For example, the intervention to support the work of the cardboard collectors differed enormously from that for the mealie sellers.

Any attempts to make trading more economically viable must take these diversities into account. This is a challenging process: it requires a clear and detailed understanding of each trade which in turn requires patience, a willingness to respect the knowledge and experience of traders, and mutual trust. This economic understanding needs to be supplemented with an understanding of the role of infrastructure and other services in the pursuit of the right to work.



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Different sectors,
different challenges



Trading outside the Early Morning Market



Chapter 4

From street to informal shopping concourse:
urban design solutions



Brook Street trading prior to the redevelopment

Chapter 4: From street to informal shopping concourse: urban design solutions

Chapter 1 described what it is like to walk into the Brook Street Market and look down onto its sea of colourful stalls, traders, pedestrians and shoppers. The conversion of what was once a congested and grimy street into an exciting, spacious, shopping concourse is one of the triumphs of the Warwick Junction Project.

The seven-year, phased redevelopment of Brook Street entailed both a macro- and micro-redesign of the area. It was where the Project team experimented most with different types of infrastructure for street traders. This chapter focuses on the urban design and architectural solutions that were developed through the Project team's work in this area and their implementation. It is hoped that some of the broader ideas emerging from the experience in Brook Street can be used and adapted by others working in this field.

Early Brook Street

A trader leader who has been working in Brook Street for over 10 years described the street before its development:

The area looked like a forest. There was a small path to walk through. The tables were covered in plastic and there were shacks everywhere. It was not safe to walk there.

The photos show Brook Street before it was developed. The street is sandwiched between the railway lines and Berea Station on one side and a cemetery and shrine on the other. Stairways from the station come straight down into the street, making it an obvious place to trade. The street had not been used by traffic for years.

Three religions are represented in the area around Brook Street. The Juma Masjid Mosque and the Emmanuel Catholic Cathedral are both on a street leading towards the market. The original city cemetery, where Muslim, Jewish and Christian people are buried, runs alongside Brook Street.



An aerial view of Brook Street before it was developed



Stairs used for clothes trading



Badsha Peer shrine with traders in the foreground prior to the redevelopment



The first phase of the roof in Brook Street

One of the graves there is that of Badsha Peer, who came to Durban in 1860 as an indentured labourer. After five years he was discharged and soon became a leader of the Muslim faith and, on his death, an Islamic saint. Out of reverence for him and the many miracles attributed to him, the Muslim community erected a shrine in his memory, between the cemetery and Brook Street.

Since 1943 commemoration ceremonies have been held annually in Brook Street itself. Initially the Badsha Peer Mazaar Society erected marquees over the road to seat the large numbers attending. By arrangement traders demolished their stalls while the road was cleared and the marquees set up. They then returned for a few more days' trading and vacated their sites just before the ceremony. This mutual cooperation continued for many years and was encouraged by the Mazaar Society, which provided timber and nails for the re-erection of the stalls.

A joint venture to provide shelter in Brook Street

By 2000 the number of devotees had swelled to 10 000. The Mazaar Society was having great difficulty finding big enough marquees to seat everyone for the three-day ceremony. The Society approached the Project, offering to contribute towards the erection of a permanent roof next to the shrine. The area would be used for their ceremony but would otherwise serve as a covered trading space for informal traders. Although planning had already started on this project as the next phase in the regeneration of Warwick as a whole, the suggestion by the Mazaar Society provided the impetus to make an earlier start.

Joint ventures such as this present both opportunities and complications. The city wished to satisfy the needs of the Badsha Peer community yet at the same time ensure that for the other 362 days in the year the space could be used by a large number of street traders and pedestrians. Any new structure thus needed to fit in with a broader developmental vision for the area.

Balancing all of these interests required numerous meetings with street trader and Mazaar Society leaders as well as mass meetings with affected traders.

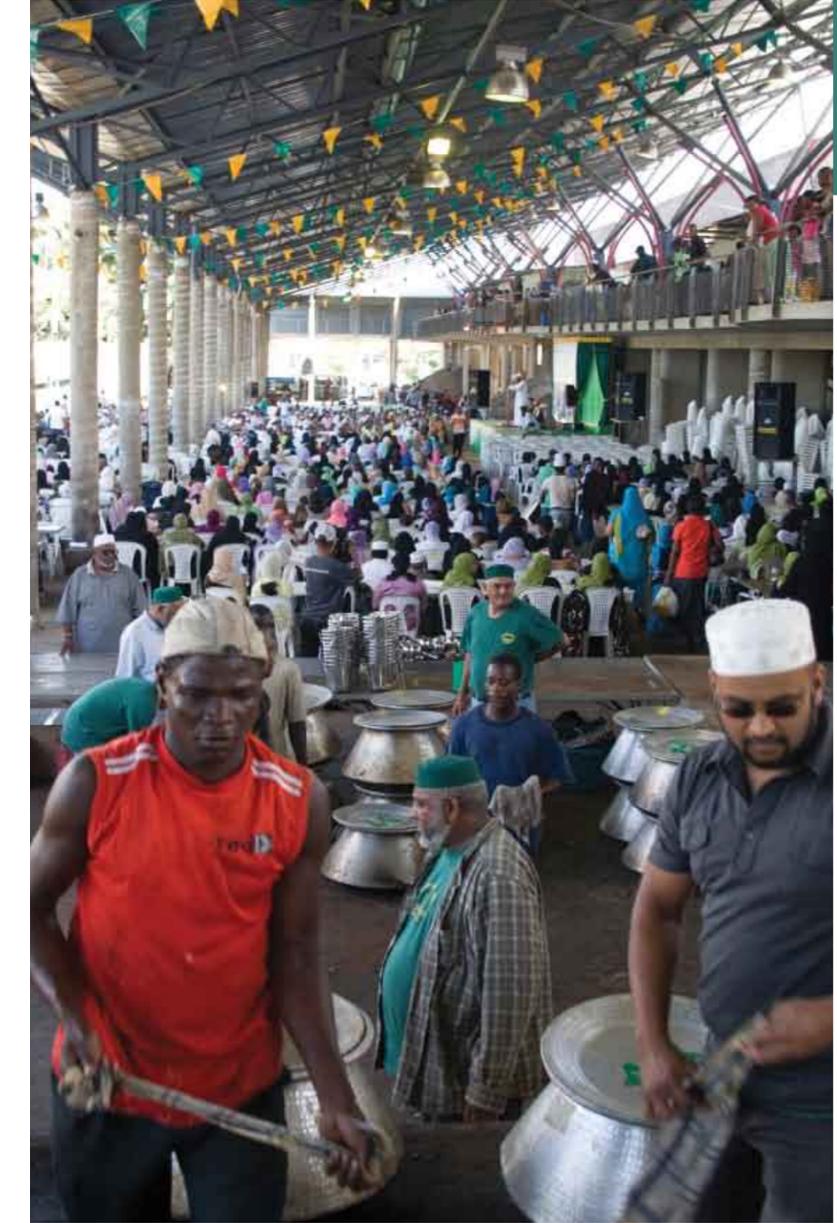
It was agreed that the Project team would take responsibility for building the shelter, the council would bear the costs and the Society would contribute to these. A commitment was made to have this first phase of the shelter ready for the Society's 60th anniversary celebrations and work began on this in 2000. In designing the shelter, the Project had to observe the stipulations in the bylaws regarding structures alongside and over any road. In complying with these, the width of the concourse and height of the shelter were defined.

In return for vacating the area for the period of the ceremony, Brook Street traders pay a slightly lower monthly rental. Their permits stipulate that they will vacate their sites when the ceremony is held.

One of the unique factors of the market is the way in which the Mazaar Society and the market's traders interact to the benefit of one another.

The market embodies the overall transformation goals of the Warwick Junction Project and the city. It is a place where different cultures cooperate around very different sets of objectives.

Project leader



The Badsha Peer religious ceremony in Brook Street



Selling pinafores and other clothing in Brook Street

WORKING AS A PINAFORE TRADER

Thembi Sithole

The pinafore trade in the Brook Street Market is extensive. Pinafores are very practical, especially for those engaged in rough and dirty work likely to damage more valuable clothing underneath. Photos of the bovine head sellers and other women traders are testimony to this. Pinafores are also used at ceremonies where *lobola* (bride wealth) is paid.

Thembi Sithole makes and sells pinafores in the Brook Street Market. In 1991 Thembi completed a dress-making course and has been trading in pinafores in and around Warwick ever since. Her customers are frequently people from other parts of the country who buy in bulk to sell elsewhere. She employs a woman who works and lives in the inner city where many small garment businesses have been established.

She feels that her pinafore trade has been a success as she has been able to put two sons and a daughter through school and further training. Two of them are teachers and one an electrician. She and her working children support a household of ten.

Thembi thinks that the new trading site in Warwick is an improvement on where she used to trade on a pavement. However, for other reasons business has gone down. Numbers of pinafore traders have doubled in the last five years, making the market much more competitive.

I used to come with a bag full of pinafores and go back home with my bag empty. I managed to put my children through school and paid for Tech (technical college) without a single loan. I would not be able to do that these days.

Pinafore traders used to be older women, but now they compete with younger people who have left school and have no work or others who have been retrenched from garment factories.

Like many other pinafore traders she buys her fabric from formal shops in the area but thinks that other traders are sourcing their fabric elsewhere, which enables them to reduce their prices and undercut traders like herself. The fabric used for pinafores is largely imported from the East. Traders used to agree on a price per pinafore and Thembi sold pinafores for R40. Now some traders manage to sell these for as little as R30.



Thembi Sithole feels that her pinafore trade has been a success as she has been able to put two sons and a daughter through school and further training.



The new space created by the changes described on page 93.

An overview of the major infrastructural changes

The Brook Street Market developed in six phases, over seven years and entailed redesigning the area completely.

Increased pedestrian walkways

A priority was that the new market should open up new pedestrian routes, widen walkways and ease congested trading conditions. The station alongside Brook Street had been designed in the days of apartheid. Three sets of stairs led immediately down from the station concourse, leaving pedestrians no alternative routes out of the station and over Brook Street. This design was intentional so that if necessary these exits could be blocked off to prevent commuters entering the inner city. Pedestrian movement was severely restricted. This prolonged commuting time, and meant that trading spaces were congested and pedestrians more vulnerable to criminals.

The Project undertook to remove the east end of one of the disused freeways that sloped low over Brook Street and all but closed off pedestrian traffic at this end: an enormous undertaking.

Other walkways that further increased pedestrian choices were a curved pedestrian bridge from the *Muthi* Market over Brook Street and a mezzanine floor that linked the three stairways, giving pedestrians an option to move above Brook Street to other exits.

Unlike typical market halls the movement of people passing is channeled through curved walkways at several levels, offering different views of the busy and ever-changing scene.

Keith Hart

These changes impacted on traders in important ways: the trading environment improved as the number of possible routes for pedestrians meant that traders did not need to congregate around a few exit points; the opening up of congested areas made cleaning easier and health conditions improved; and canyons were removed which reduced opportunities for criminals.



The demolition of the end of the disused freeway



The installation of a pedestrian bridge



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From street to informal shopping concourse



Kiosks in Brook Street

Other improvements to trading conditions and opportunities

The area was paved, a move that immediately made trading conditions less dusty and dirty. A more time-consuming exercise was extending the Mazaar Society shelter to cover a much bigger area. The roof, which now extends over 200 metres, was constructed over three years in three different phases and provides shelter for both street traders and the thousands of pedestrians who use the area every day.

Storage was one of the immediate challenges. Facilities were built along one side of Brook Street and the shipping containers that had been used for storage were removed. This opened up trading space considerably.

Another aspect of the redesign was the construction of trader kiosks, a new feature for Warwick. Some, appropriate for catering purposes, opened out onto the new mezzanine floor where a vibrant informal food court emerged. Others were built at one end of the Traditional Medicine Market for healers and for small scale manufacturing activities. Water and electricity are provided in these kiosks.

Space was developed under the highway bridges for a wholesale clay market, and a facility established for pinafore and bead traders.



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From street to informal shopping concourse



A trader's goods packed for storage

**How the team went about its work**

Again, the expertise within council departments was vital. As outlined in the box below, the Project team consisted of officials drawn from the many different council departments.

PROJECT STAFF WORKED AS A TEAM WITH OFFICIALS FROM:

- Architecture and Buildings
- Business Support
- Cemeteries
- City Health
- Emergency Services (Fire)
- eThekweni Transport Authority
- Intersite (the property division of the Metro Rail, the commuter rail company)
- Real Estate
- Urban Design

The implementation team started with very careful observation of how pedestrians were moving through the area and the nature of the trading activities there.

The design challenge was always to maintain the vibrancy, but, by subtly diluting the pedestrian concentrations, provide more trading opportunities. You could only do this by carefully observing what was going on and predicting the response to the proposed redesign.

Project leader

Through their observations the Project team also had to assess some hard facts, such as how many traders could operate viably in the area. The volume of 'passing feet' determines how lucrative a trading site is. On the one hand local governments have a responsibility to spread the gains from this use of public space rather than limiting them to a few traders. On the other hand however, given the limited income of poorer commuters in areas like Warwick, if there are too many traders none of

them will earn a decent living. Local government officials thus have to make careful calculations of what the optimum street trader carrying capacity of any particular street is. This calculation will always be context specific. It will depend on the numbers of pedestrians and the spatial design of the area, for example how wide the pavements are.

In Brook Street the redevelopment did increase the total number of traders operating. Consequently some traders reported that their incomes decreased. Given the numbers of commuters passing through the area the Project team concluded that the area could satisfy the needs of the additional traders.

The Project team realized that phased redevelopment was, in general, a useful way to work. As the Project leader noted:

The fact that the market was developed in six phases gave planners an opportunity to review each stage and its impact on traders and to make adjustments if necessary.

FACTORS TO CONSIDER IN THE SPATIAL REDESIGN FOR THE INFORMAL ECONOMY

- Any urban redesign needs to be informed by the nature of existing trading activities – what is sold where and how it is displayed, as well as pedestrian flows.
- Pedestrian counts are important in calculating how many street traders can be accommodated in any one area. Although there may be no official figures, transport authorities normally have estimates. If these are not available then estimates can be made by spending time on the streets.
- The viability of the majority of street trading businesses is about 'passing feet'. Any redesign that changes pedestrian flows needs to bear this in mind.
- Certain trades are not so dependent on foot traffic. Trades where customers specifically seek out products or services can be accommodated in less busy areas.

Consulting and negotiating

Some of the broad consultation principles mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3 apply here as well. This section looks at some of the ways that consultation took place as the Market developed.

Before the start of each phase of the development a wide range of stakeholders was consulted, including street traders, their organisations and the Mazaar Society.

Once an initial design was ready, Project staff and the area manager from Business Support began presentations and discussions with traders and their leaders. These took place at a number of levels, starting with more formal presentations of the drawings, followed by on-site presentations where the new plans could be demonstrated visually. The area manager and a liaison officer spent hours each day on the street, engaging one-on-one with traders, helping to clarify issues and allowing concerns to surface.

The construction phase entailed a good deal of negotiation as inevitably traders were disrupted. There were detailed individual negotiations with traders to try to make sure that their new temporary location was situated on a site that provided trading opportunities similar to those they had had before. This was also important in maintaining the trust of traders. Another important issue was keeping to the agreed construction schedule. If there were delays these were communicated early. Trader representatives were also given periodic tours of the construction site so they could witness the progress first hand.

An indication of the extent to which traders were prepared to cooperate with the reconstruction was the way in which they worked with the contractor on day-to-day logistical issues. A committee of traders was set up to assist the contractor. This group would, for example, negotiate with the taxi rank associations to ensure that taxis did not block access when construction material was being delivered. The Project leader commented:

A contractor would arrive and take one look at the congestion in the area and wonder why he had tendered for the work! After a few weeks, amazed at the co-operation he was receiving, he would inevitably become the local ambassador for the area.

There was a lot of trial and error in the redesign process. For example traders were adamant that the Project team's initial proposal about the



configuration of trading spaces under the new Brook Street shelter would not work. The Project team agreed to mark the spaces on the street and then get feedback from the traders about the problems. It was soon obvious that one group of traders would be operating in the storm water drains! If the Project team had ignored the traders and painted the sites as proposed, time and resources would have been wasted. Unconventional methods often work in seeking to understand fully why traders are not buying into what appears to be a viable proposal.

You have to be humble enough to learn from the traders and from the logic of the existing activities there.

Project leader



Trader storage before the project interventions

Trader storage

Well located and designed storage facilities benefit both traders and local government. They are convenient for traders; they change the amount and range of goods traders can display and sell; and they reduce damage to goods and therefore help to increase trader incomes. For some this also means that they do not have to sleep in the streets to guard their goods. For local government these storage facilities help to solve the problem of pavement sleeping, make pavements easier to clean (which reduces health risks) and improve the general appearance of the city.

For these reasons storage was placed high on the list for infrastructure at Brook Street.

Before it became a market, storage facilities around Brook Street were mainly recycled shipping containers situated on sidewalks. They obstructed sidewalks and, as people also slept in them, they were difficult to keep clean.

Storage is a business in its own right, as traders pay the storage operator for overnight storage space. Operators can make as much as R8 000 a month.

In the reconstruction of Brook Street twelve storage facilities of various sizes were built and the operators of the old containers were given the first option to lease the new storage units.

Traders' criteria for storage

Traders have identified four essential criteria for a storage facility. It should be:

- Affordable: only a small portion of traders' total income should be charged.
- Safe: the area should be well lit, locked and policed.
- Accessible:
 - Storage should be close to the trading site or place of overnight accommodation.
 - It should be easy to store goods already loaded onto a barrow, without off-loading them, and there should be enough space so the barrow can easily be taken out in the morning.
 - It should be open early and close late to allow for long trading hours.
 - It should be open over weekends and public holidays.
- Clean and well maintained: storage space should be suitable for storing goods so that they do not get damaged by unhygienic con-

ditions such as the presence of rats and cockroaches. Dampness, poor ventilation, cramped space and leaking roofs all contribute to damaging goods.

Source: Motala and Xhakasa (2001).

Design considerations

Trolley and barrow operators bring most of the goods to the storage facility. The goods arrive in a variety of shapes and sizes: in boxes and bags (clothes), metal trunks (higher value goods like music and cell phone accessories), heavy wooden crates (hardware) and large wooden packing cases (cook's equipment). Then there are bulky tables of many shapes and sizes and often awkward gazebos that the hair cutters use. The value of goods being stored also varies dramatically.

Accommodating all this is complicated by the fact that some of the goods come into the storage facility as late as 9.00 at night and often those brought in early need to leave first – as early as 4.00 in the morning – so cannot be cornered in at the back of the facility. The potential for a trolley traffic jam is high! Storage managers know all their customers personally (and their trolleys) and make careful calculations about how to ensure a smooth operation.

Taking all of the above into consideration, the Project designed the facilities as follows:

- All units have ramped entrances.
- In the bigger units – designed for larger goods – there is an open space where goods that are being stored can be moved in and out.
- The corners in the storage units were reinforced with steel to try and reduce the damage caused from the movement of goods in and out.
- Toilet facilities are provided.
- Electricity is provided. Without the provision of electricity candles and paraffin would have been used for lighting and heating and these are fire hazards.



New trader storage facilities



Street trader sites, tables and shelters

Sites

Traders' usage of their space varies enormously depending on how they want to display their goods and what space they need to work in. In Brook Street, for example, traders display their goods in a variety of ways. Bead sellers and second hand clothes sellers prefer to display their goods on the floor. Those selling peanuts and sweets often sell at knee height – well designed to catch the eyes of children. Those selling clothes often hang them from metal frames.

The issue of the size of site was much debated among Project staff and traders. Since different trades have different space needs, some argued that a variety of different sizes should be considered. Traders rejected this idea, since those with bigger sites could display more goods and would thus have an unfair business advantage. In the end most sites in Brook Street, and in the rest of Warwick, are two metres by one metre.

Tables

Trader tables were also a controversial issue: they can get in the way of the street cleaners and are potential health hazards for customers if they cannot be kept clean. Having uniform tables is another factor and is important for the aesthetics of an area. Some officials had initially argued that traders selling food should have steel tables. But these were heavy, difficult to transport and expensive - which made them worth stealing. In Brook Street, and throughout Warwick, it was agreed traders must be able to fold away tables at night, stacked in prearranged places so that the pavement could be freed up for thorough sweeping and occasional pressure cleaning. In addition any tables used for selling fresh produce should be covered with impervious plastic tablecloths.

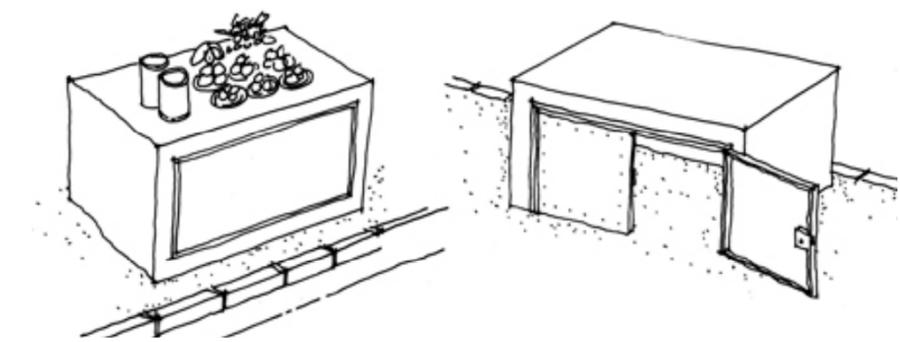
Most traders now buy their tables from the local furniture maker in the area. They are made of wood and are light, inexpensive and easy to transport.

The first tables were made of concrete with steel lock-up cupboards underneath for storage. The cupboards were soon broken into as they gave the impression that they contained items of value. After several attempts at replacing the locks the tables were left with open cupboards beneath them. This encouraged people to sleep in them, which created health and cleanliness problems. Finally it was decided to build tables

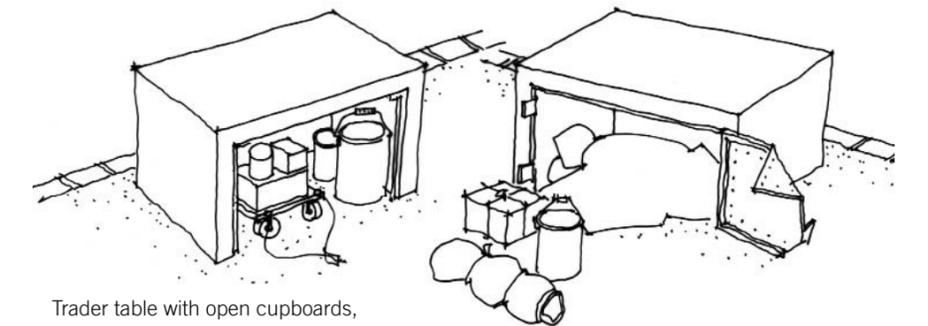
with counters and no enclosed space beneath them. During the day the space was used for storage, but not at night. This final solution for the design of tables was arrived at through trial and error.

Shelters

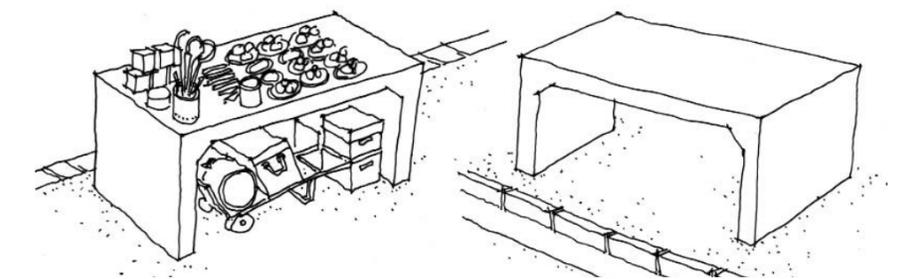
By 2004 many Brook Street traders were in the unusual position of operating under what was effectively a huge market roof. The end of the market that was not covered was identified as an ideal site for pinafore sellers. The Project experimented here and elsewhere in Warwick with the design of street trader shelters. Again the approach of the Project was to observe how traders used their existing sites, and ask lots of questions. For designing shelters, the direction of the sun at different times of day as well as the direction of the rain were considered.



Trader table with lock-up cupboards which were broken into



Trader table with open cupboards, but people slept in these



Trader table with no enclosed space underneath, the final solution

Street trader table design by trial and error





The Friday wholesale bead and craft market

WORKING AS A BEAD WHOLESALER

Thobile Cele

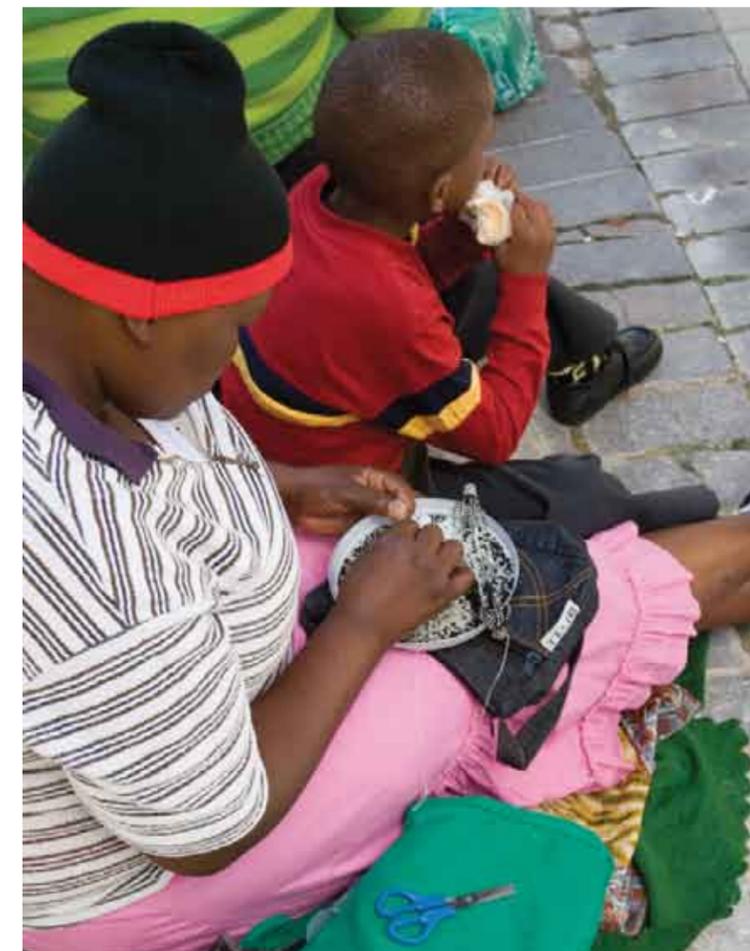
Bead products are rooted in long established traditions of African dress and it is often older women who are involved in this work. Although now sold mostly as tourist items, the trade still retains the dignity of this ancient skill.

Thobile Cele has been selling her beads for nine years. She is 47 years old and lives about an hour and a half away from Durban. She trades mainly as a wholesaler, selling to the two other main groups of bead traders in Durban – along the beachfront and at the Durban Station. While the retail groups sell every day, Thobile and about 80 other women in Brook Street trade on Fridays only. During the rest of the week she designs and threads the beautiful beadwork that she spreads out at the bead traders' site in Brook Street. When asked whether anyone had assisted her with her design skills Thobile said,

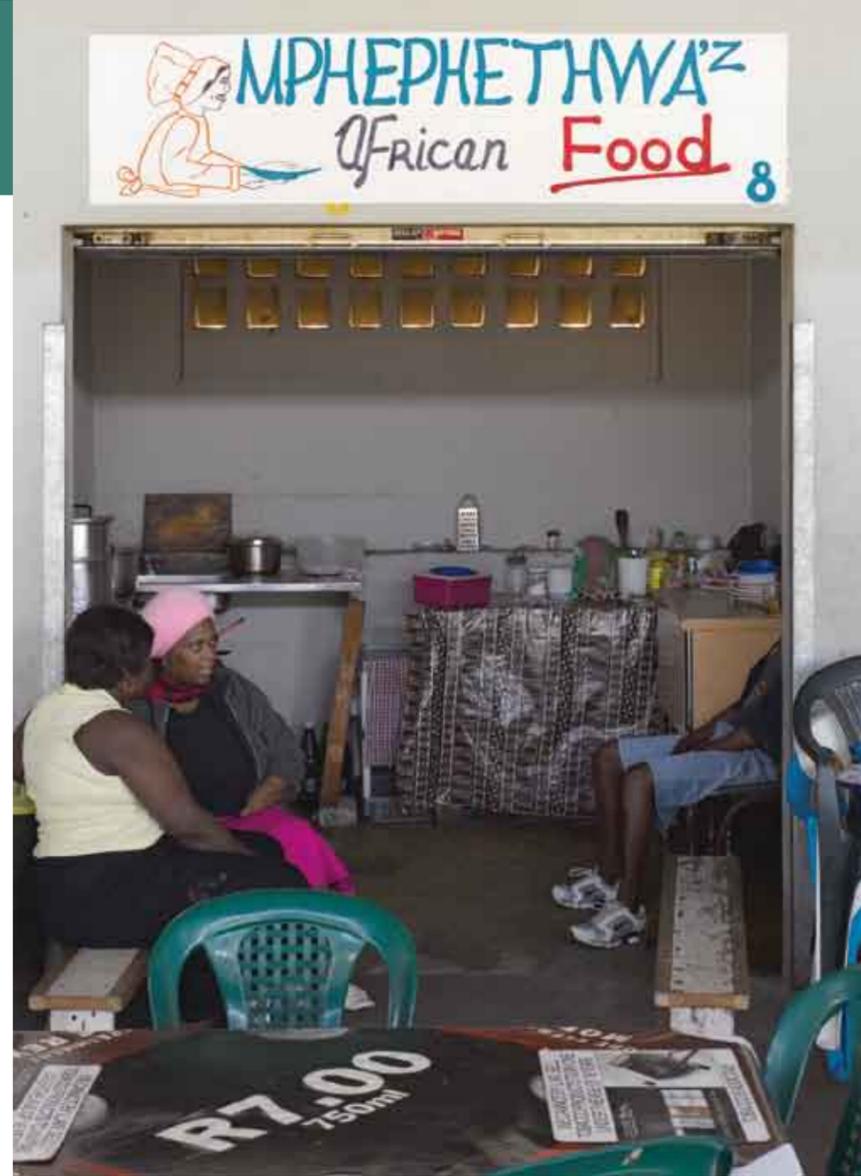
No. I look at what others are making and if it's nice and sells well then I try to make it as well. I see things on TV or in magazines and make them. Sometimes I'd be sleeping and dream of something, when I wake up I'd start making that design.

As a wholesaler she does not rely strongly on 'passing feet' but it is important that her customers know where to find her. For this reason she was initially reluctant to move to Brook Street, even though her trading site at that time was a muddy bank beside a busy highway. However, when taxi drivers began insisting on a taxi rank where Thobile and other bead sellers were trading, they realised that their old trading spot was going to lose its appeal to their customers and that they would have to go.

Like other traders in Warwick, such as the pinafore sellers, Thobile sources her beads from formal businesses, mainly in the Grey Street area. They, in turn, import the beads from the Czech Republic and Taiwan. This links her into a formal business and her income depends on prices set outside the country. Thobile feels that it is the retailers who really make the profits in the trade. A necklace sold for R70 would have cost R30 in beads, but the retailers elsewhere sell this for R250.



Like other traders in Warwick, such as the pinafore sellers, Thobile sources her beads from formal businesses



A kiosk used for catering

Providing more sophisticated infrastructure – trading kiosks, with water and electricity

Trader kiosks are an important feature of the Brook Street Market and are rare in South Africa. In all, sixty have been built in Warwick, all a standard design – about the size of an average single garage and fitted with strong metal roll down doors. Traders have adapted them to their needs: for example, traditional healers have divided theirs in half so that they can have a waiting room and a more private consultation and dispensing area. Many traders whose kiosks contain more expensive equipment have added security doors.

All kiosks are fitted with water, and over time pre-paid electricity meters have been fitted. Providing electricity was a major logistical challenge but a necessary one as traders were connected illegally to electricity points in the station, leaving a dangerous maze of electrical cables and extension cords running through the area. The city covered the costs of installing the pre-paid meters in each stall.

The first kiosks were developed for the traditional healers, providing a more appropriate place for them to consult with their patients. One kiosk was allocated to a communal processing machine for traditional medicines.

Another set of kiosks was designed as small kitchens for traders who had been cooking on the pavements using unprotected pots of boiling water and hot coals. They needed water drainage and electricity and particularly good security for valuable equipment such as stoves, fridges and pots. They also wanted a serving space, with tables and chairs for sit-down meals.

A final set of kiosks is used for manufacturing activities and people who provide essential services to the traders. There is the carpenter who specializes in trader tables and stools and there is also a battery charging outlet, as well as a specialized hi-fi equipment repairman who services the music traders.

Kiosks offer important economic advantages to traders. Given their size they increase the quantity of stock that traders can carry and, as they can be closed and locked at night, they double up as storage units. This saves both storage costs and time that would

otherwise be spent packing and unpacking goods and setting up stalls. Kiosk owners can then have longer trading hours. If electricity and water are provided they allow for much more sophisticated and lucrative activities – like catering and manufacturing.

Since getting my own kiosk I can now store goods worth almost R30 000.

Traditional medicine trader

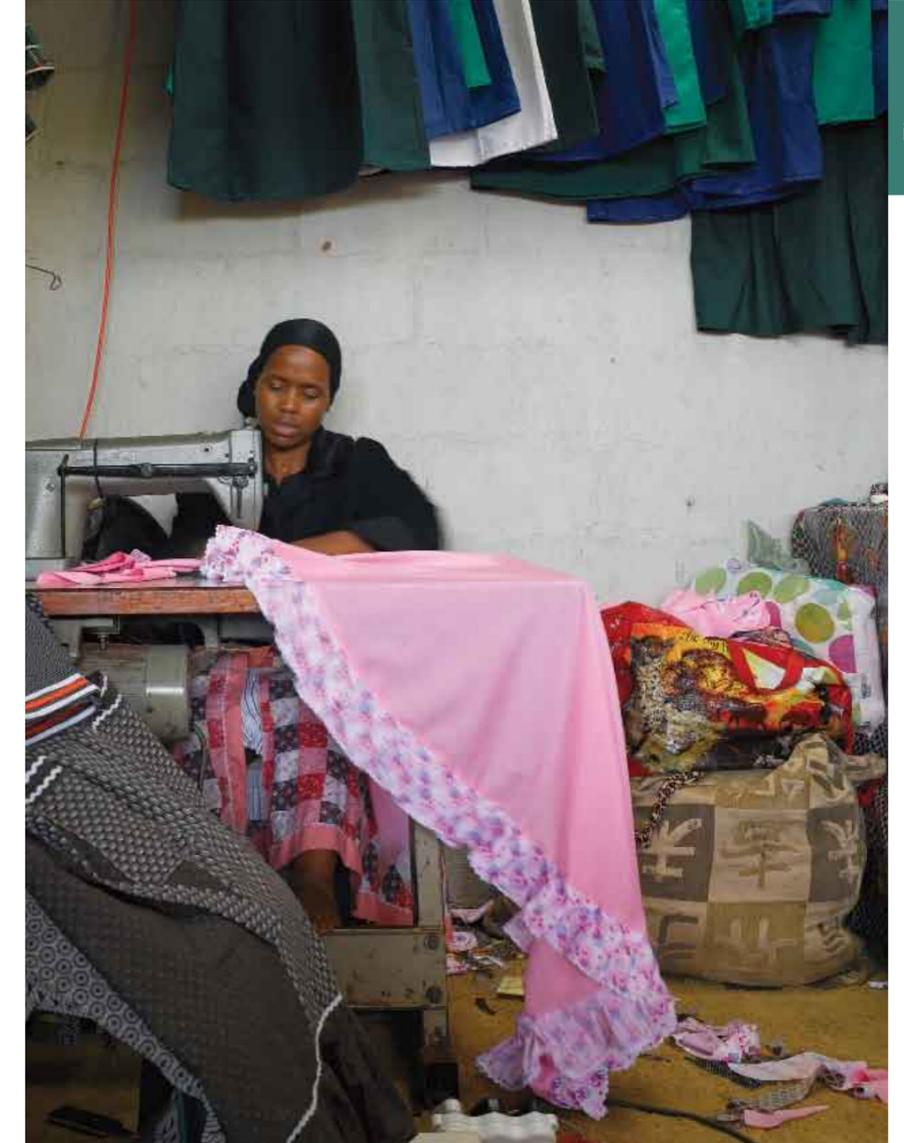
Looking back

Officials working in Brook Street observed how providing infrastructure changed the nature of street trading activities. For example, if goods are protected from the weather and traders have access to secure storage, they start to trade in higher value goods.

If they have kiosks and thus bigger spaces they can trade and store a greater quantity and variety of goods, and if they have access to basic services like water and electricity they can start more lucrative trades, like catering and sewing. As the Project leader noted:

Investing in infrastructure is definitely one of the most influential routes to change the fortunes of the informal economy.

What the redesign process also demonstrated was the importance of continuous negotiation and consultation.



A kiosk used for dress-making



Chapter 5

Tackling urban
management issues:
a cooperative effort

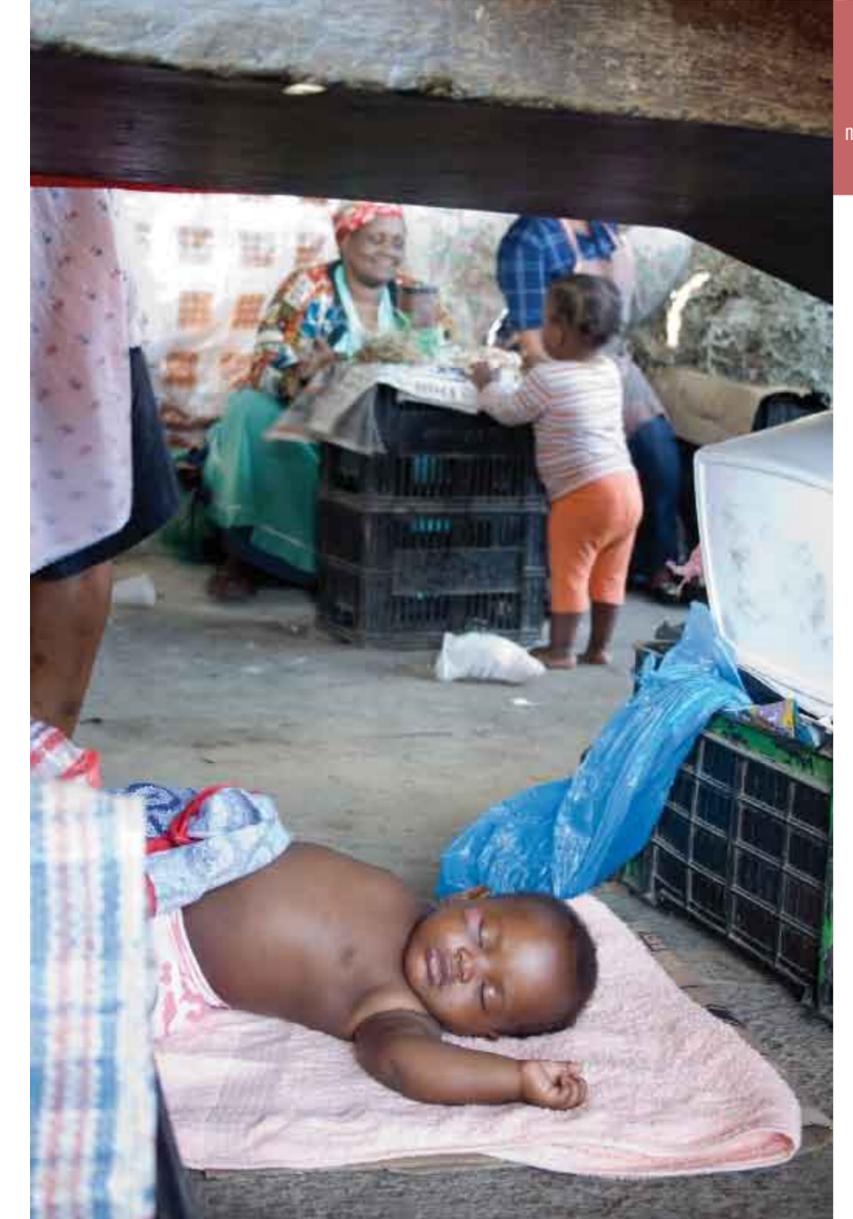


Chapter 5: Tackling urban management issues: a cooperative effort

The Project team, together with the traders of Warwick, have shown that maintaining a basic level of safety, cleanliness and hygiene is not an impossible dream. Nor is it an aspect of urban management that could only have been accomplished by this particular local authority. In fact, the Project team had to begin its task in an area where addressing crime and grime had, at best, been severely neglected. At worst, the apartheid government had used crime and grime to justify removals from the streets.

When officials started to put energy and resources into the area, traders recognised a new dispensation, where the days of apartheid removal were over. As they were drawn into all aspects of the regeneration work through their leaders and organisations and consultations, they began to develop a sense of pride and ownership and were prepared to invest time in 'sweeping our own back yards'. This response by traders has been a significant aspect of the success of Warwick.

This chapter describes crime, cleaning and other urban management issues that the Project faced. These are concerns that most local authorities managing street trading areas are likely to face – what to do about ablution facilities, how should pavement sleeping be managed, how can consumer health be protected, what should be done to raise awareness about HIV/AIDS and manage its consequences, and how should street traders' children be accommodated? The Project grappled with all these issues, with varying degrees of success. Their successes may give other local authority officials ideas about how to deal with these issues.





Appropriate timing of traffic signals eases congestion



An example of balustrade design

Tackling crime

South Africa's crime statistics are some of the highest in the world. In 1996 it was estimated that there were over 50 murders in the Warwick area. In 1997 only one murder was recorded.

When I started trading in Warwick the crime was really bad. It was every Friday and every Saturday, two, three, or even four people would be shot.

Street barber

Criminal activity was rife in the area. Some mornings when traders came to work there was blood on the pavement and sometimes even dead bodies.

Shoe seller

The 'business' of crime in a city relies to some extent on how easy it is for criminals to operate. Can pedestrians walk along the pavements without having to look at their feet all the time? Can they change direction if they suspect someone is following them? Are there dark spaces that allow criminals to wait undetected?

The Project's approach was to examine those parts of Warwick where pedestrians and traders were most vulnerable and, through careful urban design, to attempt to minimise these.

Reducing crime through environmental design

The following are examples of targeted design measures carried out by the Project in order to improve safety. They are also useful as suggestions for addressing crime in trading areas elsewhere.

Easing congestion: In highly congested and poorly managed areas pedestrians walk looking at their feet as they try to avoid traders, puddles and abandoned tables. It does not make it easy to be aware of suspicious characters alongside!

Solutions:

- Increase route options for pedestrians walking through the area.
- Adjust the timing of traffic signals to avoid extra congestion at intersections.
- Keep the trading area as clean as possible and free from unwanted debris.
- Proactively deal with management issues such as water collecting in puddles.

Eliminating canyons: As described in Chapter 1, a canyon is a route with only one entrance and exit point. These are notorious for muggings and theft, as individuals have no escape route. In Warwick there were a number of these.

Solutions:

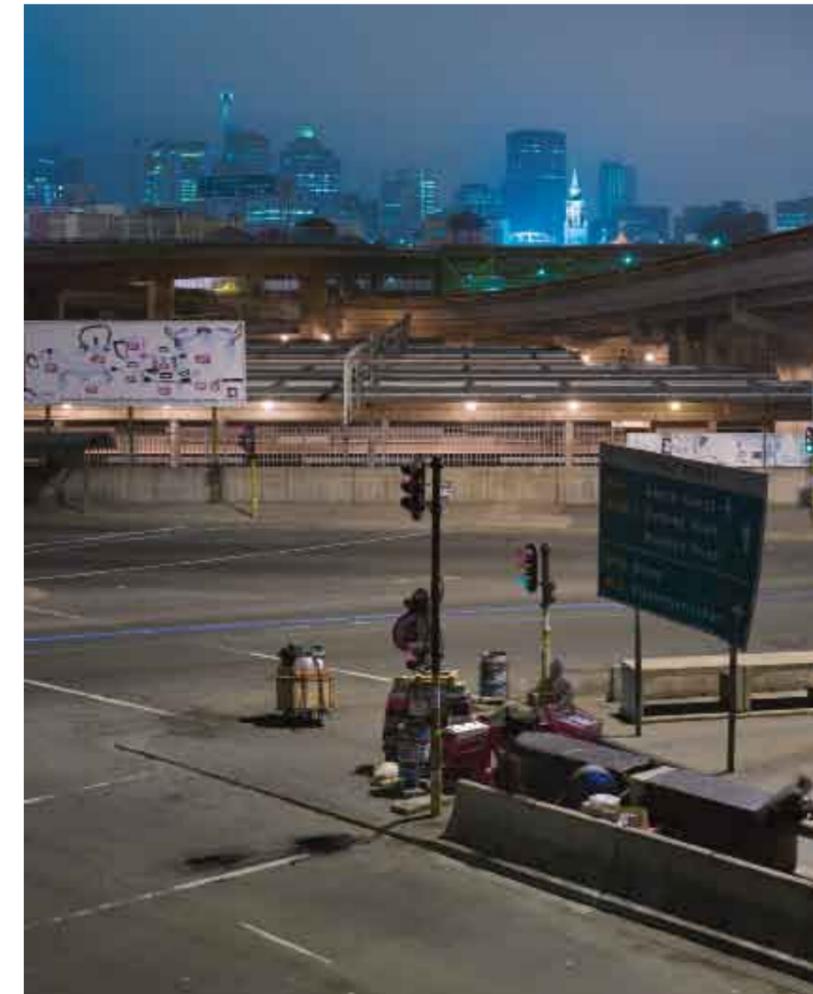
- Design alternative routes that allow people to change direction if they sense they are being followed.
- Plan so that people in surrounding spaces can see what is happening. For example, in Brook Street the mezzanine floor and multiple walkways allow for bird's-eye views of what is happening below.
- Where narrower pathways are unavoidable, for example on bridges, put up balustrades along the edges of the canyon that are open enough to allow people to see through, while not causing vertigo or a feeling of insecurity.

Reducing concealed spaces: Dark corners or large pieces of street furniture where people can hide from public view are ideal places for crime. The way space is organised should minimise these.

Solutions:

- Increase street lighting.
- Stipulate that tables should be able to fold away.
- Regularly clean the area to remove unused objects lying alongside pavements where people could be concealed.

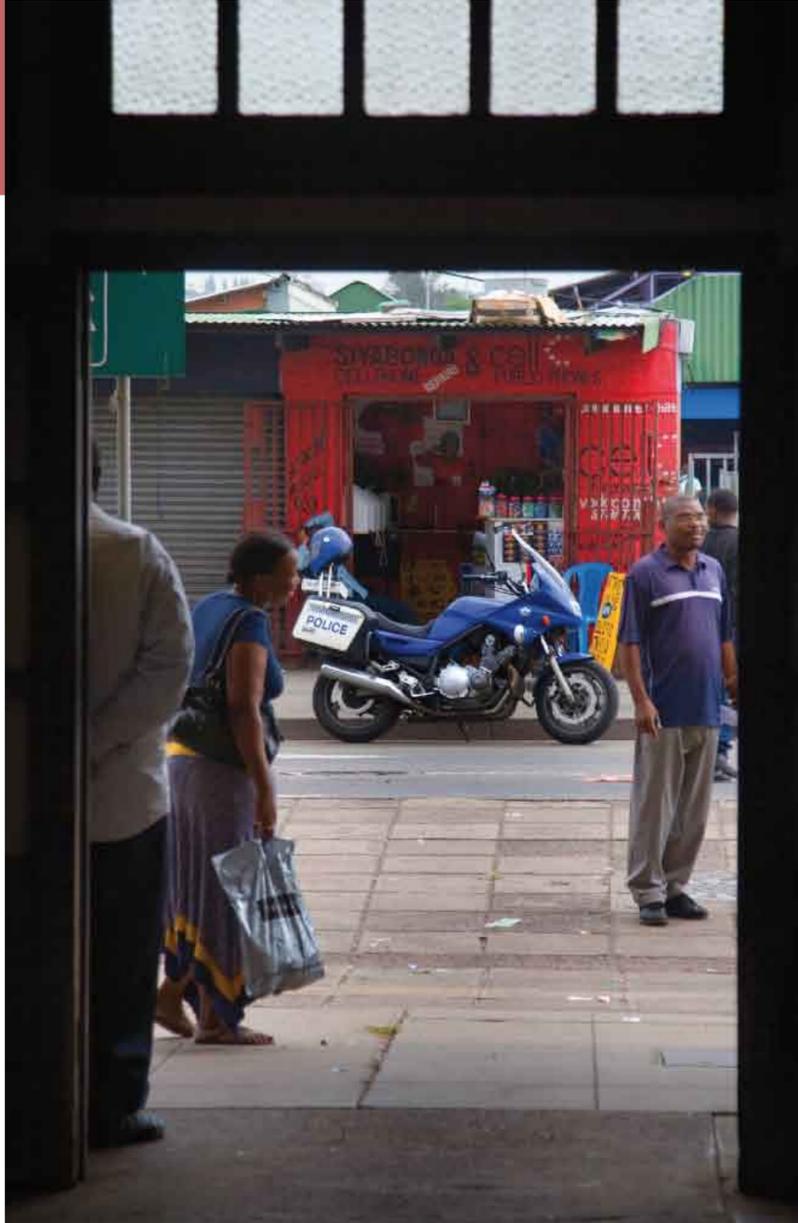
Improving street lighting: Lighting up the streets is an obvious way to make them safer for pedestrians and traders alike. Project staff worked in consultation with traders to find the optimal height for lights and to institute a system that ensured ongoing maintenance of the lights. Traders were encouraged to report any faults to Project staff.





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Tackling urban management issues: a cooperative effort



Community policing – Traders Against Crime

Even before the Project team began its work, a group of traders were working together on an entirely voluntary basis to try and deal with the problem of crime and so protect their businesses as well as their customers. The organisation is an impressive example of the extent to which traders are prepared to work together in a dangerous and time-consuming activity for the mutual benefit of all who make use of a trading area.

I became involved in Traders Against Crime (TAC) because I hate crime. People would not buy because they were scared that somebody was looking at them, trying to see how much money they had. Buses come through the area, taking people from the factories to their homes. Those people would not even think of walking around in the area. This was all because of crime...TAC was formed to fight crime. As traders we've seen that many customers are victims so we decided to form the organisation. Policemen were not doing well in fighting crime. So we decided to try and reduce crime in our area ourselves.

Music trader

My involvement came after I saw a policeman stabbed to death at Berea station. He was trying to help a woman who had been mugged. One of the muggers stabbed him in the back. I realised that the area was really dangerous - a fully armed cop had not even been safe. I decided that as someone who lived and traded in Durban, it was my responsibility to do something. TAC ended up working 24 hours. Male traders would trade during the day and patrol the area at night. We decided to give our time and work at night. We would escort a person through Warwick without them being aware of the protection we gave.

Shoe trader

Traders initially operated under very dangerous conditions and had to know how to defend themselves. Initially the methods used by the group to catch criminals were controversial, often violent and almost always illegal. The Project staff began working alongside this group of traders.

We started to work with Traders Against Crime. They themselves wanted to improve their processes and organisation so we started to deal with some of their concerns.

Project leader

A concern of TAC members was that criminals that they handed over to the police were often back on the street again within hours. Liaising with the South African Police Service, Project staff realised that there were a number of explanations for this – for example the citizen's arrest had not been performed correctly or there was insufficient evidence to charge a person. Also the traders had often assaulted the criminal, so it was difficult to establish who was in the wrong. Policemen and women feared that they would be accused of the assault.

It was clear that to change this, TAC volunteers would have to be made more aware of the rights of suspects and how to apprehend them properly. A bigger police presence was also needed in the area. A training programme for TAC members, in conjunction with the Project, the South African Police Service and Durban Metropolitan Police organised a training programme to explain the rights of both traders and of all individuals, including crime suspects.

The training included:

- How to make a citizen's arrest.
- The need to make a statement to the police about the chain of evidence leading to the arrest.
- The importance of getting a case number to be able to follow up the case.
- Being prepared to go to court if the person is prosecuted.

Initially the traders' response was disbelief. A council official recalls:

I can remember the gales of laughter coming from these guys. 'You're telling me that we are going to have to look after these crooks?' But slowly people started to deal with it. If you wanted a conviction, then this is the way you must do it.

TAC members were also supplied with t-shirts and whistles. For a couple of years a group of 50 were operating in Warwick, some of whom patrolled the streets at night. TAC had members in most of the densely traded sites throughout Durban. Traders are positive about the role that TAC has played.

The crime levels have been greatly reduced. If criminals come we blow whistles and they get dealt with.

Pinafore seller

Traders Against Crime do make a difference. If there is a problem, they come and help.

Mealie seller

In 2005 one of the TAC members was stabbed in Warwick and died. Although TAC is still functioning, this event significantly impacted on the morale of members.

Increasing police presence

The final and most obvious strategy to reduce crime is to increase police presence. The irony in Warwick was that TAC brought down crime statistics so successfully that the South African Police Service did not think an increase in staff assigned to the area was warranted. However, the Project did work directly with Metro Police, a number of whom are representatives on various operations task teams.

The problem of crime still remains in the area. Traders report that more recently there has been an increase in incidents although not near the number and severity of the mid-1990s. They identify inaction from the police as part of the problem. Some believe the police to be corrupt while others feel that TAC is not working as well as it had in the past. The crime situation is unlikely to improve until there is increased presence of the police in the area and until corruption is investigated.



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Tackling urban management issues: a cooperative effort



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Tackling urban management issues: a cooperative effort



High pressure hosing of the pavements

Cooperating to keep Warwick clean

All the women listened when I said that this was our city and we had to take care of it. If you don't sweep in your own yard it gets dirty and looks ugly.

Fruit and vegetable trader

As Chapter 2 explained, the initial clean-up programme was pivotal not only in improving the general appearance of the area but also in demonstrating what could be achieved when departmental officials worked together as a team.

The initial work dealt mainly with the surface mess. Tonnes of unwanted rubbish were removed from the streets, opening it up for a much more thorough deep cleaning afterwards. Two anecdotes from the Project leader:

Early on in the Project I was supervising the removal of a shipping container from the sidewalk, and as it left the ground, cowering almost next to each other was an enormous rat and a cat! At the time I recall thinking that if two natural enemies could find this decisive moment of cooperation, then Warwick was going to be an interesting place.

As an old abandoned refrigerator was lifted onto a refuse truck, the driver mentioned to a Project official that he remembered sweeping around the same refrigerator each day when he had been a street sweeper, 12 years earlier. Abandoned and untouched for 12 years!

As its work progressed the Project developed a much clearer understanding of what was contributing to the existence of dirt and the unhygienic conditions. Solutions often entailed working with traders. For example, as described in Chapter 4, traders initially used tables that could not easily be removed and prevented proper pavement cleaning.

An annual 'blitz'

Since the initial clean-up there is a cleaning 'blitz' every year in spring. This is a week-long council initiative undertaken by officials from a number of departments in consultation with traders. Although the

blitz disrupts trading, traders are warned well in advance. This has happened for ten years so now traders know what to expect. One official involved in the process noted:

Traders soon appreciated the positive impact it had on business and readily cooperate in the process.

Aside from high pressure hosing of the pavements, abandoned furniture and other material are removed from the pavements. Between 1999 and 2008 more than 1 420 tonnes of material were dumped. This greatly improves health, safety and environmental conditions in the area.

The storm water drains are also checked before the summer rains. As they are not flushed out by rain in the winter, litter that builds up in them can form a 'plug' that leads to local flooding. Officials examine the rubbish in the drains to see which groups of traders are responsible for throwing it there. Officials then approach these groups to discuss alternative ways of disposing of their rubbish.

In addition each year a different part of Warwick receives special attention. Early in the week an interdepartmental group of officials identify maintenance issues like damaged pavements, light outages, missing signage and road markings. This routine maintenance is often difficult to do when the area is in full use. The appropriate departments then address these issues before trading resumes.

On a lighter note, the Project and Durban Solid Waste also used this week to include training, street theatre and other promotion opportunities. For example one year a team educated the public about the difference between a sewer and a storm water drain and another year a person from Durban Solid Waste paraded through the area as a talking litter bin!

An interesting point was raised by the Project leader about how to avoid some of the difficulties of keeping areas such as this clean. He said:

One of the single most important messages that emerged from the cleaning operation was the importance of drained, hardened, durable paved surfaces in areas that encourage street trading. I would even argue that the first and best way to spend an annual cleaning budget is to commit it to paving.

Volunteer cleaners

Alongside the Project's programme is a group of women street traders who spend hours every week cleaning the streets because, as one of them explained, 'the people who work for the municipality do not reach every corner'. The more active volunteers spend three hours on the street twice or three times a week. They have said that their motives for doing this are that it is good for business and that they are proud of their city and concerned about its image.

We don't want people who visit the city to go back with a picture of a dirty Durban in their minds.

Mealie seller

I know that our city can be something; we are not just working for 2010. We must love Durban... It's my factory and if it's clean and beautiful people will come.

Fresh produce trader

A council official describes meeting the group late at night cleaning an area that was nowhere near their own trading sites.

One evening at around 9 o'clock I was leaving the Project Centre and I came across three women. They came out of the dark, in gumboots, gloves and with plastic bags tied around them. I asked 'What on earth are you doing here at night?' They told me they had been sweeping up the Old Dutch taxi rank. I asked why. The answer was quite simple: 'How can visitors come to our city and see it looking like this?'

I mean, hands up who would sweep a taxi rank in Warwick at nine o'clock at night?

The Project arranged support for this group. They were provided with brooms and bags by Durban Solid Waste who began to work with the group and offered them training.

When officials saw the level of commitment of these women, who were prepared to sacrifice so much time to keep their workplace clean, some of them began a measure of volunteerism themselves, adding extra hours to their working day.



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Taxi washing



Secure water point managed by traders

Transforming toilet and water facilities

Toilet and water facilities impact directly on cleanliness and crime prevention and are constantly raised by traders as issues of concern. For this reason the Project team spent a great deal of time working on how best to set up water points and how to design toilets so that they would be easier to maintain and less susceptible to crime. The extent to which they succeeded was due to careful observation and consideration of the existing problems, along with innovative design and improved management.

Warwick's apartheid legacy meant that water and toilet facilities were negligible and those that did exist were often used for activities for which they were not designed: for example, bathing and washing; getting large volumes of water for cooking; taxi washing and washing fresh produce. All of these caused continual damage to the facilities; for example the taps over the hand basins were forcibly redirected to allow buckets to be filled. Also not enough attention had been paid in the design to avoid dark secluded spaces, making users vulnerable to criminals.

The Project team set about upgrading the existing toilets and building many more. The new facilities were built in smaller blocks so that toilet facilities are well distributed throughout the area. Attention was paid to lighting in the toilets with maximum use being made of natural light. The fittings and finishings are robust and easy to clean. The Project's team also decided to establish water points near activities like the bovine head and mealie cooking which need a lot of water. The water points are housed in robust lockable cabinets containing a tap and water-meter. The management of these water points is outsourced to traders as a small business opportunity.

An outsourcing system is also used for managing some of the new toilet facilities. For example, the management of the six new facilities located near taxi ranks has been outsourced to taxi associations. Traders reported they found this system to be working well as they often had an established relationship with those managing the facilities closest to them. For other users this system has not worked as well. Officials have found that some taxi associations limit access to the facilities they manage, since the fewer people that use them, the less they need to be cleaned. This shows that ongoing monitoring of outsourced services is likely to be necessary.

Managing pavement sleeping

Late into the night there are still commuters going home, while others start making their way to work very early. Those without homes and those who cannot afford to pay the taxi fare to get home often find shelter in Warwick, where pavement or rough sleeping is a long-standing phenomenon. Before the market was built Project staff estimated that there were over 100 *muthi* traders sleeping under plastic sheets on the side of the road to protect their goods. Women are particularly vulnerable to crime and violence.

To go some way towards addressing rough sleeping in the inner city, the city's Housing Department and their provincial colleagues established Strollers - a very low cost hotel charging R30 a night. There are separate floors for women, men and couples. A unique security system has been devised to separate access to the various floors. To keep costs low the sleeping spaces are small and washing facilities are provided as a separate service. A shower costs R3. This particular service has proved very popular among not only the residents but also other people in the city.

Although some better-off traders use Strollers, pavement sleeping continues in Warwick, with many saying R30 is too expensive. Another solution that has been considered is converting a public transport rank into a rough sleepers' facility at night. The design and management of such a facility is under discussion.



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Addressing health issues

Protecting consumer health

In the early 1990s when it was clear that street traders were to be a permanent presence, the responsibility to protect the health of consumers buying street traders' products and services weighed heavily on environmental health officials. There were norms and standards used to regulate formal businesses but since street trading had largely been banned, there was little guidance about how this new set of businesses should be dealt with.

Durban's City Health Department initiated a health training programme for food traders in 1994. Staff devised a set of minimum health standards for informal traders who sold food items. Since then interactive training sessions have been conducted. Issues of personal, food and environmental health are discussed and the code of good trading practice disseminated. Once traders have been through the training, environmental health officers visit them at their site to assist them in applying these health standards.

This training is sensitively designed for traders. It is conducted in Zulu and does not depend on participants being literate. Traders identified Wednesday mornings as a quiet trading time, so this is when training sessions are held (because time away from the streets is money lost). The training takes place at the Project Centre, close to trading sites. Time is thus not wasted getting to and from the training venue.

Traders who have been through the training and applied the standards receive a certificate endorsed by the Chief Health Inspector. These certificates are issued at a ceremony often attended by the Mayor or his deputy. Since 1994 over 2 500 certificates have been awarded.

This programme was identified by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation as a good practice in 2002.

HIV/AIDS work in Warwick

In South Africa clinical health issues are provincial and national government responsibilities. However a disease as pervasive and serious as HIV/AIDS becomes a local government issue; it has to be dealt with every day.

The effects of the pandemic are horrifyingly evident throughout Warwick and since the Project was first established a number of traders, trader leaders and officials have died. For example when a former SEWU leader was asked about the cardboard collectors they had organised in the mid 1990s, she said most of these women had died. Due to stigma HIV/AIDS is seldom singled out as the cause but is likely

to have been a factor. In the province of KwaZulu-Natal nearly four in every ten women attending antenatal clinics are HIV-positive.

As the information box shows, older women traders support large numbers of children and grandchildren as they lose income-earning family members. They struggle with increasing medical, food, and funeral expenses and the costs of taking time away from paid work to care for the sick. Often the women themselves are living with chronic, largely untreated and often stress related illnesses, such as hypertension, asthma, diabetes and arthritis.

The Project secured a site for a local non-governmental organisation, Life Line, to run voluntary counselling and testing in Warwick. Warwick is accessible and also offers those worried about their status a greater level of anonymity than they would have if they took the test at a local clinic. This site conducts 40% of the total HIV tests in the city. Unlike many other facilities, the results of the test are available within 10 minutes. Pre- and post- test counselling is offered.

A Project team member arranged for certified training on HIV/AIDS issues at the University of KwaZulu-Natal Medical School, and City Health officers have conducted awareness training courses with two groups of traders in particular: traditional medicine practitioners, who are increasingly dealing with HIV/AIDS and related illnesses; and barbers, who run the risk of transmitting HIV/AIDS if they do not clean their electric shavers thoroughly between clients.

NUMBERS OF DEPENDANTS OF SOLE BREADWINNERS

The following figures emerged from an interview with a group of women selling live chickens and demonstrate the burdens that women bear as the sole breadwinners of ever-expanding households.

INTERVIEWER: *Can you tell us how many people you support with your incomes?*

Trader 1 : *I have 6 children and 1 grandchild to support.*

Trader 2 : *I support 6 children and 1 grandchild.*

Trader 3 : *I have 6 people who depend on my income.*

Trader 4 : *I have 9 people to support including grandchildren.*

Trader 5 : *I have 6 children and 1 grandchild dependent on my income.*

Trader 6 : *I have 8 people to support, including grandchildren.*

Trader 7 : *I have 8 children and 4 grandchildren to support.*

Trader 8 : *I have 18 people in total to support.*

Trader 9 : *I support 8 children and 3 grandchildren.*

Trader 10 : *I have 7 people to support. Some of us don't receive any grants.*

RUNNING FOUR INFORMAL BUSINESSES

Sibongile Khumalo

Sibongile Khumalo is a remarkable woman. Not only does she run four separate informal businesses, but she has found time to organise a volunteer group of women, all traders, who run a soup kitchen for people attending a clinic that treats sexually transmitted infections, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS.

Sibongile is 48, and lives in a township not far from the central city. Her household consists of six other family members, three of whom are at school. In comparison to many other women working in Warwick, Sibongile is fortunate in that two other household members have work and are able to contribute an income to the household.

Her day starts before 5 a.m. when she leaves her home to catch a taxi into Warwick. Here she collects newspapers from a distributor and sells them at a well positioned site with lots of commuters going past. Once the early morning rush is over, she moves on to her next occupation. A friend, and co-volunteer at the soup kitchen, sells sweet cakes at the same spot, and together they have a good combination of early morning products.

Sibongile has two sites at the Berea Station, both under shelter. At the first she retails a variety of goods such as shoes, sandals, hats, socks and mirrors. Her main site, at the station is where she makes and sells traditional Zulu and Xhosa craft. These are mainly clothes for ceremonial occasions. Wedding skirts, for example, sell from R150, while a full heavily beaded skirt costs R500.

This site for her traditional ware doubles up as her takeaway kitchen in the afternoons. Here she cooks and sells beef and chicken stew or curry. She can expect to serve 30 to 50 customers a day and for those who are not hurrying past, there are two chairs and a table. This is where she makes most of her money.

Sibongile's voluntary work takes place at the Prince Cyprian Zulu Clinic in Warwick, which has become an important site for distributing antiretroviral drugs for HIV/AIDS. Sibongile is aware that for the patients' medications to be effective, they need a regular meal each day, which many clinic patients cannot provide for themselves. It is this that has motivated her to organise 15 women to work as volunteers with her – all of whom are informal workers in Warwick and belong to a registered co-operative. Each of them gives one morning a week of their time, to help prepare and serve soup for up to 500 outpatients who come to the clinic each day.

The kitchen receives bread from the city's Health Department and money for the ingredients for the soup from a research unit at the hospital. The contribution is always insufficient and the women add to this from their own pockets.

Sibongile leaves the central city by taxi at about 6pm each day, arriving home well after dark.



Sibongile runs four separate informal businesses and helps run a soup kitchen



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The new childcare facility



Children playing at a trader's site

Providing childcare

Women traders often have no choice but to have their young children or grandchildren with them on the street. There are real dangers for these children – hot cooking liquids, electrical wires, unstable displays and structures, and, most importantly, traffic. One Project official noted: 'I have personally rescued more than one young child who was about to wander into the street'. In addition to the concern for the well-being of the children, traders find it difficult to manage both childcare and trading. The provision of childcare was an issue raised with Project staff by individual traders and by the Self Employed Women's Union.

When the Project team first started working in the area they found a local church group had established a small school that operated on the pavement. The challenge was to improve the environment for these children and to increase the number of children this facility could cope with. The Project approached this in two stages. First, two shipping containers were



The first creché housed in two shipping containers

secured and the play space outside was cordoned off. Art students at a nearby technical college decorated the containers.

In the meantime the operations team found a new site and converted it into a facility that now accommodates approximately 70 children. The Project committed funds to establishing the facility, but since the support of crèches is a provincial government responsibility, the Project could not fund running costs. The church continued to support this initiative and has managed to secure provincial funds.

The school has introduced a school-readiness programme and established relationships with local inner city primary schools. These schools tend to have better educational standards than township schools and so the prospects for these children, most of whom are the children of traditional medicine traders, are improved.





The overall impact of these support services

The support services described in this chapter are essential to improving the lives of all who use Warwick and to making it an area that traders can be proud of. These are overarching aspects that significantly enhance the quality of trading and the willingness of consumers and pedestrians to use the area. Traders can function more effectively, because general working conditions are improved and because in some instances their accommodation, childcare and health concerns are dealt with. These are issues that stand alongside the major infrastructural improvements in Warwick as they too contribute to the overall impact and the efficiency of the area.





Chapter 6 Conclusion



Chapter 6: Conclusion

The Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project began during the post apartheid period of high enthusiasm for change and co-operation. Compared to many other cities in the developing world, the local authority in Durban was well resourced and owned much of the land in Warwick. However, despite these unique circumstances the Project has some valuable lessons for other local authorities in South Africa and elsewhere. This conclusion recaps some of these and reflects on challenges and opportunities that lie ahead.

Lessons learned

The Project's starting point was that street traders would always be a part of the city. The significant economic and social roles played by street traders were highlighted by the research done about activities in the area and the growing interactions between traders and officials. It became clear that traders were contributing significantly to the local economy while also supporting large families. Understanding and publicising these roles was important in persuading politicians to allocate the funds needed to implement change in the area.

Street trader management is too often assigned to low-level staff with few resources. At best, it goes to local economic development departments; at worst it is relegated to the police departments. Yet managing street trading activities is particularly challenging; it means learning to work in a constantly changing environment.

However some managers responded to these challenges with real enthusiasm in Warwick. The experience there demonstrates the value of an inter-departmental approach using a wide range of skills and knowledge among existing staff. In addition a few higher level staff were allocated to co-ordinate council activities in the area. The former Project leader of Warwick considered that minimum requirements for project such as this were a planner, an operations person and someone to concentrate on implementation. He was also of the view that, 'when it comes to managing the informal economy, some of your best paid officials need to be on the streets.'

The Project was run on a modest budget. During the period of intensive changes (1997 – 2003) the annual budget allocations for infrastructure ranged between R1.8 million and R2.8 million. The Project did, in some cases, improve livelihoods with very few resources. Establishing a buy-

back centre for cardboard collectors, for example, entailed little more than buying a scale and allocating a small portion of land, but increased the incomes of collectors by 250 percent.

As the quotes below show, stakeholder participation was central to the approach of the Project and there are examples of this throughout this book. This sustained interaction resulted in actual infrastructure that was appropriately designed for specific trader needs. However it also helped to secure (after years of exclusion due to apartheid) a real sense among street traders that they belonged in the city. This ownership is reflected in the high levels of volunteerism described in Chapter 5.

The council afforded informal traders... the opportunity to participate on a sustained and continuous basis in negotiations about their needs and priorities and the council's concerns, in a low-key way, often on an issue-by-issue basis.

Trader leader

In Warwick there was a real engagement with the local day-to-day realities. This is contrary to classic planning methods. Planners often assume that processes can be controlled. Instead the Project team in Warwick worked with the energy that was there.

Local planner

While a commitment to consultation is critical, local authorities also need competent negotiating partners. The traders of Warwick could respond and articulate their needs collectively. When the Project began they already had some organisational experience: they knew how meetings should be structured; they understood accountability and mandates and the need to be report back to their constituencies. The experience in Warwick therefore demonstrates that although individually traders are often in a weak position, together they can achieve significant change.

Being area based and establishing a project centre were central to the consultative approach and the success of the Project. Trader leaders emphasised that having the Project Centre in the area, so that traders could meet on their own as well as with the council, was very important. This facilitated not only the on-going interactions between council staff, street traders and their leaders but also the building and maintenance of trader organisation.



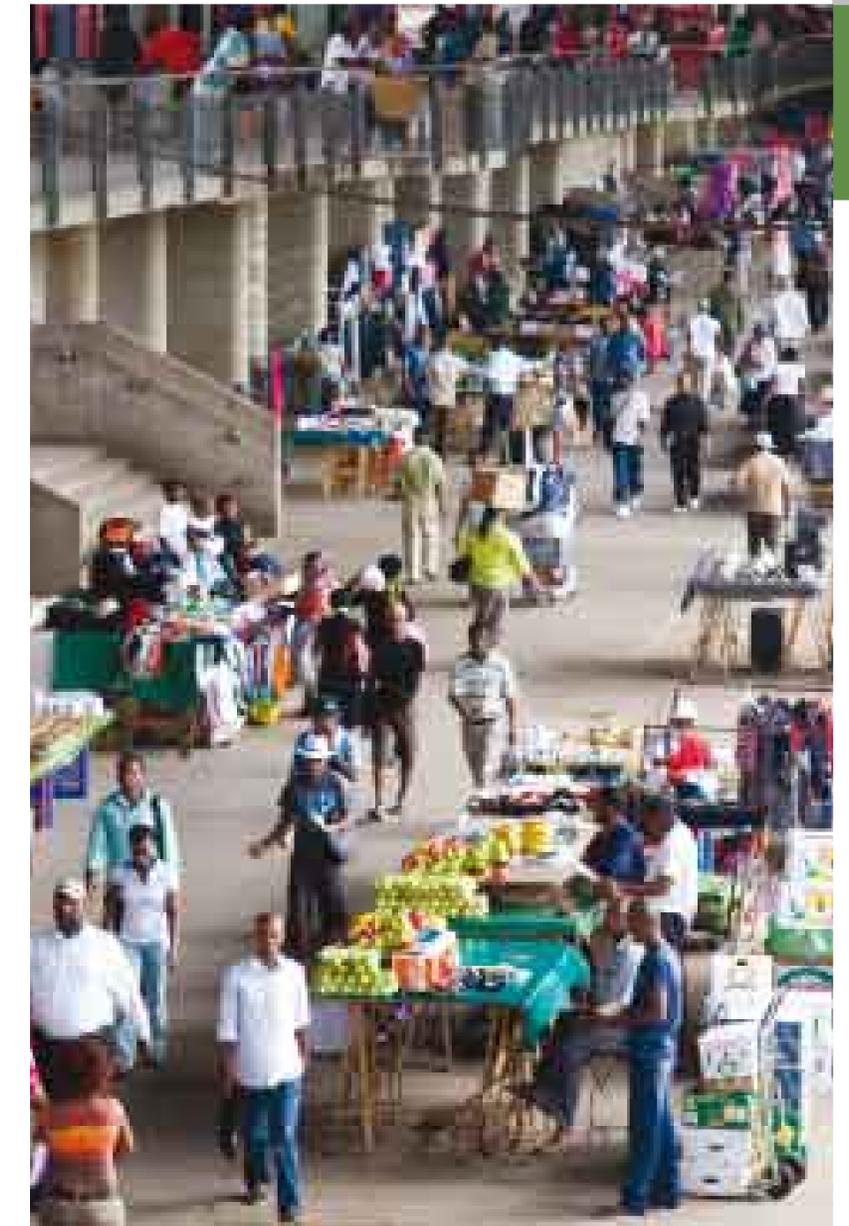


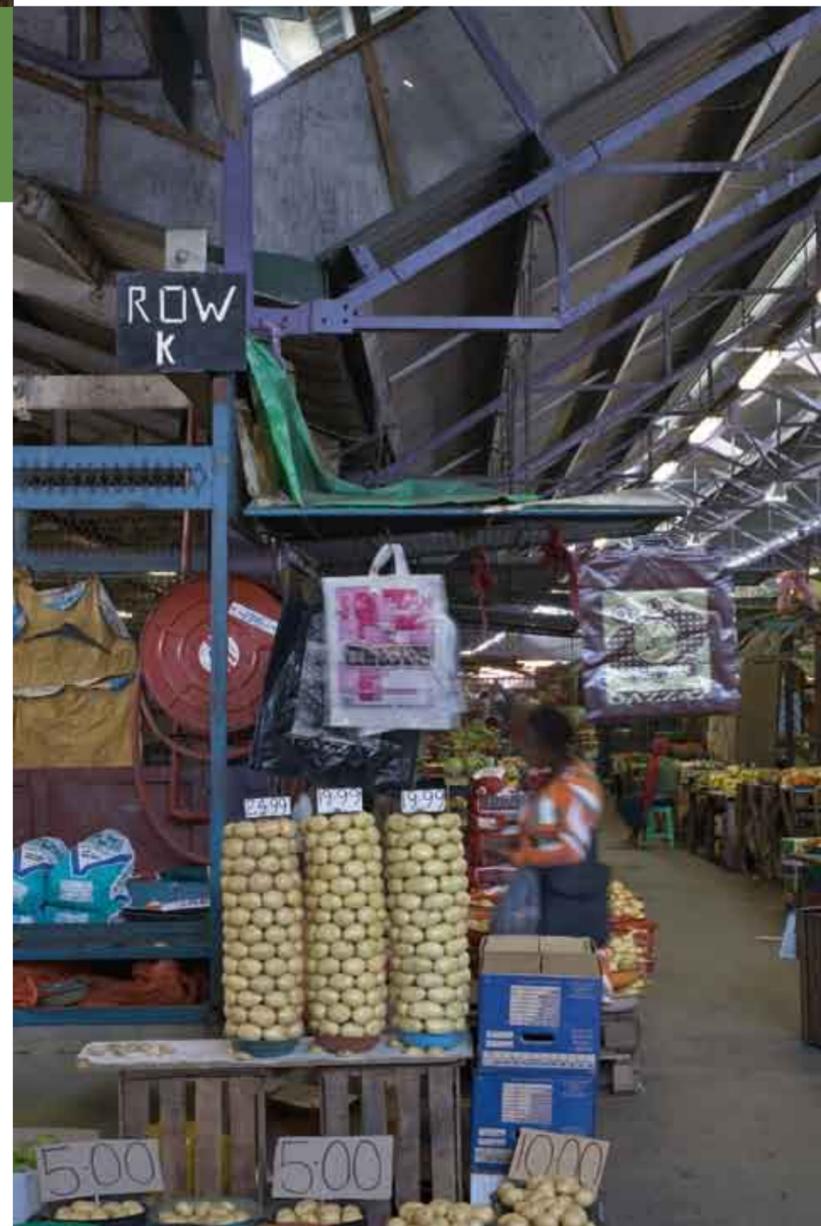
Understanding the specific economic dynamics within different segments of the informal economy was crucial. Through observation, consultation and many one-on-one discussions it became clear that interventions to enhance the livelihoods of, for example, traditional medicine traders, were different from interventions needed for bovine head cooks. The Project adopted a sector by sector approach to infrastructure and support of street traders.

The Project also demonstrates that, through trial and error, architectural and urban design solutions can be found to tackle urban management issues – from preventing crime to providing appropriate water and sanitation facilities – and to support livelihoods. These solutions will always be context-specific; however the same observation and consultation techniques can be used.

If you are curious enough and observe what is going on closely, there will be a design response to accommodate activities.

Project leader





The Early Morning Market, the site proposed for the new mall

Opportunities and challenges ahead

South Africa will be hosting the 2010 Soccer World Cup. This provides both opportunities and threats for the people of Warwick.

In general, street traders are excited about the number of international visitors that the soccer event promises. While Warwick has previously catered largely for poorer Durban residents, traders now meet regularly to plan for 2010 as part of a broader project to attract more middle class customers to the area. They have formed themselves into a committee with representatives from different parts of Warwick. Among other issues this group has discussed how to ensure that the products they sell appeal to outsiders, and how best to market each particular area. There are plans for hosting performances of traditional dance and other entertainment.

The 2010 event does however pose a threat to the traders of Warwick. As part of a package of projects aimed to 'spruce up' the city before the World Cup, the city has proposed that a R350 million shopping centre be built in the centre of Warwick, including a new 400 bay taxi rank. The site for this development includes the Early Morning Market and bovine head cooks facility. Large-scale private property developers are central to this plan. The shopping centre will have 30 000 square metres of formal retail space. In contrast with the Project's approach up to this point, there has been very little consultation with traders about these plans.

These proposals are of real concern for traders, as they entail a substantial redesign of the area. As the Project leader pointed out:

Warwick is like a living organism. There is a relationship between the walking distance between different modes of transport, the numbers of taxis, the proportion of formal retail to informal retail and the density and composition of traders. The detailed consultation and careful project interventions have led to an equilibrium that works. If any one of these factors is changed without involving the traders, this could impact negatively on the viability of trader businesses.

A 50 year lease is due to be granted to a black economic empowerment consortium. This will effectively transfer ownership and management of large tracts of the area into private property developers' hands. The current design plans show that foot traffic will be directed

¹³Black economic empowerment (BEE) is a programme launched by the South African government to redress inequalities by giving previously disadvantaged groups economic opportunities that under Apartheid were not available to them. For example in granting government tenders, preference is given to companies who have black ownership.

past formal businesses rather than the informal traders. In addition the redevelopment will introduce many formal shops, including a large supermarket chain, into the area. There is a history of formal business using their economic muscle to out-compete informal traders.

It is hoped that this book will help to reinforce the significance of Warwick in several ways. Warwick is important for the livelihoods of those who trade there. Incomes generated through this trade support large households living in poorer parts of the city. It is a dynamic and vibrant area with traders that are particularly responsive to poorer commuters' needs. It is significant to the city as a whole since it is unique to Durban and has potential to expand tourist opportunities. Warwick is also an international benchmark of best practice for street trader infrastructure, management and support. Central to its success is a highly consultative and innovative operating structure that should be continued in any redesign of the area.

The importance of this area is not just about livelihoods but the role it plays in city making.

Project leader



The Bovine Head Market, the site proposed for the new mall



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About WIEGO: WIEGO is a global research-policy network that seeks to improve the status of the working poor, especially women, in the informal economy. WIEGO builds alliances with and draws its membership from three consistencies: membership-based organisations of informal workers, researchers and statisticians working on the informal economy, and professionals from development agencies interested in the informal economy. WIEGO pursues its objectives by helping to build and strengthen networks of informal worker organisations; undertaking policy analysis, statistical research, and data analysis on the informal economy; providing policy advice and convening policy dialogues on the informal economy and documenting and disseminating good practice in support of the informal workforce.

Biographies

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Warwick Junction has provided exhilarating proof of how poor people, in sensitive collaboration with urban planners, can enliven a city centre, generate employment for themselves and expand services for the population at large.

– Professor Keith Hart, the anthropologist who coined the phrase 'informal sector'

This book offers a fresh look at street traders' lives, the role they play in city life and their contribution to its economy. It shows that it is possible to include street trading in urban plans in a way that adds to the vitality and attraction of cities. This is not a common perception of street trading or of urban planning, which makes the book all the more significant.

Warwick is a vibrant street trading area situated in the primary transport hub in South Africa's east coast city of Durban. This is the context for the book: here a small dedicated team of local authority officials, street traders and their leaders worked for over a decade tackling seemingly insurmountable urban management and design challenges. It is hoped that this account of the transformation of Warwick will inspire other local authorities and planners as they deal with the challenges and opportunities presented by the informal economy.

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